

**‘SPEAKING NOW TO OUR EYES’: VISUAL ELEMENTS OF
THE PRINTED SERMON IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND**

by

HANNAH SZE-MUNN YIP

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

School of English, Drama and Creative Studies

College of Arts and Law

University of Birmingham

October 2020

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the enduring cultural impact of the printed sermon, the primary genre of religious literature in early modern England. Newly appreciated from a historical perspective as a distinctive genre of oral text which played a major part within the cultural and political life of post-Reformation England, the sermon has witnessed a surge of critical interest over the past twenty years. The early modern sermon has been recognised not only as the most important form of spiritual instruction for Protestants, but also as a crucial instrument of the state, advancing royal and governmental policies and news as a means of official propaganda.

In response to the extensive work currently being undertaken, in which the sermon is almost exclusively considered as literary text and historical event, this thesis argues in favour of additional interdisciplinary routes for its study; namely, bibliographical considerations of preachers' active and prolific engagement with early modern printed media, and art-historical scrutiny of the visual presentation of printed sermons. The vernacular sermon's considerable contribution to the early printed book trade has long been acknowledged by scholars of both late medieval and early modern book history: *Festial*, John Mirk's collection of sermons, was the most frequently printed text before the English Reformation, and an estimated 3,000 sermons were published in England in the years 1558–1640. Yet, the printed sermon's standing as a popular visual and devotional text remains under-researched amidst thriving studies of its oral delivery.

Thus, this thesis provides the first detailed account of the nature, meaning and function of printed images and visual elements within the post-Reformation sermon. Sustained attention to pictures within a literary genre widely understood to have played a key role in Protestantism's integration in English religio-political culture furnishes substantial support for scholarship that repudiates older arguments for Protestant 'iconophobia'. By examining

readers' and collectors' relationships with these carefully designed publications throughout, this thesis questions the settled paradigms surrounding illustrated 'ephemeral' texts in the period more broadly, demonstrating that their value did not depreciate in the years following their production. These illustrations are grouped thematically, with the central argument that they constituted a major and hitherto overlooked form of English Protestant art.

For David and Milo, as always

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I wish to acknowledge Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva for giving me the opportunity to present my initial findings for this doctoral thesis at ‘What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?’, the Fifth Biennial Conference of SAMEMES, University of Zurich, in September 2016. Chapter Three is a vastly expanded version of my first article, published in Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva, eds, *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017). Devising an abstract motivated me to pursue this research for a further three years; attendance at the conference established contact with scholars who demonstrated enthusiasm for these preliminary endeavours, such as Mary Ann Lund. Prior to my PhD studies, I would particularly like to remember the late Cathy Oakes, whose ability to see beyond a relatively unconventional undergraduate background enabled me to begin my path in academia. Her supervision ensured that I was able to achieve a distinction in the MSt in Literature and Arts at the University of Oxford, setting me up for the challenges in research which lay ahead. I am also grateful for early conversations with Christian Algar, Arnold Hunt, Anthony Milton and Alison Shell, who provided me with crucial advice regarding book-historical research, the project, and an academic career more broadly. It is a true honour to have been encouraged by so many academics with an international reputation whose work continues to inform my research and practice as a scholar on a daily basis.

A full AHRC Midlands4Cities (formerly Midlands3Cities) Doctoral Studentship Award enabled me to research and write my thesis without any financial worries. I am particularly thankful to have received additional funding to enrol on training courses, conduct research visits and present at conferences. Portions of this thesis were given as papers at Edinburgh (2017), the Second Center for Sermon Studies Conference (Montréal, 2018) and the Henry E.

Huntington Library (2019); on all of these occasions, delegates and members of the audiences offered useful comments and queries. My position since January 2018 as a Research Assistant for ‘GEMMS – Gateway to Early Modern Manuscript Sermons’, based at the University of Regina and funded by the SSHRC, has been indispensable for broadening the scope of my research. I am indebted to Jeanne Shami and Anne James for appointing me, and to Jennifer Farooq for supervising my duties. I owe many serendipitous discoveries to the work which I have carried out for GEMMS; thanks are also due to Jeanne and Anne for making their 2019 Congregational Library Lecture available to me before its publication. In 2019, I was lucky enough to have been awarded an AHRC-Huntington Fellowship at the Henry E. Huntington Library. Not only did I get to enjoy an extended summer and unparalleled hospitality courtesy of my landlady, Sandy Biery, but I was also privileged to be a part of a scholarly environment which fostered the consolidation of my ideas in the final stages. Thanks are due to Steve Hindle and all the staff at the Huntington for making my sojourn so fruitful and productive.

It remains for me to thank my supervisors and my examiners. Hugh Adlington, whose kindness and wisdom know no bounds, has been everything one could wish for in a mentor, from going beyond the call of duty in helping me with my first PhD funding application to boosting my sometimes-flagging confidence in the impact of my research. I could not have found a more suitable secondary supervisor for this project. I have benefited greatly from Tara Hamling’s expertise in Protestant visual culture and the constructive challenges which she has presented in her feedback in order to make my arguments stronger. Without their diligent supervision, I would not have been able to complete my thesis in a timely manner. I am much obliged to Tiffany Stern and Alexandra Walsham for reading my thesis and for their part in a stimulating viva. Alex, who was present at the paper which I gave at Zurich, has been extremely generous in the time and continuous encouragement she has given me since then.

Outside of the scholarly community, my family has inspired a strong work ethic and a sense of commitment in everything I have ever done. The arrival of my niece, Pia Julia, in the last year of my PhD was a most welcome and sweet surprise. In the midst of a pandemic, I am grateful to all my friends for providing me with much light relief via Zoom and Skype. I count myself extraordinarily lucky to have such kind and considerate neighbours, meaning that I was able to continue working at home without major disruptions throughout the lockdown period. (I also thank them for helping to collect rogue shuttlecocks.) The London Heathside Athletics Club are a diverse and hugely talented group of people with whom to train, and I am especially indebted to Jackie Wastell for her patience and careful guidance regarding my progress on the road and in the pool. Finally, I want to thank my partner David Ingamells and our cat Milo for their moral support and love. This thesis – along with all future labours – is dedicated to you.

CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	ix
<i>Note on Scholarly Conventions</i>	xiv
Introduction: New Research Avenues for the Early Modern English Sermon	1
‘Fundamentally Occasional’: Previous Scholarship on the Early Modern English Sermon	5
‘Gaudy Pictures on the First Leafe’: Printed Images in the Early Modern Sermon	15
1 Internall Images Rightly Conceived: Art and Authority in the Sermon	36
Rethinking the Frontispiece Portrait	41
‘Divine Opticks’ and ‘Scripture Emblemes’: Illustrated Title Pages and Frontispieces	75
‘A Religious Eye’: The Art of Preachers	100
Conclusion	111
2 From Pageantry to Piety: Protestant Preoccupations with Heraldry and Genealogy	118
An Overview of Armorial Decoration in the Printed Sermon	132
Portable Emblems: Guild Days and Bishops’ Arms	147
The Pedigree as an <i>Aide-Mémoire</i>	174
Conclusion	183
3 A Picture for Ornament, Memory and History: Imagistic Verses and Scriptural Images in the Funeral Sermon	190
Early Modern Funeral Sermons: A Preliminary Re-Evaluation	203
Textual Iconography and Typographical Symbolism	211
Devotional and Political Portraiture	238
Conclusion	279
4 <i>Fool’s Baubles</i>, and <i>Trimtrams</i>: The Printed Mock-Sermon in Revolutionary England	287
Sermon Reports	295
Standalone Pamphlets	306
Satirical Funeral Sermons	322
Conclusion	342
Conclusion	353
<i>Appendix: Bibliography of Extant Printed Mock-Sermons, c. 1641–1660</i>	366
<i>Bibliography</i>	369

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1.1. Anthony Sadler, *Mercy in a Miracle Shewing, The Deliverance, and the Duty, of The King, and the People* (1660). Frontispiece. Henry E. Huntington Library, 647186.
- 1.2. Nehemiah Wallington's notes in Stephen Denison, *The Monvment Or Tombe-Stone, &c.* (1620). British Library, 1418.i.19.
- 1.3. Edward Collier, *Vanitas Still Life* (1662). Oil on wood. 94 × 112.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY.
- 2.1. Magdalena de Passe and Willem de Passe, *Hugh Latimer* (1620). Line engraving. 6.25 × 4.5 in. National Portrait Gallery, D5023.
- 2.2. Hugh Latimer, *Frvitfvll Sermons, &c.* (1635). Frontispiece. British Library, 4453.c.14.
- 2.3. William Fenner, *The Works of W. Fenner, B. of Divinity* (1657). Frontispiece. British Library, 1490.e.9.
- 2.4. William Fenner, *The Works of the Learned and Faithfull Minister of Gods Word, M. William Fenner, &c.* (1651). Frontispiece. British Museum, P,3.57.
- 2.5. William Fenner, *The Danger of deferring Repentance, &c.* (1654). Frontispiece. British Library, 4474.aa.28.
- 2.6. Lancelot Andrewes, *Nineteen Sermons concerning Prayer* (1641). Frontispiece. British Museum, P,1.125.
- 2.7. Lancelot Andrewes, *Institvtiones Pix, &c. The 2d. Edition Augmented* (1633). British Library, 4411.cc.29.
- 2.8. H. K. [Henry Killigrew], *A Sermon Preached Before the Kings Most Excellent Maiesty at Oxford* (1643). Frontispiece. British Library, 4474.d.85.
- 2.9. John Hewitt, *Nine Select Sermons, &c.* (1658). Frontispiece. National Portrait Gallery, D22781.
- 2.10. [King Charles I and his adherents]. Sold by Samuel Speed at the Rainbow, betweene the two Temple Gates, in Fleet streete (c. 1663–1669). Line engraving. 10.5 × 6.75 in. National Portrait Gallery, D22673.
- 2.11. Richard Carpenter, *The Iesuit, and the Monk, &c.* (1656). Frontispiece. Bodleian Library, Ashm. 1196 (12).
- 2.12. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Peter Smart* (1641). Etching. 135 × 85 mm. British Museum, 2005,U.252.

- 2.13. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jan Cornelisz Sylvius* (1646). Etching, drypoint and burin. 278 × 188 mm. British Museum, 1910,0212.373.
- 2.14. Robert Wilkinson, *The Merchant Royall* (1607). British Library, 695.h.13.(1).
- 2.15. John Preston, *The Doctrine of the Saints Infirmities* (1636). British Library, 4453.aaa.19.
- 2.16. Richard Sibbes, *A Glance of Heaven* (1638). Frontispiece. British Library, 4403.d.13.
- 2.17. Charles Fitzgeffrey, *The Curse of Corne-horders: With The Blessing of seasonable selling* (1631). British Library, C.122.e.22.
- 2.18. Samuel Ward, *Woe to Drvnkards* (1622). British Library, C.107.e.24.
- 2.19. Matthew Lawrence, *A Wedding Sermon Preacht August. 28. 1649.* LONDON John Raymond Scipsit. Anno: Domini 1649. First title page. Los Angeles, California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, MS.1951.018.
- 2.20. Matthew Lawrence, *A Wedding Sermon Preacht August. 28. 1649.* LONDON John Raymond Scipsit. Anno: Domini 1649, p. 1. Los Angeles, California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, MS.1951.018.
- 2.21. Abraham Fleming, *The Diamond of Deuotion, &c.* (1581), sig. A.2.^r. Henry E. Huntington Library, 30084.
- 2.22. John Bourcher, 'A Sermon Vpon the Passion Of Ovr Lord Jesus Christ', unpaginated. 1640. Los Angeles, California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, MS.1951.003.
- 2.23. Emblem within the sermon notebook of Charles Almond. Los Angeles, California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, MS.1952.004.
- 2.24. John Preston, *A Sermon of Spiritvall Life and Death* (1630). Bodleian Library, 4° C 41(7) Th.
- 3.1. Sano di Pietro, *Predica di san Bernardino da Siena in piazza del Campo* (1445). Tempera on panel. 162 × 102 cm. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena.
- 3.2. Domenico Beccafumi, *San Bernardino Preaching in the Campo, Siena* (before 1528). Oil on canvas. 31.7 × 42 cm. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
- 3.3. John Gipkyn, *Old Saint Paul's* (diptych, verso of left panel) (1616). Oil on panel. 127 × 101.6 cm. Society of Antiquaries of London, London.
- 3.4. Matthew Parker, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ & Priuilegiis Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, &c.* (1572). Unpaginated, hand-coloured vellum leaf. British Library, C.24.b.8.
- 3.5. Richard Porder, *A Sermon of gods fearefull threatnings for Idolatrye, &c. Imprinted by Henry Denham* [1570]. British Library, 4473.a.57.

- 3.6. H. G., *The Mirrovr of Maiestie: Or, The Badges of Honovr Conceitedly Emblazoned: With Emblemes Annexed, Poetically Vnfolded* (1619), pp. 40–1. British Library, C.71.d.17.
- 3.7. John Carter, *The Nail & the VWheel* (1647). First and second title pages. British Library, 4473.aa.9.
- 3.8. John Carter, *The Nail & the VWheel* (1647), pp. 103–04. British Library, 4473.aa.9.
- 3.9. John Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.* (1653). British Library, G.964.
- 3.10. John Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.* (1653), pp. 138–39. British Library, G.964.
- 3.11. James Cleland, *Iacobs Wel, and Abbots Condvit, &c.* (1626). British Library, 4473.aaa.50.
- 3.12. Thomas Vicars, *ΠΟΜΦΑΙΟΦΕΡΟΣ. The Sword-bearer* (1627). Bodleian Library, Pamph. D 25 (5).
- 3.13. Richard Davies, *A Fvnerall Sermon Preached the XXVI. Day of November, &c.* (1577). British Library, G.1998.
- 3.14. ‘Les Principes Du Blason’ and ‘A Sermon Touching the Power of a King; And proving out of the Word of God That y^e Authority of a King Is only from God, & not from Man’. London, British Library, Stowe MS 663.
- 3.15. William Slatyer, *A Type of Trew Nobilitye or y^e Armes of a Xptian Emblazoned. c.* 1635. c. 24.1 × 15.9 cm. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 276 b (item no. 39).
- 3.16. Francis Hayman (attrib.), *John Wesley Preaching in Old Cripplegate Church, London* (date unknown). Oil on canvas. 90 × 96 cm. Dr Johnson’s House, London.
- 4.1. Edmund Staunton, *A Sermon Preacht At Great Milton in the County of Oxford, &c.* (1659), p. 43. British Library, 1419.i.31.
- 4.2. George Newton, *Magna Charta: Or, The Christians Charter Epitomized* (1661). Somerset Archives and Local Studies, DD/FJ/9.
- 4.3. Memorial brass of Cicely Puckering (detail) (c. 1636). Latten. St Mary’s Church, Warwick.
- 4.4. John Bryan, *The Vertvous Davghter* (1636), unpaginated. British Library, 4473.bb.32.
- 4.5. Samuel Bernard, *Ezekiel’s Prophetie Parallel’d: Or, The Desire of the Eyes taken away* (1652). Frontispiece. Bodleian Library, Vet. A3 e.134.
- 4.6. Thomas Dugard, *Death and the Grave, &c.* (1649), unpaginated. British Library, 1417.c.19.

- 4.7. Nicholas Stone and John Schurman, Epitaphs from the monument to Sir Thomas Lucy III and Lady Alice Lucy (c. 1640). Carrara marble. St Leonard's Church, Charlecote, Warwickshire. © Hannah Yip
- 4.8. Edward Rainbowe, *A Sermon Preached at Walden in Essex, May 29th* (1649). British Library, E.532.(40.).
- 4.9. Timothy Oldmayne, *Gods rebuke in Taking from vs that worthy and honourable Gentleman Sir Edward Lewkenor Knight, &c.* (1619), sigs A2^{r-v}. Henry E. Huntington Library, 39433.
- 4.10. Isaac Basire, *The Dead Mans real Speech* (1673). Frontispiece. Henry E. Huntington Library, 438550.
- 4.11. Richard Stock, *The Chvrches Lamentation for the losse of the Godly* (1614). First woodcut after the title page. Bodleian Library, 8° L 100(2) Th.
- 4.12. Richard Stock, *The Chvrches Lamentation for the losse of the Godly* (1614). Second and third woodcuts after the title page. Bodleian Library, 8° L 100 (2) Th.
- 4.13. Hans Holbein the younger, *Mrs Jane Small* (c. 1536). Watercolour on vellum in a decorated case. Diameter: 5.2 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
- 4.14. I. F., *A Sermon Preached at Ashby De-la-Zovch in the Covntie of Leicester, &c.* (1635). Gold-tooled limp vellum binding, frontispiece and epitaph. Henry E. Huntington Library, 59659.
- 4.15. Anthony Walker, *Planctus Unigeniti: Et Spes Resuscitandi* (1664). Frontispiece, title page and pp. 30–31. Frontispiece: 18.2 × 14.6 cm. Henry E. Huntington Library, 491621.
- 4.16. Stephen Marshall, *Threnodia. The Churches Lamentation for the Good Man his losse, &c.* (1644). Frontispiece. British Library, G.1047.(2).
- 4.17. Richard Vines, *The Hearse of the Renowned, The Right Honourable Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, &c.* (1646). Frontispiece. Henry E. Huntington Library, 148148.
- 4.18. Thomas Simon, Medal with a portrait of Robert Devereux, Third Earl of Essex (c. 1642). Silver, cast and chased. Height: 4.2 cm; width: 3.1 cm. British Museum, M.7157.
- 5.1. *The Cony-catching Bride* (1643). Frontispiece. Henry E. Huntington Library, 120583.
- 5.2. *A Glasse for the Times By Which According to the Scriptures, you may clearly behold the true Ministers of Christ, how farre differing from false Teachers* (1648). Frontispiece. Bodleian Library, (OC) 130 g.132.
- 5.3. Anonymous print of Thomas Venner, dated 19 January 1661. Etching. 19.2 × 15.3 cm. British Museum, 1851,0308.479.
- 5.4. The seven of diamonds and the seven of spades from a pack of playing-cards satirising the Rump Parliament (c. 1650s). Etching. 91 × 52 mm. British Museum, 1896,0501.917.

5.5. Thorny Ailo [i.e. John Taylor], *A Seasonable Lecture, or A most learned Oration, &c.* (1642). British Library, 105.b.17.

5.6. *A Sermon Preached The last Fast day in Leaden-Hall Street, &c.* (1643). Henry E. Huntington Library, 6087.

5.7. Hodg Turbervil [i.e. Edmund Gayton], *Walk Knaves, walk* (1659). Bodleian Library, Ashm. 1070 (16).

5.8. I. C. [i.e. 'Joseph Caryl'], *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness* (1659). British Library, 292.f.39.(5.).

5.9. I. C. [i.e. 'Joseph Caryl'], *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness* (1659), sig. A2^r. British Library, 292.f.39.(5.).

5.10. Portrait of Hugh Peters by an anonymous artist, published by T. Smith as part of a broadside entitled *Don Pedro de Quixot, or in English the Right Reverend Hugh Peters* (1660). Etching. 10.9 × 8.8 cm. British Museum, 1848,0911.505.

5.11. *A Fawning Flatterer*, designed by George Glover (1648). Engraving. 17.2 × 13.5 cm. British Museum, 1868,0808.3234.

5.12. Portrait of Adoniram Byfield or Thomas Wynne by Richard Gaywood (*fl.* 1644–1668) (attrib.) (1643–1679). Etching and engraving. 17.6 × 13.8 cm. British Museum, 1864,1210.426.

5.13. J. O. D. D. [i.e. 'John Owen, Doctor of Divinity'], *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, Being the Last Words That are ever intended to be Spoke of Him* (1660). Bodleian Library, Wood 608 (38).

5.14. John Day, *David's Desire to Goe to Chvrch: As it was published in two Sermons in S Maries in Oxford* (1615). British Library, 4452.d.30.(1.).

5.15. John Trundle (attrib.), *Keepe within Compasse: Or, The worthy Legacy of a wise Father to his beloued Sonne, &c.* [1619], sig. A3^r. Bodleian Library, 8° K 12(1) Th.

5.16. Anonymous broadside, *The High Church Champion Pleading his own Cause. Or The Pope and the Devil Vanquish'd by a Flurt from the Doctors Pen* (1709). Etching and engraving. 27.2 × 16.2 cm. British Museum, 1868,0808.3428.

6.1. Manuscript copy of John King, *A Sermon at Paules Crosse, &c* (1620). British Library, 4476.bb.98.(2).

NOTE ON SCHOLARLY CONVENTIONS

All translations from Latin and French into English are my own unless otherwise indicated.

Only early modern uses of the long ‘s’ have been modernised.

The biblical texts which form the basis of each sermon are quoted from the printed sermons themselves. Standalone biblical quotations are derived from the King James Authorised Version of 1611 unless otherwise stated.

Dates are Old Style but the year is taken to begin on 1 January.

Footnotes conform to the third edition of the *MHRA Style Guide*.

INTRODUCTION: NEW RESEARCH AVENUES FOR THE EARLY MODERN ENGLISH SERMON

PERKINS (our wonder) living, though long dead,
In this white paper, as a winding-sheet,
And in this velome lies enveloped:
Yet still he lives, guiding the erring feet,
Speaking now to our eyes, though buried.
If once so well, much better now he teacheth.
Who will not heare, when a live-dead man preacheth?

Phineas Fletcher, 'Upon Mr. Perkins his printed sermons',
The Purple Island, Or The Isle of Man (1633)¹

Upheld as 'the most characteristic religious genre', 'the most important [...] form of communication for Protestants' and 'the dominant cultural form of post-Reformation English literature', the early modern English sermon has enjoyed an elevated status as one of the most vibrant topics of historical and literary enquiry in early modern studies over the past twenty years.² While it was the case that the sermon was somewhat marginalised in earlier twentieth-century scholarship, its value as a crucial historical source for discovering, *inter alia*, theories of rhetoric and the religio-political dynamics of post-Reformation England is no longer seriously contested.³ Most frequently preached by an educated minister, the early modern sermon was an oral form of rhetoric which analysed a text from the Bible that was then applied to the audience and occasion of its delivery, 'conveying saving grace to instruct, move, and convert'.⁴

¹ Phineas Fletcher, *The Purple Island, Or The Isle of Man* (1633), sig. O^r. Quoted in Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 128.

² Mary Morrissey, 'Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons', *The Historical Journal*, 42.4 (1999), 1111–23 (p. 1112); Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 194; Jeanne Shami, 'The Sermon', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, ed. by Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 185–206 (p. 185).

³ Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 2; Mark Sweetnam, 'The Caroline Sermon: Texts, Contexts, and Challenges', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 44 (2014), 215–31 (pp. 225–26).

⁴ Mary Morrissey, 'Sermons, Primers, and Prayerbooks', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 491–509 (p. 507); Shami, 'The Sermon', p. 185. See also Peter McCullough, 'Sermons', in *The Oxford*

At once lofty in its erudite dissection of the Scriptures, it was also accessible in its subsequent explanation of the relevance of its chosen biblical text to the everyday lives of the wider public.⁵ As the sermon assumed additional polemical purposes as a prominent ‘instrument of the state’, it could be argued that no other textual genre reveals the tensions between the official and lived experiences of religious life in early modern England to quite the same degree as the vernacular sermon.⁶ Numerous modern scholars of the Reformation, the English Revolution and the dissenting traditions which began to be fully established during the Restoration continue to acknowledge that the sermon lay at the heart of the religious and political controversies within this period in English history.⁷

On the opening of this flowering of recent scholarship on the early modern sermon, Mary Morrissey urged literary critics and historians alike to study sermons ‘as both texts *and* events’. Her highly influential historiographical review called for a move beyond older accounts which habitually analysed sermons from a textual perspective alone or plundered them for choice quotations to illustrate developments in English ‘puritanism’ and the religious politics of the Civil War years.⁸ Her proposed methodology has since been widely adopted, and has considerably progressed in sermon scholarship, to the extent that scrutiny of these texts as

Handbook of English Prose, 1500–1640, ed. by Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 560–75 (p. 566).

⁵ Jennifer Clement, ‘Introduction: Rhetoric, Emotion and the Early Modern English Sermon’, *English Studies*, 98.7 (2017), 655–60 (p. 655).

⁶ P. G. Stanwood, ‘Critical Directions in the Study of Early Modern Sermons’, in *Fault Lines and Controversies in the Study of Seventeenth-Century English Literature*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia, MO and London: University of Missouri Press, 2002), pp. 140–55 (p. 140); Shami, ‘The Sermon’, p. 185.

⁷ Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 10, 17; Patrick Collinson, ‘Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture’, in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560–1700*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1996), pp. 32–57 (p. 47); Chris R. Langley, *Worship, Civil War and Community, 1638–1660* (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), pp. 65–66; Matthew Neufeld, *The Civil Wars After 1660: Public Remembering in Late Stuart England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), ch. 6.

⁸ Morrissey, ‘Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons’, pp. 1111–15.

primarily ‘dynamic encounters between preachers and hearers’ governs much of the substantial work which has been carried out on the subject over the past two decades.⁹

This thesis argues that it is time to explore new directions in early modern sermon studies.¹⁰ While celebrating this lively historiography which has contributed to a more profound understanding of these ‘radically occasional pieces of performed writing[s]’ that were ‘contingent upon the contexts in and for which they were delivered’, this thesis maintains that other interdisciplinary approaches can now shed fresh light on the early modern sermon.¹¹ Most notably, sermon scholars have not taken sufficient advantage of the methodologies offered by new studies of the material text and general ‘rediscover[ies] of the book’ which have arisen in the midst of a digital age.¹² Although its primary place within the early modern book trade has long been recognised, the sermon in print, appreciated on its own terms as a cultural artefact which was produced, bought, owned and used (or not) by contemporary printers, readers and collectors, is yet to receive sustained attention.¹³ It is also notable that W. J. T.

⁹ Ann Hughes, ‘Preachers and Hearers in Revolutionary London: Contextualising Parliamentary Fast Sermons’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 24 (2014), 57–77 (p. 57).

¹⁰ See Crawford Gribben, ‘Preaching the Scottish Reformation, 1560–1707’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 271–86 (pp. 276–77).

¹¹ Peter McCullough, ‘Preaching and Context: John Donne’s Sermon at the Funerals of Sir William Cokayne’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 213–67 (p. 213).

¹² The scholarly output which builds upon the canon authored by Jerome McGann, D. F. McKenzie, Roger Chartier and Robert Darnton is too voluminous to include in a single footnote, but see, in particular, Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2000); *The Reader Revealed*, ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron (Washington, DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2001); Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, eds, *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). For the phrase ‘rediscovery of the book’, see S. K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington, ‘Introduction’, in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640*, ed. by S. K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), pp. xv–xxix (p. xv).

¹³ The topic of the sermon in print has, thus far, been relegated to chapters and shorter pieces only. See, in particular, Peter McCullough, ‘Making Dead Men Speak: Laudianism, Print, and the Works of Lancelot Andrewes, 1626–1642’, *The Historical Journal*, 41.2 (1998), 401–24; James Rigney, ‘To lye upon a Stationers stall, like a piece of coarse flesh in a Shambles’: the sermon, print and the English Civil War’, in *The English sermon revised: Religion, literature and history 1600–1750*, ed. by Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 188–207; Ian Green, ‘Orality, script and print: the case of the English sermon c. 1530–1700’, in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, Volume I: Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. by Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 236–55, in addition to the chapters by Rosemary Dixon and James Rigney in Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of the*

Mitchell's notion of the 'pictorial turn', which has sought to encourage historians and literary specialists of many eras of history to display ever greater sensitivity to the viscosity of their chosen texts, has had little impact in the field of sermon studies.¹⁴ To this end, this thesis argues that printed images in the sermon, barely acknowledged in previous scholarship,¹⁵ comprise a crucial archive for Reformation historians who are continuing to advance nuanced arguments regarding the place of the visual arts in English Protestantism.¹⁶ This study further contends that these images were a vital component of printed sermons, and were part of the reason for the prominent presence of these works within the book market. Aside from this commercial function, they also brought new layers of meaning to the texts, guiding readers to understand the information to be derived from newsworthy events, which were included amongst the

Early Modern Sermon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). See also Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, ch. 3; Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), ch. 2; Jennifer Clement, 'He being dead, yet speaketh: the preacher's voice in early seventeenth-century posthumous sermon collections', *Renaissance Studies*, 32.5 (2018), 738-54.

¹⁴ W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), ch. 1; *The Pictorial Turn*, ed. by Neal Curtis (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2010). For the impact of the 'pictorial turn' upon studies of early modern visual culture, see 'The Visual Turn in Early Modern German History and Historiography', a 'forum' between Kevin Sharpe, Jeffrey Chipps Smith, Barbara Uppenkamp, Bridget Heal and Larry Silver, published in *German History*, 30.4 (2012), 574-91; Tara Hamling, 'Visual Culture', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 75-102 (pp. 91-92).

¹⁵ For example, Patrick Collinson, 'A Magazine of Religious Patterns': An Erasmian Topic Transposed in English Protestantism', *Studies in Church History*, 14 (1977), 223-49 (p. 245 n. 98); Marie-Hélène Davies, *Reflections of Renaissance England: Life, Thought and Religion Mirrored in Illustrated Pamphlets 1535-1640* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 1986), p. 56; Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 60; Torrance Kirby, 'Robert Singleton's Sermon at Paul's Cross in 1535: The "True Church" and the Royal Supremacy', *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 10.2 (2008), 343-68 (pp. 346, 349) (reproduced in *Sermons at Paul's Cross, 1521-1642*, ed. by Torrance Kirby and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 32, 35); Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 19; Stephen K. Roberts, 'The Sermon in Early Modern Wales: Context and Content', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 303-25 (p. 306).

¹⁶ Keith Thomas, 'Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England', in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 16-40 (pp. 38-39); *Art Re-Formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007). For ongoing debates on the contentious place of the image in Reformation culture, see Tara Hamling and Jonathan Willis, eds, *After Iconophobia? An Online Symposium* (2017),

<<https://manyheadedmonster.wordpress.com/2017/03/20/after-iconophobia/>> [accessed 20 April 2020].

Alexandra Walsham provides a 'synoptic overview' of printed images in European religious books in Alexandra Walsham, 'Idols in the Frontispiece? Illustrating Religious Books in the Age of Iconoclasm', in *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Feike Dietz and others (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 21-52. See also *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. by Michael Hunter (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010).

divines' interpretations of the chosen biblical texts. Most importantly, however, this thesis argues that these illustrations constitute a hitherto unacknowledged form of Protestant visual culture, serving as aids to repentance and devotion, and ensuring an adherence to Scripture. The next section provides a comprehensive account of earlier scholarship on post-Reformation English preaching and the sermon in order to establish the critical framework for the arguments in this thesis.

'Fundamentally Occasional': Previous Scholarship on the Early Modern English Sermon

Published in 1998, *Sermons at Court* by Peter McCullough and *Government by Polemic* by Lori Anne Ferrell broke new ground in the then rather stagnant field of sermon studies; most especially, in their claims that the study of preaching should be recognised as integral to the history of early modern politics.¹⁷ In particular, McCullough utilised sources as varied as architectural drawings and contemporary engravings of English royal chapels in addition to the sermons themselves in order to construct an innovative account of the central place of the pulpit within Elizabethan and Jacobean court culture. These scholars effectively began to revise the dated scholarship contained within the standard works on the subject of medieval and early modern preaching.¹⁸

¹⁷ Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603-1625* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

¹⁸ G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1530-1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926); Millar MacLure, *The Paul's Cross Sermons 1534-1642* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1958); J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons, 1450-c. 1600* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964).

The efforts of Ferrell and McCullough were further consolidated in their edited volume, *The English sermon revised*, which interpreted sermons as ‘fundamentally occasional [...] literary art inextricably engaged in the public sphere’.¹⁹ Staying within the realm of the seventeenth century and looking ahead towards the mid-eighteenth century, contributors to this volume inclined, like their editors, towards the religious politics of preaching, exploring themes such as rhetoric, pulpit theatrics, anti-Catholicism and the role of preaching in eighteenth-century political debate. Shortly after this volume’s publication, Susan Wabuda began to fill the chronological and confessional space left by Ferrell and McCullough in her examination of the impact of the Reformation upon a programme of Catholic preaching in England which had been in place since the beginning of the fifteenth century.²⁰ Although Wabuda’s monograph is predominantly a history of the processes of these complicated upheavals with little interrogation of the content of the sermon texts themselves, it effectively considers the sermon across the conventional period boundaries which have come to characterise ‘medieval’ versus ‘early modern’ history; divisions which hinder a more balanced understanding of the complexities surrounding the imposition of religious reformation and resistance to it.²¹ Another scholar who has bridged this gap is Larissa Taylor, stimulating discussion of intercultural exchange through the lens of preaching in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early*

¹⁹ Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough, ‘Revising the study of the English sermon’, in *The English sermon revised: Religion, literature and history, 1600–1750*, ed. by Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 2–21 (p. 2).

²⁰ Susan Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 32.

²¹ See, for example, Alexandra Walsham, ‘The Reformation and ‘The Disenchantment of the World’ Reassessed’, *Historical Journal*, 51.2 (2008), 497–528 (p. 504). See also Alexandra Walsham and Julia Crick, ‘Introduction: Script, print, and history’, in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, ed. by Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1–26 (pp. 3–5); Ken Jackson and Arthur F. Marotti, ‘The Turn to Religion in Early Modern English Studies’, *Criticism*, 46.1 (2004), 167–90 (p. 174). The dynamic scholarship on medieval sermons is evidenced in its thriving community; the International Medieval Sermon Studies Society, founded in 1988, continues to promote the study of medieval preaching. No equivalent currently exists for early modern preaching, although mention must be made of the Center for Sermon Studies at Marshall University, which was founded in 2014 and which focuses upon preaching in the Abrahamic traditions.

Modern Europe.²² Transcending chronological and geographical divisions, particularly in relation to the sermon within the first age of print, is an area which richly merits further enquiry and will be touched upon again in the second section of this Introduction.²³ Lastly, mention must also be made of the work of Jeanne Shami during the 1990s and 2000s. With her numerous discoveries of manuscript witnesses of sermons by John Donne (1572–1631), including one featuring corrections in his own hand, Shami was instrumental in challenging the textual status of George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson’s ten-volume edition of Donne’s sermons (1953–1962).²⁴ The extent of Shami’s influence can be seen in current work which is being carried out on manuscript sermons, heretofore much neglected in favour of printed texts which were inevitably wider known and more easily accessible.²⁵ The flourishing number of scholarly editions of sermons, which increasingly collate both manuscript and printed sources, is covered in more detail below.

A new wave of sermon studies was heralded by the publication of Arnold Hunt’s *The Art of Hearing* in 2010, the most extensive analysis to date of the experience of those who

²² *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. by Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001); see also Larissa Taylor, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

²³ A conference entitled ‘Circulating the Word of God in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Transformative Preaching in Manuscript and Print (c. 1450 to c. 1550)’, held at the University of Hull on 25–27 March 2017, began to explore such questions within the period of the advent of printing up until the death of Martin Luther. David d’Avray has offered insights on this theme regarding scribal publication. Drawing upon research carried out for his *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), he examined the prolific production and dissemination of medieval manuscript sermons both in England and on the continent in his essay, ‘Printing, mass communication, and religious reformation: the Middle Ages and after’, in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, ed. by Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 50–70.

²⁴ *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. by George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, 10 vols (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1953–1962); *John Donne’s 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon: A Parallel-Text Edition*, ed. by Jeanne Shami (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1996); Jeanne Shami, ‘New Manuscript Texts of Sermons by John Donne’, in *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700, Volume 13: New Texts and Discoveries in Early Modern English Manuscripts*, ed. by Peter Beal (London: The British Library, 2007), pp. 77–119.

²⁵ Studies of early modern manuscript sermons include Torrance Kirby, ‘“Synne and Sedition”: Peter Martyr Vermigli’s “Sermon concernynge the tyme of rebellion” in the Parker Library’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 39.2 (2008), 419–40; Ian M. Green, *Continuity and Change in Protestant Preaching in Early Modern England* (London: Dr Williams’s Trust, 2009), pp. 19–26; Stephen Hampton, ‘The Manuscript Sermons of Archbishop John Williams’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 62.4 (2011), 707–25; Sebastiaan Verweij, ‘Sermon Notes from John Donne in the Manuscripts of Francis Russell, Fourth Earl of Bedford’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 46.2 (2016), 278–313; Mary Morrissey, ‘Sermon-Notes and Seventeenth-Century Manuscript Communities’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 80.2 (2017), 293–307.

attended sermons in late Elizabethan England up to the eve of the English Civil Wars. Surveying a slightly more extended period of history, Mary Morrissey's *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons* focused on the most politically orientated sermons preached at England's most prestigious open-air pulpit, and set out to provide literary analyses of these neglected texts alongside a historical study of the sermon series.²⁶ *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, edited by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan, consolidated existing approaches and foreshadowed fresh trajectories in research.²⁷ While continuing to conflate the textual and contextual methodologies which drove the output of the late 1990s and early 2000s, significant interventions were also made in the volume's provision of several chapters dedicated to the compositional processes of sermons, in addition to an exclusive section for preaching in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. The book also bore witness to invaluable overviews of early modern women's involvement with sermons, as well as neglected subgenres such as Restoration assize sermons and those preached at the court of Charles II.²⁸ *Black Bartholomew's Day* by David J. Appleby represents perhaps the last substantial work within this particular phase of historiography. His monograph was the first in-depth assessment of the significance of the 'farewell' sermons of ejected dissenting ministers and the threat that they posed to the new political order in Restoration England.²⁹

A large number of articles and smaller surveys, meanwhile, focused on preaching styles; parochial preaching, sermon attendance and note-taking; preachers' theological and literary sources and influences; and preaching in relation to the administration of civil, common and

²⁶ Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons*, pp. xi, xiii.

²⁷ See also its companion volume for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Keith A. Francis and William Gibson, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689-1901* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

²⁸ The natural successors to this particular chapter on court sermons are Matthew Jenkinson, 'Preaching at the Court of James II, 1685-1688', *The Court Historian*, 17.1 (2012), 17-33; Jennifer Farooq, 'Preaching for the Queen: Queen Anne and English Sermon Culture, 1702-1714', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37.2 (2014), 159-69.

²⁹ David J. Appleby, *Black Bartholomew's Day: Preaching, Polemic and Restoration Nonconformity* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2007).

ecclesiastical laws, particularly at the Inns of Court.³⁰ The topic of preaching in early modern London has proved immensely popular, partly due no doubt to the unparalleled variety and availability of source material for sermons preached in London.³¹ Torrance Kirby and P. G. Stanwood have edited an ambitious collection of essays building upon Morrissey's work on Paul's Cross. This volume presents papers on a large range of topics, from disputations between preachers and the wider ramifications of the notorious 'Challenge Sermon' by Bishop John Jewel (1522–1571), to the renovation of St Paul's Cathedral and Donne's performative mode.³² It is unsurprising that this voluminous output in sermon scholarship has stimulated

³⁰ For styles, see Mary Morrissey, 'Scripture, Style and Persuasion in Seventeenth-Century English Theories of Preaching', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53.4 (2002), 686–706; Noam Reisner, 'Textual sacraments: capturing the numinous in the sermons of Lancelot Andrewes', *Renaissance Studies*, 21.5 (2007), 662–78. For parochial preaching, see Jacqueline Eales, 'Provincial preaching and allegiance in the first English Civil War, 1640–6', in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, ed. by Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 185–207; Ian Green, 'Preaching in the Parishes', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 137–54. For sermon attendance and note-taking, see John Spurr, *The Laity and Preaching in Post-Reformation England* (London: Dr Williams's Trust, 2013); Hughes, 'Preachers and Hearers in Revolutionary London'; Kevin Killeen, *The Political Bible in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), ch. 3. For John Donne's citations, see David Colclough, 'Silent Witness: The Politics of Allusion in John Donne's Sermon on Isaiah 32:8', *The Review of English Studies*, 63.261 (2012), 572–87. Katrin Ettenhuber has written extensively on the influence of the Church Fathers, particularly St Augustine of Hippo, on early modern English preachers; in addition to her chapter in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, see *Donne's Augustine: Renaissance Cultures of Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). For preachers' libraries and reading, see David Pearson, 'The Libraries of English Bishops, 1600–40', *The Library*, Sixth Series, 14.3 (1992), 221–57; Daniel Starza Smith, 'This strange conglomerate of books', or 'Hobbs' Leviathan': Bishop Henry King's Library at Chichester Cathedral', in *Art, Literature and Religion in Early Modern Sussex: Culture and Conflict*, ed. by Matthew Dimmock, Andrew Hadfield and Paul Quinn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 121–45; David G. Selwyn, *Edmund Geste and His Books: Reconstructing the library of a Cambridge don and Elizabethan bishop* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 2017); Hugh Adlington, *John Donne's Books: Reading, Writing, and the Uses of Knowledge* (forthcoming). Both Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan have investigated preaching and the law; see, for example, their chapters in Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight, eds, *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2011). See also Christopher Haigh and Alison Wall, 'Clergy JPs in England and Wales, 1590–1640', *The Historical Journal*, 47.2 (2004), 233–59; Barbara J. Shapiro, 'Political Theology and the Courts: A Survey of Assize Sermons c1600–1688', *Law and Humanities*, 2.1 (2008), 1–28; Jonathan Willis, *The Reformation of the Decalogue: Religious Identity and the Ten Commandments in England, c. 1485–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 112–21.

³¹ Emma Rhatigan, 'Preaching to Princes: John Burgess and George Hakewill in the Royal Pulpit', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 62.2 (2011), 273–96; Ann Hughes, 'A Moderate Puritan Preacher Negotiates Religious Change', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 65.4 (2014), 761–79; Lori Anne Ferrell, 'Preaching and English Parliaments in the 1620s', *Parliamentary History*, 34.1 (2015), 142–54. However, mention must also be made of Hugh Adlington, Tom Lockwood and Gillian Wright, eds, *Chaplains in early modern England: Patronage, literature and religion* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2013), which explores the careers and lives of clergymen as situated within England's overseas embassies and the more private and intimate spaces of the gentry household.

³² Torrance Kirby and P. G. Stanwood, eds, *Paul's Cross and the Culture of Persuasion in England, 1520–1640* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2014).

interest in many of the principal players concerned. In addition to the formidable scholarship on Donne, examples can be found in Crawford Gribben's biography of the Independent minister John Owen (1616–1683), the first full-length study of Tobie Matthew (1544?–1628), Archbishop of York, by Rosamund Oates, and the forthcoming *Lancelot Andrewes: A Life* by Peter McCullough.³³ Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626), Bishop of Winchester, remains a towering figure in early modern sermon scholarship along with Donne, having first been championed as an exemplary prose stylist by T. S. Eliot in the first half of the twentieth century.³⁴

This summary of early modern English sermon studies has demonstrated that, in the past twenty years, scholars have primarily studied sermons in light of their original circumstances as preached, and it is towards the accompanying scholarly editions, databases and digital platforms, all of which are governed by a similar preoccupation, that this section now turns. Beginning with the scholarly editions, three works are worthy of mention: Peter McCullough's edition of selected sermons by Lancelot Andrewes; the monumental Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne (hereinafter 'OESJD'); and a volume of Paul's Cross sermons, all published by Oxford University Press.³⁵ Both the Andrewes edition and the

³³ Crawford Gribben, *John Owen and English Puritanism: Experiences of Defeat* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Rosamund Oates, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018); Peter McCullough, *Lancelot Andrewes: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming). See also Alan Ford, *James Ussher: Theology, History, and Politics in Early-Modern Ireland and England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Patrick Collinson, *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Sarah L. Bastow, *Edwin Sandys and the Reform of English Religion* (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2020). For Donne, see L. E. Semler, 'Select bibliography', in *The Cambridge Companion to John Donne*, ed. by Achsah Guibbory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 259–77. It is also important to record here the invaluable resource that is the Clergy of the Church of England database, <<http://theclergydatabase.org.uk>>.

³⁴ T. S. Eliot, *For Lancelot Andrewes: Essays on Style and Order* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1928). Selected articles on Andrewes published within the past fifteen years include Sophie Read, 'Lancelot Andrewes's Sacramental Wordplay', *The Cambridge Quarterly*, 36.1 (2007), 11–31; Peter E. McCullough, 'Lancelot Andrewes's Transforming Passions', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.4 (2008), 573–89; Joseph Ashmore, 'Faith in Lancelot Andrewes's preaching', *The Seventeenth Century*, 32.2 (2017), 121–38; Jonathan McGovern, 'The political sermons of Lancelot Andrewes', *The Seventeenth Century*, 34.1 (2019), 3–25.

³⁵ *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons and Lectures*, ed. by Peter McCullough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne*, ed. by Peter McCullough and others, c. 16 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013–present); Kirby and others, eds, *Sermons at Paul's Cross. One curiosity is Two Early Modern Marriage Sermons: Henry Smith's A Preparative to Marriage (1591) and William Whately's A Bride-Bush (1623)*, ed. by Robert Matz (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2016).

OESJD project collate the earliest forms of the texts, utilising manuscript witnesses as opposed to exclusively relying upon contemporary printed texts as the principal basis for the editions. The OESJD in particular purports to undertake a complete reassessment of the sermons of John Donne by providing new and fully annotated critical editions. Its main claim for innovation lies in its interrogation of how close modern readers can get to a sermon as it was originally preached; all of the sermons have been arranged in terms of place of preaching as opposed to chronology, in order to set them in their proper context. *Sermons at Paul's Cross, 1521-1642*, the companion volume to Kirby and Stanwood's edited collection discussed above, serves to promote the study of early modern London's most important outdoor pulpit as a primary vehicle of popular persuasion that was employed by the state until its demolition at the beginning of the English Civil Wars. Eighteen of the most influential of these sermons have been selected for inclusion and sorted according to the reign in which they were preached, each prefaced by comprehensive introductions delineating their utilisation as propagandistic or pastoral tools within their respective periods. All of the scholarly editions explored here have effectually superseded older anthologies of extracts of sermons.³⁶

The dominating historiographical trend which considers the spaces inhabited by preachers and their audiences in addition to occasion also underpins numerous digital platforms and projects. In this digital age, more refined technological advances have made considerable contributions in this area. Morrissey's lament regarding the lack of a bibliography of sermons in the early modern period is currently being answered.³⁷ Susan Wabuda and Thomas Winn Dabbs have begun to formulate an online open source register for early modern English sermons: a searchable catalogue of 'English sermons, sermon events, and

³⁶ See, for example, *Donne's Sermons: Selected Passages with an Essay*, ed. by Logan Pearsall Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1919); *The Golden Grove: Selected Passages from the Sermons and Writings of Jeremy Taylor*, ed. by Logan Pearsall Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930); *In God's Name: Examples of preaching in England from the Act of Supremacy to the Act of Uniformity, 1534-1662*, ed. by John Chandos (London: Hutchinson, 1971). For criticisms and examples of 'source-mining', see Morrissey, 'Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons', p. 1114.

³⁷ Morrissey, 'Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons', p. 1113.

related sermon information from a variety of contemporaneous records and sources during the period 1500 to 1700'.³⁸ Similarly, it is the intention of the 'GEMMS – Gateway to Early Modern Manuscript Sermons' project, led by Jeanne Shami and Anne James, to provide a group-sourced online bibliographic database of early modern manuscript sermons, c. 1530 – c. 1715, in order to render manuscript sermons more accessible to researchers and to encourage online discussion and collaboration between sermon scholars worldwide. In the same vein as the OESJD, it is argued that manuscript sermons allow researchers to get closer to the moments of preaching. According to Shami and James, manuscript sermons also provide a clearer insight into routine preaching during the early modern period. Search functions of the database include 'sermon genre', 'preaching occasion' and 'preaching location'.³⁹

Finally, an interactive experience of Donne's preaching has been reconstructed as part of the 'Virtual St. Paul's Cathedral Project', headed by John N. Wall.⁴⁰ Taking as its initial case study Donne's 1622 Gunpowder Plot sermon, the project's integration of text, time and performance conditions provides viewers with a visual and aural means to understand the force of Donne's words outside St Paul's Cathedral, a venture which has attracted interest from outside the academy.⁴¹ By incorporating the sounds of prayers and bells, it provides a technologically innovative response to the observation by Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie that scholars have usually treated sermons 'as [...] stand-alone event[s], rather than as part of a wider liturgy'.⁴² The field of corpus linguistics has also had some minor impact regarding the study of

³⁸ Thomas Winn Dabbs, 'The Extended Language of Religious Reform: Marking Up a Register for Early Modern Sermons', paper presented at 'Digital Humanities 2017', Montréal, Canada, 8–11 August 2017. See <<https://dh2017.adho.org/abstracts/294/294.pdf>> [accessed 20 April 2020]. For a digital collection of American sermons printed between 1652 and 1819, see 'American Sermons, 1652–1819', <<https://www.readex.com/content/american-sermons-series-1-2-1652-1819>> [accessed 22 May 2020]. I owe this reference to Robert Ellison.

³⁹ 'GEMMS – Gateway to Early Modern Manuscript Sermons', <<https://gemms.itercommunity.org>>; Anne James and Jeanne Shami, 'GEMMS (Gateway to Early Modern Manuscript Sermons 1530–1715): Confronting the Challenges of Sermons Research', *Digital Studies/Le champ numérique*, 9.1 (2019), 1–24.

⁴⁰ 'Virtual St. Paul's Cathedral Project', <<https://vpcp.chass.ncsu.edu>> [accessed 22 April 2020].

⁴¹ Liz Bury, 'Relive John Donne's 17th-century sermons in virtual reality project', *Guardian*, 11 November 2013, <<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/nov/11/john-donne-virtual-reality-sermon>> [accessed 24 April 2020].

⁴² Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie, 'Introduction: Worship and the Parish Church', in *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate,

the mechanics behind the rhetorical language employed by preachers, raising interesting questions regarding noticeable patterns which occur and how such tendencies can be linked to their compositional processes, doctrinal persuasions and rhetorical art.⁴³

The final part of this section is concerned with the broader impact of sermon studies upon other areas of early modern research. The year 2017 witnessed numerous tributes to the quincentenary of the Lutheran Reformation, including a flurry of publications, lectures and colloquia dedicated to reassessments of the nature, impact and entrenchment of the English Reformation.⁴⁴ Two new books in the *Oxford Handbook* series were published, centring on ‘the turn to religion’ in the study of early modern English literature and the Protestant Reformations more broadly. The preaching of sermons has featured heavily within all these re-evaluations.⁴⁵ Lastly, two of the most prominent early modern subfields which have prospered within the past ten years include the histories of emotions and medicine, and both have considered the sermon’s value as contributor to such histories.⁴⁶ In addition to forthcoming work by Arnold Hunt and Rosamund Oates on Protestant gesture and preaching and the senses, respectively, Jennifer Clement has written a number of articles on early modern English

2013), pp. 1–10 (p. 7). See also Peter McCullough’s essay in this volume. For sermons and bell-ringing, see Margaret Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 478–88.

⁴³ Claudia Claridge and Andrew Wilson, ‘Style evolution in the English sermon’, in *Sounds, Words, Texts and Change: Selected Papers from 11 ICEHL, Santiago de Compostela, 7–11 September 2000*, ed. by Teresa Fanego, Belén Méndez-Naya and Elena Seoane (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, 2002), pp. 25–44; Mark Garner, ‘Preaching as a Communicative Event: A Discourse Analysis of Sermons by Robert Rollock (1555–1599)’, *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 9.1 (2007), 45–70.

⁴⁴ The fruits of these celebrations include the digital exhibition entitled ‘Remembering the Reformation’, curated by Alexandra Walsham and Brian Cummings, <<https://exhibitions.lib.cam.ac.uk/reformation/>> [accessed 24 April 2020] and a special issue of *Art History* entitled ‘Art and Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe’, edited by Bridget Heal and Joseph Leo Koerner (*Art History*, 40.2 (2017), 240–455). See also Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2017).

⁴⁵ *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, ed. by Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); *The Oxford Handbook of the Protestant Reformations*, ed. by Ulinka Rublack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). See also *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I: Reformation and Identity, c. 1520–1662*, ed. by Anthony Milton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). For ‘the turn to religion’, see Jackson and Marotti, ‘The Turn to Religion in Early Modern English Studies’.

⁴⁶ For general work on religion and the senses, see Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011).

sermons and the emotions.⁴⁷ In her introduction to a special issue of *English Studies* dedicated to the English sermon, Clement provides an appraisal of the ‘rhetorical turn’ in early modern sermon studies, linking rhetoric to the burgeoning history of emotions and simultaneously reading early modern sermons as precursors to modern literary criticism.⁴⁸ The ways in which preaching and rhetoric informed the writing of some of the most renowned early modern authors have certainly proved a fruitful line of enquiry.⁴⁹ In relation to the intersections between science and preaching, Daniel Derrin and Mary Ann Lund have explored sermons in relation to humour (and theories of the humours) and Donne’s convalescence, respectively.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the manner in which preachers’ extracurricular interests in natural philosophy and medicine informed their ministries has been addressed in selected studies.⁵¹ It is to be hoped that future scholars of early modern sermons will be inspired to continue analysing them within the context of a period of history which was also making exciting breakthroughs in the realm of science, investigating preachers’ potential interaction with, and response to, such discoveries.⁵²

⁴⁷ See, for example, Jennifer Clement, ‘Dearly Beloved: Love, Rhetoric and the Seventeenth-Century English Sermon’, *English Studies*, 97.7 (2016), 725–45; Jennifer Clement, ‘Bowels, emotion, and metaphor in early modern English sermons’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 35.4 (2020), 435–51. Also of note is *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Alec Ryrie and Tom Schwanda (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

⁴⁸ Clement, ‘Introduction’, pp. 1–3.

⁴⁹ Jameela Lares, *Milton and the Preaching Arts* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2001).

⁵⁰ Daniel Derrin, ‘Engaging the Passions in John Donne’s *Sermons*’, *English Studies*, 93.4 (2012), 452–68; Daniel Derrin, ‘Self-Referring Deformities: Humour in Early Modern Sermon Literature’, *Literature & Theology*, 32.3 (2018), 255–69; Mary Ann Lund, ‘Donne’s convalescence’, *Renaissance Studies*, 31.4 (2017), 532–48. See also Alison Bumke, ‘More Than Skin Deep: Dissecting Donne’s Imagery of Humours’, *The Review of English Studies*, 66.276 (2015), 655–75.

⁵¹ Patricia Ann Watson, *The Angelical Conjunction: The Preacher-Physicians of Colonial New England* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991); Mordechai Feingold, ‘Parallel Lives: The Mathematical Careers of John Pell and John Wallis’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69.3 (2006), 451–68; Rhodri Lewis, ‘Of “Origenian Platonisme”: Joseph Glanvill on the Pre-existence of Souls’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69.2 (2006), 267–300.

⁵² Irène Simon, ‘The preacher’, in *Before Newton: The life and times of Isaac Barrow*, ed. by Mordechai Feingold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 303–32. Jennifer Rae McDermott has analysed the Protestant sermon against the backdrop of contemporary medical understandings of the ear as advanced by physicians such as Bartolomeo Eustachi (c. 1514–1574). Jennifer Rae McDermott, ‘“The Melodie of Heaven”: Sermonizing the Open Ear in Early Modern England’, in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), pp. 177–97.

‘Gaudy Pictures on the First Leafe’: Printed Images in the Early Modern Sermon

What else is missing from the current critical discourse surrounding the early modern English sermon? Scholars have thus far acknowledged that more work could be done in the following areas: Catholic preaching and the Counter-Reformation; the sermons of certain Restoration divines; and preachers’ programmes of training.⁵³ Various observations, as yet little heeded, have been made on the tendency of researchers to focus principally upon John Donne and Lancelot Andrewes at the expense of many other preachers representative of English Reformed theology.⁵⁴ Indeed, further archival research might reveal more about lay writers’ approaches to the sermon genre, which would provide much-needed insights into how the form could be interpreted, and not merely received, by laypeople.⁵⁵ Perhaps most strikingly, no full-length study exists either for preaching during the reign of Charles I, or preaching during the Civil Wars and Interregnum.⁵⁶ More specifically still, very little work has been undertaken

⁵³ Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan, ‘Preface’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. xiv–xvi (p. xv); Sweetnam, ‘The Caroline Sermon’, pp. 230–31. For Catholic preaching in early modern England, see William Wizeman, SJ, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor’s Church* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006). For preachers’ training, see Amy Nelson Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation: Ministers and Their Message in Basel, 1529–1629* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁵⁴ Ferrell and McCullough, ‘Revising the study of the English sermon’, p. 8; Stanwood, ‘Critical Directions in the Study of Early Modern Sermons’, p. 146.

⁵⁵ Hannah Yip, ‘Silent Preaching: Laypeople’s Manuscript Sermons, c. 1530 – c. 1700’ (2019), <<http://gemmsproject.blogspot.com/2019/03/>> [accessed 17 June 2020].

⁵⁶ ‘To date, the reign of Charles I has remained rather neglected, sandwiched between the more extensively examined Jacobean and Civil War contexts.’ See Sweetnam, ‘The Caroline Sermon’, p. 230. Mary Morrissey has also stated that ‘[t]he role of Paul’s Cross in the politics of the English Civil Wars and Interregnum has not been told at all, because the continuation of the sermon series after 1642 has not been recognized’, in Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul’s Cross Sermons*, p. xii. This neglect is also reflected in Kirby and others, eds, *Sermons at*

on the fast sermons at Oxford which were commissioned by Charles I in response to the fast sermons held at the Houses of Parliament, the latter of which have constituted a fertile area of enquiry ever since Hugh Trevor-Roper's initial survey of the 'tuning' of the parliamentary pulpits.⁵⁷ There is also an urgent need to consider a wider European dimension, including translations of sermons in manuscript and print and their reception in England and on the Continent.⁵⁸

The final section of this Introduction, however, is not concerned with identifying every possible opportunity for enhancing scholarly knowledge and understanding of early modern sermon culture. Rather, it assesses new methodologies which could now be usefully applied to its study. As discussed earlier, the sensory and emotional perception of early modern sermons in performance is proving to be a productive and fertile area of research. Yet, it is also important to note that the afterlives of sermons – the sermon-books which have been preserved as 'fossils' of the original events – are not infrequently imbued with the corporeal presence of the contemporaries who once owned them.⁵⁹ As a genre of text which reached a wide-ranging

Paul's Cross, which includes just one Caroline sermon. However, see Nicholas W. S. Cranfield, "Must the fire either goe out, or become all wildfire?" A collection of Oxford sermons 1634–1638', *The Bodleian Library Record*, 13.2 (1989), 122–32; Killeen, *The Political Bible*, ch. 3.

⁵⁷ Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Fast Sermons of the Long Parliament', in Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change* (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 294–344; Achsah Guibbory, 'Israel and English Protestant Nationalism: 'Fast Sermons' during the English Revolution', in *Early Modern Nationalism and Milton's England*, ed. by David Loewenstein and Paul Stevens (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp. 115–38; Hughes, 'Preachers and Hearers in Revolutionary London'.

⁵⁸ For European preaching in addition to Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, see Peter Bayley, *French Pulpit Oratory 1598–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Megan C. Armstrong, *The Politics of Piety: Franciscan Preachers During the Wars of Religion, 1560–1600* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004); Emily Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2013); Nicholas Must, *Preaching a Dual Identity: Huguenot Sermons and the Shaping of Confessional Identity, 1629–1685* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2017). The literature on preaching in early modern Germany is vast. See, for example, Beth Kreitzer, *Reforming Mary: Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); John M. Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2010).

⁵⁹ Joad Raymond, 'Irrational, impractical and unprofitable: reading the news in seventeenth-century Britain', in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 185–212 (p. 196); Keith A. Francis and William Gibson, 'Preface', in *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689–1901*, ed. by Keith A. Francis and William Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. xiii–xv (p. xiii); Adam Smyth, 'Book Marks: Object Traces in Early Modern Books', in *Early Modern English Marginalia*, ed. by Katherine Acheson (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2019), pp. 51–69.

readership – from students of the Church to laypersons such as wood turner Nehemiah Wallington (1598–1658) – the ubiquitous printed sermon must now be explored in more detail from this point of view.⁶⁰

Indeed, much has since happened in the realm of book history and theories of the material text for the printed sermon to merit a full reappraisal in light of ongoing work in these fields.⁶¹ There exist more strands now within the history of the early modern book than ever before.⁶² As stated by Femke Molekamp, ‘[t]he expanding field of the history of reading has stimulated an interest in tracing not just what was read in early modern England but in *how* it was read’.⁶³ Whereas earlier work focused upon manuscript marginalia and printed paratexts more broadly, scholars are now scrutinising printers’ decorative repertoire, typographical mistakes, the contemporary use of books in unconventional and unexpected ways, and the destruction and reconstruction of printed material.⁶⁴ In the wake of exhaustive scholarship on

⁶⁰ Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington’s World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 37; Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 168. Nehemiah Wallington’s notes can be found in Stephen Denison, *The Monymment or Tombe-Stone, &c.* (1620). British Library, 1418.i.19. See Figure 1.2.

⁶¹ Mary Ann Lund begins to explore prefatory matter as aids towards the devotional and politicised reading of sermons printed in the 1570s through to the 1620s in her article, ‘Early Modern Sermon Paratexts and the Religious Politics of Reading’, in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580–1730*, ed. by James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 143–62.

⁶² Investigation of the intersection between literary and material forms in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English literature continues to be spearheaded by scholars such as Adam Smyth, William H. Sherman and Helen Smith, whose works include *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008) and *‘Grossly Material Things’: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), respectively. See also two special journal issues relating to the material history of early modern reading: Jennifer Richards and Fred Schurink, eds, ‘The Textuality and Materiality of Reading in Early Modern England’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.3 (2010); Juliet Fleming, William Sherman and Adam Smyth, eds, ‘The Renaissance Collage: Toward a New History of Reading’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 45.3 (2015).

⁶³ Femke Molekamp, ‘Popular Reading and Writing’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 59–73 (p. 62).

⁶⁴ The pioneering works in the studies of marginalia and paratexts are Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, ‘“Studied for Action”: How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy’, *Past & Present*, 129 (1990), 30–78; Gérard Genette, ‘Introduction to the Paratext’, trans. by Marie Maclean, *New Literary History*, 22.2 (1991), 261–72. See also *Early Modern English Marginalia*, ed. by Katherine Acheson (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2019). For printers’ decorations, see Juliet Fleming’s output on printers’ flowers: Juliet Fleming, ‘How to look at a printed flower’, *Word and Image*, 22.2 (2006), 165–87; Juliet Fleming, ‘Changed opinion as to flowers’, in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 48–64. For typographical errors, see, for example, Seth Lerer, ‘Errata: print, politics and poetry in early modern England’, in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 41–71; Anthony Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* (London: The British Library, 2011). For the physical make-up of early modern books, their

the spaces in which churchmen delivered their sermons, there is now scope to consider the spaces in which people read sermons, following the pathbreaking work of historians such as Andrew Cambers.⁶⁵ As texts which purported to represent the dissection and administration of God's Word, how were sermons affected by printers' blunders and the whims of subsequent owners? What can readers' marks, in addition to the variety of formats employed by sermon-books, tell us about the locations in which sermons were read?⁶⁶ While much of the work carried out on early modern marginalia has focused on 'extraordinary' readers, gendered reading and types of marginalia, it is now possible to derive fresh insights from the doodles, godly thoughts, and corrections and disputations within the formidable body of sermons housed in numerous libraries around the world.⁶⁷ Such research would not only show how sermon-books could be sites of contestation almost as much as the most prestigious pulpits in London, but also how these texts could be read aloud and re-appropriated for different occasions, thereby perpetuating the spread of the Reformation.⁶⁸

Integrating book history and bibliographical methodologies with wider historical issues

uses and their deconstruction and reconstruction, see Adam Smyth and Gill Partington, eds, *Book Destruction from the Medieval to the Contemporary* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Michael Gaudio, *The Bible and the Printed Image in Early Modern England: Little Gidding and the pursuit of scriptural harmony* (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2017).

⁶⁵ Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Femke Molekamp, 'Seventeenth-Century Funeral Sermons and Exemplary Female Devotion: Gendered Spaces and Histories', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 35.1 (2012), 43-63.

⁶⁶ For preliminary work on the format of printed sermons, see David L. Gants, 'A Quantitative Analysis of the London Book Trade 1614-1618', *Studies in Bibliography*, 55 (2002), 185-213 (p. 190); Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 169; Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross sermons*, pp. 42-43.

⁶⁷ For the phrase 'extraordinary readers', see Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England*, p. 7. Evidently, such readers remain popular subjects for scrutiny. For female readers, see Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England*, ch. 5; Helen Smith, *Grossly Material Things*, ch. 5. For types of marginalia, see William H. Sherman, 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Books?', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. by Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 119-37.

⁶⁸ John Morrill's article on the annotations of the iconoclast William Dowsing (bap. 1596, d. 1668) represents an important case study on marginalia in early modern sermons; see John Morrill, 'William Dowsing and the administration of iconoclasm in the Puritan revolution', in *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War*, ed. by Trevor Cooper (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 1-28 (pp. 5-10). On the topic of reading aloud, see Steven K. Galbraith, 'Latimer Revised and Reprised: Editing *Frutefull Sermons* for Pulpit Delivery', *Reformation*, 11.1 (2006), 29-46; Jennifer Richards, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 144-53.

paves the way for study of the printed sermon within the context of the upheavals of the English Reformation and the first century of print. Considerations of space preclude a fuller discussion of the untapped potential for exploring the early inter-Continental circulation of printed sermons.⁶⁹ The comparison between Catholic printed sermons in the late fifteenth century and the earliest Protestant prototypes after the Reformation represents one opening for such investigations. Alexandra Walsham has laid the groundwork in this respect by examining a fourteenth-century Paul's Cross sermon, first published during the Henrician Reformation, and its reception and use as a form of historical endorsement for the new Protestant religion in the mid-Tudor period.⁷⁰ The triumphalist view of a 'speedy' Reformation has been essentially supplanted by more nuanced readings by revisionist and post-revisionist historians who have exposed wide-ranging evidence of resistance to it.⁷¹ Furthermore, scholars have found that, rather than what Anthony Milton has termed an 'allergic reaction' to all things popish, Protestants could adapt elements and attributes of Catholicism for their own purposes and vice versa; it is now rightly considered a crude distinction to regard both forms of religion as polar opposites in early modern England.⁷² Print, and the symbiosis of print and Protestantism, versus '[t]he lingering assumption that Catholicism was hostile to the new technology for reproducing text', is one such example of paradigmatic divergence, and has since been given more refined treatment by scholars.⁷³

⁶⁹ See n. 23.

⁷⁰ Alexandra Walsham, 'Inventing the Lollard Past: The Afterlife of a Medieval Sermon in Early Modern England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 58.4 (2007), 628–55.

⁷¹ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1992); Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1993); Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Lucy E. C. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

⁷² Anthony Milton, 'A Qualified Intolerance: the Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism', in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 85–115 (pp. 85–86). See also Alexandra Walsham, 'Recycling the Sacred: Material Culture and Cultural Memory after the English Reformation', *Church History*, 86.4 (2017), 1121–54.

⁷³ Quotation from Alexandra Walsham, 'In the Lord's Vineyard: Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain', in Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 1–49 (p. 36). See J. W. Martin, 'The Marian Regime's Failure to Understand the Importance of Printing',

The image is another aspect of religious culture which has been previously demarcated along clear confessional lines. Scholarship has afforded much critical attention to the place and interpretation of the Second Commandment in post-Reformation England in attempts to contest Patrick Collinson's controversial 'iconophobia' thesis.⁷⁴ The work of Margaret Aston, Tessa Watt, Anthony Wells-Cole, Alexandra Walsham and David J. Davis, amongst others, has challenged the entrenched notion that Protestant England was impoverished visually, bringing to light the existence and use of images in a wide range of Protestant environments.⁷⁵ These scholars have foregrounded the interconnections between oral, visual and written culture in worship.⁷⁶ They have argued that the notion of a 'simple transition from visual media to word-based understanding' is no longer feasible.⁷⁷ For example, Tara Hamling has established that religious decoration was a key feature of the homes of lesser Protestant gentry, merchants and yeomen, as it could aid patriarchs in reinforcing spiritual ideals within their families.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, as the reception of an exhibition on iconoclasm in Britain has revealed, the established paradigms which have come to characterise the modern understanding of visual

Huntington Library Quarterly, 44.4 (1981), 231–47; Alexandra Walsham, 'Domme Preachers'? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print', *Past & Present*, 168 (2000), 72–123; Andrew Pettegree, 'Catholic Pamphleteering', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. by Alexandra Banji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 109–26 (p. 109); William Wizeman, SJ, 'The Marian Counter-Reformation in Print', in *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England*, ed. by Elizabeth Evenden and Vivienne Westbrook (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 143–64 (p. 144).

⁷⁴ See n. 16. See also Patrick Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: The Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation* (Reading: University of Reading, 1986), pp. 8, 22–29. In addition to significant contributions to the field by scholars such as Tessa Watt, Anthony Wells-Cole and Tara Hamling outlined in n. 75, see, most recently, *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017); Willis, *The Reformation of the Decalogue*, pp. 36–48, 300–01.

⁷⁵ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558–1625* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1997); Tara Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010); Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), part III; David J. Davis, *Seeing Faith, Printing Pictures: Religious Identity during the English Reformation* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2013); Walsham, 'Idols in the Frontispiece?'; Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation*.

⁷⁶ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 7; Walsham, 'Idols in the Frontispiece?', p. 39.

⁷⁷ Lucy Wooding, 'Reading the Crucifixion in Tudor England', in *Discovering the Riches of the Word: Religious Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Sabrina Corbellini, Margriet Hoogvliet and Bart Ramakers (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2015), pp. 282–310 (p. 283).

⁷⁸ Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, pp. 117–18.

culture in Protestant England are still in need of rectification.⁷⁹ Within the academy, Collinson's thesis seems to have proved surprisingly resilient despite the *a fortiori* arguments outlined above, with certain scholars underscoring the absence of illustration in printed religious works of the 1590s and concluding that the written word alone was sufficient in this period to communicate the visual.⁸⁰

Despite considerable research into Protestantism and book illustration, printed images in that most prominent of Protestant literatures – the sermon – have escaped critical and systematic interrogation.⁸¹ The illustrated sermon is not explored at all, for example, in Luborsky and Ingram's *Guide to English Illustrated Books*.⁸² Nor is it even acknowledged in extensive readings of illustrated bibles, John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and decorative bookbindings.⁸³ Keith Thomas held that even Protestant iconoclasts, 'hostile to religious images

⁷⁹ The exhibition 'Art Under Attack: Histories of British Iconoclasm' (Tate Britain, 2 October 2013–5 January 2014) prompted reviewers to highlight 'how much great art was lost when the Protestant Word erased the Catholic image', denigrating the exhibition as 'a sickening reminder of how much of this country's visual culture was lost during the Reformation'. See, respectively, Jonathan Jones, 'Art Under Attack at Tate: the exhibition that risks desecrating itself', *Guardian*, 30 September 2013, <<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2013/sep/30/art-under-attack-tate-britain-review>> [accessed 22 April 2020]; and Richard Dorment, 'Art Under Attack, Tate Britain, review', *Telegraph*, 30 September 2013, <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/art/art-reviews/10344483/Art-Under-Attack-Tate-Britain-review.html>> [accessed 22 April 2020].

⁸⁰ See, for example, William A. Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture: The Protestant Imagination from Calvin to Edwards* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 96 n. 19; Claire Bartram, 'Some Tomb for a Remembrance': Representations of Piety in Post-Reformation Gentry Funeral Monuments', in *Pieties in Transition: Religious Practices and Experiences, c. 1400–1640*, ed. by Robert Lutton and Elisabeth Salter (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 129–43 (p. 131).

⁸¹ Huston Diehl, 'Graven Images: Protestant Emblem Books in England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 39.1 (1986), 49–66; Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, ch. 4; Hunter, ed., *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain*; Davis, *Seeing Faith, Printing Pictures*; Walsham, 'Idols in the Frontispiece?'. A conference held at Université Paul-Valéry, Montpellier III in 2012 sought to investigate 'preaching death', but none of the speakers offered a paper on the suggested 'iconography of frontispieces or the engravings to be found in printed sermons or collections'; see <<https://preachingdeath.wordpress.com/presentation/>> [accessed 22 April 2020].

⁸² Ruth S. Luborsky and Elizabeth M. Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books 1536–1603*, 2 vols (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998).

⁸³ George Henderson, 'Bible Illustration in the Age of Laud', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8.2 (1982), 173–216; Margaret Aston, 'The Bishops' Bible Illustrations', *Studies in Church History*, 28 (1992), 267–85; Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, pp. 68–71; John N. King, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Margaret Aston, 'Moving Pictures: Foxe's Martyrs and Little Gidding', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies After Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst and Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 82–104; Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Gaudio, *The Bible and the Printed Image in Early Modern England*; Lucy Wooding, 'So sholde lewde men lerne by ymages': Religious Imagery and Bible Learning', in *The English Bible in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2018), pp. 29–52. Scholars have also examined printed images and decorated initials in catechisms, prayer books and primers; see

as such, liked to meditate on the meaning of allegorical pictures' and that the seventeenth century was 'the great age of the emblem book'.⁸⁴ The cheaper printed wares imbued with religious woodcut illustrations have been admirably researched by historians such as Bob Scribner and Tessa Watt, both of whom threw light upon the heightened impact of the visual, contributing to the wide appeal of these texts as popular literature.⁸⁵ Given that it is understood that sermons were bestselling texts in post-Reformation England, and given that title pages were often designed to catch the eye of the casual browser at the book-stall, this thesis builds upon the pioneering work of historians such as Watt, who argued that, 'in a partially literate society, the most influential media were those which combined print with non-literate forms'.⁸⁶ D. F. McKenzie contended that early modern printed sermons frequently contained apologies for the preacher's absence, an observation which prompts further enquiries.⁸⁷ What printing strategies and visual devices were used to make up for this loss? And how were readers intended to experience and assimilate the visual messages to which they were exposed?

Seeking therefore to transform scholarship on the early modern sermon and to buttress a much richer understanding of the place and function of images in post-Reformation England, this thesis explores how images in the printed sermon constituted an integral part of how this genre was to be experienced in early modern England. This study investigates the manner in

Lee Palmer Wandel, 'Catechisms: Teaching the Eye to Read the World', in *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. by Feike Dietz and others (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 53–76; Jayne Wackett, 'Examining the Unexpected: Printed Images in the Prayer Books of Edward VI and the Primers of Mary Tudor', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 105.1 (2014), 257–83.

⁸⁴ Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*, ed. by Gerd Baumann (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 97–131 (p. 114). See also Diehl, 'Graven Images'.

⁸⁵ R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, ch. 4.

⁸⁶ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 7; Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p. 60; Green, 'Orality, script and print', p. 245; Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, pp. 125–26; Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons*, p. 42; Bernard Capp, 'The Book Trade and the Distribution of Print in the 1650s', in *The Book Trade in Early Modern England: Practices, Perceptions, Connections*, ed. by John Hinks and Victoria Gardner (New Castle, DE and London: Oak Knoll Press and The British Library, 2014), pp. 209–28 (p. 209).

⁸⁷ D. F. McKenzie, 'Speech—Manuscript—Print', in D. F. McKenzie, *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and Other Essays*, ed. by Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez, S.J. (Amherst and Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp. 237–58 (p. 241).

which image and word worked in tandem to provide doctrinal instruction, suggesting that the visual elements were a contributing factor to the enduring and widespread appeal of the printed sermon. Consequently, it offers a vital reinterpretation of an important category of the early modern book, and is the first full-length study of the printed sermon in early modern England which focuses upon its appearance, design, consumption and reception as a major form of ‘mass media’.⁸⁸ This thesis also seeks to nuance several aspects of the scholarship outlined above by positing that material images in religious contexts did not simply give way to ‘the mental images described in books and sermons’, but that both types of imagery operated interdependently to transmit Protestant doctrine.⁸⁹

In terms of chronological boundaries, this thesis focuses on sermons published from the era of the Elizabethan Settlement up until the Restoration of 1660. On occasion, it will be necessary to investigate material which lies slightly outside these parameters for the purposes of contextualisation, considering the permeation of printed images in the sermon beyond the confines of this period. This chronology takes into account the development of the art of line engraving in England in the mid-sixteenth century, in addition to contesting common scholarly claims that ‘religious texts were rarely richly engraved after the 1560s’.⁹⁰ It is also relevant to focus on this period owing to the rise of interest in, and subsequent steady selling of, the printed sermon in England. Ian Green has estimated that 3,000 sermons were published in England in the years 1558–1640. The beginnings of the prominence of the printed sermon within the book trade are more specifically dated by Lori Anne Ferrell to 1583, and by Arnold Hunt to 1590.⁹¹ The year 1580 is also a focal point in time for Patrick Collinson, who

⁸⁸ Jeanne Shami, ‘The Cultural Significance of Donne’s Sermons’, *Literature Compass*, 4.2 (2007), 433–42.

⁸⁹ Wooding, ‘Reading the Crucifixion in Tudor England’, p. 306.

⁹⁰ Quotation from Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003), p. 257 n. 1. For the development of line engraving in England, see Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550–1660* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979); Sarah Howe, ‘The Authority of Presence: The Development of the English Author Portrait, 1500–1640’, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 102.4 (2008), 465–99; Hamling, *Decorating the ‘Godly’ Household*, p. 62.

⁹¹ Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, p. 194; Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 12; Lori Anne Ferrell, ‘Sermons’, in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by

highlighted it as a watershed in Protestant culture. According to Collinson, book illustration from this period regressed, not to resume properly until 1630, although such a model has since, of course, been widely discredited.⁹² The terminal date of 1660 has been chosen to reflect the nature of the image debate, which was gradually receding in the wake of the renewed iconoclastic attacks of the Civil War years, and also the waning significance of the printed sermon itself, which was having to compete increasingly with other outlets for information, such as the newsbook. Nigel Smith has claimed that, while preaching and reading sermons continued to constitute a salient feature of religious culture after 1660, ‘the public and political influence of the sermon on all kinds of people’ was far less prominent.⁹³

What did these printed sermons look like, and how did they carry out their role as agents of didactic and cultural transmission in their own right? How did paratexts govern the reading and interpretation of them? Jason Peacey has already argued for the need to consider pamphlets as both texts and events, in addition to artefacts in their own right, which had been created in specific political environments.⁹⁴ Few scholars have followed Rosemary Dixon’s suggestion to ‘investigate the ways that print gave sermons new relevance outside the contexts in which they had been preached, extending their pastoral utility’. She has maintained that the sermon’s core structure ‘around the ‘explication’ and ‘application’ of a biblical quotation’ ensures that ‘it remains identifiable through the various physical forms in which it survives’.⁹⁵ The next step is to consider what kinds of pictures were to be found in the early modern

Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 193–201 (p. 199). See also Peter W. M. Blayney, ‘The Alleged Popularity of Playbooks’, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 56.1 (2005), 33–50.

⁹² Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1988), p. 117; Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams, ‘Introduction’, in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 1–13 (pp. 3–4).

⁹³ Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640–1660* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 360. See also James Rigney, ‘Sermons into Print’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 198–212 (p. 208).

⁹⁴ Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), p. 20.

⁹⁵ Dixon, ‘Sermons in Print’, pp. 461, 477. See also Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul’s Cross Sermons*, p. 58.

sermon, and how they contributed to its identity. As plates were fairly valuable objects owing to the cost of copper, the decision to include them within sermon publications cannot have been taken lightly.⁹⁶ The resulting images could serve as symbols or concepts, reflecting ‘a specifically early modern way of thinking’.⁹⁷ What Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown have termed a particular ‘interplay of symbol and reality’ exhibited by such images could accommodate the strictures of the Second Commandment.⁹⁸ It is notable that some of these printed images themselves have not escaped attention entirely, although they have often been lifted out of their original contexts, seldom discussed in relation to the sermons in which they are embedded. Hence, an emblematic representation of the Restoration, laden with biblical allusions and which appeared as the frontispiece to a sermon celebrating the Restoration by Anthony Sadler (1610/11–c. 1683), Vicar of Mitcham, Surrey, has been widely interpreted in scholarship as an isolated picture of Restoration triumph (see Figure 1.1).⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603–1689* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), p. 15; Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, p. 40.

⁹⁷ Hamling, ‘Visual Culture’, p. 95.

⁹⁸ Corbett and Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece*, p. 42.

⁹⁹ Eirwen E. C. Nicholson, ‘The Oak v. the Orange Tree: Emblemizing Dynastic Union and Conflict, 1600–1796’, in *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem*, ed. by Bart Westerweel (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 227–52 (pp. 236–37); Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, p. 104.



Figure 1.1. Anthony Sadler, *Mercy in a Miracle Shewing, The Deliverance, and the Duty, of The King, and the People*. LONDON, Printed by T. C. for L. Sadler, 1660. Frontispiece. Henry E. Huntington Library, 647186. 4°.

Accordingly, Chapter One scrutinises the most common types of images to be found within printed sermons, from portraits to biblical scenes, discussing how these images operated within a ‘sphere of permissibility’.¹⁰⁰ Frontispiece portraits of divines are perhaps the most recognised visual aspect of printed sermons in current scholarship. But did they simply serve as statements of reputation and prestige, or were there other agendas? By ‘rethinking’ the frontispiece portrait, this chapter opens by evaluating the multivalent meanings of the ‘authority’ which could be conferred on a published sermon by way of the printed portrait. In its combination of art-historical scrutiny of the images with readings of the accompanying

¹⁰⁰ David J. Davis, ‘Godly Visions and Idolatrous Sights: Images of Divine Revelation in Early English Bibles’, in *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. by Feike Dietz and others (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 167–82 (pp. 181–82).

epistles and close examination of the historical contexts from which these texts arose, this section aims to transform existing scholarship on the portrait in the early modern book, which is commonly portrayed as having represented one primary, ‘authoritative’ function only.¹⁰¹ Following this analysis, this chapter proceeds by investigating images which served as syntheses of the doctrinal messages contained within certain sermons, with a particular focus on biblical texts presented as historical episodes of great relevance to Protestant readers.¹⁰² This chapter also asks several important questions surrounding the extent of the printers’ input. It leads directly towards the preoccupations of Chapter Two in its initial foray into ‘the art of preachers’; that is, the title-page designs of Samuel Ward (1577–1640), town preacher of Ipswich, frequently regarded as curiosities in early modern sermon literature, and the drawings and ornamental penmanship of lesser-known seventeenth-century clergymen. By highlighting Protestant ministers’ personal engagement with visual art, this chapter demonstrates the considerable appreciation they had for its powers of persuasion.

Thus, Chapter Two discusses ministers’ use of heraldic art in the promulgation and dissemination of Protestant doctrine; or, as one preacher put it, a ‘Blazoning of [...] ancient Coat[s] of Honour according to Scripture Heraldrie’.¹⁰³ Borrowing insights from Michael Baxandall’s concept of the ‘period eye’, Ruth Slenczka has shown that the Lutheran cleric George Mylius (1548–1607) was familiar with the artistic style of Lucas Cranach the Younger (1515–1586), and that this knowledge was employed as an effective evangelising tool at the painter’s funeral.¹⁰⁴ English Protestant divines could also be acutely cognisant of the benefits of

¹⁰¹ An exception is John H. Astington, ‘Visual Texts: Thomas Middleton and Prints’, in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 226–46 (p. 227).

¹⁰² For a parallel in illustrated playbooks, see Astington, ‘Visual Texts’, p. 227.

¹⁰³ Thomas Hodges, *The Hoary Head Crowned* (1652), p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), ch. 2; Ruth Slenczka, ‘Lucas Cranach the Younger’s Funeral Sermon as a Lutheran Treatise on Art’, in *Visual Acuity and the Arts of Communication in Early Modern Germany*, ed. by Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 103–17. See also Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001; repr. 2019), p. 69.

utilising visual art in their sermons, and particularly art which appealed to the heraldic imagination. J. H. Plumb has referred to Reformation England as an age of ‘genealogical fever’.¹⁰⁵ The sermons which constitute the key case studies in this chapter are therefore discussed within the context of the burgeoning fascination for genealogy and heritage from the Elizabethan era onwards, which was intertwined with the Protestant effort to imbue the new religion with an historical ‘pedigree’. Accordingly, the elaborate regalia of guild days and the arms of noble patrons could be transferred to the printed page as a form of familiar visual shorthand to inculcate civic and religious virtue.

Heraldic illustration within printed sermons served two principal purposes, the first being to exhibit a preacher’s authority and his allegiance to the throne or to his patron, or to recommend himself to a prospective dignitary. This exploration of patronage is a partial challenge to Paul Voss’s contention that ‘courting a large number of consumers became more important than pleasing an individual aristocrat’ in the context of book production from the late Elizabethan era onwards.¹⁰⁶ The second purpose of heraldic illustration was to enhance the arguments advanced in the sermons proper and provide visual summaries of the original events, circumstances and settings for the benefit of later readers. This chapter posits that there is scope for further research into the ways in which English Protestant ministers employed material props, such as heraldic emblems at pageants, as part of their pulpit rhetoric.

Chapter Three contends that, for similar purposes, funeral sermons preserved crucial aspects of the original events, incorporating a variety of visual stimuli including anagrams of the deceased’s name, emblematic frontispieces, portraits, pedigrees and typeset epitaphs. Moreover, the use of blocks of black ink in these texts, as reflections of the sombre subjects of the orations, are also considered from a typographical point of view. Contrary to perennial

¹⁰⁵ J. H. Plumb, *The Death of the Past* (London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, 1969; repr. 1978), p. 31.

¹⁰⁶ Paul J. Voss, ‘Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29.3 (1998), 733–56 (p. 733).

arguments centring on the ‘standardised’ format of early modern funeral sermons, this chapter asserts that the printed products could be carefully crafted objects and artefacts of memory, serving as ideal Protestant keepsakes by which those still living could remember an individual’s godly virtues pictorially. This particular chapter develops work undertaken within my first published article in 2017, which offered a reinterpretation of printed funeral sermons as illustrated books that shared fundamental values with the portrait miniature in gift culture, and with the funeral monument in its visual and textual aid to remembrance of the exemplary dead.¹⁰⁷ This chapter in particular celebrates the ‘upsurge in book illustration’ in the 1650s as observed by Timothy Wilks, who has written that ‘it was within the covers of illustrated books that much of the visual inventiveness of the decade was expressed’.¹⁰⁸ Both Chapters Two and Three demonstrate that certain occasions attached to ritual were remarkably suited to visual adaptation in print.

The rhetorical and physical interplay of word and image in the printed sermon was prevalent enough to become an object of satire, especially from the 1640s, which witnessed the collapse of ecclesiastical censorship of the press.¹⁰⁹ Chapter Four focuses upon mock-sermons published during the English Revolution, discussing the significance of their *mise-en-page* and illustrations in relation to the historical contexts and prototypes from which they arose. Civil War pamphleteers lampooned the omnipresent printed sermon on multiple levels, targeting its contrived imagery, printed images and references back to its earlier life as a preached text. In so doing, they excoriated the moral failings of this ubiquitous genre of religious print. Produced

¹⁰⁷ Hannah Yip, “‘The text and the occasion mingled together make a chequer-work, a mixture of black and white, mourning and joy’: Visual Elements of the Printed Funeral Sermon in Early Modern England”, *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), pp. 157–82.

¹⁰⁸ Timothy Wilks, ‘The Art and Architecture of War, Revolution, and Restoration’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution*, ed. by Michael J. Braddick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 483–98 (p. 490).

¹⁰⁹ A necessarily selective list of scholars’ contributions to the complex subject of the collapse of censorship in the 1640s would include Michael Mendle, ‘De Facto Freedom, De Facto Authority: Press and Parliament, 1640–1643’, *The Historical Journal*, 38.2 (1995), 307–32; Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), ch. 6.

by pamphleteers to appeal to readers' critical faculties and warn against hypocrisy, these mock-sermons simultaneously captured the atmosphere which emanated from a religiously and politically perilous epoch. This chapter places these works within the context of a body of other illustrated, satirical printed wares issued in the period.¹¹⁰ It also reveals that, although these texts were characterised by their topicality, some were still being published well beyond the eighteenth century, destabilising settled assumptions regarding the 'ephemerality' of these pamphlets. This thesis therefore culminates by acknowledging the longevity enjoyed by some of these mock-sermons, contributing to the overall argument that printed sermons did not always speak principally to their time and place. Ultimately, this study casts into sharper relief the breadth of the religious, political, commercial and cultural influence of the printed sermon across an extensive historical period which, in some cases, manifested itself long after the sermon's original delivery.

The thesis in its entirety makes use of a heterogeneous collection of sources, including illustrated manuscript sermons, hand-coloured printed sermons, single-sheet prints and broadsides, and material culture. Unique copies of pamphlets and sermons, held at repositories such as the Somerset Heritage Centre and the Henry E. Huntington Library in California, in addition to funeral monuments in Warwickshire, have been consulted to build up a wide-ranging picture of the cultural influence of the sermon in print. Particularly in the first three chapters, it is argued that the preachers' utilisation of a 'Protestant visual language' was not restricted to the use of visual metaphors within the sermons themselves.¹¹¹ It is also to be noted that this thesis considers the question of formats seriously, from the folio to the duodecimo, which was a format commonly used 'for portable works of private devotion',

¹¹⁰ For an excellent study on illustrated satirical printed literature from the reign of James I through to the Civil War years, see Helen Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2008).

¹¹¹ Andrew Pettegree, 'Illustrating the Book: A Protestant Dilemma', in *John Foxe and his World*, ed. by Christopher Highley and John N. King (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 133–44 (p. 144); Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 138.

underlining the significance of the choice of these formats that lay outside of the usual quarto format often inhabited by printed sermons.¹¹²

Several preliminary caveats must be made at the outset. The label ‘Protestant’ within this thesis is used broadly as a form of shorthand for ‘non-Catholic’. Yet, on occasion, it will be necessary to enter into specifics as to the precise confessional allegiances and theological positions held by certain sermon writers and their relationship with visual imagery.¹¹³ I also echo Mary Morrissey in conceding that, just as not all sermons delivered at Paul’s Cross were about politics or religious controversy, a large number of sermons did not contain figurative components beyond a printer’s device.¹¹⁴ But it is noteworthy that from the very earliest years of printing, in both England and Europe and throughout the nascent stages of the Reformations, the image was undoubtedly present, and it is the objective of this thesis to question why this was the case. Concurrent movements in Catholic culture, including Catholic sermons and English translations of them, lie outside the scope of this study.¹¹⁵ Emily Michelson’s trenchant monograph, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy*, has already addressed in part some of these issues. Principally demonstrating how preachers helped to reshape Catholic identity in sixteenth-century Italy, her study also gives due attention to printed sermons, stating that they were carefully considered, collaborative productions.¹¹⁶ It is worth noting, however, that Michelson’s analysis of the visual presentation of printed sermons is largely restricted to

¹¹² Alexandra Walsham, ‘Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Vernacular Bible’, *Journal of British Studies*, 42.2 (2003), 141–66 (p. 163). See also n. 66.

¹¹³ The literature on this wide range of confessional allegiances within Protestantism is monumental. In addition to the substantial body of material authored by Peter Lake and Kenneth Fincham, see, for example, Nicholas Tyacke, *Aspects of English Protestantism c. 1530–1700* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2001); Anthony Milton, ‘Arminians, Laudians, Anglicans, and Revisionists: Back to Which Drawing Board?’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 78.4 (2015), 723–42.

¹¹⁴ Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul’s Cross Sermons*, p. xi.

¹¹⁵ See, for example, Girolamo Savonarola, *Predica dell’arte del Bene morire* (1496); Cristóbal de Fonseca, *Devout Contemplations Expressed In two and Fortie Sermons Vpon all y^e Quadregesimall Gospells*, trans. by James Mabbe (1629). For this particular text, see Gregory Baum, ‘The Absence of England in James Mabbe’s “The Spanish Ladie”’, *Cervantes*, 33.2 (2013), 71–95; John R. Yamamoto-Wilson, *Pain, Pleasure and Perversity: Discourses of Suffering in Seventeenth-Century England* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 133–34.

¹¹⁶ Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy*, pp. 34, 37. See also Stefano Dall’Aglio, ‘Faithful to the Spoken Word’: Sermons from Orality to Writing in Early Modern Italy’, *The Italianist*, 34.3 (2014), 463–77.

observations regarding the use of italics as a distinguishing feature and the differing quality of woodcut initials.¹¹⁷ For the most part, it is not the place of this thesis to discuss in detail images which were not necessarily intended for printed sermons, such as printers' promotional brandings and 'recycled' images amidst bespoke designs.¹¹⁸ Where 'recycled' images are explored, the significance of this practice in relation to the sermon in question is taken into account. Neither is there room to examine in detail the craftsmanship involved in the production of the bespoke woodcuts and copper plates themselves; rather, it is the resulting printed artefacts and their effects on a wide readership which is the abiding concern of this thesis.¹¹⁹

In addition, a systematic analysis of the prices of these sermons has been beyond the scope of this study; it has only been possible to demonstrate, through certain specimens of readers' interactions and bindings, their personal value to readers.¹²⁰ As a final point, it is beyond the remit of this thesis to explore illustrations within anthologised material which comprised sermons and other tracts. Rather, the focus is upon what the illustrative matter brought specifically to the sermons themselves.¹²¹ What Marian Rothstein has termed 'disjunctive images' – that is, pictures which do not shed light on the texts which they accompany – are also not germane to the central concern of this thesis.¹²² It is acknowledged

¹¹⁷ For an example of this practice in England, see Thomas Rogers, *A Sermon vpon the 6. 7. and 8. Verses of the 12. Chapter of S. Pauls Epistle vnto the Romanes, &c.* (1590), verso of title page. See Mark Bland, 'The Appearance of the Text in Early Modern England', *Text*, 11 (1998), 91–154; Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 161.

¹¹⁸ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, pp. 140–50; Brian G. Armstrong, 'The Story Told by Printers' Marks: From Offense to Defense: The Nature of Reformed Theology in Its First Century', in *Habent sua fata libelli: Books Have Their Own Destiny: Essays in honor of Robert V. Schnucker*, ed. by Robin B. Barnes, Robert A. Kolb and Paula L. Presley (Kirksville, MO: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1998), pp. 7–16.

¹¹⁹ Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603–1689*, p. 15.

¹²⁰ For the price of sermon-books, see Francis R. Johnson, 'Notes on English Retail Book-prices, 1550–1640', *The Library*, Fifth Series, 5.2 (1950), 83–112; David McKitterick, 'Ovid with a Littleton: The Cost of English Books in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 11.2 (1997), 184–234; Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp. 60–1; Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, p. 39.

¹²¹ See, for example, Martin Day, *A Monument of Mortalitie* (1621); London, British Library, Egerton MS 1043.

¹²² Marian Rothstein, 'Disjunctive Images in Renaissance Books', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 14.2 (1990), 101–20.

throughout that, of course, not all divines approved of ‘gaudy pictures on the first leafe’.¹²³

Owing to the variety of preachers (geographically and confessionally) who contributed their works to the press, it is difficult, and indeed would be misleading, to come to a general consensus on the inclusion of images in printed sermons. These issues are subject to interrogation in Chapters One, Two and Three in particular.

To conclude, existing studies of early modern English sermons are characterised by an emphasis upon reading them simultaneously as literary texts and historical events. While it is indeed true to some extent that many printed sermons are ‘shadows’ of the emotive performances of the original events, this should not inhibit the possibility of studying printed sermons on their own terms.¹²⁴ As Mary Morrissey has observed, the sermon ‘had it widest reach, and potentially its greatest impact, when it was published in print’.¹²⁵ What was deemed important to preserve for later readers? How did preachers’ visual rhetoric, which so engaged an audience at a sermon’s initial delivery, manifest itself onto the printed page for the benefit of a wide readership? And how did the sermon in print negotiate, if at all, with the labyrinthine complexities of different types of Protestantism?¹²⁶ We must now attempt to see what the contemporary reader saw, constructing a picture of what the reader may have experienced: the prejudices which might have been confirmed and the emotions which might have been triggered by these printed texts. Nehemiah Wallington states that it is ‘[b]y the great marcy of God’ that he was able to read two printed funeral sermons, both of which fuelled his desire to ‘striue to follow as [the deceased] did follow Christ’ (see Figure 1.2). Whereas religious texts such as metrical psalms, catechisms and primers have all benefited from bibliographical study, it is time to extend such methodologies to the printed sermon, in order to understand more

¹²³ Anthony Burgess, *The Difficulty of, and The Encouragements to a Reformation* (1643), p. 1.

¹²⁴ Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p. 54; Arnold Hunt, ‘Recovering Speech Acts’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 13–29 (p. 18); Oates, *Moderate Radical*, p. 89.

¹²⁵ Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul’s Cross Sermons*, p. 42.

¹²⁶ See n. 113.

about the sermon as a quintessential Protestant textual form reflecting a distinctively Protestant visual language.¹²⁷

This Introduction closes by moving away from England briefly, considering the pervasive influence of the early modern printed sermon in a wider European context. Figure 1.3 presents an early still life painting by the Dutch artist Edward Collier (1642–1708), who would later emigrate to London.¹²⁸ It is a typical example of a *vanitas*: an illusionistic representation of a collection of luxurious objects symbolising the transience of worldly pleasures and the inevitability of death, exhorting the viewer to reflect upon mortality and to repent accordingly. The large folio displayed on the table is a Dutch edition of the *Decades* of Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), opened specifically at the third ‘Decade’, which contains sermons on the topic of material possessions.¹²⁹ Placed within the painting as a means for the viewer’s edification, and considering the elusive artist’s leanings towards Protestantism, this depiction of Bullinger’s *Decades* begins to prompt questions regarding the materiality of the Reformation sermon-book and its standing as a visual text to inspire religious meditation.¹³⁰ The first part of Bullinger’s *Decades* was initially published in Zurich in 1549. Further examples of the significance of images in the earliest printed sermons, both in England and on the Continent, are analysed at the beginning of the following chapter.

¹²⁷ See n. 83. For bibliographical studies of metrical psalms, see Hannibal Hamlin, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008); Timothy Duguid, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English ‘Singing Psalms’ and Scottish ‘Psalm Buiks’, c. 1547–1640* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014).

¹²⁸ For Collier, see Dror Wahrman, *Mr. Collier’s Letter Racks: A Tale of Art & Illusion at the Threshold of the Modern Information Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹²⁹ <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/435918>> [accessed 17 April 2020]. For Bullinger’s *Decades* and their impact in early modern England, see Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 199; Torrance Kirby, ‘The Civil Magistrate and the ‘*cura religionis*’: Henrich Bullinger’s prophetic office and the English Reformation’, in *Henrich Bullinger: Life, Thought, Influence*, ed. by Emidio Campi and Peter Opitz (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2007), pp. 935–50.

¹³⁰ *Dutch Art: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by Sheila D. Muller (New York, NY: Garland, 1997), p. 83.



Figure 1.2. Nehemiah Wallington's notes in Stephen Denison, *The Monvment Or Tombe-Stone, &c. LONDON*, Printed by *Richard Field* dwelling in Great Wood-streete. 1620. British Library, 1418.i.19. 8°.



Figure 1.3. Edward Collier, *Vanitas Still Life* (1662). Oil on wood. 94 × 112.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY.

INTERNALL IMAGES RIGHTLY CONCEIVED: ART AND AUTHORITY IN THE SERMON

*And now that grave aspect hath deign'd to shrinke
Into this lesse appearance; If you thinke,
Tis but a dead face, art doth here bequeath:
Looke on the following leaves, and see him breath.¹*

From its earliest appearances in print in both Europe and England, the sermon included images which were pertinent to its content. In Germany, the collected sermons of the Dominican priest Johannes Herolt (d. 1486), which ‘accounted for almost every contingency’, contained woodcuts of Jesus and his disciples.² Pietro Delcorno has drawn attention to the images in the sermon collection entitled *Quadragesimale novum* (1495), which were specifically commissioned by its author, the Franciscan priest Johann Meder (d. 1518).³ In pre-Reformation England, a number of printed sermons featured representations of biblical scenes. For example, *Sermo die lune in ebdomada Pasche* (1495) by Richard Fitzjames (d. 1522), Bishop of London, has a title-page woodcut split into two panels which appropriately referred to the occasion of Easter. The upper panel depicts the breaking of bread by Jesus at the Last Supper, and the lower panel displays the journey to Emmaus.⁴ The earliest edition of *De immensa dei misericordia* (1526) by Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), a sermon which centred on the mercy of God and which was translated from Latin to English by Margaret Pole (1473–

¹ Richard Crashaw, ‘Vpon Bishop Andrewes his Picture before his Sermons’, in Richard Crashaw, *Steps to the Temple* (1646), p. 120.

² Johannes Herolt, *Sermones discipuli detempore de sanctis, &c.* (1474); Susan Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 33; John M. Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2010), p. 13.

³ Pietro Delcorno, *In the Mirror of the Prodigal Son* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2017), p. 362.

⁴ Richard Fitzjames, *Sermo die lune in ebdomada Pasche* (1495).

1541), Countess of Salisbury, has a woodcut of Christ making the sign of peace and holding an orb on the title page (the Salvator Mundi), while the frontispiece is a representation of Christ being taken down from the cross.⁵ *Festial*, a richly illustrated collection of sermons by the Augustinian canon John Mirk (fl. c. 1382–c. 1414) which could be adapted for use on the major feast days of the Christian calendar, is recognised by scholars of late medieval print culture as the most widely printed text in the vernacular in pre-Reformation England.⁶ The rich variety of images in late medieval printed sermons also included portraits. Julie A. Smith's article on the sermons of John Alcock (1430–1500), Bishop of Ely, holds particular relevance for this chapter. She posits that the portraits which appeared on the title pages of his sermons represent the first printed portraits of a single preacher. According to Smith, these portraits contributed to Alcock's own iconographical self-construction, serving as seals of the authority of the Church.⁷ Although the woodcuts from these pre-Reformation texts would have inevitably been re-appropriated to illustrate other religious books, the principal observation to be made here is that images were integral components of these sermons as material artefacts. These pictures were utilised to illustrate the texts and to lend authority to them.

However, were these truly the two sole functions of these printed images? This chapter aims to build on and, in some ways, depart from existing research by evaluating, first of all, the nature of the authority bestowed on a printed sermon by its title page or frontispiece portraits. While previous commentators have explained away the 'authoritative' function of these

⁵ Desiderius Erasmus, *De immensa dei misericordia*, trans. by Margaret Pole (1526); Desiderius Erasmus, 'A Sermon on the Immense Mercy of God', trans. by Michael J. Heath, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, ed. by John W. O'Malley (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 69–139.

⁶ Susan Wabuda, 'Bishops and the Provisions of Homilies, 1520 to 1547', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25.3 (1994), 551–66 (pp. 554–55); Susan Powell, 'What Caxton Did to the *Festial*: From Manuscript to Printed Edition', *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 1 (1998 for 1997), 48–77; Alexandra Walsham, 'Domme Preachers'? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print', *Past & Present*, 168 (2000), 72–123 (p. 77); Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation*, pp. 27–37; Judy Ann Ford, *John Mirk's Festial: Orthodoxy, Lollardy, and the Common People in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006); Phillip Lindley, 'The Visual Arts and their Functions in the English Pre-Reformation Church', in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 15–45 (p. 22).

⁷ Julie A. Smith, 'An Image of a Preaching Bishop in Late Medieval England: The 1498 Woodcut Portrait of Bishop John Alcock', *Viator*, 21 (1990), 301–22.

portraits in a rather narrow sense, this chapter argues for more nuanced and multi-functional attributes. Having begun this chapter with references to printed sermons from the late 1400s and early 1500s, the remainder of the chapter is dedicated to those published from the era of the Elizabethan Settlement until the latter half of the seventeenth century. By accommodating an extensive time period, it follows the example of previous scholarship which has challenged traditional periodisation by arguing that rigid time boundaries simplify ‘a complex but intellectually and artistically challenging past’.⁸ Building upon the insights of historians such as Julie A. Smith, this chapter begins with a section entitled ‘Rethinking the Frontispiece Portrait’.

The frontispiece portrait of the Protestant divine is one form of image which seemed to be exempted from the iconographical constraints of the post-Reformation period, appearing in numerous sermons and collections of sermons in print, apparently without any concern that these pictures would be viewed by contemporary readers as in any way idolatrous. However, there are certain caveats and addenda which need to be provided to previous scholars’ assertions that these portraits functioned not as idolatrous distractions but as markers of authority. It is thus the objective of this initial section of the chapter to deliberate upon the complex nature of the ‘authority’ which was lent by the title-page or frontispiece portraits of clergymen, contrasting self-commissioned portraits with those issued by the printer, in addition to those added posthumously. This section also considers portraits of patrons, determining that, not only was it the case that printed sermons included the names of prominent members of the auditory as valuable features of their title pages, but also that the portraits of these figures ensured steady selling in the heavily populated religious book trade. Portraits of authors were capable of providing a ‘first impression’ for readers, and it was also the case, particularly for sermons published by ministers with ambitions for clerical preferment, that a strong impression could be created by the inclusion of a patron’s portrait. Importantly, the escutcheons of

⁸ David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 1.

distinguished patrons could often serve as a kind of ‘portrait’ in a ‘representational but simplified form’, replacing a pictorial depiction of them.⁹ These escutcheons are discussed in the following two chapters. It is also important to register that commemorative portraits within funeral sermons merit their own discussion in the third chapter of this thesis. A final objective of ‘Rethinking the Frontispiece Portrait’ is to analyse selected printed portraits from an art-historical perspective for the first time, assessing the presentation of certain divines and revealing the ways in which these pictures can serve as important pieces of biographical material for more obscure churchmen.¹⁰

This chapter progresses from a reassessment of ‘authority’ in portraits to an investigation of the significance of illustrated title pages and frontispieces, exploring the range of imagery which might also have attracted book-buyers. This second section, entitled “‘Divine Opticks’ and ‘Scripture Emblemes’: Illustrated Title Pages and Frontispieces’, examines emblematic images, representations of biblical and historical scenes, and topical references to certain events. This section provides new interpretations of the visual components of well-studied sermons such as *The Merchant Royall* (1607) by Robert Wilkinson (d. 1617), thereby accentuating the centrality of visual symbolism and its educative function within canonical sermons and dispelling the widely accepted scholarly notion that religious illustrations were seldom implemented within this genre of literature. The chapter moves on to scrutinise the draughtsmanship of Samuel Ward, town preacher of Ipswich, who designed a series of emblematic title pages for his own sermons. Whereas Ward’s talents as a caricaturist are well-known, rarely has his pictorial art been probed in detail. This section of the chapter also gives

⁹ Tara Hamling, ‘Visual Culture’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 75–101 (p. 100).

¹⁰ This approach builds upon the work of William A. Dyrness, who has previously examined painted portraits of seventeenth-century North American preachers. See William A. Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture: The Protestant Imagination from Calvin to Edwards* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 223–39. See also John H. Astington, ‘Visual Texts: Thomas Middleton and Prints’, in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 226–46 (pp. 226–27).

due attention to the manner in which emblematisers and clergymen were mutually inspired by each other, even if they did not formally collaborate on their publishing outputs.

Having examined the graphic art of Samuel Ward, the chapter concludes with “‘A Religious Eye’: The Art of Preachers’, a preliminary discussion of the ornamental penmanship of seventeenth-century Protestant ministers, evidence of which can be found in several manuscript sermons. The interests which certain Protestant clergy had in the visual arts is a theme to which this thesis will continually return. “‘A Religious Eye’: The Art of Preachers’ begins to interrogate whether the images within these manuscripts can be categorised as a genre of Protestant artwork which has not, thus far, been recognised either by palaeographers or by historians of early modern visual culture. The central argument of this chapter as a whole is that all of these visual components of sermons should be considered as Protestant art, created to buttress interpretations of Scripture. Contrary to persistent arguments regarding the uniform appearance of sermons, this chapter posits that there were numerous ways in which they could be presented in both print and manuscript.¹¹ More also remains to be discovered regarding the manner in which sermons could inspire a visual response in readers, from the pasting-in of images which were relevant to the sermon to drawings in the margins which illustrated central arguments made within the text.¹² While this chapter can only offer a few specimens of such practices, there will be further discussions in subsequent chapters of hand-colouring and pasting, which provide evidence of the capabilities of early modern Protestant readers as visual thinkers. This chapter thus acknowledges the significant body of evidence which has established that religious books in this period were not inert objects; nor was it the case that Protestant readers relied wholly on ‘inner picturing’ or, in the words of William Perkins (1558–

¹¹ James Rigney, ‘The English Sermon, 1640–1660: Consuming the Fire’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1994), p. 119; Alexandra Walsham, ‘Jewels for Gentlewomen: Religious Books as Artefacts in Late Medieval and Early Modern England’, *Studies in Church History*, 38 (2004), 123–42 (p. 142).

¹² A colloquium which explored ‘early modern visual marginalia’ was held at Trinity Hall, Cambridge on 1 May 2015; see <<http://www.crassh.cam.ac.uk/events/26149>> [accessed 20 January 2020]. See also the forthcoming work on visual marginalia by William Sherman and Nora Epstein.

1602), ‘internall images rightly conceived’.¹³ In fact, the illustrated printed sermon could, like the early modern Bible, be viewed on many levels as a genre of ‘mixed-media devotional text’.¹⁴

Rethinking the Frontispiece Portrait

[...] the pure art of rigorous English Protestantism smiles above the mantel-piece in the portrait of an eminent bishop [...]¹⁵

Frontispiece portraits in early modern printed texts continue to constitute a fascinating area of study.¹⁶ In particular, the role of portraits in Protestant texts has been subject to extensive debate. It has previously been argued that the inclusion of portraits within religious books arose from the ‘Protestant fascination with the self in daily experience’.¹⁷ Jessica Martin has posited that, ‘[e]ven in those collections which privilege written text over image’, the image is ‘often included [...] as a focus for a kind of devotion’.¹⁸ This statement is better interpreted in light of

¹³ William Perkins, *A Warning against the Idolatry of the last times* (1601), sig. D[5]. For ‘inner picturing’, see Peter Marshall, *Invisible Worlds: Death, religion and the supernatural in England, 1500–1700* (London: SPCK, 2017). See also Patrick Collinson, Arnold Hunt and Alexandra Walsham, ‘Religious publishing in England 1557–1640’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV: 1557–1695*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 29–66 (p. 31); Lucy Wooding, ‘Reading the Crucifixion in Tudor England’, in *Discovering the Riches of the Word: Religious Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Sabrina Corbellini, Margriet Hoogvliet and Bart Ramakers (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2015), pp. 282–310 (p. 306).

¹⁴ William H. Sherman, ‘“The Book thus put in every vulgar hand”: Impressions of Readers in Early English Printed Bibles’, in *The Bible as Book: The First Printed Editions*, ed. by Paul Saenger and Kimberley van Kampen (London: British Library, 1999), pp. 125–33 (p. 130).

¹⁵ George Eliot, ‘Janet’s Repentance’, in George Eliot, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, MDCCCLVIII [1858]), II, pp. 47–381 (Chapter 11, p. 204).

¹⁶ Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, ‘Introduction: discovering the Renaissance reader’, in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 1–37 (p. 6).

¹⁷ Sharpe and Zwicker, ‘Introduction: discovering the Renaissance reader’, p. 12.

¹⁸ Jessica Martin, *Walton’s Lives: Conformist Commemoration and the Rise of Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 58.

Margaret Aston's comments regarding 'the reforming portrait'. Aston has observed that '[t]he features of men of God' were ubiquitous and displayed in various different mediums, including printed books. Most importantly, 'the common form of such portrayals was the speaking portrait of the man of the book'. Often depicted in the act of preaching, the glory of their memory was God's as opposed to their own.¹⁹ Scholars have emphasised the authoritative function of these 'reforming portraits'.²⁰ Discussing author portraits more generally, it has been proposed that these pictures were partly included 'to allay the anxieties of readers about publishers' interventions in printed texts'; the image of the author was a means to indicate that the ensuing text should be imagined as his utterance.²¹ Rosemary Dixon has argued that, '[l]ike biographical accounts, frontispiece portraits connected sermons with the identities and authority of their preachers'.²² Moreover, according to James Rigney, this means of 'authenticating' the text via the portrait was something which the preachers themselves could sometimes recognise as advantageous for self-promotion.²³

However, this chapter argues that, for the English printed sermon, the notion of the 'authoritative' frontispiece portrait is more problematic than has previously been acknowledged.²⁴ The multifaceted meaning of 'authority' as represented by these portraits remains to be fully scrutinised. Did the portrait stand for the authority of the texts as genuine

¹⁹ Margaret Aston, 'Gods, Saints, and Reformers: Portraiture and Protestant England', in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. by Lucy Gent (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 181-220 (p. 191); Sarah Howe, 'The Authority of Presence: The Development of the English Author Portrait, 1500-1640', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 102.4 (2008), 465-99 (p. 477); Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 19. See, for example, Arthur Hildersam, *The Doctrine of Fasting and Praier, and Humiliation for Sinne* (1633), Cambridge University Library, Ely.d.531.

²⁰ Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 198; Barbara M. Benedict, *Making the Modern Reader: Cultural Mediation in Early Modern Literary Anthologies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 6.

²¹ Howe, 'The Authority of Presence', p. 474; Leah S. Marcus, *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton* (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 164-65.

²² Rosemary Dixon, 'Sermons in Print, 1660-1700', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 460-79 (p. 468).

²³ Rigney, 'The English Sermon, 1640-1660', p. 66.

²⁴ These issues have been explored in relation to the playbook. See Astington, 'Visual Texts', p. 227.

transcriptions of the minister's words, or the authority of the Church which that preacher represented? The portrait which was appended to a published collection of sermons was not always a visual guarantee that the volume was an *urtext* edition. *Gods Great care of his Good People in Bad Times* (1665), a collection of sermons by the ejected minister James Nalton (c. 1600–1662), was published posthumously by ‘J. F. Teacher of Short-Writing, who took them in Characters from the said Mr. J. Nalton’.²⁵ The small volume appears with an anonymous frontispiece engraving of Nalton in the pulpit holding a handkerchief, perhaps to symbolise his characteristic act of weeping whilst preaching.²⁶ While it is claimed that the sermons are ‘*here presented to the view of the Reader so as delivered by the Authour, excepting onely a paring off of some repetitions*’, it is impossible to discern the accuracy of the transcriptions without further evidence.²⁷ Another set of Nalton's sermons was published in 1677 with a frontispiece by John Chantry.²⁸ As the dedicatory epistle written by Mary Nalton, the second wife of James, clarifies, these sermons were neither transcribed nor corrected by ‘*their Authors Pen*’.²⁹ In this instance, the portrait may have served a memorial function in addition to an authoritative one. The genuineness of these texts was testified by a spouse, as opposed to a clerical colleague, thereby presenting a different kind of ‘authority’.

This section of the chapter therefore attempts to rethink these lines of enquiry by not only acknowledging the presence of portraits in individual printed sermons and sermon collections, but also the multiple means by which they were put to use. It draws attention to the posthumous manifestations of Protestant clergy and the influence which these portraits had in ensuring the afterlives of their ministry. Space precludes consideration of all portraits, chiefly of

²⁵ James Nalton, *Gods Great care of his Good People in Bad Times* (1665), title page.

²⁶ Roger N. McDermott, ‘Nalton, James (c. 1600–1662)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19735>> [accessed 2 February 2020]

²⁷ Nalton, *Gods Great care of his Good People in Bad Times*, sig. A4^r.

²⁸ The dates of the engraver John Chantry are unknown.

²⁹ James Nalton, *Twenty Sermons Preached upon Several Texts* (1677), sigs A2^v; McDermott, ‘Nalton, James (c. 1600–1662)’. Mary Nalton's dates are unknown.

Protestant ministers, which were appended to sermon collections.³⁰ A detailed analysis of the function of the variety of portraits appended to the overwhelming number of individual sermons and collections of treatises by prolific writers such as Joseph Hall (1575–1656), Bishop of Norwich, also lies outside the scope of this chapter. Nevertheless, it would be remiss to exclude any assessment of the pervasive image of the bishop, and a portrait of the elderly prelate in his printed funeral sermon is discussed in Chapter Three.

In terms of timescale, Robert Tittler has argued that it was only towards the latter decades of the sixteenth century that engraved portraits truly became a widespread phenomenon.³¹ This was not restricted to single portraits, but group portraits of reformers which enjoyed a longevity that extended into the late seventeenth century.³² Furthermore, as Sarah Howe has profitably observed, the 1630s witnessed a growing number of religious works printed in smaller formats which featured author portraits. These texts aligned themselves ‘with the bibliographical presentation of portable prayer books’. One example which she cites is *The Fvlnesse of Christ for Vs* (1639) by John Preston (1587–1628), an octavo sermon which appears with an unsigned frontispiece portrait of the deceased divine and which purports to offer ‘a glimpse of the full glory of Christ’.³³ However, portraits of preachers were not only devotional, but also political statements, and this chapter recognises the multiple agendas for including their posthumous portraits in sermon publications of varying formats.

³⁰ For example, Robert Bolton, *M. Boltons Last and Learned Worke of the Foure last Things, &c.* (1632); Richard Sibbes, *The Retvrning Backslider, &c.* (1639); John Everard, *The Gospel-Treasury Opened, &c.* (1657); John Frost, *Select Sermons, Preached upon sundry occasions* (1657). See Howe, ‘The Authority of Presence’, pp. 484, 486.

³¹ Robert Tittler, *The face of the city: Civic portraiture and civic identity in early modern England* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 19–20.

³² Pamela Tudor-Craig, ‘Group Portraits of the Protestant Reformers’, in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 87–102; Tarnya Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 216 n. 62; Alexandra Walsham, ‘Domesticating the Reformation: Material Culture, Memory, and Confessional Identity in Early Modern England’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 69 (2016), 566–616.

³³ John Preston, *The Fvlnesse of Christ for Vs* (1639); Howe, ‘The Authority of Presence’, p. 477.

Perhaps the most renowned portrait of an early modern English preacher appended to a posthumous sermon is the picture of Donne in his shroud by Martin Droeshout (1601–c. 1640) in *Deaths Dvell* (1633). Conflicting opinions about Donne’s attitude to visual culture represent a continuing area of lively scholarly debate. On the one hand, scholars such as Norman K. Farmer have argued that Donne was a ‘proponent of picture’. According to Farmer, who cites examples from several sermons delivered in 1628 and 1629, the concept of ‘seeing in pictorial terms’ was ‘basic to his thought’ as a poet and Dean of St Paul’s, and he placed great value on the representation of understanding ‘as an act of visual perception’.³⁴ Considerable work has also been carried out on Donne’s collection of pictures.³⁵ On the other hand, Farmer concedes that there was evidence in Donne’s early poetry that he was aware of the limitations of pictures ‘as instruments for moral improvement’, and Sonia Pernet has argued that the fluid verbal imagery of his sermons, which included the sea and the water-carrying vessel, served as replacement images and constituted ‘a means [...] to avoid the risk of idolatry’.³⁶ What is certain, however, is Donne’s involvement in commissioning this portrait for his own personal reflection on mortality, which was appropriately appended to this public meditation at court on death and spiritual rebirth. The motto below the portrait, believed to have been composed by Donne, reads ‘*Corporis hæc Animæ sit Syndon, Syndon Jesu. Amen*’ (‘May this shroud of the body be the shroud of the soul: the shroud of Jesus. Amen’).³⁷ By bringing this intimate portrayal of Donne in his shroud, originally intended for his eyes only, to the wider reading public, *Deaths Dvell* was at once a *memento mori* object which

³⁴ Norman K. Farmer, Jr., *Poets and the Visual Arts in Renaissance England* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1984), p. 19; Tara Hamling, *Decorating the ‘Godly’ Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 47–48.

³⁵ L. E. Semler, *The English Mannerist Poets and the Visual Arts* (Cranbury, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998), ch. 2; Hamling, *Decorating the ‘Godly’ Household*, p. 61.

³⁶ Farmer, Jr., *Poets and the Visual Arts in Renaissance England*, p. 23; Sonia Pernet, “Where there is a frequent preaching, there is *no necessity* of pictures”; The Fluid Images of John Donne’s Preaching as Substitutes for Visual Representations’, in *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), pp. 143–55 (p. 154).

³⁷ John Donne, *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne, Volume III: Sermons Preached at the Court of Charles I*, ed. by David Colclough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 225.

complemented his funeral monument at St Paul's Cathedral and an authoritative proclamation of the last public words of 'that late Learned and Reverend Divine'.³⁸

While Donne's '*own funeral Sermon*' was issued in an unambiguously reverent manner, the printed 'funeral sermon' of Archbishop William Laud (1573–1645) was obliged to compete with numerous squibs and satirical prints.³⁹ *The Archbishop of Canterbury's Speech, &c.* (1645), originally delivered by Laud on the scaffold at Tower Hill, appeared with multiple endorsements to compensate for the lack of the archbishop's input in publishing the sermon.⁴⁰ On the title page, it is claimed that the speech and prayers were '[a]ll faithfully Written by *John Hinde*, whom the Archbishop beseeched that he would not let any wrong be done by him by any phrase in false Copies'.⁴¹ It is also loudly proclaimed that the text was '*Licensed and Entred [sic] according to Order*'. A representation of the bust of Laud by 'W. M.', who was possibly William Marshall (fl. 1617–1649), serves as the frontispiece. With its annotation describing the beheading of Laud '*on Tower-hill Ian 10th 1644*', the picture serves both as a record of Laud's death and as a means to ensure that the publication was prominent and saleable amidst the vast number of illustrated printed material concerning the notorious and divisive archbishop.

The archbishop's portrait appended to his own funeral sermon was a statement of authority insofar as it had to compete with seditious printed material. Earlier in the period, the

³⁸ John Donne, *Deaths Dvell* (1633); Nigel Foxell, *A Sermon in Stone: John Donne and His Monument in St Paul's Cathedral* (London: The Menard Press, 2015).

³⁹ Izaak Walton, *The Lives of Dr. John Donne, &c.* (1670), sig. F4^r; Helen Pierce, 'Anti-Episcopacy and Graphic Satire in England, 1640–1645', *The Historical Journal*, 47.4 (2000), 809–48; James Rigney, 'To lye upon a Stationers stall, like a piece of coarse flesh in a Shambles': the sermon, print and the English Civil War', in *The English sermon revised: Religion, literature and history 1600–1750*, ed. by Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 188–207 (pp. 190, 195–96); Helen Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2008), ch. 2; Rachel Willie, 'Sensing the Visual (Mis)representation of William Laud', in *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), pp. 183–210; Anne James and Jeanne Shami, *Remembering the Dead: The Role of Manuscript Sermons & Sermon Notes in Researching Early Modern Memorial Practice* (London: The Congregational Memorial Hall Trust, 2019), p. 6. I am grateful to Anne James and Jeanne Shami for sharing their text with me in advance of its publication.

⁴⁰ For Laud's sermon, see P. J. Klemp, 'He that now speakes, shall speak no more for ever': Archbishop William Laud in the Theatre of Execution', *The Review of English Studies*, 61.249 (2010), 188–213; P. J. Klemp, 'Civil War Politics and the Texts of Archbishop William Laud's Execution Sermon and Prayers', *English Literary Renaissance*, 43.2 (2013), 308–42.

⁴¹ [William Laud], *The Archbishop of Canterbury's Speech, &c.* (1645), title page.

sermons of another executed bishop, Hugh Latimer (c. 1485–1555), were posthumously published. The two copies examined here display two different engraved frontispiece portraits.⁴² These two portrayals of the martyred bishop differ greatly, prompting vital questions regarding the necessity for artistically accurate representations of these most revered churchmen. The significance of the images of Latimer which continued to circulate long after his execution, and the purpose that they served, has thus far eluded comment, even though the longer-term influence of his printed sermons has been investigated by scholars such as Steven K. Galbraith.⁴³ A copy of the 1562 edition of his sermons displays a half-length portrait of the martyr in profile, clutching a calf-bound quarto and facing a ray of heavenly light (see Figure 2.1).⁴⁴ The epistle, written by Latimer's editor and amanuensis, Augustine Bernher (d. 1565), is a partial expression of thanksgiving for Elizabeth I, 'who caused that filthy & dark antichristiā doctryne [i.e. the Catholicism of Mary II] to vanish out of syght'.⁴⁵ It also presents a lengthy eulogy of Latimer as a 'most constant martyr of Chryste' who was, among other things, consistently 'at his booke most diligētly' from two o'clock in the morning.⁴⁶ The volume was clearly produced to meet public demand for the works of martyred Protestants which were popular from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth; indeed, 'the booke of the martyrs' of John Foxe (1516/17–1587), 'that most godly lerned and excellent instrument of God', is cited by Bernher as an important source for his eulogy.⁴⁷

Latimer's sermons were still being published over seventy years later, and the 1635 edition provides the same epistle written by Bernher. However, an unusual depiction by George Gifford (fl. 1632–1635) of the bishop in a skull-cap is supplied as the frontispiece to

⁴² For the woodcut of Latimer preaching to Edward VI within the 1571 edition of Latimer's sermons, see Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 200.

⁴³ Steven K. Galbraith, 'Latimer Revised and Reprised: Editing *Frutefull Sermons* for Pulpit Delivery', *Reformation*, 11.1 (2006), 29–46.

⁴⁴ Henry E. Huntington Library, 62167.

⁴⁵ Hugh Latimer, *Certayn Godly Sermons, &c.* (1562), sig. A.ii.^v.

⁴⁶ Latimer, *Certayn Godly Sermons, &c.*, unpaginated and sig. C.i.^r.

⁴⁷ Latimer, *Certayn Godly Sermons, &c.*, sig. C.i.^v.

this edition. This headgear was more typical of ministers preaching during the 1630s, and Latimer was perhaps illustrated in such a way to engage readers who would be more familiar with such a representation of a clerical figure (see Figure 2.2).⁴⁸ In other words, Latimer is not wearing attire which is contemporary with the time in which he lived and preached. It would appear that, with the first line beginning ‘Thus while he liu’d, graue Latimer was scene’, the accompanying verses make a false claim for the authenticity of his appearance, and the ‘authority’ of the text might therefore be questioned. Evidently, what was imperative for readers was not the accuracy of the visual depiction but the ‘inward Grace’ which the text at hand offered. This representation, which was not entirely accurate historically, calls into question John H. Astington’s claim that ‘more care for authenticity and accuracy was generally expended’ upon the prefatory portrait in this period than on other illustrated material.⁴⁹



Figure 2.1. Magdalena de Passe and Willem de Passe, *Hugh Latimer* (1620). Line engraving. 6.25 × 4.5 in. National Portrait Gallery, D5023.

⁴⁸ L. H. Cust, ‘Gifford, George (fl. 1632–1635)’, rev. by Antony Griffiths, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10659>> [accessed 6 February 2020].

⁴⁹ Astington, ‘Visual Texts’, p. 227.



Figure 2.2. Hugh Latimer, *Fruitfull Sermons, &c.* Printed at *London* by *Thomas Cotes*, for the Companie of STATIONERS. 1635. Frontispiece. British Library, 4453.c.14. 4°.

The example of William Fenner (b. 1600), Rector of Rochford in Essex, further demonstrates the manner in which the posthumous image of a Protestant worthy could be treated in a variety of ways by different artists to serve a number of agendas relating to the marketability of sermon-books. A collection of sermons entitled *The Sacrifice of the Faithfull* (1649) appears with a frontispiece half-length portrait of Fenner designed by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677), portraying the minister in full clerical dress with a calf-bound quarto in his hand. There is also an imprimatur by Edmund Calamy (1600–1666), who had ministered at Rochford for two years during Fenner’s lifetime. This preface argues for ‘the usefulness of the Sermons’, expressing ‘desire that they may find the like acceptance with all Godly wise Christians’.⁵⁰ The portrait was to appear again in the third edition of a collection of eight

⁵⁰ William Fenner, *The Sacrifice of the Faithfull* (1649), unpaginated.

sermons entitled *A Divine Message to the Elect Sovl*.⁵¹ It also appears in an altered version as the frontispiece to another collection of his works (see Figure 2.3).⁵² This adaptation of the portrait, also designed by Hollar, has the minister enshrined within an arch, with his *alma mater*, Pembroke College, Cambridge, in the background. The anonymous verses guide the viewer to look ‘no longer [...] | Upon his picture but peruse his Book’. The notion that the true nature of the author was represented by the words within the book rather than his outward appearance was a convention which extended beyond the genre of the sermon frontispiece, the most famous example being the laudatory verse attributed to Ben Jonson (1572–1637) that was appended to Martin Droeshout’s portrait of Shakespeare in the First Folio of 1623.⁵³

By comparison, an anonymous portrait which predates Hollar’s engravings prefaces another collection, entitled *The Works of the Learned and Faithful Minister of Gods Word, M. William Fenner, &c.* (1651) (see Figure 2.4).⁵⁴ The portrait is dated 1640, with an indication in the accompanying text that Fenner was aged forty when this portrait was completed. Fenner is still in full clerical dress, but he clasps a folio volume, as opposed to a quarto. Most unusually, the portrait is completely front-facing, with the eyes appearing to appeal directly to the reader of the volume; all the more astonishing given earlier disapproval surrounding the idolatrous connotations of this posture.⁵⁵ Although Fenner’s works continued to be reprinted until the 1680s, there is a noticeable decline in the quality of the portraits issued with the later editions. Three editions of *The Danger of Deferring Repentance, &c.*, which was originally delivered at Maidstone, Kent on 25 September 1629, display woodcut portraits. The first edition, published in 1654, appears to conflate elements from the portrait by Hollar and the

⁵¹ William Fenner, *A Divine Message to the Elect Sovl*, 3rd edn (1652).

⁵² William Fenner, *The Works of W. Fenner, B. of Divinity* (1657).

⁵³ For the ‘Protestant’ nature of the title page of the First Folio, see Chris Laoutaris, ‘The Prefatorial Material’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare’s First Folio*, ed. by Emma Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 48–67 (pp. 52–53). See also Erin C. Blake, ‘Shakespeare, Portraiture, Painting and Prints’, in *The Edinburgh Companion to Shakespeare and the Arts*, ed. by Mark Thornton Burnett, Adrian Streete and Ramona Wray (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 409–34 (pp. 409–11).

⁵⁴ Bodleian Library, 4° F 1(1) Th.BS.

⁵⁵ Tudor-Craig, ‘Group Portraits of the Protestant Reformers’, p. 90.

anonymous, earlier portrait of 1640 (see Figure 2.5). The small library which forms part of the background of the anonymous portrait appears in the 1654 text, but the figure of Fenner is more closely modelled on Hollar's design. This single sermon would have been relatively cheap to buy as compared with the collections discussed earlier; indeed, the sermon makes considerable use of a black-letter typeface throughout.⁵⁶ An inferior version of this woodcut is included as the frontispiece to a black-letter edition published for William Thackeray, the prominent ballad printer, in 1676.⁵⁷ In another octavo edition published for Thackeray, there is a cut of Fenner's bust, included both as the frontispiece and at the end of the text. Once again, the sermon is printed predominantly in black-letter. Moreover, there is an advertisement at the end of the sermon for other texts printed for Thackeray, including 'Mr. *Fenners* Sermons of Repentance', all of which cost '*but Three pence a piece*'.⁵⁸ While it might be expected that the image of the divine would be venerated as time went on, conversely, it was the case that the portrait depreciated in quality owing to continued demand for this sermon. This was not necessarily a denigration, but a testament to the popularity of Fenner. There was evidently a need for cheaper editions long after the original sermon had been preached.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ See Keith Thomas, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*, ed. by Gerd Baumann (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 97–131 (p. 99); Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 59–60; Zachary Lesser, 'Typographic Nostalgia: Play-Reading, Popularity, and the Meanings of Black Letter', in *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. by Marta Straznicky (Amherst and Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), pp. 99–126.

⁵⁷ Cyprian Blagden, 'Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography*, 6 (1954), 161–80 (p. 173); Margaret J. M. Ezell, *The Oxford English Literary History, Volume 5, 1645–1714: The Later Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 367. Thackeray's dates are unknown.

⁵⁸ William Fenner, *The Danger of Deferring Repentance, &c.* (1684), unpaginated.

⁵⁹ See Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture*, pp. 228–29.



Figure 2.3. William Fenner, *The Works of W. Fenner, B. of Divinity*. [London,] Printed for W. Gilbertson at the Bible in Gilt-spur street without New-gate. 1657. Frontispiece. British Library, 1490.e.9. 2°.



Figure 2.4. William Fenner, *The Works of the Learned and Faithfull Minister of Gods Word, M. William Fenner, &c.* LONDON, Printed by *T. Maxey*, for *John Rothwell* at the sign of the Sun and Fountain in *Pauls Church-yard*. 1651. Frontispiece. British Museum, P,3.57.



Figure 2.5. William Fenner, *The Danger of deferring Repentance, &c. London*, Printed for *Jo. Stafford* and are to be sold by *Richard Burton* at the Horse-shooc in Smithfield. 1654. Frontispiece. British Library, 4474.aa.28. 8°.

The inferior versions of Fenner's portrait, which circulated with cheap editions of a single sermon published long after it had originally been preached, represent a very different kind of 'authority' than that explored in previous scholarly accounts, which have principally focused on expensive folio collections of sermons and the prestige which engraved portraits could imbue upon these works.⁶⁰ In this case, the 'authority' was not represented in the quality of the portraits, but in the teachings of Fenner, which were considered worthy of being repackaged and distributed for a much wider readership. There is an abundance of evidence which shows a similarly varied treatment of the portraits of Lancelot Andrewes, published with sermons that were issued in a variety of formats. The devotional and religio-political significance of the posthumous publications of Andrewes, which included sermons issued in small formats that functioned as forms of portable prayerbooks, cannot be overlooked.⁶¹ Regarding works published during Andrewes's lifetime, Graham Parry has shown how the layout of prayers on the pages of his works resembled 'verse, or stylised prose poems'. Andrewes circulated these texts among selected friends, including William Laud.⁶² Peter McCullough has laid the groundwork for study of Andrewes's posthumous printed sermon collections, establishing how these were revived and published as part of the effort to invigorate Laudian doctrine.⁶³ An engraved portrait of Andrewes, executed by John Payne (d. c. 1648) and which appeared from the second edition of *XCVI. Sermons* in 1631, also played a key role in the propagandist support for Laudian reforms. The verse quoted at the opening of this chapter

⁶⁰ Dixon, 'Sermons in Print, 1660-1700', pp. 466-69.

⁶¹ Graham Parry, 'High-Church Devotion in the Church of England, 1620-42', in *Writing and Religion in England, 1558-1689: Studies in Community-Making and Cultural Memory*, ed. by Roger D. Sell and Anthony W. Johnson (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 239-52 (pp. 242-43).

⁶² Graham Parry, *The Arts of Anglican Counter-Reformation: Glory, Laud and Honour* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), p. 114.

⁶³ Peter McCullough, 'Making Dead Men Speak: Laudianism, Print, and the Works of Lancelot Andrewes, 1626-1642', *The Historical Journal*, 41.2 (1998), 401-24.

shows that the picture carried weight for writers who supported Laudianism, such as the poet Richard Crashaw (1612/13–1648).⁶⁴

It is possible to develop McCullough's earlier observations by further demonstrating that, in fact, the posthumous reputation of Andrewes inspired a number of frontispieces and illustrated title pages which spoke to his eminence. During the 1640s and 1650s, it appears that the posthumous 'Andrewes canon' was also formulated by means of the multiple versions of portraits that were circulating with his works.⁶⁵ John Payne's other rendering of Andrewes, in which only the bust of the bishop is shown, appears as the frontispiece to *Nineteen Sermons concerning Prayer* (1641) (see Figure 2.6). This work was first published as *Scala Coeli* in octavo format in 1611, without a frontispiece portrait and without Andrewes's name on the title page. *Nineteen Sermons concerning Prayer* includes a dedicatory epistle which emphasises the necessity of prayer. Sermons 7–19 within the volume are presented as a series, with each sermon focusing on a specific part of the Lord's Prayer. With its duodecimo format and its exclusive focus on prayer, this work can usefully be categorised as one which arose from the 'Prayer Book Protestantism' movement of the 1640s.⁶⁶ Including the portrait of Andrewes enabled the writer of the new, unsigned dedicatory epistle addressed 'To the Christian *Reader*' to refrain from extolling the deceased bishop's virtues, 'for the Authours worth is so well known, that he needeth not any mans commendation; and the Work it self so perfect and elaborate, that it needeth not the Authours'.⁶⁷

This portrait appeared again in the tiny vicesimo-quarto entitled *The Form of Consecration Of A Church or Chappel* (1659). The portrait faces a depiction by Wenceslaus

⁶⁴ Mary Ellen Rickey, *Rhyme and Meaning in Richard Crashaw* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1961), p. 85.

⁶⁵ P. J. Klemp, 'Lancelot Andrewes, Plagiarism, and Pedagogy at Hampton Court in 1606', *Philological Quarterly*, 77.1 (1998), 15–39 (p. 34); Peter McCullough, 'Introduction', in *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons and Lectures*, ed. by Peter McCullough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. xi–lvii (p. xlviii).

⁶⁶ Judith Maltby, 'The Good Old Way': Prayer Book Protestantism in the 1640s and 1650s', *Studies in Church History*, 38 (2004), 233–56.

⁶⁷ Lancelot Andrewes, *Nineteen Sermons concerning Prayer* (1641), sig. A2.

Hollar of a king kneeling before an altar, saying the words ‘Deo et Ecclesiæ’ (‘God and Churches’). This image is set up with a quotation from Andrewes’s ‘Notes upon the Liturgy’ regarding the tendering of the gift by kneeling. In addition to the sermons, the ornamental title pages of Andrewes’s meditations on prayer also proclaimed allegiance to Laudianism.

Institvtiones Piæ, &c. (1630), a series of prose devotions compiled by Andrewes’s secretary, Henry Isaacson (bap. 1581, d. 1654), was provided with an engraved title page by William Marshall, reused on subsequent editions (see Figure 2.7).⁶⁸ In this architectural title page, the columns appear to be engraved with trees, upon which hang texts illustrating the Ten Commandments, represented by the word ‘LEX’ (‘LAW’) and the Creed. A pair of eyes with tears protruding from them decorate both columns. Two figures which hold a crucifix and an anchor, as personifications of the Virtues of Faith and Hope, sit on either side of the crowning arch.⁶⁹ A flaming heart represents Charity, the third theological Virtue, and the love of God.⁷⁰ These enduring motifs derived from Christian iconography are reflected in the printed text. In the section entitled ‘Motiues to Repentance’, there are many references to tears, as Andrewes argues that ‘[t]o repent, is to bewaile and grieue for our sinnes’.⁷¹ Bestselling small-format works like *Institvtiones Piæ, &c.*, *A Manval of directions for the Visitation of the sicke* (1642), and *The Form of Consecration Of A Church or Chappel* ensured that High Church devotional rituals enjoyed longevity in the post-Laudian years, with the visual representations of the eminent divine serving to ‘authorise’ Laudianism.⁷²

⁶⁸ Parry, ‘High-Church Devotion in the Church of England, 1620–42’, p. 243; Parry, *The Arts of Anglican Counter-Reformation*, p. 114.

⁶⁹ See Hebrews 6.19: ‘Which hope we have as an anchor of the soul, both sure and stedfast, and which entereth into that within the veil’.

⁷⁰ Patricia Simons, ‘The Flaming Heart: Pious and Amorous Passion in Early Modern European Medical and Visual Culture’, in *The Feeling Heart in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Meaning, Embodiment, and Making*, ed. by Katie Barclay and Bronwyn Reddan (Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2019), pp. 19–42.

⁷¹ Lancelot Andrewes, *Institvtiones Piæ, &c.* (1630), p. 170.

⁷² Maltby, “The Good Old Way”.



Figure 2.6. Lancelot Andrewes, *Nineteen Sermons concerning Prayer*. CAMBRIDGE. Printed by Roger Daniel, Printer to the Universitie. 1641. Frontispiece. British Museum, P,1.125.

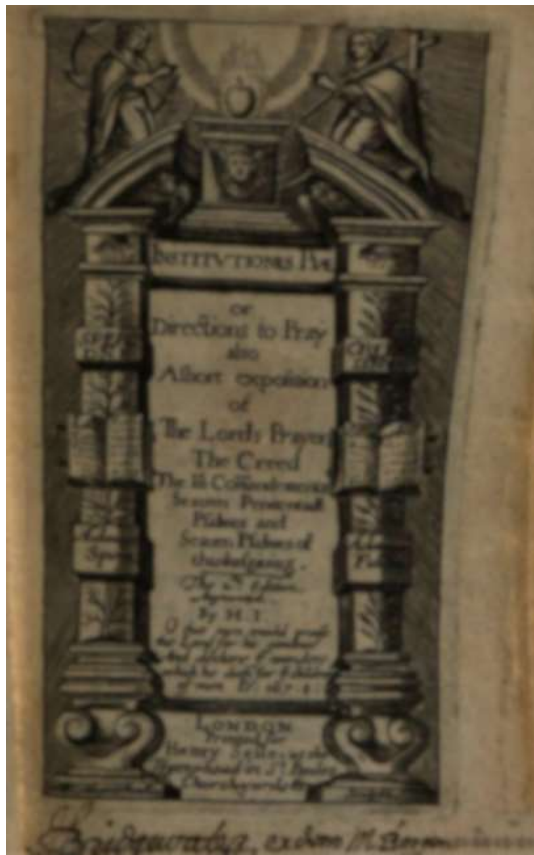


Figure 2.7. Lancelot Andrewes, *Institviones Piæ, &c. The 2d. Edition Augmented*. LONDON Printed for Henry Seile, at the Tygers-head in S. Paules Church-yard. 1633. British Library, 4411.cc.29. 12°.

Certainly, it was during this era that portraits were issued to illustrate the religio-political allegiances which needed to be proclaimed in printed sermons. These portraits included key figures who represented either Parliamentarians or Royalists; their presence provides further evidence of the precarious state of the Church of England in the years of the Civil Wars. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker have stated that '[t]he cynosure of power and authority in early modern England was patronage', which could frequently be announced on title pages or within the dedicatory epistles.⁷³ Dedicatory epistles, in turn, could often be accompanied with the portrait. A woodcut of Robert Devereux (1591–1646), Third Earl of Essex, appears as the frontispiece to *The Saints Support in these sad times, &c.* (1644) by the army chaplain Thomas Palmer (1611/12–c. 1667). The woodcut appears to be a design which was later used for the medals issued after the death of Essex.⁷⁴ The dedicatory epistle is addressed to Essex, anointing him as '*the Champion of Iesus Christ to fight the great and last Battell with Antichrist*'.⁷⁵ Palmer emphasises the retrospective nature of the dedication: '*Little did I thinke when first I preached and writ out these collections, that God intended to make them so suitable to the condition of your Excellencies Armie*'.⁷⁶ This sermon on Psalm 37.40 ('*He shall deliver them from the wicked, and save them, because they trust in him*') was originally delivered to the regiments at Tiverton, Devonshire. It serves as an example of how a preached sermon could be transformed into a product which could serve another agenda. Presented with a full dedication to a patron, both pictorially and textually, the sermon's authority, or capacity for influence regarding the Parliamentary cause, is more fully realised in the printed version.

While much research has been conducted into the influential nature of fast sermons preached during the epoch of the English Civil Wars, the Royalist fast sermons delivered at this

⁷³ Sharpe and Zwicker, 'Introduction: discovering the Renaissance reader', p. 6.

⁷⁴ See British Museum, M.7205; British Museum, M.7207. Some of these medals are fully investigated in Chapter Three.

⁷⁵ Thomas Palmer, *The Saints Support in these sad Times, &c.* (1644), sig. A2; Stuart B. Jennings, 'Palmer, Thomas (b. 1611/12, d. in or after 1667)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21219>> [accessed 6 February 2020].

⁷⁶ Palmer, *The Saints Support in these sad Times, &c.*, sig. A2.

time remain a topic ripe for investigation. A sermon attributed to Henry Killigrew (1613–1700), a chaplain in Charles I’s army, which was preached before the king at Oxford in 1643, features an anonymous frontispiece woodcut of Charles I, annotated with the words ‘CHARLES BY THE GRACE OF GOD King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.’ (see Figure 2.8).⁷⁷ This sermon was not published by Killigrew himself but by a listener.⁷⁸ The sermon immediately opens with a reference to King David’s declaration in Psalm 101.1 regarding ‘how he will behave himselfe in his Kingdome’, both towards himself and towards ‘his subjects, both in the Court, and in the Countrey’.⁷⁹ Killigrew was still preaching by the time of the Restoration, and a sermon delivered before Charles II at Whitehall on 29 May 1668 was ‘*Published by his Majesties special Command*’ with a line engraving of Charles II by Abraham Hertochs (fl. 1626–1672). In contrast to the sermon by Thomas Palmer, however, Killigrew’s Oxford sermon was not issued with ambitions for illustrious patronage in mind.

⁷⁷ H. K. [attrib. Henry Killigrew], *A Sermon Preached Before the Kings Most Excellent Majesty at Oxford* (1643).

⁷⁸ K. [attrib. Henry Killigrew], *A Sermon Preached Before the Kings Most Excellent Majesty at Oxford*, sig. A2^r.

⁷⁹ K. [attrib. Henry Killigrew], *A Sermon Preached Before the Kings Most Excellent Majesty at Oxford*, sig. A3^r.



Figure 2.8. H. K. [Henry Killigrew], *A Sermon Preached Before the Kings Most Excellent Maiesty at Oxford*. First Printed at Oxford for W. Web. and now reprinted at London for G. T. and are to be sold in the old Baily. 1643. Frontispiece. British Library, 4474.d.85. 4°.

The image of Charles I could be implemented in surprising ways which have not previously been highlighted in the extensive secondary literature covering his visual representation during this period.⁸⁰ A sermon by the army officer and preacher Samuel Kem (1604–1670) features the same anonymous image of Charles which was included in Killigrew’s sermon. Kem was a keen supporter of the Parliamentarians, initially acting as chaplain to Robert Devereux, Third Earl of Essex, at the outbreak of the English Civil Wars.⁸¹ Kem was

⁸⁰ Key works include Lois Potter, *Secret rites and secret writing: Royalist literature, 1641–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), ch. 5; *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*, ed. by Thomas N. Corns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Kevin Sharpe, ‘So Hard a Text? Images of Charles I, 1612–1700’, *The Historical Journal*, 43.2 (2000), 383–405; Andrew Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003); John Peacock, ‘The image of Charles I as a Roman emperor’, in *The 1630s: Interdisciplinary essays on culture and politics in the Caroline era*, ed. by Ian Atherton and Julie Sanders (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 50–73; Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603–1660* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), ch. 2.

⁸¹ Barbara Donagan, ‘Kem, Samuel (1604–1670)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15314>> [accessed 7 February 2020]. For the standard of Captain Samuel Kem in 1642, see London, Dr Williams’s Library, MS 12.7, reproduced in Margaret Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 106.

subsequently chaplain to Basil Feilding (c. 1608–1675), Second Earl of Denbigh, accompanying him to treat with the king at Oxford in November 1644, where *The Messengers Preparation For an Adresse to The King For a Well-grounded Peace* (1644) was first delivered.⁸² Using the lengthy text of Esther 4.16, Kem rouses his audience to abide by the ‘just Cause’.⁸³ He contends that ‘there is nothing doth so unfit us for mercy, as our divisions’, boldly wishing that God would ‘soften the Kings heart’ to incline towards unity.⁸⁴ He completes his sermon by praying for ‘an everlasting Covenant betwixt [...] God, the King, and his people’.⁸⁵ This sermon was published again, with the same frontispiece, two years later.⁸⁶ The question of the frontispiece portrait imbuing the sermon with authority is a complex one in this instance. The printed sermon was not dedicated to the king, but to various Commissioners of the Houses of Parliament, both of England and Scotland. Kem proclaims his pledge ‘*in this Cause to God, in the Parliaments Service*’.⁸⁷ The sermon, however, was preached principally with Charles in mind, as Kem was hoping to persuade the king in the negotiations at Oxford. Consequently, the portrait was a means to advertise Kem’s significant role as the important ‘Messenger’ who attempted to bring ‘a Well-grounded Peace’ to the kingdom, as the given title of the sermon indicated. In this way, the portrait both illustrated the critical presence of Charles at Kem’s sermon, and Kem’s own prowess as a negotiator.

Having deliberated upon the unusual inclusion of Charles’s portrait in a sermon preached by a Parliamentary chaplain, it is apropos to turn to the ambiguous posthumous reputation of Christopher Love (1618–1651), a Parliamentary Presbyterian preacher who was later executed for his involvement in an attempt to bring the exiled Charles II to the throne of

⁸² Donagan, ‘Kem, Samuel (1604–1670)’.

⁸³ Samuel Kem, *The Messengers Preparation For an Adresse to the King For a Well-grounded Peace* (1644), p. 2.

⁸⁴ Kem, *The Messengers Preparation For an Adresse to the King For a Well-grounded Peace*, pp. 6–7.

⁸⁵ Kem, *The Messengers Preparation For an Adresse to the King For a Well-grounded Peace*, p. 30.

⁸⁶ Samuel Kem, *A Sermon Preached before the Commissioners of both Kingdomes, &c.* (1646).

⁸⁷ Kem, *The Messengers Preparation For an Adresse to the King For a Well-grounded Peace*, unpaginated.

England.⁸⁸ The year after his execution, two octavo volumes of sermons were printed with versions of his portrait. One of the portraits, executed by the engraver Thomas Cross (*fl.* 1644–1682), portrays a curtain which has been drawn back to reveal the deceased, yet immortalised minister.⁸⁹ One hand is placed on his heart, perhaps symbolising his surname ‘Love’, while the other holds a quarto volume, in contrast to the numerous portraits which depicted ministers gesturing with their hands in the act of preaching. This portrait appears in *The Naturall Mans Case stated, &c.* (1652), a collection of eighteen sermons including his funeral sermon, which was published by Edmund Calamy. It also appears in *Grace: The Truth and Growth and Different Degrees thereof* (1652), a collection of sixteen sermons published by Edmund Calamy and three other clerical colleagues. The editors of the latter volume emphasise the authenticity of these sermons published ‘from his own notes’.⁹⁰ Yet, like the posthumous sermons of James Nalton discussed at the beginning of this section, the question of ‘authority’ is a complex one, and it was not necessarily the case that the inclusion of the portrait could sufficiently represent the authenticity of the author’s writings as they were intended to be read by others, even if the impact of the portrait remained the same. In any event, the posthumous reputation of Love is evident in scribal copies of printed sermons. British Library, Harley MS 6898 contains a full transcription of a sermon preached in memory of Love by Edmund Calamy on ‘the next Lords Day’ after Love’s execution.⁹¹

Unlike Christopher Love, John Hewitt (bap. 1614, d. 1658) was unambiguously Royalist for his whole career, serving as a chaplain to Charles. Tried and found guilty for

⁸⁸ E. C. Vernon, ‘Love, Christopher (1618–1651)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17038>> [accessed 7 February 2020]. For visual representations of Love, see Helmer J. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics, and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 103–04.

⁸⁹ For Thomas Cross, see Astington, ‘Visual Texts’, pp. 226–27; Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 172.

⁹⁰ Christopher Love, *Grace: The Truth and Growth and Different Degrees thereof* (1652), sigs A2^v.

⁹¹ London, British Library, Harley MS 6898, fols 145^v–184^v.

complicity in a Royalist plot, Hewitt was beheaded at Tower Hill on 8 June 1658.⁹² *Nine Select Sermons, &c.* (1658), an octavo volume, was published after his execution and includes an anonymous frontispiece portrait of the executed clergyman framed within a simple roundel (Figure 2.9).⁹³ The portrait's likeness to a commemorative portrait miniature is referred to in the accompanying verse: Hewitt can only be 'limned' by his 'own | Fair pencill'.⁹⁴ The editors of the small volume, identifiable only as 'H. E.' and 'T. R.', state that the sermons are 'but parts of that *Image*' which they wished to construct in full in a larger volume, to be published at a later date.⁹⁵ '[H]aving already in part undergone the reproach of some malicious tongues', the editors nonetheless held 'an ardent desire to draw a Landskip of the reverend Authors abilities', which would 'prove advantageous to the eternal welfare of every Soul' who would read the sermons.⁹⁶ It appears that these sermons were issued to ensure that Hewitt's representation would be untarnished, with the portrait complementing the quality of the sermons within the small memorial volume.

It is interesting to observe that none of these volumes of the sermons of Christopher Love and John Hewitt claims, in their epistles, to be political statements. In fact, it is stated in *Grace: The Truth and Growth and Different Degrees thereof* that '[t]his whole discourse is not about *State*, but *Soul-affairs*'.⁹⁷ Their octavo formats suggest their function as portable memorials, yet they could also have served as covert religious books for Royalist sympathisers. The images of both Christopher Love and John Hewitt, alongside William Laud, would be celebrated in martyrologies and prints in the Restoration. Hewitt and Laud appear as 'Loyall

⁹² J. T. Peacey, 'Hewitt [Hewytt, Hewett], John (bap. 1614, d. 1658)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13147>> [accessed 7 February 2020].

⁹³ For oval formats as a type of 'presentational device' relating to painted miniatures, see Tarnya Cooper and Andrew Hadfield, 'Edmund Spenser and Elizabethan portraiture', *Renaissance Studies*, 27.3 (2013), 407–34 (p. 424).

⁹⁴ The affinity of portrait miniatures with commemorative engraved portraits in the printed funeral sermon is discussed in Chapter Three.

⁹⁵ John Hewitt, *Nine Select Sermons, &c.* (1658), sig. A4^r.

⁹⁶ Hewitt, *Nine Select Sermons, &c.*, unpaginated.

⁹⁷ Love, *Grace: The Truth and Growth and Different Degrees thereof*, sig. A3^r.

subjects’ surrounding the bust of Charles I in a finely executed print of famous Royalist martyrs (see Figure 2.10). The print is untitled, but headed with a single biblical text; namely, I Chronicles 12.1 (*‘These are y^e cheife of them that came to David to Ziklag, and they were among y^e mighty men helpers of the War’*). *The Loyall Martyrology, &c.* (1665), a prose collection of hagiographies by the poet William Winstanley (d. 1698), opens with a woodcut frontispiece of Royalist martyrs and other loyalists, all of whom are assigned numbers. Its accompanying poem goes through each of the numbers chronologically. Hewitt is described as ‘England’s Chrysostome’ and Love is praised for his loyalty.⁹⁸ Whereas the sermons of Love and Hewitt, which were published during the Interregnum and appended with portraits, did not claim to make political statements, these later representations certainly proclaimed their allegiances more publicly.



⁹⁸ William Winstanley, *The Loyall Martyrology, &c.* (1665), unpaginated.

TAV. E. Stafford

Those are the chiefs of them that came to David to Ziklag, and they were among the mighty men helpers of the war. Gen. 1.22.1

Ra. Ba. E. Lindsey | La. G. M. Montross | Sp. C. E. Northampton

Hen. J. M. Worcester

Ed. E. Caernarvon

Lo. F. E. Kingston

B. S. E. Litchfield

G. G. E. Norwich

Lo. C. L. V. Faulkland

Ra. E. Merton

Ar. J. Capel

S. Ben. Grenville

S. Geo. Lisle

S. Ch. Lucas

F. E. Derby

D. Jo. Hewitt

Behold a Monarch Martyr (Round beset with Loyall Subjects) Charles the Good, the Great, The Grandeur of whose Actions will strike dumbe The present, and amuse the Age to come.

Sold by Samuel Spier at the Rainbow, betwene the two Temple Gates, in Fleet street.

Figure 2.10. [King Charles I and his adherents]. Sold by Samuel Speed at the Rainbow, betweene the two Temple Gates, in Fleet streete (c. 1663–1669). Line engraving. 10.5 × 6.75 in. National Portrait Gallery, D22673.

The question of the portrait as an exhibition of the preacher's authority becomes yet more nebulous when considering those portraits in the sermons of clergymen who were still living. In some ways, however, although he was still living, the minister Henry Burton (bap. 1578, d. 1647/8) could have been considered a kind of martyr for the Independent cause. Convicted of seditious preaching, his ears were cut off in the pillory in June 1637.⁹⁹ A simple woodcut portrait of Burton appears on the title page of *A most Godly Sermon, &c.* (1641), which was a call for self-denial in the face of 'evill times', and which was initially delivered on 10 October 1641.¹⁰⁰ By this time, all previous penalties against Burton had been reversed and Burton's enemy, Laud, had been committed to the Tower of London.¹⁰¹ Consisting of just seven pages in total, the sermon most closely resembles a quarto pamphlet. Considering the era in which it was printed, it is possible to conclude that this sermon was printed in response to the declining hegemony of the Laudian 'textual and bibliographical politics of the 1630s'.¹⁰² In fact, there is a telling reference to Burton's prosecution: 'No marvell then if the world cry out of *Christ*, and call him a seditious Person'.¹⁰³ While Laud had invested time and care into issuing the sermons of the venerable Lancelot Andrewes with engraved portraits and title pages to promote the doctrinal authority of the Laudian Church, this pamphlet-sermon hybrid was readily available for purchasers of cheap print. Burton was a renowned and notorious figure,

⁹⁹ John Coffey, 'Burton, Henry (1578–1648)', in *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia*, ed. by Francis J. Bremer and Tom Webster, 2 vols (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2006), I, p. 42; Kenneth Gibson, 'Burton, Henry (bap. 1578, d. 1647/8)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4129>> [accessed 7 February 2020].

¹⁰⁰ Henry Burton, *A most Godly Sermon, &c.* (1641), unpaginated.

¹⁰¹ Gibson, 'Burton, Henry (bap. 1578, d. 1647/8)'.

¹⁰² Katrin Ettenhuber, 'The Preacher and Patristics', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 34–53 (pp. 49–50).

¹⁰³ Burton, *A most Godly Sermon, &c.*, sig. A2'.

and his image would have undoubtedly assisted in the sermon's steady selling. The portrait's primary function in this instance was therefore as a tool for the pamphlet-sermon's saleability.

Sensational visibility for promotional purposes was a central concern for another preacher of great notoriety. The apostate Richard Carpenter (1604/5–1670?), who spent his career alternating between the Catholic faith, the Church of England and Independent ministry, was keen to include portraits with many of his works, although some of these were far from flattering.¹⁰⁴ One of these portraits appears directly after the opening epistle in the Bodleian Library copy of *The Jesuit, and the Monk, &c.* (1656), an anti-Catholic sermon first delivered on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot in 1656 (see Figure 2.11). In this frontispiece, executed by William Faithorne (c. 1620–1691), Carpenter is portrayed facing a Jesuit or monk in profile with a monstrous creature in his mouth. This striking image of the 'Gerasen Hog', which appears in the mouth of the man in profile and which originated from the Miracle of the Swine as discussed in three Gospels of the New Testament, is elucidated in the dedicatory epistle.¹⁰⁵ According to Carpenter, the Gerasen Hog was a pig with horns and the forked tongue of a snake, breathing fire. The Gerasen Hog itself represents the false tongue of the Jesuit or monk.¹⁰⁶ Within the sermon itself, the pictorial nature of the Greek alphabet is further used to represent straight personalities versus the crooked nature of lying Jesuits or monks.¹⁰⁷ It can be concluded that Carpenter was alert to the visual possibilities of print to portray his renunciation of the Catholic faith. The portrait combined realism with the emblematic to promote Carpenter's personal battle against Catholicism. The notorious portrait was to appear in other sermons by Carpenter.¹⁰⁸ Can this portrait truly be representative of the

¹⁰⁴ William E. Burns, 'Carpenter, Richard (1604/5–1670?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4739>> [accessed 7 February 2020].

¹⁰⁵ Alison Shell, 'Multiple Conversion and the Menippean Self: the Case of Richard Carpenter', in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti (Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1999), pp. 154–97 (pp. 181–85).

¹⁰⁶ Richard Carpenter, *The Jesuit, and the Monk, &c.* (1656), sig. A3^v.

¹⁰⁷ Shell, 'Multiple Conversion and the Menippean Self', pp. 181–85.

¹⁰⁸ Shell, 'Multiple Conversion and the Menippean Self', p. 197 n. 86.

traditional kind of ‘authority’ held up by such archetypes as Droeshout’s portrait of Shakespeare?



Figure 2.11. Richard Carpenter, *The Iesuit, and the Monk, &c. LONDON*, Printed by *Francis Leach*, 1656. Frontispiece, facing sig. A2^v. Bodleian Library, Ashm. 1196 (12). 4^o.

Having explored the multifaceted nature of ‘authority’ in the frontispiece portrait, this section concludes by briefly considering the wider impact of portraits of clergymen. It was also the case that singly issued portraits of divines could refer directly to their printed sermons, enabling purchasers of prints to draw connections between the individual sermons and their authors. As Lee Palmer Wandel has explained, such broadsheets ‘might be posted on a wall, in

a workshop or in a marketplace, their images at once amplifying and illustrating such text as they offered, blurring the line between viewing and reading'.¹⁰⁹ A print of Henry Burton designed by Wenceslaus Hollar, c. 1637, is accompanied with a lengthy text which provided the latest news about the religious controversialist.¹¹⁰ The text draws attention to two of his sermons, published as a single pamphlet entitled *For God, and the King* the year before the print was issued, which expounded 'against Popish innovations' and for which he was unjustly punished. Once again, this print is likely to have been issued as a reaction against Laudian autocracy in the print market.

Another anti-Laudian Hollar etching of Peter Smart (1568/9–c. 1652), whose ministry was in Durham, dates from 1641. Smart's portrait has a partial legend which comprises the biblical text that formed the basis of his only published sermon (see Figure 2.12).¹¹¹ The sermon itself, which was delivered in 1628, was strongly directed against Laudianism, or 'Popery', as highlighted within the text below the portrait; accordingly, Smart was imprisoned and forced both to pay a large fine and to recant. Deprived of his livings, he was not released from prison until 12 November 1640, although money was raised by his supporters to further his cause. The print was issued in 1641 at the time of the imprisonment of Laud, undoubtedly to garner further support for the minister, who was promptly restored to his prebend and presented to a new living upon release.¹¹² The print was also accompanied with a rhyming couplet attributed by the printmaker to George Abbot (1562–1633), Archbishop of Canterbury, which encouraged

¹⁰⁹ Lee Palmer Wandel, 'Catechisms: Teaching the Eye to Read the World', in *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. by Feike Dietz and others (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 53–76 (p. 55).

¹¹⁰ British Museum, 2005,U.221; F. G. Stephens and M. D. George, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Division I: Political and Personal Satires*, 11 vols (London: Chiswick Press, 1870–1954), I, pp. 91–93.

¹¹¹ Peter Smart, *A Sermon Preached in the Cathedrall Chvrch of Dyrham* (1628); Stephens and George, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, I, pp. 62–63. For a similar etching, issued in c. 1646–1652, see British Museum, 1862,0614.1402. For Smart's sermon, see Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation*, p. 606.

¹¹² Elizabeth Allen, 'Smart, Peter (1568/9–c. 1652)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25745>> [accessed 7 February 2020].

Smart to ‘*preach downe vaine rites with flagrant harte*’. Finally, with the pointed reference towards the controversial sermon, viewers of the print were also directed towards purchasing the newly reissued text of 1640.¹¹³



Figure 2.12. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Peter Smart* (1641). Etching, 135 × 85 mm. British Museum, 2005,U.252.

By reconsidering the multiple functions of the frontispiece portrait in the early modern printed sermon, this section of the chapter has demonstrated their integral value to the publications in a variety of ways. Most importantly, this section has sought to question the

¹¹³ Peter Smart, *A Sermon Preached in the Cathedrall Chvrch of Dvrham, &c.* (1640).

notion of ‘authority’. While scholars have previously categorised these images as standard representations of authority with little further comment, this section has begun to unpack the different kinds of ‘authority’ which portraits could carry. A portrait of a cleric could not guarantee that the sermons were published as the clergyman had originally delivered them, although they could serve as symbols of tribute by the editors, whether they were clerical colleagues or family members. Portraits were not always venerable portrayals of exemplars of piety; in the case of Richard Carpenter, they could serve as striking statements which combined realism with the emblematic to illustrate the incendiary content of the sermon. Portraits were also inserted to compete in the ‘marketplace of print’, as revealed by texts such as *The Archbishop of Canterbury’s Speech, &c.* and *A most Godly Sermon, &c.* by Henry Burton.¹¹⁴ Certainly, in the period of the English Civil Wars, the inclusion of portraits of key figures such as Charles I and Robert Devereux, Third Earl of Essex, enabled these publications to stand out in a crowded marketplace. The image of Charles I was implemented not only to represent the cause promoted by a Royalist fast sermon, but also served to indicate his presence at a crucial event, thereby highlighting the religio-political standing of Samuel Kem, the minister concerned, even though he was not a Royalist.

Scrutiny of these works from a book-historical perspective has further complicated the question of the ‘authority’ which a portrait could offer. As scholars have previously observed, portraits within folio collections of sermons conveyed a kind of venerable authority which implied preservation for posterity.¹¹⁵ However, attention must also be given to the collections of sermons which were issued in smaller formats, such as the octavo editions of the sermons of Christopher Love and John Hewitt. Within the era in which they were published, these texts were contentious. Their small formats ensured that it was possible for people to carry them

¹¹⁴ Alexandra Halasz, *The marketplace of print: Pamphlets and the public sphere in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

¹¹⁵ Sharpe and Zwicker, ‘Introduction: discovering the Renaissance reader’, p. 5.

privately, the portraits within functioning as covert mementoes for the Royalist cause shortly after the execution of certain Royalist martyrs. These individuals would be celebrated in public prints issued during the early years of the Restoration. Prints themselves, issued with portraits of divines, could advertise important printed sermons for an enthusiastic public.¹¹⁶ Printers and preachers acting as editors recognised the advantages to be gained in furthering the ministry of churchmen, both living and deceased, by appending portraits to their printed sermons and issuing them as single-sheet prints. Aspects of the popular print and broadside were combined with the frontispiece portrait in the ‘Warhol-esque’ depictions of ejected ministers which appeared within illicit sermon collections published in the early 1660s.¹¹⁷

This section has also attempted to fill a lacuna in the field of early modern book history by focusing on the art-historical aspects of these portraits of divines that were appended to their publications. By exploring a representation of Hugh Latimer by George Gifford in the 1630s, in which the bishop was clothed in contemporary clerical dress to reflect the era in which the edition was published for the sake of readers at that time, it has been possible to demonstrate that historical accuracy and a divine’s visual ‘authority’ did not necessarily go hand-in-hand. This section of the chapter has also compared representations of William Fenner, showing how the deterioration of quality within his pictorial representations over a period of nearly forty years was not an indication of decline, but rather increase in the demand for his publications among a wider audience. As a final comment on the scope which an art-historical approach can offer, it is important to observe that few scholars have taken the opportunity to compare these common depictions of the clergy in the act of preaching with contemporaneous illustrations on the Continent. The Dutch Reformed minister, Jan Cornelisz Sylvius (1564–1638), was

¹¹⁶ The advertisement of printed sermons in single-sheet prints will be explored again at the end of Chapter Four.

¹¹⁷ David J. Appleby, *Black Bartholomew’s Day: Preaching, polemic and Restoration nonconformity* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2007), ch. 4; Andrew Cambers, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580–1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 249; Dixon, ‘Sermons in Print, 1660–1700’, pp. 460–79.

immortalised in an etching by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669). The declaiming hand of Sylvius, in addition to the folio Bible in front of him, casts a shadow, which gives simultaneous emphasis to the gesture and the text (see Figure 2.13).¹¹⁸ The sentiment of Rembrandt’s etching might be compared with Hollar’s second engraving of William Fenner, who appears to lean out of a window, presenting the reader with ‘*his Book*’ (see Figure 2.3).



Figure 2.13. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jan Cornelisz Sylvius* (1646). Etching, drypoint and burin. 278 × 188 mm. British Museum, 1910,0212.373.

¹¹⁸ Michael Bockemühl, *Rembrandt* (Cologne: Taschen, 2004), p. 39; Shelley Perlove and Larry Silver, *Rembrandt's Faith: Church and Temple in the Dutch Golden Age* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), pp. 18–20; Hilary Williams, *Rembrandt on Paper* (Los Angeles, CA: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009), pp. 32–33.

Additionally, there are other avenues of enquiry which have been subject to little investigation, particularly relating to the histories which such portraits and their associated legends can reveal about the sitters themselves. In recent years, increasing attention has been paid to the discovery of supplementary sources of biographical information about certain clergymen, including subscribed copies of the Thirty-Nine Articles.¹¹⁹ Frontispiece portraits can also provide crucial biographical information.¹²⁰ Two separate portraits of William Fenner invite a reassessment of his dates. While Fenner is generally considered to have been born c. 1600 and to have died c. 1640, the portraits in *The Sacrifice of the Faithfull* (1649) and the 1654 edition of *The Danger of deferring Repentance* are inscribed with the words ‘Ætatis. 45’, indicating that Fenner lived for more than the forty-year span of his proposed dates (see Figure 2.5).¹²¹ It is notable that the case for a reconsideration of his dates is strengthened when one turns to the title page of *The Sacrifice of the Faithfull*, which provides no indication that Fenner was ‘lately’ Lecturer of Rochford. On the other hand, the title page of the third edition of *A Divine Message to the Elect Sovl* (1652) indicates that Fenner was ‘Sometimes Fellow of *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*, and late Minister of *Rochford* in *Essex*’. As the preliminary material to *The Works of The Learned and Faithful Minister of Gods Word, M. William Fenner, &c.* (1651) suggests, Fenner had certainly died by 1651. Thomas Hill, the editor of *The Works*, provides some brief biographical information about Fenner before expressing a wish that ‘*we who are left behinde in these conflicting times, could more punctually and closely follow his example*’.¹²² It is towards other prefatory material, including illustrated title pages and

¹¹⁹ Austen Saunders, ‘Articles of Assent: Clergymen’s Subscribed Copies of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England’, in *Early Modern English Marginalia*, ed. by Katherine Acheson (New York, NY and London: Routledge, 2019), pp. 115–33.

¹²⁰ Cooper and Hadfield, ‘Edmund Spenser and Elizabethan portraiture’, p. 412.

¹²¹ A. C. Bickley, ‘Fenner, William (c. 1600–c. 1640)’, rev. by Mark Robert Bell, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9291>> [accessed 15 June 2020].

¹²² William Fenner, *The Works of The Learned and Faithful Minister of Gods Word, M. William Fenner, &c.* (1651), sig. B2’. See also the prefatory material written by Edmund Calamy in Fenner, *A Divine Message to the Elect Sovl*, unpaginated.

emblematic woodcuts, which also provided crucial signals, information and news for contemporary readers, that this chapter will now turn.

‘Divine Opticks’ and ‘Scripture Emblemes’: Illustrated Title Pages and Frontispieces

A wide range of illustrated title pages, from the single, emblematic woodcut to the intricate engraving which was often a composite of numerous scenes and ornamental, yet symbolic visual motifs, graces numerous individual printed sermons and sermon collections. This section of the chapter begins by discussing a selection of the simpler devices which provided succinct summaries of the sermon’s context or content, before questioning the rich symbolism present in the ‘comely’ title pages of collections of seventeenth-century sermons which might have merited inclusion in Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown’s renowned study.¹²³ Indeed, the images on these title pages were certainly a means by which both authors and printers could express themselves, as Corbett and Lightbown have shown, in a ‘second language’.¹²⁴ As this section argues, these images bear further study as they constitute evidence of the extent to which a range of sermon publications could be illustrated with religious material.¹²⁵ Certain images explored in this section testify to the printer’s vested interests in these texts, as they illustrated very specific and symbolic parts of them. Not only does this section identify and attribute the sources of these images, but it also evaluates the intended effects of these pictorial

¹²³ Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550–1660* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979). See also Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake, ‘Introduction’, in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 1–20 (p. 9); Alastair Fowler, *The Mind of the Book: Pictorial Title Pages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

¹²⁴ Corbett and Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece*, p. 1.

¹²⁵ Illustrated sermons not included in the discussion include Stephen Denison, *The White Wolfe, &c.* (1627).

elements, as contained within their respective book-formats, upon their readership. This section makes further developments upon the pioneering work of Tessa Watt by determining that this most prominent genre of religious print did, in fact, exploit the potential of the woodcut picture.¹²⁶

The Merchant Royall by the royal chaplain Robert Wilkinson is a well-studied work, owing to its status as the only surviving printed text of a court marriage sermon; namely, that of the Scottish favourite and future First Earl of Carlisle, Lord James Hay (c. 1580–1636) to an English heiress, Honoria Denny (d. 1614) on Twelfth Night, 1607. Much has been made of the sermon's political application to the negotiations made by James I to bring Scotland and England together.¹²⁷ However, little commentary has been made upon the sermon's transition to print, although Lori Anne Ferrell has observed the 'attractive woodcut illustration of a stately galleon, sails billowing, flags flying proudly' which graces its title page.¹²⁸ In this era, the 'ship' metaphor was commonly employed, visually and textually, as a representation of the commonwealth.¹²⁹ The dedicatory epistle further underscores the central nautical theme in its presentation of '[a] ship first built in Paradise [...] but since repaired for the Merchants vse against the troubles of the sea'.¹³⁰

The biblical text is Proverbs 31.14 ('She is like the merchants' ships: she bringeth her food from afar'). Citing Revelation 4.6, Wilkinson explains that the world is 'transitorie and brittle as glasse, tumultuous and troublesome like the sea'. Furthermore, 'as *Noah* made an

¹²⁶ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), ch. 4; Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, pp. 40, 180–81.

¹²⁷ The 'Application to the King' begins from p. 33 of Robert Wilkinson, *The Merchant Royall* (1607). Steve Hindle, 'Imagining Insurrection in Seventeenth-Century England: Representations of the Midland Rising of 1607', *History Workshop Journal*, 66 (2008), 21–61 (p. 33).

¹²⁸ Lori Anne Ferrell, 'The sacred, the profane and the Union: politics of sermon and masque at the court wedding of Lord and Lady Hay', in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, ed. by Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 45–64 (pp. 53–56). See also Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, pp. 205–06.

¹²⁹ Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, pp. 96–98; Mark Knights and others, 'Commonwealth: The Social, Cultural, and Conceptual Contexts of an Early Modern Keyword', *The Historical Journal*, 54.3 (2011), 659–87 (p. 674).

¹³⁰ Wilkinson, *The Merchant Royall*, sig. A3r.

Arke, and by that Arke escaped the floude, so man by marying with the woman might passe thorough [*sic*] all the labors of this life'.¹³¹ Although initially praising the constancy of the ship, or woman, Wilkinson does offer criticism of woman's 'foolish fashions [...] with a ruffe like a sail' and 'a feather in her cap like a flag in her top'.¹³² While this evocative imagery has been highlighted previously by historians discussing the wide-ranging nature of Wilkinson's criticisms of, and observations upon, court culture, this present analysis focuses upon the other pictorial elements of the printed text that have previously escaped attention.¹³³ These particular images ought not to be overlooked as they suggest the extent of one printer's involvement in producing these texts for the edification of readers. Wilkinson concludes his sermon by turning towards the bride, finding a '*sheafe of wheate* and a *handful of wheate* aduanced' upon her 'sterne', symbolising 'Plentie, peace and prosperitie'. Wilkinson is pleased to report that these symbols take the place of 'superstition' or 'idolatrie' in the bride's family.¹³⁴ Representations of a wheat sheaf and a hand grasping some wheat appear on either side of the galleon on the first London edition issued in 1607 (see Figure 2.14). With the images of these crops, the title page of the first London edition thus celebrates the fruitfulness of the connection between the Hay and Denny families.

Whether Wilkinson himself felt that an image of a ship was necessary for inclusion on the title page of the publication is another matter. In the sermon itself, he compares a 'water-pageant' with a merchant's ship, describing the former as unprofitable and no more than a picture, 'good for nothing but to please the eye'.¹³⁵ A similar metaphor is wrought later: 'as the painting of a ship by weather and by water is washt away, so shall all carnall beautie by sorow, age and sicknes euen wither and waste into wrinkles'.¹³⁶ Consequently, while Wilkinson was

¹³¹ Wilkinson, *The Merchant Royall*, pp. 5-6.

¹³² Wilkinson, *The Merchant Royall*, p. 15.

¹³³ Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 192.

¹³⁴ Wilkinson, *The Merchant Royall*, p. 38.

¹³⁵ Wilkinson, *The Merchant Royall*, pp. 18-19.

¹³⁶ Wilkinson, *The Merchant Royall*, p. 32.

adept at sustaining rich imagery in his sermon that was appropriate for the grand occasion, he may also have been ambivalent in his attitude towards the physical representation of images, in the same way that the ‘ship’ metaphor was also used to admonish fashionable women. It is also important to observe that few scholars have commented upon the significance of the appearance of later editions of this bestselling text, which is indicative of the marginalised role represented by printed images within sermon scholarship. The sermon was initially published in both London and Edinburgh in 1607, and in London in 1613 and 1615, and the ships appear in altered states on every single edition. The wheat emblems are not present in any text apart from the first London edition by Felix Kingston (d. 1653), while all images have vanished in the later editions of the seventeenth century.¹³⁷ In considering these variants, and in the absence of concrete evidence such as any correspondence between Wilkinson and the printers, it might be concluded that Wilkinson had little input in the visual components of the sermon’s production. Instead, the edition by Kingston illustrates the level of involvement which the printer himself is likely to have had in digesting the text and creating visual emblems for the title page. *The Merchant Royall* is therefore an example of a printed sermon which was not hastily issued, but whose production and visual presentation was carefully considered by certain printers.

¹³⁷ See, for example, Robert Wilkinson, *The Merchant Royal, &c.* (1682). For Kingston, see David L. Gants, ‘A Quantitative Analysis of the London Book Trade 1614–1618’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 55 (2002), 185–213 (p. 201); Karen Britland, ‘Felix Kingston, Aurelian Townshend’s *Ante-Masques*, and the Masque at Oatlands, 1635’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79.4 (2016), 655–75 (pp. 657–59).

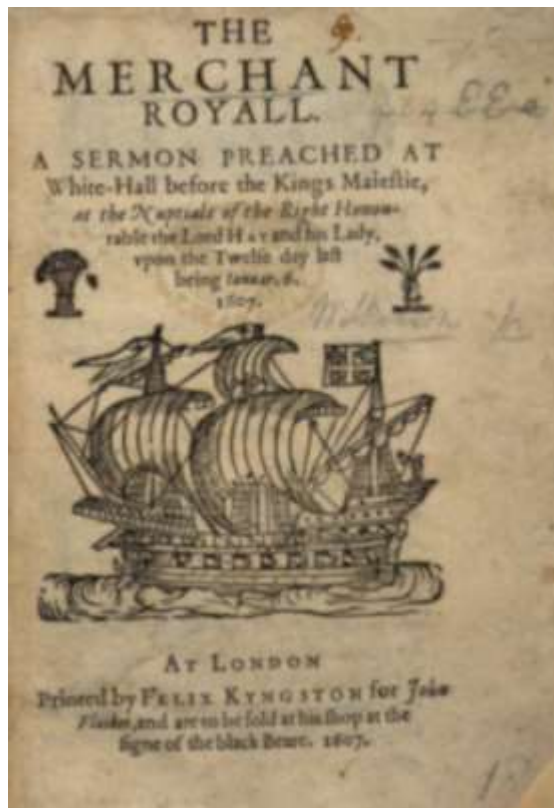


Figure 2.14. Robert Wilkinson, *The Merchant Royall*. AT LONDON Printed by FELIX KYNGSTON for *John Flasket*, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the black Beare. 1607. British Library, 695.h.13.(1). 4°.

The bespoke nature of sermon title pages could further manifest itself in the presentation of information about a minister which accompanied the woodcut. *Orders given out; the Word, Stand Fast* (1647) is advertised as being preached by ‘Major *Samuel Kem*’, an unusual departure from the means by which ministers were often presented on the title pages of their sermons. It was academic credentials and important posts or chaplaincies, as opposed to military positions, which were more frequently used to advertise the prestige of the authors of printed sermons. *Orders given out; the Word, Stand Fast* was a farewell sermon preached on 8 November 1646, delivered upon Kem’s embarkation for service at sea.¹³⁸ The title page displays a woodcut of shield, decorated with a castle and a ship upon the sea. The sea-faring

¹³⁸ Samuel Kem, *Orders given out; the Word, Stand Fast* (1647); Donagan, ‘Kem, Samuel (1604–1670)’.

image and the verbal description of the author provide some indication as to the military readership for which this sermon was intended. In the sermon proper, the application of I Corinthians 16.13–14 (*‘Stand fast in the Faith: quit you like men: Be strong. Let all things be done in love’*) appears to commence immediately. Kem weaves military instruction with biblical exhortation, announcing to his auditory that ‘[t]he Alarum beats Christian soldiers, to your arms, take heed (as the case stands) of facing about, but as you were; to your ground of Scripture foundations, and so *stand fast in the faith*’.¹³⁹ He proceeds by explaining that ‘[t]he Commander in cheif of this Regiment is Error [...] and therefore *stand fast*, for his fairest quarter is ruine’.¹⁴⁰ He finishes his sermon by punning on the ‘divisions’ which he has made to the text and the ‘sad, yet bold divisions of these times’, continuing to intertwine military metaphors with Christian values.¹⁴¹ One of the introductory verses written especially in honour of the farewell sermon and its author had claimed that ‘Wel hast thou left the Land to put to Sea | Where you’l not find so much inconstancie’.¹⁴² Much more than a ‘crude woodcut’, this simple scene on the title page summarised the theme of departure, with the shield itself illustrating the accompanying biblical text of Ephesians 6.11 (*‘Put on the whole Armour of God that yee may be able to stand, &c.’*).¹⁴³

This section has thus far focused attention on printers’ interpretations of certain sermons and the decorative woodcuts which were designed for their title pages. Title-page woodcuts, in combination with other important textual information presented on the title pages, did not just ‘match an allusion in the title’ but could provide certain indications as to the intended readership of the sermons.¹⁴⁴ This section of the chapter now considers more elaborate illustrations of biblical scenes on engraved title pages. Biblical imagery in Protestant

¹³⁹ Kem, *Orders given out; the Word, Stand Fast*, p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ Kem, *Orders given out; the Word, Stand Fast*, p. 2.

¹⁴¹ Kem, *Orders given out; the Word, Stand Fast*, p. 18.

¹⁴² Kem, *Orders given out; the Word, Stand Fast*, unpaginated.

¹⁴³ Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, p. 196.

¹⁴⁴ Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, pp. 212–13.

contexts, from the domestic to the ecclesiastical, continues to constitute a vibrant area for study.¹⁴⁵ It was certainly the case that specific aspects of religious symbolism were less acceptable than others. After the Elizabethan Settlement, the visual representation of biblical stories took precedence over iconic images of sacred figures.¹⁴⁶ The Holy Ghost, portrayed as a dove, was not approved of in Elizabethan England, although there are nonetheless some printers' devices which continued to use it.¹⁴⁷ While this topic has been examined at admirable length by David J. Davis, his coverage did not include biblical printed images in sermons.¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Davis usefully elucidates the numerous roles of images of divine visions in print culture; namely, 'as political propaganda, didactic aids in understanding scripture and visual stimulants in personal piety'.¹⁴⁹ In addition, as Corbett and Lightbown have determined, biblical figures depicted either alone or within scenes were interpreted as historical personages; this was the case particularly with Old Testament figures. The accuracy of the scenes as portrayed in the Bible was paramount.¹⁵⁰

Sometimes divines were included within this dialogue as 'historical personages' who were portrayed as leading lights of the Church of England. *The Best Name on Earth* (1657), a

¹⁴⁵ Tara Hamling, 'The Appreciation of Religious Images in Plasterwork in the Protestant Domestic Interior', in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 147–67; Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*.

¹⁴⁶ Hamling, 'Visual Culture', p. 88.

¹⁴⁷ John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535–1660* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1973), p. 115. For the visual representation of the dove in the Laudian era, see Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 160. Another important question surrounds the re-acceptance of the dove in visual print culture. See Jeremy Taylor, *The Great Exemplar of Sanctity and Holy Life*, &c. (1657), which features, among various plates of saints and the Virgin Mary, a depiction of the Annunciation, over which the dove presides.

¹⁴⁸ David J. Davis, *Seeing Faith, Printing Pictures: Religious Identity during the English Reformation* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), especially ch. 6.

¹⁴⁹ David J. Davis, 'Godly Visions and Idolatrous Sights: Images of Divine Revelation in Early English Bibles', in *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. by Feike Dietz and others (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 167–82 (p. 169).

¹⁵⁰ Corbett and Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece*, p. 39; Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 161; Richard L. Williams, 'The Reformation of an Icon: Portraits of Christ in Protestant England', in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 71–86 (pp. 77–78); Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household*, pp. 19, 49, 52; Kevin Killeen, 'Veiled Speech: Preaching, Politics and Scriptural Typology', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 387–403 (pp. 391–94); Hamling, 'Visual Culture', p. 88.

collection of sermons by the Essex-based clergyman Thomas Fuller (1607/8–1661), includes a frontispiece portrait of Fuller at his writing-desk. This portrait faces a scene designed by Wenceslaus Hollar, which portrays the biblical city of Antioch. In the first sermon on Acts 11.16 (‘And the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch’), Fuller begins his analysis ‘with the place called *Antioch*’.¹⁵¹ According to Fuller, Antioch is in Coele-Syria, which lies ‘in a hollow vale interposed between the mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*’, as illustrated in the frontispiece.¹⁵² The sermon explores the virtuous label of ‘Christian’ which was first applied at Antioch to the disciples of Jesus. As the epistle to the reader explains, such a sermon, although delivered at an earlier date, was appropriate for the time in which it was published, when ‘*new names of severall factions* [were] *daily invented*’.¹⁵³ The placement of the pictures within this octavo volume appears to be designed in such a way as to portray the figure of Fuller gathering inspiration at his writing-desk, contemplating the historical city of Antioch which had first provided the label of ‘Christian’ with an historical pedigree. These pictures served as important interpretative tools for a reader.

Fuller’s case was not an isolated example. *The Doctrine of the Saints Infirmities* (1636) by John Preston combined the portrait of the deceased worthy with biblical scenes which were pertinent to its content. By analysing this intricate title page, it is possible to observe the comparative intellectual demands made by the sermon in print as opposed to the preached sermon, a fact noted by historians but not hitherto discussed in detail.¹⁵⁴ A certain kind of visual literacy, particularly in Christian symbolism, would have been required to draw the reader’s attention to the specific issues explored within the text. In this duodecimo treatise, which had

¹⁵¹ Thomas Fuller, *The Best Name on Earth* (1657), p. 3.

¹⁵² Fuller, *The Best Name on Earth*, p. 9.

¹⁵³ Fuller, *The Best Name on Earth*, unpaginated.

¹⁵⁴ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 58; Ian Green, ‘Orality, script and print: the case of the English sermon c. 1530–1700’, in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, Volume I: Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. by Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 236–55 (p. 244); Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 148.

been fashioned out of ‘sundry sermons’ delivered by Preston, the portrait is part of the emblematical design by William Marshall and is displayed at the foot of the title page (see Figure 2.15).¹⁵⁵ The title page is decorated with emblems which would have been familiar to Protestants. We have already witnessed the eye with tears protruding from it in Andrewes’s *Institvtiones Piæ, &c.* On either side of eye, encapsulated within a heart, are two animals which each represent single texts from the Bible. The lamb on the left-hand side is a symbol of King David’s mistaken reaction to Nathan’s parable of the rich man slaying the poor man’s only lamb (II Samuel 12.6), while the cockerel on the right-hand side portrays Peter’s denial of Jesus (Matthew 26.74). Both protagonists, David and Peter, stand beneath their respective animals.¹⁵⁶ The scene upon which David stands is a depiction of Bathsheba bathing (II Samuel 11.4), and the scene underneath Peter portrays the trial of Jesus by the high priest (Matthew 26.65). King David, Peter, and the representation of these scenes from the Bible introduce the reader to the concept of the fallibility of prophets and God’s forgiveness of them, which is the central theme of these sermons that were originally preached on II Chronicles 30.18–20. This illustrated title page also monumentalised and perpetuated the voice of Preston, cementing his posthumous status as a distinguished figure within the Church.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ John Preston, *The Doctrine of the Saints Infirmities* (1636).

¹⁵⁶ Alfred Forbes Johnson, *A Catalogue of Engraved and Etched English Title-Pages Down to the Death of William Faithorne, 1691* (Oxford: The Bibliographical Society, 1934), p. 40.

¹⁵⁷ See also the illustrated title page to John Preston, *The Golden Scepter* (1638), which comprises several biblical scenes and which was also published posthumously.



Figure 2.15. John Preston, *The Doctrine of the Saints Infirmities*. LONDON, Printed by Nich. and John Okes for Hen. Taunton, and are to be sold at his shop in *St. Dunstons* Church-yard in Fleet-street. 1636. British Library, 4453.aaa.19. 12°.

Even though these biblical title pages were created within the constraints of what was permissible in terms of the deployment of religious imagery, it is important to note that they could mirror nonetheless the ‘ideological obstacles’ of the eras in which they were issued.¹⁵⁸ Whereas previous analyses may have noted the presence of illustrated title pages on certain collections of sermons, the following observations provide further insights into the religious changes reflected in the altered illustrations of multiple editions of the same text.¹⁵⁹ *The Great*

¹⁵⁸ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 132.

¹⁵⁹ Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, p. 213.

Assize, the bestselling octavo collection of sermons by the Essex minister Samuel Smith (1584–1665), appears with two different illustrated title pages in two different years. Both speak to the religio-political contexts from which they arose. Originally published in 1617, the edition of 1633 was the first to be included with an engraved title page. This architectural title page appears to make reference to the ‘beauty of holiness’ endorsed by the Laudian church: haloed saints flank both arches. In the 1644 edition, the additional title page adheres more faithfully to the text, eschewing the saints for scenes from the Book of Revelations, upon which the sermons were based. It is this edition in particular which the printer claimed to have finally been ‘*revised, corrected, and much enlarged*’ by Smith, who had previously been hindered from doing so, ‘*dwelling farre distant from the City*’ and being tied by his duties as minister in Prittlewell, Essex.¹⁶⁰ The image depicted is that of the Last Judgment; namely, the awakening of the dead. In the dedicatory epistle addressed ‘[t]o the Christian Reader’ and signed by Smith, the reader is advised to use the small book ‘as a helpe unto thee, to better thee in the performance of that duty which concernes thee so nearely, *That thou must one day give an accompt of thy workes*’.¹⁶¹

Other title pages which were inspired by the Scriptures were more cryptic, illustrating the level of detail which could be achieved by an engraver who evidently had a strong idea about the book’s content. The engraved frontispiece executed by William Marshall which accompanied *A Glance of Heaven* (1638), a duodecimo collection of four sermons originally preached at Gray’s Inn by Richard Sibbes (1577?–1635), portrays the interior of a chapel with a jug and some goblets laid out on a communion table (see Figure 2.16). The central motif of the ‘glorious Feast’, from which readers could ‘taste and see those things which God hath prepared for them’, is illuminated by the juxtaposition of three biblical texts; namely, Proverbs

¹⁶⁰ Samuel Smith, *The Great Assize: Or, Day of Iubilee, &c.*, 12th edn (1644), sig. A4^r.

¹⁶¹ Smith, *The Great Assize: Or, Day of Iubilee, &c.*, sig. A3^v.

9.1–2, Isaiah 25.6 and I Corinthians 2.9.¹⁶² These texts were presented as ‘Secrets which the Gospell reveales’, and it is I Corinthians 2.9 (‘But as it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him’) which underpins the four sermons.¹⁶³ Holy feasting is a major theme of the sermons; at the transfiguration, Sibbes depicts Peter as being ‘spiritually drunke with joy’.¹⁶⁴ However, while the frontispiece is an imaginative illustration of the three texts, it is difficult to speculate on whether Sibbes would have wished his work to be portrayed in this manner. Sibbes did not approve of various aspects of Laudian ceremonial procedures, which included kneeling in communion and signing the cross in baptism.¹⁶⁵ Nonetheless, it is likely that this especially detailed title-page image portraying the ceremonial of the Christian feast coloured readers’ expectations of the work. With its emphasis upon the communion table owing to its employment of one-point perspective, the engraving contributed to the small book’s function as a miniature chapel and space for devotion which was guided by the written word.

¹⁶² Richard Sibbes, *A Glance of Heaven* (1638), frontispiece and title page.

¹⁶³ Sibbes, *A Glance of Heaven*, frontispiece and title page.

¹⁶⁴ Sibbes, *A Glance of Heaven*, p. 84; Tom Schwanda, ‘Paul Baynes and Richard Sibbes’, in *Protestants and Mysticism in Reformation Europe*, ed. by Ronald K. Rittgers and Vincent Evener (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 369–88 (p. 379).

¹⁶⁵ Mark E. Dever, ‘Sibbes [Sibs], Richard (1577?–1635)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25498>> [accessed 23 January 2020].



Figure 2.16. Richard Sibbes, *A Glance of Heaven*. LONDON, Printed by *E. G.* for *I. R.* and are to bee sold by *Henry Overton*, at the entring in of Popes head Palace out of Lumbard street. 1638. Frontispiece. British Library, 4403.d.13. 12°.

It would be a mistake to assume that engravings were more detailed than woodcuts in all instances. In one pamphlet, visual references to Bible texts were integrated with anecdotal tales from history, in much the same way that scriptural citations in sermons intermingled with classical references and anecdotes which were more contemporary with the auditors.¹⁶⁶ *The*

¹⁶⁶ Noam Reisner, 'The Preacher and Profane Learning', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 72–86. Rosamund Oates has shown how Tobie Matthew (1544?–1628), Archbishop of York, 'embraced a surprising range of contemporary sources [...] illustrating the extent to which sermons were embedded in popular culture and were accessible as well as entertaining'. See Rosamund Oates, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 68, 82–83.

Curse of Corne-horders, &c. (1631) by Charles Fitzgeffrey (c. 1575–1638), Rector of St Dominick, Cornwall, contains three sermons delivered in Cornwall in 1630 on the text of Proverbs 11.26 ('He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him: but blessing shall be upon the head of him that selleth it').¹⁶⁷ With its arresting depiction of fire and menagerie which no doubt gave rise to great curiosity, the woodcut on the title page is a specimen of 'pictorial journalism' and seems to complement the sermon's function as an aid to 'bring sinful man vnto Repentance' (see Figure 2.17).¹⁶⁸ The woodcut appeared simultaneously to encapsulate recent events, as shown by the contemporary clothing of the men in the picture, and a providential episode of the Bible, owing to its depiction of a range of beasts which would not normally be found in close proximity with one another.

The sermons referred to the 'two yeeres of dearth' of 1621–1623, and the contents of the woodcut are immediately alluded to from the very first sermon.¹⁶⁹ Fitzgeffrey laments that '[t]he deafe Adder will not bee charmed; the greedy *Farmer* will not enfranchise his Corne though the Country doe curse him'.¹⁷⁰ He nuances his argument by observing that '[a]ll conseruation or keeping vp of Corne, is not alwaies vnlawfull'; for example, 'Nature hath taught the silley Ant this lesson of husbanding her prouision'. However, to hoard corn and sell it at a higher price 'when publike necessity doth call for the venting of it' is a blatant sin of covetousness.¹⁷¹ Citing James 5.1–3, Fitzgeffrey claims that to hoard bread is to be 'kinder to Rats and Mice, than to [...] Christian brethren', as these 'vile vermine shall deuoure that for nothing, which poore Christians cannot get of them for money'.¹⁷² In the second sermon, he

¹⁶⁷ Charles Fitzgeffrey, *The Curse of Corne-horders, &c.* (1631).

¹⁶⁸ Alexandra Walsham, 'The Art of Iconoclasm and the Afterlife of the English Reformation', in *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), pp. 81–115 (p. 104); Fitzgeffrey, *The Curse of Corne-horders, &c.*, sig. A2^r.

¹⁶⁹ Fitzgeffrey, *The Curse of Corne-horders, &c.*, sig. a^r; Juliet Amy Ingram, 'The Conscience of the Community: The Character and Development of Clerical Complaint in Early Modern England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2004), p. 249.

¹⁷⁰ Fitzgeffrey, *The Curse of Corne-horders, &c.*, p. 2.

¹⁷¹ Fitzgeffrey, *The Curse of Corne-horders, &c.*, p. 3.

¹⁷² Fitzgeffrey, *The Curse of Corne-horders, &c.*, p. 6.

admonishes all transgressors to '[h]eare and tremble', providing 'old Chronicle-stories' to demonstrate the consequences of covetousness.¹⁷³ The woodcut most prominently illustrates the fate of the crops belonging to Walter de Grey (d. 1255), Archbishop of York. Within the 'great mow of Corne which hee had at *Rippon*', his subordinates 'saw the heads of many Snakes, and Toads, and other venemous creatures peering out at the end of the sheaves'. Upon learning of this, the archbishop sent 'certaine poore men to goe vp to the top with ladders'; following which, 'they saw a great smoake arising out of the corne'. Moreover, an 'vnknowne voyce' warned them to leave the corn as '*the Archbishop and all that he hath, belongeth to the Diuell*'.¹⁷⁴ It was necessary for them to build a wall around the corn and set it on fire in order to be rid of the creatures.

It can be concluded that this woodcut, which differs greatly in style and execution from the previous images in this section, was a means to stimulate curiosity for the casual book-buyer and functioned as a form of advertisement. Its journalistic element also lay in the literal depiction of an event, albeit one which had occurred over 300 years previously, with the figures of the people updated in contemporary dress to appear relevant to book-buyers. *The Curse of Corne-horders, &c.* was reissued in 1648 with a different title and without the dedicatory epistle and the woodcut. However, a new paratext was included in the form of a preliminary inventory of 'the Corn Imported into London Port in four moneths' in 1647. Fitzgeffrey's work enjoyed considerable longevity throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Fitzgeffrey, *The Curse of Corne-horders, &c.*, pp. 21, 23.

¹⁷⁴ Fitzgeffrey, *The Curse of Corne-horders, &c.*, pp. 23-24.

¹⁷⁵ Charles Fitzgeffrey, *Gods Blessing upon the Providers of Corn, &c.* (1648); Steve Hindle, 'Dearth and the English revolution: the harvest crisis of 1647-50', *Economic History Review*, 61.1 (2008), 64-98 (p. 70 n. 33).

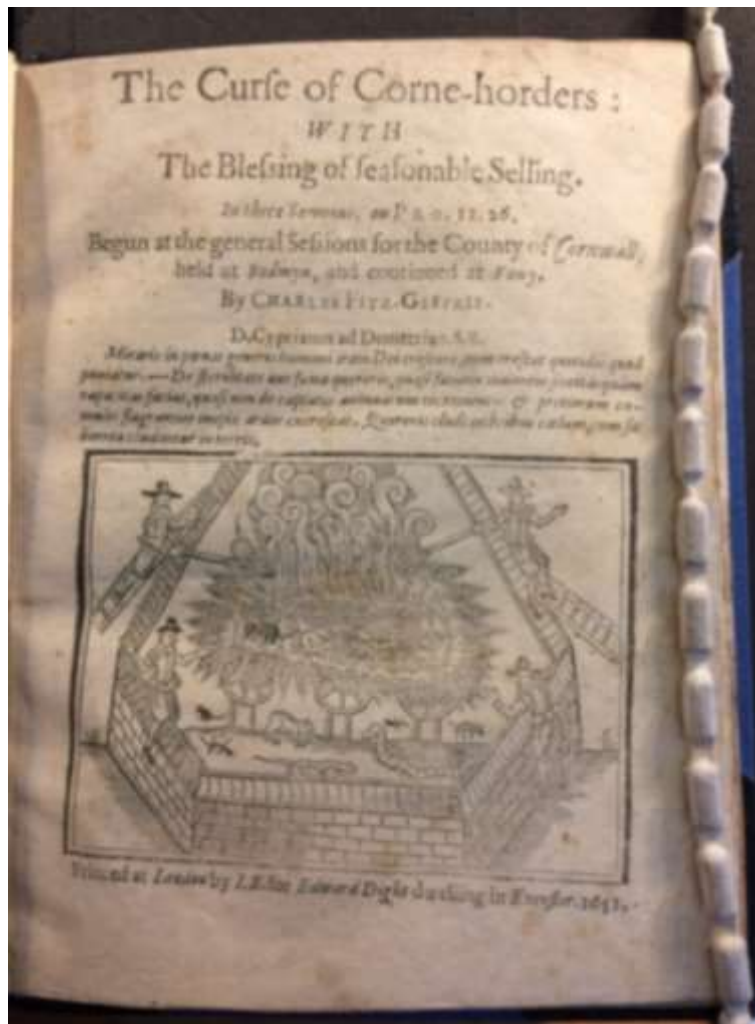


Figure 2.17. Charles Fitzgeffrey, *The Curse of Corne-horders: With The Blessing of seasonable selling*. Printed at London by I. B. for Edward Dight dwelling in Excester. 1631. British Library, C.122.e.22. 4°.

Perhaps the most renowned clerical exponent of ‘pictorial journalism’ was Samuel Ward, town preacher of Ipswich, who has continued to represent a source of fascination for historians researching early modern godly Protestantism in the eastern counties of England. Notorious for his virulent anti-Catholicism, he was known to have routinely struck out the word ‘pope’ from the books in his library as he wrote his sermons.¹⁷⁶ Scholars hold diverging opinions regarding this ‘ferociously pious’ preacher and his attitudes to print culture and the

¹⁷⁶ John Morrill, ‘William Dowsing and the administration of iconoclasm in the Puritan revolution’, in *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War*, ed. by Trevor Cooper (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 1–28 (p. 27).

graphic arts.¹⁷⁷ On the one hand, Arnold Hunt has argued that Ward believed that a particular style of ‘highly emotive preaching’ could not be reproduced in print.¹⁷⁸ Within what is arguably his most famous published sermon, *Woe to Drunkards* (1622), Ward claims that ‘a Sermon read’ is ‘of lesse life and force in Gods ordinance [...] then [a Sermon] preached’.¹⁷⁹ His approach towards the press does seem to have been ambivalent: entrusting sermon publication on occasion to his friend Thomas Gataker (1574–1654), the London-based minister, he does not appear to have exercised painstaking control over his works.¹⁸⁰ Yet, Ward’s experimentation with the graphic arts has been a topic of great interest to historians.¹⁸¹

A highly anti-Catholic etching, originally designed by Ward in 1616, resurfaced in 1621, with significant repercussions for the relations between Spain and England, particularly as the match between Prince Charles and the Habsburg Infanta María Ana (1606–1646) was being negotiated at this time. A complaint from the Spanish ambassador, Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña (1567–1626), the First Count of Gondomar, led to the preacher’s arrest and imprisonment. Ward pleaded that the emblem had been designed five years earlier and that it had been intended to depict God’s providence over England. He was eventually released with a warning that he should be more prudent about what he sent to print, and there is no evidence that Ward designed any more emblems as intricate as this one.¹⁸² The ‘Double Deliverance’

¹⁷⁷ Alec Ryrie, ‘The Psalms and Confrontation in English and Scottish Protestantism’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 101.1 (2010), 114–37 (p. 121).

¹⁷⁸ Arnold Hunt, ‘Recovering Speech Acts’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), p. 17.

¹⁷⁹ Samuel Ward, *Woe to Drunkards* (1622), pp. 40–1.

¹⁸⁰ Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p. 55; Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul’s Cross Sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 43.

¹⁸¹ Alexandra Walsham, ‘“The Fatall Vesper”: Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London’, *Past & Present*, 144 (1994), 36–87 (pp. 70–2); Alexandra Walsham, ‘Impolitic pictures: providence, history, and the iconography of Protestant nationhood in early Stuart England’, *Studies in Church History*, 33 (1997), 307–28; Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603–1689* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), pp. 152–54; Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp. 255–58; Jeanne Shami, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis in the Late Jacobean Pulpit* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003), pp. 42–43; Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures*, pp. 35–47; Ema Vyroubalová, ‘Catholic and Puritan Conspiracies in Samuel Ward’s *The Double Deliverance* (1621)’, in *Puritans and Catholics in the Trans-Atlantic World 1600–1800*, ed. by Crawford Gribben and Scott Spurlock (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 47–65.

¹⁸² Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603–1689*, p. 145; Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p. 60.

print, meanwhile, enjoyed multiple afterlives in different mediums, including embroidery.¹⁸³ In 1621, at the back of a treatise by Ward, the print was even advertised by the booksellers John Marriot (d. 1657) and John Grismand as a ‘*Remarkable Monument, of the Inuincible Nauie of 88. & the vnmatchable Powder Treason 1605*’, which was ‘[n]ecessary to be had in the House of euery good Christian’ and which was available for purchase at their shops in St Dunstan’s Churchyard.¹⁸⁴

In previous scholarship, the less incendiary designs which Ward contributed to his sermons have been observed briefly rather than studied in detail, perhaps owing to the greater scope offered by the study of the ‘Double Deliverance’ print.¹⁸⁵ In 1868, John Bruce first speculated that Samuel Ward’s title-page illustrations ‘probably helped to sell his books’, thereby contributing to his extensive influence in the eastern counties of England.¹⁸⁶ No extended discussion of the printed image in the early modern English sermon would be complete without revisiting *Woe to Drvnkards*, which displays on its title page a woodcut divided into two parts (see Figure 2.18).¹⁸⁷ In the upper half of the woodcut, there is a man’s boot with spurs and stirrup, an open book and the arm of a man in armour holding a lance, with the text ‘*Thus ofould*’. The bottom half is structured in a similar manner to the upper half, albeit there is a stockinged leg with expensive footwear, and dice and cards in place of the book. In this half of the woodcut, annotated with the words ‘*Thus now*’, the man’s arm is dressed extravagantly; his hand holds a tobacco-pipe and goblet. ‘*O MANERS O TYMES*’

¹⁸³ Walsham, ‘Impolitic pictures’, pp. 318–20; Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures*, p. 46.

¹⁸⁴ Samuel Ward, *The Life of Faith*, 2nd edn (1621), p. 117. See Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603–1689*, p. 153; Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, p. 61. John Grismand’s dates are unknown.

¹⁸⁵ Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p. 60.

¹⁸⁶ John Bruce, ‘The caricatures of Samuel Ward of Ipswich’, *Notes & Queries*, 4.1 (1868), 1–2.

¹⁸⁷ Stephens and George, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, I, pp. 81–82; Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 176; Patrick Collinson, ‘Magistracy and Ministry: A Suffolk Miniature’, in Patrick Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1983), pp. 445–66 (p. 465); J. S. A. Adamson, ‘Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England’, in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 161–97 (pp. 167–69); Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, p. 205.

appears, printed upside down, in the bottom half of the woodcut. While the message of this emblematic woodcut is extremely clear, it is important to note the significance of Ward's design as relating to his own text. The goblet, which is decorated with a cockatrice and which features a serpent stem, is a reference to the emblem of St John the Evangelist, which is referred to several times in the sermon. Moreover, the chosen biblical text of the sermon is Proverbs 23.32 ('In the end it will bite like a Serpent, and sting like a Cockatrice').

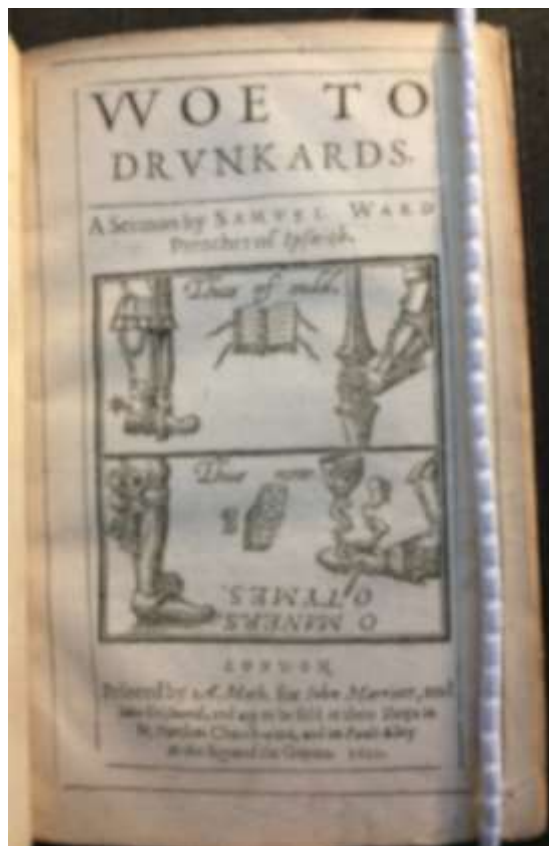


Figure 2.18. Samuel Ward, *Woe to Drvnkards*. LONDON Printed by A. Math for Iohn Marriott, and Iohn Grismand, and are to be sold at their Shops in St. Dunstons Church-yard, and in Pauls Alley at the Signe of the Gunne. 1622. British Library, C.107.e.24. 8°.

Indeed, the sermon is arresting in its immediacy. After a string of rhetorical questions intended to shame guilty auditors, Ward admonishes believers straightaway to '[c]rie woe and woe againe vnto the Crowne of pride, the Drunkards of *Ephraim*. Take vp a parable, and tell

them how it stingeth like the *Cockatrice*'.¹⁸⁸ The sting of the cockatrice is 'three forked' and thus 'threefold is the death it procureth'.¹⁸⁹ This sermon is also remarkable for the vividness with which Ward relates local yarns centring on the fates of drunken people in Ipswich and neighbouring towns and suburbs such as Woodbridge and Barnwell, before moving on to discuss incidents from further afield.¹⁹⁰ Undoubtedly, these tales held greater relevance for his Ipswich congregation than the parables extracted from the time of the Church Fathers.¹⁹¹ He acknowledges the power of the visual to convert sinners by expressing a wish that all ale-houses, or 'the very pest-houses of the Nation', would have as their sign 'a picture of some hideous serpent, or a paire of them, as the best hieroglyphick of the Genius of the place, to warne passengers to shunne and auoyde the danger of them'.¹⁹² Lastly, he finishes his sermon with a prayer that the cockatrice be vanquished by God.¹⁹³ The title-page image of Ward's famous sermon is well-known amongst scholars; however, little mention has been made of the cultural influence of this sermon in print, which extended well beyond the immediate years of its appearance. The sermon was revived and included in its entirety within two collections of previously published works which centred on the sins of tobacco and coffee consumption.¹⁹⁴ Other images are displayed within this work, although Ward's design has been omitted. 'A Collection of Some part' of the sermon also appeared in *A Warning-piece to all Drunkards and Health-Drinkers, &c.* (1682).¹⁹⁵

In the sermons which Samuel Ward himself issued, he evidently gave thought to the appearance of the text in other ways. *A Peace-offring to God, &c.* (1624) is a sermon on I Thessalonians 5.18 celebrating the 'safe returne' of Prince Charles and delivered on 9 October

¹⁸⁸ Ward, *Woe to Drvnkards*, p. 3.

¹⁸⁹ Ward, *Woe to Drvnkards*, p. 9.

¹⁹⁰ Ward, *Woe to Drvnkards*, pp. 19–29.

¹⁹¹ On the subject of sermons containing familiar expressions that catered to parochial audiences, see Francis Bremer and Ellen Rydell, 'Performance Art? Puritans in the Pulpit', *History Today*, 45.9 (1995), 50–4 (p. 51).

¹⁹² Ward, *Woe to Drvnkards*, p. 45.

¹⁹³ Ward, *Woe to Drvnkards*, p. 51.

¹⁹⁴ *Two Broad-Sides Against Tobacco* (1672); *The Touchstone Or, Trial of Tobacco, &c.* (1676).

¹⁹⁵ *A Warning-piece to all Drunkards and Health-Drinkers, &c.* (1682).

1623 at Manningtree, Essex.¹⁹⁶ Ward emphasises the importance of memory in thankfulness, stating that King David wrote down ‘his passions’, and gave ‘his Psalmes the title of *Record*, or *Remembrance*’. Oblivion, Ward argues, is the ‘worst kinde of Ingratitude’.¹⁹⁷ According to Ward, ‘speech is transient’, and ‘the Pennes and writings of thankfull men haue beene of singular vse to transmit and conuey vnto Posteritie the noble Acts of God’.¹⁹⁸ Ward’s views on the ‘transience’ of speech provide an interesting counterpoint to the arguments previously made by scholars regarding his apparent emphasis on preaching as opposed to printing. *A Peace-offring to God* comes with an appendix in which the preacher expresses his wishes to ‘stirre vp thankfvll intentions & affections in euey Reader’.¹⁹⁹ He therefore provides a ‘Register or Inventory’ intended for use by his readers ‘as a Table of thanks due to God’, with ‘space left of purpose’ under each heading to record notes of personal thanksgiving.²⁰⁰ Many book historians have previously drawn attention to the significance of blank spaces or pages in an era in which paper was expensive.²⁰¹ According to Brian Cummings, John Foxe’s use of the blank page ‘help[ed] the reader to nurture memory through study’.²⁰² James Rigney has stated that white space was used ‘to separate levels of discourse’ in printed sermons.²⁰³ The rhetorical use of the blank space or page was so widely known that it was subject to satire.²⁰⁴

In contrast with these bespoke specimens, there is some debate about whether certain images displayed on the title pages of other sermons by Samuel Ward were designed especially

¹⁹⁶ Samuel Ward, *A Peace-offring to God, &c.* (1624).

¹⁹⁷ Ward, *A Peace-offring to God, &c.*, p. 9.

¹⁹⁸ Ward, *A Peace-offring to God, &c.*, p. 14.

¹⁹⁹ Ward, *A Peace-offring to God, &c.*, p. 47; Susan Hardman, ‘Puritan Ascetism and the Type of Sacrifice’, *Studies in Church History*, 22 (1985), 285–97 (p. 289).

²⁰⁰ Ward, *A Peace-offring to God, &c.*, pp. 49–50.

²⁰¹ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 1; Sharpe and Zwicker, ‘Introduction: discovering the Renaissance reader’, pp. 6–7; Femke Molekamp, ‘Popular Reading and Writing’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 59–73 (p. 61).

²⁰² Brian Cummings, ‘Afterword: Words and Images’, in *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), pp. 285–91 (p. 286).

²⁰³ Rigney, ‘To lye upon a Stationers stall, like a piece of coarse flesh in a Shambles’, p. 191.

²⁰⁴ Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet 1578–1653* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 145.

with their texts in mind. *Balme from Gilead to Recouer Conscience* (1617) features the Pope with his triple tiara, the devil, a cardinal, a bishop and two monks blowing on an immovable globe, annotated with the word ‘IMMOTA’, to perpetuate an anti-Catholic regime.²⁰⁵ The years in which this sermon was delivered and then published are significant: half a decade would pass before the *Directions for Preachers* were issued on behalf of James I, which admonished ministers to refrain from ‘railing’ against Catholics.²⁰⁶ This sermon was certainly unrestrained in its anti-Catholicism. It was this sermon, the first which Ward had delivered at Paul’s Cross, that had been edited and prepared for the press by Thomas Gataker.²⁰⁷ Ward had chosen his editor judiciously; Gataker himself was a renowned exponent of the press and took great care over the appearance of his publications, which would often feature a tetragrammaton headpiece above the biblical text.²⁰⁸

Preaching on Hebrews 13.18, Ward argues that ‘he that hath this good’ does not need to envy any supposed ‘greatnesse’ possessed by men of wealth and great ‘honour’. A diatribe ensues, directed towards prominent figures from Nebuchadnezzar, the ‘great Turke guarded with his Ianizaries’, to the Pope, identified as ‘[t]he triple-crowned man of pride’.²⁰⁹ Ward goes on to demonstrate that God ‘hath giuen [conscience] more force and power to worke vpon men, then all other Agents whatsouer’, and that man was ‘in this respect being like to the Earth, immouable of all the vwindes, though at once they should blow from all the points of the Compasse’.²¹⁰ Wind imagery is a chief component of the sermon; in the third part, Ward refers

²⁰⁵ Samuel Ward, *Balme from Gilead to Recouer Conscience* (1617); Alison Shell, ‘Catholic texts and anti-Catholic prejudice in the 17th-century book trade’, in *Censorship and the control of print in England and France 1600–1910*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul’s Bibliographies, 1992), pp. 33–57 (p. 36).

²⁰⁶ John Donne, *A Sermon upon the XV Verse of the XX Chapter of the Booke of Judges* [on the *Directions for Preachers*] (1622), ed. by Mary Morrissey, in *Sermons at Paul’s Cross, 1521–1642*, ed. by Torrance Kirby, P. G. Stanwood, Mary Morrissey and John N. King (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 454–84 (p. 454).

²⁰⁷ Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p. 55; Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul’s Cross Sermons*, pp. 43–44.

²⁰⁸ Diane Willen, ‘Thomas Gataker and the Use of Print in the English Godly Community’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 70.3 (2007), 343–64.

²⁰⁹ Ward, *Balme from Gilead to Recouer Conscience*, p. 10.

²¹⁰ Ward, *Balme from Gilead to Recouer Conscience*, p. 19.

to Acts 27 in which Paul's courage and conscience withstand 'the angry *Adriaticall* Sea, at midnight, when the tempestuous *Euroclydon* blew'.²¹¹ The anti-Catholic themes are also conspicuous in the second part of the sermon, in which Ward relates an anecdote about the Pope selling 'a Pardon for a Murder past, with a Dispensation annexed for the next', arguing that Christ would never have granted such.²¹² Adam Morton has described this title-page image as being an 'independent seal of approval' concerning anti-Catholicism, observing its later reuse on a recantation entitled *Texeda Rertextus, &c.* (1623).²¹³ While much has been written on the topic of recycled woodcuts, this analysis begins to develop Christopher Marsh's challenges to the assumed 'apathy about their significance on the part of producers and consumers alike'.²¹⁴ Even if this particular woodcut may not have been intended for exclusive use in Ward's sermon, it was not applied arbitrarily to other printed works but implemented to assist readers in identifying similarly anti-Catholic texts.

We have seen the ways in which Samuel Ward was an emblematiser as much as a preacher.²¹⁵ This section of the chapter ends with a brief observation upon the inspiration which emblematisers could take from early modern sermons. There is at least one instance of emblematisers contributing their work to printed sermons, strengthening Anthony Grafton's thesis that printed books are 'social product[s], the result of collaboration between writers,

²¹¹ Ward, *Balme from Gilead to Recouer Conscience*, p. 66.

²¹² Ward, *Balme from Gilead to Recouer Conscience*, p. 40.

²¹³ Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland 1485-1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1913), p. 148; Adam Edward Morton, 'Glaring at Anti-Christ: Anti-Papal Images in Early Modern England, c. 1530-1680', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2010), I, p. 58. For a print of a cardinal, devil, pope and monk attempting to blow out a candle that represents Protestantism, which was sold by the printseller Thomas Jenner (d. 1678), see British Museum, 1907,0326.31. This print is discussed in Tudor-Craig, 'Group Portraits of the Protestant Reformers'; Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, pp. 162-63. For a later use of this motif in delftware, see Walsham, 'Domesticating the Reformation'.

²¹⁴ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, chs. 3, 4; Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, p. 214; Margaret Aston, 'Bibles to Ballads: Some Pictorial Migrations in the Reformation', in *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy*, ed. by Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 106-30; James A. Knapp, 'The Bastard Art: Woodcut Illustration in Sixteenth-Century England', in *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England*, ed. by Douglas A. Brooks (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 151-72; Simone Chess, 'Woodcuts: Methods and Meanings of Ballad Illustration' (2007), <<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/woodcuts>> [accessed 11 June 2020]; Davis, *Seeing Faith, Printing Pictures*, ch. 1; Christopher Marsh, 'A Woodcut and Its Wanderings in Seventeenth-Century England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79.2 (2016), 245-62 (p. 245).

²¹⁵ Other illustrated title pages by Ward include the treatise *All in All* (1622).

craftsmen and entrepreneurs’.²¹⁶ The sermons in *Prima & ultima, &c.* (1640) by Isaac Ambrose (bap. 1604, d. 1664), who was Vicar of Preston, Lancashire at the time of the volume’s publication, are all preceded by emblems; at least one of them is attributed to the renowned emblem poet Francis Quarles (1592–1644). In addition, while printers of sermons could be inspired by emblem literature, as we have previously witnessed, it is important to recognise that this exchange of ideas worked in other ways. Upon ‘[h]earing many *Ministers*’, the printseller Thomas Jenner (d. 1673) ‘made a *Posie*’ out of their sermons.²¹⁷ He argued that the resulting publication was composed because ‘men are more led by the eye, then eare’, and that ‘these little Prints’, or pictures, would clarify that ‘which many words would not make so plaine’.²¹⁸ The engravings were not original but drawn from the work of Gabriel Rollenhagen (1583–1619), amongst other Dutch emblematisers.²¹⁹

This section has attempted to provide some indication as to the diversity of images which are to be found on the title pages of seventeenth-century sermons. Not only has it demonstrated that the content of sermons could be revealed in simple emblematic woodcuts or elaborate biblical scenes alike, but it has also been the first to study the significance of the detail which went into the creation of all these images and the impact which they were intended to have on their readership. Whereas the practice of title page illustration in relation to this most prominent genre of Protestant literature has been touched upon by a number of scholars, there have not been any concentrated studies of this phenomenon. How, then, were images justified within these religious publications? Portraits of deceased divines could often be integrated

²¹⁶ Anthony Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* (London: The British Library, 2011), p. 2. See also Emily Michelson, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2013), p. 34.

²¹⁷ For Jenner’s status as the first English printseller to specialise in pictures for the godly middling sort, see Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 246.

²¹⁸ Thomas Jenner, *The Soules Solace, Or Thirtie and one Spirituall Emblems* (1626), sigs A2^v. For Jenner’s collection, see Mason Tung, ‘Thomas Jenner’s *The Soules Solace* (1626): A Study of Its Standing in the Development of the English Emblem Tradition’, *Emblematica*, 14 (2005), 181–222.

²¹⁹ Peter M. Daly, ‘The Place of the English Emblem Book in the Context of Continental Emblem Book Production to the Year 1700’, in *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem*, ed. by Bart Westerweel (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 1–33 (p. 15).

within engraved title-pages to indicate their place within the biblical and historical pedigree of the Church of England. The woodcuts in particular were not only intended to inspire devotion to the biblical themes and texts which were the focus of the sermon, but could also serve as a source of news, such as the departure of Samuel Kem for a period of ministry at sea in *Orders given out; the Word, Stand Fast*. They could constitute apocryphal scenes to move readers to repentance, such as the title-page image of *The Curse of Corne-horders, &c.* by Charles Fitzgeffrey. They could also function as symbols of anti-Catholicism, such as the image displayed on Samuel Ward's *Balme from Gilead to Recouer Conscience*. These images were all designed to contribute to the printed sermon's message in the absence of a preacher, and could be altered according to the religious tenor of the age, as we have witnessed in the different frontispieces for the multiple editions of Samuel Smith's popular collection of sermons.

This section of this chapter has, for the first time, provided a detailed examination of a selection of title-page images featured on the sermons of Samuel Ward, which were either designed by him or by printers. Such images have hitherto been neglected in favour of the print which had caused him to be committed to the Fleet, even though they serve as crucial evidence of the energy which was invested in the presentation of these key works of godly Protestantism. However, it would be difficult to state that all churchmen endorsed the inclusion of pictures in books. Thomas Goffe (1590/91–1629), Rector of East Clandon, Surrey, referred to the distracting nature of pictures in books, stating that 'the greatest Epicures of knowledge' often 'turn'd from their lessons' to look upon them, while the Scottish minister Samuel Rutherford (c. 1600–1661) compared his auditors who lacked a fundamental understanding of his chosen scriptural text with those children who 'sport themselves and play with the pictures in a booke, and with the gold on the covering of the booke, and the ribbins, not knowing [its] sense and

meaning'.²²⁰ Notwithstanding this, as the case studies above have shown, ministers' admonishments of 'the Title page of a book cut with pictures', which merely presented 'the faces of men, and the faces of duties', can be read not as denigrations of the visual aspects of printed books *tout court*, but as caveats that these were to be contemplated alongside the text at hand rather than in isolation.²²¹

'A Religious Eye': The Art of Preachers

The previous section began to explore the artistic talents of Samuel Ward and the reciprocal interests of emblematisers in early modern sermons. It is important to note that Ward was not alone in his artistic endeavours. Yet, there has been insufficient research into Protestant clergymen's active interests in visual art employed at the service of Protestantism. One exception is Mary Hobbs's observation that portrait painting is one of the most frequent sources of imagery discoverable within the sermons of Henry King (1592–1669), Bishop of Chichester.²²² Moreover, part of the stock of rhetorical metaphors which preachers had at their disposal included the art of engraving, the most renowned example perhaps being Donne's reference to 'those Pictures which are deliver'd in a minute, from a print upon a paper' which had been prepared so carefully for 'many days, weeks, Moneths time' on copper, as an analogy of human life in his sermon delivered at Whitehall on 29 February 1627.²²³

Furthermore, it is notable that Joseph Hall's familiarity with emblem theory, revealed in two

²²⁰ Thomas Goffe, *Deliverance from the Grave* (1627), p. 3; Samuel Rutherford, *A Sermon Preached to the Honorable House of Commons, &c.* (1644), p. 11.

²²¹ Samuel Annesley, *Communion with God* (1655), p. 38.

²²² Henry King, *The Sermons of Henry King (1592–1669), Bishop of Chichester*, ed. by Mary Hobbs (Cranbury, NJ: Scolar Press, 1992), p. 47.

²²³ John Donne, *XXVI. Sermons, &c.* (1661), p. 218.

court sermons in 1611 and 1612 which both explicated and defended the ‘imprese of God’, is representative of the wider usage of such imagery by seventeenth-century preachers.²²⁴ Hall referred to the meditational theory of emblems as ‘diuine Opticks’, in which the mind’s inner eye was a means for the soul’s envisioning of spiritual truth.²²⁵ Throughout the seventeenth century, ministers would continue to refer to emblems. The analogy made by the Royalist and Laudian Richard Gardiner (1591–1670), whose Accession Day sermon of 1642 included a defence of images as ‘*Ornaments, or Historicall Commemoratives*’, compared the emblem on a Dutch guilder to the turbulent state of Civil War England:

The Embleme of the *Netherlands* by stamping money with two *earthen pots* swimming in the Sea, and wittily inscribing, *Si collidimur, frangimur*, if we *knocke together* we are *broken*, hath a usefull Morall for these times. [...] A great impediment of our quiet, and peaceable life are homebred, and *domesticall* foes.²²⁶

As Hugh Dunthorne has shown, this emblem originated on a medal which had been issued in 1587 ‘as a plea for Anglo-Dutch unity’ at the end of the governorship of the Netherlands by Robert Dudley (1532–1588), First Earl of Leicester. Gardiner’s sermon is illustrative of the ways in which the emblem continued to hold significance as a political symbol for over half a century after.²²⁷

²²⁴ Joseph Hall, *The Works of Joseph Hall, &c.* (1625), pp. [439]–57. See D. C. Mantz, S. E. Gardner and E. M. Ramsden, “The Benefit of an Image, Without the Offence’: Anglo-Dutch Emblematics and Hall’s Liberation of the Lyric Soul’, in *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem*, ed. by Bart Westerweel (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 253–76.

²²⁵ Joseph Hall, *The Hypocrite* (1630), p. 2; Mantz, Gardner and Ramsden, “The Benefit of an Image, Without the Offence”, pp. 263–34.

²²⁶ Richard Gardiner, *A Sermon Appointed For Saint Pauls Crosse, &c.* (1642), pp. 24–25, 30; Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul’s Cross Sermons*, p. 158.

²²⁷ Hugh Dunthorne, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt, 1560–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 55.

It is particularly striking that a range of attitudes towards visual and material culture is present in Protestant sermons. Many Protestant ministers were in accord with the former Catholic John Rainolds (1549–1607), President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who harangued against ‘halowed graines, of medals, of beades, of Agnus-deis, of crucifixes, of pictures, with Fils, da mihi cor tuum, & sufficit, Sonne, geue me thy heart, and it sufficeth’.²²⁸ In an earlier sermon refuting papal supremacy, originally delivered at Paul’s Cross in 1571, Edmund Bunny (1540–1618), chaplain to Edmund Grindal (d. 1583), Bishop of London, highlighted the blasphemous nature of the words inscribed with the ‘graued’ images of the Four Evangelists in St Mark’s Basilica in Venice, which professed that these Evangelists could mediate between God and man.²²⁹

However, paintings could still find a place within biblical exegesis, and one important counter-example occurs in a sermon which was preached during the period in which ‘visual anorexia’ in post-Reformation England was supposed to have been most potent, according to the influential model put forward by Patrick Collinson which has since been largely discredited.²³⁰ Addressing John St John (d. 1596), Second Baron St John of Bletsoe, Bedfordshire, Edward Bulkley (d. 1621) refers to actual paintings of Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell owned by his patron. Stating that ‘those pictures be not those personages, but only and barely represent them’, he does not denigrate them altogether but argues that they have their appropriate place, in a similar way that the sacrament is not a ‘bare signe [...] but an

²²⁸ John Rainolds, *A Sermon Vpon Part of the Eighteenth Psalm, &c.* (1586), unpaginated.

²²⁹ E[dmund]. B[unny]., *A sermon preached at Pauls crosse* (1576), sig. C.ii. For the attribution of this sermon to Bunny, see Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p. 296 n. 96; Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul’s Cross Sermons*, p. 176 n. 45.

²³⁰ Karl Joseph Höltgen, ‘The English Reformation and Some Jacobean Writers on Art’, in *Functions of Literature: Essays presented to Erwin Wolff on his sixtieth birthday*, ed. by Ulrich Broich, Theo Stemmler and Gerd Stratmann (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1984), pp. 119–46 (pp. 121–22); Patrick Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: the Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation* (Reading: University of Reading, 1986), pp. 22–25; Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988), pp. 118–19.

instrument of Gods grace'.²³¹ Richard Gardiner compares 'those double, two faced pictures' with the grace of God as juxtaposed against the sins of man.²³² Similarly, the Cornish minister Hannibal Gamon (bap. 1582, d. 1650/51) opens his 1621 assize sermon, based on Revelation 22.11 ('He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still: and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still: and he that is holy, let him be holy still'), with an analogy to painting. These introductory paragraphs are worth quoting in full:

This *Text* is not vnlike a Table wherin two pictures are drawne to the life: the one so *deformed*, that the eye loathes to behold it, for it is the foule image of Satan himself, in an *vnjust* and in a *filthy* person; The other so *beautifull*, that the sight still delights to gaze on it, for it is the faire Image of God himself in a righteous, and in an holy man.

Both peecees are hung forth to be seene of all; but to a different end. This is to be desired, that to be despised.²³³

Such a metaphor was appropriate for a sermon which admonished the Launceston authorities, *inter alia*, to 'refraine lewd company, to auoid the occasions and opportunities of sinning' and 'to heare the word more attentiuely'.²³⁴

Other visual mediums were also included within this supply of metaphors to be employed at the service of biblical exegesis; most notably, tapestry. While Rebecca Olson has provided some useful insights into the manner in which tapestry was a key motif in early

²³¹ Edward Bulkley, *A Sermon preached the 30. of Ianuary last at Bletsoe, &c.* (1586), unpaginated. For sequences of portraits illustrating the monarchs of England, as hung in the galleries of great houses, see Williams, 'The Reformation of an Icon'.

²³² Richard Gardiner, *A Sermon Preached at S Maries in Oxford, &c.* (1622), p. 11. See also Michelle D. Brock, 'Internalizing the Demonic: Satan and the Self in Early Modern Scottish Piety', *Journal of British Studies*, 54.1 (2015), 23–43 (p. 34). The genre of picture to which Gardiner refers is possibly the 'two or three faced picture' which could be folded in order that different images appeared depending upon how the viewer looked at it. Such pictures were relatively cheap in early modern England. See Tracey A. Sowerby, 'Negotiating the Royal Image: Portrait Exchanges in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Diplomacy', in *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550–1750*, ed. by Helen Hackett (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 119–41 (p. 129).

²³³ Hannibal Gamon, *Gods Iust Desertion of the Vniust* (1622), p. 1.

²³⁴ Gamon, *Gods Iust Desertion of the Vniust*, p. 35.

modern English drama, she does not study other performative texts.²³⁵ Thus, ‘as in a peece of Arras displayed’, William Sclater (bap. 1609, d. 1661), Rector of St Stephen’s, Exeter, demonstrates ‘the several pictures folded up in this Scripture’ in a sermon on the nature of political division.²³⁶ For John Hewitt, Psalm 130.3 is composed of ‘costly Arras, enriched with the lively story of Gods bounty and mans felicity mutually interwoven in the same peece’ in a sermon which celebrates the justice and mercy of God.²³⁷ According to the London preacher William Spurstow (d. 1666), ‘[s]ome parcels of holy Scripture may not unfitly be compared to the Libbet, or end of a piece of *Arras*’, in that the ‘*Context*’, or an appreciation of the tapestry in its entirety, is necessary for fuller understanding.²³⁸ Literary evidence of preachers’ interests in paintings and visual art is not restricted to sermons, but to the poetry which they composed for their patrons. In his insightful article on the poetry of William Lewis (1591/2–1667), chaplain to George Villiers (1592–1628), First Duke of Buckingham, Tom Lockwood has drawn attention to a poem entitled ‘On the Duke of Buckingham’s Gallery’, which is effectively ‘a guided gallery tour’ of Buckingham’s art collection.²³⁹ It could therefore be argued that the ‘religious eye’ of preachers ensured that these references to visual culture were rendered at the service of Protestantism.²⁴⁰

The value of visual presentation in sermons which were intended as gifts for patrons might usefully be assessed in a number of manuscripts of the seventeenth century. The interdependence of manuscript with print culture is a rich topic which has been subject to

²³⁵ Rebecca Olson, *Arras Hanging: The Textile That Determined Early Modern Literature and Drama* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2013).

²³⁶ William Sclater, *The Remedy of Schisme* (1642), p. 6; Kevin Killeen, *The Political Bible in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 136–37.

²³⁷ Hewitt, *Nine Select Sermons, &c.*, pp. 4–5.

²³⁸ William Spurstow, *A Crown of Life, The Reward of Faithfulness* (1662), pp. 1–2.

²³⁹ Tom Lockwood, ‘Poetry, patronage and cultural agency: the career of William Lewis’, in *Chaplains in early modern England: Patronage, literature and religion*, ed. by Hugh Adlington, Tom Lockwood and Gillian Wright (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 103–22 (pp. 116–17).

²⁴⁰ Gervase Babington, *A Sermon Preached at the Covrt at Greenewich, &c.* (1591), p. 11.

much enquiry in the past two decades.²⁴¹ Seth Lerer and other historians have pointed out that the typefaces of books made in the first half-century of printing were modelled on manuscript hands.²⁴² Many manuscript sermons were set up to imitate sermons in print by skilled scribes.²⁴³ One of the most outstanding examples is a sermon by Matthew Lawrence (d. 1652), town preacher of Ipswich, delivered at the marriage of Sir William Armyne of Osgodby Hall, Lincolnshire (1622–1658) and Anne Chase (1631–1662) at Chilton, Suffolk on 28 August 1649, executed in beautiful calligraphy by the scribe John Raymond, about whom very little is known.²⁴⁴ The first title page has been drawn by Raymond in the style of the emblematic title-pages examined in the previous section of this chapter (see Figure 2.19). The dedicatory epistle addressed to the father of the bridegroom, Sir William Armyne (1593–1651), First Baronet, sets out the intention of the octavo to serve as a ‘Manual’ and ‘little Monument’ for the nobleman’s closet.²⁴⁵ The jewel-like border which ornaments the text is reminiscent of the page borders which decorated the bestselling devotional text by the London-based clergyman Abraham Fleming (c. 1552–1607), entitled *The Diamond of Deuotion* (see Figures 2.20 and 2.21).²⁴⁶

²⁴¹ Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993); Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 5; David Scott Kastan, ‘Print, literary culture and the book trade’, in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, ed. by David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 81–116 (p. 81); *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, ed. by Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

²⁴² Seth Lerer, *Error and the Academic Self: The Scholarly Imagination, Medieval to Modern* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 16.

²⁴³ See a series of sermons by Nicholas Felton (1556–1626) transcribed by an unknown auditor, Senate House Library, Carlton 17/8, in addition to a series of sermons by Donne and Joseph Hall, transcribed by Knightly Chetwood, London, St Paul’s Cathedral Library, MS 52.D.14.

²⁴⁴ Los Angeles, California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, MS.1951.018, digitised on Calisphere, <<https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/21198/n14g8t/>> [accessed 20 January 2020]; John Blatchly, ‘Suffolk Treasure is in California’, *East Anglian Daily Times*, 28 January 2012, p. 24. For William Armyne, see Christopher Shute, *Ars piè Moriendi: Or, The true Accomptant* (London, 1658).

²⁴⁵ MS.1951.018, unpaginated.

²⁴⁶ Clare Elizabeth Painting Stubbs, ‘Abraham Fleming: writer, cleric and preacher in Elizabethan and Jacobean London’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011), p. 81.



Figure 2.19. Matthew Lawrence, *A Wedding Sermon Preacht August. 28. 1649.* LONDON John Raymond Scripsit. Anno: Domini 1649. First title page. Los Angeles, California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, MS.1951.018. 8°.



Figure 2.20. Matthew Lawrence, *A Wedding Sermon Preacht August. 28. 1649.* LONDON John Raymond Scripsit. Anno: Domini 1649, p. 1. Los Angeles, California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, MS.1951.018. 8°.

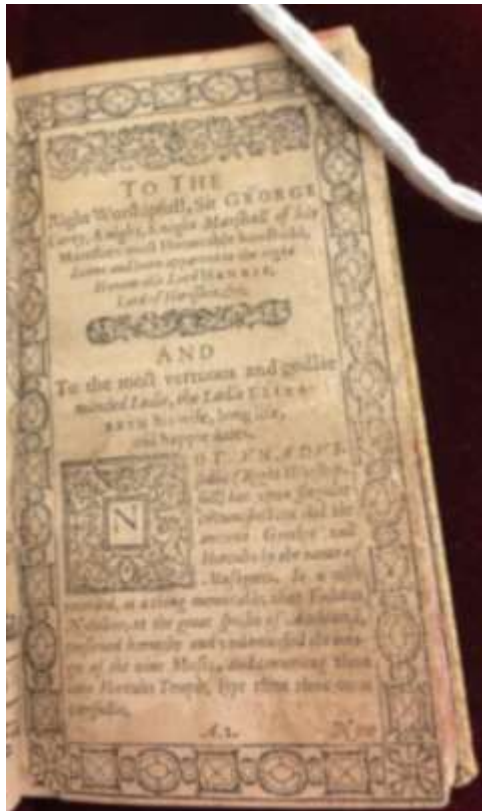


Figure 2.21. Abraham Fleming, *The Diamond of Deuotion, &c.* [London] Printed by Henrie Denham dwelling in Pater Noster Rowe, being the assigne of William Seres. 1581, sig. A.2.^r. Henry E. Huntington Library, 30084. 12°.

While Lawrence was aided by Raymond in producing his gift for a noble patron, a series of autograph presentation manuscripts exhibit the considerable skills which several preachers possessed in ornamental penmanship.²⁴⁷ For example, MS.1951.003, held at the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library in Los Angeles, California, comprises a collection of three sermons written by John Bourcher, a minister about whom very little is known, other than the fact that he preached some of these sermons around Easter 1640 at Cranford, Middlesex.²⁴⁸ The 'little booke' was a gift for his benefactor Michael Bowyer, who may have

²⁴⁷ See, for example, a sermon by Nicholas Searle (c. 1592–1678) preached at Great Finborough, Suffolk in 1626, Ipswich, Suffolk Record Office, HD607/1. See also Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 182.

²⁴⁸ Los Angeles, California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, MS.1951.003, digitised on Calisphere, <<https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/21198/n1p592/>> [accessed 19 January 2020]. I am grateful to Dr Catherine Evans for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

been the actor who was employed as part of Queen Henrietta's Men.²⁴⁹ With the floral designs, geometric shapes and coils of rope imitating the conventional stock of a printer's decorative repertoire and which served as borders for each page of the manuscript, Bourcher clearly paid great care to this manuscript.²⁵⁰ Moreover, by including a poem 'of the Paßion of our Bleßed Lord, and Sauuour Jesus Christ' as an appendix, he demonstrated that not only was he an accomplished calligrapher and preacher, but also that he was 'parcell Poet'.²⁵¹

The first sermon, preached on the Sunday before Easter 1640, is preceded with an exquisite image of a crucifix amongst floral designs, with 'INRI' ('Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum'; that is, 'Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews') placed at the top of the crucifix (see Figure 2.22). The image is annotated with the words 'Crux Cristi | Lux Christiani' ('The cross of Christ | The light of the Christian'). Immediately following this image is the first sermon on Romans 4.25 ('Who was deliuered to Death, for our Synnes. And is Risen agayne, for our Justification'). Bourcher opens the sermon by explaining that '[t]he Condition, and qualitey of This present Tyme Inuites us, to A Serious Meditation, and Contemplation of The Death, Paßion, and Resurrection of our blessed Lord'. He argues that his congregation 'cannot Justly avoyd' meditation and contemplation 'of Those Intolerable paynes [...] sustayned for our Synnes'.²⁵² The next sermon, delivered at Cranford on Easter Sunday, 1640, appears with its own title page and frontispiece emblem which represents a simple plant design standing erect with the words 'Resurrexit Christus' ('Christ rose').²⁵³ The roses which are a notable feature of

²⁴⁹ MS.1951.003, unpaginated. See the description on Calisphere, <<https://calisphere.org/item/ark:/21198/n1p592/>> [accessed 19 January 2020]. For the actor Michael Bowyer (1599–1645), see John H. Astington, *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time: The Art of Stage Playing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 90–92, 137–38.

²⁵⁰ Andrea C. Lawson, 'Reading John Bourcher's Seventeenth-Century Gift Book', *The Center & Clark Newsletter*, 51 (2010), 5–6. See also the various outputs of Juliet Fleming on the topic of printed flowers in early modern print culture, such as Juliet Fleming, 'How to look at a printed flower', *Word & Image*, 22.2 (2006), 165–87; Juliet Fleming, 'Changed opinion as to flowers', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 48–64.

²⁵¹ MS.1951.003, unpaginated.

²⁵² 'A Sermon Vpon the Passion Of Ovr Lord Jesvs Christ', MS.1951.003, p. 1.

²⁵³ 'A Sermon Vppon the Resvrrrection Of Jesvs Christ', MS.1951.003, unpaginated.

the plant could be a punning reference to this annotation. At the foot of the plant, 'Resurgemus et nos' ('And we will rise') has also been written. This image profitably leads the reader away from the contemplation of the crucifix towards this emblem of rebirth:

But The Night of Death is past, and the days oß [sic] life Is come. Heavynes may Endure for A Night, but Joye comes In y^e morning, For as He was deliuered to Death for our Synnes, soe Is He Risen agayne, for our Justification.²⁵⁴



Figure 2.22. John Bourcher, 'A Sermon Vpon the Passion Of Ovr Lord Jesus Christ', unpaginated. 1640. Los Angeles, California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, MS.1951.003.

²⁵⁴ 'A Sermon Vppon the Resvrrrection Of Jesvs Christ', MS.1951.003, p. 1.

Bourcher's images were intended to inspire a patron's contemplation. A clergyman's illustrations can also provide evidence of private reflection. A manuscript book of sermons written by Charles Almond (d. 1709), who held livings at Buckinghamshire from the 1660s until his death, dates from approximately 1663 until 1690.²⁵⁵ On one of the preliminary leaves of the volume, Almond has drawn an emblem which depicts the act of writing sermons in a library (see Figure 2.23). A hand writes the words 'Gloria dei' ('The glory of God') in an open book with clasps; other similarly-bound books are exhibited in the background. The Latin inscriptions on all four sides of the scene refer to the virtues of the pen to glorify God. Admittedly, Almond's draughtsmanship leaves much to be desired; nevertheless, the primary function of the drawing as a means to illustrate his service to God is clear.



Figure 2.23. Emblem within the sermon notebook of Charles Almond. Los Angeles, California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, MS.1952.004.

²⁵⁵ Los Angeles, California, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, MS.1952.004.

The artistic lives of Protestant ministers, both public and private, remain a rich area of investigation which lies outside the scope of this thesis.²⁵⁶ The drawings which have been explored might be the preserve of both palaeographers and art historians, yet remain neglected by both. More research into these images, whether intended to complement the textual gift for an important patron or as a form of private meditation, is required in order to discover more about this genre of Protestant art. The formative influences of significant painters by their clergymen-artist fathers constitute another major oversight. A notable preacher-painter, the Suffolk minister John Cradock (c. 1595–1652), was the father of Mary Beale (bap. 1633, d. 1699), one of the most important female portraitists of the late seventeenth century. One of his paintings which was formerly owned by the Worshipful Company of Painter-Stainers has, unfortunately, not survived.²⁵⁷

Conclusion

This chapter has taken the lead from historians such as Walter Ong, who have argued that the printed page was a viewed object which shaped modes of cognition.²⁵⁸ Although many scholars have recognised that Protestantism was not simply a religion of the word, others still have argued that Protestant ‘wariness of the image’ meant that ‘Bibles and prayer books and

²⁵⁶ Preliminary work in this area includes an article on the artistic talents of Christopher Wren (1589–1658), Dean of Windsor and father of the architect. See Louise Durning and Clare Tilbury, “Looking unto Jesus’[!]: Image and Belief in a Seventeenth-Century English Chancel”, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 60.3 (2009), 490–513.

²⁵⁷ Helen Draper, “Her Painting of Apricots’: The Invisibility of Mary Beale (1633–1699)”, *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 48.4 (2012), 389–405 (p. 404 n. 18).

²⁵⁸ See Lee Palmer Wandel, ‘Introduction’, in *Early Modern Eyes*, ed. by Walter S. Melion and Lee Palmer Wandel (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2010), pp. 1–9 (p. 3).

sermons avoided illustration for fear of incurring the sin of idolatry'.²⁵⁹ Moreover, the caveat is often still provided that other, more 'secular' forms of plastic and visual art proliferated as a result of the post-Reformation 'prohibition' of religious imagery.²⁶⁰ These scholarly arguments have been posited amidst the insistence of other historians such as Stuart Clark that the early modern era was an age of 'ocularcentrism'.²⁶¹ Protestant book illustration, then, remains a divisive topic. This chapter, however, has revealed that religious imagery and 'Scripture embleme[s]' were present in this most characteristic of Protestant texts.²⁶² It builds upon, and nuances, observations such as those of Ian Green which state that print forced preachers to accept that 'a sermon could have a double life – one spontaneous, oral and evanescent, and the other fixed, visual and permanent'.²⁶³ It is difficult to agree wholly with the common hypothesis that printed sermons consistently 'crystallize the trope of an original oral event' and that the title page of a sermon 'normally advertises that it has been recently preached at an important pulpit'.²⁶⁴ Indeed, arguments regarding the contemporaneity of printed sermons are contradicted by other lines of reasoning which have held that portraits in sermons were intended as emblems of longevity rather than ephemerality. It has been revealed in this chapter that sermons such as *The Saints Support in these sad Times, &c.* by Thomas Palmer could gain a new lease of life with an appended image which did not necessarily speak to the

²⁵⁹ Mary Laven, 'Introduction', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. by Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 1–11 (p. 5 n. 8); Parry, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation*, p. 118.

²⁶⁰ Hölzgen, 'The English Reformation and Some Jacobean Writers on Art', pp. 142–43; Keith Thomas, 'Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England', in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 16–40 (pp. 36–38).

²⁶¹ Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 9; Mary Ann Lund, 'Early Modern Sermon Paratexts and the Religious Politics of Reading', in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580–1730*, ed. by James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 143–62 (p. 155).

²⁶² Samuel Ward, *A Coal from the Altar, &c.* (1615), p. 8.

²⁶³ Green, 'Orality, script and print', p. 241.

²⁶⁴ Michael Saenger, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), p. 51. See also Lund, 'Early Modern Sermon Paratexts and the Religious Politics of Reading', p. 148; Leif Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England, c. 1590–1640* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), p. 256; Jennifer Clement, 'He being dead, yet speaketh: the preacher's voice in early seventeenth-century posthumous sermon collections', *Renaissance Studies*, 32.5 (2018), 738–54 (p. 740).

circumstances of its initial delivery. On the other hand, portraits were not always venerated symbols of the longevity of a preacher's words, but could be startlingly contemporaneous with the life of the minister at the time of publication, such as *The Jesuit, and the Monk, &c.* by Richard Carpenter.

This chapter has drawn upon a substantial catalogue of sermons to query the nature of 'authority' in the frontispiece portrait, the ambivalent attitudes of preachers towards printed images, and the enduring afterlives of these orations decades after their delivery. While many of the craftsmen involved in creating the woodcuts in particular remain anonymous, it is possible to argue the case for the printers as the 'unsung heroes', in contrast with previous work which has underlined their tendency to reuse woodcuts with very little consideration of their content.²⁶⁵ It would have been necessary for the printers to have absorbed the text and commission intricate designs which were related to it, such as Fitzgeffrey's *The Curse of Corn-holders, &c.* Finally, to what extent can pen-and-ink drawings and ornamental penmanship, either commissioned or executed by clergymen in both presentation manuscript sermons and private commonplace books, be considered as Protestant art? And were such practices prevalent on the Continent as well as England? These issues, suggested in the previous section of this chapter, await further study.

Several other questions remain ripe for investigation, although it is uncertain whether new evidence can be recovered in order to address such queries. Firstly, more work could be conducted on the portraits of preachers which migrated from printed sermons to other literary works which defended doctrinal authority, particularly in the 1650s. One example is *A Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England* by Anthony Sparrow (1612–1685), Bishop of Norwich, a treatise justifying the liturgy which appeared in multiple editions from 1655 until 1684. The portraits of principal figures who promoted 'Prayer Book

²⁶⁵ Richard G. Cole, 'Reformation Printers: Unsung Heroes', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 15.3 (1984), 327–39; Astington, 'Visual Texts', p. 230.

Protestantism’ – namely, Lancelot Andrewes, Richard Hooker (1554–1600) and John Overall (bap. 1561, d. 1619) – are placed within varying locations throughout the text in certain editions.²⁶⁶ Secondly, in a considerable number of the sermons explored in this chapter, the vexed question of the preacher’s input remains ambiguous. While Fenner certainly meant to have his sermons published, as evidenced by the epistles which were appended to his posthumous works, there is little surviving evidence to suggest that he intended his sermons to be issued with his portrait.²⁶⁷ Moreover, it is difficult to speculate whether certain preachers would have approved of images appended to their sermons, either as misrepresentations of their churchmanship, such as the frontispiece of Sibbes’s *A Glance of Heaven*, or as trivial emblems which may have been deemed unnecessary for an understanding of the text at hand.

Thirdly, regarding illustrated title pages, there is a wealth of other sermons which deserve attention and which have not been addressed in this chapter. While this thesis principally considers images and visual components which were created especially for a sermon or an edition of it, it is important to consider briefly one unusual adaptation of a title page which was used for a single sermon. The engraved title page of the 1569 edition of the Bishops’ Bible was adapted for *A Sermon of Spiritvall Life and Death* (1630) by John Preston, the textual title of the sermon substituting the figure of Elizabeth I (see Figure 2.24). Such an adaptation raises crucial questions regarding the significance of this sermon, which seemed to have been elevated in its status as a modest religious quarto to a work which carried the weight of the Bishops’ Bible, the illustrated title page of which would have been so widely known.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ See, for example, Anthony Sparrow, *A Rationale upon the Book of Common-Prayer of the Church of England* (1668).

²⁶⁷ See a letter composed by Fenner, addressed to Sir Nathaniel Rich (1585–1636), in Fenner, *The Works of The Learned and Faithful Minister of Gods Word, M. William Fenner*, unpaginated, in addition to ‘*The Authors Preface upon these ensuing SERMONS*’, in Fenner, *A Divine Message to the Elect Sovl*, unpaginated.

²⁶⁸ For Preston’s sermon, see Christopher Hill, ‘The Political Sermons of John Preston’, in Christopher Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution: Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th Century* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1958; repr. Mercury Books, 1962), pp. 239–74 (pp. 251–53).

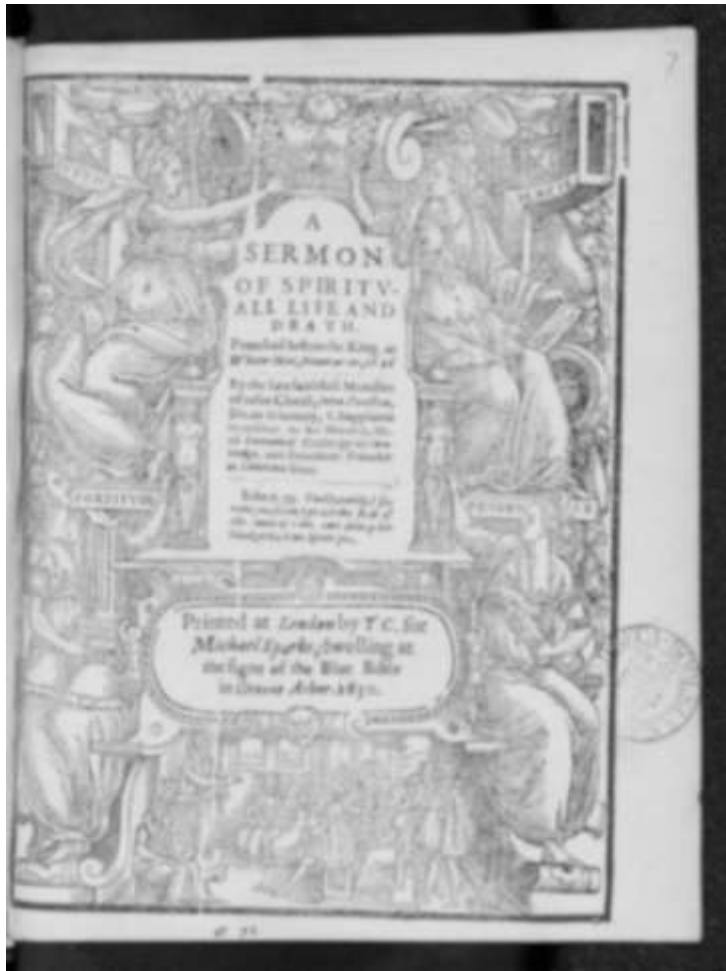


Figure 2.24. John Preston, *A Sermon of Spiritvall Life and Death*. Printed at *London* by *T. C.* for *Michael Sparke*, dwelling at the signe of the *Blue Bible* in *Greene Arbor*. 1630. Bodleian Library, 4° C 41(7) Th. 4°.

Fourthly, not only was it the case that certain preachers capitalised upon the aesthetic and instructive possibilities of the visual arts, but there is also evidence to suggest that Protestant readers and collectors of printed sermons placed great value on them. While it would have been unsurprising for folio collections of sermons to have been bound in an extravagant manner, more interesting is the embroidered binding of a volume of the sermons of Samuel Ward, which were never issued in folio format but always as octavo.²⁶⁹ Protestant readers and collectors of sermons also responded visually to these texts. In an anonymous manuscript

²⁶⁹ Walsham, 'Jewels for Gentlewomen', pp. 133–34.

transcription of a sermon dating from 1625, a reader has illustrated passages such as ‘the sin of both hart and hand’ with drawings of a hand and a heart; ‘the error of the eye’ is marked with an eye.²⁷⁰ Moreover, as long as there were images in printed sermons, there is evidence of material responses from readers. In order to bring this chapter back to the wider European dimension which was considered at the beginning, it is pertinent to note the disappearance of several woodcuts from a British Library copy of Luther’s *Ein nützlich vnd fast tröstlich predig* (1520).²⁷¹ In a Bodleian Library copy of a collection of Hugh Latimer’s sermons, a representation of a preacher in his pulpit gesturing towards an attentive congregation has been pasted onto the front paste-down.²⁷² This image had been extracted from John Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*. According to Adam Smyth, the cutting and pasting of images from one book to another can be interpreted as ‘the denigration and elevation’ of pictures.²⁷³ Two readers of two sermons originally delivered at Paul’s Cross – namely, *A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse, &c.* (1611), a recantation sermon by the apostate Theophilus Higgons (1578–1659), held at the University of Birmingham Library and *The Rainebow, &c.* (1617), an early work by Immanuel Bourne (1590–1672), held at the British Library – have inserted frontispiece images of St Paul’s Cathedral, which were cut from the map of Middlesex by John Speed (1551/2–1629).²⁷⁴ While it is not the place of this chapter to explore the doodles and pen trials of owners of sermons, it can nevertheless be observed that these physical traces of embellishment

²⁷⁰ ‘Sermon on Joshua 7.20–21’, in Leeds, University of Leeds Library, MS 621, fols 150^v–158^r. I am grateful to Dr Catherine Evans for drawing this manuscript to my attention.

²⁷¹ British Library, 3905.d.64. For Luther and visual imagery, see R. W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Joseph Leo Kerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004); Bridget Heal, *A Magnificent Faith: Art and Identity in Lutheran Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). See also David Morgan, ‘The look of the sacred’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Religious Studies*, ed. by Robert A. Orsi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 296–318 (p. 309).

²⁷² Bodleian Library, Douce L 28 (1).

²⁷³ Adam Smyth, ‘Little Clippings: Cutting and Pasting Bibles in the 1630s’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 45.3 (2015), 595–613 (p. 605); Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 35. See also Cummings, ‘Afterword’, p. 290.

²⁷⁴ Theophilus Higgons, *A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse, &c.* (1611) (Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham, 16.H51); Immanuel Bourne, *The Rainebow, &c.* (1617) (British Library, 3932.d.22.(1.)); Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul’s Cross Sermons*, pp. 13–15.

complicate the idea that early modern Protestant readers engaged with visual objects primarily in the mind.²⁷⁵

Other material responses, including the hand-colouring of printed sermons by readers, and the significance of this practice in light of scholarly consensus surrounding godly anxiety about the excessive use of colouring, are explored in the next chapter.²⁷⁶ This chapter also develops the argument that images were not always ‘internal’, but were used by divines as central elements of their sermons. These particular sermons were intensely attuned to the fascination for heraldry and scriptural genealogy which took root in the Elizabethan era. Like the portraits discussed in this chapter, the heraldic elements of these sermons represented much more than perfunctory statements of authority and prestige, being closely intertwined with the biblical texts and central lessons expounded by their clerical interpreters. This particular engagement with the language of heraldry also reveals the extent to which churchmen could take inspiration from this legitimate form of visual culture which was frequently to be found within the spaces in which they delivered their sermons.

²⁷⁵ Dyrness, *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture*, p. 305; Walsham, ‘Idols in the Frontispiece?’, p. 39. For drawings based on printers’ arabesques, see a copy of *Three Sermons, Or Homelies, To Mooove Compassion, &c.* (1596), held at the Bodleian Library (Vet. A1 d.40).

²⁷⁶ Hamling, ‘The Appreciation of Religious Images in Plasterwork in the Protestant Domestic Interior’, pp. 154–55.

FROM PAGEANTRY TO PIETY: PROTESTANT PREOCCUPATIONS WITH HERALDRY AND GENEALOGY

And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek: and his rest shall be glorious.

Isaiah 11.10

The material contexts and spaces in which sermons were originally preached – in particular, the buildings, pulpits and lecterns involved – continue to constitute a principal area of interest for historians and literary critics of the religious, political and intellectual culture of early modern England.¹ Yet, in its current prioritisation of the impact of architectural setting, as opposed to interior decoration, on sermon composition and delivery, scholarship on early modern English preaching falls some way behind a body of research which has been undertaken on the practices of clerics in England in the Middle Ages and late medieval period, and those of medieval and early modern Italy.² It has long been acknowledged by scholars of

¹ Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales, 'Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560–1700', in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560–1700*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 1–31 (p. 19); Peter E. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); ch. 1; Susan Wabuda, 'Triple-Deckers and Eagle Lecterns: Church Furniture for the Book in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', *Studies in Church History*, 38 (2004), 143–52; Graham Parry, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation: Glory, Laud and Honour* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), ch. 5; Kenneth Fincham and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c. 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Robert Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 94–97, 182–90; Emma Rhatigan, 'Preaching Venues: Architecture and Auditories', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 87–119; Andrew Spicer, 'The material culture of early modern churches', in *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling and David Gaimster (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), pp. 82–97 (pp. 88–90).

² Susan Wabuda has written about the influence of the IHS monogram on English preaching in the pre-Reformation period, with particular reference to the monogram's manifestation on pulpits, church walls and printed books. Susan Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), ch. 4. See also Miriam Gill, 'Preaching and Images in Late Medieval England', in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 155–80; Kimberly A. Rivers,

the latter specialism that, from the fourteenth century through to the post-Tridentine period, Catholic preachers interacted on a regular basis with the graphic and material arts of their surroundings. Both fresco and pulpit constituted significant visual, performative and exegetical tools for preachers in the Italian Renaissance. The biblical stories and lives of the saints depicted on the walls and engraved as part of the design of the pulpits proved important bases for the content of many sermons, which would appeal to audiences to remember the lessons learnt from such imagery.³ Sermons could also be accompanied by what might be termed ‘pulpit’ as opposed to ‘theatrical’ properties (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2). Referring to the characteristic use of a painted tablet featuring the IHS monogram by the Franciscan priest Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444), Emily Michelson has argued that, ‘[p]ackaged together, the powerful combination of word and image was able to bring doctrinal education, mystical contemplation, and a personal, internalized love of God to a broader audience than ever before’.⁴

Lacking the variety of sumptuous decoration to be found in Italian churches and cathedrals, it is understandable that church interiors in Protestant England have been given less extensive treatment regarding the manner in which they could inspire both churchman and

Preaching in the Memory of Virtue and Vice: Memory, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).

³ Italy has been chosen as a brief comparative case study owing to the large volume of scholarship on the impact of the visual arts upon Italian preaching during this era. However, it would also be fruitful to investigate this phenomenon in other European countries. For Italy, see Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 48–58; Carolyn Valone, ‘The Art of Hearing: Sermons and Images in the Chapel of Lucrezia della Rovere’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 31.3 (2000), 753–77; Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, ‘The Preacher as Goldsmith: The Italian Preachers’ Use of the Visual Arts’, in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 127–53; Lina Bolzoni, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from its Origins to St Bernardino da Siena*, trans. by Carole Preston and Lisa Chien (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), especially chs. 1 and 4; Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, *The Renaissance Pulpit: Art and Preaching in Tuscany, 1400–1550* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007); Emily Michelson, ‘Dramatics in (and out of) the pulpit in post-Tridentine Italy’, *The Italianist*, 34.3 (2014), 449–62 (p. 450). See also Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001; repr. 2019), pp. 59–60.

⁴ Emily Michelson, ‘Bernardino of Siena Visualizes the Name of God’, in *Speculum Sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon*, ed. by Georgiana Donavin, Cary J. Nederman and Richard Utz (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 157–79. See also Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation*, pp. 151–56; Bolzoni, *The Web of Images*, pp. 168–77.

audience.⁵ Indeed, Peter McCullough has argued that the Jacobean preacher's only visual points of reference in the chapels of the palaces at Greenwich and Whitehall were the elevated royal pew and the hourglass. Although the wall paintings and stained glass in these chapels were largely untouched by Reformation iconoclasm, McCullough dismisses them as 'all rather tired and worn, if not neglected', at least during the years 1615–1619.⁶ Felicity Heal states that the overall structure of a consecrated building and 'its formal furniture of communion table, pulpit, and perhaps pews' afforded 'the only legitimate aesthetic opportunities'. Moreover, the forms of interior decoration approved by the Established Church were restricted to 'funeral monuments, the royal arms, and the writing of Scripture on the walls'.⁷

Given the apparent paucity of interior decoration in Church of England places of worship, research on early modern English preaching has therefore been predominantly focused upon practical issues surrounding the spatial dynamics of particular venues, both indoor and outdoor; the construction and location of the pulpit or lectern; and the ways in which sermon delivery could be adapted to particular environments.⁸ The utilisation of early modern English 'pulpit properties' is habitually summarised in just three key examples, the first being Donne's implementation of the hourglass, which was 'exploited by combining its actual

⁵ Jonathan Willis has recently written about commandment boards in English parish churches, although the emphasis is on the parishioners' reception of these textual and visual forms rather than the preachers' specific use of them. Jonathan Willis, *The Reformation of the Decalogue: Religious Identity and the Ten Commandments in England, c. 1485–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 297–331.

⁶ John Donne, *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne, Volume I: Sermons Preached at the Jacobean Courts 1615–1619*, ed. by Peter McCullough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. xxvi. However, David Colclough has located an instance where Donne may have gestured towards a tapestry; see John Donne, *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne, Volume III: Sermons Preached at the Court of Charles I*, ed. by David Colclough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 471.

⁷ Felicity Heal, 'Art and Iconoclasm', in *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I: Reformation and Identity, c. 1520–1662*, ed. by Anthony Milton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 186–209 (p. 190). However, note Heal's caveat that this did not extend to 'quasi-private' spaces, which included chapels; see pp. 194–98. See also George Yule, 'James VI and I: furnishing the churches in his two kingdoms', in *Religion, culture and society in early modern Britain: Essays in honour of Patrick Collinson*, ed. by Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 182–208 (pp. 201–02).

⁸ Wabuda, 'Triple-Deckers and Eagle Lecterns'; McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, ch. 1; Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Rhatigan, 'Preaching Venues'.

and metaphorical potential'.⁹ Regarding the second, Emma Rhatigan has commented upon the 'unusual extremes' which characterised the preaching of John Rogers (c. 1570–1636), lecturer of Dedham, who made use of the canopy over the pulpit, holding its supports with both hands and 'roaring hideously, to represent the torments of the damned'.¹⁰ Thirdly, Arnold Hunt has also remarked that Rogers's preaching style was idiosyncratic, citing his implementation of the Bible as another prop, lifting it from the pulpit cushion and falling to his knees in supplication.¹¹ Whitewashing was apparently rife and holy objects were regarded as popish distractions; consequently, the impact of interior decoration upon the sermon, along with the use of pulpit properties, are largely considered by historians to constitute topics of limited scope.¹² It is notable that little investigation has been carried out in this respect even in relation to Laudian reforms regarding the 'beauty of holiness' in churches.¹³ The question of whether the new

⁹ John Donne, *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne, Volume I*, p. xxvi. See also John Donne, *XXVI. Sermons, &c.* (1661), p. 218; Mary Ann Lund, 'Early Modern Sermon Paratexts and the Religious Politics of Reading', in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580–1730*, ed. by James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 143–62 (p. 143); Rhatigan, 'Preaching Venues', pp. 93–95; Rosamund Oates, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 85.

¹⁰ Oliver Heywood, *A Narrative of the Holy Life, and Happy Death of[...] Mr. John Angier, &c.* (1683), pp. 5–6; Jason Yiannikou, 'Rogers, John (c. 1570–1636)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23982>> [accessed 8 June 2020]; Rhatigan, 'Preaching Venues', p. 92. Robert Whiting has also written about the significance of the canopy and the hourglass in post-Reformation English parish churches; see Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church*, pp. 186–87.

¹¹ Francis Bremer and Ellen Rydell, 'Performance Art? Puritans in the Pulpit', *History Today*, 45.9 (1995), 50–4 (p. 53); Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 88.

¹² Patrick Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: The Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation* (Reading: University of Reading, 1986), p. 23; Julie Spraggan, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 95 and passim; John Craig, 'Psalms, groans and dogwhippers: the soundscape of worship in the English parish church, 1547–1642', in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 104–23 (p. 104); Simon Jenkins, 'The dazzling walls of medieval England deserve a bold restorer', *Guardian*, 21 March 2008, <<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/mar/21/religion.heritage>> [accessed 5 September 2018]; John Craig, 'Sermon Reception', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 178–97 (p. 185).

¹³ An important exception is J. F. Merritt, 'Puritans, Laudians, and the Phenomenon of Church-Building in Jacobean London', *The Historical Journal*, 41.4 (1998), 935–60. Recent research by Susan Mary Orlik has revealed that the investment in church decoration pre-dates Laudianism and is equally evident within more godly parishes. See Susan Mary Orlik, 'The 'Beauty of Holiness' Revisited: An Analysis of Investment in Parish Church Interiors in Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire, 1560–1640', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2018).

furnishings and ornamentation instigated by such reforms exercised any influence on the sermons preached within these spaces remains open to further investigation.¹⁴

Even more nebulous in studies of both English and Italian preaching is the use of heraldry as a tool to inculcate civic virtue.¹⁵ There are two large shields on the Palazzo Pubblico, situated behind the figure of Bernardino in Figure 3.1, including the coat of arms of Siena (per fess argent and sable). Smaller versions of these arms embellish the galleries and arcades, the latter of which are shown in detail in Figure 3.2.¹⁶ Within the visual records of early modern England, attention must be drawn to the shields decorating the cathedral balcony in the famous diptych of Old St Paul's by John Gipkyn (*d.* 1594–1629) (Figure 3.3).

¹⁴ Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 70–2; Kenneth Fincham, 'The Restoration of the Altars in the 1630s', *The Historical Journal*, 44.4 (2001), 919–40; Parry, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation*, ch. 5.

¹⁵ Interventions by Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby for medieval Italy and Peter McCullough for early modern England represent partial and notable exceptions. Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby, 'The Santa Croce Pulpit in Context: Sermons, Art and Space', *Artibus et Historiae*, 29.57 (2008), 75–93 (p. 79); Peter McCullough, 'Preaching and Context: John Donne's Sermon at the Funerals of Sir William Cokayne', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 213–67.

¹⁶ T. B., 'The Sermon of San Bernardino', *The Burlington Magazine*, 60.347 (1932), 116–19.



Figure 3.1. Sano di Pietro, *Predica di san Bernardino da Siena in piazza del Campo* (1445). Tempera on panel. 162 × 102 cm. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena.



Figure 3.2. Domenico Beccafumi, *San Bernardino Preaching in the Campo, Siena* (before 1528). Oil on canvas. 31.7 × 42 cm. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.



Figure 3.3. John Gipkyn, *Old Saint Paul's* (diptych, verso of left panel) (1616). Oil on panel. 127 × 101.6 cm. Society of Antiquaries of London, London.

The ubiquity of heraldry in both Italy and England, particularly by the sixteenth century, is a well-known phenomenon.¹⁷ Reformation England was an age of ‘genealogical fever’.¹⁸ Pride in ancestry and family pedigree, described by Lawrence Stone as ‘one of the most striking features of the age’, was intermingled with heated debates concerning the historical pedigree of Protestants versus Catholics as both sides of the confessional divide attempted to display an unbroken continuity with the apostolic past.¹⁹ And yet, it is not difficult to see why religion and ‘secular’ heraldry have been traditionally regarded as at odds with each other in this period. In the early years of the Reformation, rood screens and images of saints were gradually replaced with royal arms in churches as a way of pledging allegiance to the royal supremacy.²⁰ Heraldic funerals, such as those of Sir William Cokayne (1559/60–1626), provided opportunities for extravagant displays of the wealth and prestige associated with those who bore arms, as opposed to the religious banners of saints, the Trinity and the Sacred Heart

¹⁷ For medieval Italy, see, for example, D’A. J. D. Boulton, ‘Insignia of Power: The Use of Heraldic and Paraheraldic Devices by Italian Princes, c. 1350–c. 1500’, in *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy: 1250–1500*, ed. by Charles M. Rosenberg (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), pp. 103–27 (p. 104); Jennifer Mackenzie, ‘Renaissance Heraldry’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2017); Alessandro Savorelli, ‘L’héraldique des Della Robbia à Florence entre abstraction et naturalisme’, in *Heraldic Artists and Painters in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, ed. by Torsten Hiltmann and Laurent Hablot (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2018), pp. 207–21. A conference entitled ‘Heraldry in the Medieval City: The Case of Italy in the European Context’ took place at the École française de Rome, Italy, on 5–7 May 2015; see <<https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/3350>> [accessed 20 August 2018].

¹⁸ J. H. Plumb, *The Death of the Past* (London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, 1969; repr. 1978), p. 31. See also Eric Ketelaar, ‘The Genealogical Gaze: Family Identities and Family Archives in the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries’, *Libraries & the Cultural Record*, 44.1 (2009), 9–28.

¹⁹ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 23–27, 712, 715. See also Jean-Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the 17th Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), ch. 1; Oates, *Moderate Radical*, p. 160. This topic was one of the abiding concerns of Professor Alexandra Walsham’s James Ford Lectures, entitled ‘The Reformation of the Generations: Age, Ancestry, and Memory in England c. 1500–1700’, Hilary Term, University of Oxford, 2018.

²⁰ H. Munro Cautley, *Royal Arms and Commandments in Our Churches* (Ipswich: Norman Adlard, 1934), p. 1; Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988), pp. 118–19; Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Building a Godly Realm: The Establishment of English Protestantism, 1558–1603* (London: The Historical Association, 1992), p. 9; Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 253; Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church*, p. xvii. Although H. Munro Cautley wrote that ‘[a]ny work on Royal Arms in our Churches would be incomplete without some reference to the tables of Commandments which so frequently accompanied them’, the juxtaposition of royal iconography with commandment boards in early modern England parish churches has only recently been examined by Jonathan Willis. See Cautley, *Royal Arms and Commandments in Our Churches*, p. 109; Willis, *The Reformation of the Decalogue*, pp. 317–20.

which were the traditional fare of medieval funerals. According to Roger Kuin, the transfer of heraldry to effect social continuity served as a kind of substitute for the ceremonial intercession for the dead.²¹ In his examination of sacramental plate, Robert Whiting has demonstrated that donors' coats of arms on patens took the place of saints, the Virgin and Christ.²² Considering this particular environment which fostered a complicated juxtaposition of Reformation theology and ancestral legitimisation, it remains for scholars to question the extent of Protestant ministers' familiarity with the language of heraldry. Bearing in mind its pervasiveness, it would have been difficult to ignore and disregard its potential for a positive, edifying influence. How, then, did churchmen use their heraldic backdrops – both temporary and permanent – to bolster the faith of the godly? How was their engagement with heraldic art justified in the administration of the Word? What was the significance of the frequent presence of royal arms and other escutcheons on the title pages, frontispieces and dedicatory epistles to printed sermons?

This chapter examines the means by which Protestant preachers appealed to the heraldic imagination of their audiences and subsequent readers. It explores the integration of Reformed theology with the burgeoning fascination for genealogy and heritage, and the visual and verbal manifestation of these concerns within an extremely prominent form of religious literature in early modern England. In doing so, it constitutes a fresh scholarly endeavour, challenging the longstanding paradigms that have inhibited an understanding of the nexus between preaching, the visual arts and the medium of print in this period of English history.²³

²¹ J. F. R. Day, 'The Heraldic Funeral', *Coat of Arms*, 190 (2000), online edn, <<https://www.theheraldrysociety.com/articles/the-heraldic-funeral>> [accessed 11 September 2018]; McCullough, 'Preaching and Context'; Roger Kuin, 'Colours of Continuity: the Heraldic Funeral', in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 166–89 (pp. 174, 188); Roger Kuin, 'Hieroglyphics of Nobility: The Banners in Sir Philip Sidney's Funeral Procession', *Sidney Journal*, 33.2 (2015), 1–25.

²² Whiting, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church*, p. 68.

²³ Patrick Collinson has implied that sermons and visual culture stood at polar opposites. An 'intensely visual' medieval religion was situated on one side of the divide, while 'the spoken words of sermon and catechism' were positioned on the other. See Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, p. 99. More recently, Felicity Heal

Building upon work by Jan Broadway and others, who have discussed the manner in which coats of arms ‘were the accepted symbols of ancestry and status’, the chapter begins by focusing on armorial decoration within the printed sermon.²⁴ This section permits a more thorough enquiry into the proclaimed allegiances of preachers and their need to ingratiate themselves with existing or prospective patrons. Proceeding from this overview, and drawing upon the interdisciplinary methodologies employed by Peter McCullough in his analysis of John Donne’s sermon at Cokayne’s heraldic funerals, the next section examines the historical contexts for a specific occasion in which heraldic pageantry played an important part, demonstrating the ways in which elaborate regalia could be transferred to the printed page.²⁵ By such means, the temporal elements of the Norwich guild day solemnities of the 1640s and 1650s, as depicted in the sermons of John Carter the younger (d. 1655), minister of St Peter Mancroft, were transformed into a more permanent entity by means of the printed artefacts.

Protestant preachers could also draw attention to the more permanent armorial adornments attached to churches and cathedrals, in addition to the ecclesiastical arms of the bishops instituted at those venues; this practice will be investigated in two sermons preached in the 1620s.²⁶ Like the pulpit properties of Bernardino, Donne and John Rogers, this part of the chapter aims to establish that both heraldic ornamentation and abstract coats of arms could be used to enhance the principal arguments of the preachers’ exhortations *in situ* and afterwards in print. The chapter concludes by examining the eleven-page pedigree in a sermon by Richard

has written about the ‘shift from the visual to the spoken’ which was ‘the shared objective of most Protestant divines before the end of the sixteenth century’ (‘Art and Iconoclasm’, p. 189).

²⁴ Jan Broadway, ‘Symbolic and Self-Consciously Antiquarian: The Elizabethan and Early Stuart Gentry’s Use of the Past’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 76.4 (2013), 541–58 (p. 541). Bookplates, and armorial bindings framing printed sermons, such as the copy of Gervase Babington’s *Workes* (1615) owned by Sir Walter Covert (1544–1632) (British Library, C.67.h.14), are a separate concern, primarily to do with provenance rather than the function of heraldry in religious contexts, and will not be addressed in this chapter. See Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker, ‘Introduction: discovering the Renaissance reader’, in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 1–37 (p. 5).

²⁵ McCullough, ‘Preaching and Context’.

²⁶ James Cleland, *Iacobs Wel, and Abbots Condvit, &c.* (1626); Thomas Vicars, *POMΦAIOΦEPOΣ. The Sword-bearer* (1627).

Davies (c. 1505–1581), Bishop of St David's, which was originally preached at the funeral of Walter Devereux (1539–76), First Earl of Essex, and published in 1577.²⁷

In terms of chronological scope, this chapter focuses on the reign of Elizabeth, a crucial period that witnessed the flourishing of English heraldry, up to the era of the English Civil Wars, study of which brings to light intriguing tensions between the heraldic tradition and godly ambivalence towards it.²⁸ The chapter is underpinned by several key convictions. Firstly, whereas some Protestant clergy might have been concerned about the possibility of encouraging the sin of pride by alluding to heraldry within their teachings, many were aware nonetheless that it was a familiar form of visual shorthand for lineage and honour.²⁹ Crucially, their priority was not to uncover what Sydney Anglo has described as 'the labyrinthine mysteries of blason' in painstaking detail, but rather to find common ground with their audiences, using the visual and verbal language of heraldry in their sermons to explain and determine not only the pedigree of Reformation theology, but also wider issues such as God's providence and the premeditated order of being for his subjects.³⁰ Heraldic illustration within printed sermons served two main purposes, the first being to exhibit a preacher's allegiance to the throne or to his patron, or to recommend himself to a prospective dignitary. In these instances, the coats of arms of the dignitaries in question appeared as frontispieces, title-page woodcuts, at the beginning of the dedicatory epistle or as opening decorated initials.³¹ These findings challenge in part Paul Voss's argument that printers, publishers and authors were

²⁷ Richard Davies, *A Fvnerall Sermon Preached the XXVI. Day of November, &c.* (1577).

²⁸ Tara Hamling has observed that there was an increased demand for heraldic manuals from the 1560s onwards. Tara Hamling, 'Visual Culture', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 75–101 (p. 81).

²⁹ John Donne famously denigrates the heralds' office as being 'the Grave' as much as the 'Cradle of Honour' in his Christmas-Day sermon delivered at St Paul's Cathedral in 1627. See John Donne, *LXXX Sermons, &c.* (1661), p. 44. For the meaning of 'honour' in early modern England, see Richard Cust, 'Catholicism, Antiquarianism and Gentry Honour: The Writings of Sir Thomas Shirley', *Midland History*, 23 (1998), 40–70 (p. 48); Richard Cust, *Charles I and the Aristocracy, 1625–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 5.

³⁰ Sydney Anglo, 'Introduction', in *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. by Sydney Anglo (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1990), pp. xi–xvi (p. xv).

³¹ Coats of arms of patrons who were also the subjects of funeral sermons are discussed in the following chapter.

moving increasingly away from a reliance on aristocratic patronage in late Elizabethan England.³² The second purpose of heraldic illustration was to enhance the arguments advanced in the sermons proper and provide visual summaries of the original events, circumstances and settings for the benefit of later readers.

Several caveats must be provided regarding the second purpose outlined above. Lying at the heart of the argument of this thesis is the need to consider printed sermons not merely as shadows and static records of the original events, but as books produced for use in their own right. That is not to say that the printed sermons are prioritised over other forms of evidence relating to the original performances. As David M. Bergeron and Tracey Hill have both argued for the printed pageant, the publications ‘do not obliterate theatrical performance or displace it so much as they complete it’.³³ Additionally, whereas some historians have observed that certain printed sermons could be indistinguishable from religious and scholarly treatises, it is important to recognise that the production of printed sermons also took inspiration from other genres of didactic printed literature.³⁴ Some of the heraldic printed sermons investigated in this chapter are seemingly inspired by the principles of contemporary emblem literature, the coat of arms being the equivalent of the ‘body’ of an emblem, while the accompanying motto and the sermon proper represented its ‘soul’, expounding the morals which the arms purported to

³² Paul J. Voss, ‘Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29.3 (1998), 733–56.

³³ David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558–1642*, rev. edn (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University, 2003), pp. 9–10; Tracey Hill, *Pageantry and power: A cultural history of the early modern Lord Mayor’s Show, 1585–1639* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2010), ch. 4; Tracey Hill, ‘Owners and Collectors of the Printed Books of the Early Modern Lord Mayors’ Shows’, *Library & Information History*, 30.3 (2014), 151–71.

³⁴ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 194; Ian Green, ‘Orality, script and print: the case of the English sermon c. 1530–1700’, in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, Volume I: Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. by Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 236–55 (pp. 241, 253); Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 117. Thomas Dabbs and Roze Hentschell have gone some way to address this last point, the latter referring to the ‘cross-pollinating’ nature of the textual production of sermons, verse satire, moralistic prose and popular poetry in this period. See Thomas Dabbs, ‘Paul’s Cross and the Dramatic Echoes of Early-Elizabethan Print’, in *Paul’s Cross and the Culture of Persuasion in England, 1520–1640*, ed. by Torrance Kirby and P. G. Stanwood (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 223–44; Roze Hentschell, ‘Moralizing Apparel in Early Modern London: Popular Literature, Sermons, and Sartorial Display’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 39.3 (2009), 571–95. See also Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 327.

represent.³⁵ Indeed, the scriptural text could also stand in for the motto or epigram of an emblem, the task of the preacher being to decipher it and elucidate its application.

As a final point, this chapter does not discuss ‘template’ decorated title pages which feature heraldry and royal coats of arms, such as those which adorned the sermons of the radical Protestants Hugh Latimer and Thomas Lever (1521–1577) published by John Day (1521/2–1584) during the reign of Edward VI, or the heraldic title-page schemes used by the Elizabethan printers Christopher Barker (1528/9–1599) and John Wolfe (c. 1548?–1601).³⁶ However, while most of the printed images in these sermons were bespoke owing to the individual nature of coats of arms as means for identification, this investigation highlights one instance in which an emblematic image was re-used for another polemical publication, arguing both for the extended afterlife of the printed sermon and its paratexts, and the opportunities for the cultivation of pictorial literacy in godly readers.³⁷ Evidently, certain preachers and their printers were confident that they could guide readers in the printed text to regard the accompanying coats of arms as emblems of virtue to inspire emulation, rather than consider them as objects of veneration in themselves. By such means, Protestant preachers were able to present an attractive kind of history to teach generations of readers.

An Overview of Armorial Decoration in the Printed Sermon

³⁵ Michael Bath, ‘Introduction’, in George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes*, ed. by Michael Bath (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Scolar Press, 1989), pp. 1–11 (p. 4); Huston Diehl, ‘Graven Images: Protestant Emblem Books in England’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 39.1 (1986), 49–66 (pp. 51, 64). For the influence of emblem books on the printed pageant, see David M. Bergeron, ‘The Emblematic Nature of English Civic Pageantry’, *Renaissance Drama*, 1 (1968), 167–98; Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, pp. 263–86.

³⁶ Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 53–55.

³⁷ Lee Palmer Wandel uses the term ‘visual cognates’; see Lee Palmer Wandel, ‘Catechisms: Teaching the Eye to Read the World’, in *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. by Feike Dietz and others (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 53–76 (p. 69).

Studies of the role of heraldry in the religious culture of early modern England are scarce. Historians have been interested primarily in the changing perceptions of chivalry, from neo-medieval conceptions of it in Elizabethan pageants to its implementation on the battlegrounds of the Civil Wars.³⁸ Herald's duties, including visitations, have also constituted a principal topic of enquiry, as have the working relations between painters instituted at the College of Arms with those employed by the Painter-Stainers' Company.³⁹ Thus, court studies have undeniably dominated the realm of heraldic scholarship.⁴⁰ The representation of arms, and the nascent interest in the study of genealogy and heraldry, were both apparently exempted from the religious war against images, being a principally secular concern.⁴¹ According to Jan Broadway in her study of gentry culture and local history, 'secular' heraldry effectively replaced religious imagery in visual culture; in other words, they did not co-exist.⁴² Margaret Aston describes '[t]he safe and innocuous course of providing heraldic or secular commemorative [window] panes' to replace 'the decaying remains of older iconographic survivals' in London churches.⁴³ Such

³⁸ Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Chivalric Tradition in Renaissance England* (Washington, DC: Folger Books, 1986); William Hunt, 'Civic Chivalry and the English Civil War', in *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), pp. 204–37; J. S. A. Adamson, 'Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England', in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp. 161–97; Ian Gentles, 'The iconography of revolution: England 1642–1649', in *Soldiers, writers and statesmen of the English Revolution*, ed. by Ian Gentles, John Morrill and Blair Worden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 91–113; Cust, *Charles I and the Aristocracy*, p. 15; John H. Astington, *Stage and Picture in the English Renaissance: The Mirror up to Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 15–16. One study which looks at the relationship between chivalry and late medieval religion in England is 'The martial Christ in the sermons of late medieval England' by Jennifer Rene Depold (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2015).

³⁹ See Ann Payne's edition of Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.199 in Nigel Ramsay, 'William Smith, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant', in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 27–67 (pp. 45–67); Elizabeth Goldring, 'Heraldic drawing and painting in early modern England', in *Painting in Britain 1500–1630: Production, Influences and Patronage*, ed. by Tarnya Cooper, Aviva Burnstock, Maurice Howard and Edward Town (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 262–77.

⁴⁰ Hamling, 'Visual Culture', p. 78; Simon Adams, 'The Herald's and the Elizabethan Court: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester as Deputy Earl Marshal', in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 1–25.

⁴¹ Ferguson, *The Chivalric Tradition in Renaissance England*, p. 67; Cust, *Charles I and the Aristocracy*, p. 15. See also n. 28.

⁴² Jan Broadway, *'No historie so meete': Gentry culture and the development of local history in Elizabethan and early Stuart England* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2006), p. 130.

⁴³ Margaret Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 657.

conclusions echo Keith Thomas's thesis that there was an 'increasing divorce of art from religion' in post-Reformation England.⁴⁴ As an exclusive form of historical and civic memory, heraldry has therefore been depicted as embodying largely nonspiritual concerns. In terms of its wider impact, much has been made of its presence in contemporary secular literature, including the plays of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson.⁴⁵

However, although Richard Cust has long contended that gentry 'honour' came to be redefined in terms which were appropriate to religious ideologies, scholars of the English Reformation are only just beginning to question the ways in which religion intertwined with the heraldic imagination.⁴⁶ Many questions remain unaddressed. Why, for example, were representations of the Virgin and Child 'acceptable' when exhibited on shields?⁴⁷ It would be difficult to argue that a 'secular' medium was entirely immune from any anxiety regarding such contentious iconography, especially considering its pervasive nature. Heraldic imagery appeared in churches and other buildings, at processions, within paintings, on tapestry, earthenware, clothing and jewellery, and in the halls of companies and guilds.⁴⁸ The intertwining

⁴⁴ Keith Thomas, 'Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England', in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 16–40 (p. 38).

⁴⁵ Arthur Huntington Nason, *Heralds and Heraldry in Ben Jonson's Plays, Masques and Entertainments* (New York, NY: University Heights, 1907); C. W. Scott-Giles, *Shakespeare's Heraldry* (London: J. M. Dent, 1950; repr. London: Heraldry Today, 1971); *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014); Victor Morgan, 'The Construction of Civic Memory in Early Modern Norwich', in *Material Memories*, ed. by Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward and Jeremy Aynsley (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 183–97. See also Paul C. Franke, 'The Heraldry of *The Faerie Queene*', *Coat of Arms*, 4.4 (1980–81), 317–23.

⁴⁶ Cust, 'Catholicism, Antiquarianism and Gentry Honour', p. 48. Tara Hamling has observed that '[h]eraldry and biblical imagery were routinely depicted and often united within the decorative arts of early modern England yet the visual messages and cultural meanings of these forms of imagery are rarely questioned or probed beyond simple identification'. See Hamling 'Visual Culture', pp. 78, 98–100. It is hoped that the forthcoming Cambridge University doctoral thesis by Frances Rothwell Hughes will illuminate further the relationship between heraldic imagery and the European Reformation.

⁴⁷ John Bossewell, *Workes of Armorie, deuuyded into three bookes, &c.* (1572), fol. 79; Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 180–81; Hamling, 'Visual Culture', pp. 88–89.

⁴⁸ Michael MacLagan, 'Genealogy and Heraldry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *English Historical Scholarship in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. by Levi Fox (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 31–48 (p. 31); Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *Heraldry in National Trust Houses* (London: The National Trust, 2000); Tara Hamling, '"Wanting Arms": Heraldic Decoration in Lesser Houses', in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 205–19; Karen Hearn, 'Heraldry in Tudor and Jacobean Portraits', in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 220–35; Kathryn Will, 'Literary and Dramatic

of godly faith and heraldry manifested itself in personal objects, such as a spectacles case dating from c. 1620, featuring an heraldic design accompanied with an engraved religious inscription.⁴⁹ Virtually nothing has been written regarding the significance of coats of arms of bishops and the lesser clergy in this period (see Figure 3.4), despite the fact that such usage by religious figures was well-known enough to be a target of satire.⁵⁰ Regarding the senior clergy's attitudes to heraldry, Mary Hobbs has noted that heraldic imagery featured prominently within the sermons of Henry King. King was even made a member of a House of Lords committee to regulate the granting and use of coats of arms.⁵¹ Coats of arms featured heavily in bishops' portraits, funeral monuments and on the bindings of the books that they owned. Medals and coins were also adorned with archbishops' heraldry.⁵² It is therefore unsurprising that some clergy attempted to justify its moral value.

Heraldry', in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 266–82 (p. 266).

⁴⁹ Robert R. Wark, *British Silver in the Huntington Collection* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1978), p. 153.

⁵⁰ A short series of seventeenth-century satirical writings detailing the coats of arms and accompanying mottoes of 'Puritans' and 'Jesuites' appears in London, British Library, Egerton MS 2026, fol. 14^v. These verses also appear, with minor variants, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 826, at fols 109^r, 262^{r-v}. Prints include *The Atchievement of S^r John Prebiter*, c. 1647–49 (British Museum, 1868,0808.3230), the text of which is copied out on a folio sheet held at San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, EL 6865 (Egerton Family Papers, Box 177). See also 'Chapter Two: Heraldic Literacy and the Evolution of Heraldic Satire' in Kathryn Karen Will, 'Cultivating Heraldic Histories in Early Modern English Literature' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 2014), pp. 59–105.

⁵¹ Henry King, *The Sermons of Henry King (1592–1669), Bishop of Chichester*, ed. by Mary Hobbs (Cranbury, NJ: Scholar Press, 1992), pp. 47, 58 n. 107.

⁵² See the medals for George Abbot (1562–1633) and William Juxon (bap. 1582, d. 1663), who both served as archbishop of Canterbury, in Anonymous, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: British Museum, 1904; repr. Lawrence, MA: Quarterman Publications, 1979), Plates XV (no. 15), XXIII (no. 8).



Genealogies and pedigrees of biblical figures also had a long tradition, and a multitude of writers specialising in heraldry, from Gerard Legh (d. 1563) to Edmund Bolton (1574/5-*c.*

1634), argued that God was the originator of heraldic language.⁵³ The pedigrees which Protestants elaborated to depict the lineage of their Church were also ridiculed.⁵⁴ As is therefore evident, scholarship has inclined heavily towards examination of the gentry's interaction with heraldry as opposed to the activities of those in the clerical profession, even though the fascination with pedigree and lineage permeated many echelons of society.⁵⁵ Genealogies were frequently scrawled on the endpapers of bibles belonging to middling families and within commonplace books which contained much theological and devotional material.⁵⁶ Neither was it the case that heraldic activity was confined to cities. From an art-historical perspective, Robert Tittler has persuasively argued that provincial and native English artists drew inspiration from the colour palette of heraldry for regional portraiture.⁵⁷ Ultimately, it was a moot point as to whether the intricacies of the heraldic language were understood at all

⁵³ J. F. R. Day, 'Primers of Honor: Heraldry, Heraldry Books, and English Renaissance Literature', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 21.1 (1990), 93–103 (pp. 101–02); Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500–1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 88; Ann Payne, 'Heraldry and Genealogies', in *Art Collecting and Lineage in the Elizabethan Age: The Lumley Inventory and Pedigree*, ed. by Mark Evans ([n.p.]: The Roxburghe Club, 2010), pp. 21–27 (p. 25); Clare Tilbury, 'The Heraldry of the Twelve Tribes of Israel: An English Reformation Subject for Church Decoration', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 63.2 (2012), 274–305 (p. 283); Kirsten Macfarlane, 'The Biblical Genealogies of the King James Bible (1611): Their Purpose, Sources, and Significance', *The Library*, Seventh Series, 19.2 (2018), 131–58.

⁵⁴ For one such pedigree, see William Slatyer, *Genethliacon* (1630). For a satire, see 'A Showve of the Protestants Petigrevv as ye haue it before at large deducted', a fold-out sheet at the back of *The Apologie of Fridericvs Staphylvs Covnseller to the Late Emperovr Ferdinandvs, &c.* (1565), discussed in Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 154; Alexandra Walsham, 'Domme Preachers? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print', *Past & Present*, 168 (2000), 72–123 (p. 90).

⁵⁵ Marcus Meer's forthcoming doctoral thesis at Durham University on the impact of heraldry on urban society in late medieval England and Germany hopes to redress the imbalance in this respect by examining the experience of townspeople and their relationship to heraldry.

⁵⁶ William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. 18; Femke Molekamp, 'Of the Incomparable treasure of the Holy Scriptures': The Geneva Bible in the Early Modern Household', in *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 121–35 (pp. 126–29); Simone Hanebaum, 'Textual monumentality and memory in early modern England, 1560–c. 1650' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2009), pp. 92–99. For three bibles, see British Library, C.45.e.15.(3.); London, Tower Hamlets Local History Library & Archives, W/SMH/A/26/20; London, British Library, Add MS 70491. For a commonplace book, see London, Congregational Library, MS I.b.3.

⁵⁷ Robert Tittler, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England, 1540–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 121 and *passim*.

societal levels.⁵⁸ Encountering heraldic forms on a frequent basis, and via all types of mediums, it was enough for the unlettered merely to understand what these symbols sought to represent.

And what of those who could read text? Although deemed of secondary importance within scholarship on early modern heraldry, the printed page was also a space in which armorial decoration could be found.⁵⁹ The printed sermon, along with other genres of religious literature, was not exempt from the influence of heraldry, and coats of arms in printed sermons, in addition to numerous other genres of religio-political texts, played a key role in the propaganda of the English Reformation.⁶⁰ Tara Hamling has stated that '[t]he assertive presence of royal arms in church space created a conceptual association between royal and divine authority'; this assertiveness was also transferred to the medium of religious print.⁶¹ Torrance Kirby, discussing one of the earliest specimens, has observed that in the unique, surviving printed copy of a Paul's Cross sermon by Robert Singleton (d. 1544), the title page features the arms of Anne Boleyn, impaled with those of Henry VIII, representing a bespoke stamp of allegiance to the royal supremacy. At the time of the sermon's delivery in 1536, Singleton was, at this point, chaplain to Anne, and the woodcut constituted a kind of précis of the argument within.⁶²

It is not the purpose of this chapter to provide a fully annotated *catalogue raisonné* of early modern English sermons illustrated with royal coats of arms, but it suffices to state that

⁵⁸ Nigel Llewellyn, 'Claims to Status through Visual Codes: Heraldry on post-Reformation Funeral Monuments', in *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. by Sydney Anglo (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1990), pp. 145–60 (p. 145). See also Broadway, 'Symbolic and Self-Consciously Antiquarian', p. 556; Jim Murrell, 'John Guillim's Book: A Heraldic Painter's *Vade Mecum*', *Walpole Society*, 57 (1993/1994), 1–51 (p. 4).

⁵⁹ Tara Hamling has written that heraldry 'often took a painted form', although she does acknowledge its use in print culture. Tara Hamling, "'Wanting Arms'", p. 213; Tara Hamling, 'Visual and material sources', in *Understanding Early Modern Primary Sources*, ed. by Laura Sangha and Jonathan Willis (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), pp. 129–52 (p. 133). See also Will, 'Literary and Dramatic Heraldry', pp. 273–75.

⁶⁰ See, for example, the verso of the title page of *A Little Pamphlet of Saint Augustine entituled the Ladder of Paradise* [c. 1580].

⁶¹ Hamling, 'Visual Culture', p. 84.

⁶² Torrance Kirby, 'Robert Singleton's Sermon at Paul's Cross in 1535: The "True Church" and the Royal Supremacy', *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 10.2 (2008), 343–68 (p. 346). See also Torrance Kirby, P. G. Stanwood, Mary Morrissey and John N. King, eds, *Sermons at Paul's Cross, 1521–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 32–35.

fidelity to the sovereign, pledged by way of the title pages, frontispieces and drop-cap initials of printed sermons, was displayed throughout the sixteenth century and beyond.⁶³ Whereas Carolyn A. Edie has discussed the propagandist nature of sermons and medals in later Stuart coronations, she did not take such enquiries further by exploring how visual propaganda could be physically integrated into the printed texts to enhance the experience of reading them.⁶⁴ To provide just one example from this particular period, Thomas Pierce (1621/2–1691), then Rector of Brington, Northamptonshire, published *Englands Season for Reformation of Life* (1660), which had been delivered shortly after the Restoration of Charles II. The lettering within the title was printed in red and black, and facing the title page of the sermon was a large royal coat of arms. Pierce was granted royal patronage in the form of a canonry at Canterbury and the prebend of Langford Manor in the diocese of Lincoln in the same year.⁶⁵ Nor were such devices for legitimisation and claims to authority used only in English Protestant sermon literature. Several Scottish sermons featured frontispieces and title-page images of the coat of arms and accompanying motto of the Kingdom of Scotland.⁶⁶ John M. Frymire has established that contemporary Catholic postils in Germany were dedicated to the highest authorities, either to acknowledge that their production had been ordered for use in those cities, or to advertise

⁶³ James Rigney, ‘“To lye upon a Stationers stall, like a piece of coarse flesh in a Shambles”: the sermon, print and the English Civil War’, in *The English sermon revised: Religion, literature and history 1600–1750*, ed. by Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 188–207 (pp. 191–92). It is difficult to provide concrete statistics regarding the frequency of heraldic decoration in printed sermons. The search functions of the online database *Early English Books Online* yield inaccurate results. Searching for ‘coats of arms’ in works entitled ‘sermon’ or ‘sermons’ displays books in which there are no traces of heraldic decoration. Furthermore, heraldic bookplates are also included within the results.

⁶⁴ Carolyn A. Edie, ‘The Public Face of Royal Ritual: Sermons, Medals, and Civic Ceremony in Later Stuart Coronations’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 53.4 (1990), 311–36.

⁶⁵ Thomas Pierce, *Englands Season for Reformation of Life* (1660); Jon Parkin, ‘Pierce [Peirse], Thomas (1621/2–1691)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22226>> [accessed 10 September 2018]. See also the title-page image of Seth Ward, *An Apology for the Mysteries of the Gospel* (1673).

⁶⁶ See, for example, Robert Pont, *Against Sacrilege, Three sermons Preached by Maister Robert Pont, &c.* (1599); David Ramsay, *A Sermon Or, Little Treatise* (1633); Andrew Ramsay, *A Warning to Come Out of Babylon, &c.* (1638).

their potential use in such principalities. Episcopal or princely coats of arms served either as title-page ornaments or frontispieces to these publications.⁶⁷

Preachers did not only proclaim royal allegiance. A version of the quartered coat of arms of Sir Christopher Hatton (c. 1540–1591), Lord Chancellor, is presented as a woodcut facing the dedicatory epistle of a sermon preached at Paul’s Cross in 1589 by William James (1542–1617), who was employed as his chaplain. Owing to the sermon’s influence, which was preached in favour of the episcopacy during the Elizabethan Settlement, James was able to win favour with Hatton’s ally, Archbishop John Whitgift (1530/31?–1604).⁶⁸ Edward Boteler (d. 1670), whose interest in heraldry is evident in a surviving notebook containing drawings of arms which once belonged to him, dedicated a sermon to the politician Sir John Monson (1599–1683), describing him as a ‘*Title-Page*’ to his country.⁶⁹ The arms of Monson, appropriately, serve as the frontispiece to the sermon.

City fathers were also presented with sermons. Within a Paul’s Cross sermon on idolatry, it was evidently deemed acceptable to preface the epistle, dedicated ‘To the Right Honorable Lorde Mayor, of the Citie of London, and to his right worshipfull brethren the Aldermen, with Merchants, and Commoners of the same Citie’, with a woodcut of the arms of the City of London (see Figure 3.5).⁷⁰ While this is not the only instance of the use of this woodcut, what is unique about this particular example is that the shield does not stand alone, but is framed by two scriptural texts, Romans 8.31 and an extract from Psalm 126 (‘If God be

⁶⁷ John M. Frymire, *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2010), p. 56.

⁶⁸ William James, *A Sermon Preached at Pavles Crosse the IX. Of November, 1589* (1590); Michael Tillbrook, ‘James, William (1542–1617)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14623>> [accessed 10 September 2018]; Wallace T. MacCaffrey, ‘Hatton, Sir Christopher (c. 1540–1591)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.193/ref:odnb/12605>> [accessed 10 September 2018]; Patrick Collinson, *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), ch. 4.

⁶⁹ Lincoln, Lincolnshire Archives, 3-WD/41; Edward Boteler, *Vrbs Deplorata* (1669), unpaginated.

⁷⁰ Richard Porder, *A Sermon of gods fearefull threatnings for Idolatrye, &c.* (1570). Porder was Rector of St Peter’s Cornhill. This sermon is best known for its forceful views on usury; see Porder, *A Sermon of gods fearefull threatnings for Idolatrye, &c.*, sigs A.3.^v–A.4.^r; Norman L. Jones, ‘William Cecil and the making of economic policy in the 1560s’, in *Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth: Deep structure, discourse and disguise*, ed. by Paul A. Fideler and T. F. Mayer (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1992), pp. 173–98 (pp. 178–79).

on our side, vwho can be against vs?’ and ‘Except the Lorde keepe the Citie: the vwatchman waketh but in vaine’).⁷¹ According to the preacher Richard Porder (d. 1574), it was the duty of the Lord Mayor and his citizens to ‘deliuer our Queene, this our Citie and Realme, from plagues now imminent, and blesse and defende the godlye inhabitants to the glory of his holy Maiestie’.⁷² By opening the sermon-book immediately to discover this annotated shield, civic pride and Christian duty could be instilled in the reader simultaneously.



Figure 3.5. Richard Porder, *A Sermon of gods fearefull threatnings for Idolatrye, &c. Imprinted by Henry Denham* [1570]. British Library, 4473.a.57. 8°.

⁷¹ The woodcut appears again in other publications concerning London, such as *Propositions Agreed upon at a Court of Common Councell, &c.* (1642).

⁷² Porder, *A Sermon of gods fearefull threatnings for Idolatrye, &c.*, sig. A.4.^v.

Lastly, institutions were also the subject of dedications in printed sermons. *The right way to goe to Worke, &c.* was presented to the Company of Carpenters and displays their coat of arms on its title page. The anonymous churchman professes to follow in the footsteps of his ‘Reuerent Father’, who had also been fortunate enough to have been patronised by the Company and had dutifully dedicated a catechism to them.⁷³ *The Stripping of Ioseph* (1625), a sermon preached by Robert Wilkinson and issued posthumously, caused considerable international controversy as a publication. Thomas Myriell (d. 1625), who was affiliated with St Stephen Wallbrook, was the editor of this sermon, and found in its content a suitable memorial to the English East India Company agents who were slain in the Amboyna massacre of 1623.⁷⁴ Whereas the publication history of this sermon has been analysed in relation to the tensions surrounding Jacobean Anglo-Dutch relations, its rich heraldic imagery, which resonated more closely with its original occasion as preached to the lords and ladies present in the chapel at Whitehall, has thus far eluded comment.⁷⁵ The verso of the title page features the arms of the East India Company, and the epistle is dedicated to its governor and members accordingly. In fact, twenty-four vellum-bound copies of the sermon were presented to the Company shortly after it had been published.⁷⁶ Although the coat of arms of the Company is not, of course,

⁷³ S. B., *The right way to goe to Worke, &c.* (1623), sig. A3^v. Vivienne Larminie does not attribute this work to Samuel Balmford (d. 1657) who, by the late 1620s, was working as chaplain to Mary, Lady Vere (1581–1671). However, the father of ‘S. B.’ was certainly James Balmford (c. 1556–after 1623), who published *A Short Catechisme*, dedicated to the Company of Carpenters and appearing in several editions from 1597. The arms of the Company appear on several other publications by Balmford the elder. See Gary W. Jenkins, ‘Balmford, James (b. c. 1556, d. after 1623)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1245>> [accessed 10 September 2018]; Vivienne Larminie, ‘Bamford [Balmford], Samuel (d. 1657)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1246>> [accessed 10 September 2018].

⁷⁴ Robert Wilkinson, *The Stripping of Ioseph* (1625), pp. 17–18; Pamela J. Willetts, ‘The Identity of Thomas Myriell’, *Music & Letters*, 53.4 (1972), 431–33 (p. 432).

⁷⁵ Karen Chancey, ‘The Amboyna Massacre in English Politics, 1624–1632’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 30.4 (1998), 583–98 (pp. 588–89); Daniel O’Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company, 1601–1858* (London: Continuum, 2012), p. 9. For the sermon’s original occasion, see McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, pp. 39–40. It was published again as Robert Wilkinson, *Joseph sold by his Brethren* (1647), reflecting further political hostilities between the English and the Dutch during the late 1640s. See Helen Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 202.

⁷⁶ Rupali Mishra, *A Business of State: Commerce, Politics, and the Birth of the East India Company* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), p. 232; Alison Games, *Inventing the English Massacre: Amboyna in History and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 108–09.

discussed in the sermon, evidence within the text points towards a carefully considered approach to the sermon's production in relation to the heraldic themes therein. Taking as his text Genesis 37.23 ('*Now when Ioseph was come vnto his brethern, they stript Ioseph out of his Coate, euen the party-coloured Coate which was vpon him*'), Wilkinson states that '*Iosephs* coate of many colours was nothing but the signe of his many vertues, to shew how *Iacob* honoured vertue in his children'.⁷⁷ He concludes from this that the system of heraldry and 'the honour of Armes' began with Joseph's coat, providing a compendium of colours matched with relevant biblical verses to illustrate his point.⁷⁸ His major caveat is that it was more valuable to show more virtues within than 'colours without'; that it was necessary to be more like Joseph, whose 'Coate was a coate of Armes, the outward ensigne of his inward Vertues', and less like the fox, whose coat was worth more than its body.⁷⁹ Wilkinson argues that Joseph eventually managed to determine his true colours, being awarded with a 'royall Coat' and triumphing over adversity.⁸⁰ He resolved that, if one was to be 'pinched and pricked with Thornes [...] these things may import a better passage, that they will land vs at the end in the gates of Heauen'.⁸¹ With such an emphasis on colour, the iconographic significance of the alternating red and black font on the title page could be no accident.⁸² Bibliographically, this sermon is of interest not only in terms of its heraldic content but, like Pierce's sermon, in its unusual use of colour printing, fairly rare in early modern printed sermons in England, to reflect such subject matter.⁸³

⁷⁷ Wilkinson, *The Stripping of Ioseph*, p. 43.

⁷⁸ Wilkinson, *The Stripping of Ioseph*, pp. 44–45.

⁷⁹ Wilkinson, *The Stripping of Ioseph*, p. 46.

⁸⁰ Wilkinson, *The Stripping of Ioseph*, p. 49.

⁸¹ Wilkinson, *The Stripping of Ioseph*, p. 50.

⁸² For colour printing in the handpress period, see Sabrina Alcorn Baron, 'Red Ink and Black Letter: Reading Early Modern Authority', in *The Reader Revealed*, ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron (Washington, DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2001), pp. 19–30; *Printing Colour 1400–1700: History, Techniques, Functions and Receptions*, ed. by Ad Stijnman and Elizabeth Savage (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2015); 'Tudor colour printing', Cambridge University Library online exhibition, <<https://exhibitions.lib.cam.ac.uk/tudorcolour/case/introduction/>> [accessed 7 September 2018].

⁸³ Ad Stijnman and Elizabeth Savage, 'Foreword', in *Printing Colour 1400–1700: History, Techniques, Functions and Receptions*, ed. by Ad Stijnman and Elizabeth Savage (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2015), pp. ix–xi (pp. ix–x). For another unusual instance of colour printing, see a sermon by Josias Howe (bap. 1612, d. 1701), Fellow of Christ Church, Oxford, published in red ink in c. 1644 (Bodleian Library, Arch. A e.18). See London, British Library, Harley MS 6828, fols 186^v–207^v; Nicholas W. S. Cranfield, 'Howe, Josias (bap. 1612, d. 1701)', *Oxford*

Obsequious prefaces are a noted convention in this period, and sermons published by English clergy of all shades of Protestantism, from the anti-Puritan William James to the ‘hotter’ sort as represented by Richard Porder, utilised armorial decoration to proclaim fidelity and gain favour with patrons.⁸⁴ These opening pictorial devices also sought to direct readers’ thoughts towards the teachings at hand. Porder’s ‘scriptural’ arms of the City of London provided a summons to civic and religious commitment, while Wilkinson’s sermon gained a new lease of life in its posthumous role as a homage to the East India Company agents who lost their lives. The latter nonetheless preserved, in its text, crucial elements which provided evidence as to its original intended audience; namely, the eye-catching appeal of heraldry and colour to illustrate the sufferings of Joseph. Ultimately, it is important to view these multifaceted uses of armorial decoration within the context of wider printing practices, where it was standard practice to advertise those who sponsored the publication of certain texts by using their coats of arms as a form of branding and endorsement. While much detailed work remains to be done in this respect, Tracey Hill has shown that, in the Caroline era, a woodcut of the livery company arms to which the Lord Mayor belonged would ordinarily be printed on the title page of a pageant celebrating the induction of that Lord Mayor.⁸⁵ The inclusion of the heraldry of dignitaries within publications was certainly not limited to the printed sermon, but other genres of writing authored by clergymen seeking patronage.⁸⁶ Having therefore provided a brief insight into the basic functions of armorial decoration, there is scope to explore the more

Dictionary of National Biography, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13960>> [accessed 11 June 2020].

⁸⁴ See the work of Franklin B. Williams, Jr., including *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books before 1641* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1962) and ‘Commendatory Verses: The Rise of the Art of Puffing’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 19 (1966), 1–14. See also Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 72–85; Paul Seaver, ‘Puritan Preachers and their Patrons’, in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 128–42 (pp. 131–34); Lund, ‘Early Modern Sermon Paratexts’, p. 149.

⁸⁵ Hill, *Pageantry and power*, p. 258. She cites John Webster’s *Monuments of Honor* (1624) as one of the first examples to carry out this practice.

⁸⁶ For example, Thomas Drant, *Horace His arte of Poetrie, pistles, and Satyrs Englished, &c.* (1567).

sophisticated implementation of coats of arms in sermons; in particular, the use of coats of arms in a comparable manner to the function of the image in an early modern emblem.

Although the heraldic and the emblematic were distinct genres of image with complex bodies of theory attached, in practice, they were not always placed in strictly separate categories.⁸⁷ Like heraldry, emblems were to be found on all types of material and written culture.⁸⁸ ‘Crosse his covert: or a prosopopoeicall treatise’ (c. 1595) is a quarto manuscript of autobiographical verses by the heraldic artist John Crosse, illustrated with both shields and emblems. The manuscript is also deeply attuned to religious matters, with frequent references to anti-Catholicism and remarks inclining towards godliness.⁸⁹ *Minerva Britanna* (1612) by Henry Peacham (1578–c. 1644) carries a personal endorsement from William Segar (c. 1544–1633), a king of arms, and features several heraldic emblems.⁹⁰ In the emblem dedicated ‘To the thrice Noble, and excellent Prince: *Ludowick* Duke of *Lennox*’, the woodcut image, designed by Peacham himself, displays a hand holding the arms of Ludovic Stewart (1574–1624), Second Duke of Lennox. The verse alludes to the difficulties encountered by the ancestors of the duke, before reassuring him of more peaceful days henceforth for the ‘Roiall name’ of the Stewarts.⁹¹ In another addressed ‘*To the most Christian King LOVIS, XIII. King of FRAVNCE and NAVARRE*’, a shield featuring the arms of France (azure, three fleurs-de-lis or) and similarly held by a hand describes the Christian virtues of the colours in the shield:

⁸⁷ Alan R. Young, ‘Heraldry and Alternate Emblematic Forms in the Age of Shakespeare’, in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare’s England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 283–307 (pp. 298–307).

⁸⁸ Peter M. Daly, ‘The Emblem in Material Culture’, in *Companion to Emblem Studies*, ed. by Peter M. Daly (New York: NY: AMS Press, 2008), pp. 411–56 (p. 412); Hugh Adlington, David Griffith and Tara Hamling, ‘Beyond the Page: Quarles’s *Emblemes*, Wall-Paintings, and Godly Interiors in Seventeenth-Century York’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 78.3 (2015), 521–51.

⁸⁹ Cambridge, MA, Houghton Library, Harvard University, MS Typ 104. See Henry Green and James Croston, eds, *The Mirrovr of Maiestie: Or The Badges of Honovr Conceitedly Emblazoned* (Manchester and London: The Holbein Society, 1870), p. 84. Crosse’s dates are unknown.

⁹⁰ Peacham writes that this is no new phenomenon, admitting that, ‘[w]hereas I haue heere dedicated many *Emblemes* to sundry and great Personages [...] I haue hereein but imitated the best approued Authours in this kind: as *Alciat*, *Sambucus*, *Iunius*, *Reusnerus*, and others’. Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna* (1612), sig. A3^r. For such an example, see the emblem ‘*Di Renato Re Di Sicilia*’ in Lodovico Dolce, *Di Batt Pittoni Pittore Vicentino* [...] *Libro Secondo* (1566), British Library, 87.k.8. unpaginated.

⁹¹ Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, p. 102.

Which, wheresoe're presented to thy view,
 (For all thinges teach vs) thinke a heavenly mind
 Is meant vnto thee, by that cullour Blew,
 The Gold, the golden plentie thou dost find;
 The number of thy Heaven-sent Lillies, three,
 Is concord's ground, the sweetest harmonie.⁹²

The Mirrovr of Maiestie, &c. (1619) by 'H. G.' takes this idea further, conflating didactic and eulogistic verse with heraldic treatise and emblem book.⁹³ The work pays tribute to members of the royal family, various justices and nobles, and the senior clergymen of the Church of England. A double-page spread is dedicated to each person, with twice as much space given to James I and Prince Charles. The left-hand side (or verso) displays the coat of arms of the person, with an accompanying poem unfolding its meaning and significance, while the right-hand side (or recto) features a specially-composed emblem, comprising an image (and, in many cases, an accompanying motto in its legend) and a panegyric poem (see Figure 3.6). Crosse's manuscript, Peacham's *Minerva Britanna* and the anonymous *Mirrovr of Maiestie, &c.* demonstrate the means by which the heraldic and the emblematic were not always segregated forms of iconography, but had shared objectives to impart religious wisdom and inspire emulation. Just as heraldic treatises consistently emphasised their edifying intentions in both prose and verse, so emblem books could also borrow insights from the

⁹² Peacham, *Minerva Britanna*, p. 15. See also Young, 'Heraldry and Alternate Emblematic Forms in the Age of Shakespeare', p. 301.

⁹³ H. G., *The Mirrovr of Maiestie, &c.* (1619). Daniel Starza Smith argues briefly about the problematic attribution of this text to Sir Henry Goodere (c. 1571–1627) in *John Donne and the Conway Papers: Patronage and Manuscript Circulation in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 212–13. See also Young, 'Heraldry and Alternate Emblematic Forms in the Age of Shakespeare', pp. 303–07.

instructive potential of coats of arms.⁹⁴ Illustrated printed sermons conflated the heraldic and the emblematic in an analogous way. This practice is scrutinised in greater detail in the next section.



Figure 3.6. H. G., *The Mirrovr of Maiestie: Or, The Badges of Honovr Conceitedly Emblazoned: With Emblemes Annexed, Poetically Unfolded*. LONDON, Printed by William Iones, dwelling in Red-crosse-streete. 1619, pp. 40–1. British Library, C.71.d.17. 4°.

⁹⁴ Laurence Humphrey, *The Nobles or of Nobility* (1563), unpaginated; John Ferne, *The Blazon of Gentrie: Devided into two parts* (1586); Llewellyn, 'Claims to Status through Visual Codes', p. 148; Susan Foister, 'Sixteenth-Century English Portraiture and the Idea of the Classical', in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550–1660*, ed. by Lucy Gent (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 163–80 (p. 172).

Portable Emblems: Guild Days and Bishops' Arms

As the previous analysis of Wilkinson's sermon has revealed, ministers could justify and clarify the moral value of heraldry by illuminating its place in the Scriptures. In a thoughtful discussion of the biblical heraldry of the Twelve Tribes of Israel, Clare Tilbury has expanded our knowledge of its manifestation as a common iconographical trope, particularly on English church walls in the Jacobean and Laudian eras.⁹⁵ This section develops her work by exploring the ways in which the clergy made use of their heraldic surroundings to strengthen the impact of their sermons. Complementary biblical texts were chosen for these occasions and, what is more, such imagery could easily relocate to the medium of print.

This approach is given compelling expression in three sermons by John Carter, all preached on or around the guild day ceremonies in Norwich in 1644, 1647 and 1650. Victor Morgan has contributed the most to our knowledge of the annual guild days of early modern Norwich, which rivalled those of London.⁹⁶ The guild day was an event of crucial importance in the civic calendar, and involved an elaborate procession 'designed to effect the transfer of power from one mayor to another'.⁹⁷ The officer elect would be presented with escutcheons

⁹⁵ Tilbury, 'The Heraldry of the Twelve Tribes of Israel'.

⁹⁶ For London, see Hill, *Pageantry and power*; Roze Hentschell, 'The Cultural Geography of St Paul's Precinct', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 633–49 (p. 634).

⁹⁷ Victor Morgan, 'The Dutch and Flemish presence and the emergence of an Anglo-Dutch provincial artistic tradition in Norwich, c. 1500–1700', in *Dutch and Flemish artists in Britain 1550–1800*, ed. by Juliette Roding and others (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2003), pp. 57–72 (p. 60). See also Anonymous, *Notices and Illustrations of the Costume, Processions, Pageantry, &c. Formerly Displayed by the Corporation of Norwich* (Norwich: Charles Muskett, 1850); Basil Cozens-Hardy and Ernest A. Kent, *The Mayors of Norwich 1403 to 1835* (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons, 1938).

and shields to be hung in his parlour as *aides-mémoire* of their duty.⁹⁸ As Tracey Hill has demonstrated in her study of the Lord Mayor's Shows in London from the late Elizabethan period until the era of the Civil Wars, there were opportunities to explain the meanings and religious associations of such paraphernalia to the public.⁹⁹ *Chrysanaleia, &c.* (1616), a Company of Fishmongers' pageant composed by Anthony Munday (1560–1633), evokes Christian imagery in its deliberation upon the common device of a pelican. The pelican, feeding her young with the blood from her own breast, was an appropriate allegory for the magistrate who should act as an equally sacrificing 'nursing Father of the Family'.¹⁰⁰ What is more, the speaker clarifies the glorious lineage of the Company of Fishmongers by '[p]ointing to the Scutchiōs of Armes as they hang in order on the Bower':

*And see (my Lord) this Bower relates,
How many famous Magistrates,
From the Fishmongers ancient name,
Successiue to honour came
In Londons Maioraltie. These faire Coates
Their seuerall Armes and titles noates.*¹⁰¹

In his discussions of the significant contribution of the visual arts to the guild day celebrations at Norwich, which included greenery, tapestry, portraiture and emblematic shields, Morgan has established that the visual literacy of citizens of every level of society was considerable.¹⁰² However, his numerous analyses of this particular civic ritual of the city have

⁹⁸ J. P. Malcolm, *An Historical Sketch of the Art of Caricaturing. With Graphic Illustrations* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1813), p. 37.

⁹⁹ Hill, *Pageantry and power*, p. 146.

¹⁰⁰ Anthony Munday, *Chrysanaleia, &c.* (1616), sig. B2; Hill, *Pageantry and power*, pp. 171–72.

¹⁰¹ Munday, *Chrysanaleia, &c.*, sig. C1.

¹⁰² Morgan, 'The Construction of Civic Memory in Early Modern Norwich'; Victor Morgan, 'A Ceremonious Society: an Aspect of Institutional Power in Early Modern Norwich', in *Institutional Culture in Early Modern*

neglected to take into account its amalgamation of ecclesiastical and civic tradition. Regarding its representation and reception in the medium of print, he simply states that ‘both the verbal and visual elements of the speech-boys’ emblems were exploited in some of the surviving sermons from the mid-seventeenth century’.¹⁰³ Preachers were certainly attuned to the advantages posed by actively engaging with the splendour of heraldic display on similar such occasions. In one unusual instance, the clergyman John Squire (c. 1587–1653) was commissioned to write a show dedicated to Sir Francis Jones (1559–1622), for whom he had already preached the inaugural mayoral sermon.¹⁰⁴ In one of the pageants at the show, the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers, in addition to blazoning their arms proudly, had also presented the figure of their patron saint, St Catherine, accompanied by attendants:

‘[...] twelue maydes of honor gorgeously attired, each one bearing in her hand a *siluer sheild*, vpon which were portrayed *Catherin Wheelles*, and within them the *Motto* to the *Companies armes, Serue and obay*’.¹⁰⁵

In contrast, it is important to note that stricter limits were placed on a preacher’s freedom of expression during the time in which John Carter was preaching as compared with previous decades.¹⁰⁶ Norwich Cathedral had been subjected to iconoclastic vandalism in 1643, encouraged by the magistrates.¹⁰⁷ In 1645, both music and the visual arts were prohibited from

Society, ed. by Anne Goldgar and Robert I. Frost (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2004), pp. 133–63 (pp. 145–46).

¹⁰³ Victor Morgan, ‘Perambulating and Consumable Emblems: The Norwich Evidence’, in *Deviceful Settings: The English Renaissance Emblem and its Contexts*, ed. by Michael Bath and Daniel Russell (New York, NY: AMS Press, 1999), pp. 167–206 (p. 182). Tracey Hill has written about aspects of the London Lord Mayor’s Show which were captured in print; see Hill, *Pageantry and power*, ch. 4. Notably, she writes that, by and large, these volumes were not illustrated (pp. 233–34).

¹⁰⁴ John Squire, *Tes Irenes Trophæa* (1620); Hill, *Pageantry and power*, p. 100.

¹⁰⁵ Squire, *Tes Irenes Trophæa*, sig. B3ʳ.

¹⁰⁶ Morgan, ‘Perambulating Consumable Emblems’.

¹⁰⁷ John T. Evans, *Seventeenth-Century Norwich: Politics, Religion, and Government, 1620–1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), pp. 128–29.

the guild day celebrations.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, Carter still appealed strongly to the sense of the visual, pointedly using a hypothetical escutcheon-emblem of a pillar upon which was fastened many ‘profitable’ nails in *The Nail*. In the later sermons, he presented an analysis of Ezekiel’s vision of God’s chariot (*The VVheel*) and the Lion of the Tribe of Judah from the Book of Revelations (*A Rare Sight*). The three sermons might be described as hybrids of polemical tract and sermon. The histrionics of Carter and the vivid woodcuts combined evoke the earlier, popular providential pamphlets of the bookseller John Trundle (1575–1629) in the 1610s, whose trademark was ‘Read and Tremble’.¹⁰⁹

The Nail was the first of Carter’s sermons delivered before the municipal authorities, just weeks after another episode of the desecration of Norwich Cathedral.¹¹⁰ It was delivered at the Greenyard on 17 June 1644, prior to the actual guild day. Kevin Killeen has referred to the ‘Lutheresque’ elements of the work’s title, but does not discuss its visual materialisation in the image of an arm protruding from a cloud, holding a nail against a wall (potentially that of Norwich Cathedral), while the other pushes a wheel in the presence of the tetragrammaton.¹¹¹ Another woodcut, facing the second title page, gives an indication of the usefulness of nails for hanging up items according to their station (see Figure 3.7). Thus, a crown and crossed keys are shown as hanging above a pulpit hourglass, which itself takes precedence over a stringed instrument. The image is labelled as ‘Fideliter Sermo’ (‘Faithful Word’). Carter immediately refers to the sundry items in the picture in the opening parts of the sermon, which describes the

¹⁰⁸ Anonymous, *Notices and Illustrations*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁹ Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp. 39, 43–47; Patrick Collinson, Arnold Hunt and Alexandra Walsham, ‘Religious publishing in England 1557–1640’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV: 1557–1695*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 29–66 (p. 34).

¹¹⁰ David Stoker, ‘Norwich ‘Publishing’ in the Seventeenth Century’, in *Printing Places: Locations of Book Production & Distribution Since 1500*, ed. by John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (London: The British Library, 2005), pp. 31–46 (p. 35).

¹¹¹ Stephens and George, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, I, p. 276; Kevin Killeen, *The Political Bible in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

function of the nail to keep order by hanging up 'garments, vessels, pots, instruments of musick, and the like'.¹¹²



¹¹² John Carter, *The Nail & the Wheel* (1647), pp. 14, 18-19.



Figure 3.7. John Carter, *The Nail & the Wheel*. LONDON, Printed by J. Macock for M. Spark, and are to be sold by WILLIAM FRANKLIN at his shop in the Market-place in Norwich. 1647. First and second title pages. British Library, 4473.aa.9. 4°.

The actual biblical text which Carter chooses is Isaiah 22.23 ('*And I wil fasten him a nail in a sure place; and he shal be for a glorious throne to his fathers house*'). Carter glosses the metaphorical 'nail' to signify the establishment of man 'in some place, or office in the Church, or Commonwealth' in order to 'make him useful, and profitable for the Publique good'.¹¹³ He explains to his congregation that, in the Bible, Eliakim was 'fastened' to the 'wall' of the Kingdom of Judah, elected by God to become Shebna's successor as Lord Treasurer. The significance of the robe and the girdle in the left-hand side of the second woodcut becomes clear in Carter's illustration of these items as 'ensigns of authority, and Magistracy'; Moses had clothed Aaron's successor Eleazar by such means.¹¹⁴ The central doctrine of the sermon was that '*Good, and faithful Magistrates are nails fasten'd in the Walls of Gods house, in the*

¹¹³ Carter, *The Nail & the Wheel*, p. 14.

¹¹⁴ Carter, *The Nail & the Wheel*, p. 15.

Church and Common-wealth. Magistrates in particular were appointed by God to maintain ‘the affairs of Church, and Common-wealth, all publique businesses’ and ‘the safety, and happiness of the people’.¹¹⁵ Everyone at each station had a duty to ‘be a profitable nail’: to bear up their designated burdens for the effective organisation of daily life within the city.¹¹⁶

Carter’s doctrine was not delivered lightly. Later in the sermon, Carter admonishes the city fathers, insisting that all ‘rotten and useless’ nails be removed and that ‘more comely, and serviceable ones’ should be put in their place.¹¹⁷ The aldermen deserved censure for their betrayal of the godly cause, having done little by way of religious reformation, instead preferring to indulge in lavish feasts.¹¹⁸ Like Munday, Carter evoked the emblem of the pelican, which also happened to be the device of Alfonso V (1396–1458), King of Aragon and Sicily, to appeal to the magistrates to sacrifice their own comforts for the good of their people. Accompanying this description with the motto of Hadrian, ‘*Non mihi sed populo*’ (‘Not to me but to the people’), Carter presented his first composite emblem to the city fathers.¹¹⁹ His second acknowledges the forthcoming occasion by referring to the ‘*escouchions* or shields’ to be given as gifts to the new-elect, although he voices his contempt for those who boast of their pedigree and lineage by quoting Juvenal (‘*Stemmata quid faciunt*’).¹²⁰ Carter professes to present a conglomerate of eschutcheon and device, stating that it is prepared out of his chosen text. The second woodcut appears for the second time within the printed sermon, and it is at this point that its description is given in full:

You see here the pillar in the middle hath many nails fastned in it: and every nail beareth somewhat; upon some hanggarments [*sic*], upon others the ensigns of your Authority: upon

¹¹⁵ Carter, *The Nail & the VWheel*, pp. 17–18.

¹¹⁶ Carter, *The Nail & the VWheel*, p. 34.

¹¹⁷ Carter, *The Nail & the VWheel*, p. 43.

¹¹⁸ Evans, *Seventeenth-Century Norwich*, pp. 167–69.

¹¹⁹ Carter, *The Nail & the VWheel*, pp. 47–48.

¹²⁰ Carter, *The Nail & the VWheel*, p. 48. ‘*Stemmata quid faciunt*’ translates as ‘What use are pedigrees[?]’.

others vessels of gold, and silver, and iron, and brass, and earth, and wood, and all instruments of musick.¹²¹

Carter engages with the heraldic element of the upcoming occasion by providing a hypothetical emblem that serves to illustrate his biblical text in a vivid manner. As the first part of the publication, *The Nail* is an apt prelude to *The VVheel*, which appeals to the heraldic imagination yet further. Preached upon the actual guild day three years later on 22 June 1647, *The VVheel* adopts many themes explored in *The Nail* in addition to being conveyed in a much more belligerent tone. His epistle ‘To those Magistrates in the City of *Norwich*, who were so highly offended, and exasperated at this Sermon’ comprises a pithy scriptural citation of Galatians 4.16 (*‘Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth[?]*’).¹²²

On this occasion, Ezekiel 10.13 is the sermon text (*‘As for the wheels it was cryed unto them in my hearing, O Wheel!’*). Taking as his subject Ezekiel’s second vision of God’s chariot, Carter chooses to focus on what the wheel represents; namely, a cause by which ‘God useth to work in the dispensation of his providence’.¹²³ He presents his whole doctrine ‘in one Embleme’. Explaining that Ezekiel was an ‘Ænigmaticall Prophet’, Carter argues that his vision of the Chariot is ‘the most elegant, and significant *Hieroglyphick* of Divine providence that can be found out in the whole world’. God sits in the seat of the Chariot of Providence, and by his word and power are directed all things. The Angels help to drive the wheels under God’s direction, and the symbolic meaning of the number four – four creatures, four faces and four wheels – was delineated as the four corners of the earth.¹²⁴ Once more, Carter encourages his congregation to exercise caution in resting on the laurels of noble genealogical descent:

¹²¹ Carter, *The Nail & the VVheel*, p. 49.

¹²² Carter, *The Nail & the VVheel*, p. 56.

¹²³ Carter, *The Nail & the VVheel*, p. 59.

¹²⁴ Carter, *The Nail & the VVheel*, p. 62.

A few descents make them ancient; and a century or two of years wears them quite out; they are like *Jona's Gourd*, flourish for an evening, and in the morning smitten, withered, forgotten, their names and stems worn out. One generation passeth, another cometh, none stayeth.¹²⁵

By this, he indicates that nothing is fixed; the wheel is always turning, as demonstrated in the present state of England.¹²⁶

Carter also takes this opportunity to criticise the magistrates for failing in their duty, this time describing them as wheels which do not turn. According to Carter, the magistrates continued to neglect their responsibilities in governing their city in a godly manner, allowing the 'Sabbaths of the Lord' to be 'prophaned' with children playing on the streets and fish being sold on those days.¹²⁷ In the final portion of the sermon, he refers once again to the custom at the guild day 'to present the *new-elect* with an escouchion, or shield, and in it some device or other, some *Embleme*, which may hang in the Magistrates house all the year, as a memento, to hint him of some good thing, as oft as he looks upon it'. He takes his first from I Kings 7.29–30 and 38, while the second is Ezekiel's vision presented within a shield.¹²⁸ Both are illustrated within the text (see Figure 3.8). The elaborate laver from I Kings 7 serves as a representation of a good magistrate which would 'cleanse and purge both Church and Common-wealth'. Its firm brass base stood for stability, courage and fortitude. The magistrate's need for mobility was represented in the wheels attached to the laver. It is clear that this image was to be conjured in the imagination of the audience rather than presented to them physically, as it was up to them to 'look upon it when you please in Gods book'.¹²⁹ The heraldic shield of 'a piece of *Ezekiel's Vision*' was Carter's own invention entirely. Authenticity was not the point of this escutcheon;

¹²⁵ Carter, *The Nail & the Wheel*, p. 70.

¹²⁶ Carter, *The Nail & the Wheel*, p. 72.

¹²⁷ Carter, *The Nail & the Wheel*, pp. 83–84.

¹²⁸ Carter, *The Nail & the Wheel*, p. 102.

¹²⁹ Carter, *The Nail & the Wheel*, p. 103.

thus, any heraldic terminology and rules for tinctures were disregarded. The field was not described as ‘argent’ but instead as of a ‘*Marble colour*’ to represent the Temple wall. The twenty-four spoked wheel with eyes instead of nails was ‘*sea-green*’ and not ‘vert’, to denote the original beryl shade specified in the Bible (Ezekiel 10.9). The shield was topped with a crest of four creatures, and towering above it was the tetragrammaton. The accompanying motto was ‘o wheele’.¹³⁰ Perhaps the only ‘authentic’ aspect of the shield was that all its constituent parts were imbued with meaning, advocating the unity of the magistrates’ values and their godliness in administering justice.



¹³⁰ Carter, *The Nail & the Wheel*, pp. 103-04.



Figure 3.8. John Carter, *The Nail & the Wheel*. LONDON, Printed by J. Macock for M. Spark, and are to be sold by WILLIAM FRANKLIN at his shop in the Market-place in Norwich. 1647, pp. 103-04. British Library, 4473.aa.9. 4°.

In *The Wheel*, sight and sound were not mutually exclusive; neither hindered the other. Carter stressed that the exclamation ‘O Wheel!’ was directed at Ezekiel and accompanied his vision; thus, the printed image could be accompanied by words to build up the complete sermon in print.¹³¹

The frontispiece to *The Nail & the Wheel* was used again in the broadsheet *A Looking-Glasse for Statesmen*, placed at the top of the sheet in between two other woodcuts. On the left-hand side are the good statesmen: Daniel; Moses; Joseph; Sidrach; Misach; Abednego; Mordecai; and Nehemiah, garlanded by angels. The right-hand side displays five bad statesmen being punished on earth and by the sword of God: Haman; Saul; Achitophel; Thomas Wentworth (1593–1641), the Earl of Strafford; and William Laud.¹³² This type of

¹³¹ Carter, *The Nail & the Wheel*, p. 74.

¹³² *A Looking-Glasse for Statesmen, Wherein they may clearely see the reward of their severall Actings* (1648), British Library, 816.m.1. (79.).

broadsheet has been described as succeeding the ‘mirror-for princes’ model, allegedly displacing ‘religious mirrors in quantity and importance from the end of the sixteenth century’.¹³³ This interpretation separates the genres too rigidly, however, and fails to take into account the fact that religion was a motivating factor in shaping public political opinion. The broadsheet opens by stating that ‘[t]he several Actings of men [...] proceed from one of these two Principles; either from *Divine Widsdome*, or *Humane Prudence*, and sometimes from both’. Demand was such for both of the sermons of John Carter that they were published jointly in London and Norwich, and reusing the woodcut from *The Nail & the Wheel* in this broadsheet, published a year later, would have allowed readers to gauge the common themes applicable to these publications. These included ideal godly government and scriptural examples of such, contrasted with topical specimens of bad government in the figures of Strafford and Laud, which were argued as being contributing factors to God’s wrath and the resulting troubles which England found herself in.¹³⁴

Carter’s third sermon, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.* (1653), differs from the previous two sermons in its bibliographical format, although it continues the emphasis upon the principles of heraldry and emblematics to illuminate the scriptural text. Notably, its title page includes a scriptural citation from John 1.21 emphasising the visual aspect of this sermon (*‘Sir! We would see Jesus’*). Throughout the sermon, the trope of ‘seeing’ is extremely prevalent, tied up with notions of vigilance, watchfulness and the correct care of subjects.¹³⁵ The sermon was originally preached on 18 June 1650, and it is explained in the epistle that *‘the Major with the Aldermen, and some Ministers came to me, and with great earnestnesse desired me to print the Sermon, that so they might againe see what they had already heard’*.¹³⁶ In fact,

¹³³ Herbert Grabes, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-imagery in titles and texts of the Middle Ages and English Renaissance*, trans. by Gordon Collier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 49–51.

¹³⁴ Stoker, ‘Norwich ‘Publishing’ in the Seventeenth Century’, p. 35.

¹³⁵ John Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.* (1653), pp. 40, 72–73, 91, 120.

¹³⁶ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, unpaginated.

out of the three illustrated sermons by John Carter, it is this one which perhaps evokes the original event most accurately in its choice of woodcuts. The frontispiece features a lion couchant, an animal on a roasting spit and a trumpeter (Figure 3.9). This immediately brings to mind the festivities at the guild day. The biblical verses surrounding the roasting animal go some way to explain the specificity of the manner of preparing the meat to be consumed on guild days, which held rich symbolic meaning.¹³⁷ In the sermon proper, Carter deliberates upon the spectacle suitable for a ceremony, choosing as his text Revelation 5.5 (*'Behold, the Lion of the Tribe of Judah!'*) and expounding upon the sounding trumpet and the lion itself.



Figure 3.9. John Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c. LONDON*, Printed in the year 1653. British Library, G.964. 8°.

¹³⁷ Morgan, 'Perambulating Consumable Emblems', p. 184.

As well as the frontispiece, the work features five other woodcuts: a picture of the twelve tribes of Israel, which seems to represent a much simpler version of the engraving of the same subject in the Geneva Bible; an image of a lion emblazoned on 'Christ's standard'; the arms of the City of Norwich; a representation of Christ the lion taunted by other creatures; and a small emblematic device of a flaming heart encapsulating a crowned lion couchant.¹³⁸ In further recommending his printed sermon, which was annexed to a biography of his deceased father entitled *The Tomb-Stone*, to his patron, Lady Frances Hobart (1603–1664), Carter writes that the main subject of his sermon, the lion, is '*the Ensign of Nobility, and Magnanimity*'. He exhibits his understanding of his patron's coat of arms by referring to the lion in her own. Placing greater emphasis upon the biblical Lion of the Tribe of Judah, he goes on to state that, '[Y]ou bear him in your heart, and embrace him with the Arms of your precious faith'. With its heraldic and devotional appeal, this work, attached to the biographical 'life', was deemed more appropriate for Hobart than the previous two sermons, and may have been the reason why it was printed in octavo rather than quarto.¹³⁹

The sermon opens by stating that, '[a]t great Solemnities, and extraordinary confluences of people, it is the ancient use, and custome, to bring out strange sights, and shew farr-fetched Rarities'.¹⁴⁰ The audience is encouraged to use both eyes and ears; as it was Carter's duty to lift up his voice 'like a Trumpet to Usher in this rare spectacle', thus it was their duty to 'heare' and 'behold'. Indeed, the opening word of the chosen text, 'Behold', appealed to both senses of hearing and sight.¹⁴¹ Carter further attests to his sensitivity to the occasion by depicting the angel

¹³⁸ See Tilbury, 'The Heraldry of the Twelve Tribes of Israel', p. 282; Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, pp. 43, 109, 112, 138, 185 [i.e. 186]. For other visual manifestation of the Twelve Tribes of Israel in contemporary editions of the King James Bible, see David Price and Charles C. Ryrie, *Let it Go Among Our People: An Illustrated History of the English Bible from John Wyclif to the King James Version* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2004), pp. 126–27; David Norton, *The King James Bible: A Short History from Tyndale to Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 117.

¹³⁹ Carter, *The Nail & the Wheel*, sig. A3; John Carter, *The Tomb-Stone, And A Rare Sight* (1653), unpaginated. The arms of Hobart's father, Sir John Egerton (1579–1649), First Earl of Bridgewater, were 'argent a lion rampant gules between three pheons sable'.

¹⁴⁰ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, p. 33.

¹⁴¹ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, pp. 35–36.

who proclaimed his chosen text as ‘a Herald or Officer’.¹⁴² Like Wilkinson and the heraldic writers Legh and Bolton, he argued that ‘GOD was the first King of Heralds’. Giving a detailed history of the significance of armorial bearings in antiquity, he concluded that they were ‘Hereditary Testimonies’ of the ‘glorious Merits’ of their bearers.¹⁴³ Christ, being lineally descended from a tribe, is the lion of Judah’s tribe and the ensign of the entire Church.¹⁴⁴ Recognising the new mayor’s place amongst a long line of predecessors, Carter drew parallels with the Bible by explaining that the ‘Genealogies’ of Christ descended from King David ‘through the loynes of *Solomon*’.¹⁴⁵ Like the celebratory banners in the streets, Christ too could be held up as a banner to be followed.¹⁴⁶ A dramatic use of empty page space directly before the woodcut of Christ the lion in a banner sets the reader of the sermon up for this section, which urges them to ‘follow, follow your Captain, your Ensigne. Eye him by knowledge, by faith walk after him: tread in his steps, imitate him.’¹⁴⁷

As with the previous two sermons, Carter ensures that people are reminded of their rightful place in society.¹⁴⁸ Addressing the newly elected mayor and his immediate subjects directly, Carter states that the figurehead of Norwich should be as a lion, guarding his people and walking amongst them despite any resistance and difficulty.¹⁴⁹ The reference to II Chronicles 9.17–19 is used to inform the mayor that he could find his own castle and guarding lion within the arms of the city of Norwich. This is accompanied with a woodcut of the same.¹⁵⁰ Adversity could come in the form of Anabaptists and other Levelling sects, who would

¹⁴² Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, p. 38.

¹⁴³ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, p. 44.

¹⁴⁴ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, pp. 45–49.

¹⁴⁵ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, pp. 58, 74–75.

¹⁴⁶ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, pp. 73–74, 109–110.

¹⁴⁷ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, p. 110. The woodcut is accompanied with the words ‘Christo Duce Sequimini’ (‘Follow Christ the leader’).

¹⁴⁸ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, p. 110.

¹⁴⁹ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, p. 111.

¹⁵⁰ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, pp. 111–12, 130–33. On 2 July 1562, William Harvey (d. 1567), Clarenceux king of arms, confirmed the arms of Norwich upon his visitation. John T. Hotblack, ‘The Armorial Bearings of the City of Norwich’, *Norfolk Archaeology*, xvii (1910), 245–53 (p. 246).

persuade the mayor to cast aside his ‘superstitious’ robes and ‘Scarlet Gownes’ and have him subsequently surrender the ensigns of his power to anarchy.¹⁵¹ Summing up his exhortation in an heraldic emblem, exploring the colours and the principal attitudes of heraldic lions, Carter acts as God’s self-proclaimed herald, interpreting the biblical verse and opulent visual imagery of the occasion to exalt Jesus Christ. The mayor is directed towards ‘cælestiall’ thoughts, instructed not to be tempted to bear ‘or’ or ‘argent’, but ‘azure’ in his field.¹⁵² His charge should be a lion; specifically, a *lion passant guardant*, one which shows its whole face and which exhibits courage, resolution, vigilance and circumspection. Despite distractions in the form of a ‘ratling’ chariot, a crowing cock and barking dogs, all graphically represented in the fifth woodcut, the lion holds his head high (see Figure 3.10). Employing heraldic wordplay, Carter concludes his address to the magistrates by exhorting the mayor to be ‘rampant’ in his punishment of ‘obstinate Offenders’ and ‘passant’ in his mercifulness.¹⁵³

Carter does not only use heraldic imagery, but also demonstrates familiarity with another type of visual art. He explains that, as the linner’s eye is constantly fixed upon his sitter in order to create the most accurate depiction, so his congregation should forever ‘eye Christ’. His congregation is to set the example of Christ before themselves continually, to become ‘so many living Representations of Christ’.¹⁵⁴ The escutcheon of the ‘Rare Sight’ is extended to the rest of the congregation, in order that they may ‘behold it afterwards, and view it for ever’. Encouraging the congregation to view it continually (‘Ever gaze upon it, to engage your hearts more [...] to Jesus Christ’), and with the final woodcut of a crowned lion within a flaming heart, the resultant printed sermon serves this purpose as a document which could be read repeatedly long after the mayoral inauguration had passed.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, pp. 133–34.

¹⁵² Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, p. 135.

¹⁵³ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, pp. 137–39.

¹⁵⁴ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, p. 161.

¹⁵⁵ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, p. 182.



Figure 3.10. John Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c. LONDON*, Printed in the yeare 1653, pp. 138–39. British Library, G.964. 8°.

Although escutcheon, device and emblem are different iconographic forms, all are brought into play in *A Rare Sight*. Criticising the magistrates' propensity for 'Gorgeous Rayment' and 'Sumptuous Feasts', Carter nevertheless used these luxurious displays to help audiences and readers to understand that these earthly enjoyments were of secondary importance to the Word of God.¹⁵⁶ It is possible to read an allusion to this original regalia of the guild day in his citation of I Kings 7.29, which refers to the painted temple. Aware that a feast was to follow his sermon, he admonishes them to bear Christ in mind.¹⁵⁷ It can therefore be concluded that Carter managed to manipulate heraldic visual culture for Protestant purposes.

¹⁵⁶ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, p. 115.

¹⁵⁷ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, p. 164.

From the shield of God's Providence in *The Wheel* to the exhaustive exploration of the furs and colours of the heraldic Lion of the Tribe of Judah, his employment of a rich visual vocabulary was almost made to compete with the gaudy decorations and plentiful food that was available at each ceremony, even in such a censorious era.¹⁵⁸

Thus far, this chapter has analysed simple armorial tributes to patrons in printed sermons, in addition to John Carter's exhortations of the godly meaning and application of ephemeral heraldic decoration to the lives of his auditories and later readers. This particular section of this chapter now goes on to study the impact of a more permanent heraldic fixture upon a sermon and its printed afterlife; namely, the bequest of a decorated water conduit to the city of Canterbury by Archbishop George Abbot and its godly depiction in a sermon by Scottish courtier-clergyman James Cleland (c. 1577–1627). It was not uncommon for thanksgiving sermons to be preached upon receipt of a generous donation to a church, cathedral or city. Study of such extant sermons is likely to inform an even more profound understanding of the fruits of such donations remaining in parish churches today, which include both material furnishings and continuing oral traditions. It is unfortunate that there is little contemporary documentation concerning the 'Lion Sermon' at St Katharine Cree Church, London, which continues to be delivered every year on 16 October in the presence of a baptismal font bearing several painted heraldic cartouches of the donor, Sir John Gayr (bap. 1584, d. 1649).¹⁵⁹ The 'Lion Sermon' celebrates the former Lord Mayor of London's providential deliverance from a lion and acknowledges his generous bequest in the funding of an annual sermon to be preached in remembrance of this event. He had also donated the font to the church around the same time. Whilst the font has been analysed as a quintessential survival of the Laudian era, Cleland's earlier sermon demonstrates an intriguing instance of a

¹⁵⁸ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, pp. 164, 174–75.

¹⁵⁹ Parry, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation*, p. 90; Ashton, Robert, 'Gayer, Sir John (bap. 1584, d. 1649)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10477>> [accessed 10 September 2018].

pre-Laudian celebration of a kind of ‘beauty of holiness’ in the ornamental water conduit.¹⁶⁰

Indeed, Cleland’s sermon was singled out by Patrick Collinson as a particular exception to his ‘iconophobia’ chronology of 1580–1630. Collinson wrote that this ‘conventional provincial preacher’ articulated ‘a revived apology for images as the books of the ignorant and illiterate’, although Collinson neither scrutinises the ways in which this was depicted in printed form, nor investigates the origins of Cleland’s fascination with stonemasonry and the visual arts.¹⁶¹

After his education at the University of Edinburgh, Cleland’s formative years were spent within Jacobean court circles. Marsha Keith Schuchard has shown how Cleland gained familiarity, at the court of Sir John Harington (bap. 1592, d. 1614) at Nonesuch, with fellow Scots such as Robert Kerr (1585/6?–1645) and Adam Newton (d. 1630), who both took a keen interest in architecture. Cleland worked as tutor at Nonesuch from 1605 to 1607; his educational treatise, *The Institvtion of a Yovng Noble Man* (1607), was composed during this time.¹⁶² In the work, Cleland advocated that young gentlemen should take an active interest in recording architecture, while employing moderation in observing Catholic art and architecture when travelling abroad.¹⁶³ He continued to be involved with those who were engaged with charitable building projects throughout his life, including Ludovic Stewart, Second Duke of Lennox, who had served on the special building commission for St Paul’s.¹⁶⁴ In *A Monvment of Mortalitie, &c.* (1624), a printed tribute to Stewart, Cleland documents the entire procession of his patron’s heraldic funeral, demonstrating awareness of the meanings, symbolism and religious associations tied up with the proceedings.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ Parry, *The Arts of the Anglican Counter-Reformation*, p. 90; Orlik, ‘The ‘Beauty of Holiness’ Revisited’, ch. 5.

¹⁶¹ Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, p. 120.

¹⁶² James Cleland, *The Institvtion of a Yovng Noble Man* (1607). See Marsha Keith Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision: Cabalistic Freemasonry and Stuart Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 262.

¹⁶³ Cleland, *The Institvtion of a Yovng Noble Man*, pp. 258–59; Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision*, p. 267.

¹⁶⁴ Henry Farley, *St. Pavles-Chvrch Her Bill for the Parliament, &c.* (1621); James Cleland, *A Monvment of Mortalitie, &c.* (1624); Schuchard, *Restoring the Temple of Vision*, pp. 335, 348, 364.

¹⁶⁵ Cleland, *A Monvment of Mortalitie, &c.*, pp. 45–54; Sam Wood, ‘The Funeral of Henry VII and the Drama of Death’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, ed. by Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 373–85 (pp. 378–79).

Cleland's sympathy with the aesthetic principles of both architecture and heraldry were put to use in the few surviving examples of his religious writing.¹⁶⁶ It is interesting to observe that engraved title pages were used to frame both *A Monvment of Mortalitie, &c.* and his only published sermon, *Iacobs Wel, and Abbots Condvit, &c.* (1626).¹⁶⁷ Both engravings were unique and specific to the content within. It appears that Cleland was fully aware of the potential benefit of prefacing his works with an image in honour of his patrons: a French manuscript authored by him and dedicated to Henry Frederick (1594–1612), Prince of Wales, opens with a miniature of the prince on horseback drawn and hand-coloured by none other than Henry Peacham.¹⁶⁸

In *Iacobs Wel, and Abbots Condvit, &c.*, Cleland praised a building project undertaken by James I and George Abbot. The latter was responsible for supervising many of the king's ecclesiastical construction efforts, and had ordered the building of a water conduit between the churches of St George and St Andrew in Canterbury in 1620.¹⁶⁹ Cleland was on congenial terms with Abbot; on 10 July 1614, Abbot appointed Cleland rector of the church at Old Romney, Kent, a position that he held until his death on 31 December 1627.¹⁷⁰ *Iacobs Wel, and Abbots Condvit, &c.* opens with two engravings: a portrait of Archbishop George Abbot, executed by Simon de Passe (1595–1647), and the title-page engraving of a temple-like construction featuring the Seven Virtues, underneath which Jesus and the Samaritan woman are pictured in

¹⁶⁶ Aged thirty-seven, Cleland was ordained at a relatively late stage in his career. There is one surviving manuscript sermon by Cleland, preached at Canterbury Cathedral on 5 August 1616 to commemorate James I's deliverance from the Gowrie conspiracy of 1600. London, British Library, Royal MS 17 B XIX. See Anne James, 'August 5, 1616: Remembering the Gowrie Conspiracy' (2016), <<http://gemmsproject.blogspot.com/search/label/James%20Cleland>> [accessed 11 September 2018].

¹⁶⁷ For the frontispiece engraving in *A Monvment of Mortalitie, &c.*, see British Library, G.2023.

¹⁶⁸ The image measures approximately 18 × 13 cm. James Cleland, 'Le Povtraict de Monseigneur le Prince', London, British Library, Royal MS 16 E XXXVIII. The manuscript is dated London, 1612 (fol. 3^v). Another fair copy of the manuscript is London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 822. Cleland was clearly alert to the possibilities of the visual text as well; a chronogram of 'PAVLO. V. VICE DEO', Pope Paul V, represents the Number of the Beast ('Voire ce PAPE en particulier contenant le nom et nombre, de La Beste' ('Indeed the 'POPE' in particular contains the name and the number of the Devil'), Royal MS 16 E XXXVIII, fol. 5^v).

¹⁶⁹ Cleland, *Iacobs Wel, and Abbots Condvit, &c.*, p. 43.

¹⁷⁰ *The Institution of a Young Noble Man by James Cleland, Volume I: Introduction and Text*, ed. by Max Molyneux (New York, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1948), pp. xxvii–xxix, xxxii.

dialogue at Jacob's Well (see Figure 3.11). On the verso of the second, textual title page is a woodcut of the arms of the archbishop of Canterbury. The epistle 'To the Christian Reader' argues for the rewards gained in using '*visible signes*' in order to embed specific messages into hearts '*more deeply*' by citing examples from II Kings, such as Elisha '*preaching vpon the pitcher of oyle of the Shunamite Woman*'.¹⁷¹ Cleland proceeds to explain the title-page engraving of '*our Sauour Christ, sitting on Iacobs Well*' and the lesson which he delivered to the Samaritan woman, arguing for the pertinence of the passage (John 4.6) to the water conduit. An advocate of the use of '*humane Learning, Arts, and Sciences*' in '*Sermons* and diuine *Discourses*', and citing the names of various luminaries who did the same, Cleland is a prime example of a minister who had the capacity to preach art.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Cleland, *Iacobs Wel, and Abbots Conduit, &c.*, unpaginated.

¹⁷² Cleland, *Iacobs Wel, and Abbots Conduit, &c.*, pp. 21–22.



Figure 3.11. James Cleland, *Jacobs Wel, and Abbots Conduit, Paralleled, Preached, and Applied (In the Cathedrall and Metropolitall Chvrch of Christ in Canterbry) To the Vse of that Citie, &c.* LONDON, Printed for *Robert Allot*, 1626. British Library, 4473.aaa.50. 4°.

Many scholars have consistently argued for the predominance of hearing over sight in English Protestant ministry, with particular reference to the extreme views of the ‘hotter’ sort of Protestants such as John Smyth (d. 1612). On the other hand, early modern clerics’ arguments concerning the conceded advantages of seeing remain to be investigated more fully.¹⁷³

¹⁷³ Eric Josef Carlson, ‘The Boring of the Ear: Shaping the Pastoral Vision of Preaching in England, 1540–1640’, in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. by Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 249–96; Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, pp. 19–30.

According to Cleland, ‘the *Eye* is of a watery constitution, to teach vs not unfitly’. Eyes were ‘necessarie and beautifull springs to grace the *Little World* of our bodies’, in the same way that the purpose of ‘*Fountaines* of water’ was to ‘beautifie and solace the *Greater World*’.¹⁷⁴ As for the conduit itself, Cleland voiced his opinion that ‘there is not any thing in this *Conduit*, which is not profitable for our instruction’.¹⁷⁵ He compared the linking of the churches of St Andrew and St George, courtesy of the water conduit, to the union of Scotland and England.¹⁷⁶ The architectural design of the conduit could bring to mind Solomon’s Temple, and the ‘Hieroglyphicke’ of the heraldic decoration was explained by way of ancient precedent.¹⁷⁷ Yet, his arguments for the advantages of heraldic imagery to enliven the Scriptures and inculcate religiosity were not without caveats. It was mistaken to believe that ‘a sumptuous *Tombe* a painted *Scutcheon*, or a golden *Epitaph*’ could ‘couer a putrified carcasse’ of a wicked man. A ‘*Christian Faith*, and charitable *good workes*’ were the only prerequisites of ‘true honour and memorie’.¹⁷⁸ As it was Jacob who assigned arms to his sons, so it was that none should ‘assume vnto himself *Armes*’. If they were to buy them, and ‘shew themselues *vnworthie* of them’, their arms should not be any more esteemed ‘then a *painted Signe* before an *Inne*’.¹⁷⁹

Cleland’s sermon represents an amalgamation of some of the ways in which armorial decoration could be used in printed sermons. Firstly, the portrait and arms of George Abbot, which form part of the preliminary paratextual material to the sermon proper, indicated to readers that Abbot held a fundamental role as Cleland’s illustrious patron. Secondly, the heraldic gilding of the conduit is justified in terms of the Scriptures, the ‘application’ and full description of the decorative Seven Virtues at the end of the sermon serving to ensure that the title-page engraving could not incite idolatrous thoughts. The contemporary

¹⁷⁴ Cleland, *Iacobs Wel, and Abbots Conduit, &c.*, p. 14.

¹⁷⁵ Cleland, *Iacobs Wel, and Abbots Conduit, &c.*, p. 47.

¹⁷⁶ Cleland, *Iacobs Wel, and Abbots Conduit, &c.*, pp. 45–46.

¹⁷⁷ Cleland, *Iacobs Wel, and Abbots Conduit, &c.*, p. 16.

¹⁷⁸ Cleland, *Iacobs Wel, and Abbots Conduit, &c.*, p. 10.

¹⁷⁹ Cleland, *Iacobs Wel, and Abbots Conduit, &c.*, pp. 50–1.

ΠΟΜΦΑΙΟΦΕΡΟΣ. *The Sword-bearer* (1627) by Thomas Vicars (1589–1638) similarly pays significant homage to an ecclesiastical patron, George Carleton (1557/8–1628), Bishop of Chichester. However, the striking title-page image of the bishop's coat of arms is not simply used as a distinctive imprint, but as a central motif in its own right.

With its blatant visual representation of Christ, this sermon is likely to have caught the attention of book-buyers (see Figure 3.12).¹⁸⁰ Perhaps owing to the fact that he only published one sermon, Thomas Vicars has been largely ignored by sermon scholars, despite Kenneth Fincham's short recommendation of his life and work as one of the more remarkable of Carleton's protégés.¹⁸¹ Carleton was also his father-in-law and had, by this time, not only endowed him with the vicarages of Cowfold and Cuckfield in Sussex, but also appointed him his chaplain and a prebendary of Chichester Cathedral.¹⁸² While not particularly polemical, this single sermon has much to recommend it as a representative document for scholars examining the 'evangelical fervour' of godly preachers at this time, their anti-Catholicism, the patristic verification of Protestant values, and the relevance of place – the sermon was preached at a synod.¹⁸³ However, such scholars might be disappointed that the title page does not indicate the exact date and location on which the sermon took place; neither does the text yield further details about the nature of the synod.¹⁸⁴ This perhaps suggests that other aspects of the printed sermon took precedence over occasion and place.¹⁸⁵ Like *The Stripping of Ioseph*, the original sermon was appropriated for another context as a printed work, adapted with a wider readership in mind. The finer points regarding occasion did not matter as much as the Biblical texts in question, their application to the lives of readers, and the diocesan coat of arms which

¹⁸⁰ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, pp. 215–16.

¹⁸¹ Kenneth Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 196. The most extensive analysis of Thomas Vicars's life can be found in J. H. Cooper, 'The Vicars and Parish of Cuckfield in the Seventeenth Century', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 45 (1902), 1–33 (pp. 14–30).

¹⁸² Stephen Wright, 'Vicars, Thomas (1589–1638)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28265>> [accessed 10 September 2018].

¹⁸³ Fincham, *Prelate as Pastor*, p. 196.

¹⁸⁴ Lund, 'Early Modern Sermon Paratexts', p. 148.

¹⁸⁵ Oates, *Moderate Radical*, p. 90.

served as an integral *aide-mémoire*.¹⁸⁶ The anonymous metal cut on the title page of *ΠΟΜΦΑΙΟΦΕΡΟΣ. The Sword-bearer* features a seated Christ holding an orb and grasping a sword in his mouth, simultaneously making a sign of peace. Rays of light emanate from his halo. This curious figure is encapsulated within a shield, labelled ‘*The Armes*’, and further annotated with an extract from Revelation 19.15: ‘*Out of his mouth goeth a sharpe sword*’. Turning immediately to the epistle, the reader encounters Vicars in an address to Carleton, explaining that the subject of his sermon is the bishop’s coat of arms: ‘*The most goodly and fairest armes that ever [he] or any in the world set his eyes upon*’.¹⁸⁷



¹⁸⁶ Jennifer Clement, ‘He being dead, yet speaketh: the preacher’s voice in early seventeenth-century posthumous sermon collections’, *Renaissance Studies*, 32.5 (2018), 738–54.

¹⁸⁷ Vicars, *ΠΟΜΦΑΙΟΦΕΡΟΣ. The Sword-bearer*, sig. A2^r.

Figure 3.12. Thomas Vicars, *ΠΟΜΦΑΙΟΦΕΡΟΣ. The Sword-bearer. Or, The Byshop of Chichester's Armes emblazoned in a Sermon preached at a Synod, &c.* LONDON, Printed by B. A. and T. Favvct, for *R. Milburne*, and are to be sold at the great South-doore of *Pauls*. 1627. Bodleian Library, Pamph. D 25 (5). 4°.

In the sermon proper, Vicars unpacks and interrogates the meaning of the ‘sword’ of Christ, taking as his text Revelation 2.12. ‘By the *sword* is [...] ment the *word* of God’, states Vicars, who argues that it also stands as ‘an embleme of [Christ’s] Majestie and authority in governing the Church’.¹⁸⁸ As kings and princes have the sword borne before them as a symbol of their authority, thus Christ is revealed to be ‘King of the Church [...] whereby he is to governe the Church unto the end, and that is the preaching of the word’.¹⁸⁹ His sword is double-edged, and works both *in* and *for* the auditories: the sword ‘pierces’ souls, ‘pricks’ hearts, and ‘gashes’ consciences, yet it can also be used to ‘repell and beate back’ temptations.¹⁹⁰ Referring back to the shield at the end of his sermon, Vicars claims that it is not enough for him to have simply interpreted the text – he must then proceed to read it ‘as an *Herald*’.¹⁹¹ While professing to lack such expertise, he argues that the bishop of Chichester’s arms is integral to a deeper understanding of this text as chosen for this synodical assembly. He goes on to discuss the arms in detail: the symbolic significance of the heavenly ‘azure’ colour of the field; the attitude and aureate clothing of the charge; the blood-red sword denoting its ‘workings’; the relevance of Christ as an appropriate incorporation within the arms of the distinguished bishop. Turning back to the engraved image, it is possible to see that the arms are tricked, thus underscoring the

¹⁸⁸ Vicars, *ΠΟΜΦΑΙΟΦΕΡΟΣ. The Sword-bearer*, p. 12.

¹⁸⁹ Vicars, *ΠΟΜΦΑΙΟΦΕΡΟΣ. The Sword-bearer*, p. 12.

¹⁹⁰ Vicars, *ΠΟΜΦΑΙΟΦΕΡΟΣ. The Sword-bearer*, pp. 15–23. This was also a trope explored in Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, pp. 68–69, 102.

¹⁹¹ Vicars, *ΠΟΜΦΑΙΟΦΕΡΟΣ. The Sword-bearer*, p. 24.

importance of the tinctures. These labels possibly even invited readers to apply the necessary colours to their copies.¹⁹²

Finally, the sword in the mouth, and not the hand, signifies ‘*Spiritual*’ as opposed to ‘*Temporal*’ power.¹⁹³ Having previously expounded upon the correlation of the sword with the Almighty Word, Vicars teaches that, ultimately, the bishop is subservient to Christ, and is thus ‘not to deliver any doctrine unto the people that he hath not fetched from Christs mouth’.¹⁹⁴ Moreover, his arms serve only as a mnemonic; while it is indeed ‘a great *honour*’ for a man to ‘carrie *Christ* in his *shield*’, it is ‘a farre greater *grace* to carry *Christ* in his *heart*’.¹⁹⁵ As Huston Diehl astutely observed in an article on English Protestant emblem books, rather than eliciting veneration in itself, a Protestant image was a vehicle for spiritual recollection.¹⁹⁶ While the identity of the artist remains obscure, it is interesting to note that Vicars was himself an accomplished draughtsman, having designed the allegorical title page for Carleton’s *A Thankfvll Remembrance of Gods Mercy*, which was subsequently engraved by Crispijn van de Passe the Elder (1589–1637).¹⁹⁷

The Pedigree as an *Aide-Mémoire*

The previous analysis of the tricked arms in Vicars’s sermon challenges the entrenched view that Protestants tended to favour black-and-white images over coloured mediums that might

¹⁹² An example of a hand-coloured armorial handbook is on display at the Victoria and Albert Museum. John Bossewell, *Workes of armorie* ([London], 1572). V&A, L.1349-1880. Another hand-coloured copy is held at Senate House Library, F1 [Bossewell] SR.

¹⁹³ Vicars, *POMΦAIOΦEPOΣ. The Sword-bearer*, p. 26.

¹⁹⁴ Vicars, *POMΦAIOΦEPOΣ. The Sword-bearer*, p. 27.

¹⁹⁵ Vicars, *POMΦAIOΦEPOΣ. The Sword-bearer*, p. 25.

¹⁹⁶ Diehl, ‘Graven images’, pp. 56–57.

¹⁹⁷ Cooper, ‘The Vicars and Parish of Cuckfield in the Seventeenth Century’, p. 13.

seduce the eye.¹⁹⁸ Turning now to a sermon printed half a century earlier, it is notable that, whilst the numerous shields represented in Richard Davies's funeral sermon for Walter Devereux, First Earl of Essex are not tricked, it is certainly possible that the colours would have existed in the mind's eye for readers who were familiar with the pedigree of the Devereux family. In fact, one existing copy of the sermon in the British Library demonstrates the accurate hand-colouring of the pedigree (see Figure 3.13). The last part of this chapter focuses upon the key themes within the sermon that were reflected in its genealogical paratextual material.



¹⁹⁸ Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 227–28, 230; Stijnman and Savage, 'Foreword', p. ix; Bridget Heal, 'Introduction: Art and Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe', *Art History*, 40.2 (2017), 246–54 (p. 49). However, see Tara Hamling, 'The Appreciation of Religious Images in Plasterwork in the Protestant Domestic Interior', in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 147–67 (pp. 153–54).



Figure 3.13. The first three pages of the pedigree in Richard Davies, *A Fvnerall Sermon Preached the XXVI. Day of November [...] at the buriall of the Right Honovrable VValter Earle of Essex and Ewe, &c.* Imprinted at London by Henry Denham, dwelling in Pater noster Row, at the signe of the Starre. *Anno Domi.* 1577. British Library, G.1998. 4°. In this copy, the pedigree has been moved to the end of the entire text.

The woodcut within William James's sermon, explored earlier, pales in comparison with the opening image of the fifty-five quarterings within the arms of Walter Devereux on the verso of the title page. The coat of arms measures 12.7 cm in diameter, and is crowned and encircled by the Order of the Garter.¹⁹⁹ The epistle, addressed to the heir of the deceased, Robert Devereux (1565–1601), Second Earl of Essex, provides several important indications as to the motivations for publishing this sermon. Robert, then only eleven years old, had not attended the funeral, which was held at St Peter's Church, Carmarthen on 26 November 1576.²⁰⁰ The writer of the epistle, Sir Edward Waterhouse (1535–1591), states that his guardians wished to '*haue [Robert's] Fathers vertues discende with his inheritaunce*'. Having the sermon published meant that Robert could '*at good leysure view in the iust report of his lyfe and death*

¹⁹⁹ For a full description of the quarterings, see Evan J. Jones, 'The Death and Burial of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, 1576', *The Carmarthen Antiquary*, 2.4 (1957), 184–201 (pp. 198–200).

²⁰⁰ Jones, 'The Death and Burial of Walter Devereux', pp. 185–86.

the paterne and forme of true Nobilitie'. The writer presents Robert with a summary of the principal lessons to be learnt from Davies's sermon. The bishop had argued that nobility was comparable to '*a mountayne from which foure famous ryvers must issue*'; the mountain standing for '*true Religion*', the rivers '*Prudence, Iustice, Fortitude, and Temperance*'.²⁰¹ As is already evident, gentry concerns with lineage and the inheritance of virtues held religion as a major priority. First, Robert must follow his Father '*in truth of Religion*', then he must be '*as he was, wyse, iust, valiaunt, and temperate*'. What is more, it was Robert's duty to '*ouershine the goodnesse*' of both his father and grandfather.²⁰² Consequently, a '*welwiller*' of Robert had provided, amongst various epitaphs, several Latin verses detailing his father's pedigree, in order to '*giue you a reason how you beare your Armour and Badges of Honour, and to remember you what error you enter into, if you should blemish the vertues of your Noble Auncestours*'.²⁰³ Immediately following this epistle is the eleven-page pedigree explaining the fifty-five quarterings, with accompanying verses in Latin which concern the history of the Devereux family. These verses were penned by Richard Broughton (1542–1604), legal adviser to Walter Devereux.²⁰⁴ The pedigree precedes the two epitaphs composed in Hebrew and Greek, with Latin translations of both, by Hugh Broughton (1549–1612), the brother of Richard and renowned Hebraist. In these verses, honour is the handmaiden of religion.²⁰⁵ A series of encomiums by Richard Broughton and other, unidentified authors, ensues. There is also a Welsh marwnad (elegy) written by the poet Huw Llŷn (fl. 1532–1594), and a short four-

²⁰¹ Davies, *A Fvnerall Sermon Preached the XXVI. Day of November [...] at the buriall of the Right Honorable VValter Earle of Essex and Ewe, &c.*, unpaginated and sigs E.i.^{r-v}.

²⁰² Paul E. J. Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585–1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 21–22.

²⁰³ Davies, *A Fvnerall Sermon Preached the XXVI. Day of November, &c.*, unpaginated.

²⁰⁴ Jones, 'The Death and Burial of Walter Devereux', pp. 186–88; <<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/broughton-richard-1542-1604>> [accessed 14 September 2018].

²⁰⁵ Jones, 'The Death and Burial of Walter Devereux', pp. 188–93.

line couplet in French by ‘N. P.’.²⁰⁶ Evan J. Jones has observed that these writers were influenced by certain passages in the sermon concerning the qualities of Walter Devereux.²⁰⁷

Certainly, the sense of history was a strong theme in the sermon, mirroring the preoccupation with genealogy. Davies’s choice of text is Revelation 14.13 (‘I hearde a voyce from heauen, saying, write: Blessed are the dead which die in the Lorde, foorthwith: euen so sayth the spirite, that they may rest from their labours, and their workes follow them’). Opening with an analysis of St John’s visions of various beasts in the Book of Revelations, he takes this opportunity to warn against the sins of the Roman Church in antiquity (‘By the former Beast is vnderstoode the Empire of Rome, which vnreasonably and beastly persecuted the Christians in the primitiue Church’).²⁰⁸ According to Davies, ‘[t]he histories of the old time, and the experience of these our dayes, are foorthcomming to beare witnesse of this truth’.²⁰⁹ Coming back to his chosen text, he explains that St John had committed to writing ‘such knowledge of profytable and necessarie matters as are found out to be certayne, undoubted and sure, and to transmit the same to the posteritie’.²¹⁰ He highlights the importance of a fully reliable source for the writing of such history and doctrine, and none could be more reliable than Jesus Christ. St John’s writings were a ‘celestiall Charter, dictated by the sonne of God’ and thus deserved ‘credite and authoritie’. On the other hand, a papal bull was nothing more than a ‘bubble [...] wherein there is no substance’; a kind of ‘deceyfull pardon’. Considering the part of the text beginning ‘Blessed are the dead which dye in the Lord’, the common theme of knowing one’s place in godly society is once again invoked (‘[E]uery man in some respect is a stewarde of Gods riches, and a bayly of Gods husbandrie’).²¹¹ In particular, those ‘such as God hath called to be Rulers, Gouvernours and officers in the common wealth, as Kings, Princes, Magistrates,

²⁰⁶ Jones, ‘The Death and Burial of Walter Devereux’, pp. 184, 187. For Llŷn, see <<http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-HUW0-LLY-1552.html>> [accessed 14 September 2018].

²⁰⁷ Jones, ‘The Death and Burial of Walter Devereux’, p. 187.

²⁰⁸ Davies, *A Fvnerall Sermon Preached the XXVI. Day of November, &c.*, sig. C.i.v.

²⁰⁹ Davies, *A Fvnerall Sermon Preached the XXVI. Day of November, &c.*, unpaginated.

²¹⁰ Davies, *A Fvnerall Sermon Preached the XXVI. Day of November, &c.*, unpaginated.

²¹¹ Davies, *A Fvnerall Sermon Preached the XXVI. Day of November, &c.*, sig. D.i.v.

Byshops, Judges, Justices, and such lyke officers' had special responsibilities.²¹² Like Carter, Davies also admonished those persons of authority in Wales who abused their position 'to further and continue the kingdome of Antichrist', allowing papistry to flourish by defending idolatry, pilgrimages and the concealing of images, rood lofts and altars.²¹³

The death of the First Earl of Essex presented a suitable occasion to reprimand 'the sinnes of the people' within the past few years. Arriving at the eulogy in this manner, Davies states that his 'Nobilitie, Maiestie, and Honour' were 'planted by the especiall gift of God'.²¹⁴ Moreover, although his 'noble bloude' is certainly acknowledged, it needed to be earnt, and the Earl had done so accordingly, giving 'hymselfe whollye all the dayes of hys lyfe to purchase and wyne the Nobilitie'.²¹⁵ While 'expert in Chronicles, Hystories, Genealogies, and Petigres of Noble men, and noble houses', his knowledge of the Scriptures, and aptitude in understanding 'Sermons, and disputacions, to finde out who had veritie on their syde' is noted as part and parcel of 'the *Heroicall nature of Nobilitie*' befitting a man of honour.²¹⁶ Davies concludes by naming the Earl 'the Pearle of *Nobilitie*: the myrour of *Vertue* and woorthy qualities' and the childe of *Chyualrie*' in an effective summary of the heraldic elements proper to his memorial. Ultimately, however, it was most imperative that the audience appreciate that the Earl had lived a godly life, and that generations to come would remember his nobility and virtue.

Davies's printed sermon enjoyed considerable prestige in courtly circles. A letter dated 6 May 1577, written by Richard Broughton and addressed to his father-in-law, Richard Bagot (c. 1530–1597), was accompanied with a copy of the 'pretye boke'. According to Broughton, copies had been 'bestowed vpon sundrie noblemen and ladies' and were 'accepted as jewells of

²¹² Davies, *A Fvnerall Sermon Preached the XXVI. Day of November, &c.*, sig. D.i.^v.

²¹³ Davies, *A Fvnerall Sermon Preached the XXVI. Day of November, &c.*, sigs D.ii.^{r-v}; Stephen K. Roberts, 'The Sermon in Early Modern Wales: Context and Content', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 303–25 (p. 306).

²¹⁴ Davies, *A Fvnerall Sermon Preached the XXVI. Day of November, &c.*, sig. E.i.^r.

²¹⁵ Davies, *A Fvnerall Sermon Preached the XXVI. Day of November, &c.*, sig. E.i.^v.

²¹⁶ Davies, *A Fvnerall Sermon Preached the XXVI. Day of November, &c.*, sigs E.ii.^{r-v}.

great importance'.²¹⁷ An earlier section of this chapter explored the idea of the 'gift' of sermons from preacher to patron. In the case of this funeral sermon, Davies probably had little to do with its afterlife in print. The sermon was intended as a personal conduct book for the young heir, prepared by his guardians, and which was then presented by the heir himself as gifts to his extended circle.²¹⁸ The heir's own copy was clearly passed on and treasured by later generations, as the genealogy is continued into the eighteenth century on a leaf which was then stapled into the volume.²¹⁹ The sense of the sermon's central place within an English Christian history was reinforced in the inclusion of long extracts, including the epistle and pedigree, within the 1587 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*.²²⁰

As an intriguing postscript to this chapter's investigation of heraldic material in printed sermons, it is pertinent to observe that the association of heraldic values with those potentially to be taught in a sermon also manifested itself in manuscript. The antiquary Thomas Dingley (d. 1697) was the author of an incomplete treatise in French entitled 'Les Principes Du Blason' ('The Principles of Blason'), which opens with the following argument: 'Le Blason est l'Art d'expliquer les Armories, qui sont des marques d'honneur hereditaires de la nobless qui distinguent les familles les unes d'avec les autres' ('Blazon is the art of explicating armories, which are marks of the hereditary honour of nobles that distinguish families').²²¹ At the end of

²¹⁷ Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS L.a.239, available at https://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/detail/FOLGERCM1~6~6~371219~131715:Letter-from-Richard-Broughton--Rich?sort=Call_Number%2CAuthor%2CCD_Title%2CImprint&qvq=q:Call_Number%3D%22L.a.239%22%20;sort=Call_Number%2CAuthor%2CCD_Title%2CImprint;lc:FOLGERCM1~6~6&mi=0&trs=2 [accessed 14 September 2018]; Walter Bouchier Devereux, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex in the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. 1540-1646*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1853), I, p. 148; Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabeth Politics*, p. 21. Gabriel Harvey (1552/3-1631) was also given a copy, which is now at St John's College Library, Oxford, P.scam.1.lower shelf.19(1). See Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 208.

²¹⁸ London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 25, fol. 113; Hammer, *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics*, p. 21.

²¹⁹ This copy is held at the National Library of Wales (Castell Gorfod 250).

²²⁰ Frederic B. Tromly, "Accordinge to sounde religion": the Elizabethan controversy over the funeral sermon', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 13.2 (1983), 293-312 (p. 306); Tricia A. McElroy, 'Genres', in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, ed. by Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer and Felicity Heal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 267-83 (pp. 275-76).

²²¹ London, British Library, Stowe MS 663.

this duodecimo volume is a fair copy of a sermon by Thomas Lenthall (1613–1711), entitled ‘A Sermon Touching the Power of a King; And proving out of the Word of God That y^e Authority of a King Is only from God, & not from Man’, originally preached in 1642 before Charles I.²²² The two works share many of the same sentiments and values. Grasping the art of heraldry and the science of blazon was an indispensable way of understanding one’s place in society; these concerns were also central to the sermon. In ‘Les Principes Du Blason’, Dingley accentuates the importance of the ‘science’ of blazon as necessary for studies of genealogy and history, which was ‘l’estude la plus louable, & plus necessaire’ (‘the most commendable and necessary study’)²²³ Dingley illustrated his text with the arms of several French nobles and included a chapter dedicated to ‘Couronne de toutes sortes’ (‘All kinds of crown’).²²⁴ Choosing as his text Ecclesiastes 8.4, and drawing examples not only from the Scriptures and the Church Fathers, but also ancient and recent history, Thomas Lenthall similarly contends that kings are ‘not the Ofspring of man, but the generacon of God’; ‘[e]ven all their Ornaments, and Imperiall Ensignes are from God’.²²⁵ Dingley prefaced both works with intricate pen-and-ink frontispieces (see Figure 3.14), an indication that the sermon was not merely an afterthought, but a fundamental component of a manuscript volume which centred on the gentlemanly topics of honour, good policy and civil government.

²²² The date given in the other manuscript witness of this sermon is July 1642. The location is not specified. See London, British Library, Add MS 34692.

²²³ Stowe MS 663, fol. 6^r.

²²⁴ Stowe MS 663, fols 10^r, 11^r, 12^v.

²²⁵ Stowe MS 663, p. 3 (in reverse). See also p. 7: ‘Ancient, and universall hath been the Government of the world by Kings.’



Figure 3.14. 'Les Principes Du Blason' and 'A Sermon Touching the Power of a King; And proving out of the Word of God That y^e Authority of a King Is only from God, & not from Man'. London, British Library, Stowe MS 663. 12^r.

Conclusion

Of all things in the world, except politicks, the clergy know the least of heraldry.

Parson Yorick²²⁶

This chapter has demonstrated that the printed sermon was an artefact that represented a transformation from the oral to the written, ‘from *pageantry* to *piety*’.²²⁷ While ‘sacred heraldry’ seems to represent something of an oxymoron in current scholarship, this chapter has stressed that the printed sermon could, in fact, highlight the didactic and religious value of heraldry.²²⁸ It has shed new light on the manner in which heraldry was as prevalent in print culture as it was in coloured mediums, although some of the examples investigated do make intriguing use of colour printing. While scholars have begun to investigate contemporary handwritten marginalia within certain types of printed sermon, particularly those which attracted the most controversy, this chapter has brought a new dimension to studies of readerly interactions with the printed sermon in its evaluation of the hand-coloured copy of Davies’s funeral sermon.²²⁹ Such bibliographical evidence reinforces the central argument of this thesis: that printed sermons are not to be considered solely as postscripts to performance, but as material texts in their own right. The chapter began by explaining that heraldic woodcuts could be used in the prefatory material of sermons for the purposes of acknowledging patronage and allegiance with the royal family, members of the nobility and civic institutions. But they could also be dispersed

²²⁶ Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. by Ian Campbell Ross, rev. edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 252.

²²⁷ John Gauden, *Funerals Made Cordials, &c.* (1658), p. 2.

²²⁸ For ‘sacred heraldry’, see Jeremiah Dyke, *Divers Select Sermons on Severall Texts, &c.* (1640), sig. A3^r.

²²⁹ See, for example, John Morrill, ‘William Dowsing and the administration of iconoclasm in the Puritan revolution’, in *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War*, ed. by Trevor Cooper (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 1–28; Oates, *Moderate Radical*, ch. 8.

throughout the work, illustrating specific parts of the sermon, as discussed in the sermons of John Carter. They appeared as engravings and woodcuts, although more commonly in the latter medium, an observation which in itself suggests that the woodcut could be as detailed and elevated in tone as the more costly engraving.

Moving away from purely bibliographical concerns, and far from being the final word on the subject, this chapter suggests that much work needs to be done to ascertain the importance of heraldic and pictorial surroundings and how this impacted upon English Protestant preachers in the post-Reformation era. Largely concurring with Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, who have argued that Protestant divines prioritised godliness, not lineage, as the true determinant of worth, the chapter nonetheless argues that they did not reject entirely the colourful emblems of genealogy at the expense of this emphasis.²³⁰ As many of the sermons examined within this chapter show, at least a basic knowledge of the language of heraldry could be beneficial if preachers wished to put themselves forward for clerical preferment. Edward Topsell (bap. 1572, d. 1625), who combined his ministry with his avocation as a naturalist in a series of works including, most famously, *The Historie of Fovre-Footed Beastes* (1607), dedicated a manuscript entitled ‘The Fowles of Heauen’ to Richard Neile (1562–1640), who would later become Archbishop of York.²³¹ This natural history of certain birds which also highlighted their scriptural significance, complete with hand-coloured illustrations by an anonymous artist, included as its appendix a list of the gentry which featured the chough in their escutcheons.²³² Therefore, religion, heraldry and the emblematic could go hand-in-hand.

²³⁰ Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 30, 32.

²³¹ Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Fovre-Footed Beastes* (1607); G. Lewis, ‘Topsell, Edward (bap. 1572, d. 1625)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27557>> [accessed 10 June 2020].

²³² San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, EL 1142; Edward Topsell, *The Fowles of Heauen or History of Birdes*, ed. by Thomas P. Harrison and F. David Hoeniger (Austin, TX: The University of Texas Press, 1972). Other visual heraldic works by clergymen include ‘The Mourners Blazondry’, a frontispiece poem by Samuel Fairclough (1625–1691), which accompanied a plate designed by the arms painter Sylvanus Morgan (1620–1693), in Samuel Fairclough, *Suffolks Tears, &c.* (1653).

In the printed sermons examined, preachers integrated emblems which had religious associations, such as the pelican, with scriptural texts that functioned as mottoes and printed images of shields which represented portrayals of biblical passages. The printed sermon was a medium in which didactic visual and verbal genres could coalesce with one another. It is important to remember that heraldic and emblematic authenticity was not a major concern of Protestant ministers. Many of the woodcuts in the sermons of John Carter were not accurate representations of the ephemeral decorations at the events in question, but fictional shields and invented images which were inspired by the Bible and Carter's own interpretations of the Scriptures.

Yet, during the period surveyed, it was also understood that printed sermons had the capacity to record moments of history, exemplified in the representation of Davies's funeral sermon within the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Even though John Carter's guild day sermons preached at Norwich were a localised affair, and the analysis of the heraldic conduit in James Cleland's sermon was specific to the city of Canterbury, their manifestation in print brought a greater significance and importance to these events and appealed to the imagination of those living outside of those cities. Furthermore, whereas Chapter One began to argue that certain early modern clerics demonstrated a proficiency in drawing and design which was rendered at the service of their ministry, this chapter has developed upon this argument by drawing attention to Edward Boteler's heraldic drawings and Thomas Vicars's illustrated title-page design for his father-in-law's providential tract. It remains to bring these arguments together by observing that Boteler and Vicars were not unique cases. In c. 1635, the Kentish clergyman William Slatyer (c. 1587–1647) designed *A Type of Trew Nobilitye or y^e Armes of a Xptian* [i.e. Christian] *Emblazoned* (see Figure 3.15). As Malcolm Jones has stated, this print, which depicts a quartered shield rich in Christian symbolism, may have originally served as a frontispiece to a lost work by Slatyer. Unfortunately, the letters upon the shield are indicative of

some missing commentary which would have yielded essential information about the meanings behind the bearings.²³³ What is clear, however, is the legitimacy of the intricate, annotated design intended for appreciation by Protestants, detailed in the verses below the shield which claim that Christ's '*Auncestry and Armes are fro' his Saujour*' (l. 6).



Figure 3.15. William Slatyer, *A Type of Trew Nobility or y^e Armes of a Xptian Emblazoned*. c. 1635. c. 24.1 × 15.9 cm. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wood 276 b (item no. 39).

Hence, it would be difficult to concur entirely with the one-sided, phonocentric claim that preachers argued for the attainment of faith by hearing alone. As has been demonstrated, Protestant preachers were acutely cognisant of the benefits of appealing to the visual heraldic

²³³ Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, p. 179.

imagination, whether in hypothetical, imagined escutcheon-emblems or actual ornamentation, temporary or otherwise. The theme of biblical visions, such as Richard Davies's choice of Revelation 14.13 or Ezekiel's vision as analysed by John Carter, is worthy of further study in this respect.²³⁴ In terms of scriptural motifs, it is not surprising that, within the sermons examined in this chapter, overlaps are discernible. The Twelve Tribes of Israel is one such trope, but there is also the sword of Christ which occurs in the Book of Revelations, illuminated in particular by Carter in *A Rare Sight* and Vicars in *POMΦAIOΦEPOΣ. The Sword-Bearer*. Chivalric imagery is also prevalent in both of these sermons; the Word and the Spirit were 'Spiritual Weapons'.²³⁵ The implementation of heraldry was as much an opportunity to warn and admonish as it was to celebrate the virtues of the powerful, living or dead. Above all, temporal and earthly dominion, 'Riches, Honours, and Offices', were subservient to divine ruling.²³⁶ In this way, it was taught that the bishop of Chichester and the Norwich mayors held a lower office than Christ.

Although it was the case with these particular preachers that heraldry could be used in a beneficial manner to elucidate their texts for their audiences and subsequent readers, there are undoubtedly just as many examples that demonstrate the ways in which heraldry was condemned by preachers, a topic which has not been addressed in this chapter. As mentioned previously, work by John Frymire has demonstrated that Catholic preachers in Reformation Germany were also keen to capitalise on the use of heraldry to portray allegiance. There is scope for yet further research on the role of heraldry in preaching in the European Reformations. It is therefore difficult to conclude whether the use of heraldry was specific to English preachers of certain religious persuasions. Unanimously agreed was the fact that coats

²³⁴ David J. Davis, 'Godly Visions and Idolatrous Sights: Images of Divine Revelation in Early English Bibles', in *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Feike Dietz and others (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 167-82.

²³⁵ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, p. 76.

²³⁶ Carter, *A Rare Sight. Or, The Lyon, &c.*, p. 78.

of arms were representations of virtue and should not be worshipped outright; such symbols were subservient to the Word of God.

And what of later periods? *A Display of Divine Heraldry, &c.* (1678) by the Essex minister John Nye (bap. 1620, d. 1686?), who was himself a descendant of a clerical dynasty, argued that ‘the sacred Genealogical Records are of exceeding great use and necessity: as seals of Christ, lights of faith, roots of time, and glasses of morality’.²³⁷ This tract constitutes evidence that the correct interpretation of the Scriptures was still being outlined by clergymen in terms of the heraldic pedigree. What is more, it was certainly the case that preachers in England continued to deliver sermons in the presence of heraldry well beyond the period discussed in this chapter. A contemporary depiction of John Wesley (1703–1791) preaching in Old Cripplegate Church, London, exhibits a considerable amount of heraldic decoration in the windows and on the walls of a whitewashed building (see Figure 3.16). Operating in a very different sphere with divergent social priorities and values, the influence of heraldry upon the eighteenth-century English sermon in performance and print represents further uncharted territory which might yield thought-provoking results that would take into consideration a greater range of situations and readers. Another question which might be asked is the following: at what point in time did escutcheons and devices become antiquated and distanced from indifferent ministers and congregations, if at all? Heraldry certainly continued to be prevalent in the Victorian religious imagination, substantiated in George Eliot’s depiction of the chancel of Shepperton Church, ‘adorned with the escutcheons of the Oldinport family’ and showing ‘inexhaustible possibilities of meaning in their blood-red hands, their death’s-heads and cross-

²³⁷ John Nye, *A Display of Divine Heraldry, &c.* (1678), sig. A2; Vivienne Larminie and Tim Wales, ‘Nye, John (bap. 1620, d. 1686?)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20415>> [accessed 13 June 2020]. For the most extended analysis of the clerical dynasty, see Jeffrey S. Chamberlain, ‘Portrait of a High Church clerical dynasty in Georgian England: the Frewens and their world’, in *The Church of England c. 1689 – c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, ed. by John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 299–316.

bones, their leopards' paws, and Maltese crosses'.²³⁸ Although regarded at best as archaic curiosities within English churches today, heraldry's presence has not totally disappeared, and it has been the purpose of this chapter to investigate its significance within the preaching and printing culture of a period that was intensely fascinated with these emblems of genealogical legitimisation.



Figure 3.16. Francis Hayman (attrib.), *John Wesley Preaching in Old Cripplegate Church, London* (date unknown). Oil on canvas. 90 × 96 cm. Dr Johnson's House, London.

²³⁸ George Eliot, 'The Sad Fortunes of the Reverend Amos Barton', in George Eliot, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, MDCCCLVIII [1858]), I, pp. 1–151 (Chapter I, pp. 5–6).

A PICTURE FOR ORNAMENT, MEMORY AND HISTORY: IMAGISTIC VERSES AND SCRIPTURAL IMAGES IN THE FUNERAL SERMON*

*That it may now bring forth fruit in thee (Reader,) let it bee in thy hands, as a Deaths head, to remember thy end: take it as the clock striketh, [...] apply it line by line [...]*¹

The previous chapter established that the unique pedigree in Richard Davies's 'maverick' printed funeral sermon for Walter Devereux, First Earl of Essex ensured that the publication as a whole served as an *aide-mémoire* for the earl's young successor, pictorially, scripturally and textually.² What is more, copies of the book were distributed as gifts to contemporaries by Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex, in order to perpetuate the virtuous memory of his deceased father.³ This chapter considers such practices further by revealing the multiple ways in which the printed funeral sermon was very much a part of 'the culture of gift-giving' in early modern England.⁴ While historians have certainly recognised that funeral sermons were a primary part of this culture, the concept of the published funeral sermon as a physical artefact and gift has been given very little attention.⁵ In fact, printed funeral sermons could be

* I would like to dedicate this chapter to the memory of Dr Cathy Oakes (1956–2019), who supervised my MSt dissertation on the funerary culture of Interregnum England. William Sclater, *Death's Summons, and the Saints Duty* (1640) has furnished the title of this chapter (see p. 104).

¹ John Warren, *Domus ordinata* (1618), sig. A2'. John Warren was the vicar of Great Clacton, Essex. His dates are unknown.

² Frederic B. Tromly, "Accordinge to sounde religion": the Elizabethan controversy over the funeral sermon', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 13.2 (1983), 293–312 (p. 306).

³ One copy of Thomas Froyssell, *Yadidyah Or, The Beloved Disciple* (1658), a printed funeral sermon for Sir Robert Harley (bap. 1579, d. 1656), was kept within the Harley family and is now held at Cambridge University Library. See Fiona Ann Counsell, 'Domestic Religion in Seventeenth Century English Gentry Households' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2017), p. 256.

⁴ Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁵ Francis J. Bremer, *Congregational Communion: Clerical Friendship in the Anglo-American Puritan Community, 1610–1692* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1994), p. 63; Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480–1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 302–03; Paul Seaver, 'Puritan Preachers and their Patrons', in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed.

exquisitely designed objects exhibiting a wide variety of illustrative material, both in terms of images and the distinctive arrangement of words on the page. Scrutiny of the printed funeral sermon as a visual text is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, it establishes that Protestants in England transformed the mourning gift culture associated with pre-Reformation funerary ritual by aligning it with their own values, which were tied up with scriptural validation and the appropriate lessons to be learnt from an individual's life. Secondly, while the material culture of death is certainly no longer a neglected subject within studies of the Reformation, printed funeral sermons have yet to be included within such scholarship.⁶ In this chapter, it is argued that, for Protestants, the printed funeral sermon was an ideal keepsake by which those still living could remember an individual's virtues and the manner in which they lived by the Word of God. The illustrative matter included in the text was one means to ensure the popularity of the genre and simultaneously to guide a reader's understanding of the edification to be derived from the sermon. Whilst the published funeral sermon was truly a work 'of a didactic nature which one might read quietly for edification', it was also a material object to be appreciated aesthetically as an artefact of memory.⁷

by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 128–42 (pp. 131–34); Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*, p. 229; Mary Ann Lund, 'Early Modern Sermon Paratexts and the Religious Politics of Reading', in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580–1730*, ed. by James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 143–62 (p. 149).

⁶ See Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c. 1500 – c. 1800* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991); Tarnya Cooper, 'Memento Mori Portraiture: Painting, Protestant Culture and the Patronage of the Middle Elites in England and Wales, 1540–1630', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 2001); David Hickman, 'Wise and Religious Epitaphs: Funerary Inscriptions as Evidence for Religious Change in Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, c. 1500–1640', *Midland History*, 26.1 (2001), 107–27 (p. 107); Tarnya Cooper, 'Predestined Lives? Portraiture and Religious Belief in England and Wales, 1560–1620', in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 49–63; Robert Tittler, 'Portraiture and Memory Amongst the Middling Elites in Post-Reformation England', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation*, ed. by Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 37–57.

⁷ Jason McElligott, 'The Book Trade, Licensing, and Censorship', in *The Oxford Handbook of Literature and the English Revolution*, ed. by Laura Lunger Knoppers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 135–53 (p. 139); Philip Major, 'Urne-Buriall and the Interregnum Royalist', in *"A man very well studied": New Contexts for Thomas Browne*, ed. by Kathryn Murphy and Richard Todd (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 191–210 (p. 195 n. 16).

Funeral sermons constitute an especially rewarding case study within this thesis. It is little surprise that the funeral sermon has been the subject of much attention, ever since Ralph Houlbrooke's persuasive, landmark study of its changing status in the English Reformation through to the eighteenth century.⁸ Scholars have been particularly drawn to questions surrounding women's patronage and their own representation as subjects of funeral sermons; the reliability of these texts as biographical sources; and their value as a rich archive for deathbed narratives.⁹ It has been emphasised that '[o]nly a minority of funerals were graced with sermons'; they were 'optional' and delivered 'at the discretion of the testator or his executors'.¹⁰ Broadening the purview of this observation, it is apropos to point out that, this being the case, these sermons would likely have been treated with great care in the consideration of their printed afterlives. Additionally, despite the fact that sermons were not an essential component of early modern funerals, there was nevertheless a large variety of audiences to which they could be preached. In the parishes, they could be delivered to a small group of loved ones, whereas hundreds of people could witness state funerals, albeit not all of them would be present at the sermon itself.¹¹ Moreover, it was not necessarily the case that funeral sermons were personal affairs.¹² On some occasions, the clergyman was not acquainted with the deceased. Particularly towards the end of the seventeenth century, preachers might

⁸ Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England*, ch. 10 and Appendix 2.

⁹ Eileen T. Dugan, 'The Funeral Sermon as a Key to Familial Values in Early Modern Nördlingen', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 20.4 (1989), 631-44 (p. 642); Jeri L. McIntosh, 'English funeral sermons, 1560-1640: the relationship between gender and death, dying and the afterlife' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Oxford, 1990); Retha M. Warnicke, 'Eulogies for Women: Public Testimony of Their Godly Example and Leadership', in *Attending to Women in Early Modern England*, ed. by Betty S. Travitsky and Adele F. Seeff (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1994), pp. 168-86; Lucinda M. Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 121-23, 133-37; Jeanne Shami, 'Women and Sermons', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 155-77; Leif Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England, c. 1590-1640* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), ch. 7.

¹⁰ David Cressy, 'Death and the social order: the funerary preferences of Elizabethan gentlemen', *Continuity and Change*, 5.1 (1989), 99-119 (p. 108).

¹¹ Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 266-67.

¹² Penny Pritchard, 'The Eye of a Needle: Commemorating the 'Godly Merchant' in the Early Modern Funeral Sermon', *The Journal of Religious History, Literature and Culture*, 3.2 (2017), 70-90 (p. 70).

reuse the same sermon for multiple funerals.¹³ An intimate or public audience notwithstanding, and whether or not the preacher knew the deceased on any personal level, print served to transform the sermon into a public monument to be disseminated widely within the book market. Therefore, there is scope to evaluate how personalised or otherwise such textual productions could be by examining any distinctive visual and typographical characteristics of the printed artefacts, as opposed to merely the textual biographies contained within them.¹⁴ As in the previous chapter, which delineated how ceremonies involving heraldic display translated especially well to the printed page, this chapter concerns itself partly with the printed sermon's encapsulation of Protestant funerary ritual. It is possible to argue that not only could printed sermons 'convey a vivid impression of the circumstances of their delivery' textually, but they could also do so visually.¹⁵ Whilst the sermon's role in Protestant funeral rites has been analysed at length by scholars such as Ralph Houlbrooke and Peter McCullough, there has been little discussion of how printed sermons could preserve important aspects of the original event.¹⁶ At the same time, however, not all components of a funeral or individual's life would necessarily have been desirable to set down as examples for readers; thus, printed sermons could also constitute artful products of selective memory in a similar manner to the funeral monument.

Therefore, building upon the insights gained from various studies conducted by historians such as Tara Hamling and Alexandra Walsham, this chapter contributes to the current critical discourse which explores the extent to which orality, scriptural text and image

¹³ See the last item in London, St Paul's Cathedral Library, MS 38.E.51.01.

¹⁴ See Femke Molekamp, 'Seventeenth-Century Funeral Sermons and Exemplary Female Devotion: Gendered Spaces and Histories', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 35.1 (2012), 43–63; Raymond A. Anselment, 'Anthony Walker, Mary Rich, and Seventeenth-Century Funeral Sermons of Women', *Prose Studies*, 37.3 (2015), 200–24 (p. 201).

¹⁵ Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England*, p. 304.

¹⁶ Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England*, pp. 296–97; Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1988), pp. 175–76; Peter McCullough, 'Preaching and Context: John Donne's Sermon at the Funerals of Sir William Cokayne', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 213–67.

operated in symbiosis in early modern Protestant commemorative culture.¹⁷ In addition to the preoccupations outlined above, earlier scholarship on funeral sermons, as Leif Dixon has stressed, has noted ‘their generically secular characteristics’; this chapter also argues that the printed funeral sermon, as a product of gift culture, traversed the boundaries between the sacred and the secular.¹⁸ Yet, it seeks to nuance Patrick Collinson’s assertion that ‘Reformed theology was an accidental, not a substantial element in these orations’ by determining the ways in which the homiletic divinity propounded in these texts was not simply fortuitous, and that adherence to the Scriptures was paramount.¹⁹ After all, as David Cressy has taught us, commissioning a funeral sermon demonstrated a certain respect for the reformed religion.²⁰ What is more, such analyses do not account for the fact that in some funeral sermons the focus was not so much on the deceased subject but on the moral lesson to be taught.

In order to emphasise the longevity of the printed funeral sermon as a bestselling Protestant genre, this chapter’s chronology encompasses the Jacobean period, a time when the sermon began to flourish as a form of printed literature, through to the Restoration. It is certainly remarkable that the major monographs dedicated to sermon studies do not explore the epoch of the English Civil Wars.²¹ Jeanne Shami has further argued that this was a particularly significant period ‘in which funeral sermons and the eulogies attached to them

¹⁷ Tara Hamling, ‘“An Arelome To This Hous For Ever”: Monumental Fixtures and Furnishings in the English Domestic Interior, c. 1560–c. 1660’, in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation*, ed. by Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 59–88; Alexandra Walsham, ‘Idols in the Frontispiece? Illustrating Religious Books in the Age of Iconoclasm’, in *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. by Feike Dietz and others (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 21–52.

¹⁸ Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England*, p. 313.

¹⁹ Patrick Collinson, ‘A Magazine of Religious Patterns’: An Erasmian Topic Transposed in English Protestantism’, *Studies in Church History*, 14 (1997), 223–49 (p. 247). See also Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England*, p. 319.

²⁰ Cressy, ‘Death and the social order’, p. 108.

²¹ Collinson, ‘A Magazine of Religious Patterns’, p. 246; Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Mary Morrissey, *Politics and the Paul’s Cross Sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). The forthcoming work of Ann Hughes hopes to address in part this imbalance.

flourished'; these texts, according to Shami, remain ripe for investigation.²² The watershed of sermon publication was marked by the printing of a collection of forty-seven of these funeral sermons, entitled *Threnoikos. The House of Mourning, &c.*, in 1640.²³ Perhaps the reason for this relative neglect in scholarship originates from older arguments that early modern funeral sermons preached and printed after the 1640s are qualitatively different from those delivered and published prior to this decade.²⁴ In his review of the doctrine of the *ars moriendi*, or the art of dying well, in English funeral sermons, Leif Dixon similarly concentrates on the period between 1590 and 1640, which is the remit of his wider study.²⁵ Yet, it is the contention of this chapter that an overview of published funeral sermons which embraces a longer period serves to confirm the enduring fascination of Protestant readers for illustrations and distinctive verbal imagery to enhance and gloss the Scriptures.

It is certainly the case that the controversies surrounding funeral sermons over the English Reformation, and chiefly during the early Elizabethan period, have been amply documented.²⁶ Patrick Collinson's incisive critique of the growth of the genre of ecclesiastical biography in Protestant England has shown that, up to the end of Elizabeth's reign, 'almost the only funeral sermons thought suitable for publication commemorated members of the nobility and notable gentry, and they appeared with plain and formal titles'.²⁷ It has long been accepted

²² Jeanne Shami, 'Reading Funeral Sermons for Early Modern English Women: Some Literary and Historiographical Challenges', in *Religious Diversity and Early Modern English Texts: Catholic, Judaic, Feminist, and Secular Dimensions*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti and Chanita Goodblatt (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2013), pp. 282–308 (p. 304 n. 14).

²³ Daniel Featley and others, *Threnoikos. The House of Mourning, &c.* (1640); Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England*, p. 298; Elizabeth Hodgson, 'The Domestic "Fruite of Eves Transgression" in Stuart Funeral Sermons', *Prose Studies*, 28.1 (2006), 1–18.

²⁴ Debra L. Parish, 'The Power of Female Pietism: Women as Spiritual Authorities and Religious Role Models in Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of Religious History*, 17.1 (1992), 33–46; Eric Josef Carlson, 'English Funeral Sermons as Sources: The Example of Female Piety in Pre-1640 Sermons', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 32.4 (2000), 567–97 (pp. 568–69).

²⁵ Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England*, ch. 7. See also McIntosh, 'English funeral sermons, 1560–1640'.

²⁶ Tromly, "Accordinge to sounde religion"; Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England*, pp. 296–97; David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 408; Susan Wabuda, *Preaching during the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 48–63.

²⁷ Collinson, "A Magazine of Religious Patterns", p. 245.

by historians that, during the 1560s and 1570s, funeral sermons were heavily targeted by critics of the rites and practices of the Church of England, such as the religious controversialist Thomas Cartwright (1534/5–1603).²⁸ They were regarded with great suspicion, considered unscriptural and associated with Roman Catholic practices of intercessory prayer.²⁹ Both Patrick Collinson and David J. Davis have maintained that it was also around this time that images in religious contexts were particularly contentious.³⁰ Yet, the latter argument is no longer sustainable. According to Peter Marshall, this period also witnessed ‘an extraordinary efflorescence of commemoration’, including ‘increasingly elaborate funerals’ and ‘an unprecedented number of tombs and monuments placed in parish churches’.³¹ The images from this burgeoning culture of the commemoration of godly individuals migrated to the printed page, and adorned the published versions of funeral sermons which assumed a crucial place in the religious book trade from the beginning of James I’s reign.³² In addition, there were significant changes in the content of these funeral sermons, which included, in many cases, a more substantial biographical element as opposed to a principal focus upon the exposition of the text. However, as this chapter shows, this did not amount to a ‘secularisation’ of the funeral sermon as many historians would have it. Thus, there are a number of important questions which remain unanswered, principally relating to the manner in which the visual presentation of printed funeral sermons was affected by such changes, if at all. It will also be necessary to reflect upon the implications regarding where illustrations were placed within the text. The

²⁸ Carlson, ‘English Funeral Sermons as Sources’; Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 159.

²⁹ Shami, ‘Women and Sermons’, p. 156.

³⁰ Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988), pp. 117–20; David J. Davis, *From Icons to Idols: Documents on the Image Debate in Reformation England* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2016), p. 11.

³¹ Peter Marshall, ‘The Company of Heaven: Identity and Sociability in the English Protestant Afterlife c. 1560–1630’, *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques*, 26.2 (2000), 311–33 (p. 312). See also Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 7.

³² Collinson, ‘A Magazine of Religious Patterns’, pp. 234, 245–46; Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, p. 408; Marshall, ‘The Company of Heaven’, p. 312. Printed funeral sermons also began to appear with increasing frequency in early seventeenth-century Europe. See Austra Reinis, ‘“Admitted to the Heavenly School”: Consolation, Instruction, and Admonition in Aegidius Hunnius’s Academic Funeral Sermons’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 38.4 (2007), 995–1012 (p. 998).

tripartite nature of the standard sermon preached on other occasions – an exposition followed by an application, with a final exhortation – has long been established by scholars.³³ This structure was complicated by the biographical element of funeral sermons, and this chapter argues that the methodical placement of images could serve as a way to divide and organise text, making its meaning more accessible.³⁴ As P. G. Stanwood has maintained, ‘the text of the sermon served also as the “text” of the deceased’, in that aspects of the life of the deceased could exemplify the principal teachings within the text.³⁵ This chapter accepts the idea that the structure of the funeral sermon was unusual, but goes further by challenging the truism that funeral sermons followed another kind of standardised format.³⁶ At the same time, however, it should be noted that limitations of space preclude detailed discussion of the ‘godly life’ which often served as an amalgamation of spiritual biography and previously preached funeral sermon.³⁷

The recognition that published funeral sermons in early modern England and Europe could contain images which were integral to an understanding of their subject matter is long overdue. Although Caroline Francis Richardson first remarked, nearly a century ago, that ‘[a] single sermon in quarto might have its title page set off by a small device, or a border broken at intervals with a skull, or other emblem’, she goes on to state that such adornments ‘are rare in

³³ Peter McCullough, ‘Sermons’, in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500–1640*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 560–75 (p. 566); Mary Morrissey, ‘Sermons, Primers, and Prayerbooks’, in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 491–509 (p. 507).

³⁴ See Martha W. Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and its Sources* (London: British Library, 2004), p. 1; David J. Davis, *Seeing Faith, Printing Pictures: Religious Identity during the English Reformation* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), pp. 13–14.

³⁵ P. G. Stanwood, ‘Consolatory Grief in the Funeral Sermons of Donne and Taylor’, in *Speaking Grief in English Literary Culture: Shakespeare to Milton*, ed. by Margo Swiss and David A. Kent (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 2002), pp. 197–216 (p. 197). See also Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England*, p. 311.

³⁶ Tromly, “Accordinge to sounde religion”, pp. 306, 311; Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England*, pp. 137–38; Jacqueline Eales, ‘Samuel Clarke and the ‘Lives’ of Godly Women in Seventeenth-century England’, *Studies in Church History*, 27 (1990), 365–76 (p. 368); Sharon Achinstein, *Literature and Dissent in Milton’s England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 34; Hodgson, ‘The Domestic “Fruite of Eves Transgression” in Stuart Funeral Sermons’, pp. 2–3.

³⁷ Collinson, “A Magazine of Religious Patterns”; Eales, ‘Samuel Clarke and the ‘Lives’ of Godly Women in Seventeenth-century England’, p. 365 n. 2.

the quartos because they were published for quick selling'.³⁸ Juliet Fleming has also implied that these funeral sermons with their macabre ornamentation constituted 'the work of jobbing printers'.³⁹ Few other commentators have noted the distinctive presence of printed images in these publications. One historian has even maintained that the funeral sermon was 'not a medium of mass communication', failing to present 'confessional and political topics in easily decipherable images, accompanied with a pictorial legend for better understanding'.⁴⁰ Although an international conference held in 2012, entitled 'Preaching Death in Early Modern France and England', invited delegates to submit papers considering 'the iconography of frontispieces or the engravings to be found in printed sermons or collections', none of the papers explored this aspect of funeral sermon culture.⁴¹ A noteworthy exception is Róisín Watson's study of funerary rituals at the early modern Württemberg court, in which she provides insights into the collaboration of print and material culture to preserve the memory of the deceased, referring to the 'portability of memory' represented by printed mediums, including funeral sermons.⁴²

More recently, Simone Hanebaum has highlighted the need for early modern English funeral sermons to be considered as material objects, focusing in particular on architectural terms and

³⁸ Caroline Francis Richardson, *English Preachers and Preaching 1640–1670: A Secular Study* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1928), pp. 119–20.

³⁹ Juliet Fleming, 'Changed opinion as to flowers', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 48–64 (p. 49). See also Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550–1850* (London: British Museum Press, 1999), pp. 26–27.

⁴⁰ Radmila Pavličková, 'A Funeral and a Political Pamphlet: The Funeral Sermon for the Archbishop Johann Schweikard of Mainz in 1626', in *Friars, Nobles and Burghers—Sermons, Images and Prints: Studies of Culture and Society in Early-Modern Europe*, ed. by Jaroslav Miller and László Kontler (Budapest and New York, NY: Central European University Press, 2010), pp. 129–47 (p. 147).

⁴¹ 'Preaching Death in Early Modern France and England: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', Université Montpellier III, France, 8–10 February 2012, <<https://preachingdeath.wordpress.com>> [accessed 29 September 2019].

⁴² Róisín Watson, 'Funeral Monuments, Ritual and Print: Strategies of Memorialization at the Württemberg Court', *Past & Present*, 234.12 (2017), 139–64 (pp. 153–54, 157). See also Simon McKeown, 'Death and a Maiden: Memorial Engravings from the Circle of Erik Dahlberg', *Emblematica*, 14 (2005), 417–39. However, in this short study of the frontispieces of late seventeenth-century elite Swedish funeral sermons, the focus is rather upon the commissioning and design of these emblematic frontispieces as opposed to their interactions with the sermon texts.

other instances of ‘monumental language’ used within the texts to convey this sense of materiality.⁴³

Following these astute leads, this chapter contends that recognition of the pictorial aspects of printed funeral sermons complicates the axiom that the religion of the book supplanted the religion of images in post-Reformation England, and that the printing of sermons was ‘one way to achieve this’.⁴⁴ On the contrary, not only did the printed funeral sermon have the capacity to record the visual elements of funerary ritual for posterity, but it also acted, in its role as a didactic publication, as a kind of early modern emblem book. It is worth remembering, as has already been mentioned in the Introduction, that emblems became a predominant form of ‘devotional and educational mnemonics in Protestant practice’.⁴⁵ Like emblems, printed funeral sermons contained a central, cryptic moral, which was represented by both the scriptural text and the deceased, with an accompanying visual allegorical device: both would be explicated by the preacher’s words in print.⁴⁶ In a comparable manner to the emblem, the image was created by a craftsman as opposed to the author of the sermon, and the published text in its entirety therefore represented a similarly collaborative effort.⁴⁷ Readers were to view the sermon text, like the funerary emblem, ‘in concert with beholding the picture [that] ends in transforming the beholder’s spirit’.⁴⁸

But printed funeral sermons were not always aesthetic and devotional products of gift culture, and another objective of the chapter is to reconsider the funeral sermon as a hybrid

⁴³ Simone Hanebaum, ‘Textual monumentality and memory in early modern England, 1560–c. 1650’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2019), pp. 114–24.

⁴⁴ Lund, ‘Early Modern Sermon Paratexts and the Religious Politics of Reading’, p. 156.

⁴⁵ Andrew Morrall, ‘“On the Picture of the King Charles the First...written in Psalms”: Devotion, Commemoration and the Micrographic Portrait’, in *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), pp. 211–39 (p. 235).

⁴⁶ See Chapter Two.

⁴⁷ Michael Leslie has already traced the likenesses between Elizabethan portraits and emblems. See Michael Leslie, ‘The Dialogue Between Bodies and Souls: Pictures and Poesy in the English Renaissance’, *Word & Image*, 1.1 (1985), 16–30. See also Joshua Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 117–18.

⁴⁸ Tamara Goegelein, ‘Death is in the “I” of the Beholder: Early Modern English Emblems of Death’, in *Emblems of Death in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Monica Calabritto and Peter Daly (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2014), pp. 59–95 (p. 72).

form of religious and political pamphlet. While it is not a new observation that printed funeral sermons acted as instruments of both Catholic and Protestant polemic in early modern England and Europe, the role of the image has been subject to little interpretation.⁴⁹ Frontispiece portraits of deceased Parliamentary figures during the period of the English Civil Wars sent out unmistakable signals regarding religio-political allegiance.⁵⁰ These particular funeral sermons will be situated on a continuum with other visual printed literatures, including broadsides and pamphlets, considered together as propagandist documents during this crucial period of religio-political upheaval. Besides, the investigation of these particular portraits of deceased political figures, alongside their distribution in other mediums such as medals, provides evidence of the materiality of the printed sermon as an artefact and keepsake. Its materiality is further corroborated in the printed portraits' clear affinities with the effigies on funeral monuments, first noted cursorily by Patrick Collinson.⁵¹ The funeral monument was, according to Nigel Llewellyn, 'the most important kind of church art made in post-Reformation England'.⁵² Jonathan Finch concurs, writing that the monument was a primary vehicle for the expression of Protestant identity in post-Reformation England.⁵³ Other scholars have also noted the correspondences between funeral sermons and monuments, but there has been little extended analysis of such a kinship. Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos does not recognise funeral sermons as visual objects, writing that monuments, while sharing the moralistic aims of

⁴⁹ Larissa Juliet Taylor, 'Funeral sermons and orations as religious propaganda in sixteenth-century France', in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 224–39; Jeanne Shami, 'The Sermon', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, ed. by Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 185–206 (p. 185).

⁵⁰ Helmer J. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics, and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Sphere, 1639–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 4, 16.

⁵¹ Collinson, "A Magazine of Religious Patterns", p. 247.

⁵² Nigel Llewellyn, 'Honour in Life, Death and in the Memory: Funeral Monuments in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1996), 179–200 (p. 179).

⁵³ Jonathan Finch, 'A Reformation of Meaning: Commemoration and Remembering the Dead in the Parish Church, 1450–1640', in *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480–1580*, ed. by David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), pp. 437–49. For Lutheran Germany, see Carl C. Christensen, 'The Significance of the Epitaph Monument in Early Lutheran Ecclesiastical Art (c. 1540–1600)', in *The Social History of the Reformation*, ed. by Lawrence P. Buck and Jonathan Zophy (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1972), pp. 297–314; Watson, 'Funeral Monuments, Ritual and Print', p. 141.

sermons, ‘were established to provide a visual and more magnificent reflection of grandeur’.⁵⁴

Claire Bartram draws attention to the shared ‘instructive capacity’ of monuments and sermons; however, she does not offer specific examples of this practice.⁵⁵

There are, consequently, a number of issues which remain to be addressed regarding portraits in funeral sermons. Richard Wendorf has previously made a cogent case for the need to apply ‘the same kind of comparative analysis’ hitherto reserved for poetry and painting to the study of textual biography and portraiture. He discusses the means by which biography could serve as a ‘dramatization of action’ to complement the painting.⁵⁶ How can this concept be applied to the printed funeral sermon? Were the deceased subjects depicted in the prime of their life, or in their funerary shrouds?⁵⁷ Did the portraits share specific characteristics with the effigies on funeral monuments, in which ‘enhanced attention was paid to the likeness of the deceased’?⁵⁸ To what extent were the portraits naturalistic or otherwise, in order not to be mistaken as objects of veneration in themselves? Nigel Llewellyn has argued that ‘[s]culpted bodies replaced real bodies’.⁵⁹ Did printed faces serve the same purpose? In its analysis of portraits within funeral sermons, this chapter reveals that, like the painted portrait and the funeral monument, the printed funeral sermon could conflate the two mediums and constitute another form of what Margaret Aston has designated as a ‘replacement art’ in Reformation

⁵⁴ Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving*, p. 229.

⁵⁵ Claire Bartram, ‘Some Tomb for a Remembrance’: Representations of Piety in Post-Reformation Gentry Funeral Monuments’, in *Pieties in Transition: Religious Practices and Experiences, c. 1400–1640*, ed. by Robert Lutton and Elisabeth Salter (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 129–43 (p. 140). See also Lund, ‘Early Modern Sermon Paratexts and the Religious Politics of Reading’, p. 157.

⁵⁶ Richard Wendorf, ‘*Ut Pictura Biographia*: Biography and Portrait Painting as Sister Arts’, in *Articulate Images: The Sister Arts from Hogarth to Tennyson*, ed. by Richard Wendorf (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), pp. 98–124 (pp. 98, 119).

⁵⁷ See Jessica Martin, *Walton’s Lives: Conformist Commemoration and the Rise of Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 58–59.

⁵⁸ Keith Thomas, ‘Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England’, in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 16–40 (p. 33).

⁵⁹ Llewellyn, ‘Honour in Life, Death and in the Memory’, p. 180. See also Tarnya Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 202.

England.⁶⁰ To borrow a phrase from Scott Newstok, the funeral sermon, like the epitaph, was a ‘constraint-defying genre’.⁶¹ Indeed, epitaphs themselves, created by skilful printers, formed part of the visual material of funeral sermons. This chapter consequently gives due prominence to printers’ evocations of the epitaph and their inclusion of other poems of tribute, gifted by Protestant clerics, which particularly invited visual contemplation. Ultimately, it is argued that tomb-makers, limners and those responsible for the creation of a textual memorial for the deceased all shared the same didactic aims.⁶² To rephrase Patricia Phillippy, as composite forms, printed funeral sermons required their patrons and readers to attend to both their literary and artistic features.⁶³ Furthermore, these texts did not always speak principally to their time and place, as is commonly argued, but could provide artful reconstructions of the original events. They could also be instilled with new meaning and significance for readers long after the funeral had taken place. These issues are explored in turn below, grouped under three principal headings. ‘Early Modern Funeral Sermons: A Preliminary Re-Evaluation’ begins to rethink the ‘formulaic’ characteristics of the printed funeral sermon. ‘Textual Iconography and Typographical Symbolism’ discusses a characteristically godly interplay of word and image. Lastly, ‘Devotional and Political Portraiture’ investigates the myriad functions of the portrait of the deceased in these texts.

Early Modern Funeral Sermons: A Preliminary Re-Evaluation

⁶⁰ Margaret Aston, ‘Art and Idolatry: Reformed Funeral Monuments?’, in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 243–66 (p. 243).

⁶¹ Scott L. Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 13–15. See also Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Donne’s Anniversaries and the Poetry of Praise: The Creation of a Symbolic Mode* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 174.

⁶² Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, p. 364.

⁶³ Patricia Phillippy, ‘“Herselfe livinge, to be pictured”: ‘Monumental Circles’ and Women’s Self-Portraiture’, in *The History of British Women’s Writing, 1610–1690*, ed. by Mihoko Suzuki (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 129–51 (p. 130).

It is important to remember that not all early modern funeral sermons relied upon the visual aspects of the funeral ceremony in order to edify the congregation and later readers. As discussed in the previous chapter, although preachers of a wide variety of religio-political persuasions often demonstrated a strong awareness and proficiency with the language of heraldry, this was not necessarily translated pictorially on the printed page in every case. Thus, the virtues of Mrs Mary Forbes (d. 1655), the subject of the single sermon which was published by the Devonshire curate Francis Moore, were ‘fairly proclaim’d [...] by the Herauldry of her Hearse, but fairer far in the suitable Character of her life’.⁶⁴ No opportunities were taken to represent these sentiments visually. In other cases, preachers refused to dwell too long on the material culture of mourning, owing to the wishes of the deceased or their own distaste for such matters. William Jenkyn (bap. 1613, d. 1685), minister of St Ann Blackfriars in London, reported that his predecessor William Gouge (1575–1653) wished to suppress his social status in order to prioritise his pious condition. Gouge was extremely particular about his funeral arrangements, specifying that no escutcheons were to be affixed to his hearse, ‘though he were a Gentleman anciently descended’.⁶⁵ Others still disapproved of elaborate, ‘curious’ epitaphs, which were not deemed as profitable as plainer texts to instruct the living.⁶⁶

Moreover, images and decorative material in funeral sermons did not need to be bespoke. Many funeral sermons featured a simple border of black, or a border of death’s heads and bones on their title pages.⁶⁷ By such means, they were able to be categorised with

⁶⁴ Francis Moore, *Natures Goodnight* (1656), p. 29. Moore’s dates are unknown. See W. Pengelly, ‘Notes on a Devonshire Funeral Sermon in the Seventeenth Century’, *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 14 (1882), pp. 493–515. For Forbes’s tomb, see Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, p. 124.

⁶⁵ William Jenkyn, *A Shock of Corn Coming in In its Season* (1654), p. 36. See Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, p. 247. Interestingly, Peter Sherlock has observed that, in the seventeenth century, ‘only a handful of bishops adhered to their own teaching about restraint in burial and commemoration’. See Peter Sherlock, ‘Episcopal Tombs in Early Modern England’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 55.4 (2004), 654–80 (pp. 674–75).

⁶⁶ John Reading, *Characters Of True Blessednesse, &c.* (1638), unpaginated.

⁶⁷ For examples of these decorative elements of funeral sermons, see Nathaniel Hardy, *A Divine Prospective: Representing the Just Mans Peacfull [sic] End* (1654); John Leigh, *The Saints Rest, and Reward in Heaven* (1654);

other funerary publications such as elegies and broadsides, predominantly from the mid-seventeenth century onwards.⁶⁸ Less commonly, the simple border of black would be curved at the top to represent a gravestone.⁶⁹ At times, it was principally such framing, plus a title rich in evocative imagery, which would furnish the principal visual elements of the funeral sermon.⁷⁰ Scott Newstok emphasises that the word ‘epitaph’ could be deployed ‘as a metaphorical or even metonymic construct rather than a literal tombstone inscription’ in this era; printed funeral sermons could therefore be packaged as ‘epitaphs’.⁷¹ Other funeral sermons featured stock funerary headpieces and emblematic devices which could be transferred for use on other elegiac publications.⁷² A sermon by Thomas Sparke (1548–1616) which was originally preached at the funeral of Francis Russell (1526/7–1585), Second Earl of Bedford, displayed on its title page an emblematic image of a shrouded corpse being lowered into the earth, surrounded with a legend and an accompanying citation from Revelation 14.13.⁷³ This image evidently continued to be in use thirty years later, appearing without the scriptural text within a printed elegy written upon the death of Lady Honor Hay by the poet Richard Niccols (1583/4–1616).⁷⁴ In the funeral sermon for Elizabeth Thomason (d. 1659) by Edward Reynolds (1599–1676), there is

Moore, *Natures goodnight*; Richard Hunt, *The Bow of Jonathan with the Flower de Lyce, &c.* (1657); Richard Meggott, *A Sermon Preached at St. Martins in the Fields, &c.* (1670); Robert Waring, *A Sermon Preached at St. Margarets in Westminster, &c.* (1672). For examples of manuscript sermons with mourning borders, see London, Dr Williams’s Library, MSS 28.7, 28.12.

⁶⁸ Thomas Herbert, *An Elegie vpon the Death of Thomas Earle of Strafford, Lord Lievtenant of Ireland* (1641); Henry Harington, *An Elegie upon the Death of the Mirrovr Of Magnanimity, &c.* (1642); I. C., *An Elegie Offered Up to the Memory Of that late faithfull Servant of God, Mr. Jeremiah Bvrroughs, &c.* (1646).

⁶⁹ Nathaniel Hardy, *A Sermon Preached At St. Gregories Church, &c.* (1658); Waring, *A Sermon Preached at St. Margarets in Westminster.*

⁷⁰ Francis Roberts, *The Checquer-Work of God’s Providences, Towards his own People, Made up of Blacks and Whites, &c.* (1657); Thomas Goodwin, *A Fair Prospect, Shewing clearly The difference between things that are Seen, & things that are not Seen* (1658); Lund, ‘Early Modern Sermon Paratexts and the Religious Politics of Reading’, p. 148; Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 212–13.

⁷¹ Newstok, *Quoting Death in Early Modern England*, p. 9; Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*, p. 383.

⁷² See, for example, the device which comprises a pithy Latin epigraph surrounded by a border of skeletons and death’s heads, over which the tetragrammaton presides, which forms the appendix to John Wall, *A Sermon Preached at Shellford, in Nottinghamshire, &c.* (1623). For a funerary headpiece, see P. W. [Peter Watkinson], *Mary’s Choice, &c.* (1674), p. 1.

⁷³ Thomas Sparke, *A Sermon Preached at Cheanics at the Bvriall of the right honorable the Earle of Bedford, &c.* (1585).

⁷⁴ Richard Niccols, *Monodia Or Walthams Complaint, &c.* (1615). Lady Honor Hay’s full dates are unknown.

an engraving of a woman at prayer executed by ‘T. Cross’, who was most likely Thomas Cross, that had already materialised within the posthumous *Devotions, &c.* (1655) of Robert Aylett (c. 1582–1655), lawyer and poet.⁷⁵ A woodcut of a winged death’s head and the accompanying motto ‘SPES ADDIDIT ALAS’ (‘Hope has added wings’) appears not only on the title page of a funeral sermon by Thomas Gataker, but also the title page of a contemporary elegy for Ben Jonson.⁷⁶ The use of a standard device bearing the imprint of the University of Oxford on the Oxford edition of the funeral sermon for Francis Russell illustrates that priority was not especially accorded to the visual design of this particular sermon.⁷⁷

In fact, printed funeral sermons furnished just as many opportunities to advertise the bookseller. *A Sermon, Intended to be preached at the Funeral of M. Edmund Whitwell, &c.* (1654) by Philip Perrey features a distinctive woodcut of a greyhound, indicating that the sermon was sold ‘at the sign of the *Grey-Hound*, in little Brittain, without Alders-Gate’.⁷⁸ While Andrew Gordon has contributed many insights regarding the signboard as a visual artefact, highlighting its prominence as a stage property in early modern plays, he has neglected to discuss its visual presence on the title pages of printed texts.⁷⁹ Incidentally, Perrey’s sermon, which was the only one that he published, falls into that curious category of what Keith A. Francis has dubbed a ‘phantom sermon’; that is, a sermon which had never been preached.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Robert Aylett, *Devotions, &c.* (1655); Edward Reynolds, *Mary Magdalens Love to Christ* (1659); Frederick M. Padelford, ‘Robert Aylett’, *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, 10 (1936), 1–48 (pp. 30–31). The printer of Reynolds’s sermon is unknown. Reynolds was at that time serving as vicar of St Lawrence Jewry, London.

⁷⁶ John Taylor, *A Funerall Elegie, &c.* (1637); Thomas Gataker, *Saint Stevens Last Will and Testament* (1638).

⁷⁷ Thomas Sparke, *A Sermon Preached at Cheanies the 14. of September, 1585, &c.* [1585]. See Mark Bland, ‘The Appearance of the Text in Early Modern England’, *Text*, 11 (1998), 91–154 (pp. 95–96). For a much later example of a funeral sermon that promotes the University of Oxford as opposed to the content of the publication, see Robert Parsons, *A Sermon Preached At the Funeral of the R Honorable John Earl of Rochester, &c.* (1680), which displays an engraving of the Radcliffe Camera on its title page.

⁷⁸ Philip Perrey, *A Sermon Intended to be preached at the Funeral of M. Edmund Whitwell, &c.* (1654), title page. Perrey’s dates are unknown.

⁷⁹ Andrew Gordon, ‘“If my sign could speak”: The Signboard and the Visual Culture of Early Modern London’, *Early Theatre*, 8.1 (2005), 35–51. However, see Tara Hamling, ‘Visual Culture’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 75–101 (pp. 88–92).

⁸⁰ Keith A. Francis, ‘Sermon Studies: Major Issues and Future Directions’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689–1901*, ed. by Keith A. Francis and William Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 611–30 (p. 620); Rosemary Dixon, ‘Sermons in Print, 1660–1700’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the*

Wider acknowledgement of such texts, which appeared with greater frequency from the second half of the seventeenth century, will inevitably lead to more detailed research into the sermon which never existed in oral form.

While I have so far established that not all funeral sermons featured bespoke imagery, it is nonetheless the case that personalised elements were unquestionably attached to others. In order to discover more concerning the printed sermon's function as a Protestant memorial gift, further attention needs to be paid to the variety of paratextual material appended specifically to certain works.⁸¹ The blurred boundaries regarding the biography as paratext have already been outlined in part by Retha M. Warnicke. Precautions were sometimes taken in print to demarcate 'even the briefest testimony' from the scriptural exposition by placing a line or extra space between the two sections.⁸² In some cases, the biography would be presented as an entirely separate section with its own title, although there might inevitably be some reference to the deceased in the final parts of the sermon.⁸³ Aside from the question of biography as a separate paratext, other additional materials contributed to the funeral sermon in its final form and indicate that the printed version was not just a 'shadow' of the original event.⁸⁴ These included epistolary paratexts, such as final letters written by the deceased.⁸⁵ Even dedicatory

Early Modern Sermon, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 460–79 (p. 461).

⁸¹ James Rigney, 'To lye upon a Stationers stall, like a piece of coarse flesh in a Shambles': the sermon, print and the English Civil War', in *The English sermon revised: Religion, literature and history 1600–1750*, ed. by Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 188–207 (p. 193).

⁸² Warnicke, 'Eulogies for Women', p. 170. See also James Rigney, 'The English Sermon, 1640–1660: Consuming the Fire' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1994), pp. 116, 204 n. 8.

⁸³ See 'A Short Narrative of the Life and Death of John LaMotte Esq', in Fulk Bellers, *Abrahams Interment: Or The good Old-mans Buriall in a good Old Age* (1656), sigs F^v–G^r. For more on this sermon, see Johannes Müller, 'Permeable Memories. Family History and the Diaspora of Southern Netherlandish Exiles in the Seventeenth Century', in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Müller and Jasper van der Steen (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), pp. 283–95 (pp. 283–84).

⁸⁴ Arnold Hunt, 'Recovering Speech Acts', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 13–29 (pp. 17–18).

⁸⁵ See 'A Letter of John Lamotte Esq; to his Daughter and Grand-children, written not long before his death', in Bellers, *Abrahams Interment*, sig. G^r. The satire of this practice in printed funeral sermons is discussed in the following chapter.

epistles could be presented in an unusual manner. In the sermon for the London merchant John La Motte (1577–1655), the dedicatory epistle is partially split into two columns, each addressing separately the two co-heirs of his estate. With its additional frontispiece line engraving of La Motte by William Faithorne, this sermon was packaged as a ‘Last Will and Testament’ and memento for his bereaved family, which was also accessible to the public. In *A Sermon Preached At the Funerall of that religious Gentle-woman M^{rs} Dorothy Hanbury, &c.* (1645) by Samuel Ainsworth (b. c. 1612), the entire dedicatory epistle is split into two columns, outlining two separate letters for the bereaved father and husband of Dorothy Hanbury.⁸⁶

Commenting upon a similar example, James Rigney speculates that the technical difficulties imposed by this desire to have parallel dedications suggests that the decision might have originated with the preacher himself.⁸⁷ Jason Scott-Warren concurs, writing that the dedications in early modern books were ‘showpieces, displaying at one and the same time the writer’s rhetorical and the printer’s typographical art’.⁸⁸ There were further dedications at the end of the sermon proper to the son and daughter of Hanbury, presented in the form of ‘Post-scripts’, exhorting the children to imitate their mother. It was not only the ministers who wrote epistles and introductory sections, but also family members, who were certainly in agreement with the notion of the funeral sermon as a textual, or even substitute, monument.⁸⁹ The introductory prose written by the husband of one Mary Crosse is particularly revealing in this respect, demonstrating an awareness of the means by which the visual monument could be justified by the Scriptures:

⁸⁶ Samuel Ainsworth, *A Sermon Preached At the Funerall of that religious Gentle-woman M^{rs} Dorothy Hanbury, &c.* (1645), sigs A2^r–A3^r. Dorothy Hanbury’s full dates are unknown.

⁸⁷ See Nathaniel Hardy, *The Safest Convoy, Or the Strongest Helper* (1648); Rigney, ‘The English Sermon, 1640–1660’, p. 116.

⁸⁸ Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 1.

⁸⁹ Collinson, ‘A Magazine of Religious Patterns’, p. 247.

[...] *my losse has occasioned this gaine to the Church, the death of my dearest friend giuing life to this Monument: Iacob erects a Pillar upon the Graue of his beloued Rachell, Gen. 35.20. my desire was, the memory of mine might not perish; not her Vertues with her body, be buried in the Land, where all things are forgotten: for that end I haue at length preuailed to make that publike, which was deliuered [...] at her funerall [...]*⁹⁰

In addition, perhaps more than in any other genre of sermon, poetry could form an integral part of the central didactic message to be conveyed. Sometimes, these could constitute very simple couplets at the end of epistles ‘To the Reader’; in other instances, they could be more complex.⁹¹ A wide range of people connected with the deceased provided elegiac poetry for these publications. Those poems which particularly invited visual contemplation, written by clerical colleagues of the churchman who had delivered the original funeral sermon, are discussed in the following section. Family members were also keen contributors. Hence, Sir Edward Dering (1598–1644) wrote a couple of Latin verses in tribute to his sister-in-law Elizabeth (d. 1640), which were included as part of the textual material appended to her funeral sermon.⁹² The poetry of the deceased could also serve as their own tributes. Femke Molekamp’s research into the devotional reading and writing of early modern women has uncovered an acrostic penned by one Mrs Anne Rhodes (d. 1657) upon her stillborn son, within a sermon commemorating both Rhodes and her husband, who had died a few hours earlier than her.⁹³ At the same time, however, it is important to note that not all copies of a funeral sermon needed to be uniform in the paratextual materials included. Adam Smyth has observed that some copies of the funeral sermon preached at the funeral of Elizabeth Hastings

⁹⁰ William Crompton, *A Lasting Iewell, For Religiovs Woemen [sic]* (1630), sig. A2^r. Mary Crosse’s full dates are unknown.

⁹¹ Richard Carpenter, *The Sovles Sentinel, &c.* (1612), unpaginated.

⁹² Robert Marriott, *A Sermon in Commemoration Of the truly Vertuous and Religious Gentlewoman, M^{rs}. Elizabeth Dering, &c.* (1641), pp. 39–40.

⁹³ Peter Samways, *The Wise and Faithful Steward* (1657); Femke Molekamp, ‘Early modern women and affective devotional reading’, *European Review of History: Revue européenne d’histoire*, 17.1 (2010), 53–74 (p. 62). See also Samuel Clarke, *An Antidote Against Immoderate Mournng For the Dead* (1659), p. 50.

(bap. 1587, d. 1633), Countess of Huntingdon, exclude the engraved portrait by John Payne.⁹⁴

Extending this observation, not only was it possible for some editions to exclude the frontispieces, but it was also not uncommon for later reprisals of sermons to omit the poetry.⁹⁵

Having begun to uncover the types of paratexts which could be present in printed funeral sermons, it is apposite to state here that the perception of the ‘standardised’ formats of funeral sermons – the exposition of doctrine, application of truths and exhortation, followed by the account of the deceased – requires some unpacking.⁹⁶ In addition to analyses of its structure, scholars have been quick to highlight the prescribed nature of funeral sermons by further underscoring the scriptural texts which would make frequent reappearances as the basis of this genre of sermon.⁹⁷ Ralph Houlbrooke has convincingly argued the case for a fuller appreciation of the nuances and idiosyncrasies within this genre, testifying that ‘the formulaic character of funeral sermons must not be exaggerated’.⁹⁸ Whilst the basic structure outlined above would certainly have been adhered to within most funeral sermons as delivered, in the ‘afterlife’ of the funeral sermon as manifested both in print and manuscript, the eulogy is sometimes moved to the opening of the sermon, reversing the order of proceedings.⁹⁹ The funeral sermon for the London preacher Richard Stock (1568/9–1626), delivered by his ‘lifelong friend’ Thomas Gataker, is packaged, in printed form, as ‘A Meditation on Genesis

⁹⁴ I. F., *A Sermon Preached at Ashby De-la-Zovch in the Coyntie of Leicester, &c.* (1635); Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 129–35.

⁹⁵ The third edition of Simon Patrick’s *Divine Arithmetick, &c.*, a funeral sermon for the London minister Samuel Jacombe (bap. 1628, d. 1659), does not feature any of the poetry which was initially present in the edition of 1660. The third edition was published in 1672.

⁹⁶ Ralph Houlbrooke, ‘Funeral Sermons and Assurance of Salvation: Conviction and Persuasion in the Case of William Lord Russell of Thornhaugh’, *Reformation*, 4 (1999), 119–38 (p. 129); Ian Archer, ‘The arts and acts of memorialization in early modern London’, in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Stype, 1598–1720*, ed. by J. F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 89–116 (pp. 103–104); Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman*, pp. 121–22, 136.

⁹⁷ Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England*, pp. 306–10; McCullough, ‘Preaching and Context’, pp. 231–32.

⁹⁸ Ralph Houlbrooke, ‘The Puritan Death-bed, c. 1560–c. 1660’, in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560–1700*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 122–44 (pp. 126–27).

⁹⁹ Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England*, pp. 175–76, 217; McCullough, ‘Preaching and Context’, pp. 229–31.

25.8'.¹⁰⁰ The 'Testimonie then giuen vnto [Stock]' is advertised separately from the sermon itself on the title page.¹⁰¹ There is no documentary evidence to confirm that the 'Testimonie' was indeed spoken before the sermon on the day. In any case, the transition between the two parts is effected smoothly by way of the following words:

But the *Lord* saw it better [...] to put an end to his *incessant labours* [...] With whom now leaue we him, and returning home to our selues, afford we a *reuerent* and *religious care* to those *instructions*, that for the sitting and preparing of vs vnto the *way* that he is gone before vs, shall out of *Gods Word* be deliuered vnto vs.¹⁰²

British Library, Harley MS 6538 contains two copies of a funeral sermon preached at Kelvedon, Essex by John Lavender (c. 1611–1670) on 11 January 1641 for one Jane Luther (d. 1641), who was the wife of Anthony Luther (d. 1665), a member of the Middle Temple and a Master of the Utter Bar.¹⁰³ The 'funerall remembraun[ce] or testimony concerning the religious life and death of that truly vertuous and gracious gentlewoman', in which Lavender paid tribute to his 'swe[e]test, and most christian friend' is the eulogy as opposed to the epistle, yet it precedes the sermon proper.¹⁰⁴ These examples illustrate that there was more flexibility within the funeral sermon than commentators have previously acknowledged, although it is important to mention the work of Raymond A. Anselment, who has recently scrutinised the manner in which the nonconformist minister and renowned biographer Samuel Clarke (1599–1682) edited and rearranged elements of funeral sermons for inclusion with his Protestant

¹⁰⁰ Seaver, 'Puritan Preachers and their Patrons', p. 128.

¹⁰¹ Thomas Gataker, *Abrahams Decease* (1627).

¹⁰² Gataker, *Abrahams Decease*, p. 14.

¹⁰³ See John Harley, *The World of William Byrd: Musicians, Merchants and Magnates* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), p. 154 n. 19.

¹⁰⁴ The first copy of the sermon is found within London, British Library, Harley MS 6538, fols 1^r–39^v. The 'funerall remembraun[ce] or testimony' is found at fols 1^r–13^v, while the sermon proper is at fols 14^r–39^v.

hagiographical writings.¹⁰⁵ There was scope for such fluidity within the ‘afterlife’ of a funeral sermon, which could either be written up as manuscript notes or published, with the possibility to arrange the material as the scribe, preacher or printer would have it. Just as there were variations in the lengths of the eulogies, so there was a great diversity within the configuration of the funeral sermon more generally.¹⁰⁶ Having established that funeral sermons in print and manuscript were not necessarily constrained by a standard structure, the multiplicity of other paratextual material and the interplay of word and visual matter will be explored further in the next section.

Textual Iconography and Typographical Symbolism

Protestant divines were acutely aware of the forms which their sermons could take after they were preached. Perhaps the most pointed integration of the material text with the body of the deceased appears in the funeral sermon by the Cornish clergyman Charles Fitzgeffrey, preached upon the death of the wife of his patron, the MP Sir Anthony Rous (c. 1555–1620):

Man, is as it were a Booke; his Birth is the Title-page, his Baptisme, the Epistle Dedicatorie; his grones and crying, the Epistle to the Reader, his Infancie and Child-hood is the Argument or Contents of the whole ensuing Treatise; his life and actions are the Subiect; his sinnes and errors are the Faults escaped; his Repentance is the correction. Now there are some large Volumes *In Folio*, some little ones *In Sixteenes*; some are fayrer bound, some playner; some (and too many such) Pamphlets of Wantonnesse and Folly; but in the last Page of euery one, there stands a word, which is *Finis*, and this is the last word in euery Booke.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Raymond A. Anselment, ‘Samuel Clarke’s *Lives* and husbands’ remembrances of their wives’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 34.4 (2019), 513–30.

¹⁰⁶ Warnicke, ‘Eulogies for Women’, p. 171.

¹⁰⁷ Charles Fitzgeffrey, *Deaths Sermon Vnto the Liuing* (1620), pp. 8–9.

John Donne chose a similar metaphor to describe man's place within the world in his tribute to Sir William Cokayne: 'The world is a great Volume, and man the Index of that Booke; Even in the body of man, you may turne to the whole world [...]'.¹⁰⁸ The materiality of the text as a representation of man could also extend to the bereaved. In such a manner, Edward Boteler described Sir John Anderson (1628–1670), the son of Sir Edmund Anderson (1605–1661) of Broughton, Lincolnshire as '*the fairest Transcript*' of his father's virtues, '*out-doing all Copies that a pen could pretend to*', who thereby rendered his printed sermon almost redundant.¹⁰⁹

As discussed above, part of the paratextual material which could be found within printed sermons constituted various verbal tributes to the deceased. Although these often took the form of simple poems or letters, some were arranged in the manner of epitaphs on funeral monuments. Others were presented as distinctive visual conceits on the page, or even what David J. Davis has characterised as 'word-images'. The tetragrammaton might fall into this latter category, although it was mostly represented in sermons as a stock printer's symbol.¹¹⁰ The addition of elegies to printed funeral sermons has been the subject of limited scholarly attention.¹¹¹ In her study of elegies in early modern Britain, Lorna Clymer has highlighted that 'prose tributes, in the form of biographies or funeral sermons printed after their oral delivery, nearly always included one or more funeral elegies as a closing section', but she does not

¹⁰⁸ John Donne, *LXXX Sermons* (1640), p. 823.

¹⁰⁹ Edward Boteler, *The Servant's Audit, &c.* (1662), sig. A3^r. It is worth remembering that Boteler was keen on metaphors which linked the book with man; see Chapter Two.

¹¹⁰ Davis, *Seeing Faith, Printing Pictures*, pp. 181, 186. See also Karl Josef Hölzgen, 'Early Modern English Emblematic Title-Pages and their Cultural Context', in *Entree aus Schrift und Bild: Titelblatt und Frontispiz im England der Neuzeit*, ed. by Werner Busch, Hubertus Fischer and Joachim Möller (Hgg.) (Berlin: LIT, 2008), pp. 40–79 (p. 45). Many of the sermons of Thomas Gataker have headpieces displaying the tetragrammaton; see, for example, Thomas Gataker, *Christian Constancy Crowned by Christ* (1624).

¹¹¹ Diane Willen, 'Thomas Gataker and the Use of Print in the English Godly Community', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 70.3 (2007), 343–64 (p. 344 n. 6).

explore these texts in detail.¹¹² Fewer scholars still have noted ‘[t]he figural arrangements of letters or words in anagrams [...], acrostics, and other visually significant forms’, which could also play an important function in tributes within the printed funeral sermon.¹¹³ These anagrams, acrostics and simulacra of epitaphs constituted an integral part of the publication as a whole, and some of these might be conveniently classified as part of Christian Algar’s ‘visual verses’.¹¹⁴ It is argued here that verbal wit represented a facet of image-making and ‘memory arts’.¹¹⁵

The purpose of visual wordplay was to edify the reader in a way which could be both appealing and memorable. Anagrams signified a code or secret, uncovering hidden truths by simultaneously concealing and revealing the name of the deceased. Indeed, Benne Klaas Faber has stated that the anagram ‘represents the true essence of an individual in a condensed, abstracted form’ and that ‘the fundamental truth’ is disclosed in the reconfiguration of the letters of that individual’s name.¹¹⁶ Anagrams were also a means by which a writer could exercise his literary prowess and, if he so wished, advertise his skill.¹¹⁷ Previous scholarship has given due consideration to the anagram’s contribution to early modern libellous literatures; conversely, in the elegy and funeral sermon, it represented one form of visual and textual

¹¹² Lorna Clymer, ‘The Funeral Elegy in Early Modern Britain: A Brief History’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy*, ed. by Karen Weisman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 170–86 (p. 176).

¹¹³ Benne Klaas Faber, ‘The Poetics of Subversion and Conservatism: Popular Satire, c. 1640 – c. 1649’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1992), pp. 27–28.

¹¹⁴ Christian Algar, ‘Visual Verses: Thomas Watson’s Hekatompathia, or Passionate Century of Love, 1582’ (2016), <<https://blogs.bl.uk/english-and-drama/2016/08/visual-verses-thomas-watsons-hekatompahia-or-passionate-century-of-love-1582.html>> [accessed 9 August 2019]; Christian Algar, ‘Visual Verses: John Vicars’s God in the Mount, or Jehova-jireh, 1641’ (2017), <<https://blogs.bl.uk/english-and-drama/2017/03/visual-verses-john-vicarss-god-in-the-mount-or-jehova-jireh-1641.html>> [accessed 9 August 2019]. See also Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 232; Tara Hamling, *Decorating the ‘Godly’ Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 230.

¹¹⁵ For the term ‘memory arts’, see William E. Engel, Rory Loughnane and Grant Williams, eds, *The Memory Arts in Renaissance England: A Critical Anthology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

¹¹⁶ Faber, ‘The Poetics of Subversion and Conservatism’, pp. 44, 57. See also Lois Potter, *Secret rites and secret writing: Royalist literature, 1641–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 50.

¹¹⁷ See Jason Scott-Warren, ‘Cut-and-Paste Bookmaking: The Private/Public Agency of Robert Nicolson’, in *Early Modern English Marginalia*, ed. by Katherine Acheson (New York, NY and Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 35–50 (p. 38).

tribute to the deceased.¹¹⁸ The printed funeral sermon for the London preacher Jeremiah Whitaker (1599–1654) was appended with an overwhelming number of epitaphs and verbal tributes, principally in verse, by illustrious ministers based in London, including Ralph Robinson (1614–1655), who rearranged the letters of Whitaker’s name to ‘*I have hit everi Mark*’.¹¹⁹ Whitaker’s name was subjected to further imaginative treatment by the multitalented preacher-physician Roger Drake (1608–1669), who provided an ‘Etymologie’ of his name, supported by quotations from the Book of Jeremiah.¹²⁰

Nor did the reconfigurations of a person’s name have to remain in English. As was the case with inscriptions on certain monuments, there are several Latin anagrams on the name of the Presbyterian minister Richard Vines (1599/1600–1656), no doubt intended for the more scholarly reader.¹²¹ Particularly skilful anagrammatists could even transform the deceased person’s name to represent the name and attributes of a biblical paragon of virtue; consequently, John Wallis (1616–1703), the mathematician-minister, transformed ‘Margareta Corbetia’ (Margaret Corbet) into ‘Rebeca grata marito’ (‘Rebecca is pleasing to her husband’) as a tribute to the faithfulness of the wife of his bereaved Oxford University colleague.¹²² A final observation about anagrams concerns their placement within the publication. These tributes were not always located at the end of the sermon. The pair of anagrams penned in memory of the benefactor and patron of ejected ministers, Lady Mary Armine (1594–1676), was placed

¹¹⁸ Andrew McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), ch. 2. See also Potter, *Secret rites and secret writing*, pp. 50–1; Adam Smyth, ‘“Rend and teare in peeces”: Textual Fragmentation in Seventeenth-Century England’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 19.1 (2004), 36–52. Satiric anagrams in mock-sermons are discussed in the next chapter. For just one example of an anagram within a printed elegy, see Samuel Tailboys, *A Nevv Lachrymentall and Fvnerall Elegy, &c.* (1624), unpaginated. Indeed, the subjects did not have to be deceased in order to be the subject of commendatory anagrams. See San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, EL 6891.

¹¹⁹ Simeon Ashe, *Living Loves Betwixt Christ and Dying Christians* (1654), p. 76.

¹²⁰ Ashe, *Living Loves Betwixt Christ and Dying Christians*, p. 79. Edmund Calamy, *The Saints Transfiguration, &c.* (1655) is another example of a sermon with ‘annexed Verses’ upon the deceased, all written by clergymen.

¹²¹ Thomas Jacombe, *Enochs Walk and Change, &c.*, 2nd edn (1656), pp. 46–47. See Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), p. 15.

¹²² Henry Wilkinson, *The hope of Glory, &c.* (1657), p. 79. See also Shami, ‘Women and Sermons’, pp. 156–57. Margaret was the wife of Edward Corbet (c. 1602–1658), Rector of Great Hasely, Oxfordshire.

after the dedicatory epistle.¹²³ In many cases, the anagrams, plus their accompanying poems explaining the cryptic reorganisation of the letters, serve almost as a version in miniature of the sermons as ‘texts’ which required elucidation for a reader’s edification.¹²⁴ The popularity of these particular funeral sermons is apparent; at least two of these sermons were brought out in further editions.¹²⁵

Acrostics could serve a similar purpose to anagrams. The acrostic which summarised a work or which paid homage to a patron was a common feature of early modern literary culture. It was also the case that the chief sentiments from the sermon could be encapsulated in acrostic poems. In *Elisha’s Lamentation for Elijah* (1657), there is an ‘*Anagram Acrostick*’ written by one William Heyler, in which the anagram on the Norwich preacher John Carter’s name (‘*Can our teares sin?*’) furnished the title of the acrostic poem.¹²⁶ The acrostic poem could also function as the ‘epitaph’, as was the case with the sermon for Mrs Mary Bab, a Devonshire widow who lived ‘till shee was aged fourscore years and fiue’.¹²⁷ As we have already witnessed with the anagram, the acrostics for women could invoke renowned female paragons of virtue. The acrostic for Mary Bab was therefore based on ‘Dorcas’ as opposed to her own name.¹²⁸ There is a touching tribute to a couple within a printed funeral sermon for John Atherton (c. 1624–1656), who was the sheriff of Lancashire.¹²⁹ The acrostic poem, based on the name of Atherton’s wife, Mary, who survived him, portrays her grief at the passing of her husband. The poem dedicated to Mary faces the page opposite the acrostic poem for John, seemingly

¹²³ J. D. [John Dan], *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral Of that incomparable Lady, the Honourable, the Lady Mary Armyne* (1676), sig. bⁱ. The anagrams and poems were composed by one ‘J. Sheffield’.

¹²⁴ Other anagrams in printed funeral sermons include those in James Livesey, *Enchiridion Judicum, &c.* (1657), p. 305 and Clarke, *An Antidote Against Immoderate Mournng For the Dead*, pp. 51–52.

¹²⁵ Jacombe, *Enochs Walk and Change, &c.*; Wilkinson, *The hope of Glory, &c.*

¹²⁶ John Collinges, *Elisha’s Lamentation for Elijah* (1657), unpaginated. Although William Heyler styled himself ‘M. A.’, his name does not appear in either Foster’s *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500–1714* or Venn’s *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

¹²⁷ Thomas Saltern, *Dorcas: A Trve Patterne of a goodly life, &c.* (1625), p. 19. Mary Bab’s full dates are uncertain.

¹²⁸ Saltern, *Dorcas*, p. 20.

¹²⁹ <<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/atherton-richard-1656-87>> [accessed 9 August 2019].

mirroring the practice of funeral monuments.¹³⁰ Both of these poems were composed by Bradley Hayhurst (d. 1685), who was then minister at Leigh in Lancashire.¹³¹

Perhaps the most ingenious acrostic, however, is present in the funeral sermon for Elizabeth Wilkinson (1612/13–1654) by Edmund Staunton (1600–1671), President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Like the sermon for John Atherton, there are acrostic poems written on the names of both the deceased and the bereaved spouse, who in this case was Henry Wilkinson (1610–1675), Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford. Wilkinson himself wrote the poem on his own name. However, the acrostic poem for Elizabeth, whose authorship is uncertain, is especially dexterous in that her forename and surname have been woven together in alternating lines (see Figure 4.1).¹³² Moreover, in a similar manner to Roger Drake’s ‘Etymologie’ which had been derived from the name of Jeremiah Whitaker, the poem for Elizabeth is heavily annotated with biblical citations, emphasising the text’s firm basis in the Scriptures. A final notable aspect about this acrostic poem is that the last two lines (*‘H-ere lies Mother and Babe both without sins, | N-ext birth will make her and her Infant twins’*) are taken directly from the epitaph engraved on her funeral wall monument at Great Milton, Oxfordshire, which had been erected by her grieving husband.¹³³ Tombstones were sometimes engraved with the biblical verse on which the funeral sermon had been based; conversely, in this case, the words from the monument were interpolated into the printed keepsake.¹³⁴ While Raymond A. Anselment has observed that Samuel Clarke excised much of the marginalia and

¹³⁰ Livesey, *Enchiridion Judicum, &c.*, pp. 302–03. For an example of an acrostic on a funeral monument, see the monument to the politician William Smarte (c. 1530–1599) at St Mary-le-Tower, Ipswich, provided in the frontispiece of John Blatchly, *The Town Library of Ipswich Provided for the Use of the Town Preachers in 1599: A History and Catalogue* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1989).

¹³¹ W. A. Abram, ‘Mr. Bradley Hayhurst, Vicar of Leigh, 1646–1657’, *Lancashire and Cheshire Historical & Genealogical Notes*, 1 (1878–1879), 254–55.

¹³² Edmund Staunton, *A Sermon Preacht at Great Milton in the County of Oxford, &c.* (1659), pp. 43–44.

¹³³ See Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Wood E 1, fol. 281; Mary Prior, ‘Wilkinson [*née* Gifford], Elizabeth (1612/13–1654)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66353>> [accessed 28 May 2020].

¹³⁴ Anne James and Jeanne Shami, *Remembering the Dead: The Role of Manuscript Sermons & Sermon Notes in Researching Early Modern Memorial Practice* (London: The Congregational Memorial Hall Trust, 2019), p. 42.

laudatory poems appended to funeral sermons in his Protestant martyrologies, it is remarkable that this inspired acrostic was one of two specifically singled out for insertion into his ‘Life’ of Elizabeth Wilkinson.¹³⁵

The visual appeal of acrostics in funeral sermons was not restricted to print. In British Library, Harley MS 6538, there are some commemorative verses, including an acrostic, authored by John Lavender, which frame his sermon delivered at the funeral of Richard Luther (c. 1550–1638), benefactor of Christ’s College, Cambridge.¹³⁶ A particularly well-presented manuscript is a collection of funeral sermons preached by Joseph Caryl (1602–1673) and held at Dr Williams’s Library, which features painted title pages on vellum set up to imitate funerary title pages in print, with inclusions of skeletal effigies. An acrostic on the deceased teenager, Robert Burrowe (c. 1646–1661), is found after the elegy, both of which follow the sermon.¹³⁷ Acrostics in printed sermons continued to be popular well after the Restoration.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Samuel Clarke, *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines, &c.* (1662), pp. 532–33; Anselment, ‘Samuel Clarke’s *Lives* and husbands’ remembrances of their wives’, p. 515.

¹³⁶ Harley MS 6538, fol. 80^v.

¹³⁷ See London, Dr Williams’s Library, MS 28.6, fols 68^r–69^r for the elegy and acrostic.

¹³⁸ Two nonconformist funeral sermons with acrostics include Benjamin Keach, *A Summons to the Grave, &c.* (1676), unpaginated and Walter Cross, *Caleb’s Spirit Parallel’d, &c.* (1697), p. 48.



Figure 4.1. Edmund Staunton, *A Sermon Preacht At Great Milton in the County of Oxford: Decemb: 9. 1654.* OXFORD, Printed by *Hen: Hall* Printer to the University for *Tho: Robinson.* 1659, p. 43. British Library, 1419.i.31. 4^o.

Chronograms were less common in sermons, and were not as specific to funeral sermons.¹³⁹ One specimen in manuscript has been discussed already in the preceding chapter.

A fast sermon delivered before the House of Commons in 1645 by George Gipps (d. 1654),

¹³⁹ See, for example, London, British Library, Add MS 47618, fol. 105^r. For satirical chronograms, see Alastair Bellamy, "Rayling Rymes and Vaunting Verse": Libellous Politics in Early Stuart England, 1603–1628", in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 285–310 (pp. 289–90). For their relative rarity, see Potter, *Secret rites and secret writing*, p. 50.

then Rector of Elston, Leicestershire, features a chronogram on the title page, which spelled out the date of the sermon's delivery.¹⁴⁰ For the purposes of this chapter, however, one chronogram upon the title page of a funeral sermon deserves mention in its symbolic and visual portrayal of time passing (see Figure 4.2). *Magna Charta: Or, The Christians Charter Epitomized* (1661) by George Newton (1601/2–1681), then Vicar of St Mary Magdalene, Taunton, is not recorded in *Early English Books Online*. It exists as a small duodecimo volume held at the Somerset Heritage Centre.¹⁴¹ This sermon was preached before Newton was ejected from his living. The text itself is not particularly remarkable, and the biographical element at the end is barely longer than a page. Although a more imaginative churchman might have revelled in the opportunity to exploit the metaphorical possibilities of Farewell's surname, Newton instead provides several bland statements about her fortune in living to a good age, 'so that she saw her Childrens Children, to the third and fourth generation'. She reflected his chosen text of Psalm 91.16 ('With long life will I satisfy him, and shew him my salvation') insofar as he hoped that God 'hath *shewed her his Salvation*'.¹⁴² The most interesting material occurs on the title page and in the dedicatory epistle. The hexameter and pentameter verses in Latin reveal in a chronogram the year of her death (1660) and her age (seventy-four). The verses can be translated as follows: 'The Lady Mary Farewell died in the year of salvation 1660. | She lived these years appointed, and Farewell to her'.¹⁴³ The epistle, spread out over ten leaves, is addressed to George, the son of Lady Mary. Newton draws attention to George's pedigree which he had studied personally: his father was '*drawn lineally down from the time of Edward the first*'.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, although Lady Mary could boast of an '*Ancient blood of*

¹⁴⁰ W. Sparrow Simpson, 'English Chronograms', *Notes & Queries*, 4.135 (30 July 1870), 90–91; James Hilton, *Chronograms: 5000 and more in number excerpted out of various authors and collected at many places* (London: Elliot Stock, 1882), pp. 9–10. The chronogram is worked out by a contemporary reader in one copy held at the Bodleian Library (Pamph. D 67 (1)).

¹⁴¹ Somerset Archives and Local Studies, DD/FJ/9.

¹⁴² George Newton, *Magna Charta: Or, the Christians Charter Epitomized* (1661), pp. 44–45.

¹⁴³ Anonymous, 'Minor Queries Answered', *Notes and Queries*, 5.138 (19 June 1852), 585–86; Hilton, *Chronograms*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁴ Newton, *Magna Charta*, sig. A4^v.

whose *Progenitors* was mingled with the greatest in the Nation', she was of a 'more Noble Conversation'.¹⁴⁵ Newton communicates to George to 'be a follower of them as they were of Christ', yet there is still a strong sense of genealogy. George, in following the correct, Christian path, would at length join his illustrious ancestors.¹⁴⁶ Chronograms, for Protestant ministers, seemed to provide one means of symbolising the passage of time and the 'reformation of generations'.¹⁴⁷



Figure 4.2. George Newton, *Magna Charta: Or, The Christians Charter Epitomized*. London, Printed for Edw. Brewster, at the *Crane* in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1661. Somerset Archives and Local Studies, DD/FJ/9. 12°.

¹⁴⁵ Newton, *Magna Charta*, sig. A4r.

¹⁴⁶ Newton, *Magna Charta*, sig. (a)3r.

¹⁴⁷ Alexandra Walsham, 'The Reformation of the Generations: Age, Ancestry, and Memory in England c. 1500–1700', James Ford Lectures in British History, University of Oxford, Hilary Term 2018.

While anagrams, acrostics and chronograms are not strictly pictorial representations, there is one type of paratext in printed funeral sermons which blurs the boundaries between text and image.¹⁴⁸ Several seventeenth-century funeral sermons feature representations of ledger stones and monumental inscriptions. Verse epitaphs in early modern England, whether engraved on an actual monument or written as a literary tribute, have been an enduringly popular subject of scholarly study.¹⁴⁹ In his article on the religious aspects of early modern funerary commemoration in the counties of Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, David Hickman showed that epitaphs charted the assimilation of doctrinal change among the gentry and clergy at the domestic level.¹⁵⁰ Peter Marshall has also argued that the growth of printed epitaphs was, in part, a response to the upheavals of the Reformation as Protestants sought for more acceptable ways to commemorate their dead.¹⁵¹ One clergyman went further in justifying the value of the epitaph, maintaining that there were ‘three things observable’ in his chosen text for the day, as was the case with ‘all well-composed Epitaphs’, effectively conflating the two genres.¹⁵² Many epitaphs were written by ministers and advertised on the title pages as a special feature of the printed sermon.¹⁵³ This section is concerned principally with reproductions of actual ledger stones and inscriptions, in addition to some composed epitaphs which imitated ledger stones in their typographical composition.

Of course, it was not always the case that epitaphs in funeral sermons were presented in such imaginative ways. In 1636, John Bryan (d. 1676), Rector of Barford in Warwickshire,

¹⁴⁸ The question of whether these types of paratexts within early modern funeral sermons can be classified as ‘images’ was first explored in Hannah Yip, “‘The text and the occasion mingled together make a chequer-worke, a mixture of black and white, mourning and joy’: Visual Elements of the Printed Funeral Sermon in Early Modern England”, in *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), pp. 157–82.

¹⁴⁹ Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, Jenni Hyde, ‘Verse Epitaphs and the Memorialisation of Women in Reformation England’, *Literature Compass*, 13.11 (2016), 701–10.

¹⁵⁰ Hickman, ‘Wise and Religious Epitaphs’, p. 108.

¹⁵¹ Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*, p. 275.

¹⁵² Thomas Cartwright, *The Good Man’s Epitaph, &c.* (1659), p. 2.

¹⁵³ See the epitaph for Edward Lewkenor III composed by John Garnons, Rector of Glemsford, Suffolk, in Timothy Oldmayne, *Lifes Brevitie and Deaths Debility* (1636), unpaginated. The dates of Garnons are unknown.

preached the funeral sermon of thirteen-year-old Cicely Puckering (1623–1636). In the dedicatory epistle, he writes that Cicely’s dying speeches deserved ‘*to be written in letters of Gold, and to be known and read of all men*’; however, it was his own epitaphic contribution which would eventually be inscribed upon her memorial brass at St Mary’s Church, Warwick.¹⁵⁴ This is also reproduced in plain text at the end of the sermon (see Figures 4.3 and 4.4). Bryan’s publication was presented to her father as ‘the best Present’ which he was able to give.¹⁵⁵ Departing from the *modus operandi* of the first half of the seventeenth century, his eulogy of Cicely Puckering is the same length as the exposition on the biblical text, whereas most eulogies during this era would comprise at most a third of the entire oration.¹⁵⁶ Another ‘plain’ epitaph was included at the end of the funeral sermon for Sir Robert Spencer (1570–1627), First Baron Spencer. This anonymous verse epitaph appears to be based chiefly on Matthew 5:3–10, establishing once again the predominance of scriptural fidelity.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ John Bryan, *The Vertvovs Davghter* (1636), sig. A2^r.

¹⁵⁵ Bryan, *The Vertvovs Davghter*, sig. A2^r. See Adam White, ‘England c. 1560–c. 1660: A Hundred Years of Continental Influence’, *Church Monuments*, 7 (1992), 34–74; Jason Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), p. 76; Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*, p. 92.

¹⁵⁶ Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England*, p. 318; Houllbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England*, p. 311.

¹⁵⁷ Richard Parre, *The End of the Perfect Man* (1628), sig. E^v.



Figure 4.3. Memorial brass of Cicely Puckering (detail) (c. 1636). Latten. St Mary's Church, Warwick.



Figure 4.4. John Bryan, *The Vertuous Daughter*. LONDON, Printed by *Thomas Harper*, for *Lawrence Chapman*, and are to be sold at his shop in Holborne, at Chancery lane end. 1636, unpaginated. British Library, 4473.bb.32. 4°.

The more visually appealing epitaphs were those which were framed in black borders, emphasising the affinity that the verse epitaph shared with the ledger stone. *Planctus Unigeniti, &c.* (1664) by Anthony Walker (bap. 1622, d. 1692), Rector of Fyfield in Essex, features such an epitaph written by one ‘John Flowre’ at its conclusion, purporting to be crafted of ‘*Marble*’.¹⁵⁸ The poem moves swiftly away from the material towards the spiritual, as the focus is shifted from the description of this ‘*Marble*’ to Heaven’s possession of the deceased soul and the imminent ‘*Grand Assize*’ or Last Judgment. The implementation of such a framing device in this context suggests more than mere adornment in its evocation of a ledger stone, asserting an indisputable alliance with the material culture of mourning in its visual imperative to readers to remember the exemplary dead. What is more, the visual epitaphs within printed sermons had the advantage of being able to reach a greater number of people than the stationary monument, and the sermon texts could guide readers to interpret them in an appropriately godly manner.¹⁵⁹ These printed texts shared the same values as those set down in contemporary antiquarian literature, which wished to ‘continue the remembrance of the defunct to future posteritie’ and to ‘reuiue the memories of eminent worthy persons’ by making records of memorials in churches.¹⁶⁰

One funeral sermon which features a record of an actual ledger stone is *Ezekiel’s Prophetie Parallel’d: Or, The Desire of the Eyes taken away* (1652), delivered at the funeral of one Elizabeth Cole who died in childbirth in 1651. A finely wrought obelisk, purported to have been designed by Wenceslaus Hollar, is presented as the frontispiece, alongside a Latin elegy and epitaph.¹⁶¹ The epitaph is copied directly from one of the ‘2 Black Marbles’ which were

¹⁵⁸ Anthony Walker, *Planctus Unigeniti, &c.* (1664), verso of p. 59. It is difficult to identify ‘John Flowre’ with certainty. This sermon is discussed in greater detail in the following section of this chapter.

¹⁵⁹ Other funerary texts illustrated with woodcut epitaphs include Edward Reynolds, *Imitation and Caution for Christian Women, &c.* (1659).

¹⁶⁰ John Weever, *Ancient Fvnerall Monvments with in [sic] the vnitied Monarchie of Great Britaine, &c.* (1631); Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*, p. 174.

¹⁶¹ John Russell Smith, *Bibliotheca Cantiana: A Bibliographical Account of What Has Been Published on the History, Topography, Antiquities, Customs, and Family Genealogy of the County of Kent* (London: John Russell Smith, 1837), p. 332.

formerly placed on the ground of the north side of the chancel in the parish church at Wye, Kent, which commemorated both Elizabeth and her spouse, Robert.¹⁶² The obelisk is inscribed with extracts from the Latin elegy which faces opposite and flanked by two heraldic symbols which originally adorned the ledger stones (see Figure 4.5). Poignantly, the impaled arms of the husband and deceased wife are fashioned into the shape of a heart. Incidentally, the obelisk, as a symbol of eternity, was one of those more legitimate Protestant memorial structures; early in the 1600s, George Abbot had proposed that neutral shapes such as an obelisk or pyramid take the place of the cross on top of the monument at Cheapside, which would eventually be pulled down.¹⁶³

Continuing with the visual theme, the preacher, Samuel Bernard (c. 1591–1657), immediately opens by writing to her bereaved husband that he had ‘*been very unwilling to present [him] with this Picture, lest the Colours, with which it is drawn, should renew the wound, and make it bleed afresh*’.¹⁶⁴ P. G. Stanwood’s contention that the scriptural text also served as the ‘text’ of the deceased is given prominence in Bernard’s argument that his ‘Text is a very *Winding Sheet*, Or a *Coffin*’, which invited one to look into it to ‘find many things very Considerable’.¹⁶⁵ Bernard draws his audience back to the ‘*Coffin*’ at the end of the analysis of the biblical text, instructing his audience to observe ‘*those Blacks and Escutcheons*’ which would lead them ‘from the *Thesis* to the *Hypothesis*, from the *Prophecie* to the *Parallel*’.¹⁶⁶ Admittedly, his integration of the educative principles of heraldry with the description of her virtues is less sophisticated than many of the other sermons which have been analysed in the previous chapter. Thus, it was Elizabeth Cole’s knowledge of the Bible and the catechisms which constituted ‘the Chief Colours in her *Arms*’ as opposed to the ‘*Blacks and Escutcheons*’

¹⁶² See <<https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/research/monumental-inscriptions/wye>> [accessed 10 August 2019]. Robert Cole’s exact dates are unknown.

¹⁶³ Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England*, p. 350; Aston, ‘Art and Idolatry’, pp. 243–66.

¹⁶⁴ Samuel Bernard, *Ezekiel’s Prophetie Parallel’d: Or, The Desire of the Eyes taken away* (1652), unpaginated.

¹⁶⁵ Bernard, *Ezekiel’s Prophetie Parallel’d* (1652), pp. 2–3.

¹⁶⁶ Bernard, *Ezekiel’s Prophetie Parallel’d* (1652), pp. 16–17.

present at the funeral.¹⁶⁷ The most telling indication, however, of the connection between the sermon as preached and the text which was later printed is the explicit reference to the obelisk:

As she was like *Rachel*, in her Death, and while she gave life to another, in a few dayes after she lost her own; so shall she have *Rachels Pillar*: The Monument of her vertues, more lasting then *Rachel's* [...]¹⁶⁸

Furthermore, in the 'Englished' version of the 'Elegie' which served as the sermon's appendix, it is significant that there is an asterisk indicating that the reader was to turn back to page 26 for elucidation. With its paratexts which were unambiguously related to the sermon text, *Ezekiel's Prophetie Parallel'd* demonstrates the ways in which supplementary materials were intended to be read together with the sermon, forming an integral part of the publication.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Bernard, *Ezekiel's Prophetie Parallel'd* (1652), p. 23.

¹⁶⁸ Bernard, *Ezekiel's Prophetie Parallel'd* (1652), p. 28.

¹⁶⁹ Another epitaph which was presented first in Latin and then translated is the epitaph for Thomas Slany, Mayor of King's Lynn, Norfolk (d. 1649). See John Horn, *The Life of Faith in Death, &c.* (1649), unpaginated.



Figure 4.5. Samuel Bernard, *Ezekiel's Prophetie Parallel'd: Or, The Desire of the Eyes taken away*. London, Printed for Andrew Crook. 1652. Frontispiece. Bodleian Library, Vet. A3 e.134. 4°.

But perhaps the minister who made the most of the material arts of mourning in his sermon, both preached and printed, was Thomas Dugard (bap. 1608, d. 1683), Rector of Barford.¹⁷⁰ The epitaphs which Dugard included in the Barford parish register constitute evidence that he was attuned to the educative possibilities of funeral monuments.¹⁷¹ His *Death and the Grave, &c.* (1649), preached at the funeral of the Warwickshire gentlewoman Lady Alice Lucy (c. 1594–1648) in August 1648 and published in the following year, contains various allusions to the actual funeral monument of Lady Alice and her husband, the politician Sir Thomas Lucy III (c. 1583/6–1640), which still stands in the Lucy chapel at St Leonard's

¹⁷⁰ Yip, “The text and the occasion mingled together make a chequer-work, a mixture of black and white, mourning and joy”, pp. 168–75.

¹⁷¹ Ann Hughes, “Thomas Dugard and His Circle in the 1630s – A ‘Parliamentary–Puritan’ Connexion?”, *The Historical Journal*, 29.4 (1986), 771–93 (p. 772 n. 2).

Church in Charlecote Park, Warwickshire.¹⁷² In the eulogy, Dugard gives particular weight to ‘that *Magnificent Monument*’ commissioned by Lady Alice for her husband, desiring his auditors to ‘expect no more but what may bee a Supplement or addition to [Lady Alice’s] Epitaph’.¹⁷³ The monument was undeniably ‘*Magnificent*’, being attributed in part to Nicholas Stone (c. 1585/8–1647), a former pupil of Inigo Jones (1573–1652), and fashioned out of imported Carrara marble, which was especially prized in seventeenth-century England.¹⁷⁴ Dugard discusses at great length those merits ‘*forbidden*’ by Lady Alice ‘*to make their appearance in that Marble*’; namely, her godly reading and prayer, the religious upbringing of her children and her charity.¹⁷⁵ This act of commemorating her husband on such a grand scale was also considered a virtue, but it was her own epitaph in particular which accentuated her modesty: ‘[S]uch was her *modestie*, that [...] shee would not *suffer* her *Epitaph* to *bear* anie *proportion* with *His*’.¹⁷⁶ To illustrate this point, the appendix of the printed funeral sermon presents reproductions of the actual epitaphs from this monument (see Figure 4.6).

¹⁷² There is an engraving of this monument by Pierre Lombart (1612/13–1682) and a transcription of the Latin inscriptions in William Dugdale, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated, &c.* (1656), pp. 402–03. See Eric MacLagan, ‘Sculpture by Bernini in England (Concluded)’, *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 40.228 (March 1922), 112–120 (p. 120 n. 59).

¹⁷³ Thomas Dugard, *Death and the Grave, &c.* (1649), pp. 42–43. See also MacLagan, ‘Sculpture by Bernini in England (Concluded)’, p. 120 n. 58.

¹⁷⁴ White, ‘England c. 1560–c. 1660’, p. 40; Richard Cust, ‘William Dugdale and the Honour Politics of Stuart Warwickshire’, in *William Dugdale, Historian, 1605–1686: His Life, his Writings and his County*, ed. by Christopher Dyer and Catherine Richardson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 89–108 (p. 95).

¹⁷⁵ Dugard, *Death and the Grave, &c.*, pp. 45–50.

¹⁷⁶ Dugard, *Death and the Grave, &c.*, p. 42.

The economical design of the ‘title page’ of the epitaphs is a mark of ingenuity on the part of the printer, William Dugard (1606–1662), who was the elder brother of Thomas. The imprinted borders of Sir Thomas Lucy III’s epitaph on the verso of the sheet are plainly visible, forming part of the design on this page representing ‘THE MONUMENT’ to the deceased. Sir Thomas’s epitaph is set out on a double-page spread to facilitate reading of the text. In addition, the shapes of both epitaphs correlate to the originals, with that of Sir Thomas’s resembling a tablet (see Figure 4.7). As we have seen with the acrostics and anagrams, these printed epitaphs constitute an amalgamation of standard printers’ designs and text, and it is questionable whether they can therefore be classed as visual images. Yet, particularly in the case of the Lucy epitaphs, it is their distinctive framing, adhering faithfully to the originals, which leaves little doubt as to their intended visual representation of the funeral monument. What is more, their placement at the end of the sermon served as a reference point for the reader. The epitaphs within the printed sermon were inevitably more accessible to a wider range of readers, owing to the English translations which followed them. They also made for more practical reading; the real epitaph of Sir Thomas is forever partially obscured behind his imposing effigy.¹⁷⁷ However, despite William Dugard’s resourcefulness in constructing these epitaphs, the limitations of the printed text do inevitably present themselves in other ways. While Lady Alice’s epitaph was placed at the foot of the original monument to denote her subservience to her husband, her printed epitaph could only follow that of Sir Thomas’s.

¹⁷⁷ Róisín Watson has also observed that in some cases, the seventeenth-century monument in early modern Germany, out of sight in a crypt, could be ‘disseminated through its image in the funeral sermon’. See Watson, ‘Funeral Monuments, Ritual and Print’, pp. 154, 156–57.



Figure 4.7. Nicholas Stone and John Schurman, Epitaphs from the monument to Sir Thomas Lucy III and Lady Alice Lucy (c. 1640). Carrara marble. St Leonard's Church, Charlecote, Warwickshire. © Hannah Yip

The paratexts in funeral sermons clearly made an impression on some readers and later collectors. Andrew Cambers has already highlighted the interpolation of the eulogy from the funeral sermon of the ejected minister Henry Newcome (bap. 1627, d. 1695) in his own diary, copied out by hand by one of his sons. In this manner, the diary became, posthumously, a composite object: ‘part diary, part autobiography, part biography, and part printed life’.¹⁷⁸ There is also an instance of an anonymous reader copying out the text contained within both monumental inscriptions on the Thomas Lucy III monument. Although this scribe clearly knew the original Latin monument, having omitted the extra word ‘*Domina*’ inserted into Lady Alice’s textual epitaph, it is evident that the printed sermon was used because the English translation has also been copied out.¹⁷⁹ As has been hitherto discussed with certain sermons featuring anagrams, some of these printed funeral sermons with epitaphs enjoyed a wide readership and were reprinted in later editions.¹⁸⁰

Furthermore, the funerary epitaph in the sermon was a particular aspect of the text with which later readers and collectors engaged. Adam Smyth has observed that the epitaph of one Mr John Bigg was cut out from the end of the text in one copy, and pasted onto the verso of the title page.¹⁸¹ Another example is provided in the published funeral sermon for Sir Edward Lewkenor I (1542–1605) and his wife, Susan (1553–1605). In one copy, an unknown reader pasted in an engraving of Richard Blackerby (1574–1648) executed by Frederick Hendrik van Hove (c. 1628–1698) opposite the Latin epitaph which the minister had composed for the occasion.¹⁸² Incidentally, Blackerby was the son-in-law of Robert Pricke (d. c. 1608), who had

¹⁷⁸ Andrew Cambers, ‘Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580–1720’, *Journal of British Studies*, 46.4 (2007), 796–825 (p. 802).

¹⁷⁹ San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, STT Literature, Folder 3; Yip, “‘The text and the occasion mingled together make a chequer-worke, a mixture of black and white, mourning and joy’”, p. 170.

¹⁸⁰ Bryan, *The Vertuous Daughter*. See Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England*, p. 318; Alexandra Walsham, ‘The Reformation of the Generations: Youth, Age and Religious Change in England, c. 1500–1700’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 21 (2011), 93–121 (p. 107).

¹⁸¹ Richard Davis, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of M. John Bigg* (1691). This copy of the sermon is held at the Henry E. Huntington Library (448742). Biggs’s full dates are unknown.

¹⁸² Robert Pricke (alias Oldmayne), *A Verie Godlie and Learned Sermon, treating of Mans mortalitie, &c.* (1608), unpaginated. This copy of the sermon is held at the British Library (British Library, 4473.e.39.).

preached the original sermon and had also acted as minister for the Lewkenors.¹⁸³ The portrait of Blackerby was likely to have been taken from the posthumously issued edition of Samuel Clarke's *Lives*.¹⁸⁴ An eighteenth-century instance of reader intervention is presented in a copy of the funeral sermon for Lady Jane Cheyne (1620/21–1669), into which an etching of her monument, which still stands in the nave of Chelsea Old Church, London, has been inserted, in order that it stands as a frontispiece to the volume.¹⁸⁵ A line engraving of her father, William Cavendish (bap. 1593, d. 1676), First Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne by William Sherlock (c. 1738–1806), has been pasted onto one of the front flyleaves of this volume. It appears that both were incorporated in the latter half of the eighteenth century as the portrait dates from 1757.¹⁸⁶ The minister's reference to '[h]er soft yielding Compliance back'd with Magnanimity', which was 'like polish'd *Marble*, smooth and strong', seems to evoke the monument which has been conveniently provided for the eye of the reader or collector.¹⁸⁷ This type of 'active' reading stresses the importance which readers could attach to the visual well into the eighteenth century as they continued to respond with images as well as words in Protestant publications.¹⁸⁸

Finally, a remarkable and touching instance of several hand-drawn epitaphs and elegies written by friends and family members is discoverable within the Thomason copy of the funeral sermon for Elizabeth Thomason (d. 1659), the daughter of George Thomason (c.

¹⁸³ Patrick Collinson, 'Magistracy and Ministry: A Suffolk Miniature', in Patrick Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1983), pp. 445–66 (p. 456).

¹⁸⁴ Samuel Clarke, *The Lives of sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age*, 2 vols (1683), I, p. 57.

¹⁸⁵ Adam Littleton, *A Sermon At the Funeral Of the Right Honorable The Lady Jane, &c.* (London, 1669) (Henry E. Huntington Library, 357240). The image combines the techniques of etching, stipple engraving and mezzotint, with some hand-colouring. I am grateful to Steve Tabor of the Henry E. Huntington Library for comments. For Lady Jane Cheyne, see Jennett Humphreys, 'Cheyne [*née* Cavendish], Lady Jane', rev. by Sean Kelsey, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5261>> [accessed 17 September 2019]; Marion Wynne-Davies, '“With such a Wife 'tis heaven on earth to dwell”: Memorialising Early Modern Englishwomen', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 2 (2010), <<http://www.northernrenaissance.org/with-such-a-wife-tis-heaven-on-earth-to-dwell-memorialising-early-modern-englishwomen/>> [accessed 10 August 2019].

¹⁸⁶ National Portrait Gallery, D28182, <<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw133920/William-Cavendish-1st-Duke-of-Newcastle-upon-Tyne?search=sp&sText=william+sherlock&rNo=9>> [accessed 10 August 2019].

¹⁸⁷ Littleton, *A Sermon At the Funeral Of the Right Honorable The Lady Jane, &c.*, p. 44.

¹⁸⁸ Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, '“Studied for Action”: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past & Present*, 129 (1990), 30–78.

1602–1666).¹⁸⁹ While Hilda L. Smith has observed that just five pages out of sixty-eight were reserved for the eulogy of Elizabeth, this is sufficiently accounted for in the supplementary manuscript material, which spanned eleven pages.¹⁹⁰ The calligraphic titles and outlines in black expose the great care which was taken over these poems. In particular, an exquisite epitaph is framed within an oval cartouche, upon which is placed a hand-drawn death's head, drawn by the brother of Elizabeth. Notwithstanding these accomplished displays of penmanship, it is interesting to observe that the fifth calligraphic contribution, written by one 'R. N.', ensures that the reader does not forget the importance of the sermon itself. According to R. N., '*(Englands Divine) Reynolds hath done enough: | His Sermon is her Monument in Print | And hath more honour then all Poems in't*' (ll. 34–36).

Further instances of the rearrangement and insertion of visual paratexts remain to be discussed in the following section of this chapter. In the meantime, this section on textual iconography and typographical symbolism concludes by considering printers' insertions of black borders and woodcuts, and the ways in which such gestures were imbued with symbolic meaning. From the second half of the seventeenth century, the mourning borders which frequently adorned the title pages of funeral sermons transferred to the opening of the sermon texts themselves.¹⁹¹ Undoubtedly the most ingenious example of the distinct manipulation of black against white to inspire mortal thoughts can be found in the funeral sermon for Susanna Howard (1627–1649), Countess of Suffolk by Edward Rainbowe (1608–1684), Rector of Great Easton, Essex and the Howard family chaplain.¹⁹² This sermon has been the subject of much interest by scholars of women's history, being recognised in its own time as a model 'Life' of a

¹⁸⁹ Reynolds, *Mary Magdalens Love to Christ* (British Library, E.1820).

¹⁹⁰ Hilda L. Smith, *All Men and Both Sexes: Gender, Politics, and the False Universal in England, 1640–1832* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), p. 24. The manuscript additions are written on the rectos of the leaves.

¹⁹¹ See, for example, Cartwright, *The Good Man's Epitaph, &c.*, p. 1.

¹⁹² Edward Rainbowe, *A Sermon Preached at Walden in Essex, &c.* (1649); Yip, "The text and the occasion mingled together make a chequer-worke, a mixture of black and white, mourning and joy", pp. 158–59.

godly woman.¹⁹³ Yet, none of these historians has drawn attention to the black woodcut which prefaces the sermon proper (see Figure 4.8). The exordium begins by stating the ‘sad occasion’ of the congregation’s meeting, which set a ‘black and mournfull Preface before the Text’. This woodcut enhances the meaning of these words, inviting contemplation without the aid of a churchman’s exhortation. Rainbowe immediately continues by counselling the congregation, or reader, to take comfort from ‘her fame and memory’. He argues that ‘[t]he text and the occasion mingled together make a chequer-worke, a mixture of black and white, mourning and joy’; a metaphor which is manifested on the resulting printed page.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ *Women and the Literature of the Seventeenth Century: An Annotated Bibliography based on Wing’s Short-title Catalogue*, ed. by Hilda L. Smith and Susan Cardinale (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990), p. 259; Anselment, ‘Anthony Walker, Mary Rich, and Seventeenth-Century Funeral Sermons of Women’, p. 216; Eales, ‘Samuel Clarke and the ‘Lives’ of Godly Women in Seventeenth-century England’, p. 369.

¹⁹⁴ Rainbowe, *A Sermon Preached at Walden in Essex, &c.*, sig. B’.



Figure 4.8. Edward Rainbowe, *A Sermon Preached at Walden in Essex, May 29th. London, Printed by W. Wilson, for Gabriell Bedell, M. M. and T. C. and are to be sold at their shop at the Middle Temple Gate. 1649. British Library, E.532.(40.). 4°.*

Some preliminary reflections can be drawn from these examinations of the textual iconography within printed funeral sermons. Although it has long been acknowledged that early modern funeral sermons are a valuable source for ascertaining the collegial friendships between godly ministers, it is also apropos to reflect upon the fact that ministers were able to collaborate with their colleagues in other ways. Not only did they preach sermons at the funerals of their clerical colleagues and their wives, but they also gifted imaginative anagrams and acrostics to the

printed versions.¹⁹⁵ Aside from the extensive work that has been conducted on the poetry of the most renowned preacher-poets such as John Donne and George Herbert (1593–1633), scholars have been reluctant to take the poetical pursuits of early modern clergymen seriously, meaning, *inter alia*, that the polyvocal qualities of the printed funeral sermon have been somewhat under-appreciated.¹⁹⁶ Poetry could take place *within* sermons as well. Adele Davidson has drawn attention to Cotton Mather’s eulogy of the seventeenth-century preacher and poet John Wilson (1588–1667), which had particularly highlighted Wilson’s way with words, and particularly anagrams, in his ministry.¹⁹⁷

The engagement of these clergymen with these forms of ‘visual verses’ demonstrates the extent of their capacity for appealing visually to their intended readership, simultaneously contributing towards their edification. With their focus upon the names of deceased individuals, held up as paragons of virtue for the living, the anagrams and acrostics in particular adhered to a favourite scriptural text of early modern funeral sermons; that is, Ecclesiastes 7.1 (‘A good name is better than precious ointment; and the day of death than the day of one’s birth’).¹⁹⁸ Besides, these additions were clearly a means to personalise the texts. There was no set formula for the placement of these particular paratexts within the publications. They could be inserted before or after the sermon proper, either as contributions to the dedicatory epistle, or as concluding thoughts after the sermon had been read. Nigel Llewellyn has already

¹⁹⁵ Bremer, *Congregational Communion*, p. 62; Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England*, p. 314.

¹⁹⁶ Hughes, ‘Thomas Dugard and His Circle in the 1630s – A ‘Parliamentary-Puritan’ Connexion?’, p. 771. However, important exceptions include Tom Lockwood, ‘Poetry, patronage and cultural agency: the career of William Lewis’ and Christopher Burlinson, ‘Richard Corbett and William Strode: chaplaincy and verse in early seventeenth-century Oxford’, in *Chaplains in early modern England: Patronage, literature and religion*, ed. by Hugh Adlington, Tom Lockwood and Gillian Wright (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 103–22, 141–58, respectively. The historiography on the religious poetry of Donne and Herbert is vast, but see *John Donne’s Professional Lives*, ed. by David Colclough (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003); Frances Cruickshank, *Verses and Poetics in George Herbert and John Donne* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010); Sophie Read, *Eucharist and the Poetic Imagination in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Gary Kuchar, *George Herbert and the Mystery of the Word: Poetry and Scripture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

¹⁹⁷ Adele Davidson, ‘“A More Singular Mirror”: Herbert, Acrostics, and the Biblical Psalms’, *George Herbert Journal*, 38.1/2 (2014–2015), 15–30 (p. 15).

¹⁹⁸ Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England*, p. 309; James and Shami, *Remembering the Dead*, pp. 29–30.

discussed the degree to which a poetic or rhymed form of an inscribed exemplary text functioned as an *aide-mémoire* which was easier to recall.¹⁹⁹ This section of the chapter has been preoccupied with the manner in which Protestant clerics could take advantage of the memorable interplay of word and image often found on funeral monuments. It has further demonstrated that these were not restricted to the period which is the focus of this thesis: anagrams, acrostics, visual epitaphs and solid woodcuts were also prevalent in funeral sermons published towards the end of the seventeenth century. What is more, there was no shortage of readers' responses to these visual forms, evidenced in their own active involvement with the texts and the demand for further editions.

Devotional and Political Portraiture

The previous section began to scrutinise the insertion of portraits of godly worthies, which were often taken from Protestant hagiographies, into certain funeral sermons by readers and later collectors. In fact, portraits of the deceased were a common feature of the printed funeral sermon from the beginning of the seventeenth century in both England and Europe, when they first began to thrive in the book trade. However, although early modern English *memento mori* portraiture has been admirably researched by Tarnya Cooper, very few scholars have drawn attention to the significance of portraits of the deceased in the printed funeral sermon and the co-evolution of physical portraits with such printed representations.²⁰⁰ Both Patrick Collinson and Retha M. Warnicke have stated that a turning-point within the history of English funeral

¹⁹⁹ Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, p. 377.

²⁰⁰ Cooper, 'Memento Mori Portraiture'.

sermons was represented in the publication of *Deaths advantage little regarded, &c.* in 1602, which was the first to commemorate an Englishwoman of lesser aristocracy. Yet, the portrait of Katherine Brettergh (1579–1601) within this sermon is still only treated as a curiosity rather than as an integral part of the sermon which merits critical interrogation.²⁰¹ Once again, Roísín Watson’s study is an exception. She posits that the inclusion of portraits in printed funeral sermons represented one of the transformations of its layout and design in seventeenth-century Germany. Furthermore, it was by such means that these funerary publications ‘became a medium for ducal identity’, a primary specimen being the published sermon for Frederick I (1557–1608), Duke of Württemberg. Images of ducal caskets would also appear at the beginning of these publications, thereby framing the ‘themes of the funeral sermons’ and acting as the ‘lens through which the funeral sermons were to be read’.²⁰² In addition, pictures of *castra doloris*, the ephemeral architectural structures used for the public viewing of deceased worthies at funerals, ‘provided a visual commentary on the duke’s rule and death’.²⁰³

This was also the case with certain printed sermons in England, even before the English Reformation. As Ralph Houlbrooke has emphasised, the earliest English funeral sermon to be printed soon after its delivery was that by John Fisher (c. 1469–1535), Bishop of Rochester, at the funeral of Henry VII in 1509, and it is also the first English printed sermon featuring a portrait of the deceased.²⁰⁴ The picture on the title page depicts the mitred bishop preaching to a congregation inside St Paul’s Cathedral with the body of the monarch in sight of all. The

²⁰¹ William Harrison and William Leigh, *Deaths Advantage Little Regarded, &c.*, 2nd edn (1602); Collinson, “A Magazine of Religious Patterns”, p. 245 n. 98; Warnicke, ‘Eulogies for Women’, p. 172. For this well-studied sermon, see Warnicke, ‘Eulogies for Women’, pp. 172–73; Robert N. Watson, *The Rest is Silence: Death as Annihilation in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), p. 306; Molekamp, ‘Early modern women and affective devotional reading’, 53–74; Alan Stewart, *The Oxford History of Life-Writing, Volume 2: Early Modern* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), ch. 8.

²⁰² Watson, ‘Funeral Monuments, Ritual and Print’, pp. 153, 162.

²⁰³ Katrin Simona Knopp, ‘Castrum doloris’, in *Encyclopedia of Early Modern History Online*, ed. by Graeme Dunphy and Andrew Gow (2015), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2352-0272_emho_COM_029030> [accessed 21 September 2019]; Watson, ‘Funeral Monuments, Ritual and Print’, p. 153.

²⁰⁴ John Fisher, *This sermon folowyng was compyled & sayd in the Cathedrall Chyrche of saynt Poule, &c.* (1509); Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England*, p. 296.

framing of the scene with sculpted arches creates the impression that the viewer is part of the proceedings.²⁰⁵ However, it is important to note that the printer Wynkyn de Worde (d. 1534/5) adapted this woodcut for later use; it appears, without the figure of Henry, on other sermons by Fisher.²⁰⁶

Much later in the English Reformation, as the biographical element of funeral sermons became more widely accepted in common practice, preachers became increasingly alert to the possibilities of portrait painting and its affinities with their task to summarise the godly aspects of a person's life. Certain qualities of portrait painting had key religious objectives from which clergymen could take inspiration. The miniaturist Nicholas Hilliard (1547?-1619) had previously argued that painting was a tool for revealing the truth of appearances.²⁰⁷ Drawing upon his treatise, Ann Bermingham maintains that drawing became identified not only with gentlemanly virtue but also 'Protestant modes of truth-telling'.²⁰⁸ Whereas older arguments posited that portraiture in the English Reformation filled 'the gap created by Protestant fidelity to the second commandment', certain scholars have offered more nuanced accounts of the reaction of portraitists and their sitters in relation to social and religious change.²⁰⁹ While it is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss the portrait's function in civic commemoration, it is appropriate to underscore the fact here that paintings of the deceased were representative of

²⁰⁵ Wabuda, *Preaching During the English Reformation*, p. 20.

²⁰⁶ See, for example, John Fisher, *The sermon of Ioh[a]n the bysshop of Rochester made agayn y^e p[er]nicious doctryn of Martin luther, &c.* [1521].

²⁰⁷ Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 32.

²⁰⁸ Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, p. 33.

²⁰⁹ Margaret Aston, 'Gods, Saints, and Reformers: Portraiture and Protestant England', in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. by Lucy Gent (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 181-220 (p. 181); Jane Eade, 'The triptych portrait in England 1585-1646', *The British Art Journal*, 6.2 (2005), 3-11 (p. 3); Cooper, 'Predestined Lives?'; Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*; Robert Tittler, 'The malleable moment in English portraiture, c. 1540-1640', in *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling and David Gaimster (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), pp. 275-92.

‘the presence of virtue’ and, when hung for display, constituted celebrations of both lineage and piety.²¹⁰

It is therefore unsurprising that many seventeenth-century Protestant divines regarded portraiture and biography as ‘sister arts’.²¹¹ While we have already witnessed Samuel Bernard’s deployment of the ‘picture’ metaphor in his funeral sermon for Elizabeth Cole, there is evidence that certain clergymen who moved in prestigious circles actually practised the art of limning. According to Roy Strong, the portrait miniature was ‘an art form peculiarly expressive of Protestant England’; this was evidently expressed in the literary and artistic output of churchmen.²¹² M. B. Parkes hypothesises that Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504–1575) may have employed Stephan Batman (c. 1542–1584), Rector of St Mary’s, Newington, Surrey, as a limner as well as a chaplain.²¹³ According to Parkes, a series of manuscripts owned and compiled by Batman, containing his own sketches and line drawings, provide clear evidence of his considerable ability as a draughtsman and visual thinker which may have ultimately contributed to his ministry.²¹⁴ It was the memorial role of limning which most fascinated clerics, and it is this aspect of the art which has been subjected to less extensive treatment by scholars.²¹⁵

This relative neglect is difficult to justify in light of Henry Peacham’s comment upon its

²¹⁰ Tarnya Cooper, ‘Frail flesh, as in a glass’: the portrait as an immortal presence in early modern England and Wales’, in *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art*, ed. by Mary Rogers (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 197–212 (p. 200). For civic portraiture, see Robert Tittler, *The face of the city: Civic portraiture and civic identity in early modern England* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2007).

²¹¹ Wendorf, ‘*Ut Pictura Biographia*’, pp. 98–124; Yip, “The text and the occasion mingled together make a chequer-worke, a mixture of black and white, mourning and joy”, pp. 162–63.

²¹² Roy Strong, ‘Introduction: The Tudor Miniature: Mirror of an Age’, in Roy Strong and V. J. Murrell, *Artists of the Tudor Court: The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered 1520–1620* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983), pp. 9–13 (p. 9). See also Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, p. 364.

²¹³ M. B. Parkes, ‘Stephan Batman’s Manuscripts’, in *Medieval Heritage: Essays in Honour of Tadahiro Ikegami*, ed. by Masahiko Kanno and others (Tokyo: Yushodo Press, 1997), pp. 125–56. See also Rivkah Zim, ‘Batman [Bateman], Stephan [Stephen]’ (c. 1542–1584), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1704>> [accessed 5 October 2019].

²¹⁴ Parkes, ‘Stephan Batman’s Manuscripts’, pp. 127–28, 133.

²¹⁵ Limning has typically featured heavily in the domain of court studies and research on elite culture. See Patricia Fumerton, “‘Secret’ Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets”, *Representations*, 15 (1986), 57–97; Janet Backhouse, ‘Illuminated Manuscripts and the Development of the Portrait Miniature’, in *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*, ed. by David Starkey (London: Collins & Brown, 1991), pp. 88–93; Katherine Coombs, *The Portrait Miniature in England* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1998); ‘Elizabethan Treasures: Miniatures by Hilliard & Oliver’, exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery, London, 21 February–19 May 2019, <<https://www.npg.org.uk/whatson/elizabethan-treasures/exhibition/>> [accessed 6 October 2019].

capacity to ‘preserueth the memory of a dearest friend’.²¹⁶ Protestant commentators generally acknowledged that this was a legitimate use of images, despite concerns expressed by William Perkins (1558–1602) that this might lead to ‘superstition getting [a]head’ and subsequent image worship.²¹⁷ There are several instances of preachers using the metaphor of limning to illuminate the function of the eulogy for auditors, and to support bereaved family members in coping with death.²¹⁸ Thus, Samuel Clarke preached the following upon the death of the young merchant Thomas Bewley (1640–1658):

God deals with some, as a skilful Linner doth with his Master-piece, brings it, and sets it forth to be gazed at and admired by the multitude; and after a while draws a curtain over it, and carrieth it back into his house again [...]²¹⁹

According to Jessica Martin’s compelling interpretation of this passage, ‘Clarke’s godly subject is indeed an artefact, but his artificer is God Himself’.²²⁰ A similar allegory was used by Samuel Fairclough (1594–1677) in his sermon for the Suffolk worthy Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston (1588–1653).²²¹ Fairclough claimed that he himself was comparable to ‘*that Linner*, who having undertaken to draw a most beautifull picture, finding his skill *insufficient*, cast a vail over the face of it, to *cover his own ignorance*, as well as the beauty of the piece’.²²²

²¹⁶ Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman, &c.* (1622), p. 105. See also Thomas Wilson, *Christs Farewell to Jerusalem, and last Prophetie* (1614), sig. A3^r; Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. by J. C. A. Gaskin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996; repr. 2008), pp. 424–41 (Part 4, Chapter 45); Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, pp. 298–300.

²¹⁷ William Perkins, *A Reformed Catholike, &c.* (1598), p. 172; Wilson, *Christs Farewell to Jerusalem, And last Prophetie*, sig. A3^r.

²¹⁸ For the use of such a metaphor by authors of other early modern genres of English literature, see Emanuel Stelzer, *Portraits in Early Modern English Drama: Visual Culture, Play-texts, and Performances* (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2019).

²¹⁹ Clarke, *An Antidote Against Immoderate Movrning For the Dead*, p. 28.

²²⁰ Martin, *Walton’s Lives*, p. 109.

²²¹ Aston, ‘Art and Idolatry’, p. 250.

²²² Samuel Fairclough, *Hagioi axioi, &c.* (1653), p. 11; Yip, “‘The text and the occasion mingled together make a chequer-worke, a mixture of black and white, mourning and joy’”, pp. 162–63. See also London, British Library, Sloane MS 2329, fol. 26^r.

Frances, the wife of Richard Lord Vaughan (1600?-1686), Earl of Carbery, was ‘*drawn in little and in water-colours, sullied indeed with tears and the abrupt accents of a reall and consonant sorrow; but drawn with a faithfull hand and taken from the life*’ by their private chaplain and renowned divine, Jeremy Taylor (bap. 1613, d. 1667).²²³ Just as aristocratic patronage motivated the ‘individuated traits of English Renaissance portrait miniatures’, so was it also the case that divines might have felt compelled to ‘draw’ or ‘paint’ an appropriately personal tribute to the deceased, especially those of higher gentry status.²²⁴ In some cases, the printed sermon could even serve as a ‘spiritual image’ of the preacher himself, one which was beneficial for the reader’s ‘inward sight’ and a finer representation of the preacher ‘then any the skillfullest *Limmer* could have drawne’.²²⁵

Protestant ministers did not only employ allegories related to painting, but they could also directly cite painters and artisans within their sermons. There has been extensive work on the references and resources which Protestant churchmen had at their disposal when composing sermons. The focus of such research has centred principally on classical literature and the writings of patristic luminaries, both of which imbued the ministry of Protestants with an historical pedigree.²²⁶ Accordingly, James Livesey (1626-1682), minister at the chapel at Atherton, quotes the Athenian painter Nicias (*fl.* fourth century BC) in a ‘Postscript to the READER’, justifying the necessity to ‘embalme the memories of our Worthies’ in a published

²²³ Jeremy Taylor, *A Funerall Sermon, Preached at the Obsequies of the Right Hon^{ble} and most vertuous Lady, The Lady Frances, Countesse of Carbery, &c.* (1650), sig. A2^v.

²²⁴ Taylor Clement, ‘Moveable types: the de-individuated portrait in the age of mechanical reproduction’, *Renaissance Studies*, 31.3 (2017), 383-406 (p. 386).

²²⁵ Pricke (alias Oldmayne), *A Verie Godlie and Learned Sermon, treating of Mans mortalitie, &c.*, sig. A3^r.

²²⁶ Jean-Louis Quantin, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the 17th Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), ch. 1; Noam Reisner, ‘The Preacher and Profane Learning’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 72-86. See also the substantial output of Katrin Ettenhuber, including *Donne’s Augustine: Renaissance Cultures of Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Katrin Ettenhuber, ‘The Preacher and Patristics’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 34-53.

volume of two funeral sermons.²²⁷ Later in this section, there will be an analysis of Edward Boteler's use of John Guillim's *Display of Heraldrie* to enlighten his auditors and future readers regarding the religious symbolism within the arms of Edmund Sheffield (1611–1658), Second Earl of Mulgrave. Inevitably, printed portraits in funeral sermons commemorating the gentry could be accompanied by their coats of arms or other achievements and symbols of honour.²²⁸

In some cases, the coat of arms alone stood in for the portrait. Thus, the funeral sermon for Sir Edward Lewkenor II (1587–1618), High Sheriff of Suffolk, is prefaced with a clear statement of authenticity and authority represented by the Lewkenor coat of arms, which was accompanied by a poem (see Figure 4.9).²²⁹ The anonymous poet opens by professing not to 'search the hidden mysterie | Of Garters Arte' (ll. 1–2), thereby providing a similar caveat to those given by certain divines explored in the previous chapter. 'Such pride' was apparently to be left to 'the vaine-glorious flocke | 'Mongst whom vaine titles beare the greatest stroke' (ll. 4–5).²³⁰ Nevertheless, some 'morality' was to be gained by contemplating Lewkenor's 'Three Cheurones Azure, in an argent feild' (ll. 6–7). Argent represented 'the badge of spotlesse puritie' (l. 8), while the chevrons symbolised 'a constant minde' (l. 9). His motto, *Flectar non frangar* ('I shall bend, not break'), denoted his constancy; finally, the crest of the greyhound showed the swiftness by which Lewkenor 'gain'st this blessed rest' (l. 20). The woodcut and its accompanying poem set up the reader for the themes contained within the sermon, and

²²⁷ Livesey, *Enchiridion Judicum, &c.*, pp. 295–96. The satire of the practice of citing from a heterogeneous collection of sources is explored in the following chapter.

²²⁸ Róisín Watson notes that, in the printed funeral sermon for Frederick I, Duke of Württemberg, the Duke bears 'the insignia of the English Order of the Garter [...] an indication of his international gaze in comparison to previous Württemberg dukes'. See Watson, 'Funeral Monuments, Ritual and Print', p. 150.

²²⁹ Timothy Oldmayne, *Gods rebuke in Taking from vs that worthy and honourable Gentleman Sir Edward Lewkenor Knight, &c.* (1619), sigs A2^{r-v}. Another memorial sermon was preached by Bezaleel Carter (d. 1629), then Vicar of Cavenham, Suffolk. See Bezaleel Carter, *The wise King, &c.* (1618). See also Collinson, 'Magistracy and Ministry', pp. 463–64.

²³⁰ For the question of mitigating pride within Protestant portraiture, see Tarnya Cooper, 'Professional Pride and Personal Agendas: Portraits of Judges, Lawyers, and Members of the Inns of Court, 1560–1630', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 157–78.

perhaps stood in for the fact that Lewkenor was given no monument in the family chapel at Denham.²³¹ It was most likely the case that the Lewkenors were aware of the power of print to perpetuate their prestige. A volume of commemorative verse, to which illustrious figures from the University of Cambridge who would go on to become bishops and college heads had contributed poems, was possibly edited by Sir Edward Lewkenor II for his parents in 1606, who had died within one day of each other. The publication is similar in scope to the funeral sermon for Walter Devereux in its inclusion of a large quartered shield on the verso of the title page and verses, anagrams and acrostics in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and English, although there is no pedigree.²³² The shield of Sir Edward Lewkenor II was to appear again as a woodcut frontispiece in the funeral sermon for Edward Lewkenor III (1613–1634). This was a particularly poignant inclusion as it was also stated on the title page that his death signified the end of ‘*the name of that renowned Family of the Lewkenors in Suffolke*’.²³³

²³¹ Collinson, ‘Magistracy and Ministry’, p. 462; <<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/lewknor-sir-edward-ii-1587-1618>> [accessed 27 August 2019].

²³² *Threnodia In Obitum D. Edvardi Lewkenor Equitis, &c.*, ed. by Edward Lewkenor II (1606); Anonymous, *Denham Parish Registers, 1539–1850. With Historical Notes and Notices* (Bury St Edmunds: Paul & Mathew, 1904), pp. 220–25; Collinson, ‘Magistracy and Ministry’, p. 462.

²³³ Oldmayne, *Lifes Brevitie and Deaths Debility*; Thomas Gery Cullum and Gery Milner-Gibson-Cullum, ‘Extracts from the Registers of Denham, in the Hundred of Risbridge, Suffolk’, *The East Anglian*, 4 (1891–1892), 230–33 (p. 230); Collinson, ‘Magistracy and Ministry’, p. 463.



Figure 4.9. Timothy Oldmayne, *Gods rebuke in Taking from vs that worthy and honourable Gentleman Sir Edward Lewkenor Knight, &c.* LONDON, Printed by *Edw. Griffin* for *Iohn Parker* at the signe of the Ball in Pauls-Church yard. 1619, sigs A2^r. Henry E. Huntington Library, 39433. 8°.

The printed funeral sermons authored by Edward Boteler are particularly notable for the range of arms of deceased dignitaries which graced the title pages. Underneath the metal cut of the escutcheon of Edmund Sheffield, Second Earl of Mulgrave (argent, a chevron between three garbs gules) on the title page of *The Worthy of Ephratah, &c.* (1659) is a truncated quotation from Psalm 126.6 ('*He shall doubtless come again with rejoicings and bring his sheaves with him*') which refers directly to the 'three garbs gules'.²³⁴ The addition of the armorial bearings of Sheffield was a signal to the browser at a bookseller's shop that an

²³⁴ Edward Boteler, *The Worthy of Ephratah, &c.* (1659); Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, p. 76.

important person had died; the import of this heraldic symbolism was to prepare the reader for the principal theme of ‘publique loss’ within the sermon.²³⁵

Indeed, an unusual amount of attention is paid to the bereaved family of the deceased nobleman from the opening of the sermon proper. Significantly, the chosen biblical text is not even provided on the first page; instead, the name of ‘EDMUND Earl of MULGRAVE’ takes pride of place, mirroring the title page. After stating the occasion, which was a day ‘as ill as *Job* could wish’ and one ‘as sad as *Zechary* could prophesie’, Boteler immediately turns to the ‘Family, from whose heads the Lord hath now finally taken their Master’ instead of announcing the biblical text.²³⁶ While both the dedicatee of the printed sermon and the auditors were advised to moderate their displays of grief, Boteler recognised the dichotomy between this admonition and the ‘great and unusual appearance’ of ‘these multiplied Blacks’, ‘that stately Herse’ and ‘those Armorial Ensigns and tricks of Honor’. He was able to validate such displays by arguing that they were significations of public piety which had origins in the Scriptures, with a stream of citations in the margins of the printed text.²³⁷ Only after such justification is the chosen verse of Ruth 4.11 presented. Unusually, rather than leaving the matter of the occasion aside as he expatiates upon the biblical text, Boteler instead continues to refer to ‘my Lord of *Mulgrave*’ as he introduces his congregation to the ‘fair pedigree’ of Boaz, the husband of Ruth.²³⁸ At the eulogy, Boteler ceases to refer to Sheffield’s name, continuing with ‘Boaz’. Scriptural exegesis continued to be intertwined with Sheffield’s escutcheon as it was explained that the garbs signified abundance, hospitality and fruitfulness, while the chevron represented his plentiful house. Not only did these components of the shield represent Ephratah and Bethlehem, respectively, but a reference to Guillim’s *Display of Heraldrie* is also provided in

²³⁵ Boteler, *The Worthy of Ephratah, &c.*, p. 3.

²³⁶ Boteler, *The Worthy of Ephratah, &c.*, p. 2.

²³⁷ Boteler, *The Worthy of Ephratah, &c.*, pp. 6–9. For the wearing of black as a simultaneous ‘gesture of humility and wealth’, see Eade, ‘The triptych portrait in England 1585–1646’, p. 6.

²³⁸ Boteler, *The Worthy of Ephratah, &c.*, p. 11.

the margin to elucidate the symbolism further.²³⁹ Boteler concludes by arguing that the shield as a whole provides another interpretation of Genesis 37.7, thereby cementing the continued longevity of Sheffield's superior, godly virtues.²⁴⁰

Also sold at the same booksellers was Boteler's *The Servant's Audit* (1662), preached at the funeral of Sir Edmund Anderson (1605–1661), another Lincolnshire worthy. The title page with its metal cut of Anderson's arms is also accompanied with a 'motto' which introduces the theme of the sermon. Instead of a biblical text, however, there is an excerpt from one of Horace's odes: '*I Secundo | Omine: & nostril memorem Sepulchro Sculpe querelan*' ('Go with favourable omen and engrave a lament in my memory on my tomb').²⁴¹ Once again, the first page of the sermon proper does not open with a statement of the biblical text. Boteler draws attention straight away to the hearse with its insignia, 'the fair Atchievements of meriting Ancestors'. In fact, although he promises a traditional exposition of a biblical text, he argues that 'the practice of Antiquity' would have validated his decision to dedicate his entire discourse to the deceased baronet.²⁴² The coats of arms which stood in for physical representations of deceased nobles functioned as symbols which were reified by their descriptions both in accompanying verses and within the sermons themselves.

Coats of arms made their way into portraits of deceased bishops, and these in turn were included in many printed funeral sermons published after their deaths.²⁴³ We have already examined the heraldic dedication to Archbishop George Abbot in Cleland's printed sermon.²⁴⁴ Funeral sermons for bishops could be extremely substantial publications from the Interregnum onwards, spanning well over a hundred pages, suggesting their function as Protestant devotional

²³⁹ Boteler, *The Worthy of Ephratah, &c.*, p. 45; John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldrie*, 2nd edn (1632), pp. 77, 151.

²⁴⁰ '[...] lo, my sheaf arose, and also stood upright; and, behold, your sheaves stood round about, and made obeisance to my sheaf'.

²⁴¹ S. J. Harrison, *Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 191.

²⁴² Boteler, *The Servant's Audit*, pp. 2–3.

²⁴³ Sherlock, 'Episcopal Tombs in Early Modern England', p. 680; Fiona McCall, *Baal's Priests: The Loyalist Clergy and the English Revolution* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), p. 27.

²⁴⁴ See Chapter Two.

‘lives’ as much as funeral sermons. Such memorials formed the foundation of Protestant hagiographies which were inspired by Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs*, a primary example being Clarke’s *Lives*.²⁴⁵ Stephen Hampton has stated that these lengthy publications provided the opportunity to exhibit attractive models of moderate episcopal practice in order to unite clergy of differing persuasions.²⁴⁶ Not only was each publication provided with a frontispiece engraving of the deceased bishops with their personal coats of arms impaled with those of their sees, but these texts were also accordingly endorsed by other clergymen.²⁴⁷ In the words of Hampton, the posthumous treatment of these bishops constituted ‘a significant expression of the widely acknowledged Restoration appetite for fighting the battles of the present, using the historiography of the recent past’.²⁴⁸ This observation is in accord with Fiona McCall’s comment that families usually had to wait until after the Restoration to inscribe visual and verbal political statements on monuments which commemorated fathers, brothers and sons who had been loyalist clergymen, albeit she discovers some important exceptions.²⁴⁹ The engraved portrait’s role, proclaiming the prestige of these bishops with their appended coats of arms, undoubtedly played a primary role in furthering these publications’ functions as visual and textual monuments. In one such instance, the monumental allusion is made clear with the addition of a skull and burning lantern on the pedestal supporting the portrait of John Cosin (1595–1672), Bishop of Durham, executed by Walter Dolle (*fl.* 1662–1674) (see Figure 4.10).²⁵⁰ The ‘life’ in

²⁴⁵ Eales, ‘Samuel Clarke and the ‘Lives’ of Godly Women in Seventeenth-century England’, p. 369; Peter Lake, ‘Reading Clarke’s *Lives* in Political and Polemical Context’, in *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 293–318.

²⁴⁶ Stephen Hampton, ‘Hagiography and Theology for a Comprehensive Reformed Church: John Gauden and the Portrayal of Ralph Brownrigg’, *Calvin Theological Journal*, 50.2 (2015), 181–210 (p. 194). See also Francis Richardson, *English Preachers and Preaching 1640–1670*, p. 98; Alan Ford, ‘“Making dead men speak”: Manipulating the memory of James Ussher’, in *Constructing the Past: Writing Irish History, 1600–1800*, ed. by Mark Williams and Stephen Paul Forrest (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 49–69.

²⁴⁷ See the recommendation written by Nicholas Bernard (d. 1661) and others in John Gauden, *A Sermon Preached In the Temple-Chappel, &c.* (1660), sigs A2^v–.

²⁴⁸ Hampton, ‘Hagiography and Theology for a Comprehensive Reformed Church’, p. 209.

²⁴⁹ McCall, *Baal’s Priests*, p. 60; Fiona McCall, ‘Children of Baal: Clergy Families and Their Memories of Sequestration during the English Civil War’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 76.4 (2013), 617–38 (p. 637).

²⁵⁰ Isaac Basire, *The Dead Mans real Speech* (1673); Hamling, *Decorating the ‘Godly’ Household*, p. 276.

this sermon is separated from the main body of the sermon, being provided with its own title page. This notion of the deceased bishop to be held up as a paragon is exemplified towards the end of the biographical ‘life’. The author of the text, royal chaplain Isaac Basire (bap. 1608, d. 1676), dictates to his readers that the hearse was now the deceased ‘Bishop’s *Throne* or his *Pulpit*’. Other clergymen were advised by Basire to follow this example in treating their ‘*Bier*’ as their last pulpit.²⁵¹

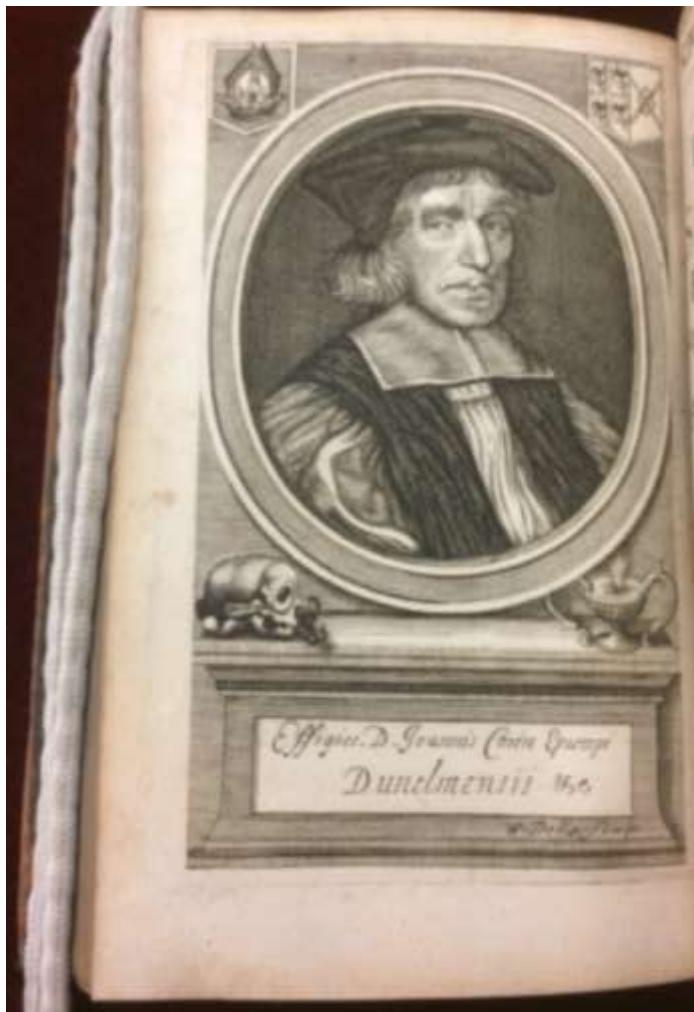


Figure 4.10. Isaac Basire, *The Dead Mans real Speech*. LONDON, Printed by *E. T.* and *R. H.* for *James Collins*, at the *Kings Arms* in *Ludgate-street*, 1673. Frontispiece. Henry E. Huntington Library, 438550. 8°.

²⁵¹ Basire, *The Dead Mans real Speech*, p. 93. See also Walsham, ‘The Reformation of the Generations: Youth, Age and Religious Change in England, c. 1500–1700’, p. 115.

The concept of the ‘pulpit property’ has already been delineated in the previous chapter. There was opportunity, of course, for a wider range of properties to be employed at funeral sermons. The effectiveness of *memento mori* jewellery as spurs for religious reflection could certainly be acknowledged by preachers. At the funeral of a London gentleman, John Kitchin, Rector of St Mary Abchurch, London, related an anecdote about a ‘riotous young Prodigal and Gallant’ who was given ‘a Ring with a Death’s head engraven upon it’ and an instruction to ‘look on’t and think on’t’ for one hour daily for seven straight days, which ‘wrought [...] a marvelous change in the young mans life’.²⁵² Emblematic silver medals could also be distributed at funerals. An extremely rare survival, dated 1614, displays, on the obverse, an angel trampling upon Death, holding a Bible and leaning upon a cross. The cryptic legend on the obverse, ‘OBSEQVIVM DOCEO NON VIM’ (‘I inculcate submission not resistance’), seems to encourage the viewer to embrace death as God will ultimately triumph. The legend on the reverse displays an old man pruning vines and the legend ‘CÆSA RESVRGO’ (‘Though cut I spring again’), drawing attention to the topos of everlasting life beyond the grave.²⁵³ It is certainly the case that some ministers would have been mindful of the significance of these medals and their scope to inculcate Protestant reflection. Indeed, the extent of their awareness of the monetary value of these funerary tokens was subject to some satirical treatment, which is explored in the following chapter.

It is the sermon printed after the funeral of John Harington, Second Baron Harington of Exton, which appears to take the most advantage of the medal and the portrait miniature to reveal the godly virtues of the deceased.²⁵⁴ The young courtier had been a close friend to Henry

²⁵² John Kitchin, *The Grand Statute, &c.* (1660), p. 12. Kitchin’s dates are unknown.

²⁵³ British Museum, M.7033; Edward Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II*, ed. by Augustus W. Franks and Herbert A. Grueber, 2 vols (London: British Museum, 1885), I, p. 204; Anonymous, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: British Museum, 1904; repr. Lawrence, MA: Quarterman Publications, 1979), Plate XV no. 14.

²⁵⁴ Richard Stock, *The Chvrches Lamentation for the losse of the Godly* (1614). For this sermon, see Ted-Larry Pebworth, “‘Let Me Here Use That Freedome’: Subversive Representation in John Donne’s ‘Obsequies to the Lord Harington’”, *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 91.1 (1992), 17–42; Yip, “‘The text and the occasion mingled together make a chequer-worke, a mixture of black and white, mourning and joy’”, pp. 163–68.

Frederick, Prince of Wales, in addition to being a patron of numerous clergymen.²⁵⁵ As Taylor Clement has observed, single portraits most commonly appeared as frontispieces to printed books.²⁵⁶ This has been the case thus far with the portraits of bishops. The image of John Harington represents a crucial exception, and one which invites contemplation regarding the implications of its placement. The first page of *The Chvrches Lamentation for the losse of the Godly* (1614) by Richard Stock displays the escutcheon of Harington ‘with its full panoply of quarterings’ and a baronet’s and knight’s helm (see Figure 4.11).²⁵⁷ The second illustration appears on the verso of this leaf and faces the woodcut of Harington on the following leaf (see Figure 4.12). The former woodcut purports to represent the medal or the ‘honour’ commemorating Harington’s knighthood, but it also functions pictorially as the lid of a miniature locket with a pendant; that is, the single pearl that hangs from a loop at the locket’s base.²⁵⁸ It is possible to compare the construction of this ‘locket’ with an earlier miniature by Hans Holbein the younger (1497/8–1543) (see Figure 4.13). As David Bland has previously taught us, printed illustration derived from the miniature, and the woodcuts within this small octavo volume seem to serve the same purposes as a commemorative jewel.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ Simon Healy, ‘Harington, John, second Baron Harington of Exton (bap. 1592, d. 1614)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12328>> [accessed 6 October 2019].

²⁵⁶ Clement, ‘Moveable types’, p. 383.

²⁵⁷ Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 202; Pebworth, “Let Me Here Use That Freedome”, p. 29.

²⁵⁸ Coombs, *The Portrait Miniature in England*, p. 62.

²⁵⁹ David Bland, *A History of Book Illustration: The Illuminated Manuscript and the Printed Book*, 2nd edn (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), p. 16.



Figure 4.11. Richard Stock, *The Chvrches Lamentation for the losse of the Godly*. LONDON, Printed by IOHN BEALE. 1614. First woodcut after the title page. Bodleian Library, 8° L 100(2) Th. 8°.



Figure 4.12. Richard Stock, *The Chvrches Lamentation for the losse of the Godly*. LONDON, Printed by IOHN BEALE. 1614. Second and third woodcuts after the title page. Bodleian Library, 8° L 100 (2) Th. 8°.



Figure 4.13. Hans Holbein the younger, *Mrs. Jane Small* (c. 1536). Watercolour on vellum in a decorated case. Diameter: 5.2 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

But this printed miniature was no mere trinket. The didactic verses, contributed by friends of Harington, offer control over the justification and interpretation of all three of these images.²⁶⁰ To select just one example, whereas the ‘ample Coate’ of arms represented by the first woodcut proclaimed ‘auntient vertues praise’, it was Harington’s ‘greater merits’ which ‘nobler trophe’s raise’. As Ted-Larry Pebworth has astutely observed, for these elegists, ‘Harington epitomizes religious and civic ideals’, and the reader was effectively guided by these introductory emblems towards the real matter of the sermon which declined to speak of ‘the birth of this honorable person, and his progenitours’, instead concentrating upon Harington’s ‘*Sobriety, Iustice, [and] Piety*’.²⁶¹ Harington’s portrait was therefore what Huston Diehl has

²⁶⁰ Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England*, p. 229.

²⁶¹ Stock, *The Churches Lamentation for the losse of the Godly*, pp. 64, 71; Pebworth, “Let Me Here Use That Freedome”, p. 30.

termed a ‘memory image’ which, according to the author of its accompanying poem, ‘onely doth appeare’. Ultimately, it was present in the printed text to remind the viewer of the spiritual qualities which they could not see, rather than being a focus of devotion unto itself.²⁶² Pebworth conjectures that the printing of the sermon was subsidised by Lucy Russell (bap. 1581, d. 1627), Countess of Bedford, the renowned literary patron and sister of Harington, and it is entirely appropriate that this exquisite publication would be presented by Stock to the women of the family as a token in the manner of a portrait miniature.²⁶³ The affinity of these images with the miniature and locket also holds weight if placed within the context of the earlier, sixteenth-century practice of binding miniature portraits into small books as personal mementoes.²⁶⁴

Another portrait within a funeral sermon which especially evokes the miniature in its combination of the intimate and the emblematic is the funeral sermon by Robert Mossom (bap. 1617, d. 1679), future Bishop of Derry, for the twelve-year-old John Goodhand Holt (1647–1659) of Gristlehurst Hall, Lancashire, which includes a frontispiece line engraving by David Loggan (bap. 1634, d. 1692).²⁶⁵ A skilled miniaturist in his own right, Loggan was also one of the earliest practitioners in England of a type of miniature portrait drawing executed by means of black lead (plumbago) on vellum.²⁶⁶ The picture of the deceased boy within a

²⁶² Huston Diehl, ‘Graven Images: Protestant Emblem Books in England’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 39.1 (1986), 49–66 (p. 57).

²⁶³ See the dedicatory epistle in Stock, *The Chvrches Lamentation for the losse of the Godly*; Pebworth, “Let Me Here Use That Freedome”, p. 40.

²⁶⁴ Backhouse, ‘Illuminated Manuscripts and the Development of the Portrait Miniature’, p. 90. Such an example is found in a copy of a Geneva-Tomson Bible which is held at the Yale Center for British Art (Yale Center for British Art, BS170 1607+ Oversize).

²⁶⁵ Robert Mossom, *A Plant of Paradise, &c.* (1660); ‘Townships: Birtle-with-Bamford’, <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/lancs/vol5/pp174-176>> [accessed 6 October 2019]; Rigney, “To lye upon a Stationers stall, like a piece of coarse flesh in a Shambles”, p. 193.

²⁶⁶ See, for example, David Loggan, *Portrait of a Lady* (c. 1660–1669), pencil on vellum (14.8 × 12 cm), Sir Bruce Ingram Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 63.52.136. See Robert R. Wark, *Early British Drawings in the Huntington Collection 1600–1750* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1969), p. 36; Robert R. Wark, *British Portrait Drawings 1600–1900: Twenty-five Examples from the Huntington Collection* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1982), pp. 7–8, 14.

roundel, which is flanked by components from his full coat of arms, comes with two quatrains.

The first refers in particular to the jewel-like nature of the portrait:

*If in this Face such Loveliness we see,
O th' Jewell of the Mind! what must it be
Having thus bright a Case! Through wth it's [sic] light
No Eye can veiw, but with a dazled sight.*

Elements of the portrait amply illustrate the central premise of the sermon. A pair of branches of cypress, typically emblematic of death and funerals, are displayed above the youth's head.²⁶⁷ In the dedicatory epistle to the parents of the deceased, Mossom describes Holt as a 'sprouting Branch [...] cropt in the blossom of his age' and now 'planted in *Heaven*'.²⁶⁸ The chosen text of the sermon was extracted from Ezekiel 17.22 ('*I will crop off from the top of his young twiggs, a tender one; and will plant it upon an high mountain and eminent*').²⁶⁹ Mossom is keen throughout to 'keep the Analogy of a Blossoming branch, suddenly cropt in its full sap'. However, like the cypress branches forever captured within the portrait, they are '*not cropt eternally to wither, but Transplanted everlastingly to Flourish*'.²⁷⁰

Like the armorial bearings within the sermon for Holt, the coat of arms and crest of Elizabeth Hastings (bap. 1587, d. 1633), Countess of Huntingdon appear in the spandrels on either side of her portrait within *A Sermon Preached at Ashby De-la-Zovch in the Covnty of Leicester, &c.* (1635) (see Figure 4.14).²⁷¹ Adam Smyth recently made a rich assessment of

²⁶⁷ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Qveene* (1596), Canto I, p. 5.

²⁶⁸ Mossom, *A Plant of Paradise, &c.*, unpaginated.

²⁶⁹ Mossom, *A Plant of Paradise, &c.*, p. 5.

²⁷⁰ Mossom, *A Plant of Paradise, &c.*, p. 4.

²⁷¹ F., *A Sermon Preached at Ashby De-la-Zovch in the Covnty of Leicester, &c.* Scholars have been unable to agree on the author of this sermon. See Sidney Lee, 'Fletcher, Joseph (1582/3–1637)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9734>> [accessed 30 May 2020]; Vanessa Jean Wilkie, "Such Daughters and Such a Mother": The Countess of Derby and her Three Daughters, 1560–

various surviving states of this sermon post-publication. He argues that the ‘bibliographical animation of this sermon after printing’, which included the varying placements of the epitaph and the portrait, serves as a material enactment of the fundamental, devotional theme of the sermon, which is resurrection. Smyth provides solid evidence of the significance of the bibliographical dimension of this particular funeral sermon, illustrating its movement back and forth from the metaphorical to the physical and literal.²⁷² Indeed, a similar experiment might have been carried out with the sermon for John Harington, in which a stock woodcut of a coffin with a black pall is sometimes present as part of the paratextual material and placed differently in various existing copies.²⁷³ To enhance Smyth’s wider interpretation of the sermon for Elizabeth Hastings, it is possible to observe that the theme of resurrection is characterised by the winged cherubs which bestow a coronet upon the deceased countess in the portrait. Moreover, the preacher himself argues that ‘[a]nciently there were great treasures hid in the Sepulchres of great ones, & if we looke into this we shall finde a treasure too, a treasure of rich example to us all.’²⁷⁴ The Henry E. Huntington Library copy is a particular specimen of such a treasure, being bound in gold-tooled vellum and stamped with one of the emblems displayed on Hastings’s portrait; namely, that of the chrisom-clad infant (see Figure 4.14).²⁷⁵ After the title page, the reader is presented with a double-page spread with the frontispiece and the textual epitaph by Lucius Cary (1609/10–1643), Second Viscount Falkland, presenting the reader with a surrogate ‘monument’ before the sermon begins, in a similar manner to the ‘portrait miniature’ of Harington.²⁷⁶

1647’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California, Riverside, 2009), pp. 291–93; Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England*, p. 129.

²⁷² Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England*, pp. 129–35.

²⁷³ See, for example, Henry E. Huntington Library, 69570 and the various copies held at the British Library.

²⁷⁴ F., *A Sermon Preached at Ashby De-la-Zovch in the County of Leicester, &c.*, pp. 32–33.

²⁷⁵ For a commentary on the ways in which bespoke bindings added prestige to modest pamphlets, see Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 158.

²⁷⁶ A copy of Payne’s portrait is also pasted into a memorial volume of notes composed by Elizabeth Hastings (San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library, HM 15369). See Victoria E. Burke, ‘My Poor Returns’: Devotional Manuscripts by Seventeenth-Century Women’, *Parergon*, 29.2 (2012), 47–68 (p. 48).



Figure 4.14. I. F., *A Sermon Preached at Ashby De-la-Zovch in the Covntie of Leicester, &c.* LONDON, Printed by W. I. and T. P. and are to be sold by Mathew Simmons at his shop, at the Golden Lyon in Ducke-lane. 1635. Gold-tooled limp vellum binding, frontispiece and epitaph. Henry E. Huntington Library, 59659. 4°.

John Harington and John Goodhand Holt were preserved pictorially in their state of eternal youth within their funeral sermons, whereas Elizabeth Hastings was illustrated as a strong-minded noblewoman cut off in her prime.²⁷⁷ However, godly attributes and biblical exemplars could be appended to both youth and age, and portraits in funeral sermons could display the deceased at all stages of their lives.²⁷⁸ One of the scriptural verses which was most illustrative of this outlook was chapter 4, verse 8 of the Book of Wisdom ('[H]onourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that is measured by number of years'). Alexandra Walsham has demonstrated that, by the 1650s in particular, 'Protestantism was edging towards a form of gerontocracy'. Protestant hagiographies would frequently depict the 'indefatigable devotion' of elderly divines who resembled, both physically and spiritually, the prophets and patriarchs of the Old Testament.²⁷⁹ The more substantial funeral sermons for bishops, and their function as monuments to the episcopacy in the Interregnum and Restoration, have already been addressed above. Conversely, the two sermons discussed here, which commemorate significant Church of England luminaries, did not serve such polemical purposes. Nonetheless, the engraved portraits of these venerable figures in their funeral sermons, and not only within their own posthumous works, still lent an air of gravity to these publications.²⁸⁰

The funeral sermon for William Gouge, which was published as *A Shock of Corn Coming in In its Season* (1654), appears with a frontispiece portrait of the elderly divine by William Faithorne. The legend around the portrait depicts the year and age at which he died, further specifying that he had been the minister at Blackfriars for forty-six years. The accompanying poem complements the title of the sermon in its reference to Job 26.5 ('Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in in his season'). Gouge is

²⁷⁷ James Knowles, 'Hastings [*née* Stanley], Elizabeth, countess of Huntingdon (*bap.* 1587, *d.* 1633)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/40549>> [accessed 6 October 2019].

²⁷⁸ Walsham, 'The Reformation of the Generations: Age, Ancestry, and Memory in England c. 1500–1700'.

²⁷⁹ Walsham, 'The Reformation of the Generations: Youth, Age and Religious Change in England, c. 1500–1700', p. 115.

²⁸⁰ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 319.

depicted as being ‘ripe’; ‘*bent with Age*’, he bows ‘*with Humility*’ (ll. 4–5). The sermon itself is based on this biblical text, and Jenkyn explains to his congregation ‘the *seasonableness* of the godly mans coming to the grave’.²⁸¹ It is evident that the opening poem was tailored to suit the sermon; although the portrait reappears in one of Gouge’s posthumous publications, which itself was duly recommended within the sermon, there is a different poem underneath it.²⁸² Samuel Clarke was to describe Gouge as being the ‘*Effigies of Moses*’.²⁸³

Joseph Hall (1574–1656), Bishop of Norwich, was even older than the septuagenarian William Gouge when he died at the age of eighty-two in 1656. In the portrait appended to his funeral sermon published by John Whitefoote (1610–1699), Rector of Heigham, Norfolk, the age and the date of death similarly accompany the picture.²⁸⁴ Jessica Martin effectively summarises the pictorial aspects of the eulogy for Joseph Hall, writing that his portrait, ‘neat, grave, with an abundant beard’, is complemented by the description of his spiritual and patriarchal crown.²⁸⁵ It is possible to delve even deeper into the portrait’s significance and role within the funeral sermon. Whitefoote, quoting Proverbs 16.31 (‘The hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness’), argues that Hall was ‘crowned with the silver Crown of age in his gray hairs’.²⁸⁶ Hall was portrayed as the Old Testament patriarch Israel (Jacob), and much of the eulogy is taken up with a ‘parallel of the Persons’.²⁸⁷ His worldly achievements, such as his central role in the Synod of Dort, is given only brief coverage in the sermon but exhibited graphically by the medallion on Hall’s chest.²⁸⁸ Like the sermon for John Harington, it is apparent that the earthly achievements of this distinguished divine were only to

²⁸¹ Jenkyn, *A Shock of Corn Coming in In its Season*, p. 33.

²⁸² Jenkyn, *A Shock of Corn Coming in In its Season*, pp. 43–44; William Gouge, *A Learned and very vseful Commentary on The Whole Epistle to the Hebrewes* (1655).

²⁸³ Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p. 319.

²⁸⁴ John Whitefoote, *Israea Agchithanes* (1656). The portrait was also executed by Faithorne.

²⁸⁵ Martin, *Walton’s Lives*, pp. 59–60.

²⁸⁶ Whitefoote, *Israea Agchithanes*, p. 71.

²⁸⁷ Whitefoote, *Israea Agchithanes*, pp. 60–73.

²⁸⁸ Whitefoote, *Israea Agchithanes*, p. 74; <<http://www.jermy.org/nj-williamj-hallmedal.html>> [accessed 28 September 2019]. For the Synod of Dort, see *The British Delegation and the Synod of Dort (1618–1619)*, ed. by Anthony Milton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005).

be depicted visually, reminding readers that the real example to be derived from his life was his uncompromising religiosity. As has previously been discussed in Chapter One using the examples of Christopher Love and John Hewitt, there appeared to be a high demand within the book market for portraits of godly exemplars who had died during the Interregnum, which were appended to their printed sermons and which served as legitimate aids to memory of these stalwarts of Protestantism.

This short assessment of the funeral sermons for William Gouge and Joseph Hall suggests that it was not always the case that the deceased needed to be preserved in the prime of life. In fact, it was their old age which signified their spiritual ‘prime’. Taking the depiction of the body a stage further, the most renowned instance of the pictorial celebration of the corpse in the printed sermon is the frontispiece within Donne’s *Deaths Dvell*, which was examined in Chapter One. *Deaths Dvell* is not, of course, technically a funeral sermon, despite its famous depiction by Izaak Walton (1593–1683).²⁸⁹ However, a brief reprisal of the frontispiece here is apt owing to its portrayal of Donne in his funerary shroud. This was not unique to Donne, but was a means of visual rhetoric used well after his death.

Thus, the figure in the winding-sheet can also be found within Anthony Walker’s *Planctus Unigeniti, &c.*, which combines many of the visual elements discussed above, including heraldic symbolism, portrait and visual epitaph. This sermon commemorates the death of Charles Rich (1643–1664), the son of Charles Rich (1616–1673), Fourth Earl of Warwick and Mary Rich (1624–1678), Countess of Warwick. Both parents were much grieved at the death of their only son, and Anthony Walker felt a due responsibility as family chaplain to honour his death in a bespoke publication.²⁹⁰ The resulting quarto is lavishly illustrated, with a substantial metal cut of a shrouded figure resting on a plinth, upon which is written ‘JÁY

²⁸⁹ Izaak Walton, *The Lives of Dr John Donne, &c.* (1670), sig. F4^r.

²⁹⁰ Walker, *Planctus Unigeniti, &c.*, sig. A2^r; Sara H. Mendelson, ‘Rich [*née* Boyle], Mary, countess of Warwick (1624–1678)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23487>> [accessed 10 October 2019].

GARDÉ LA FOY' ('I HAVE KEPT THE FAITH'), presented as both a motto and a biblical citation of II Timothy 4.7 (see Figure 4.15). The personal coat of arms of the deceased (gules, a chevron between three crosses botonée or), marked especially with the label of three points to indicate his status as the first son, decorate the black cloth surrounding the figure. The illustration is accompanied with an explanatory poem composed by Walker, which immediately underlines the paradoxical nature of 'Squalid *Death*' being 'Trim'd, so Gay and Brave' (l. 2). Walker depicts Death as having stolen Rich's 'Colours' (l. 13). She has also claimed his crest, the dragon's tail furnishing her with her 'Sting' (l. 22) in an obvious reference to I Corinthians 15.55 ('O death, where is thy sting?'), which is later cited explicitly within the sermon's eulogy.²⁹¹ Despite Death's crimes, however, it is concluded in the final quatrain that 'those who Keep the Faith of Christ toth' Last' will be too 'Quick' for her (ll. 29–30).

The emphasis upon the visual is a preoccupation of the sermon itself. '[I]f thy *Ear* will not affect thy *Heart*', Walker states, 'thy *Eye* will doubtless [...] in that solemn Herse'. Moreover, the chosen biblical verse of Luke 7.12–13 complements this hearse. Both are described as 'two mournful *Texts*', the second being 'too full a Counterpaine of'th *First*'.²⁹² The consideration of page layout to reflect this is particularly apparent at the point at which Walker finishes glossing the text on page 29. The reader turns the page to discover the frontispiece illustration once again. A sombre black woodcut serves as a headpiece to the adjacent page; following which, Walker continues with his '*other Text*, a *Text indeed*, dark and most intricate' (see Figure 4.15).²⁹³ The minister refers to the body as a '*visible Sermon*' and proceeds to unfold an opulent description of the deceased's 'Scutcheons' with their 'Illustrious Rayes of [...] cross-Croslets *Sol*, in their Field *Mars*, or inriched and secured by those *Ruby* Shields, glistening with *Topaz*'. Referring to '[t]he next *Impaled Shield*', Walker explains the meaning

²⁹¹ Walker, *Planctus Unigeniti*, &c., pp. 43–44.

²⁹² Walker, *Planctus Unigeniti*, &c., p. 3.

²⁹³ Walker, *Planctus Unigeniti*, &c., p. 31.

behind the label of three points, further exposing the tragedy of the death of a firstborn son.²⁹⁴

Nonetheless, the clergyman swiftly brings his auditors back to his first text, particularly the words ‘*Weep not*’, repeatedly advocating moderation in grief according to God’s wishes.²⁹⁵

Notably, he eventually directs the audience away from the ‘*Image*’ of the deceased, stating that although it has perished, his soul was ‘*Eternall, in a better state eas’d of his uneasie burden*’.²⁹⁶



²⁹⁴ Walker, *Planctus Unigeniti, &c.*, pp. 32, 34–35.

²⁹⁵ Walker, *Planctus Unigeniti, &c.*, pp. 37–45.

²⁹⁶ Walker, *Planctus Unigeniti, &c.*, p. 42.



Figure 4.15. Anthony Walker, *Planctus Unigeniti: Et Spes Resuscitandi*. LONDON, Printed by Thomas Mabb, for Samuel Ferris, at his Shop, in Cannon Street, over against London Stone, 1664. Frontispiece, title page and pp. 30–31. Frontispiece: 18.2 × 14.6 cm. Henry E. Huntington Library, 491621. 4°.

Assessing the demise of Daniel Featley (1582–1645) in light of ‘the nadir of the royalist cause’ in 1645, Fiona McCall has commented that the anonymous engraving of the religious polemicist in his winding-sheet, presented as the frontispiece to his funeral sermon, symbolised the ‘death’ of the Church of England as much as the clergyman’s physical death.²⁹⁷ However, a note of hope was introduced in the inscription of the word ‘*Resurgam*’ (‘I shall rise again’) above Featley’s head. Appropriately, in addition to the favoured funerary text of II Timothy 4.7 (‘*I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith*’) which serves as another annotation upon the portrait, there is also an inscription on the title page which speaks to the troubled times in which the sermon was preached and printed; namely, Proverbs 10.7

²⁹⁷ William Loe, *A Sermon Preached at Lambeth, April 21. 1645* (1645); McCall, *Baal’s Priests*, p. 143.

(‘*The Memoriall of the Iust shall be blessed, but the name of the wicked shall rot*’). Much is made in the sermon itself, delivered by William Loe (d. 1645), Vicar of Wandsworth, Surrey, of Featley’s textual contribution to the war against schism. Featley had ‘left behinde him severall tokens of his Learning’, and Loe recommends in particular ‘his Sermons in a great Book in Folio’ which ‘discovereth the plots of the Romish Sectaries in abundant manner’.²⁹⁸ He gives emphasis to the frontispiece which Featley had designed for *The Dippers Dipt*, his notorious and bestselling tract denouncing the Anabaptists, which ‘discovereth fifteen species’ of them.²⁹⁹ The frontispiece to the funeral sermon was to be reproduced in posthumous publications composed by Featley, embodying the enduring strength of Featley’s scholarship even after his death. Certainly, this was a key motif within Loe’s eulogy. A long paragraph is dedicated to the advantages of writing over speech:

Indeed the lively voyce in preaching moveth more, yet a mans writing teacheth more. [...] Writing reacheth those that are far off, words those that are neere: Words reach onely to them that are alive, writing to them that are unborne: He that speaketh, profiteth his owne congregation; but he that writeth, profiteth all [...]³⁰⁰

The frontispiece also seems to have been designed with the sermon and such themes in mind. The ‘Palme Timber, which never bendeth under never so great a lading, but riseth upward against it’ signifies Featley’s constancy and is represented in the tree directly above his

²⁹⁸ Loe, *A Sermon Preached at Lambeth*, pp. 23, 29.

²⁹⁹ Loe, *A Sermon Preached at Lambeth*, p. 24; Daniel Featley, *The Dippers dipt* (1645). This title-page engraving was executed by William Marshall. See Brad S. Gregory, ‘The Radical Reformation’, in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Reformation*, ed. by Peter Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 115–51 (p. 148).

³⁰⁰ Loe, *A Sermon Preached at Lambeth*, p. 27.

head.³⁰¹ The use of plants in the funeral sermons for John Goodhand Holt and Daniel Featley reflect the intense interest of Protestants in the symbolic status of flora within the Scriptures.³⁰²

While the political slant taken on the death of Featley was moderately subtle in Loe's printed sermon, the blurred boundaries between the funeral sermon's central objectives as a tract for edification, commemorative biography and political propaganda are exemplified in the sermons published after the funerals of Parliamentary statesmen during the period of the English Civil Wars and Interregnum. Numerous scholars have afforded much critical attention to the print wars waged between Parliamentarians and Royalists during the English Revolution, charting their struggle to win public favour.³⁰³ Cheap printed literature was utilised by each side in order to disparage their opponents and to promote their own virtues, victories and figureheads, resulting in what Diana Dunn has described as a 'mushrooming of typeset material' and a circulation of power in print.³⁰⁴ Despite the fact that the interaction of the funeral sermon with the political pamphlet was a phenomenon which is widely recognised by historians of early modern Europe, scholars have not, thus far, investigated in detail how the printed funeral sermon exhibited the 'increasing polemical use of the dead in the struggles of seventeenth-century England'.³⁰⁵ Instead, it is principally the elegies of these Parliamentarians which have been the centre of attention.³⁰⁶

Furthermore, whereas the funerals of statesmen have been analysed extensively by historians such as Vernon F. Snow and Ian Gentles, the latter writing that these occasions provided opportunities for staging 'mourning as a vehicle of political protest', there has been

³⁰¹ Loe, *A Sermon Preached at Lambeth*, p. 28.

³⁰² Jill Francis, 'Order and Disorder in the Early Modern Garden, 1558–c. 1630', *Garden History*, 36.1 (2008), 22–35.

³⁰³ Jason Peacey, 'The Print Culture of Parliament, 1600–1800', in *The Print Culture of Parliament, 1600–1800*, ed. by Jason Peacey (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 1–16.

³⁰⁴ Diana Dunn, 'Introduction', in *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Diana Dunn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 1–16 (p. 8).

³⁰⁵ Pavličková, 'A Funeral and a Political Pamphlet', pp. 129–47; Scodel, *The English Poetic Epitaph*, p. 7; Carlson, 'English Funeral Sermons as Sources', p. 568 n. 5.

³⁰⁶ Andrea Brady, *English Funerary Elegy in the Seventeenth Century: Laws in Mourning* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 86–87.

limited investigation of the propagandist element behind the publications which were issued afterwards.³⁰⁷ In terms of visual culture, Kevin Sharpe has pointed out that, in the traditional historiography, '[m]ore infamous than these gestures towards an artistic pantheon of parliamentary figures are the violent acts of destruction of images carried out under the orders or in the name of parliament during the 1640s'.³⁰⁸ Timothy Wilks provides the caveat that 'art continued to be dogged by its association with idolatry in the minds of many' despite the prevalence of printed and painted political images in this era.³⁰⁹ According to Julie Spraggon, sermons endorsed such parliamentary attacks on images during the Civil Wars, and S. L. Sadler has shown how William Dowsing read the printed funeral sermon of the prominent Parliamentarian John Pym (1584–1643) and found inspiration within it for his iconoclastic cause.³¹⁰ There is room to nuance such arguments in this fresh reconsideration that images within these texts were used as Parliamentarian propaganda.³¹¹

In fact, illustrated texts and material culture alike could be 'harnessed to serve the power of the State'.³¹² Parliamentarian preachers such as the army chaplain Hugh Peters (bap. 1598, d. 1660) were also keen to capitalise on the power of illustrated print to commemorate deceased men who shared their cause. His elegy for the regicide Henry Ireton (bap. 1611, d.

³⁰⁷ Vernon F. Snow, *Essex the Rebel: The Life of Robert Devereux, the Third Earl of Essex 1591–1646* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1970); Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England*, pp. 178–79; Ian Gentles, 'Political Funerals during the English Revolution', in *London and the Civil War*, ed. by Stephen Porter (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 205–224 (p. 219); Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London*, p. 257; J. F. Merritt, *Westminster 1640–60: A royal city in a time of revolution* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2013), ch. 3.

³⁰⁸ Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603–1660* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 350. However, see Ian Gentles, 'The iconography of revolution: England 1642–1649', in *Soldiers, writers and statesmen of the English Revolution*, ed. by Ian Gentles, John Morrill and Blair Worden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 91–113.

³⁰⁹ Timothy Wilks, 'The Art and Architecture of War, Revolution, and Restoration', in *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution*, ed. by Michael J. Braddick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 483–98 (p. 484).

³¹⁰ Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 50–1; S. L. Sadler, 'Dowsing's arguments with the Fellows of Pembroke', in *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War*, ed. by Trevor Cooper (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 56–66 (pp. 63–64).

³¹¹ Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War*, p. 51.

³¹² Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky, 'Introduction', in *Political culture and cultural politics in early modern England: Essays presented to David Underdown*, ed. by Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 1–15 (p. 12); Ian Gentles, 'The iconography of revolution'; Sharpe, *Image Wars*, p. 355.

1651) was published as a broadside which was beautifully framed with mourning borders and ‘crowned’ with Ireton’s coats of arms.³¹³ In addition to heraldic symbols, the appearance of the portraits of key Parliamentary figures underlined their value and importance to the broader project of Parliamentary propaganda. The illustrations present in the funerary literature associated with deceased Parliamentarians exhibit the ways in which ‘the familiar idioms of civic pageantry’ acted as an agent of political transmission which could be disseminated to a wide readership.³¹⁴

John Pym was the ‘front-man’ of the Parliamentarians and had, according to John Morrill, an ‘extraordinary *visibility* [Morrill’s italics]’ in its affairs. Paradoxically, this ‘visibility’ has chiefly been explained via his printed speeches as opposed to any visual images which were produced of this politician.³¹⁵ Such exposure appropriately culminated in ‘the grandest funeral ever given to a commoner in the early modern period’ on 15 December 1643, five days after the leader’s death.³¹⁶ His funeral sermon was published ‘*by Order of the House of Commons*’ in 1644.³¹⁷ Suitably, the chosen biblical text displayed on the title page was Isaiah 57.1, which focuses on the righteous being taken away from imminent evil. While its overtly pious title, *Threnodia. The Churches Lamentation for the Good Man his losse, &c.*, is remarkably similar to the title of Stock’s funeral sermon examined previously, the frontispiece portrait of Pym, engraved by George Glover (*fl.* 1634–1652) after the painting by Edward Bower (d. 1666/7)

³¹³ Hugh Peters, *Aeternitati Sacrum* ([1651]); <<https://www.europeanheraldry.org/united-kingdom/ireland/lords-lieutenant-ireland/commonwealth-1649-1660/>> [accessed 26 August 2019]. Although the engraver of the broadside is credited, the name is illegible.

³¹⁴ Snow, *Essex the Rebel*, p. 493; Michael Mendle, ‘De Facto Freedom, De Facto Authority: Press and Parliament, 1640–1643’, *The Historical Journal*, 38.2 (1995), 307–32 (p. 326); Gentles, ‘Political Funerals during the English Revolution’, p. 207; Helen Pierce, ‘Images, Representation, and Counter-Representation’, in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume I: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 263–79 (pp. 274–75).

³¹⁵ John Morrill, ‘The unweariableness of Mr Pym: influence and eloquence in the Long Parliament’, in *Political culture and cultural politics in early modern England: Essays presented to David Underdown*, ed. by Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 19–54 (pp. 20, 44).

³¹⁶ Morrill, ‘The unweariableness of Mr Pym’, p. 19; Ian Gentles, ‘Political Funerals during the English Revolution’, pp. 207–10.

³¹⁷ *Journal of the House of Commons*, 3 (15 December 1643), <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol3/pp341-342>> [accessed 26 August 2019].

Stephen Marshall (1594/5?-1655) writing that the sermon ‘*should have been his picture*’. In the sermon itself, he deigns to present ‘[h]is lively picture’ to the congregation.³¹⁹ The image appeared frequently in woodcut form within contemporary publications which, as has been previously discussed in Chapter One with the example of William Fenner, would have kept Pym’s image in the public imagination.³²⁰ One of these texts was *A Damnable Treason [...]* *Wrapt up in a Letter, and sent to Mr. Pym: Wherein is discovered a Divellish, and Unchristian Plot against the High Court of Parliament* (1641). In 1643, another anonymous pamphlet was issued, concerning ‘the life and actions of the late deceased *Iohn Pim Esquire*’, purporting to ‘praise our deceased Patriot’ and proclaiming that ‘his actions and labour, are left for imitation’.³²¹ Yet, despite the prominent portrait, much was made in the sermon itself of the sin of idolatry; in this case, in the public’s over-reliance on the figure Pym, leading God to take him away.³²² Marshall counselled his congregation and readers to ‘*bee not deceived, this market will not long last*’, and that it was a ‘great and generall sinne’ to idolise the most useful ‘instruments’ of God.³²³ It is possible that Marshall was, in part, attempting to regulate the zeal of the Parliamentarians in circulating this image.³²⁴ Once again, adherence to the Scriptures was to be placed above the deceased person in question.

If the funeral for Pym was a grandiloquent affair which lacked proportion according to his station, the obsequies for Robert Devereux, Third Earl of Essex on 22 October 1646 were ‘more magnificent than the capital had seen for thirty-four years’.³²⁵ J. S. A. Adamson has highlighted that this chivalric funeral was a ‘calculated exercise in anachronism’ in which the Parliamentarians vied with the Royalists by demonstrating the prestige and lineage of their

³¹⁹ Stephen Marshall, *Threnodia. The Churches Lamentation for the Good Man his losse, &c.* (1644), sigs A3^r, F^r.

³²⁰ Mendle, ‘De Facto Freedom, De Facto Authority’, p. 326; Sharpe, *Image Wars*, p. 283; Pierce, ‘Images, Representation, and Counter-Representation’, pp. 263–79.

³²¹ *A Short View of the life and actions of the late deceased Iohn Pim Esquire, &c.* ([1643]).

³²² Marshall, *Threnodia*, pp. 9–10; Sadler, ‘Dowsing’s arguments with the Fellows of Pembroke’, pp. 63–64.

³²³ Marshall, *Threnodia*, pp. 9, 12.

³²⁴ The satire of the over-use of images in sermon pamphleteering culture is explored in the following chapter.

³²⁵ Snow, *Essex the Rebel*, pp. 489–92; Gentles, ‘Political Funerals during the English Revolution’, p. 221.

cause.³²⁶ Several commentators have compared the obsequies and accompanying print culture of Essex with those of Prince Henry.³²⁷ Notably, Catriona Murray has observed that the commemorative engravings of Essex are amongst the last in the line of ‘old-fashioned ideals of virtue’ and ‘an outmoded language of nobility’.³²⁸ However, as will be established, there was more to these images than the display of chivalry alone. Essex was held up as another primary figure of godliness; namely, as the Abner who had delivered the Israelites from the tyranny of Saul (Charles I).³²⁹

To learn from the example of Essex was to follow the true religion. The funeral sermon which expounded such themes was delivered by Richard Vines, and it was stipulated that all Members of the House of Commons accompany the interring of his body.³³⁰ As it would have been impossible for Vines to ignore the array of spectacles at the event, he begins by stating that ‘[t]he Escocheons which are the *Index of the Family* do speak first’. He uses heraldic terminology in his description of the ‘sable field of men, charged with a stately Herse’. All of these ‘*insignia*’ serve a higher purpose, however, in their statement that ‘[i]t is *Jonathan that is taken*’, who ‘hath wrought so great salvation in *Israel*’.³³¹ Throughout the duration of the sermon, he continues to address the ‘[h]eroicall examples’, such as King David for Abner, which vindicate these displays of mourning, arguing that ‘[m]arble Tombes are not without

³²⁶ J. S. A. Adamson, ‘Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England’, in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 161–97 (p. 191).

³²⁷ Adamson, ‘Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England’, p. 191; Gentles, ‘Political Funerals during the English Revolution’, pp. 210–11.

³²⁸ Catriona Murray, *Imaging Stuart Family Politics: Dynastic Crisis and Continuity* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), pp. 160–62. See, for example, *The True Mannor and Forme of the Proceeding to the Funerall of the Right Honourable Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, &c.* (1646) and numerous prints published by Peter Stent (c. 1613–1665), such as *The hearse of the right honorable ROBERT: DEVOVRVX Earle of Essex*, dated c. 1646 (British Museum, T,15.45).

³²⁹ Richard Vines, *The Hearse of the Renowned, The Right Honourable Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, &c.* (1646), sig. B2; John Morrill, ‘Devereux, Robert, third earl of Essex (1591–1646)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7566>> [accessed 8 October 2019].

³³⁰ Snow, *Essex the Rebel*, p. 491; *Journal of the House of Commons*, 4 (15 September 1646), <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol4/pp668-670>> [accessed 1 October 2019].

³³¹ Vines, *The Hearse of the Renowned, The Right Honourable Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, &c.*, sig. B^r.

some Epitaph'.³³² Nonetheless, the key achievements of Essex did not lie in his nobility, but in the 'Reformation' and the 'pressures in Religion' which 'he tooke by the hand'.³³³

Afterwards, the sermon was '[p]ublished by Order of the *House of Peeres*' in a similar manner to Marshall's *Threnodia*, and formed part of the plethora of illustrated printed material which paid tribute to the deceased army officer.³³⁴ Two different frontispiece portraits were issued along with the two editions of the text. The later engraving, executed by George Glover, simply refers to Essex's position as '*Generall of y^e Army, Employed for the defence of the Protestant Religion*'.³³⁵ Essex is placed in front of a curtain, which partially reveals the army that is at his command. His shield, with a coronet, is also displayed in the background, along with a Latin inscription specifying the age of his death. The earlier frontispiece, engraved by William Marshall, shares certain characteristics with the Glover illustration; for example, the army is still present in the background of the scene. However, the Marshall engraving features verses which expresses the engraver's initial qualms about showing the portrait (see Figure 4.17).

³³² Vines, *The Hearse of the Renowned, The Right Honourable Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, &c.*, sig. E2^r.

³³³ Vines, *The Hearse of the Renowned, The Right Honourable Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, &c.*, sigs E3^{r-v}, E[4]^r.

³³⁴ Vines, *The Hearse of the Renowned, The Right Honourable Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, &c.*, title page; Snow, *Essex the Rebel*, p. 493.

³³⁵ For an example of this engraving, see Item 14 in Cambridge University Library, E.12.35; Henry E. Huntington Library, 148149.



Figure 4.17. Richard Vines, *The Hearse of the Renowned, The Right Honourable Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, &c.* LONDON, Printed by T. R. and E. M. for Henry Seile and are to be sold at his shop over against *Dunstons* Church in Fleet-street. 1646. Frontispiece. Henry E. Huntington Library, 148148. 4°.

The poem recounts Marshall's resolution that '*nothing should be seen*' and his thoughts to '*interpose a Screen*' because he believed that '*the Multitude*' would gaze upon the image rather than '*read*' it (ll. 1-4). Once more, as with the portrait of Pym, purchasers of the sermon were required to 'read' the image and understand its deeper meaning. Appropriately, the '*Screen*' of which Marshall speaks is represented in the curtain which, unlike the one within the Glover engraving, is meaningfully held back with a hand to reflect Marshall's change of heart. Nevertheless, the image is not issued without trepidation, and the emphasis that the portrait represents merely the '*Shaddows of his EXCELLENCE*' (l. 10) recalls the lines of verse underneath the portrait of John Harington that firmly assert its secondary place to the religious text at hand. Marshall's engraving was also used as the frontispiece to *The True*

Manner and Forme of the Proceeding to the Funerall of the Right Honourable Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, &c., a contemporary pamphlet that was also ‘*Published by Authority*’ and which elucidated the meaning behind the flags and banners present at the heraldic funeral. The image of Essex was not only disseminated in print, but had also been distributed in medallion form throughout the 1640s and cast principally in gold and silver.³³⁶ Many of these, too, were promoted in the name of the godly regime and worn particularly by Parliamentary soldiers. One medal, attributed to a follower of Thomas Simon (bap. 1618, d. 1665) who was to become chief engraver during the Interregnum, is richly imbued with religious symbolism (see Figure 4.18).³³⁷ On the obverse, a hand coming from the clouds brandishes a sword above Essex’s head. The legend on the obverse reads ‘THE SWORD OF THE LORD AND OF GYDEON’, which is a quotation of Judges 7.18–20.³³⁸ Such medals continued to be distributed after the death of Essex. On the reverse of one commemorative medal designed by Simon, the arms of Essex are displayed within a garnished shield, with a coronet above and a skull and cross-bones below.³³⁹ Another recalls the rare survival of the *memento mori* medal discussed earlier in its seated figure of Grief on its reverse, lamenting a broken and fallen column, which served to remind viewers of their own mortality.³⁴⁰

³³⁶ Anonymous, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, Plates XXV nos. 10–11, XXVI nos. 1–4 and 7, XXVII no. 4, XXVIII no. 14 and 15–17; Snow, *Essex the Rebel*, p. 493; Sharpe, *Image Wars*, p. 360. For medals distributed amongst the military, see Angela McShane, ‘Subjects and Objects: Material Expressions of Love and Loyalty in Seventeenth-Century England’, *Journal of British Studies*, 48.4 (2009), 871–86 (p. 873).

³³⁷ W. W. Wroth, ‘Simon, Thomas (bap. 1618, d. 1665)’, rev. by Matthew Craske and Lesley Craske, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25577>> [accessed 9 October 2019].

³³⁸ Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, I, pp. 296–97; Sharpe, *Image Wars*, p. 360.

³³⁹ British Museum, M.7207; Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, I, p. 326; Snow, *Essex the Rebel*, p. 493.

³⁴⁰ Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations*, I, pp. 326–27; Anonymous, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, Plate XXVIII nos. 15–17; Snow, *Essex the Rebel*, p. 493. See British Museum, G3,EM.310.



Figure 4.18. Thomas Simon, Medal with a portrait of Robert Devereux, Third Earl of Essex (c. 1642). Silver, cast and chased. Height: 4.2 cm; width: 3.1 cm. British Museum, M.7157.

It is to be noted that, much like the printed fast sermons which originated from Charles's makeshift court at Oxford, Royalist funeral sermons before the Restoration represented a somewhat poorer effort and did not feature such powerful and lasting portraits.³⁴¹ Undoubtedly, this comparative lack of display was related to Charles I's 'neglect of public ceremonial and the burials of his unpopular ministers' which contrasted with the magnificent obsequies of Pym and Essex.³⁴² Particularly from 1649, visual polemical references could be extremely subtle, and especially within those sermons which memorialised Charles I. Helen W. Randall refers to an 'artful obscurantism' which meant that the authors of these sermons

³⁴¹ Peacey, 'The Print Culture of Parliament, 1600–1800', pp. 3–4. The predominant focus in scholarship upon Parliamentary fast sermons, as opposed to the fast sermons delivered at Oxford, demonstrates the extent of the impact of the former as compared with the latter. See Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Fast Sermons of the Long Parliament', in Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change* (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 294–344; Tom Webster, 'Preaching and Parliament, 1640–1659', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 404–22; Ann Hughes, 'Preachers and Hearers in Revolutionary London: Contextualising Parliamentary Fast Sermons', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 24 (2014), 57–77. For the Royalist funeral sermon, see Major, 'Urne-Buriall and the Interregnum Royalist', p. 199.

³⁴² Stephen Porter, 'Introduction', in *London and the Civil War*, ed. by Stephen Porter (London: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 1–30 (pp. 25–26).

may have escaped severe punishment.³⁴³ She draws attention to another type of typographical symbolism or device which was ‘crudely heightened in the printed form’ of one of these sermons, since attributed to John Warner (bap. 1581, d. 1666), Bishop of Rochester; namely, the ‘ambiguous abbreviation’ of ‘*Ch*’ to denote Charles’s striking level of compatibility with Christ.³⁴⁴ James Rigney has suggested that the black mourning borders which embellished the title page of *The Just Mans Funeral* (1649) by the staunchly Royalist minister Thomas Fuller were sufficiently symbolic to account for the pointed lack of reference to the death of Charles I.³⁴⁵ Rigney’s argument gains traction in light of Andrew Morrall’s reflection that a ‘sense of private mourning [...] took the place of displays of public grief’. This ‘private mourning’ explains the “curious” nature of many memorials to Charles I’, which included images of the king concealed in rings or locketts, portrait miniatures and anamorphic portraits.³⁴⁶ On the other hand, publications issued anonymously might afford to be more daring. Warner and his anonymous printers did not seem to wish to take the risk. *The Subjects Sorrovv, &c.* (1649), attributed to William Juxon (bap. 1582, d. 1663), who would become Archbishop of Canterbury in the Restoration, also appeared without the name of the printer.³⁴⁷ However, this sermon included a frontispiece portrait of the king stripped of his earthly crown, while two winged cherubs are shown in the act of replacing it with a heavenly one. Christ’s crucifix on a mound forms part of the background scene.³⁴⁸ Such imagery undoubtedly recalled the

³⁴³ [John Warner], *The Devilish Conspiracy, &c.* ([1649]); Helen W. Randall, ‘The Rise and Fall of a Martyrology: Sermons on Charles I’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 10.2 (1947), 135–67 (p. 140); Ian Green, ‘Warner, John (bap. 1581, d. 1666)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28758>> [accessed 18 September 2019].

³⁴⁴ Randall, ‘The Rise and Fall of a Martyrology’, p. 142. See also Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*, pp. 124–30.

³⁴⁵ Thomas Fuller, *The Just Mans Funeral* (1649); Rigney, ‘The English Sermon, 1640–1660’, p. 114; W. B. Patterson, ‘Fuller, Thomas (1607/8–1661)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10236>> [accessed 18 September 2019].

³⁴⁶ Morrall, “On the Picture of the King Charles the First...written in Psalms”, pp. 214–15.

³⁴⁷ [William Juxon], *The Subjects Sorrovv, &c.* (1649); Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics, Volume 3: Hobbes and Civil Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 294.

³⁴⁸ Sharpe, *Image Wars*, p. 453.

frontispiece within *Eikon Basilike* (1649), the spiritual autobiography of Charles I, which continued to circulate after the king's execution despite efforts to suppress it.³⁴⁹

This section began by assessing the printed funeral sermon's status as a material gift in its investigation of preachers' sympathy with portraiture and the simultaneous inclusion of physical portraits within the final publications. It has demonstrated that the 'portrait' within the funeral sermon could be a fluid concept. The notion of 'portraiture' was employed as a common allegory within the clergy's eulogies to the deceased. The heraldic shield could serve as a substitute for the physical portrait and denote the hierarchical standing which the deceased had held in their lifetime. At the same time, the escutcheon could furnish creative opportunities for clergy, who would 'dissect' its component parts and explicate their relevance as forms of Protestant symbolism. When the portrait of the deceased was present in the published sermon, it could imitate the portrait miniature in both appearance and sentiment. The portrait could also be political, a visual reminder of the turmoil of religio-political instability during the 1640s and 1650s. As portable, political monuments, medals were also a major part of the dialogue, and there are many connections to be made between these tokens and the disseminated printed portraits of key political figures during the English Civil Wars. Above all, however, all of these objects and representations were subordinate to the Word of God. Consistently informed by the Scriptures by means of the annotations, biblical citations and full sermon texts which accompanied them, their function was to act as visual signifiers and guiding lights which gave patrons, readers and viewers the directions towards leading a godly life.

³⁴⁹ Andrew Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), ch. 4; Helen Pierce, 'Text and Image: William Marshall's Frontispiece to the *Eikon Basilike* (1649)', in *Censorship Moments: Reading Texts in the History of Censorship and Freedom of Expression*, ed. by Geoff Kemp (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), pp. 79–86.

Conclusion

One of the most renowned instances of the manipulation of printers' techniques to symbolise death can be found in the mourning pages at the end of Chapter 12, Volume I of Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, which marked the passing of Parson Yorick. Regarded as a major experimental visual device for the eighteenth-century English novel, the mourning pages remain a source of fascination to this day, even forming the basis of an exhibition in 2009 which saw seventy-three artists commemorate the 250th anniversary of the publication of Volumes I and II of Sterne's comic novel and, in particular, the black 'page 73'.³⁵⁰ However, this chapter has argued that a greater variety of textual designs and typographical devices associated with mourning are discoverable in a much earlier form of printed literature; namely, the early modern funeral sermon.³⁵¹ Solid black woodcuts were frequently used to instil sombre contemplation, a particularly fine example being the interaction of such a woodcut with the opening text of Edward Rainbowe's sermon for Susanna Howard. In addition, the representation of Yorick's 'epitaph' which precedes 'page 73' in *Tristram Shandy*, framed in thin black lines to represent the 'plain marble slabb' laid upon his grave, had its precursors in several seventeenth-century funeral sermons, such as Anthony Walker's *Planctus Unigeniti, &c.*³⁵²

In its assessment of the visual characteristics of the early modern printed funeral sermon, this chapter has challenged popular scholarly consensus *vis-à-vis* its 'standardised' format in a number of ways. Not only has it scrutinised the visual presentation of its component parts, which provided multiple prospects to disseminate the preacher's teachings in an effective

³⁵⁰ See <<https://exhibitions.lib.cam.ac.uk/laurencesterne/artifacts/black-page/>> [accessed 25 August 2019] and <<http://blackpage73.blogspot.com>> [accessed 25 August 2019].

³⁵¹ See also Helen Williams, "Alas, poor YORICK!" Sterne's Iconography of Mourning', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 28.2 (2015–16), 313–44.

³⁵² Walker, *Planctus Unigeniti, &c.*, verso of p. 59.

manner, but it has also complicated the idea that funeral sermons followed an exact structure which translated smoothly onto manuscript or the printed page. As scholars have previously noted, the eulogy could function as an entirely separate part of the publication, or it could be announced along the following lines: ‘I have done with my text’. Sometimes, however, as was the case with Edward Boteler’s funeral sermons, there could be a divergence from tradition in that priority would be accorded to the illustrious deceased, meaning that the biblical text would not be presented on the first page of the sermon as was customary.³⁵³ Furthermore, several examples have been highlighted in which the testimony precedes the sermon proper. This chapter has further dismantled the received wisdoms regarding the printed funeral sermon by making a strong case for considering its alliance of image and text. It has argued that there are some attendant pitfalls accompanying Margaret Aston’s statement that words alone ‘were the medium of the best memorials’, and that Protestant divines asserted this in their funeral sermons.³⁵⁴ Just as tombs could be intended as texts ‘to be read by observers’, so it was the case that heraldic symbols, the hearse, funeral monuments and mourning jewellery could all be utilised as ‘pulpit properties’. The sermons published after the funerals were, in many cases, to be viewed as visual artefacts to be appreciated both in a godly manner and aesthetically as per the Horatian injunction to ‘teach and delight’.³⁵⁵ In its exploration of anagrams, acrostics, chronograms and representations of epitaphs, this chapter invites further questions as to what constituted a visual image in post-Reformation England.³⁵⁶ These instances of textual iconography and typographical symbolism within the funeral sermon occupy a site between

³⁵³ Dixon, ‘Sermons in Print, 1660–1700’, p. 461.

³⁵⁴ Aston, ‘Art and Idolatry’, p. 249.

³⁵⁵ Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, “‘Prudentia ultra Sexum’: Lady Jane Bacon and the Management of Her Families’, in *Protestant Identities: Religion, Society, and Self-Fashioning in Post-Reformation England*, ed. by Muriel C. McClendon, Joseph P. Ward and Michael MacDonald (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 100–24 (p. 101); McCullough, ‘Sermons’, p. 574; Shami, ‘The Sermon’, p. 188.

³⁵⁶ This issue is the central preoccupation of *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017).

image and word, underscoring Paul J. Voss's contention that 'poetry, iconography, and scripture could peacefully co-exist in Protestant England'.³⁵⁷

Funeral sermons could combine an array of metaphorical literary imagery, figurative components and visual verses in much the same way as printed funeral elegies of the period.³⁵⁸ Hence, the idea that the printed sermon was 'clearly regressive from its spoken original' is somewhat problematic.³⁵⁹ Many of these sermons, from Thomas Dugard's epitaphs to the 'portrait miniature' within Richard Stock's sermon, prompt reconsideration of the thought which went into composing, printing and binding these works for a specified godly readership.³⁶⁰ There is also evidence of the varied interaction on the part of readers. The previous chapter explored the hand-coloured pedigree within a British Library copy of the funeral sermon for Walter Devereux, First Earl of Essex, and the continuation of that same pedigree within another copy held at the National Library of Wales. This chapter has highlighted the cutting and pasting of paratexts, which included portraits of the people associated with the sermons, in addition to the rearrangement of epitaphs and special bindings which referred to the printed image within the sermon. The question of whether these interventions can be attributed to strictly contemporary readers is not as vital as the issue that such care and consideration was taken over these artefacts in the first place.

At the same time, however, the notion that paratexts were always included cannot be applied so rigidly. In order not to restrict certain sermons to a designated, wealthier readership, frontispieces and engravings could be omitted. Moreover, while it is important to recognise the customised nature of some of these funeral sermons, we are reminded, particularly from the 1650s onwards, that these texts were also commercial products.³⁶¹ Kevin Sharpe has rightly

³⁵⁷ Paul J. Voss, "Created Good and Faire"—The Fictive Imagination and Sacred Texts in Elizabethan England', *Literature & Theology*, 14.2 (2000), 125–44 (p. 127).

³⁵⁸ See, for example, Henry Peacham, *Thestylis atrata, &c.* (1634).

³⁵⁹ Rigney, "To lye upon a Stationers stall, like a piece of coarse flesh in a Shambles", p. 196.

³⁶⁰ Williams, "Alas, poor YORICK!", p. 335.

³⁶¹ See the discussion of Philip Perrey's sermon above.

stressed that '[a]dvertisements in books from the 1640s and 1650s on await study as an aspect of the commodification of print and political culture', and an important kind of funeral sermon paratext was indeed the bookseller's advertisement.³⁶² A fairly substantial list of Nathaniel Hardy's publications was appended to the end of several of his funeral sermons.³⁶³ Not all advertisements were as self-serving. In a similar manner to the discussion of the books authored by Daniel Featley in William Loe's funeral sermon for the deceased divine, a note is included after the dedicatory epistle of Thomas Jacombe's *Enochs Walks and Change, &c.* which indicates that all of Richard Vines's sermons were 'newly collected into one *Volume*'.³⁶⁴

Even so, the individuated nature of these publications deserves emphasis in light of scholars' frequent complaints regarding the generic verbal 'platitudes that resembled directions found in domestic guidebooks', particularly within funeral sermons for women.³⁶⁵ This chapter has provided abundant evidence of the unique means of commemorating exemplary women in printed funeral sermons, from the acrostic of Elizabeth Wilkinson which cleverly incorporated her own epitaph to the '*Magnificent Monument*' reproduced visually at the end of the sermon for Lady Alice Lucy. Funerary inscriptions commemorating women continued to form part of the paratextual material of funeral sermons well beyond the period surveyed here, an example being the textual preservation of the epitaph at Westminster Abbey within the funeral sermon for Lady Grace Gethin (1676–1697).³⁶⁶ Moreover, while it has recently been argued that funeral sermons for children survive primarily in manuscript form in this period, this chapter has been instrumental in throwing light upon the personalised productions in print created for grieving

³⁶² Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 45 n. 277.

³⁶³ Nathaniel Hardy, *Divinity in Mortality, or the Gospels Excellency and the Preachers Frailty, &c.* (1653), unpaginated; Nathaniel Hardy, *The Epitaph of A Godly Man* (1655), unpaginated.

³⁶⁴ Jacombe, *Enochs Walk and Change, &c.*, unpaginated. For an earlier example, see the list of works by the deceased Canterbury minister Thomas Wilson (1562/3–1622) in William Swift, *A Sermon Preached at the Fynerall Of that Painfull And faithfull servant of Iesus Christ, &c.* (1622), sig. D3^r.

³⁶⁵ Smith, *All Men and Both Sexes*, pp. 23–25; Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman*, pp. 122–23.

³⁶⁶ Peter Birch, *A Funeral Sermon Preach'd on the Decease of Grace Lady Gethin* (1700); Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman*, p. 137.

parents of gentry status, which ranged from a reproduction of the epitaph of the remarkable Cicely Puckering to the beautiful line engraving of John Goodhand Holt.³⁶⁷ In fact, these funeral sermons provide ample support for emerging scholarship which contends that both the young and old could be used ‘as vessels and vehicles of divine enlightenment’ in post-Reformation England.³⁶⁸

Above all, however, this chapter has furnished strong evidence to suggest that printed funeral sermons can be considered as both illustrated texts and material artefacts, operating within the context of the richly visual culture of commemoration in Protestant England, as opposed to representing by-products of oral culture.³⁶⁹ It has, in part, answered Susan Foister’s call for the clarification of ‘the relationship between manuscripts, medals, and independent portrait miniatures’ by considering preachers’ rhetorical metaphors relating to limning and the ways in which portraits in printed sermons could imitate such techniques.³⁷⁰ In doing so, printed sermons could function as a physical gift for bereaved patrons. This chapter has also shown that the portraits of deceased Parliamentary figures were distributed widely in manifold mediums, demonstrating that, contrary to enduring assumptions regarding their hostility to the visual arts, Parliamentarians during the Civil Wars recognised their inherent value for propagandistic purposes. By such means, the cause of the Parliamentarians could be kept

³⁶⁷ James and Shami, *Remembering the Dead*, pp. 25–27. One final unusual example is *A True and Certain Relation Of a Strange-Birth, &c.* (1635) by Thomas Bedford (d. 1653), lecturer at St Andrew’s, Plymouth, which is as much a ‘monstrous-birth pamphlet’ as a printed sermon. See David Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England: Tales of Discord and Dissension* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 45; Helen Smith, ‘“Print[ing] your royal father off”: Early Modern Female Stationers and the Gendering of the British Book Trades’, *Text*, 15 (2003), 163–86 (pp. 183–85); Julie Crawford, *Marvelous Protestantism: Monstrous Births in Post-Reformation England* (Baltimore, MD and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), p. 22; Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 240–41; Helen Smith, *Grossly Material Things: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 50; Daisy Murray, *Twins in Early Modern English Drama and Shakespeare* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), pp. 18–19.

³⁶⁸ Walsham, ‘The Reformation of the Generations: Youth, Age and Religious Change in England, c. 1500–1700’, p. 108.

³⁶⁹ Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*.

³⁷⁰ Susan Foister, ‘Sixteenth-Century English Portraiture and the Idea of the Classical’, in *Albion’s Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550–1660*, ed. by Lucy Gent (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 163–80. See also Backhouse, ‘Illuminated Manuscripts and the Development of the Portrait Miniature’, p. 92.

constantly within the public eye and also served to reinforce the godly cause amongst soldiers. It was not necessarily the objective of these texts to preserve ‘the emotional atmosphere of the live encounter’ in a faithful way, which has been the common lament of scholars researching the performative aspects of sermons.³⁷¹ The printed sermon could be elaborately constructed, with exquisite engravings and typographical designs, to exhibit an idealised version of the original event, giving the impression that, for example, the funeral of James I was a much more refined affair than the under-financed and disorganised ‘rain-sodden fiasco’ it actually was.³⁷² Portraits of the deceased were held up as Protestant paradigms, with the accompanying verses and scriptural texts elucidating their steadfast commitment to godly living. These, too, were not intended to be exact representations to be venerated, but symbols of the soul.

Unlike the sermons within the previous chapter, a greater range of illustrative mediums, from woodcuts to metal cuts, were utilised in these publications. This range reflects a wide scale in costs, even though it was not the case that the woodcuts were necessarily inferior in quality.³⁷³ Consequently, it has been somewhat easier to identify many of the producers of these images. However, while it would be tempting to suggest that all the craftsmen involved in producing these portraits were personally invested in the creation of the likenesses of political figures, it cannot be concluded that such was the case. Harold Barkley contends that the works of William Marshall appeared chiefly in publications which buttressed the Royalist cause between

³⁷¹ Bernard Capp, ‘The Religious Marketplace: Public Disputations in Civil War and Interregnum England’, *English Historical Review*, 129.536 (2014), 47–78 (p. 67). See also John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 134; Hunt, ‘Recovering Speech Acts’, pp. 17–18.

³⁷² John Williams, *Great Britains Salomon* (1625). The work was issued either with a frontispiece engraving of James I by Robert Vaughan (c. 1600–c. 1660) or an anonymous engraving of the catafalque designed for the funeral by Inigo Jones. This sermon is analysed in extensive detail in Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England 1570–1625* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), ch. 10. See also John Peacock, ‘Inigo Jones’s catafalque for James I’, *Architectural History*, 25 (1982), 1–5; Lindsay Stainton and Christopher White, *Drawing in England from Hilliard to Hogarth* (London: British Museum, 1987), p. 67; Adamson, ‘Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England’, p. 191; Alastair Bellany and Thomas Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2015), ch. 2.

³⁷³ Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603–1689* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), p. 15. See, in particular, the woodcuts in Richard Stock’s sermon for John Harington.

1648 and 1650, yet his engraving of Robert Devereux which formed the frontispiece of his funeral sermon appears to be wholly supportive of the Parliamentary cause.³⁷⁴ Additionally, although Thomas Simon had been chief engraver for the Parliamentarians, he continued to be employed by Charles II in the Restoration until his death in 1665.³⁷⁵ The artisans involved in these productions seemed, therefore, to work chiefly on commission, changing with the religio-political tide.³⁷⁶ The interaction of these craftsmen with both the authors of the sermons and the printers unfortunately remains a nebulous area of enquiry.

There are other outstanding issues. Helen Williams has noted that, in terms of typographical art, the early seventeenth century ‘marks the peak of elaborate funeral design, and the point at which the designs became most experimental’.³⁷⁷ The point is well made, but the fact that anagrams, a major form of ‘typographical art’ within funeral sermons, are chiefly to be found from the Interregnum onwards is worthy of further consideration. Keith Thomas has already asserted that, far from being an artistic desert, the Interregnum was ‘a period of architectural innovation [...] and of experiment in monumental sculpture’; it was also ‘a great age for miniatures and medals’.³⁷⁸ Further research will determine why there was, additionally, a penchant for anagram composition during this era. Other questions could also be asked regarding the denomination of the preachers involved in contributing to these bespoke publications. Leif Dixon has maintained that the vast majority of funeral sermons were preached by evangelical Calvinists.³⁷⁹ Ralph Houlbrooke, examining a more extended time period, contended that ‘[t]he main currents of churchmanship were well represented’, but that it was indeed the ‘Puritans’ who were more prolific than ‘High Churchmen’ before the Civil

³⁷⁴ Harold Barkley, *Likenesses in Line: An Anthology of Tudor and Stuart Engraved Portraits* (London: HMSO, 1982), pp. 10–11. See also Pierce, ‘Text and Image’, pp. 79–86 (p. 82).

³⁷⁵ Wroth, ‘Simon, Thomas (*bap.* 1618, *d.* 1665)’.

³⁷⁶ Hamling, *Decorating the ‘Godly’ Household*, p. 20.

³⁷⁷ Williams, “‘Alas, poor YORICK!’”, p. 318.

³⁷⁸ Thomas, ‘Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England’, p. 34. See also Wilks, ‘The Art and Architecture of War, Revolution, and Restoration’, p. 490.

³⁷⁹ Dixon, *Practical Predestinarians in England*, p. 313.

Wars.³⁸⁰ It is possible to bolster these arguments with the observation that, contrary to perennial arguments regarding the hostility which ‘Puritans’ had towards images, it is the case that such representatives, described by Jacqueline Eales as those who followed ‘a tradition encompassing both Presbyterianism and Nonconformity’, were highly attuned to the visual possibilities of both text and image, contributing visual poems and allowing for an engagement with the material arts of mourning.³⁸¹ In fact, these poems were themselves ‘gifts’, provided either as favours to the clergyman who had preached the funeral sermon, or as genuine tributes to the deceased who may also have patronised them. *In fine*, published funeral sermons are not to be viewed as discourses which had negligible afterlives in print, but as texts which permeated the commemorative material and print cultures of the era, in which the image – as gift, biography, religious education and polemic – could sway the opinion of later readers.

³⁸⁰ Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England*, p. 299.

³⁸¹ Eales, ‘Samuel Clarke and the ‘Lives’ of Godly Women in Seventeenth-century England’, p. 368. See also Seaver, ‘Puritan Preachers and their Patrons’, p. 128.

FOOL'S BAUBLES, AND TRIMTRAMS: THE PRINTED MOCK-SERMON IN REVOLUTIONARY ENGLAND

Books to be sold in Little-Brittain

Item 15, 'Hocus Pocus: the art of juggling in the pulpit, made plaine & easy to the instruction of y^e present sucking Clergy in England; by Stephen Marshall professor of y^e same

*Item 21, 'Vox et preterea [...] an answer to M Carpenters sermon, & no sermon, by D Cheynel, a preacher, & no preacher.'*¹

The previous chapters in this study have shed light upon the ways in which early modern English preachers and their printers made use of images, typography and the spatial dimensions of the page as aids to memory, repentance, godly thinking and the inculcation of civic virtue. These investigations have bolstered the central argument of the thesis; that printed sermons were not always restricted to the occasions from which they arose, but could often become valued objects which were intensely potent. Not only could they acquire meaning as time passed, but they were also published for the immediate purposes of making money and to both reinforce and challenge royal and governmental policy. It seems fitting to conclude this series of case studies with an appraisal of the manner in which the distinctive visual and typographical elements of the early modern English printed sermon became sufficiently recognisable as to constitute major targets of satire in the mid-seventeenth century, a period in which sermons and other religio-political writings were published at an unprecedented rate. The mock-sermons investigated in this chapter both mimic and criticise the printed sermon,

¹ Extract from a satirical book catalogue in London, British Library, Add MS 4474, fols 67^v, 68^r. 'Item 21' in this catalogue is a reference to *The Perfect-Law of God: Being A Sermon, and no Sermon, &c.* (1652) by Richard Carpenter (1604/5–1670?), whose persuasions were Independent at the time of its publication. For printed satirical book catalogues, see Hugh Adlington, "The *State's* Book-man?': References to Milton in Satirical Book Catalogues of the Interregnum', *The Seventeenth Century*, 27.4 (2012), 454–76.

thereby providing mordant commentaries upon the accumulating moral failings of a genre which had played such a key role in the English Reformation. At the same time, these mock-sermons capture the troubled atmosphere which emanated from the pulpits in an age of religious-political turmoil. Yet, paradoxically, although these texts were characterised by their topicality, some stood the test of time and still found a readership well beyond the eighteenth century, bringing an interesting dissonance to the longstanding concept that these ‘ephemeral’ pamphlets were, as printed sermons were also supposedly, ‘emphatically not designed to be timeless’.²

The abridged, yet substantial list in the Appendix provides some indication of the ferocity with which pamphleteers attacked both the bestselling genre of the sermon and those responsible for its continuing popularity.³ But why was this especially the case during the English Revolution? Firstly, it is widely documented that this period witnessed the collapse of ecclesiastical censorship of the press in England.⁴ Michael Mendle has gone so far as to describe the era as ‘the first great wave of pamphleteering’ as a result of this.⁵ Secondly, as Nigel

² Alexandra Halasz, *The marketplace of print: Pamphlets and the public sphere in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 8; Sonia Massai, ‘John Wolfe and the Impact of Exemplary Go-Betweens on Early Modern Print Culture’, in *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels (Berlin and New York, NY: De Gruyter, 2005), pp. 104–18; Jason Peacey, ‘Pamphlets’, in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 453–70 (p. 454); Anna Bayman, *Thomas Dekker and the Culture of Pamphleteering in Early Modern London* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 5–7.

³ The Appendix does not include mock-sermons as embedded in other pamphlets or satirical ‘reports’ of illicit preaching, but focuses on standalone mock-sermons in print. Manuscript witnesses of mock-sermons also lie outside the scope of the Appendix.

⁴ Michael Mendle, ‘De Facto Freedom, De Facto Authority: Press and Parliament, 1640–1643’, *Historical Journal*, 38.2 (1995), 307–32; Diana Dunn, ‘Introduction’, in *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Diana Dunn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 1–16 (p. 8); Andrew Bradstock, ‘Digging, Levelling, and Ranting: The Bible and the Civil War Sects’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, ed. by Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 397–411 (p. 398).

⁵ Michael Mendle, ‘Preserving the Ephemeral: Reading, Collecting, and the Pamphlet Culture of Seventeenth-Century England’, in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. by Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 201–16 (p. 211). See also Jason Peacey, ‘The Revolution in Print’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution*, ed. by Michael J. Braddick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 276–93; Mark Knights and Adam Morton, ‘Introduction: Laughter and Satire in Early Modern Britain 1500–1800’, in *The Power of Laughter and Satire in Early Modern Britain: Political and Religious Culture, 1500–1800*, ed. by Mark Knights and Adam Morton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 1–26 (p. 16).

Smith has observed, ‘in a very intense way in the 1640s and 1650s, the sermon leapt out of the control of trained ministers and into the possession of untrained lay “mechanic preachers”’ from a thriving number of different sects.⁶ Official pulpit, popular press and voices from alternative factions were frequently to be found in competition with one other for ‘hearers’.⁷ Julie Crawford has argued that the press adopted the strategies of oral rhetoric; consequently, ‘[a]uthors and publishers of cheaply printed texts were [...] profoundly self-conscious about their texts’ relationship with oral culture’.⁸ As a final point, English visual propaganda thrived in the midst of the breakdown in censorship of the press during this time.⁹ It was therefore ‘the combination of a free press, ideological division and partisan politics’, in addition to a keen sense of the orality of print, which was responsible for creating the contexts within which the published mock-sermon could flourish in this period.¹⁰ The early modern English sermon, both preached and published, was encountered in an exceptional variety of ways and subjected to much distortion and abuse. Both Charles I and his opposing Parliament were quick to take advantage of the fast sermon as a political event and as a printed tract to court public opinion; Stephen Marshall, ‘the Commons’ favourite preacher’, has been described as ‘almost the official spokesman of the parliamentarians’.¹¹ The sermon was also the vehicle of lay preachers;

⁶ Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640–1660* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 7; Bradstock, ‘Digging, Levelling, and Ranting’. For the word ‘mechanic’ as a class label, see Tamsyn Williams, ‘“Magnetic Figures”: Polemical Prints of the English Revolution’, in *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540–1660*, ed. by Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), pp. 86–110 (pp. 99–100); Robert Hornback, *The English Clown Tradition from the Middle Ages to Shakespeare* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009), p. 106–08.

⁷ Julie Crawford, ‘Oral Culture and Popular Print’, in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 114–29 (p. 124); Bernard Capp, ‘The Book Trade and the Distribution of Print in the 1650s’, in *The Book Trade in Early Modern England: Practices, Perceptions, Connections*, ed. by John Hinks and Victoria Gardner (New Castle, DE and London: Oak Knoll Press and The British Library, 2014), pp. 209–28 (p. 217).

⁸ Crawford, ‘Oral Culture and Popular Print’, p. 119. See also Sandra Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets 1580–1640* (London: The Athlone Press, 1983), p. 37.

⁹ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 159.

¹⁰ Knights and Morton, ‘Introduction’, p. 16.

¹¹ Fast sermons continue to be prominent concerns of the existing literature. See Christopher Durston, ‘For the Better Humiliation of the People’: Public Days of Fasting and Thanksgiving during the English Revolution’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 7.2 (1992), 129–49; Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London: Allen Lane, 1993), p. 303; John Morrill, ‘The unweariableness of Mr Pym: influence and eloquence in the Long Parliament’, in *Political culture and cultural politics in early modern England: Essays presented to David Underdown*, ed. by Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky (Manchester and New York,

their ‘rantings’ and ‘corner-Sermons’, which could also be manifested in print, posed threats of religious, social and political anarchy.¹²

Pamphleteers were therefore provided with rich material for polemical attack. The mock-sermon form provided opportunities to attract readers with its resemblance to an extremely familiar genre. But while the printed mock-sermon came into its own in the English Revolution, it is important to remember that the lampooning of clerics and their sermons was by no means a new phenomenon. There is an admirable body of work which has recorded individual episodes of English parodic preaching from the late medieval period onwards, both as enacted in real life and as encapsulated in fiction. Nevertheless, there is still no sustained examination of the satirical imitations of printed sermons which proliferated during the English Revolution.¹³ This comes as somewhat of a surprise, particularly in light of Nigel Smith’s assessment that ‘the satire of the book, the vehicle of the word, dominated the satire of religion’

NY: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 19–54; Anthony Milton, ‘Anglicanism and Royalism in the 1640s’, in *The English Civil War: Conflict and Contexts, 1640–49*, ed. by John Adamson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 61–81 (p. 78); Ann Hughes, ‘Preachers and Hearers in Revolutionary London: Contextualising Parliamentary Fast Sermons’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 24 (2014), 57–77.

¹² Samuel How, *The Svfficiencie of the Spirits Teaching, without Hymane-Learning, &c.* (1640); *The Sermon and Prophecie of Mr. James Hvnt of the County of Kent* (1641). How’s dates are unknown. For the publishing and preaching of women prophets in Revolutionary England, see Rachel Trubowitz, ‘Female Preachers and Male Wives: Gender and Authority in Civil War England’, in *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution*, ed. by James Holstun (London: Frank Cass, 1992), pp. 112–33. For the term ‘corner-Sermons’, see John Strickland, *Immanuel, Or The Church Triumphant in God with us* (1644), p. 25.

¹³ *Records of Early English Drama: Lancashire*, ed. by David George (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 26–27; Adam Fox, ‘Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England’, *Past & Present*, 145.1 (1994), 47–83 (p. 69); Patrick Collinson, ‘Ecclesiastical vitriol: religious satire in the 1590s and the invention of puritanism’, in *The reign of Elizabeth I: Court and culture in the last decade*, ed. by John Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 150–70 (p. 161); Adam Fox, ‘Religious Satire in English Towns, 1570–1640’, in *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500–1640*, ed. by Patrick Collinson and John Craig (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 221–40 (pp. 226–27); Richard Mallette, ‘Blasphemous Preacher: Iago and the Reformation’, in *Shakespeare and the Culture of Christianity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Dennis Taylor and David Beauregard (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2003), pp. 382–414; Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 446; Simon Dickie, *Cruelty and Laughter: Forgotten Comic Literature and the Unsentimental Eighteenth Century* (Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), pp. 177–89; John Spurr, *The Laity and Preaching in Post-Reformation England* (London: Dr Williams’s Trust, 2013), p. 7; Fiona McCall, ‘Continuing Civil War by Other Means: Loyalist Mockery of the Interregnum Church’, in *The Power of Laughter and Satire in Early Modern Britain: Political and Religious Culture, 1500–1820*, ed. by Mark Knights and Adam Morton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 84–106. For French and Dutch examples, in addition to mock-sermons in the age of Daniel Defoe and Laurence Sterne, see Sander L. Gilman, *The Parodic Sermon in European Perspective: Aspects of Liturgical Parody from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1974); Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd edn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), p. 170.

at this time.¹⁴ This is perhaps indicative once more of the continuing tendency of historians and literary critics to pay little attention to the sermon's status as a type of book. Further evidence of this relative neglect in scholarship lies in the means by which these printed mock-sermons have been catalogued. Almost none of these works is categorised as 'religious satire' in the *English Short Title Catalogue*, although some have been classified as political satire.¹⁵ In other cases, the *English Short Title Catalogue* has not recognised that some of these particular pamphlets are satires at all.¹⁶ The fairly new online database 'Manuscript Pamphleteering in Early Stuart England' has thus far failed to identify one mock-sermon as satire; moreover, it has not been linked with its print witnesses.¹⁷ Only a handful of commentators over the past twenty years have contributed to any kind of analysis of the English printed mock-sermon. Malcolm Jones's article on the 'parodic sermon', which he describes as a 'genre in which the language and structure of the liturgical form is burlesqued with more or less subtlety', remains the foundational work in this area.¹⁸ However, Jones provides only preliminary coverage of the parodic sermon, concentrating principally upon the sixteenth century. While staged parodic sermons and those in print are examined, the distinguishing characteristics of both appear to fall outside the scope of his short article.¹⁹ Furthermore, in citing just one specimen from the English Civil Wars, he does not do justice to the considerable explosion of the genre in print.²⁰

¹⁴ Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England*, p. 319.

¹⁵ *A Sermon Preached The last Fast day in Leaden-Hall Street, &c.* (1643) is classified simply as 'Satire, English -- Early works to 1800'. *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness* by I. C. [i.e. 'Joseph Caryl'] (1659) is recognised as both 'Regicides -- Humor -- England -- Early works to 1800' and 'Political satire, English -- Early works to 1800'. *A Word for All: Or, the Rumps Funerall Sermon, &c.* by 'Mr. Feak' (i.e. Samuel Butler) (1660) is also recognised as 'Political satire, English -- 17th Century'.

¹⁶ Both *The Welch-Mans Warning-Piece* (1642) and *De Welchmans Sermon As it was Telivered pefore De Welch Hempassador at Hy-Perry-Parne, &c.* (1660) are categorised as 'Sermons, English -- Early works to 1800'. Henry Hasselwood's *Doctor Hill's Funeral-Sermon* (1654) is classed as 'Funeral sermons -- 17th century'. The subject of John Taylor's *Love one another, &c.* (1643) is 'Love -- Religious aspects -- Early works to 1800'.

¹⁷ See the entry for 'Sermon on MALT made to Theives and Drunkards (No date)', <<https://mpese.ac.uk/t/SermonMALT.html>> [accessed 30 December 2018].

¹⁸ Malcolm Jones, 'The parodic sermon in medieval and early modern England', *Medium Ævum*, 66.1 (1997), 94–114 (p. 94).

¹⁹ See also Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 157–58, for staged parodic preaching.

²⁰ Jones, 'The parodic sermon', p. 99.

Rosemary Dixon likewise disregards the mock-sermons of this era, concentrating instead upon a number of examples from the early eighteenth century.²¹ Joad Raymond expands Jones's initial inventory but provides little more than a summary of the generated 'inverses' of the sermon genre.²²

Perhaps the most extended assessment of any of these mock-sermons is David Cressy's account of *The Adamites Sermon, &c.* (1641), written by an anonymous pamphleteer posing as one 'Obadiah Couchman'.²³ The Adamites, a group of worshippers who chose to practise their faith naked in order to re-create the innocence of Eden, were an extremely popular, semi-fictional sect amongst pamphleteers.²⁴ Using the example of the Adamites, these pamphleteers repudiated the literalism of a multitude of radical sects, while simultaneously attracting the prurient interests of readers with sensationalist woodcuts of naked worshippers and equally brazen descriptions of their orgies. Accordingly, Cressy notes the 'extraordinary illustration' upon the title page of *The Adamites Sermon, &c.*, making further observations that the black-letter format adopted by the pamphlet belied its intention to win a 'more popular readership'. However, there is little attempt to situate this work in the context of printed sermons of the era.²⁵ More could also have been made of the humorous manner in which the printer of *The Adamites Sermon, &c.* played with blank spaces and different typefaces to distinguish citations of the Bible from the remainder of the mock-sermon which, as we have seen in previous

²¹ Rosemary Dixon, 'Sermons in Print, 1660-1700', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 460-79 (p. 461). For eighteenth-century satires, see also William Gibson, 'The British Sermon 1689-1901: Quantities, Performance, and Culture', in *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689-1901*, ed. by Keith A. Francis and William Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 3-30 (pp. 24-25). For an even later period, see Peter Denney, 'Popular Radicalism, Religious Parody and the Mock Sermon in the 1790s', *History Workshop Journal*, 74 (2012), 51-78.

²² Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 224. See also Benne Klaas Faber, 'The Poetics of Subversion and Conservatism: Popular Satire, c. 1640 - c. 1649' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1992), pp. 213-16.

²³ David Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England: Tales of Discord and Dissension* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 265-69.

²⁴ Kristen Poole, *Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 151.

²⁵ Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England*, pp. 265-69.

chapters, was a characteristic of published sermons.²⁶ Finally, amidst the flourishing number of scholarly editions of early modern sermons, as outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, there is only one modern edition of two mock-sermons from nearly fifty years ago. The Sermon on ‘MALT’ (n. d.) and *Walk Knaves, walk* (1659) are included in John Chandos’s *Examples of Preaching in England from the Act of Supremacy to the Act of Uniformity*, a work which has long been superseded by the scholarly editions mentioned above.²⁷

It is, therefore, the purpose of this chapter to throw light on the nuances and idiosyncrasies of the printed mock-sermon, asking vital questions about the impact of these printed artefacts in shaping the religious politics of the nation. Other key questions include the following: where did the mock-sermon sit in the pamphleteering culture of Revolutionary England? What were the religio-political contexts from which these lampoons emerged? What can the mock-sermon reveal about the status of the printed sermon at this time? How did the mock-sermon imitate the original genre? And how did these satirical versions differ from the original format, and why? This plethora of pamphlets will be explored in relation to the visual print culture of the period, thereby giving due consideration to the self-conscious interaction between oral, print and visual cultures which was typical of the pamphleteering culture of this era. Certainly, Mark Knights has raised the important point that ‘[t]he relationship between book illustration and topical prints [...] seems another fruitful line of inquiry’.²⁸ Ultimately, it is argued that study of satires of the early modern printed sermon leads to a fuller appreciation of the significance and ubiquity of this genre. As the sermon was manipulated by both the state and the common people, so too did the sermon in print become a corrupted object. Subsequently, the verbal imagery, printed images, typographical features and physical make-up

²⁶ See Obadiah Couchman, *The Adamites Sermon, &c.* (1641), p. 4.

²⁷ *In God’s Name: Examples of preaching in England from the Act of Supremacy to the Act of Uniformity, 1534–1662*, ed. by John Chandos (London: Hutchinson, 1971), pp. 108–09, 524–34.

²⁸ Mark Knights, ‘Possessing the Visual: The Materiality of Visual Print Culture in Later Stuart Britain’, in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580–1730*, ed. by James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 85–122 (p. 116). See also Peacey, ‘Pamphlets’, p. 455.

of the sermon were spoofed mercilessly. While it would be easy to dismiss these irreverent productions as mere ‘inverses’ of their originals, this would be to disregard the complex and evolving status of the printed sermon and the debates surrounding its suitability for reforming laypeople. Questions of attribution will be raised in order to expose critical details about the producers of these texts, although it is important to note that such information can be difficult to uncover, owing to the veil of anonymity presented by the use of cryptic initials and pseudonyms. Furthermore, attention will be paid to the intended audience of these satires, and particularly their religio-political persuasions.

A preliminary word on the chapter’s structure is in order. Printed mock-sermons of the English Revolution could range from light, even good-humoured divertissements to more inflammatory *ad hominem* attacks. What is more, they came in a variety of forms – from facetious reports of sectarian sermons to rather sophisticated pieces which mimicked many literary, linguistic and bibliographical components of a printed sermon. The principal argument therefore unfolds in three main sections: an overview of ‘sermon reports’ and an analysis of the place of the mock-sermon as embedded in other pamphlets; interrogation of the mock-sermon as it stood alone; and an examination of the satirical funeral sermon, perhaps the most sophisticated and multi-layered manifestation of the genre. The conclusion investigates later allusions to the visual elements of the printed sermon in a series of early eighteenth-century satirical prints, and provides a commentary upon the lasting influence of certain mid-seventeenth-century printed mock-sermons well into the early nineteenth century. As mentioned previously, the idea of a topical mock-sermon continuing to be reprinted over a century after its initial publication somewhat destabilises the settled assumptions that surround printed sermons, too frequently considered as little more than ephemera.

Sermon Reports

In their most basic form, satires of the sermon were simply exaggerated reports of the preaching of various sects which emerged during the years of the English Civil Wars. A taxonomy of ‘sermon reports’ as found in manuscripts is usefully outlined in the ‘GEMMS – Gateway to Early Modern Manuscript Sermons’ online database.²⁹ Most importantly for the purposes of this chapter, the printed satirical ‘reports’ of sermons in this period usually took the form of tracts that informed readers about the seditious activities of sectarians. These pamphlets would include a transcription of the offending sermon in question by a supposed ‘listener’, or a description of it.³⁰ Sometimes giving the impression of verbatim accounts of sermons, written down in the manner of an enthusiastic sermon note-taker who might perhaps have been ‘gadding’, these particular texts did not always attempt to imitate the appearance of a typical printed sermon. However, their authors were clearly alert to the possibilities of combining the verbal, the visual and the typographical to appeal to readers of sermons who were already familiar with such practices.

The Brownists Conventicle, &c. (1641), possibly authored by the pamphleteer John Taylor (1578–1653), who was commonly known as ‘the Water Poet’, represents one such example.³¹ In this tract, the fundamentalist beliefs and customs of sects, both real and semi-fictional, are observed in their manner of prayer; the administration of grace, informed by gluttony, at their sumptuous dinner; and the sermon which was delivered on that occasion. The lay preacher, a ‘learned *Felt-maker*’, is reported as denouncing prelates, describing them as

²⁹ See under ‘SERMON REPORT RECORDS’ at http://gemms.itercommunity.org/userguide.php#REPORT_RECORDS [accessed 30 December 2018]. Mock-sermons fall outside of the remit of the ‘GEMMS – Gateway to Early Modern Manuscript Sermons’ database. See Hannah Yip, ‘Silent Preaching: Laypeople’s Manuscript Sermons, c. 1530 – c. 1700’ (2019), <http://gemmsproject.blogspot.com/2019/03/> [accessed 17 June 2020].

³⁰ For example, *The Coblers End, Or His (LAST) Sermon, &c.* (1641); [John Taylor], *The Discovery Of a Swarme of Seperatists, &c.* (1641); *The Arraignment, Tryall, Conviction, and Confession of Francis Deane a Salter [...]* Also whereunto is added an Anabaptists Sermon, &c. (1643).

³¹ William Proctor Williams has suggested that this pamphlet was authored by another ‘John Taylor’ as opposed to ‘the Water Poet’, although he does not go into detail regarding his attribution. See William Proctor Williams, ‘From Maidenhead to Conventicle: The Curious Transformation of a Woodcut’, *The Library*, Seventh Series, 21.1 (2020), 102–09 (p. 107).

analogous to ‘the frogs & the locusts mention’d in the Revelation’, among other provocative teachings.³² The title page of *The Brownists Conventicle, &c.* draws attention to the centrality of his sermon to the tract’s argument by including a woodcut of ‘simple Robin’ reading from a pamphlet to an auditory. This visual depiction is conflated with that of the dinner, underscoring the profane nature of the false sermon. Such crude imagery is further trivialised in its adjacent panel; behind the speaker’s back, there is a visual portrayal of a couple embracing, with the caption ‘A little in zeale good sister Ruth’.³³ As a clear assault on the rise of sectarian preaching in the early 1640s, this pamphlet’s notoriety is represented in a notice within the *Journal of the House of Commons* of 1641 regarding its ‘[o]bnoxious’ nature, and also in its inclusion on the ‘Tree of Knowledge’ within the famous print by Henry Peacham and Wenceslaus Hollar, *The World is Rvled & Governed By Opinion* (1642).³⁴

But sermon reports did not always have to rely on printed images to make an impact on readers. The infamous Sermon on ‘MALT’ proved to be enormously popular, evidenced in its survival in numerous manuscript and print witnesses.³⁵ In addition to its amusing premise, part of the appeal may have been found in the imaginative way in which a single word, ‘MALT’, could be deciphered literally, metaphorically and visually to convey a series of morals for alcoholics. It is to be noted that some manuscripts and several print witnesses exploit the opportunity to accentuate each letter in the word ‘MALT’ in order to emphasise their

³² *The Brownists Conventicle, &c.* (1641), title page, p. 7.

³³ F. G. Stephens and M. D. George, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Division I: Political and Personal Satires*, 11 vols (London: Chiswick Press, 1870–1954), I, pp. 186–87; Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 165.

³⁴ *Journal of the House of Commons*, 2 (12 July 1641), <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp206-208#h3-0002>> [accessed 14 January 2019]; *The World is Rvled & Governed by Opinion* (1642), British Museum, 1850,0223.244; Dagmar Freist, *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London 1637–1645* (London and New York, NY: I. B. Tauris, 1997), pp. 2–3; John Manning, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002), p. 207. Earlier versions of this woodcut are discussed in Proctor Williams, ‘Maidenhead to Conventicle’.

³⁵ This was also the case with Couchman, *The Adamites Sermon, &c.*; see, for example, Leeds, University of Leeds Library, Brotherton Collection, MS Lt 57, fols 34^v–35^r. For more of these manuscript witnesses, see Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, p. 416 n. 50.

significance as the sermon's 'text'.³⁶ Attributed to John 'Decalogue' Dod (1550–1645), the sermon may have been composed at an earlier date; however, an appendix to a 1644 report on military casualties represents its first extant print witness.³⁷ The sermon opens by providing the context of its delivery. The preacher, who had previously delivered a '*bitter Sermon against Drunkards*', calling them '*Malt-worms*', is accosted by a group of inebriated townsmen who demand a sermon upon the word 'MALT'. Thinking it better to comply with their request than otherwise, the cleric improvises the new sermon, first explaining that his 'text' cannot be divided into words, or even syllables. He takes each letter to represent 'four interpretations [...] M Morall, A Allegoricall, L Literall, T Typographicall', the latter 'interpretation' punning on 'Typological'.³⁸ In a rather virtuosic display of *extempore* preaching, the preacher manages to fashion a short oration which could be perfectly captured on the printed page.

The second surviving print witness of the Sermon on 'MALT' is its inclusion as the first 'sermon' within a small octavo volume entitled *Forced Divinity, &c.* (1650?).³⁹ Both sermon reports in the volume touch upon recurring themes with which the mock-sermon in Revolutionary England was preoccupied; namely, the tautologies which verbose godly preachers frequently used in their chosen texts, and the monetary concerns which often, in the minds of their critics, became prioritised over their ministry as an ever-increasing number of sermons were published for mere financial gain.⁴⁰ The latter is suggested in the focus of the second sermon report, which also begins with an explanatory note as to its delivery. Thieves

³⁶ See, for example, the manuscript witness in the hand of Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 826, fol. 102. Jones, 'The parodic sermon', p. 113 n. 30.

³⁷ J. Fielding, 'Dod, John (1550–1645)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7729>> [accessed 14 January 2019]; Serjeant Major Beere, *An exact Relation of The defeat given to a party of the enemies horse neer Cambden* (1644), unpaginated; Angela McShane, 'Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth-Century English Ballads', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 15 (2011), 105–37 (p. 107).

³⁸ Beere, *An exact Relation*, unpaginated. One manuscript witness of this mock-sermon, dated 22 March 1655, also interprets the 'T' in 'MALT' as 'Typographicall'. See Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS 9065E/2103.

³⁹ This edition's sole public representation is at the British Library (British Library, 12330.b.21).

⁴⁰ Caroline Francis Richardson, *English Preachers and Preaching 1640–1670: A Secular Study* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1928), pp. 97–98.

detain a ‘*Parson Hobart*’ at the highway, demanding that he ‘*make a short sermon in praise of their Profession*’. The situation proves to be advantageous, however, as the money is returned to the ‘trembling’ clergyman upon satisfaction of their request, with an additional 6s 8d paid for his troubles.⁴¹ These mock-sermons which ‘celebrated’ the vices of alcoholism and thievery did not carry any especially polemical agenda, but were symptomatic of the growing popularity for satires of the ubiquitous printed sermon more generally in the midst of growing religio-political unrest and increasing factionalism.

It has been noted that the English reading public may have first encountered the popular Sermon on ‘MALT’ embedded within a short pamphlet on an unrelated topic. Whereas previous chapters have demonstrated the manner in which the printed sermon could borrow techniques from the didactic emblem book and elegiac poetry, so the mock-sermon intermingled with other genres of visual printed media. Not surprisingly, one obvious genre was the broadside. *The Cony-catching Bride* (1643) is an anonymous short tale about a clandestine marriage in a tradesman’s chamber.⁴² Two stock figures of a man and a woman, clearly reproduced from a broadside, are displayed on the title page. There are also two different figures of a woman and a man on the verso of the title page, surrounded by printers’ ornaments, another indicator of their origins in ballad culture. Yet, on the same page, there is also a woodcut of two figures embracing on a bed which had originated from a ballad but is cast in somewhat higher quality, demonstrating the ways in which pictorial genres could overlap (see Figure 5.1).⁴³ The wedding sermon ‘Preached by a pragmaticall *Cobler*’ is promoted on the title page as a special feature of the pamphlet. In the couple’s illegal marriage ceremony, the

⁴¹ *Forced Divinity, &c.* (1650?), sig. A4^r. A version of this mock-sermon exists in manuscript form in London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A XXV (fols 43^r–), although the parson’s name in this account is ‘Hyberdyne’. See also London, British Library, Lansdowne MS 98/25, in which the parson ‘Haben’ is only paid six shillings.

⁴² For real-life documentations of the practice of illicit marriages conducted in dubious venues during this period, see McCall, ‘Continuing Civil War by Other Means’, p. 93.

⁴³ This woodcut continues to appear in various broadsides, particularly throughout the 1680s. See, for example, *The Bonny Scottish Lad, and the Yielding Lass* (1682); *An Answer to the Bonny Scot, &c.* (1685); *The London Cuckold, &c.* (1688).

cobbler does not even preach upon a text but simply deems a man's wife as analogous to a well-fitting shoe, crudely giving his blessing to the couple to kiss each other and 'doe the rest that is to be done at night' as newlyweds.⁴⁴ *The Cony-catching Bride's* combination of different visual media mirrored the integration of mock-sermon and broadside, portraying the underlying salaciousness of supposedly pious men.



Figure 5.1. *The Cony-catching Bride*. Printed at *London* by *T. F.* 1643. Frontispiece. Henry E. Huntington Library, 120583. 4°.

And there could also be other forms of visual reports of sermons, a category which is entirely neglected by the 'GEMMS – Gateway to Early Modern Manuscript Sermons' online

⁴⁴ *The Cony-catching Bride* (1643), p. 3.

database.⁴⁵ *A Glasse for the Times, &c.* (1648), apparently published by an association of London ministers, reflects the increasing demand in the print market for *vade mecums* of notable passages in the Bible, in addition to extracts and compilations of the writings of divines.⁴⁶ The work can also be placed in that particular category of pamphlets which provided lists of offensive authors and their works, warning the public to be critical of what they read and heard.⁴⁷ The frontispiece woodcut, divided into two sections, displays ‘The Orthodox true Minister’ on the left hand side wearing a skull-cap and a black Geneva gown, preaching to an attentive congregation within a chapel. On the right-hand side, ‘the Seducer and false Prophet’ leans out of a tavern, indicated by a signboard. Not all members of his auditory are paying attention. This intricate woodcut, unusually detailed in its depiction of the facial expressions of the auditors, serves as an outline of the pamphlet’s contents (see Figure 5.2). The ‘false Teachers’ are named and shamed, along with their inaccurate or offending passages; the ‘sundry able Ministers’ admonish their readers to distinguish ‘gold from drosse’ and ‘to take heed lest they be corrupted with these notorious Errours of the time’.⁴⁸ The woodcut produces a very clear message to its viewers to be wary of upstart preachers and their unruly congregations.

⁴⁵ The database does not consider visual depictions of sermons being preached, either as printed images pasted into manuscripts or as hand-drawn illustrations within manuscripts.

⁴⁶ Crawford Gribben, *God’s Irishmen: Theological Debates in Cromwellian Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 166; *Annotations Upon all the Books of the Old and New Testament, &c.*, ed. by John Downname (1645). For examples later in the period, see *Kaina Kai Palaia. Things New and Old*, ed. by John Spencer (1658); *An Exact Collection or Catalogue Of our English Writers On the Old and New Testament, &c.*, ed. by William Crowe (1663).

⁴⁷ Freist, *Governed by Opinion*, p. 77.

⁴⁸ *A Glasse for the Times, &c.*, ed. by T. C. (1648), pp. 3, 8.



Figure 5.2. *A Glasse for the Times By Which According to the Scriptures, you may clearly behold the true Ministers of Christ, how farre differing from false Teachers.* LONDON, Printed by Robert Ibbitson. 1648. Bodleian Library, (OC) 130 g.132. 4°.

The single-sheet print depicting scenes of preaching constitutes a form of visual report which could be appreciated in conjunction with the other types of sermon report explored in this section. In a print published after the failure of the insurrection of the Fifth Monarchy Men under ‘misguided millenarian zealot’ Thomas Venner (1608/9–1661), a scene sits on top of the rebel’s halberd, seemingly replacing the ensigns which adorned his rebels’ standards in 1659 and 1661 (see Figure 5.3).⁴⁹ The new tableau presents a view of the interior of a building, labelled ‘*Conventicula Curiosa*’. The people within the scene are identified as ‘*Anabaptistarum*

⁴⁹ Richard L. Greaves, ‘Venner, Thomas (1608/9–1661)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28191>> [accessed 10 January 2019]. For more information on the Fifth Monarchists, see the classic study by Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism* (London: Faber, 1972).

et Quackerorum’, and a naked woman is seen to be dancing in front of the pulpit in a clear reference to the Adamites.⁵⁰ A version of this print was made at the same time, with the unidentified ‘Wilhelm Oxmann’ replacing Venner. The scene is also altered in this version; the preacher is not even standing within a pulpit and the congregation sit on the floor as opposed to seats. The two prints seem to be inspired by another entitled ‘Magister Hugo Peters’, published at the time of the execution of Parliamentary army chaplain Hugh Peters on 16 October 1660.⁵¹ In this print, Peters, dressed half as a soldier and half as a clergyman, also carries a flag and an open book, upon which are inscribed almost the same words as in the portrait of Venner (‘BIBLIA IN MANU ET DIABOLUM IN CORDE’ (‘The Bible in hand and the Devil in heart’)). There are also references to his association with Anabaptists and Quakers. Satirical portrayals of Hugh Peters were perennially popular in the wake of the Restoration, and are indicative of the multiple means by which satirists cross-referenced the work of one another by means of image and text.

⁵⁰ Stephens and George, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, I, p. 560.

⁵¹ *Magister Hugo Peters* (c. 1660), British Museum, 1863,0214.548; Stephens and George, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, I, pp. 541–42.

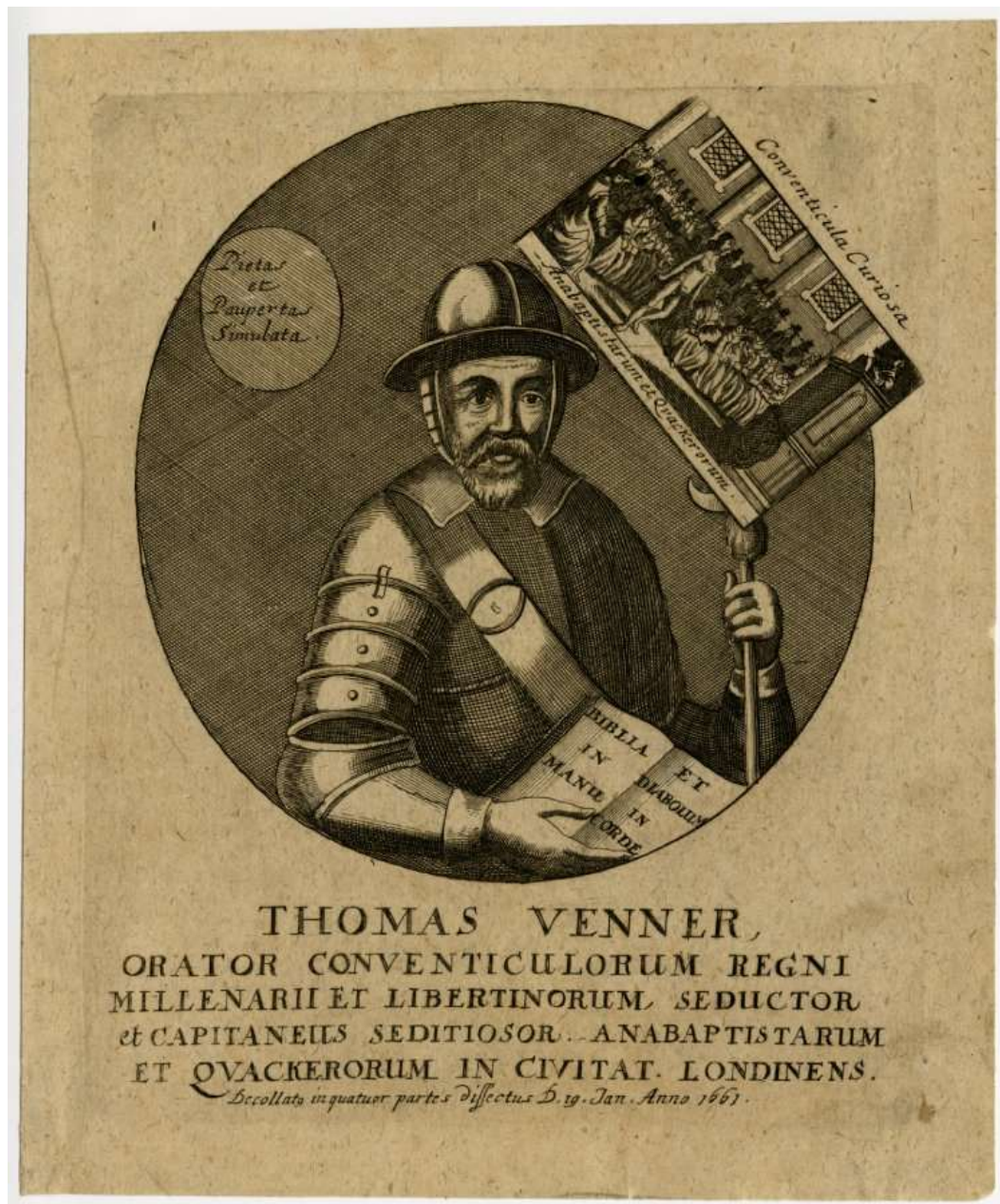


Figure 5.3. Anonymous print of Thomas Venner, dated 19 January 1661. Etching. 19.2 × 15.3 cm. British Museum, 1851,0308.479.

Finally, a deck of playing-cards best illustrates the pervasive nature of famous sermons delivered during the Civil Wars and Interregnum which were afterwards found in print (see Figure 5.4).⁵² The seven of diamonds in the pack features a picture of Stephen Marshall within

⁵² British Museum, 1896,0501.917. While the online catalogue suggests that the deck of cards was created in 1660–1685, Richard J. Blackmore states that they were produced during the Interregnum. See Richard J.

a pulpit in a chapel, surrounded by standing auditors with the caption ‘Marshall curseing Meroz’, a reference to his infamous fast sermon on Judges 5.23, first delivered before Parliament in February 1642 but repeated no fewer than sixty times.⁵³ The seven of spades shows a version of this image, this time with ‘Feek the Seer’ in a fitting illustration of the ‘thundering forth’ of the Fifth Monarchist preacher Christopher Feake (1611/12–1682/3) which will be studied in the ‘Satirical Funeral Sermons’ part of this chapter. This section, meanwhile, has shown that there was a ready market for satirical reports of sermons amidst the collapse of ecclesiastical censorship of the press. Such reports were to be found in various formats: within pamphlets recording seditious sectarian activities, fictional or otherwise; packaged with similar reportages in a popular octavo volume; or in collaboration with the mediums of the ballad, the broadside and other visual printed media. As was the case with a selection of the woodcuts scrutinised in the previous chapter, woodcut artists could strive to achieve a comparable level of detail in expression as engravers, evidence of which is found in the faces within *A Glasse for the Times, &c.* As such, there was evidently a degree of care taken with these images, hitherto believed by scholars to have been inserted into texts with less consideration than if they had been bespoke engravings. Taken together, these visual sermon reports exhibit a range of typographical and visual devices designed to persuade and capture an immediate sense of the oratorical, all of which would have been familiar to readers of ordinary printed sermons. At the same time, they managed to critique the hypocrisy of both radical sects and the clergy who still retained their designated livings within the English Church.

Blackmore, ‘The Ship, the River and the Ocean Sea: Concepts of Space in the Seventeenth-Century London Maritime Community’, in *Maritime History and Identity: The Sea and Culture in the Modern World*, ed. by Duncan Redford (London and New York, NY: I. B. Tauris, 2014), pp. 98–119 (p. 110).

⁵³ Stephen Marshall, *Meroz Cursed, &c.* (1642); Ian Gentles, *The English Revolution and the Wars in the Three Kingdoms, 1638–1652* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007), p. 139. For more information on Stephen Marshall’s famous sermon, see Jordan S. Downs, ‘The Curse of Meroz and the English Civil War’, *The Historical Journal*, 57.2 (2014), 343–68.



Figure 5.4. The seven of diamonds and the seven of spades from a pack of playing-cards satirising the Rump Parliament (c. 1650s). Etching. 91 × 52 mm. British Museum, 1896,0501.917.

Standalone Pamphlets

The image of the cobbler Samuel How delivering his famous sermon of 1639 in the Nag's Head Tavern, as displayed on the title page of the 1642 edition of *A Tale In a Tub, Or a tub Lectvre, &c.* by John Taylor, seems to mirror the portraits of divines which served as frontispieces to single printed sermons or collected editions of sermons, investigated in Chapter One.⁵⁴ In Taylor's initial foray into the mock-sermon genre, the chosen 'text' is a fictional passage found 'written in the first Chapter of *Bell* and the *Dragon*, the third verse [...] *Now the Babylonians had an Idoll they called Bell, and there were spnt [sic] upon him every day, 12 great measurs of fine stouer, and 40 sheepe, and 6 vessels of wine*'.⁵⁵ In dwelling upon the first word 'Now' for one page out of a six-page pamphlet, the sectarian preacher uses this opportunity to expose some topical gripes. He denigrates the supposed lack of regulation of idolatry; namely, the 'golden Crosses, Images and pictures suffered to stand in defiance of the *Brethren*', and also the 'lying, scurrilous Pamphlets, which abuse the Brethren in prose and Verse, by the Name of *Round heads*'.⁵⁶ As the text unfolds and the preacher gradually scrutinises each word, the words are laid out accordingly on the pages, in order that the reader can follow the argument. Perhaps the most ingenious instance of aural and visual wordplay, mimicking godly ministers' implementation of such rhetorical strategies, is the preacher's analysis of the word 'Bell'. Thus, 'those persecuting papists in *Ireland Re-Bel*', doubly and 'Tre-Bel-ly. The preacher does not press on for fear of censure; his 'Lecture' may be deemed

⁵⁴ How, *The Svfficiencie of the Spirits Teaching, without Hymane-Learning, &c.* See also John Taylor, *A Swarme of Sectaries, and Schismaticques, &c.* (1641), title page; Williams, "Magnetic Figures", pp. 99–100; David Cressy, *England on Edge: Crisis and Revolution 1640–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 236; Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 19; Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, p. 167; Dixon, 'Sermons in Print', pp. 465, 467–68; David R. Como, *Radical Parliamentarians and the English Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 57–60.

⁵⁵ I. T. [i.e. John Taylor], *A Tale In a Tub, Or a tub Lectvre, &c.* (1642), sig. A2'. This mock-sermon was first published in 1641.

⁵⁶ T., *A Tale In a Tub, Or a tub Lectvre, &c.*, p. 2.

a ‘*Libell*’.⁵⁷ This punning was entirely suited to the printed page, and recalls the earlier printed replies, commissioned by bishops, to the ‘Martin Marprelate’ tracts of 1588–89 which sought to inveigh against the Elizabethan Church. Thomas Nashe (bap. 1567, d. c. 1601) established that he was equal to the wits behind the Marprelate tracts, writing of ‘[n]o bells, *but Libells, and bables of their own*. No Homelies read, *but their own Hom-lies preached*’.⁵⁸ Taylor’s first mock-sermon was therefore part of a lengthy lineage of godly satire stretching back to what Christopher Hill has termed the ‘biggest scandal of Elizabeth I’s reign’.⁵⁹ It deviated from its predecessors in being one of the first to set itself up like a printed sermon, although the ‘text’ was not printed above the principal content of the work as was customary.

The feud between Taylor and mechanic preacher Henry Walker (*fl.* 1638–1660) has been amply documented.⁶⁰ Taylor’s masterly squib against Walker was a burlesque sermon entitled *A Seasonable Lecture, or A most learned Oration, &c.* (1642), which was supposedly preached by Walker in a barn and taken down by character by one ‘Thorny Ailo’ (an anagram of John Taylor). As Kathleen Lynch has pointed out, this mock-sermon provides us with one of the only two visual representations, albeit caricatures, which have survived of Walker.⁶¹ The woodcut on the front of the mock-sermon is split into two parts in a similar manner to Samuel Ward’s emblematic engraving on the title page of his own famous *Woe to Drvnkards* (see Figure 5.5). The top half of this woodcut is a depiction of Walker in a barrel preaching to a small auditory. This depiction of outdoor preaching may also have originated in earlier portrayals of debauched behaviour. In a sixteenth-century manuscript emblem illustrating a

⁵⁷ T., *A Tale In a Tub, Or a tub Lectvre, &c.*, pp. 5–6.

⁵⁸ Thomas Nashe, *Martins Months minde, &c.* (1589), sig. B’.

⁵⁹ Christopher Hill, ‘From Marprelate to the Levellers’, in Christopher Hill, *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill, Volume One: Writing and Revolution in 17th Century England* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1985), pp. 75–95 (p. 75).

⁶⁰ Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet 1578–1653* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 144–46; Andrew McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 212–16.

⁶¹ Kathleen Lynch, *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 137.

foolish young man who has an exaggerated sense of his own wisdom, this principal figure is situated outside and depicted in a similar way. Part of the lines in the accompanying poem read as follows: ‘The cobbler can a sermon make, | he is become so wise’.⁶² The bottom half of the woodcut in *A Seasonable Lecture, or A most learned Oration, &c.* is an illustration of the chosen verse on which the mock-sermon is based, in a comparable manner to the images explored in Chapter One.

Whereas many printed mock-sermons were emphatic about stating the illicit venue of the sermon, *A Seasonable Lecture, or A most learned Oration, &c.* is one of the few to display an additional preaching ‘date’ on its title page (‘the thirtieth day of March last, *Stylo Novo*’).⁶³ Also unusually for mock-sermons, the text is a genuine passage, albeit apocryphal, from the Bible (Tobias 5.16). Moreover, the sermon begins, as per convention, with a contextual explanation of the biblical story up to the chosen verse. The entire sermon turns out to be based solely on the dog; a comical indication of the extent to which a sectarian preacher could digress and consider topics of very little importance in a serious way. The pamphlet was nicknamed ‘Tobie’s Dog’, and was convincing enough that Walker felt the need to testify against his authorship of it.⁶⁴ Compared with his earlier *A Tale In a Tub, Or a tub Lectvre, &c.*, *A Seasonable Lecture, or A most learned Oration, &c.* represents a more refined development of the mock-sermon genre in its use of a real biblical text to convey a sense of authenticity; this text, furthermore, is set out in italics from the main content of the ‘sermon’.

⁶² London, British Library, Sloane MS 3794, fol. 55^v; Manning, *The Emblem*, p. 241.

⁶³ A rather vivid example of a venue and occasion is the ‘EXERCISE’ conducted ‘neer *Pissing-Conduit*’ as recorded on the title page of J. M., *The Ranters Last Sermon* (1654).

⁶⁴ Capp, *The World of John Taylor*, pp. 145–46; Poole, *Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton*, p. 222 n. 30.



Figure 5.5. Thorny Ailo [i.e. John Taylor], *A Seasonable Lecture, or A most learned Oration, &c.* Printed at *London* for *F. Cowles, T. Bates, and T. Banks*. 1642. British Library, 105.b.17. 4°.

While this mock-sermon is justifiably famous, little observed is the idea that Taylor may have retrieved the idea of making an animal the basis of a mock-sermon from an anonymous tract reporting a conventicle held at Whitecross Street in London. In *The Brothers of the Separation* (1641), it is reported that John Rogers, a glover, chose to expound upon the second half of Leviticus 1.14 ('[T]hen he shall bring his offering of turtledoves, or of young pigeons'), pondering heavily upon a description of various species of birds as opposed to their scriptural

significance.⁶⁵ In an earlier sermon originally preached at the Elizabethan court, William Barlow (d. 1613), Bishop of Lincoln, had argued that it would be a ‘discourse tedious’ to describe the types of eagles, showing the bishop’s disdain for unnecessary detail within the confines of his sermon.⁶⁶ On the other hand, as uncovered in Chapters Two and Three, churchmen could justify heraldic tinctures in terms of the symbolic implication of specific colours as set out in the Bible. The glover’s sermon, as recounted by the anonymous pamphleteer, seems to be a droll reflection of all these issues as he proceeds to inspect the colours of various types of birds’ feathers. Thus, a crow is ‘blacke, being adorned with the very same colour which our Clergy weares, which signifies his blacke wickednesse’. A magpie, on the other hand, is streaked with white, ‘which should be an embleme of righteousness, but it doth resemble the Bishops lawne sleeves’.⁶⁷ The ridiculous extension of the sin of idolatry even to clothing had also been highlighted in the contemporary mock-sermon, *The Adamites Sermon, &c.*, which invokes ‘cursed Mahomet’ in connection with attire. ‘Cloaks of red scarlet’ are ‘popish and idolatrous, for they are invented by the French’.⁶⁸ Similarly in *The Brownists Conventicle, &c.*, the lobsters on the table are dressed in ‘red coats like Cardinals, having clawes like Usurers, and more hornes than the Beast of Rome’.⁶⁹ Whilst it was common for divines to warn against the sin of pride as manifested in preoccupations with dress, this argument was rendered into a *reductio ad absurdum* by these satirists in order to stress the idiocy of dogmatic sectarian doctrine.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ See *The Brothers of the Separation* (1641), from sig. A2^r.

⁶⁶ William Barlow, *The Eagle and the Body, &c.* (1609), sig. D2^r.

⁶⁷ *The Brothers of the Separation*, sig. A3^r.

⁶⁸ Couchman, *The Adamites Sermon, &c.*, p. 5.

⁶⁹ *The Brownists Conventicle, &c.*, p. 5.

⁷⁰ John Williams, *A Sermon of Apparell, &c.* (1620); Tara Hamling, ‘The Appreciation of Religious Images in Plasterwork in the Protestant Domestic Interior’, in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 147–67 (pp. 154–55); Roze Hentschell, ‘Moralizing Apparel in Early Modern London: Popular Literature, Sermons, and Sartorial Display’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 39.3 (2009), 571–95 (p. 572).

A Seasonable Lecture, or A most learned Oration, &c. was not Taylor's last effort in this genre. *Love one another, &c.* (1643) is another sermon which makes much of the preaching date; the mock-sermon was preached on Christmas Day by one 'John Alexander', a joiner. The work opens with an appeal to the congregation to double his wage of six shillings, owing to 'the solemnnesse of the day'.⁷¹ Allusion is made to the title page image, its naked figures recalling those on the title page of *The Adamites Sermon, &c.*, in the dubious exhortation for the congregation to become 'not onely one Church, but one family, and be as it were one family of Love'.⁷² An anonymous mock-sermon which was directly inspired by *A Seasonable Lecture, or A most learned Oration, &c.* ('Being such another as *Toby's Dog* was') was issued shortly after the publication of *Love one another, &c.*⁷³ Entitled *A Sermon Preached The Last Fast day in Leaden-Hall Street, &c.* (1643), this work featured a variant of the woodcut which adorned the title page of *Love one another, &c.* (see Figure 5.6).⁷⁴ The visual, then, was one means by which such pamphlets could connect with each other and stimulate interest in buyers. As Jason McElligott has argued, one of the principal objectives of pamphlets was to confirm prejudices; the use of similar woodcuts on publications which conveyed related arguments increased their visibility and marketability.⁷⁵

⁷¹ John Alexander [i.e. John Taylor], *Love one another, &c.* (1643), sig. A2^r.

⁷² For the Family of Love, see Christopher W. Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁷³ *A Sermon Preached The last Fast day in Leaden-Hall Street, &c.*, title page.

⁷⁴ Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, pp. 164–65.

⁷⁵ Jason McElligott, 'Introduction: Stabilizing and Destabilizing Britain in the 1680s', in *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s*, ed. by Jason McElligott (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 1–12 (p. 10). See also Bayman, *Thomas Dekker and the Culture of Pamphleteering*, p. 23.



Figure 5.6. *A Sermon Preached The last Fast day in Leaden-Hall Street, &c.* Printed in the Yeare of private instructing, for *John Lovel*, 1643. Henry E. Huntington Library, 6087. 4°.

Thus far, this chapter has investigated themes which were common to the mock-sermon, including the monetary preoccupations of all types of preachers, the exhaustive itemisation of the words or even letters within their chosen texts, and the exaggerated sensitivity to the sin of idolatry which sectarians were keen to enforce upon their congregations and readers. What remains is to evaluate the linguistic features of printed sermons, including the encapsulation of the idiosyncrasies of a preacher's speech, which mock-sermons could imitate. The following summary of xenophobic attacks within the mock-sermon exploits the insights of sophisticated work conducted within the past twenty years on the mockery of the Welsh nation

during the Civil Wars and Interregnum.⁷⁶ *The Welch-Mans Warning-Piece* (1642) attributed to one ‘Shon ap Morgan’ and *De Welchmans Sermon As it was Telivered pefore De Welch Hempassador at Hy-Perry-Parne, &c.* (1660) were, as Mark Stoye has observed, ‘[p]hrased throughout in ‘Wenglish’ – that parody of Welsh-accented English speech’.⁷⁷

The Welch-Mans Warning-Piece opens with the words ‘Coot people, tis written in the pook of *Kot*, I cannot tell well where; put her was sure twas tere’.⁷⁸ *De Welchmans Sermon*, supposedly preached ‘Py dat Referent Shentleman *William ap Pew, ap Evan, ap Morgan, ap Shinkin Shon Parper*, Pachilar in Tifinity’, has a visual and verbal synopsis of its content on the title page. An emblematic woodcut of a dove with an olive branch in its beak is displayed directly underneath the words ‘*De Welch-man was come down ant was salute all de Peoples*’; in fact, these are the words upon which the sermon is based. This mock-sermon holds the distinction of being one of only two to feature the justificatory dedicatory epistle which could often be found in printed sermons.⁷⁹ The preacher, ‘hafing taken cood dele of pains in dis Sermon, was thought cood to puplish dis pook in brint *Ferpatim*, as her was telivered at *High-perry-parne* pevore her creat Hempassador’.⁸⁰ The part of the sermon which dwells upon the words ‘*de Welchman was come down*’ seems to mirror the peace offering held by the dove on the title-page woodcut as it evokes images of nature (‘her was come down like a Welch Coate

⁷⁶ See, for example, Lloyd Bowen, ‘Representations of Wales and the Welsh during the Civil Wars and Interregnum’, *Historical Research*, 77.197 (2004), 358–76; Nicholas Brownlees, ‘Welsh English in English Civil War Pamphlets’, in *Studies in English and European Historical Dialectology*, ed. by Marina Dossena and Roger Lass (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 209–31; Nicholas Brownlees, *The Language of Periodical News in Seventeenth-Century England* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2011), pp. 132–33.

⁷⁷ Mark Stoye, ‘Caricaturing Cymru: Images of the Welsh in the London Press 1642–46’, in *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Diana Dunn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 162–79 (p. 168). See also Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 156.

⁷⁸ Shon ap Morgan, *The Welch-Mans Warning-Piece* (1642), sig. A2^r.

⁷⁹ Paul Seaver, ‘Puritan Preachers and their Patrons’, in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 128–42 (p. 132); Mary Ann Lund, ‘Early Modern Sermon Paratexts and the Religious Politics of Reading’, in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580–1730*, ed. by James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 143–62 (pp. 149–51). The other mock-sermon is Henry Hasselwood, *Doctor Hill’s Funeral-Sermon* (1654).

⁸⁰ *De Welchmans Sermon As it was Telivered pefore De Welch Hempassador at Hy-Perry-Parne, &c.*, p. 2.

out of the Mountain from de Rock'). In fact, the Welshman 'was not come down like an Eagle to prey upon her Predren', but rather 'like an Asse'.⁸¹ The mocking comparison of Mesopotamia with Abergavenny mirrors and distorts the common conceit of England as another Israel.⁸²

These publications in 'Wenglish' assailed the conventional and potentially contrived transcriptions of a clergyman's dialect and familiar verbal expressions in printed sermons, which were intended to communicate a feeling of accuracy and immediacy as oral texts which had been transcribed.⁸³ A noteworthy instance of this characteristic linguistic feature is recorded in Samuel Ward's *Woe to Drvnkards*, in which the East Anglian word 'quackle' is used for 'choke'.⁸⁴ Perhaps the most extended example in print is *The Red-Shankes Sermon* (1642), James Row's sermon on the Church of Scotland and the Covenant, preached in 1638.⁸⁵ While there are some mild references to Scottish dialect throughout the sermon, such as the word 'ken' ('know'), the use of Scots is especially pronounced at the point where the preacher relates the tale of Balaam and the Ass.⁸⁶ *The Wound's o' the Kirk o' Scotland, &c.* (1650), written entirely in 'Scots', appears to be a tongue-in-cheek riff on the original sermon.⁸⁷ These burlesques have led Margery A. Kingsley to conclude that it was not 'simply prophecy itself, but language' that was under fire.⁸⁸

⁸¹ *De Welchmans Sermon As it was Telivered pefore De Welch Hempassador at Hy-Perry-Parne, &c.*, p. 4.

⁸² *De Welchmans Sermon As it was Telivered pefore De Welch Hempassador at Hy-Perry-Parne, &c.*, p. 5; Milton, 'Anglicanism and Royalism', p. 78. See a sermon by Andrew Marvell the elder (c. 1584–1641), entitled 'Israel and England parallel'd' and composed in 1627, London, Inner Temple Library, Petyt MS. 531 C. For this particular manuscript sermon, see Nigel Smith, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 19–20.

⁸³ Francis Bremer and Ellen Rydell, 'Performance Art? Puritans in the Pulpit', *History Today*, 45.9 (1995), 50–4 (p. 51).

⁸⁴ Samuel Ward, *Woe to Drvnkards* (1622), p. 22; Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 100.

⁸⁵ *Scottish Prose 1550–1700*, ed. by Ronald D. S. Jack (London: Calder & Boyars, 1971), p. 130. Row's dates are unknown. See also Robert Rollock, *Certain Sermons vpon Severall Places of the Epistles of Pavl* (1599); Tiffany Stern, 'Sermons, Plays and Note-Takers: *Hamlet* Q1 as a 'Noted' Text', *Shakespeare Survey*, 66 (2013), 1–23 (p. 5).

⁸⁶ Jack, ed., *Scottish Prose 1550–1700*, pp. 25–26.

⁸⁷ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 224.

⁸⁸ Margery A. Kingsley, *Transforming the Word: Prophecy, Poetry, and Politics in England, 1650–1742* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2001), p. 64.

The means by which the printed mock-sermon could coalesce with the broadside has already been studied in *The Cony-catching Bride*. In certain editions of another ‘Wenglish’ sermon, *The true Copy of a Welch Sermon, &c.*, the work ends with a ‘hymn’ to be sung ‘*To the tune of alasse poore Scholler*’.⁸⁹ The original ballad is *Alas poore Scholler, whither wilt thou goe* (1641) by nonconformist minister and satirist Robert Wild (1615/16–1679). This ballad centres on an impoverished recent graduate who eventually turns to impious wrongdoings, going overseas to ‘Turne Jew or Atheist / Turke or Papist’.⁹⁰ As there was no particular need for individual metrical psalms to be reproduced in printed sermons, this was a point of departure for the mock-sermon.⁹¹ Chapter Three demonstrated the potential for a range of paratexts to be included alongside the sermon itself, indicating their nature as bespoke publications. *The true Copy of a Welch Sermon, &c.* was to foreshadow later practice; hymns, following their ascendancy in the latter part of the seventeenth century, began to be included in real printed sermons from the 1690s.⁹²

The true Copy of a Welch Sermon, &c. is also worthy of further discussion for its presentation and the text upon which it is structured. The title-page border is made up of multiple tiny printers’ ornaments of fleurs-de-lys, in direct imitation of many of the fast sermons which were being published at this time. Like *A Seasonable Lecture, or A most learned Oration, &c.*, a real biblical text from the Apocrypha forms the basis of the work (II Esdras 7.15–16). Using a text from the Apocrypha was often controversial, as stated in *The Brownists Conventicle, &c.*, in which the preacher apologises for ‘alleaging any example out of the

⁸⁹ John up Owen [i.e. ‘John Owen’], *The true Copy of a Welch Sermon, &c.* (1643), pp. 4–5.

⁹⁰ Laurie Ellinghausen, *Labor and Writing in Early Modern England, 1567–1667* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 51–53.

⁹¹ See also the mock-psalm within M., *The Ranters Last Sermon*, pp. 5–6.

⁹² Michael Harrison, *The Best Match: Or, The Believer’s Marriage with Christ* (1691), pp. 45–51; Charles Nicholets, *A Burning yet Unconsumed Bush, Exemplified* (1700), pp. 165–67; J. R. Watson, *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 133.

prophane Apocrypha'.⁹³ According to Ariel Hessayon, II Esdras was a book that received consistent attention in this period, but which was widely recognised as 'a work that neither Jews, post-Tridentine Catholics, nor the Church of England accepted as canonical'.⁹⁴ *The true Copy of a Welch Sermon, &c.* also represents a divergence from the 'Wenglish' sermons discussed above in that it does not attempt to resemble any form of Welsh dialect, although another later version, seemingly 'Published according to Order', adheres more closely to the dialect.⁹⁵ It is also worthy of note that it is the only printed mock-sermon of this period which cites a venerable auditor, a 'Prince Maurice', lampooning those printed sermons which explicitly made an effort to announce prestigious audience members on their title pages to boost the reputation of the preacher.

A Zealovs Sermon, Preached at Amsterdam, &c. (1642), of disputed authorship, diverges from the previous examples in its emulation of the layout of the content, as opposed to the title page, of a typical printed sermon.⁹⁶ The premise of this mock-sermon is one which was suitable for a text intended to be read; the preacher has had the tips of his ears cut off. Such a handicap reflects the urgency of the situation; printed sermons were needed to serve the godly in place of the new restrictions imposed by Laudian reforms upon the sermon as preached.⁹⁷ There are numbered 'uses' and 'observations' within the discourse, giving the

⁹³ *The Brownists Conventicle, &c.*, p. 5. This was to be satirised later in Section II of *A Tale of a Tub* (1726) by Jonathan Swift (1667–1745). See Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub and Other Works*, ed. by Angus Ross and David Woolley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986; repr. 2008), pp. 34–43.

⁹⁴ Stephen Denison, *The White Wolfe, &c.* (1627), pp. 65–67; Ariel Hessayon, 'The Apocrypha in Early Modern England', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, ed. by Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 131–48 (p. 147).

⁹⁵ Shon up Owen [i.e. John Owen], *A true Copy of the Welch Sermon, &c.* (1646).

⁹⁶ J. Blom and F. Blom are unconvinced by the work's attribution to John Austin. See J. Blom and F. Blom, 'Austin, John [pseud. William Birchley] (1613–1669)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/908>> [accessed 18 June 2020].

⁹⁷ A pamphlet play, *A new Play Called Canterburie His Change of Diot* (1641), satirises the particular punishment of cropping ears, principally dealt out to opponents of Archbishop William Laud. [Richard Overton], *A new Play called Canterburie His Change of Diot* (1641); Helen Pierce, 'Anti-Episcopacy and Graphic Satire in England, 1640–1645', *The Historical Journal*, 47.4 (2000), 809–48 (pp. 812–13); Rachel Willie, 'Sensing the Visual (Mis)representation of William Laud', in *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), pp. 183–210 (pp. 194–97).

impression of a rigorously logical division. A satire on the Independent minister Henry Burton, the mock-sermon was also cited in John Taylor as the ‘Not-Rub’ sermon in *An Apology for private preaching* (1642).⁹⁸ The practice of citing was another way to increase marketability in addition to the re-use of title-page woodcuts, but it was also a means to caricature this procedure in printed sermons.⁹⁹ One of the earliest instances of such a practice can be found in the 1603 edition of a sermon by John Howson (1556/7–1632), Bishop of Durham, in which his earlier ‘Sermon preached at Paules crosse. 1598 Maij 21. & printed at London’ is cited in the margins, in order that readers could look up his opinion on ‘the necessity & excellencie of devout and holy preaching’.¹⁰⁰

So far, this chapter has examined mock-sermons exclusively from the years of the English Civil Wars, with some exceptions: *Forced Divinity, &c.* and *De Welchmans Sermon As it was Telivered pefore De Welch Hempassador at Hy-Perry-Parne, &c.* The deluge of mock-sermons published from 1659, after the death of Oliver Cromwell and during the unsuccessful experiment of the Rump Parliament, appears after a break of five years, the last printed mock-sermon before this period being *Doctor Hill’s Funeral-Sermon* (1654) by one ‘Henry Hasselwood’. These newer publications took into account the great changes that had come about the nation over this time. Often lasting for more than just five or six pages, in contrast with earlier mock-sermons, the satires seem to be greatly extended, more imitative of the periphrastic nature of printed sermons, and newly critical of the reforms brought about during the Interregnum.

The Exaltation of Christmas Pye, &c. (1659) is one of the less incendiary texts from this period. Its raillery focuses upon a particularly visual and apparently trivial subject, the mince

⁹⁸ T. J., [i.e. John Taylor], *An Apology for Private Preaching* (1642), unpaginated; Faber, ‘The Poetics of Subversion and Conservatism’, p. 69 n. 60.

⁹⁹ For citations and the recycling of jokes in the genre of the satirical printed book catalogue, see Adlington, ‘The State’s Book-man?’, p. 456.

¹⁰⁰ John Howson, *A Sermon Preached at S. Maries in Oxford, &c.*, 2nd edn (1603), p. 6.

pie, although this, of course, refers both to Parliament's banning of Christmas and to godly, hypocritical disapproval of gluttony. There is a bathetic juxtaposition of the Ephod from Exodus ('beset with precious stones, and every one of them had their signification') and mince pies, 'beset with plums and spice', also having 'their vertues and their *Hieroglyphical* significations'.¹⁰¹ There are also plays on the rhetorical linguistic mechanisms that godly preachers employed, which have already been witnessed earlier in this chapter. Thus, the idea of words lying together is described in a sensuous manner as a 'conjunction copulative', which is perhaps a nod to Taylor's earlier use of the term in *Love one another, &c.*¹⁰² The most pronounced typographical satirical element featured on the pages of *The Exaltation of Christmas Pye, &c.* is the printed marginal note which, in non-satirical counterparts, served to summarise certain passages for the benefit of readers. 'A New way of embalming' is printed in the margin next to the passage which describes the preservative ingredients in a mince pie.¹⁰³ While not particularly topical, it is a witty comment intended to be appreciated by readers who were familiar with this traditional but rather opulent funeral rite.¹⁰⁴

Which other mock-sermons were lightly derisive of current affairs in order to entertain readers who were weary of Parliamentary reforms? *Walk Knaves, walk*, published in July 1659, purports to have been composed by 'Hodg Turbervil, Chaplain to the late Lord Hewson', but has since been attributed to the hack writer Edmund Gayton (1608–1666).¹⁰⁵ Having been expelled from his beadleship in 1648 by parliamentary delegates, and having spent time in prison during the 1650s on account of some verses he had written for an illicit livery company

¹⁰¹ Exodus 28.6–12; P. C., *The Exaltation of Christmas Pye, &c.*, p. 7.

¹⁰² C., *The Exaltation of Christmas Pye, &c.*, p. 3; Alexander [i.e. John Taylor], *Love one another, &c.*, p. 4.

¹⁰³ C., *The Exaltation of Christmas Pye, &c.*, p. 7.

¹⁰⁴ Sarah Tarlow, *Ritual, Belief and the Dead in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 98–101.

¹⁰⁵ Neil Durkin, 'His Praeludary Weapons: mocking Colonel Hewson before and after the Restoration', in *Subversion and Scurrility: Popular Discourse in Europe from 1500 to the Present*, ed. by Dermot Cavanagh and Tim Kirk (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 106–24 (pp. 115–16); Christopher Durston, 'Hewson, John, appointed Lord Hewson under the protectorate (fl. 1630–1660)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13157>> [accessed 4 January 2019].

pageant, Gayton had reasons to denigrate the Parliamentarians.¹⁰⁶ Despite Gayton's rather mediocre literary reputation during his lifetime, this mock-sermon has been regarded as 'the most thoroughly developed—as well as scurrilous—example of the sermon form used as satire [...] distinguished from most of the ribald outpourings in prose and verse of the time by its skill and control'.¹⁰⁷ John Hewson (fl. 1630–1660) was a cobbler who rose the ranks to become a Lord under the Protectorate. Hewson himself had preached illegally in 1646, and ultimately signed the death warrant of Charles I.¹⁰⁸ The premonitory mock-sermon's central doctrine is that 'Bad times require good boots'.¹⁰⁹ The congregation is advised to buy good boots for the winter, an allegory of the urgent need for those opposed to the Restoration to flee the country.¹¹⁰

The title page indicates that *Walk Knaves, walk* was '[a] Discourse Intended to have been spoken at Court', alluding to the routine of many preachers of all sects from the Civil Wars and Interregnum to publish their sermons without ever having preached them.¹¹¹ The style of the small title-page woodcut representing the working folk once again demonstrates the mock-sermon's place within a genealogy of illustrated sermons, in which images were used as a kind of edifying précis to appeal to a wide reading public (see Figure 5.7).¹¹²

¹⁰⁶ Ian William McLellan, 'Gayton, Edmund (1608–1666)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10480>> [accessed 17 June 2020].

¹⁰⁷ Chandos, ed., *In God's Name*, p. 524; McLellan, 'Gayton, Edmund (1608–1666)'.

¹⁰⁸ Durston, 'Hewson, John'.

¹⁰⁹ Hodg Turbervil [Edmund Gayton], *Walk Knaves, walk* (1659), p. 9.

¹¹⁰ Turbervil, *Walk Knaves, walk*, pp. 9–10.

¹¹¹ Dixon, 'Sermons in Print', p. 461; *Heavtonaparnvmenos: Or a Treatise of Self-Denyall* (1646). For 'phantom sermons', see Chapter Three.

¹¹² Note that the woodcut does not appear on all copies of this work; see, for example, Christ Church Library, Oxford, B.127 (58).

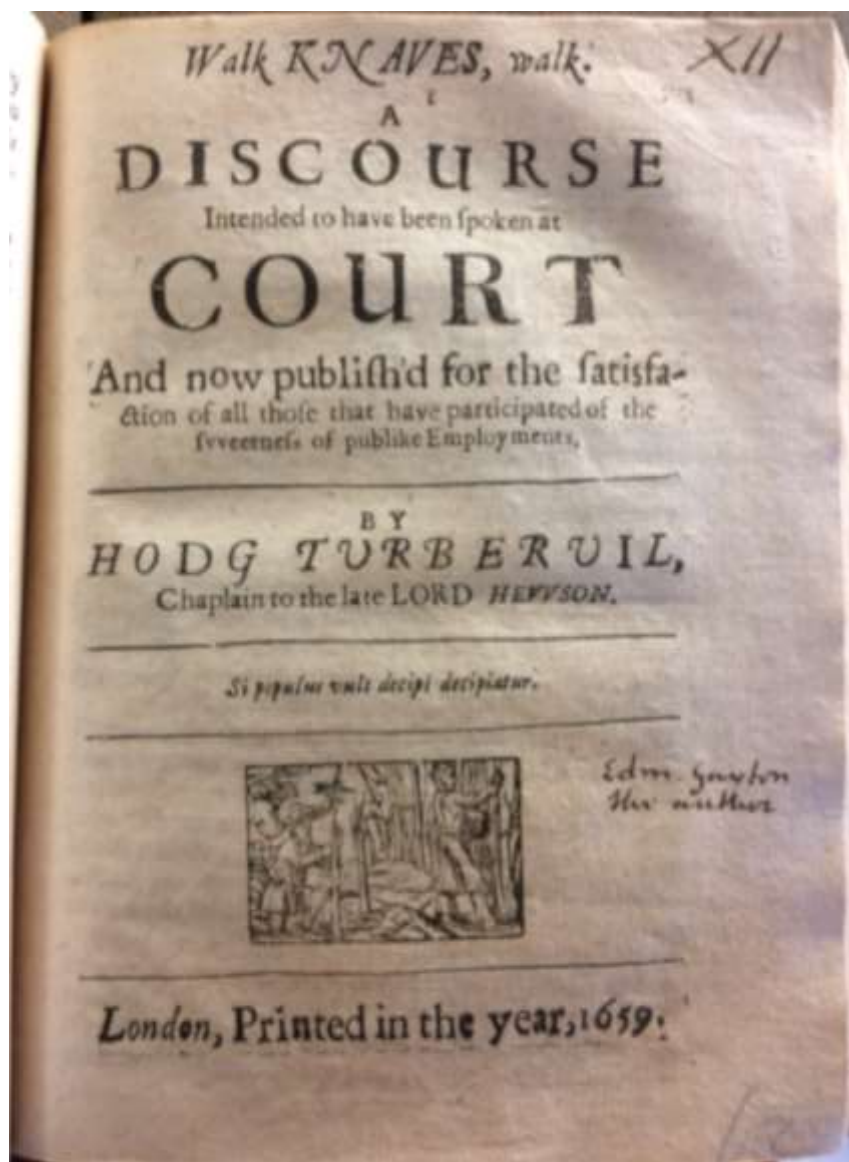


Figure 5.7. Hodg Turbervil [i.e. Edmund Gayton], *Walk Knaves, walk.* London, Printed in the year, 1659. Bodleian Library, Ashm. 1070 (16). 4°.

The title page of *Walk Knaves, walk* also features the quotation ‘*Si populus vult decipi decipiat*’ (‘If the people want to be deceived, let them be deceived’), attributed to Cardinal Giovanni Pietro Carafa (1476–1559), who later became Pope Paul IV.¹¹³ This was at once an abstract of the pamphlet’s contents and at the same time a parody of the pithy Latin maxims

¹¹³ *The Works of William Congreve, Volume I: The Old Batchelor, The Double-Dealer, Love for Love*, ed. by D. F. McKenzie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 496.

which also found their way onto the title pages of many printed sermons, proclaiming the scholarly prowess of their authors.

The mock-sermon opens by revealing that Turbervil is a cordwainer by profession; the mechanic preacher, however, justifies his position in a similar manner to the cobbler in *The Cony-catching Bride* by stating that his chosen text is entirely appropriate to a man of his station. His text is ‘*Hewson 1.2. Now because the times are bad, and the Winter draws near [...] therefore buy ye wax Boots*’.¹¹⁴ The text is taken from ‘the old Translation’, itself a caricature of the types of bibles which were in circulation amongst Civil War sects; this motif is repeated when Turbervil cites the fictional ‘*Crispine de Acte Vampandi*’.¹¹⁵ The parts of his chosen text, set out as a numbered list, refer to this common method in printed sermons; in one extreme example, each paragraph is given a number.¹¹⁶ Established figures from antiquity, taken from the likes of Plutarch’s *Lives* and similar such sources, also feature in numerous parables; Alexander the Great apparently neglected to wear his winter boots and ‘took such an extreme Cold in his Feet, that he suddenly fell sick of a violent Feaver, and within four dayes after dyed at *Babylon*’. There is also the inevitable joke at the expense of Achilles and his heel.¹¹⁷

Walk Knaves, walk was to be cited later in *Hudibras*, the notorious mock-heroic narrative poem by master satirist Samuel Butler (bap. 1630, d. 1680).¹¹⁸ His involvement in the writing of satirical funeral sermons will be uncovered in the next section of this chapter. Notably, *Walk Knaves, walk*, in its false notification of Hewson’s death (‘the late Lord Hewson’), was also to foreshadow *Peters Patern Or the perfect Path to Worldly Happiness* (1659), a mock-funeral sermon published upon the supposed death of Hugh Peters. Its

¹¹⁴ Turbervil [i.e. Edmund Gayton], *Walk Knaves, walk*, p. 1.

¹¹⁵ Bradstock, ‘Digging, Levelling, and Ranting’; Turbervil [i.e. Edmund Gayton], *Walk Knaves, walk*, p. 2.

¹¹⁶ See Thomas Fuller, *A Sermon Preached at S. Clemens Danes, &c.* (1657).

¹¹⁷ Turbervil [i.e. Edmund Gayton], *Walk Knaves, walk*, p. 16.

¹¹⁸ Samuel Butler, *Hudibras. The First Part* (1663), Canto 1, p. 21.

admonition to make good use of the time left before the approaching winter was to be a central theme in the mock-funeral sermons surveyed in the next section. To conclude, *Walk Knaves*, *walk* represents a culmination of many features of printed sermons which could be satirised. It has been possible in this section to trace a clear trajectory from John Taylor's first efforts in the genre at the beginning of the 1640s, which itself was a descendant of the 'Marprelate' tracts and their associated texts, to this sophisticated example which assimilated not only the sectarian preacher's voice as captured in print, but also the distracting display of erudition which ministers could exhibit in their excessive citation of differing versions of the Bible and classical sources.

Satirical Funeral Sermons

Libellous pamphlets and manuscript verses, and especially the controversial role they played at the funerals of significant figures during this period, have proved a popular subject for historical scrutiny.¹¹⁹ The funeral of John Bradshaw (bap. 1602, d. 1659), the judge who had pronounced the death sentence at the trial of Charles I, 'descended into chaos as ballad sellers peddled a

¹¹⁹ For libels in general, see Martin Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music and the "Reform of Popular Culture" in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 105.1 (1984), 79–113; Fox, 'Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England'; Pauline Croft, 'Libels, Popular Literacy and Public Opinion in Early Modern England', *Historical Research*, 68.167 (1995), 266–85; Andrew McRae, 'The verse libel: popular satire in early modern England', in *Subversion and Scurrility: Popular Discourse in Europe from 1500 to the Present*, ed. by Dermot Cavanagh and Tim Kirk (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 58–73; McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State*, Part I; and Steven W. May and Alan Bryson, eds, *Verse Libel in Renaissance England and Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), in addition to the extensive output of Alastair Bellany. There is also a web-based edition of early seventeenth-century political verse libels at <<http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/index.html>> [accessed 30 December 2018]. For an example of satiric manuscript verses upon the funeral of Robert Devereux, Third Earl of Essex, see Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 357.

work called *Bradshaw's Ghost*.¹²⁰ In contrast with the previous analysis of Horatian productions such as *The Exaltation of Christmas Pye, &c.* and *Walk Knaves, walk*, this section of the chapter seeks to transform existing scholarship on the 'particularly brutal mock-funeral sermons' which appeared in 1659 and 1660. It evaluates the extent to which these Juvenalian satires were unafraid of speaking ill of the dead, perpetuating instead the animosity surrounding their subjects.¹²¹ This section builds upon previous research by focusing on the different aesthetics evoked by the visual elements within these particular examples of printed mock-sermon, exploring in particular the provenance of both images and imagery. By showing how the hypocrisy of both Parliamentarians and Royalists were denigrated, it also reveals why these works were the most multi-layered specimens of the mock-sermon genre.

Peters Patern Or the perfect Path to Worldly Happiness, published on 2 September 1659 by 'I. C.', adopts many of the common compositional, literary and bibliographical practices of funeral sermons.¹²² As the annotation on the title page in Figure 5.8 suggests, 'I. C. Translator of Pineda upon Job, and one of the Triers' was most likely intended to stand for Joseph Caryl, an Independent divine like Hugh Peters, who was indeed known as an authority on Job and was 'one of the Triers' at the Westminster Assembly, a position he held until 1660.¹²³ The use of initials, as opposed to spelling out the full name, may have been a means to protect the anonymous satirist from charges of libel, but simultaneously allowed for playful misattribution for the entertainment of knowing readers.¹²⁴ The 'sermon' expounds the maxim

¹²⁰ Jason Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 65–66. See also *The Lamentation of a Sinner, or Bradshaw's horrid Farewel, &c.* (1659).

¹²¹ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 224.

¹²² J. B. Williams, 'Hugh Peters', *Notes and Queries*, 11.8 (1913), 461–63; Dale B. J. Randall and Jackson C. Boswell, *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England: The Tapestry Turned* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 214–16.

¹²³ P. S. Seaver, 'Caryl, Joseph (1602–1673)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4846>> [accessed 31 December 2018]; Randall and Boswell, *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 214.

¹²⁴ Marcy L. North, 'Early Modern Anonymity', *Oxford Handbooks Online* (2015), <<https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935338-e-12>> [accessed 1 June 2020].

to ‘*make use of your time*’, which was a commonplace of funeral sermons, but in this case by means of the ‘nine gifts’, which include ‘*Ignorance*’, ‘*Thieving*’, ‘*Covetousnesse*’ and ‘*Hypocrisie*’.¹²⁵ The black borders imprinted around the edge of the title page echo a bibliographical convention which distinguished funerary genres from other types of printed literature, explored in Chapter Three.¹²⁶ The ‘Patern’ of the title was frequently used within titles of printed funeral sermons to portray their subjects as patterns of piety.¹²⁷ On the opening page, a headpiece of the coat of arms of Charles I prefaces the sermon (see Figure 5.9). As discussed in Chapter Two, such devices were used within printed sermons to proclaim allegiance with an authority figure; in *Peters Patern Or the perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*, this woodcut was designed to create the impression of the ‘authenticity’ of this mock-sermon.

¹²⁵ C. [i.e. ‘Joseph Caryl’], *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*, p. 6. Note that the pages are badly paginated.

¹²⁶ See Helen Williams, “‘Alas, poor YORICK!’ Sterne’s Iconography of Mourning’, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 28.2 (2015–2016), 313–44.

¹²⁷ See, for example, Thomas Saltern, *Dorcas: A Trve Patterne of a goodly life, &c.* (1625); Edmund Calamy, *A Patterne for all, &c.* (1658).

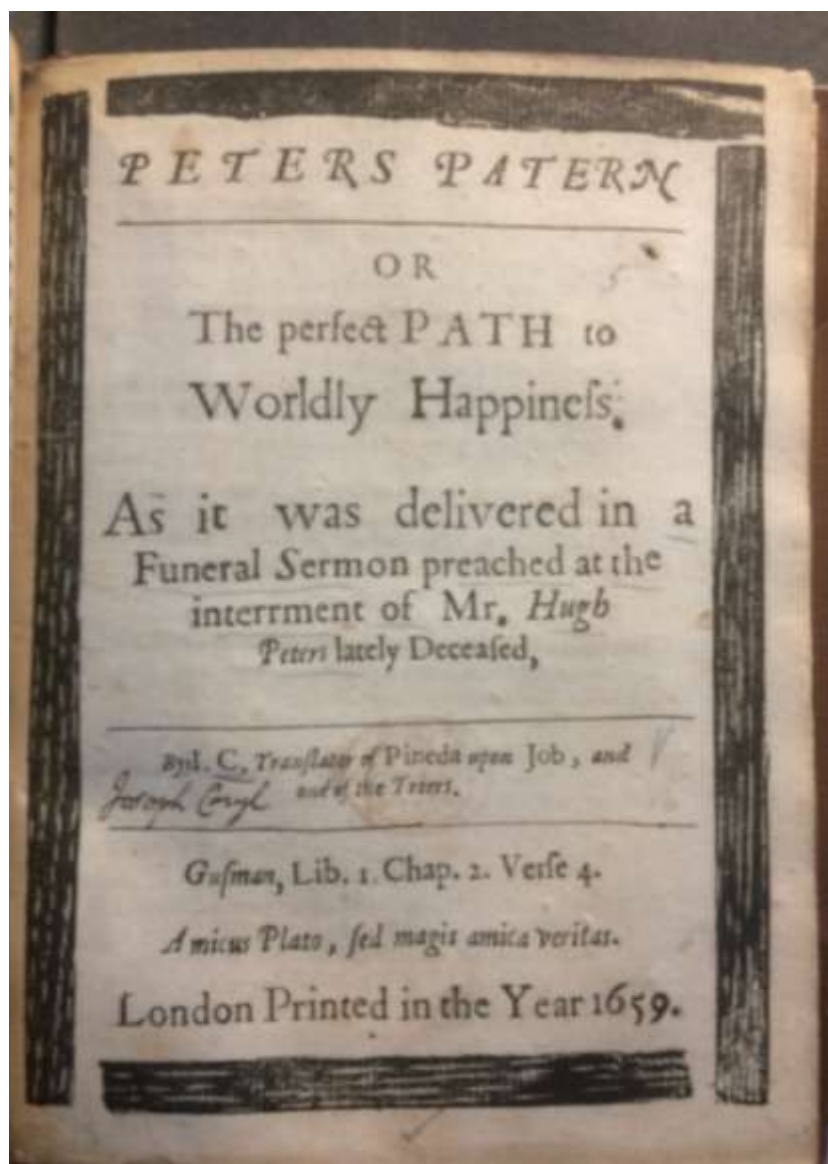


Figure 5.8. I. C. [i.e. 'Joseph Caryl'], *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*. London Printed in the Year 1659. British Library, 292.f.39.(5). 4°.



Figure 5.9. I. C. [i.e. 'Joseph Caryl'], *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*. London Printed in the Year 1659, sig. A2^r. British Library, 292.f.39.(5.). 4°.

The 'sermon' opens by stating that, after the congregation had sung part of a hymn by the Leveller William Larnier (d. 1672?) 'to the tune of *The Knave of Clubs*', the parson proceeded to interpret his chosen text, set out in italics and separated from the principal body of text as was customary practice for printed sermons.¹²⁸ The parson chooses to expound upon a supposed extract from Mateo Alemán's *Vida del Pícaro Guzmán de Alfarache*, which was

¹²⁸ Randall and Boswell, *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 215; Dixon, 'Sermons in Print', p. 461.

better known in England in a translation by James Mabbe (1571/2–1642?), entitled *The Rogue* (1622).¹²⁹ The choice is deemed particularly appropriate; the deceased is reputedly a ‘great [...] Disciple’ of this author.¹³⁰ The latter is repeatedly referred to in such heightened terms as ‘our learned *Gusman*’ and ‘the Holy *Gusman*’.¹³¹ Paradoxically, as Hugh Adlington has previously revealed, ‘*Gusman*’ may also have referred to Domingo de Guzmán (1170–1221), the founder of the Dominican Order, the absurdity of the attribution lying in the pairing of the depraved Independent minister with a Catholic saint.¹³² These multi-layered references establish the extent to which the anonymous satirist was attuned to the common, typically Royalist ways of vilifying this staunch supporter of Cromwell’s cause.

Yet, numerous other references to heretical Spanish literature, the picaresque and French *histoires comiques* are made, both reflecting and mocking the Cavalier fashion for translating continental authors.¹³³ As discussed in the analysis of *Walk Knaves, walk*, an almost universal feature of all kinds of sermons was the recourse to anecdotes from classical literature which were intended to help auditors and subsequent readers to understand the relevance of a particular biblical episode or text. This, however, also alienated auditors and readers who were not well-versed in such literatures. This practice is derided outright in the relation of Sister Agathe’s ‘conversion’ to prostitution as related in *Histoire Comique de Francion* (1623) by Charles Sorel (c. 1602–1674), which was translated, probably by Robert Loveday (1620/21–1656), as *The Comical History of Francion* in 1655.¹³⁴ The comparison of Hugh Peters with Don Quixote prefigures the graphic adoption of this theme in a slanderous print produced

¹²⁹ Randall and Boswell, *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England*, p. 215.

¹³⁰ C. [i.e. ‘Joseph Caryl’], *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*, p. 3.

¹³¹ C. [i.e. ‘Joseph Caryl’], *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*, pp. 4, 7.

¹³² Adlington, “The *State’s* Book-man’?”, p. 455.

¹³³ Adlington, “The *State’s* Book-man’?”, p. 458.

¹³⁴ Noam Reisner, ‘The Preacher and Profane Learning’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 72–86; C. [i.e. ‘Joseph Caryl’], *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*, p. 7; Robert Loveday, ‘Letter LXIX. To his Brother Mr. A. L.’, in Robert Loveday, *Loveday’s Letters Domestick and Forrein* (1659), pp. 133–35 (p. 135). For more information about Charles Sorel’s *histoire comique*, see Beverly S. Ridgely, ‘The Cosmic Voyage in Charles Sorel’s *Francion*’, *Modern Philology*, 65.1 (1967), 1–8.

prior to his death. A broadside entitled *Don Pedro de Quixot*, created prior to Peters's capture and imprisonment on 2 September 1660, alludes to Don Quixote's infamous attack upon windmills which he mistakenly believes to be giants (see Figure 5.10).¹³⁵ In fact, the 'windmill' motif had already been used to caricature Independent minister John Goodwin (c. 1594–1665), the Quakers and the Presbyterians (see Figures 5.11 and 5.12).¹³⁶ Descending from post-Reformation anti-Catholic visual propaganda, the windmill used in this way denotes blind religious fanaticism more generally.¹³⁷ The mock-sermon acknowledges these traditions by citing Don Quixote throughout; '*Hinder me not fair Dulcina*' refers to the unrequited love interest of the anti-hero.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Raymond Phineas Stearns, *The Strenuous Puritan: Hugh Peter 1598–1660* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1954), p. 415; Craig Ashley Hanson, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 129; Randall and Boswell, *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England*, pp. 229–30.

¹³⁶ John Vicars, *Coleman-street Conclave Visited* (1648), '*To the Reader*'; Stephens and George, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, I, pp. 426–27; Helen Pierce, 'Images, Representation, and Counter-Representation', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 263–79 (pp. 276–79); McCall, 'Continuing Civil War by Other Means', pp. 88–89.

¹³⁷ Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, pp. 168–89. For the continuation of this motif into the eighteenth century, see Bernd W. Krysmanski, *Hogarth's Hidden Parts: Satiric Allusion, Erotic Wit, Blasphemous Bawdiness and Dark Humour in Eighteenth-Century English Art* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2010), pp. 342–43, 347–50; Misty G. Anderson, 'Sacred Satire: Lampooning Religious Belief in Eighteenth-Century Britain', brochure for the exhibition 'Sacred Satire: Lampooning Religious Belief in Eighteenth-Century Britain', Lewis Walpole Library, 22 September 2011–2 March 2012

<<https://walpole.library.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Sacred%20Satire.pdf>> [accessed 31 December 2018].

¹³⁸ C. [i.e. 'Joseph Caryl'], *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*, p. 4.



Figure 5.10. Portrait of Hugh Peters by an anonymous artist, published by T. Smith as part of a broadside entitled *Don Pedro de Quixot, or in English the Right Reverend Hugh Peters* (1660). Etching, 10.9 × 8.8 cm. British Museum, 1848,0911.505.

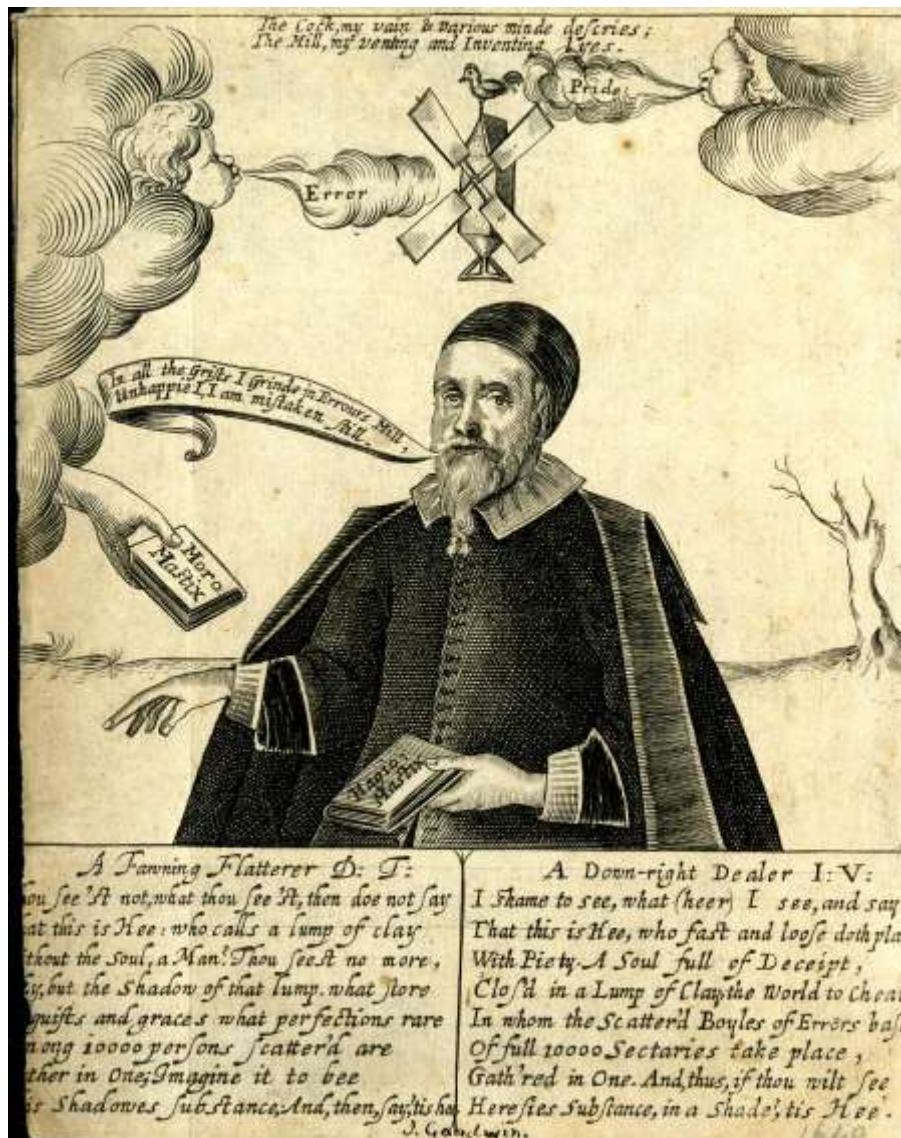


Figure 5.11. *A Fawning Flatterer*, designed by George Glover (1648). Engraving. 17.2 × 13.5 cm. British Museum, 1868,0808.3234.



Figure 5.12. Portrait of Adoniram Byfield or Thomas Wynne by Richard Gaywood (fl. 1644–1668) (attrib.) (1643–1679). Etching and engraving. 17.6 × 13.8 cm. British Museum, 1864,1210.426.

The parson also cites *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the banned Spanish novella by Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503–1575) which was first published in English in 1586; specifically, the part in which the eponymous protagonist, called ‘that great light of the Spanish Church’, steals bread.¹³⁹ The minister entreats his congregation to ‘turn to the place and mark it, for ’tis a very pretious Text’, in direct parallel to the instructions of contemporary preachers who would

¹³⁹ Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *The Pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes a Spaniarde, &c.*, trans. by David Rowland (1586); C. [i.e. ‘Joseph Caryl’], *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*, pp. 6, 10. *Lazarillo de Tormes* is also mentioned in Thorny Ailo [i.e. John Taylor], *A Full and Compleat Answer against the Writer of a late Volume, &c.* (1642), p. 5.

sometimes encourage literate auditors to carry out a similar task with their bibles. Such a direction was frequently reiterated in print.¹⁴⁰

The ‘royal’ headpiece was one means of accounting for the seeming authenticity of this mock-sermon. Another was the citation of real (as opposed to fictional) contemporary divines alongside the dubious exemplars outlined above. Presbyterian Obadiah Sedgwick (1599/1600–1658) is purported to endorse the ‘cunning [...] of seeming Godly’ in his vaguely cited ‘Book of spiritual experiences’. Another Presbyterian, William Spurstowe (d. 1666), apparently accords with Emperor Tiberius in his maxim that ‘he who knows not to dissemble, knows not to rule’.¹⁴¹ All of these quotations are redolent of the frequent recourse contemporary churchmen made to living preachers to back up their points. Such quotations littered the margins and spaces of printed sermons and often proved to be a point of contention.¹⁴² Further spoofs of the distinctive layout of printed sermons and theological texts included the ‘duties’ which are listed in *Peters Patern Or the perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*, standing apart from the principal body of text for ease of understanding.¹⁴³ Like the standalone mock-sermons discussed above, *Peters Patern Or the perfect Path to Worldly Happiness* was also cited in other pamphlets to increase its marketability. Published in the same month, *Peters’s Resurrection, By way of Dialogue Between Him and a Merchant, &c.* is a pamphlet play with just two characters, centring on Hugh Peters’s reaction to the earlier pamphlet.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ C. [i.e. ‘Joseph Caryl’], *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*, p. 10; James Rigney, ‘The English Sermon, 1640–1660: Consuming the Fire’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1994), pp. 192–93.

¹⁴¹ C. [i.e. ‘Joseph Caryl’], *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*, p. 11.

¹⁴² Diane Willen, ‘Thomas Gataker and the Use of Print in the English Godly Community’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 70.3 (2007), 343–64 (p. 359); Lund, ‘Early Modern Sermon Paratexts’, pp. 151–53; Katrin Ettenhuber, ‘The Preacher and Patristics’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 34–53 (p. 49).

¹⁴³ C. [i.e. ‘Joseph Caryl’], *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*, p. 6; compare with John Squire, *A Sermon Preached at Hartford Assises, &c.* (1617), p. 4.

¹⁴⁴ *Peters’s Resurrection, By way of Dialogue Between Him and a Merchant, &c.* (1659) was printed on 26 September 1659. See Williams, ‘Hugh Peters’, pp. 461–63.

Demonstrating the extent of the popularity of the ‘brutal’ mock-funeral sermon genre, *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.* (1660) shares many characteristics with *Peters Patern Or the perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*, particularly in terms of visual aspects and content. The anonymous author of the former is similarly masked behind the initials of a well-known minister’s name. ‘J. O. D. D.’ stands for ‘John Owen, Doctor of Divinity’ who, on the day after the execution of Charles I, had called the regicides the ‘Lord’s workmen’. Like Peters, Owen had also worked closely with the Parliamentary army as Oliver Cromwell’s chaplain. By the time this mock-sermon was published, Owen was abandoning politics.¹⁴⁵ The deceased subject of this mock-sermon is the regicide judge, John Bradshaw.¹⁴⁶ Its theme of ‘making good use of time’ once again recalls *Peters Patern Or the perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*. *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.* also has a mourning border, but goes further in its inclusion of an intriguing woodcut of a clock dial as part of the text, or rather pun, to be expounded upon (‘Wee mvst dye all [dial]’) (see Figure 5.13). This rebus appears on the exterior of the 1628 triptych portrait of Henry Holme (c. 1570–1631) and his wife Dorothy; according to William Schupbach, it illustrates a paraphrase of I Corinthians 15.22 (‘For as in Adam all die’).¹⁴⁷ The inclusion of the timepiece also burlesques the clocks which graced the pages of funeral sermons and devotional literature, in addition to the notorious rhetorical technique of preachers of drawing attention to the diminishing sands in their hourglasses (see Figures 5.14 and 5.15). Indeed, the belittling description of the clock by the preacher has provided the very title of this chapter.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Stephen C. Manganiello, *The Concise Encyclopedia of the Revolutions and Wars of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1639–1660* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2004), pp. 404–05; Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603–1660* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 418–19, 620.

¹⁴⁶ Manganiello, *The Concise Encyclopedia*, pp. 73–74.

¹⁴⁷ Dorothy Holme’s dates are unknown. For the Holme Family portrait, see William Schupbach, *The Paradox of Rembrandt’s ‘Anatomy of Dr. Tulp’* (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1982), p. 46; Christina Juliet Faraday, ‘Tudor time machines: Clocks and watches in English portraits c. 1530–c. 1630’, *Renaissance Studies*, 33.2 (2019), 239–66 (pp. 251–52); ‘The Holme Family’, V&A online catalogue, <<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O51693/the-holme-family-painting-unknown/>> [accessed 1 January 2019].

¹⁴⁸ ‘But some will say, what? doe you make use of *Fool’s Baubles*, and *Trimtrams*, to expresse the death of so worthy a Patriot as here lyes before us?’ (J. O. D. D. [i.e. ‘John Owen, Doctor of Divinity’], *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.* (1660), p. 6).

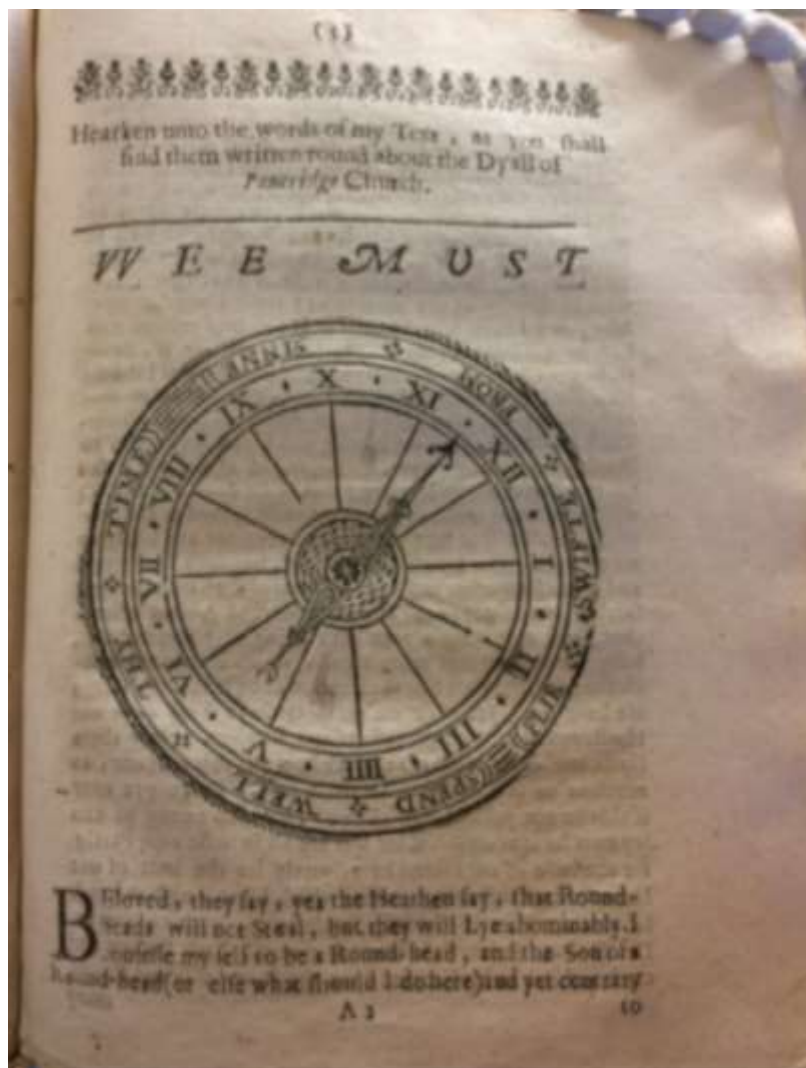


Figure 5.13. J. O. D. D. [i.e. 'John Owen, Doctor of Divinity'], *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, Being the Last Words That are ever intended to be Spoke of Him. OXON*, Printed in the Year, 1660. Bodleian Library, Wood 608 (38). 4°.



Figure 5.14. John Day, *David's Desire to Goe to Chvrch: As it was published in two Sermons in S Maries in Oxford*. Printed at Oxford by Joseph Barnes. 1615. British Library, 4452.d.30.(1). 4^o.¹⁴⁹



Figure 5.15. John Trundle (attrib.), *Keep within Compasse: Or, The worthy Legacy of a wise Father to his beloued Sonne, &c*. Printed at London for I. Trundle dwelling in Barbican. [1619], sig. A3^r. Bodleian Library, 8° K 12(1) Th. 8°.

¹⁴⁹ John Day (1566–1628) was a clergyman and the son of the printer and bookseller John Day (1521/2–1584). This device is also used on the title pages of several of the divine's catechisms and sermons, such as *Day's Dyall, &c*. (1614), *Day's Festivals, &c*. (1615), the second edition of *Concio ad clervm, &c*. (1615), and *Day's Descant on Davids Psalmes, &c*. (1620), although note that the hands on the clock are in a different position in the latter work.

Not only are the letters themselves ‘dissected’ *ad nauseam*, as with the ‘MALT’ sermon, but also the visuality of the words printed above the sundial, in a similar manner to the Sermon on ‘MALT’, is a specific point of emphasis:

The words consist of seaven letters *W: e: e: M: u: s: t:*, and a certain thing called an Hieroglyphic. [...] as the stroaks of the *W:* will never meet at the top, but are easily joyned at the bottom: so none of us here congregated together are likely to meet above, that is to say, in Heaven, but must be joyned and riveted together in the lower *Parts* of the Earth.¹⁵⁰

As discussed in Chapter One, Greek characters served as hieroglyphs to be interpreted as representations of straight and crooked personalities in a sermon by the apostate Richard Carpenter. It is notable that the Ipswich preacher Samuel Ward’s mode of visual thinking also revealed itself in his analysis of the letter ‘A’ and the Greek letter ‘ω’ (‘omega’): ‘as they are the principall, initiall, and final of the Alphabet [...] so are they Emblems of [Christ] that is eternitie it selfe, [...] first and last, All in All’.¹⁵¹ Thus, the humorous scrutiny of the appearance of the letter ‘W’ shows that the author of *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.* was well read in these techniques of preaching rhetoric. The prevalence of emblem books and the clergy’s awareness of their ubiquity is duly acknowledged in citations of a supposed authority figure referred to as ‘our Brother *Benlowes*’.¹⁵² ‘Tis true,’ the preacher states, that ‘a Maid joyned with a Man, or with a Mastiff, may be a *Hieroglyphic*, as our Brother *Benlowes* observes in his comment upon *Alciates* Emblems’. The most likely candidate for ‘*Benlowes*’ is the Royalist poet Edward Benlowes (1602–1676), who was a collector of emblem books.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ O. D. D., *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.*, p. 4; Couchman, *The Adamites Sermon, &c.*, p. 3.

¹⁵¹ Samuel Ward, *All in All* (1622), p. 9.

¹⁵² See, in particular, Chapter Two.

¹⁵³ O. D. D., *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.*, p. 6; P. G. Stanwood, ‘Benlowes, Edward (1602–76)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2097>> [accessed 2 January 2019].

The visual and material cultures of mourning are further mocked in a passage in which the preacher becomes engrossed with the pecuniary value of the mourning rings worn at the funeral:

Truly I would wish, if I might reap the same benefit, that such a President might dye every day. For Ile warrant yee our Rings are worth eight and twenty shillings a piece – now twenty eight shillings a day, is five hundred and eleven pounds *per annum* [...]¹⁵⁴

Earlier in the mock-sermon, the preacher had argued that ‘we have no reason to be sad for the Rings we have got’.¹⁵⁵ These passages bring to mind the specified amount which the preacher managed to earn in the second sermon of *Forced Divinity, &c.*; the preacher’s preoccupation with the collection plate in *Love one another, &c.*; and *A Tale In a Tub, Or a tub Lecture, &c.*, in which the preacher muses upon the ‘halfe crowne a day’ which a ‘Torneyman Imag-Maker’ could earn.¹⁵⁶ Additionally, the author of *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.* may well have known of a disreputable incident in which Richard Corbett (1582–1635), Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, was called to preach before James I at Woodstock, Oxfordshire in 1621, and managed to become side-tracked by the royal ring he had received as a gift, to the detriment of his sermon.¹⁵⁷ An anonymous poem about the event continued to circulate well into the latter part of the century. The following passages specifically concerning the incident were often extracted in isolation:

¹⁵⁴ O. D. D., *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.*, p. 12.

¹⁵⁵ O. D. D., *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.*, p. 4.

¹⁵⁶ T., *A Tale In a Tub, Or a tub Lecture, &c.*, p. 4.

¹⁵⁷ Nicholas W. S. Cranfield, ‘Corbett, Richard (1582–1635)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6292>> [accessed 2 January 2019]; Christopher Burlinson, ‘Richard Corbett and William Strode: chaplaincy and verse in early seventeenth-century Oxford’, in *Chaplains in early modern England: Patronage, literature and religion*, ed. by Hugh Adlington, Tom Lockwood and Gillian Wright (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 141–58 (pp. 146–47).

The Reverend Deane with his band starch'd cleane
 Did preach before the kinge
 A ringe I espied, in his bandstrings tyed
 Was not that a pretty thing?
 The ringe without doubt, was that brought him out
 And made him forgett what was next:
 For every one there, will say, I dare sweare
 Hee handled it more than his text.¹⁵⁸

A ring given by James I to Thomas Sackville (c. 1536–1608), First Earl of Dorset, is also a key preoccupation of a sermon preached at the latter's funeral by George Abbot. Its description in the printed version merits its own appendix spanning six pages.¹⁵⁹ Perhaps more than any other mock-sermon, *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.* focuses on the vanity and self-seeking nature of ministers who preached and published funeral sermons. As James Rigney has shown us, print could be financially beneficial to a preacher in several ways. One was direct remuneration from a bookseller; another was the personal gain which a preacher hoped to gain from patronage and the circulation of their sermon.¹⁶⁰ John Vicars complained about such motives in *Jehovah-jireh* (1642), writing that court preachers only wished 'to get *fat morsels*, rich benefices, and Ecclesiastical preferments'.¹⁶¹ A published petition against Edward Finch (c. 1584–1641/2), Vicar of Christ Church, Newgate, London, claimed that the clergyman charged 'sometimes twenty shillings a piece, and many times more, for funerall Sermons, himselfe seldom preaching any of them'.¹⁶² The author of *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.* was evidently aware of these circulating invectives against the unsavoury profits of churchmen.

¹⁵⁸ 'On the Schollers flocking to Woodstock', <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/monopolies_section/Miii5.html> [accessed 2 January 2019]. See McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State*, pp. 166–67.

¹⁵⁹ George Abbot, *A Sermon Preached at Westminster May 26. 1608* (1608), pp. 15, 27–32.

¹⁶⁰ Rigney, 'The English Sermon, 1640–1660', p. 59. See also Kingsley, *Transforming the Word*, p. 63; Lucinda M. Becker, *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), p. 123; Smith, *Andrew Marvell*, pp. 19–20.

¹⁶¹ John Vicars, *Jehovah-jireh* (1642), p. 13.

¹⁶² *The Petition and Articles or severall Charge [sic] exhibited in Parliament against Edward Finch Vicar of Christs Church in London, &c.* (1641), p. 2; Stephens and George, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, I, pp. 182–83.

As was the case with *Peters Patern Or the perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*, heretical European literature which found a wide readership in Interregnum England is cited.

Consequently, the reader is presented with the valuable opinion of the ‘Learned *Hircan*’, the anti-hero from the *Heptaméron* of Marguerite de Valois (1492–1549), which had been published in English in a new translation from the French by Robert Codrington (1601/2–1665?) in 1654.¹⁶³ The description of the ‘postures of *Copulation*’, apparently comparable to the ‘postures’ of dying, comes from ‘Brother *Aretine*’, or Pietro Aretino (1492–1556), whose works had already been censured as pornographic in late Elizabethan England.¹⁶⁴

The concept of these mock-funeral sermons responding to each other to increase their publicity and sale has already been explored in the examination of *Peters Patern Or the perfect Path to Worldly Happiness* and *Peters’s Resurrection. A Funeral Sermon Thundred Forth, &c.* (1660) recalls numerous phrases and stylistic traits exhibited in *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.* To take just one example, both of the chosen texts are described by their ‘preachers’ as ‘pat’ to a ‘*Cow’s Thumb*’.¹⁶⁵ However, *A Funeral Sermon Thundred Forth, &c.* is worthy of analysis not only because of its instances of cross-referencing, but also its development of the satire of other key characteristics of printed funeral sermons. An understanding of these satirical elements is crucial for a fuller understanding of the familiarity which contemporary readers had with these particular characteristics of the prototypes. *A Funeral Sermon Thundred Forth, &c.* was composed by ‘John Feak’, a reference to Christopher Feake, the occasion of its ‘delivery’ being the death of the regicide Thomas Harrison (bap. 1616, d. 1660). The work is conjectured by Nicholas von Maltzahn to be written by Samuel Butler.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ O. D. D., *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.*, p. 8; Margaret de Valois, *Heptameron, or the History of the Fortunate Lovers, &c.*, trans. by Robert Codrington (1654).

¹⁶⁴ O. D. D., *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.*, p. 9; Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, pp. 229–30; Raymond B. Waddington, ‘Pietro Aretino’, *Oxford Bibliographies*, online edn (2016), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/OBO/9780195399301-0308>> [accessed 2 January 2019].

¹⁶⁵ O. D. D., *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.*, p. 4; John Feak [i.e. Samuel Butler], *A Funeral Sermon Thundred Forth, &c.* (1660), p. 4.

¹⁶⁶ Nicholas von Maltzahn, ‘From pillar to post: Milton and the attack on republican humanism at the Restoration’, in *Soldiers, writers and statesmen of the English Revolution*, ed. by Ian Gentles, John Morrill and Blair Worden

This mock-sermon is notable for its ‘authentic’ imitation of the various stages which unfolded in a sermon, particularly as captured in its printed form. It is also remarkable for its convincing evocation of, to use Joad Raymond’s felicitous description, ‘shouting on paper’.¹⁶⁷ The ‘*Thundred Forth*’ of the title refers to the noise which staunchly godly divines made when bullying their congregations into submission, and for which they could earn memorable nicknames, from ‘Roaring Rogers’ to the ‘Geneva Bull’ Stephen Marshall, so-called because of his Calvinist leanings and the way in which he bellowed at his auditors.¹⁶⁸ In *A Funeral Sermon Thundred Forth, &c.*, not only is there an exposition of the text, followed consecutively by a doctrine and uses, but also a dramatic conveyance of the circumstances of delivery and audience ‘participation’ common to printed sermons.¹⁶⁹ The disruption of church services by auditors, as chronicled in printed accounts, diaries and letters, has remained a fascinating area of interest.¹⁷⁰ There are also visual records of such tussles, such as a depiction by Wenceslaus

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 265–85 (p. 274). See also David Farr, *Major-General Thomas Harrison: Millenarianism, Fifth Monarchism and the English Revolution 1616–1660* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 50–1.

¹⁶⁷ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 43. See also T. A. Birrell, ‘Sir Roger L’Estrange: The Journalism of Orality’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 4: 1557–1695*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 657–61; Harold Love, ‘L’Estrange, Joyce and the Dictates of Typography’, in *Roger L’Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture*, ed. by Anne Duman-Page and Beth Lynch (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 167–80 (pp. 168, 176).

¹⁶⁸ Minna F. Weinstein, ‘Stephen Marshall and the Dilemma of the Political Puritan’, *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 46.1 (1968), 1–25 (p. 6). For ‘Roaring Rogers’, see Chapter Two.

¹⁶⁹ Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480–1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 304.

¹⁷⁰ A highly selective list of these scholars’ contributions would include Ann Hughes, ‘The Pulpit Guarded: Confrontations between Orthodox and Radicals in Revolutionary England’, in *John Bunyan and His England, 1628–88*, ed. by Anne Laurence, W. R. Owens and Stuart Sim (London and Ronceverte, WV: The Hambledon Press, 1990), pp. 31–50 (pp. 33–34, 36); Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England*, ch. 9; Laura Feitzinger Brown, ‘Brawling in Church: Noise and the Rhetoric of Lay Behavior in Early Modern England’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 34.4 (2003), 955–72; Cressy, *England on Edge*, pp. 233, 235; Jacqueline Eales, ‘“So many sects and schisms”: religious diversity in Revolutionary Kent, 1640–60’, in *Religion in Revolutionary England*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Judith Maltby (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2006), 226–48 (pp. 234–35); William Sheils, ‘John Shawe and Edward Bowles: Civic Preachers at Peace and War’, in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 209–33 (p. 219); Marsh, *Music and Society*, pp. 447–48; John Craig, ‘Sermon Reception’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 178–97 (pp. 183, 185). Primary sources include *A Trve Relation of a Combvstion, Hapning, at St. Anne’s Chvrch, &c.* (1641); *A Trve Relation of a Scotchman, &c.* (1641), sig. A2; *The Coblers End, Or His (Last) Sermon, &c.*; *The Anatomy of the Separatists, &c.* (1642), p. 6; Jasper Mayne, *A Sermon against Schisme: Or, The Seperations of these Times* (1652).

Hollar of one Jenny Geddes (c. 1600–c. 1660) throwing a stool at a bishop in 1637; an illustration with the caption ‘Many murdered in a Church at Sermon’ in *A Generall Martyrologie, &c.* (1651) by Samuel Clarke; and a woodcut of dancing and singing Quakers, who had interrupted a sermon at ‘*Black-Fryers Church*’, at the end of a pamphlet entitled *Hell broke loose, &c.* (1651).¹⁷¹ In *A Funeral Sermon Thundred Forth, &c.*, a scuffle between the preacher and one congregation member is indicated in the margin as ‘*Here one interrupts him in the Pulpit*’, with ‘*Another interruption*’ on the adjacent page. As Simon Dickie notes, ‘[t]he interrupted sermon was another ancient topos of anticlerical humour’.¹⁷² Other nods to the stage include the rhetorical technique of prolepsis and the godly penchant for ‘pulpit properties’, discussed in Chapters Two and Three. Like the sundial and the ring in *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.*, the theatrical property is a key element in *A Funeral Sermon Thundred Forth, &c.* In this case, it is a letter from Harrison to his wife, describing that, in the manner of Jesus, the martyred regicide would be with her ‘before three days should be at an end, after the hand of the wretched Executioner had destroy’d [his] carnal body’.¹⁷³

But mock-funeral sermons did not always have to be as considered in their physical form or satirical purpose as the three previous works. A second sermon by ‘Mr. Feak’, which was most likely another Butler production and entitled *A Word for All: Or, the Rumps Funerall Sermon, &c.* (1660), forgoes the printed verse at the beginning.¹⁷⁴ This mock-funeral sermon does, however, cite Isaiah 57.1, a commonplace text in contemporary funeral sermons.¹⁷⁵ Its capricious pagination caricatures the shoddy printing which was a feature of the

¹⁷¹ John Vicars, *True Information of the Beginning and Cause of all our troubles, &c.* (1648), p. 5; Samuel Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie, &c.* (1651), leaf facing p. 147; *Hell broke loose, &c.* (1651), p. 6. For Jenny Geddes, see Martyn Bennett, *The Civil Wars Experienced: Britain and Ireland, 1638–1661* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2000), pp. 2, 13.

¹⁷² Dickie, *Cruelty and Laughter*, p. 184.

¹⁷³ Feak [i.e. Samuel Butler], *A Funeral Sermon Thundred Forth, &c.*, p. 11.

¹⁷⁴ Joad Raymond and Nicholas von Maltzahn have attributed this work to Samuel Butler. See Joad Raymond, ‘The Cracking of the Republican Spokes’, *Prose Studies*, 19.3 (1996), 255–74 (p. 257); von Maltzahn, ‘From pillar to post’, p. 274.

¹⁷⁵ Feak [i.e. Samuel Butler], *A Word for All: Or, the Rumps Funerall Sermon, &c.*, p. 21 (i.e. p. 5); Houllbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England*, p. 308; Anne James and Jeanne Shami, *Remembering the Dead: The*

pamphleteering culture of the age but which could also be reflected in printed sermons. Although the subject of typographical mistakes is quickly rising to the forefront of much contemporary research on early modern print culture, the unexploited bibliographical potential of typographical errors in printed sermons remains less-than-familiar terrain in the current literature.¹⁷⁶ While printed sermons were commonly purported to have served as revisions of preachers' original exhortations and as correctives to audience members' (mis)hearing, how did these mistakes interfere with this crucial form of the administration of God's Word?

Conclusion

This chapter has concentrated upon the prolific genre of the printed mock-sermon, assessing its place within the pamphleteering culture of the English Revolution. It has contemplated these works within the context of an era characterised by sectarian divide within the English Church; a time in which the established clergy and those lower down in the social scale fought for public favour and religious dominance in the orations which they delivered and in the accompanying tracts which they published. The vices of both were seized upon eagerly by satirists, from the charlatan incapability of the layman to quote from the Scriptures, to the pretentious erudition exhibited in obscure and sometimes inappropriate references to patristic and classical

Role of Manuscript Sermons & Sermon Notes in Researching Early Modern Memorial Practice (London: The Congregational Memorial Hall Trust, 2019), pp. 29–30.

¹⁷⁶ See Seth Lerer, *Error and the Academic Self: The Scholarly Imagination, Medieval to Modern* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002), ch. 1; Seth Lerer, 'Errata: print, politics and poetry in early modern England', in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 41–71; Anthony Grafton, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* (London: British Library, 2011); Adam Smyth, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), ch. 3. A conference on this theme, 'Printing and Misprinting: Typographical Mistakes and Publishers' Corrections (1450–1650)', took place at Lincoln College, Oxford in 2018. See <http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2018/03/Programme_PrintingMisprinting_Final.pdf> [accessed 6 January 2019].

literatures by Protestant divines. Contemporary European literature that was deemed sacrilegious served as a substitute for the latter. The citations of archetypal picaresque rogues – Guzmán de Alfarache, Lazarillo de Tormes and Francion – taken from translations of these popular and seditious works, reveal much about the status of the press at this time, like the mock-sermons themselves. Whilst the specific identities of many of these satirists (beyond the well-known exemplars such as John Taylor) remain obscure, their religio-political aims are easier to discern. These writers were not always heavily biased against a single religious faction, but attacked factionalism and the theological teachings promoted by a variety of sects alongside ministers who maintained both their livings and a more traditional Protestant stance. The hypocrisy and duplicity of preachers, and the manner in which they profited from their publications in collaboration with printers and booksellers, was a springboard from which satirists derived their material.

The proliferation of printed mock-sermons was symptomatic of the ubiquity of the printed sermon during this period. Every aspect of a printed sermon could be exposed and satirised in order to discredit rabble-rousing lay preachers, sectarians and conformist clergymen. In terms of content, there are some common themes. In addition to trivial topics, including dogs, mince pies and the purchase of good boots, those centring on the regicides seem to share the underlying message to ‘make the best use of time’. The correlation of this last motif with the central theme of numerous printed funeral sermons is obvious. However, it is possible that, although many of these mock-sermons targeted Parliamentarians, some gentle fun was being poked here at the renowned ‘*Carpe Diem*’ style of much contemporary Cavalier poetry. In sum, it can be observed that satirists targeted a variety of religio-political groups which were considered to be hypocritical, as well as the unscrupulous printers and booksellers who sold their wares, regardless of content or quality. The most pronounced and vituperative examples, however, were explicitly targeted at Parliamentarians in the wake of the Restoration.

Probing further into satire of the printed object, the idea that a sermon could be published without ever having been preached, in the manner of a seditious pamphlet rather than an authorised meditation on the Word of God, was lampooned outright on the title page of *Walk Knaves, walk*. The regular practice of name-dropping prestigious auditors is exhibited in both editions of *The true Copy of a Welch Sermon, &c*. Visually and typographically, false ‘observations’, ‘uses’ and other lists, numbered or otherwise, made an appearance on the pages of many mock-sermons. The very shape of letters could be worthy of analysis; at the same time, the hypocrisy of sectarian preachers was suggested in their association of learning with the veneration of images (‘[T]he very first letter begins with a Crosse’).¹⁷⁷ As many scholars have shown for libels, words too could be turned into memorable patterns on the page in the form of satiric anagrams of preachers’ names and their notetakers (‘Not-Rub’ and ‘Thorny Ailo’), further mocking the fundamentalist nature of sectarians to view the mere act of reading as idolatrous.¹⁷⁸ Visual topics, such as the symbolism of biblical colours, represented another popular avenue of satire. The variety of sermon paratexts is addressed in these pamphlets: dedicatory epistles, marginalia and even appended ‘hymns’. In terms of readership, it is therefore possible to conclude that a predominantly literate, metropolitan audience was addressed. Tamsyn Williams’s proposition that ‘the direct, punchy woodcuts which accompanied brief, readable pamphlets and broadsheets’ indicated ‘emotive and not intellectual’ publications is somewhat problematic in this sense.¹⁷⁹ In addition to the multifaceted references to the practices of real printed sermons outlined above, readers were encouraged to make a number of sophisticated visual and literary connections: the visual pun on ‘dial’ / ‘dye all’ in *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c*. was a direct quotation of a rebus found in a

¹⁷⁷ Couchman, *The Adamites Sermon, &c.*, p. 3.

¹⁷⁸ Alastair Bellany, ‘“Rayling Rymes and Vaunting Verse”: Libellous Politics in Early Stuart England, 1603–1628’, in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 285–310.

¹⁷⁹ Williams, ‘Magnetic Figures’, pp. 87–88.

commemorative portrait, but also a more general nod to the *memento mori* visual culture which informed many funeral sermons. It might be argued that the woodcuts on the title pages of these mock-sermons reveal more about the pamphleteering culture of the era than their specificity to caricaturing the sermon genre. From the analyses above, it would be difficult to argue for one against the other. The ‘crude’ style of woodcuts used for the publications of Taylor had previously been employed for images on the title pages of earlier providential sermons such as *The Curse of Corne-horders, &c.* by Charles Fitzgeffrey explored in Chapter One. The liberal blending of genres suggests once again that printed sermons could be drawn into extensive exchanges with numerous different types of media, and were not, therefore, thoughts that succeed the occasions from which they arose.

How did mock-sermons differ from ordinary printed sermons? The mock-sermons were often very short, unlike the extended tracts of real printed sermons which could number over one hundred pages in some cases. Conversely, the mock-sermons were sometimes as verbose and circumlocutory as the originals. A quip on the prolix nature of John Owen’s sermons can be found in one pamphlet describing a ‘cure for the State’, which prescribes a composition including ‘Sir *Henry Vane*’s Affection to the Ministry’ and ‘*Henry Martin*’s Chastity’ to be boiled together for ‘the full time of one of Doctor *Owens* Sermons at the Fast of the HOUSE’.¹⁸⁰ Of note is the fact that the errata list is one aspect of the printed sermon which is not satirised, although *A Word for All: Or, the Rumps Funerall Sermon, &c.* does exhibit some whimsical pagination to suggest the blunders of printers who focused on quantity instead of quality. Perhaps the most interesting difference is that little is made of the dates of when the mock-sermons were ‘preached’, unlike a large number of printed sermons.¹⁸¹ This complicates

¹⁸⁰ J. Canne [i.e. Samuel Butler], *The Acts and Monuments Of our late Parliament, &c.* (1659), leaf facing p. 8. A manuscript notebook of a series of sermons preached by Henry Vane (1613–1662) is held at the National Art Library (Forster 48.D.41); see Feisal G. Mohamed, ‘Milton, Sir Henry Vane, and the Brief but Significant Life of Godly Republicanism’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 76.1 (2013), 83–104.

¹⁸¹ Lund, ‘Early Modern Sermon Paratexts’, p. 148; Jennifer Clement, ‘He being dead, yet speaketh: the preacher’s voice in early seventeenth-century posthumous sermon collections’, *Renaissance Studies*, 32.5 (2018), 738–54 (p. 740).

Michael Mendle's premise that, by mid-1642, pamphlets 'often came day-dated as a sign of their newness'; that, '[a]s one day's tracts were postdated by the next and the next, their marketability declined to the vanishing point'.¹⁸² The fact that mock-sermons were not always dated seems to reflect the pamphleteers' intention for their extended influence. The multiple instances of cross-referencing within the mock-sermons also suggests that these texts were not intended to be so readily discarded after a single reading.

Continuing the question of the impact of satirical sermons on early modern English society, there are some important areas which remain to be integrated fully into this picture. Chapter Two explored the significance of a hand-coloured copy of Richard Davies's funeral sermon for Walter Devereux, First Earl of Essex. Additionally, Chapters One and Three illuminated instances of the drawing, cutting, pasting and rearrangement of visual material. In this chapter, I have regrettably been unable to find many meaningful annotations in these often rather rare publications. By no means does this signify the complete lack of survival of such denigrating contestations of power in the form of readers' marginalia; in fact, these might profitably be studied alongside annotated libels.¹⁸³ Annotations would also have been able to tell us much more about the vexed question of the specific readership of these pamphlets.¹⁸⁴ John Morrill's study of the marginalia within the printed fast sermons owned by William Dowsing (bap. 1596, d. 1668), the 'small farmer who emerged briefly from obscurity' to become one of the notorious iconoclasts of the English Civil Wars, reminds us that 'men of humble status

¹⁸² Mendle, 'Preserving the Ephemeral', p. 201.

¹⁸³ The Bodleian Library contains several copies of publications commemorating Parliamentarians with libellous marginalia. The title page of *A Short View of the life and actions of the late Deceased Iohn Pim Esquire, &c.* [1643], Bodleian Library, Wood 531 (3), is annotated with the following words: 'Tis a verie silly thing & not worth reading'. A copy of Daniel Evance's *Iusta Honoraria, &c.* [1646], Bodleian Library, Wood 531 (10), contains many scurrilous marginal notes which effectively annihilate Evance's tribute to Robert Devereux, Third Earl of Essex. In Cambridge University Library, the words 'Damnable' and 'son of a whore' have been scribbled over Richard Vines's name on the title page of his sermon entitled *Magnalia Dei ab Aquilone, &c.* (1644). See Rigney, 'The English Sermon, 1640-1660', p. 206.

¹⁸⁴ In relation to playing-cards, Mark Knights has also recognised that 'gauging user reaction is not easy' owing to the lack of annotation. See Knights, 'Possessing the Visual', p. 115.

were able to make independent political choices in the 1640s', and were literate enough to write down these opinions.¹⁸⁵

To take a broader view of their impact, it is to be noted that these mock-sermons are quite prominently concentrated within specific years of the Civil Wars and Interregnum; namely, the early 1640s, 1650, 1654 and 1659–1660 (see Appendix). Taking into account the inevitable questions of survival, it would be fruitful to consider the reasons behind the silence of this genre in certain years.¹⁸⁶ The fact that many of the authors of these mock-sermons protected themselves by hiding behind initials and pseudonyms prompts certain questions surrounding the censorship of publications, even during a period notorious for the major collapse of institutional censorship. Owing in large measure to the anonymity of many of these satirical writers, it is difficult to draw conclusions regarding their collaborations between the craftsmen producing the woodcuts. The clock within *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.* would have had to be requested specifically for inclusion within the text in order to carry out the joke; however, specific evidence surrounding this commission is lost to us.

Lastly, for all their criticisms of the financial benefits reaped by the printing of sermons, and for all their ironic, mock-scholarly references to one another's pamphlets, advertisements for printed sermons nonetheless seemed to appear with much greater frequency than ever before from the 1650s. The practice of advertising a catalogue of fast sermons, which would be appended to the latest one to be published, was condemned by pamphleteers, yet it was one which continued well into the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁷ We might, therefore, question how successful these satirical publications were in their attempts to sharpen readers' critical faculties and warn against hypocrisy. The ever-increasing sale of printed sermons suggests that there

¹⁸⁵ John Morrill, 'William Dowsing and the administration of iconoclasm in the Puritan revolution', in *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War*, ed. by Trevor Cooper (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 1–28 (p. 28).

¹⁸⁶ Peacey, 'The Revolution in Print', p. 277.

¹⁸⁷ The advertisements and catalogues could appear in the epistle as well as at the end of a sermon. See John Lightfoot, *A Sermon Preached before the Honorable House of Commons, &c.* (1645); William Goode, *Jacob Raised, &c.* (1647); John Strickland, *Gods Work of Mercy, in Sions Misery, &c.* (1644).

were no particular attempts to boycott the purchase of sermons. How seriously, then, were these mock-sermons really taken in their attempts to reform? To return to one of the key questions outlined at the beginning of this chapter, it is possible that these squibs did not shape the religious politics of the nation *per se*, but rather provided sources of urbane entertainment to confirm the pre-existing prejudices of a readership which was *au fait* with the visual rhetoric of religious print. In line with Arnold Hunt's argument that ordinary printed sermons 'failed, on the whole, to penetrate beyond the middling sort', it is likely that these mock-sermons served the same audience who could fully appreciate their range of satirical coverage, even though many of these short pamphlets would have been more affordable than printed sermons.¹⁸⁸

And yet, there is no question of the lasting literary influence of these satirical pamphlets upon printed texts produced from the late seventeenth century until the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁹ Chapter Two investigated the ways in which the same woodcut was used in a printed sermon and a related broadside to cultivate a pictorial literacy in godly readers. Ballads could 'migrate' to mock-sermons in a similar way, as *The true Copy of a Welch Sermon, &c.* has revealed. The 'wanderings' of woodcuts have been widely documented in turn by scholars of such ballads, and the mock-sermon also exhibits this practice, as we have seen with *A Sermon Preached The Last Fast day in Leaden-Hall Street, &c.* and John Taylor's *Love one another, &c.*¹⁹⁰ Previously hinted at in Chapter Two, and worthy of further interrogation, is the manner in which sermons could lie dormant but be published years later for many reasons; for historical documentation, or perhaps in light of a new and related controversy.¹⁹¹ This could

¹⁸⁸ Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, p. 168.

¹⁸⁹ Gibson, 'The British Sermon 1689–1901', p. 21.

¹⁹⁰ Margaret Aston, 'Bibles to Ballads: Some Pictorial Migrations in the Reformation', in *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy*, ed. by Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 106–30; Christopher Marsh, 'A Woodcut and Its Wanderings in Seventeenth-Century England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79.2 (2016), 245–62.

¹⁹¹ Joseph Black, 'The Rhetoric of Reaction: The Martin Marprelate Tracts (1588–89), Anti-Martinism, and the Uses of Print in Early Modern England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28.3 (1997), 707–25 (p. 711 n. 9); Joseph L.

also be the case with their satirical counterparts. Close reading of *The New Light* (1664), written by a Restoration pamphleteer posing as the Quaker preacher William Caton (1636–1665), discloses its complete plagiary of John Taylor’s *A Tale In a Tub, Or a tub Lecture, &c.* While many scholars have been preoccupied with the true definition of a pamphlet, highlighting in particular its topicality, the question becomes invariably more complex when one considers the fact that certain printed mock-sermons survived for so long.¹⁹²

The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century reception of these particular mock-sermons would present an interesting case study to refute claims for their ephemerality.¹⁹³ The Appendix lists four mock-sermons which can be encountered in multiple, later editions. To examine just a couple of examples, the 1728 edition of *The Exaltation of Christmas Pye, &c.* represents one of the most faithful transcriptions of the original text, even keeping the original, single marginal annotation. There is no explanatory preface, suggesting that readers almost seventy years after its first publication could still understand the references to Civil War figures and notable gluttons such as William Marriott (d. 1653) alike.¹⁹⁴ The 1777 edition of the Sermon on ‘MALT’, on the other hand, has clearly been updated for its late-eighteenth-century readership in its inclusion of prefatory notes about Dod. New paratextual material occurs on the title page, in the form of an extract from a famous hymn upon drunkenness by Isaac Watts (1674–1748). Nevertheless, the text stays true to its earlier editions in its emphatic presentation of the word ‘MALT’, in this case as a distinctive acrostic to stand out to the reader.¹⁹⁵

Printed sermons and the controversies which they stimulated continued to spark visual and verbal satires in the early eighteenth century. The printed sermons of Henry Sacheverell

Black, ‘The Marprelate Controversy’, in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500–1640*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 544–59 (p. 554).

¹⁹² For the definition of a pamphlet, see Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, pp. 264, 268; Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p. 8; Peacey, ‘Pamphlets’, p. 454.

¹⁹³ Gibson, ‘The British Sermon 1689–1901’, p. 21.

¹⁹⁴ P. B. [sic], *The Exaltation of Christmas Pye, As it was Deliver’d in a Preachment in Lime-Street, &c.* (1728), British Library, 1480.aaa.13.

¹⁹⁵ John Dod (attrib.), *A Sermon upon the word MALT* (1777). British Library, 1417.b.11.

(1674–1724), originally preached at Oxford, inspired the likes of Daniel Defoe (1660?–1731) then resident in London, who based *The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters, &c.* (1702) on the style of one of his sermons.¹⁹⁶ The most notorious sermon was preached shortly after Sacheverell's election to a chaplaincy at St Saviour's, Southwark. On 5 November 1709, Sacheverell delivered a Gunpowder Plot sermon at St Paul's Cathedral. The clergyman took this opportunity to compare the plot with the execution of Charles I, thereby attacking Catholics and all kinds of dissenters. Following the private publication of this controversial sermon, Henry Sacheverell was subsequently prohibited from preaching for three years by the House of Lords on 23 March 1710.¹⁹⁷ The sermon was widely available in print and manuscript, and was also promptly translated into other languages.¹⁹⁸ Like the playing-cards illustrating the preaching of Stephen Marshall and Christopher Feake, a whole deck, created in the 1710s, was dedicated to the events leading up to the trial of the disgraced clergyman.¹⁹⁹ Most notably, the knave of clubs shows the printing of the inflammatory sermon.²⁰⁰ The incident also inspired a satirical elegy upon 'Doctor Sacheverell's much lamented silence'; that is, the effectual 'death' of his career. This recalls not only *Walk Knaves, walk* and *Peters Patern Or the perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*, but also the 'Farewell' sermons of ejected nonconformist ministers which were frequently printed in the 1660s. The elegy exhorts the reader to 'Weep for the Man that did so boldly prate; | That Brethren false were in our

¹⁹⁶ W. A. Speck, 'Sacheverell, Henry (bap. 1674, d. 1724)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn (2008) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24440>> [accessed 12 January 2019]; [Daniel Defoe], *The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters, &c.* (1702).

¹⁹⁷ For Sacheverell, see Geoffrey Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973); Tony Claydon, 'The sermon, the 'public sphere' and the political culture of late seventeenth-century England', in *The English sermon revised: Religion, literature and history 1600–1750*, ed. by Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 208–34; and the special issue of *Parliamentary History*, 31.1 (2012), ed. by Mark Knights.

¹⁹⁸ For a contemporary French translation entitled 'Le danger de l'Eglise de l'Etat par les faux Freres', see Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson E 7.

¹⁹⁹ Knights, 'Possessing the Visual', pp. 97–98.

²⁰⁰ Incomplete pack of playing-cards, dated from the early eighteenth century. British Museum, 1896,0501.922.

Church & State’ (ll. 8–9). The reader is also told that ‘*His Sermon’s burnt and turned into Dust*’ (l. 11).²⁰¹

Another print also referred specifically to the printed sermon, categorising it apiece with emblem and print. A couplet at the bottom of the print reads as follows: ‘What tho: this EMBLEM may have little in’t; | Yet since you bought y^e Sermon, buy y^e Print’.²⁰² A broadside was quickly published in response to this: ‘Veiw well the Emblem, mind the matter in’t | And for the Sermons Front’s-peice, buy y^e Print’ (see Figure 5.16). These sentiments reflect the fact that printed sermons were not divorced from visual images; that readers of sermons and those who purchased prints and broadsides could be one and the same. The style of printing a sermon could continue to constitute a point of ridicule in the nineteenth century.²⁰³ As this thesis has thus far attempted to demonstrate, images and sermons were inextricably linked in an earlier period which was questioning the very status of the visual image within religious contexts. This chapter has revealed that the significance of such a dichotomy had gained notoriety and had become a notable topic of satire in Revolutionary England and beyond.

²⁰¹ Anonymous print, ‘The Living Man’s Elegie Or Doctor Sacheverell’s much lamented silence’, dated 23 March 1710. British Museum, 1868,0808.3443.

²⁰² Anonymous broadside, ‘The High Church Champion and his two seconds’, dated 1709. British Museum, 1868,0808.3427.

²⁰³ Gibson, ‘The British Sermon 1689–1901’, p. 25.



Figure 5.16. Anonymous broadside, *The High Church Champion Pleading his own Cause. Or The Pope and the Devil Vanquish'd by a Flurt from the Doctors Pen* (1709). Etching and engraving. 27.2 × 16.2 cm. British Museum, 1868,0808.3428.

CONCLUSION

We discern a dim, composite picture of a big man in a big wig and a billowing black gown, with a big congregation beneath him. But we are not anxious to hear what he is saying. We know it is all very elegant. We know it will be printed and be bound in finely-tooled full calf, and no palaeo-Georgian gentleman's library will be complete without it. Literate people in those days were comparatively few; but, bating that, one may say that sermons were as much in request as novels are to-day. I wonder, will mankind continue to be capricious?

The hegemony enjoyed by the printed sermon within the book trade had long been waning when, in 1918, the caricaturist Max Beerbohm (1872–1956) evoked the world of Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) in his essay entitled ‘A Clergyman’. In a bemused manner, Beerbohm highlights the fact that the printed sermon was once a bestseller, an essential component of a respectable gentleman’s library. Well beyond the period covered within this thesis, the published sermon had also been an important means for an individual clergyman to advance his reputation. In ‘The Sad Fortunes of the Reverend Amos Barton’ by George Eliot (1819–1880), set in the 1780s, the eponymous protagonist presents a prospective patroness, the Countess Czerlaski, with ‘a thin green-covered pamphlet’ containing a Christmas-Day sermon. She subsequently encourages the curate to publish his sermons in an independent volume, to be recommended to the Dean of Radborough and one Lord Blarney, who might be persuaded to gift him the next vacant living as a result of his efforts.² Stepping back further to the end of the seventeenth century, one letter written by the ejected minister William Bates (1625–1699) to John Thornton (*d.* 1640–1705), chaplain to William Russell (1616–1700), First Duke of

¹ Max Beerbohm, ‘A Clergyman’, in *The Oxford Book of Essays*, ed. by John Gross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 356–61 (p. 359).

² George Eliot, ‘The Sad Fortunes of the Reverend Amos Barton’, in George Eliot, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, MDCCCLVIII [1858]), I, pp. 1–151 (Chapter 3, pp. 65–67).

Bedford, contains details of a printed sermon which Bates had dedicated to the duke, with a request to Thornton to distribute copies to the dedicatee and members of his family.³

This thesis has set out to investigate the visual presentation of, and printed images within, this now-neglected prose genre, returning attention to the physical artefacts as they have been preserved in libraries and archives today. In light of the strong scholarly emphasis upon the performative aspects of sermons in post-Reformation England, this study has attempted to re-focus the discussion on the enduring cultural impact of the printed artefacts, building upon insights offered by historians such as Alexandra Halasz, who have posited that printed sermons were bought as records of the original events.⁴ The objective of each chapter has been to ascertain the significance of illustrative matter as a contributing factor to the bestselling nature of this ‘most characteristic’ of Protestant literatures in this era.⁵ Chapter One opened by underscoring the multi-functional quality of frontispiece portraits in sermons, showing simultaneously the manner in which printed sermons could be referenced in single-sheet portraits of their authors. The broadsides of the impeached preacher Henry Sacheverell, explored at the end of Chapter Four, illuminate the satirical portrayal of this phenomenon. By advertising each other, single-sheet portraits and sermons contributed mutually to their own steady selling. Thus, at the end of several sermons by William Dawes (1671–1724), Archbishop of York, there are paratextual advertisements for portraits of the churchman, ‘drawn from the Original Painting of Mr. *Thomas Murray* [...] And curiously engrav’d on a large Copper Plate, by Mr. *George Vertue*, from the said Painting’. These prints were being sold as single sheets, in a frame, or in a frame and glass, by the same bookseller and at the

³ Letter from William Bates to John Thornton, 23 March [1695]. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson letters 109 fol. 4. The year is not stated. However, 1695 seems likely, as *A Sermon Preached upon the much Lamented Death Of our Late Gracious Sovereign Queen Mary* (1695) is the only printed sermon by William Bates dedicated to the Duke of Bedford.

⁴ Alexandra Halasz, *The marketplace of print: Pamphlets and the public sphere in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 194.

⁵ Mary Morrissey, ‘Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons’, *The Historical Journal*, 42.4 (1999), 1111–23 (p. 1112).

same shop as the printed sermons.⁶ Other means for preachers and printers to ‘sell their wares’ included the graphic display of heraldic insignia on title pages and frontispieces as symbols of endorsement from authoritative figures of godliness. Chapters Two and Three demonstrated that the implementation of these devices, from escutcheons to *memento mori* symbols, also served as didactic visual aids, with the objective to warn and admonish as much as to celebrate of the virtues of the godly, living or dead. These visual texts were products of the culture of gift-giving from preacher to patron, from bishops with the power to bestow livings to bereaved beneficiaries.

Thus, advertisement, proclamation of authority and godly teaching constituted three interconnected principal functions of the image in the printed sermon. Much has been made of the sermon’s prominent role as a provider of news, and these three elements informed the image’s additional role as a purveyor of news in the printed sermon.⁷ Museum curators today have recognised this particular visual aspect of sermons. *Lex Ignea* (1666), a sermon by William Sancroft (1617–1693), who was Dean of St Paul’s Cathedral at the time of its publication, features an engraving of the cathedral in flames executed by Wenceslaus Hollar. This sermon was put on display and juxtaposed with contemporary visual printed material at a Museum of London exhibition which marked the 350th anniversary of the Great Fire of London.⁸ This fast sermon had been delivered in the presence of Charles II on 10 October 1666 and was subsequently published by Timothy Garthwait (d. 1669). Garthwait and Hollar appeared to have enjoyed a fruitful partnership. Matt Jenkinson has pointed out that Garthwait was a particularly prolific publisher of court sermons, having been responsible for distributing

⁶ William Dawes, *Of The Right Use, and Abuse, of the Things of this World* (1712), unpaginated.

⁷ Arnold Hunt, ‘The succession in sermons, news and rumour’, in *Doubtful and dangerous: The question of succession in late Elizabethan England*, ed. by Susan Doran and Paulina Kewes (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2014), pp. 155–72; Anne James, ‘Preaching the Good News: William Barlow Narrates the Fall of Essex and the Gunpowder Plot’, in *Paul’s Cross and the Culture of Persuasion in England, 1520–1640*, ed. by Torrance Kirby and P. G. Stanwood (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 345–60.

⁸ ‘Fire! Fire!’, exhibition at the Museum of London, 23 July 2016–17 April 2017.

thirteen of them.⁹ Hollar contributed bespoke title-page engravings to at least seven sermons published by Garthwait. A brief examination of a selection of these texts serves to summarise the findings of the first two chapters of this thesis.

A Sermon Preached Before the King, Aug. 14. 1666 (1666) by John Dolben (1625–1686), then Dean of Westminster, displays an image of a ship sailing on a calm sea which retrospectively illustrates a ‘late Victory at Sea’, presumably during the Second Anglo-Dutch War. This image might usefully be contrasted with the sea-faring pictures on the title pages of *The Merchant Royall* by Robert Wilkinson and *The Messengers Preparation For an Addresse to The King For a Well-grounded Peace* by Samuel Kem, both of which were discussed in Chapter One. While the ship on the title page of Dolben’s sermon stood for a recently achieved stability, the ship of *The Merchant Royall* was even more emblematic, combined with an heraldic device as a sophisticated representation of the stability of marriage and the constancy of the bride. In Kem’s sermon, the image of the ship was a means of heralding the soldier-minister’s departure for a period of ministry at sea. These three approaches towards the visual depiction of a ship establish how this symbol could serve as reportage or as a moralistic emblem. Chapter One also interrogated the illustration of biblical episodes, interpreted as historical scenes which were deemed relevant and necessary for the understanding of contemporary readers. *The Bishop of Exons Caution to his Diocese Against False Doctrines* (1669) by Anthony Sparrow (1612–1685), Bishop of Exeter, appears with a title-page illustration of the construction of the Tower of Babel, described in Genesis 11.7–8 and annotated accordingly. The sermon, a mere fifteen pages in length, sets out ‘*some general Rules and Prescriptions*’ to preserve readers ‘*from all damnable doctrines*’ as taught by ‘*so many false Teachers*’, mirroring the confusion of voices which arose as a consequence of man’s

⁹ Matt Jenkinson, ‘Preaching at the Court of Charles II: Court Sermons and the Restoration Chapel Royal’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 442–59 (p. 444).

presumption and pride.¹⁰ Several sermons by Benjamin Lany (1591–1675), Bishop of Lincoln and subsequently of Ely, were published with a representation of his episcopal arms on their title pages (gules, two lions passant guardant or on a chief azure the Virgin ducally crowned sitting on a throne issuant from the chief on her dexter arm the infant Jesus and in her sinister hand a sceptre all or), recalling the claims to authority represented in the heraldic title-page devices analysed in Chapter Two. The image of the Virgin and Child, in a similar way to the striking representation of the arms of the Bishop of Chichester in Thomas Vicars’s sermon discussed in Chapter Two, would have been especially eye-catching for book-buyers sensitive to the controversies surrounding representations of the Holy Family.

As a consequence, the conclusions which can be drawn from this thesis centre on the rather underexplored commercial life of the printed sermon and its capacity to inculcate adherence to the central tenets of Protestantism. The sermons investigated within this thesis were all issued in ‘an age newly inundated and thus captivated with print, when [...] the vast majority of press output was devoted to matters of the spirit’.¹¹ While many valuable insights are to be gained from studying sermons delivered in real time, and the immediate impact which space, place and context had upon these oral texts, it is important not to lose sight of the longer-term impact of their dissemination in print. Contrary to being a hindrance to piety and belief, images in sermons served a variety of purposes; above all, as aids and *aides-mémoire* for godly readers. They could be organised on the page in such a way as to make the meaning of the text more accessible: by introducing the central theme of the text as the frontispiece, by being interspersed within the text to illustrate specific parts of it, or by being placed at the end to cement the final didactic lesson of the sermon in the mind of the reader. The process of

¹⁰ Anthony Sparrow, *The Bishop of Exons Caution to His Diocese Against False Doctrines* (1669), unpaginated. See also an illustration of Leviticus 10.1–2 on the title page of Benjamin Lany, *Five Sermons, Preached before His Majesty at Whitehall* (1669).

¹¹ Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough, ‘Revising the study of the English sermon’, in *The English sermon revised: Religion, literature and history 1600–1750*, ed. by Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 2–21 (p. 10).

putting together a printed sermon was collaborative, and could be as much the engraver's or etcher's (and bookseller's) art as the preacher's.¹² The illustrated mock-sermons explored in Chapter Four establish the extent to which satirists regarded negatively this increasing 'commodification' of the sermon, which in their opinion was being drawn further and further away from its original purpose as a tool for edification.

It remained the case, however, that pictures in sermons were integral components to ensure their place in the book market; ultimately, to guide readers towards purchasing suitable godly literature, and to complement the texts to which they were appended. Sustained attention to visual considerations in a genre of text which has been recognised as epitomising 'Protestantism's integration in English political and cultural life' corroborates the substantial body of scholarship repudiating older arguments for the blanket condemnation of images by English Protestants.¹³ This thesis is a necessary addition to such scholarship as the concept of Protestant 'iconophobia' in post-Reformation England has proved remarkably resilient, particularly beyond the academy. The images on the pages of these sermons, which were often accompanied with godly distichs or biblical verses, were strictly to be 'read' alongside the text, and not isolated as objects of veneration in themselves.

What evidence was there of readers' occupations with visual forms in sermons? In order to inform a deeper understanding of the visual elements of the printed sermon, it has been necessary to explore their reception where possible, or at least any evidence of visual engagement with the sermon. By examining the variety of reader interactions, which have included the pasting-in of images, the scribal presentation of manuscript sermons, illustrative marginalia and hand-colouring, this thesis has determined that it was not necessarily the case, as

¹² This is also observed by John H. Astington with regard to illustrated playbooks. See John H. Astington, 'Visual Texts: Thomas Middleton and Prints', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 226–46 (p. 231).

¹³ Morrissey, 'Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons', p. 1113.

James Rigney has stated, that '[a]nnotation showed a reader's bias to the utility of the page rather than its aesthetics'.¹⁴ If this was the case, why would such attention to detail have been given to imitate printed sermons, as revealed by several existing manuscripts? The example presented in Figure 6.1 provides truly engaging evidence of such practices, in contrast to earlier studies which have outlined early printed texts' emulation of the script and layout of manuscript volumes.¹⁵ Additionally, Chapter One has exposed some intriguing specimens regarding the personal engagement of Protestant divines with drawing and ornamental penmanship in manuscript sermons, intended not only as gifts for patrons but as outlets for their own private devotional meditations. This study has thus paved the way for further investigation into the relationship between post-Reformation preaching and the visual arts in England in the early modern era and beyond, in response to the extensive scholarship on this topic in relation to medieval preaching. According to Colette Crossman, five texts, written by ministers from across the spectrum of ecclesiastical faction between 1889 and 1916, explored the art of the Pre-Raphaelite Edward Burne-Jones (1833–1898). The exchange of ideas was mutual: clergymen embraced his art as a didactic tool, while art critics borrowed from the techniques of preaching to elucidate art for the general public.¹⁶

¹⁴ James Rigney, "To lye upon a Stationers stall, like a piece of coarse flesh in a Shambles': the sermon, print and the English Civil War", in *The English sermon revised: Religion, literature and history 1600–1750*, ed. by Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 188–207 (p. 203).

¹⁵ Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 29; Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer, 'Current Trends in the History of Reading', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. by Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 1–20 (p. 7).

¹⁶ Colette Crossman, 'Seeing the Sacred: Burne-Jones's Reception as a "Great Religious Painter"', *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, 14.2 (2015), <<http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer15/crossman-on-burne-jones-s-reception-as-a-great-religious-painter>> [accessed 14 April 2020].

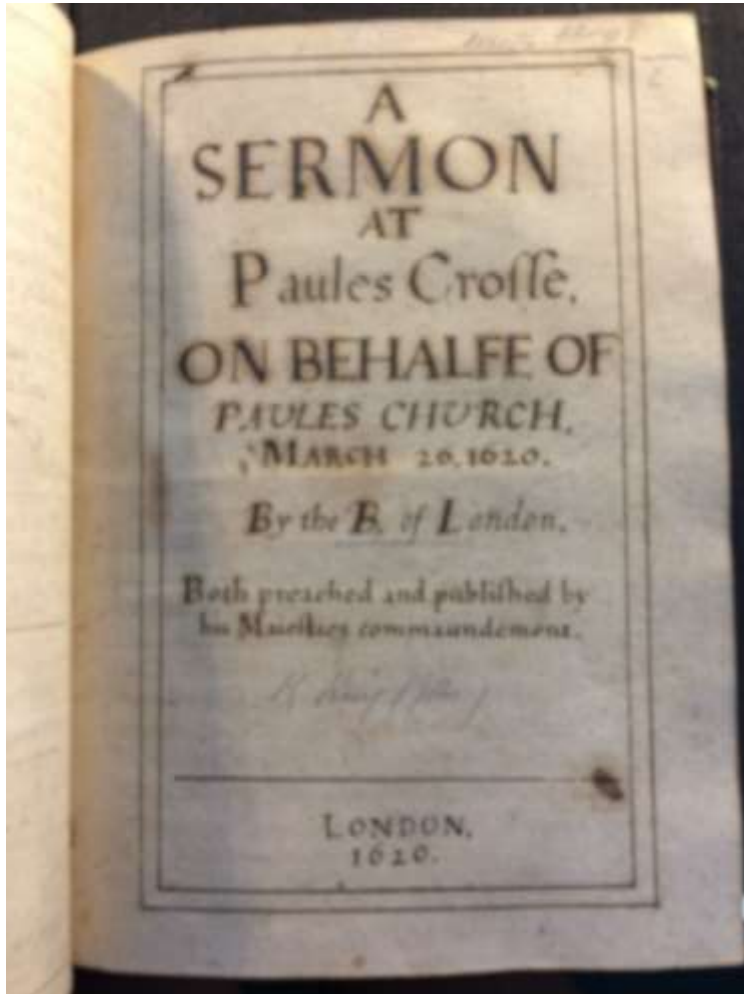


Figure 6.1. Manuscript copy of John King, *A Sermon at Paules Crosse, &c* (1620). British Library, 4476.bb.98.(2). 4°.

Sermons and visual culture in early modern England, previously polarised as two representative means of worship belonging to the two opposing confessional identities of Protestantism and Catholicism, have thus been brought together in this study.¹⁷ In a number of ways, this thesis has also challenged scholarly consensus regarding the printed sermons themselves as sources, too often denigrated as ‘replica[s]’ and ‘poor and incomplete record[s]’ of the historical events and of early modern preaching itself.¹⁸ Firstly, it is frequently assumed

¹⁷ Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1998), p. 99.

¹⁸ Quotations from D. R. Woolf, ‘Speech, Text, and Time: The Sense of Hearing and the Sense of the Past in Renaissance England’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 18.2 (1986), 159–93 (p. 174);

that printed sermons arose predominantly from prestigious events, and cannot therefore be deemed ‘representative’ of ordinary preaching occasions.¹⁹ The sermons examined in this thesis did not only originate from the major pulpits in London, but were also born from intimate gatherings at numerous funerals held in the parishes. Secondly, this study supports recent scholarship which has revealed that it would be a one-dimensional analysis to ‘endorse a simple contrast between print and manuscript’, and to argue that the latter was automatically more ‘authentic’ and closer to a preacher’s intentions than the former.²⁰ To have stated that early modern printed sermons are entirely uncharted territory in current scholarship would have been an overstatement indeed, but it is still the case that historians and literary critics alike are prone to generalisation regarding their value as historical sources. Such scholars have held that a printed sermon ‘could never equal a heard sermon’, and that this was frequently emphasised by Protestant divines.²¹ On the other hand, it is not often stressed enough that, just as divines could be anxious about the ‘undisciplined independent interpretation’ of their published sermons, so it was the case that listeners could not always be ‘controlled’ in their personal interpretations of a preacher’s sermon.²² This thesis has maintained that, while we cannot pass over the concerns about sermon publication expressed by certain divines, it is crucial to try and understand further how they negotiated such concerns with the advantages achieved by a wider

Rosamund Oates, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 6–7, respectively. See also Francis Bremer and Ellen Rydell, ‘Performance Art? Puritans in the Pulpit’, *History Today*, 45.9 (1995), pp. 50–4 (pp. 51–52); Arnold Hunt, ‘Recovering Speech Acts’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 13–29 (pp. 17–18).

¹⁹ Oates, *Moderate Radical*, pp. 6–7.

²⁰ Ann Hughes, ‘Preaching the “Long Reformation” in the English Revolution’, *Reformation*, 24.2 (2019), 151–64.

²¹ Quotation from Margaret Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 899. See also Tom Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement c. 1620–1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 106; Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 10.

²² Rigney, “To lye upon a Stationers stall, like a piece of coarse flesh in a Shambles”, p. 196; Laura Feitzinger Brown, ‘Slippery Listening: Anxious Clergy and Lay Listeners’ Power in Early Modern England’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 47.1 (2016), 3–23.

dissemination.²³ This thesis has built upon the work of scholars such as D. F. McKenzie and Arnold Hunt in this respect by examining the pertinence of images to the sermon publications and focusing the discussion on sermons which were likely to have been written ‘in anticipation of recreating them as works for the press’.²⁴ Consequently, it has argued, printed sermons should not always be regarded as the fossilised remains of the original performative events, but understood on their own terms.

Moreover, the focus on performance and orality in early modern sermon studies within the past decade in particular has led historians to underscore ‘the primacy of hearing’ and an ‘uncompromising insistence on the ear, rather than the eye’, as a characteristic of Protestant preachers’ beliefs and teachings in post-Reformation England.²⁵ However, having scrutinised the use of ‘pulpit properties’ and references to visual surroundings particularly in Chapters Two and Three, this thesis recalls and supports earlier cogent arguments outlining a ‘balance between sight and sound’ in receptive thinking in early modern England. As Margaret Aston has observed, sermons on the theme of idolatry might, ironically, direct the attention of congregations towards the offending objects, in order that the auditors would know to avoid them.²⁶ Although Tara Hamling has concurred, stating that certain Church of England clergymen did preach against the utilisation of religious images in worship, the use of certain types of images in published sermons was evidently not precluded.²⁷ It was not such a simple

²³ D. F. McKenzie, ‘Speech—Manuscript—Print’, in D. F. McKenzie, *Making Meaning: “Printers of the Mind” and Other Essays*, ed. by Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez, S. J. (Amherst and Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp. 237–58 (p. 241); Alexandra Walsham, ‘Preaching without speaking: script, print and religious dissent’, in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, ed. by Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 211–34 (p. 227); Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, ch. 3.

²⁴ Harold Love, ‘Originality and the Puritan Sermon’, in *Plagiarism in Early Modern England*, ed. by Paulina Kewes (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 149–65 (p. 159).

²⁵ Quotations from Hunt, *The Art of Hearing*, pp. 24–25. See also Keith Thomas, ‘The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England’, in *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*, ed. by Gerd Baumann (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 97–131 (p. 113).

²⁶ Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation*, pp. 20–1. See also Alexandra Walsham, ‘The Art of Iconoclasm and the Afterlife of the English Reformation’, in *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), pp. 81–115 (p. 104).

²⁷ Tara Hamling, *Decorating the ‘Godly’ Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven and London, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 41.

matter that hearing was prioritised above sight; as Daniel Woolf has posited, ‘Elizabethans were divided as to the relative importance of eye and ear’. It was therefore a question of ‘mutual influence and tension’, as opposed to a direct hierarchy.²⁸

In terms of the presentation of sermons as printed artefacts, this thesis has gone some way to counter earlier scholarly consensus that sermons were largely produced in a manner which was somewhat utilitarian, differing little from other scholarly and religious printed prose.²⁹ Particularly in the first three chapters, due attention has been given to the variety of formats, from duodecimo to folio, and the significance of this in relation to the content of these works. On the subject of the aesthetic qualities of the printed illustrations, it would be mistaken to assume that engravings automatically rendered a publication more bespoke or prestigious than one decorated with woodcuts, as has hitherto been assumed.³⁰ Martha W. Driver’s observation that woodcuts ‘have long been the poor relations of manuscript miniatures in the study of book illustration’ might also be applicable to their perceived status as compared with copperplate engravings.³¹ The first three chapters in particular have drawn attention to a selection of particularly intricate woodcuts which were specially commissioned, from the biblical laver described in one of John Carter’s guild day sermons to the tributes designed for the deceased courtier John Harington, Second Baron Harington of Exton.³² Therefore, woodcuts were not necessarily inferior but continued to form part of the rich decorative repertoire which could imbue meaning to the works in question. At the same time, this thesis contests earlier claims that engravings were reserved for ‘more substantial works’ than

²⁸ Woolf, ‘Speech, Text, and Time’, p. 166; Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf, ‘Introduction’, in *The spoken word: Oral culture in Britain 1500–1850*, ed. by Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 1–51 (p. 8).

²⁹ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 53, 58.

³⁰ Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603–1689* (London: British Museum Press, 1998), p. 31; Astington, ‘Visual Texts’, pp. 228–29.

³¹ Martha W. Driver, *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and its Sources* (London: The British Library, 2004), p. 1.

³² For the commissioning of woodcuts for news pamphlets and broadside ballads, see Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 148.

pamphlets.³³ Engravings could be found in a number of sermon-books of varying length and different formats, from octavo and duodecimo devotional works to covert tributes, in the Interregnum, to deceased clergymen who had harboured Royalist tendencies.

Numerous other avenues for further enquiry are outstanding. What was the significance of printed sermons which were posthumously reprised in line with the preoccupations of later generations? Such publications challenge the commonly held belief that topical sermons were only of short-term interest. This topic has been suggested in the discussion in Chapter Two of the re-appropriation of a court sermon by Robert Wilkinson, originally preached at court but newly fashioned as part of the print crusade connected with the Amboyna Massacre. ‘Revived’ sermons demonstrate the ways in which they could acquire political meaning as time passed, serving as catalysts for debate well after their original preachings.³⁴ The differing visual presentation of sermons published over many decades, examined particularly in relation to *The Danger of deferring Repentance, &c.* by William Fenner in Chapter One, attests to the continued relevance of sermons long after they had been preached, even if they were presented as ‘chapbook sermons’ in cheaper formats by publishers who also worked in the ballad trade.³⁵ Such reproductions of an image could actually increase its significance, rather than subtract from it.³⁶ Whereas scholars such as Alexandra Walsham have laid the groundwork for such issues by discussing the doctrinal aspects of certain printed sermons adapted across the decades of the English Reformation, this thesis has sought to highlight how visual components of the printed sermon were a vital part of this dialogue.³⁷ The success of the ‘revived’ sermon can

³³ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 148.

³⁴ Joseph Marshall, ‘Recycling and Originality in the Pamphlet Wars: Republishing Jacobean Texts in the 1640s’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 12.1 (2000), 55–85.

³⁵ Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 213. For an example of another bestselling sermon later sold by a balladmonger, see Robert Johnson, *Dives and Lazarus, Or rather, Divellish Dives* (1620).

³⁶ Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001; repr. 2019), p. 23.

³⁷ Alexandra Walsham, ‘Inventing the Lollard Past: The Afterlife of a Medieval Sermon in Early Modern England’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 58.4 (2007), 628–55.

perhaps be summarised in an uncharacteristically concise statement from William Rawley (c. 1588–1667), East Anglian divine and amanuensis to Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626), which can be found within an epistle of the single sermon which he published and subsequently dedicated to his master: ‘*Printed Sermons haue this priuiledge aboue Vocall Sermons onely, that they may be instant in season, and out of season*’.³⁸

³⁸ William Rawley, *A Sermon of Meeknesse, &c.* (1623), sig. A2^v.

APPENDIX: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EXTANT PRINTED MOCK-SERMONS, c. 1641–1660

This is a bibliography of standalone mock-sermons. In order to be comprehensive, the list does not include mock-sermons as embedded in other pamphlets or satirical sermon ‘reports’. Reprints during the period c. 1641–1660 are also excluded. An asterisk () by the publication indicates the presence of woodcuts beyond printers’ ornaments and devices.*

1641–43

*Couchman, Obadiah, *The Adamites Sermon: Containing their manner of Preaching, Expounding, and Prophesying, &c.* [London], Printed for Francis Coules, in the Yeare 1641. 4°.

*T., I., [i.e. John Taylor], *A Tale In a Tub, Or a tub Lectvre As it was delivered by Mi-heele Mend-soule, an inspired Brownist, and a most upright Translator.* London Printed in the yeare when Brownist did Domineare 1642. 4°.

*Ailo, Thorny [i.e. John Taylor], *A Seasonable Lecture, or A most learned Oration, &c.* Printed at London for F. Cowles, T. Bates, and T. Banks. 1642. 4°.

ap Morgan, Shon, *The Welch-Mans Warning-Piece.* LONDON: Printed for Robert Wood, and Henry Marsh. 1642. 4°.

A Zealovs Sermon, Preached at Amsterdam, By a Jew, Whose Name is Not-Rvb, &c. Printed at Amsterdam. Anno. Dom. 1642. 4°.

*Alexander, John [i.e. John Taylor], *Love one another: A Tvb Lectvre, Preached At Watford in Hartfordshire at a Conventicle on the 25. of December last, being Christmas day, &c.* Printed in the yeare of private instructing. [1643]. 4°.

**A Sermon Preached The last Fast day in Leaden-Hall Street, in the house of one Padmore, a Cheesmonger, &c.* Printed in the Yeare of private instructing, for John Lovel, 1643. 4°.

up Owen, Ihon [i.e. John Owen], *The true Copy of a Welch Sermon Preached Before Prince Mavrice in Wales upon his departure thence, &c.* Printed for I. Vnderwood. 1643. 4°.

1650 and 1654

Forced Divinity, Or Two Sermons Preached by the Compulsion of Two sorts of Sinners, &c. LONDON, Printed for *F. C.* And are to be sold in the *Old Bayly*. [1650?]. 8°.

Rew, James, *The Wound's o' the Kirk o' Scotland In her head, heart, hands, and feet; Held forth In a Sermon preach't at Edinburg by M James Rew.* LONDON, Printed by *William Du-Gard*, Anno Dom. 1650. 4°.

Hasselwood, Henry, *Doctor Hill's Funeral-Sermon.* Printed at *London*, 1654. And are to be sold by *Richard Moon* at the seven Stars in *Pauls Church-yard*. 4°.

1659-60

*C., I. [i.e. 'Joseph Caryl'], *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness.* London Printed in the Year 1659. 4°.

C., P., *The Exaltation of Christmas Pye As it was Delivered in a Preachment at Ely House.* Printed in the Yeare, 1659. 4°.

*Turbervil, Hodg [i.e. Edmund Gayton], *Walk Knaves, walk.* London, Printed in the year, 1659. 4°.

Feak, Mr. [i.e. Samuel Butler], *A Word for All: Or, the Rumps Funerall Sermon, &c.* Printed, In the Year. 1660. 4°.

Feak, John [i.e. Samuel Butler], *A Funeral Sermon Thundred forth, &c.* LONDON: Printed for *I. P.* in the year 1660. 4°.

*O., J. ['J. O. D. D.', i.e. 'John Owen, Doctor of Divinity'], *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, Being the Last Words That are ever intended to be Spoke of Him.* OXON, Printed in the Year, 1660. 4°.

*Pew, William ap [*William ap Pew, ap Evan, ap Morgan, ap Shinkin Shon Parper*, Pachilar in Tifinity], *De Welchmans Sermon As it was Telivered pefore De Welch Hempassador at Hy-Perry-Parne, De 4th day of Abril, 1660.* LONTON, Brinted vor *Evan Harry-Watkin* ant are to be sold py *Griffin / Clyder ap Shinkin* Shentleman of *Wales*, 1660. 4°.

Mock-Sermons Still in Print Post-1660

ap Morgan, Shon, *The Welch-Mans Warning-Piece*

Edition: 1700

C., I. [i.e. 'Joseph Caryl'], *Peters Patern or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness*

Editions: 1680; 1745; 1810

C., P., *The Exaltation of Christmas Pye As it was Delivered in a Preachment at Ely House*

Edition: 1728

Dod, John (?), The Sermon on 'MALT'

Editions: 1672; 1685; 1760 (?); 1770–1800 (?); 1777; 1795; 1800; 1801; 1831; 1899

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts

BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD

MS Ashmole 826

MS Douce 357

MS Rawlinson E 7

MS Rawlinson letters 109

MS Wood E 1

Wood 276 b (item no. 39)

BRITISH LIBRARY, LONDON

Add MS 4474

Add MS 35692

Add MS 47618

Add MS 70491

Cotton MS Vespasian A XXV

Egerton MS 1043

Egerton MS 2026

Harley MS 6538

Harley MS 6828

Harley MS 6898

Lansdowne MS 25

Lansdowne MS 98/25

Royal MS 16 E XXXVIII

Royal MS 17 B XIX

Sloane MS 2329

Sloane MS 3794

Stowe MS 663

CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY, LONDON

MS I.b.3

DR WILLIAMS'S LIBRARY, LONDON

MS 12.7

MS 28.6

MS 28.7

MS 28.12

FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY, WASHINGTON, DC

MS L.a.239

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY, SAN MARINO, CALIFORNIA

EL 1142

EL 6865 (Egerton Family Papers, Box 177)

EL 6891

HM 15369

STT Literature, Folder 3

HOUGHTON LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE,
MASSACHUSETTS

MS Typ 104

INNER TEMPLE LIBRARY, LONDON

Petyt MS. 531 C

LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY, LONDON

MS 822

LINCOLNSHIRE ARCHIVES, LINCOLN

3-WD/41

NATIONAL ART LIBRARY, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON

Forster 48.D.41

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES, ABERYSTWYTH

MS 9065E/2103

ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, LONDON

MS 38.E.51.01

MS 52.D.14

SENATE HOUSE LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Carlton, 17/8

SUFFOLK RECORD OFFICE, IPSWICH

HD607/1

TOWER HAMLETS LOCAL HISTORY LIBRARY & ARCHIVES, LONDON

W/SMH/A/26/20

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS LIBRARY, LEEDS

Brotherton Collection, MS Lt 57

MS 621

WILLIAM ANDREWS CLARK MEMORIAL LIBRARY, LOS ANGELES,
CALIFORNIA

MS.1951.003

MS.1951.018

MS.1952.004

Material Culture

CHURCH MONUMENTS

Memorial brass of Cicely Puckering (c. 1636), St Mary's Church, Warwick

Stone, Nicholas, and John Schurman, Monument to Sir Thomas Lucy III and Lady Alice Lucy
(c. 1640), St Leonard's Church, Charlecote, Warwickshire

MEDALS

British Museum, G3,EM.310

British Museum, M.7033

British Museum, M.7157

British Museum, M.7205

British Museum, M.7207

PAINTINGS AND MINIATURES

Beccafumi, Domenico, *San Bernardino Preaching in the Campo, Siena* (before 1528),
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

Collier, Edward, *Vanitas Still Life* (1662), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY

Di Pietro, Sano, *Predica di san Bernardino da Siena in piazza del Campo* (1445), Museo
dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena

Gipkyn, John, *Old Saint Paul's* (1616), Society of Antiquaries of London, London

Hayman, Francis (attrib.), *John Wesley Preaching in Old Cripplegate Church, London* (date unknown), Dr Johnson's House, London

Holbein the younger, Hans, *Mrs Jane Small* (c. 1536), Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Loggan, David, *Portrait of a Lady* (c. 1660–1669), Sir Bruce Ingram Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery

PRINTS

British Museum, 1848,0911.505

British Museum, 1850,0223.244

British Museum, 1851,0308.479

British Museum, 1863,0214.548

British Museum, 1864,1210.426

British Museum, 1868,0808.3230

British Museum, 1868,0808.3234

British Museum, 1868,0808.3427

British Museum, 1868,0808.3428

British Museum, 1868,0808.3443

British Museum, 1896,0501.917

British Museum, 1896,0501.922

British Museum, 1907,0326.31

British Museum, 1910,0212.373

British Museum, 2005,U.221

British Museum, 2005,U.252

British Museum, P,1.125

British Museum, P,3.57

British Museum, T,15.45

National Portrait Gallery, D5023

National Portrait Gallery, D22673

National Portrait Gallery, D22781

National Portrait Gallery, D28182

Printed Primary Sources

Abbot, George, *A Sermon Preached at Westminster May 26. 1608* (London: Melchisedech Bradwood for William Aspley, 1608)

Ailo, Thorny [i.e. John Taylor], *A Full and Compleat Answer against the Writer of a late Volume, &c.* (London: For F. Cowles, T. Bates and T. Banks, 1642)

_____, *A Seasonable Lecture, or A most learned Oration, &c.* (London: For F. Cowles, T. Bates and T. Banks, 1642)

Ainsworth, Samuel, *A Sermon Preached At the Funerall of that religious Gentle-woman M^r Dorothy Hanbury, &c.* (London: Richard Cotes for Stephen Bowtell, 1645)

Alexander, John [i.e. John Taylor], *Love one another, &c.* ([London]: n. p., 1643)

The Anatomy of the Separatists, &c. (London: n. p., 1642)

Andrewes, Lancelot, *Institvtiones Piæ, &c.* (London: [Felix Kingston] for Henry Seile, 1630)

_____, *Nineteen Sermons concerning Prayer* (Cambridge: Roger Daniel, 1641)

Annesley, Samuel, *Communion with God* (London: Evan Tyler, 1655)

An Answer to the Bonny Scot, &c. (London: For P. Brooksby, 1685)

The Apologie of Fridericvs Staphylvs Covnseller to the Late Emperovr Ferdinandvs, &c. (Antwerp: John Latius, 1565)

The Arraignment, Tryall, Conviction, and Confession of Francis Deane a Salter [...] Also whereunto is added an Anabaptists Sermon, &c. (London: For Richard Harper, 1643)

Ashe, Simeon, *Living Loves Betwixt Christ and Dying Christians* (London: T. M. for Ralph Smith, 1654)

Aylett, Robert, *Devotions, &c.* (London: T. M. for Abel Roper, 1655)

B., P., *The Exaltation of Christmas Pye, As it was Deliver'd in a Preachment in Lime-Street*, &c. (London: For J. Roberts, 1728)

B., S., *The right way to goe to Worke*, &c. (London: John Haviland for William Bladen, 1623)

Babington, Gervase, *A Sermon Preached at the Covrt at Greenewich*, &c. (London: Richard Field for Thomas Chard, 1591)

_____, *The Workes of the Right Reverend Father in God Gervase Babington*, &c. (London: George Eld, 1615)

Barlow, William, *The Eagle and the Body*, &c. (London: [J. Windet], 1609)

Basire, Isaac, *The Dead Mans real Speech* (London: E. T. and R. H. for James Collins, 1673)

Bates, William, *A Sermon Preached upon the much Lamented Death Of our Late Gracious Sovereign Queen Mary* (London: For Brabazon Aylmer, 1695)

Bedford, Thomas, *A Tive and Certaine Relation Of a Strange-Birth*, &c. (London: Anne Griffin for William Russell, 1635)

Beerbohm, Max, 'A Clergyman', in *The Oxford Book of Essays*, ed. by John Gross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 356-61

Beere, Serjeant Major, *An exact Relation of The defeat given to a party of the enemies horse neer Cambden* ([London]: For Andrew Coe, 1644)

Bellers, Fulk, *Abrahams Interment: Or The good Old-mans Buriall in a good Old Age* (London: R. I. for Tho. Newberry, 1656)

Bernard, Samuel, *Ezekiel's Prophetie Parallel'd: Or, The Desire of the Eyes taken away* (London: For Andrew Crook, 1652)

Birch, Peter, *A Funeral Sermon Preach'd on the Decease of Grace Lady Gethin* (London: D. Edwards, 1700)

Bolton, Robert, *M. Boltons Last and Learned Worke of the Foure last Things*, &c. (London: George Miller, 1632)

The Bonny Scottish Lad, and the Yielding Lass (London: For J. Conyers, 1682)

Bossewell, John, *Workes of Armorie, deuyled into three bookes*, &c. (London: Richard Totelli, 1572)

Boteler, Edward, *The Servant's Audit*, &c. (London: For G. Bedell and T. Collins, 1662)

_____, *Vrbs Deplorata* (London: J. C. for Octavian Pulleyn, 1669)

_____, *The Worthy of Ephratah*, &c. (London: T. N. for G. Bedell and T. Collins, 1659)

Bourchier Devereux, Walter, *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex in the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. 1540-1646*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1853)

Bourne, Immanuel, *The Rainebow, &c.* (London: For Thomas Adams, 1617)

The Brothers of the Separation (London: Tho: Harper, 1641)

The Brownists Conventicle, &c. ([London]: n. p., 1641)

Bryan, John, *The Vertuous Davghter* (London: Thomas Harper for Lawrence Chapman, 1636)

Bulkley, Edward, *A Sermon preached the 30. Ianuary last at Bletsoe, &c.* (London: John Wolfe for George Bishop, 1586)

B[unny]., E[dmund]., *A sermon preached at Pauls crosse, &c.* (London: John Awdely, 1576)

Burgess, Anthony, *The Difficulty of, and The Encouragements to a Reformation* (London: R. Bishop for Thomas Underhill, 1643)

Burton, Henry, *A most Godly Sermon, &c.* (London: B. Alsop, 1641)

Butler, Samuel, *Hudibras. The First Part* (London: J. G. for Richard Marriot, 1663)

C., I., *An Elegie Offered up to the Memory Of that late faithfull Servant of God, Mr. Jeremiah Bvrroughs, &c.* (London: B. A., 1646)

C., J. [i.e. 'Joseph Caryl'], *Peters Patern Or The perfect Path to Worldly Happiness* (London: n. p., 1659)

C., P., *The Exaltation of Christmas Pye, &c.* ([London]: n. p., 1659)

C., T., ed., *A Glasse for the Times, &c.* (London: Robert Ibbitson, 1648)

Calamy, Edmund, *A Patterne for all, &c.* (London: For Edward Brewster, 1658)

_____, *The Saints Transfiguration, &c.* (London: For Joseph Cranford, 1655)

Canne, J. [i.e. Samuel Butler], *The Acts and Monuments Of our late Parliament, &c.* (London: n. p., 1659)

Carpenter, Richard (1575-1627), *The Sovles Sentinel, &c.* (London: William Hall and John Beale for Ambrose Garbrand, 1612)

Carpenter, Richard (1604/5-1670?), *The Iesuit, and the Monk, &c.* (London: Francis Leach, 1656)

_____, *The Perfect-Law of God: Being A Sermon, and no Sermon, &c.* (London: F. L., 1652)

Carter, Bezaleel, *The wise King, &c.* (Cambridge: C. L[eege], 1618)

Carter, John, *The Nail & the Wheel* (London: J. Macock for M. Spark, 1647)

_____, *The Tomb-Stone, And A Rare Sight* (London: Tho: Roycroft for Edw: Dod and Nath: Ekins, 1653)

Cartwright, Thomas, *The Good Man's Epitaph, &c.* (London: D. Maxwel for John Baker, 1659)

Chandos, John, ed., *In God's Name: Examples of preaching in England from the Act of Supremacy to the Act of Uniformity, 1534-1662* (London: Hutchinson, 1971)

Clarke, Samuel, *An Antidote Against Immoderate Mournng For the Dead* (London: E. M. for George Calvert, 1659)

_____, *A Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines, &c.* (London: For William Miller, 1662)

_____, *A Generall Martyrologie, &c.* (London: A. M. for Thomas Underhill and John Rothwell, 1651)

_____, *The Lives of sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age*, 2 vols (London: For Thomas Simmons, 1683)

Cleland, James, *The Institvtion of a Yovng Noble Man* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1607)

_____, *Iacob's Wel, and Abbots Condvit, &c.* (London: [William Stansby] for Robert Allot, 1626)

_____, *A Monvment of Mortalitie, &c.* (London: William Stansby for Ralph Rounthwaite, 1624)

The Coblers End, Or His (Last) Sermon, &c. (London: For I. H., 1641)

Collinges, John, *Elisha's Lamentation for Elijah* (London: J. Streater for W. Frankling, 1657)

The Cony-catching Bride (London: T. F., 1643)

Couchman, Obadiah, *The Adamites Sermon, &c.* ([London]: n. p., 1641)

Crashaw, Richard, *Steps to the Temple* (London: T. W. for Humphrey Moseley, 1646)

Crompton, William, *A Lasting Ievvell, For Religious Woemen* [sic] (London: For Edward Blount, 1630)

Cross, Walter, *Caleb's Spirit Parallel'd, &c.* (London: J. F. for Andrew Bell, 1697)

Crowe, William, ed., *An Exact Collection or Catalogue Of our English Writers On the Old and New Testament, &c.* (London: R. Davenport for John Williams, 1663)

D., J. [John Dan], *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral Of that incomparable Lady, the Honourable, the Lady Mary Armyne* (London: For Nevil Simmons, 1676)

Davies, Richard, *A Fvnerall Sermon Preached the XXVI. Day of November, &c.* (London: Henry Denham, 1577)

Davis, Richard, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of M. John Bigg* (London: For Robert Ponder, 1691)

Dawes, William, *Of The Right Use, and Abuse, of the Things of this World* (London: Anne Speed, 1712)

Day, John, *Concio ad clervm, &c.*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1615)

_____, *David's Desire to Goe to Chvrch, &c.* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1615)

_____, *Day's Descant on Davids Psalmes, &c.* (Oxford: John Lichfield and James Short, 1620)

_____, *Day's Dyall, &c.* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1614)

_____, *Day's Festivals, &c.* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1615)

Day, Martin, *A Monument of Mortalitie* [(London: J. Bill for John Hodgets, 1621)]

[Defoe, Daniel], *The Shortest-Way with the Dissenters, &c.* (London: n. p., 1702)

Denison, Stephen, *The Monvment or Tombe-stone, &c.* (London: Richard Field, 1620)

_____, *The White Wolfe, &c.* (London: George Miller for Robert Milbourne, 1627)

Dod, John (attrib.), *A Sermon upon the word MALT* (London: For T. Sockett and others, 1777)

Dolben, John, *A Sermon Preached Before the King, Aug. 14. 1666* (London: For Timothy Garthwait, 1666)

Dolce, Lodovico, *Di Batt^a Pittoni Pittore Vicentino [...] Libro Secondo* ([Venice]: n. p., 1566)

Donne, John, *Deaths Dvell* (London: B. Alsop and T. Fawcet for Benjamin Fisher, 1633)

_____, *LXXX Sermons, &c.* (London: For Richard Royston and Richard Marriot, 1640)

_____, *A Sermon upon the XV Verse of the XX Chapter of the Booke of Judges* [on the *Directions for Preachers*] (1622), ed. by Mary Morrissey, in *Sermons at Paul's Cross*,

1521-1642, ed. by Torrance Kirby and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 454-84

_____, *XXVI. Sermons, &c.* (London: Thomas Newcomb, 1661)

Downname, John, ed., *Annotations Upon all the Books of the Old and New Testament, &c.* (London: John Legatt and John Raworth, 1645)

Drant, Thomas, *Horace His arte of Poetrie, pistles, and Satyrs Englished, &c.* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1567)

Dugard, Thomas, *Death and the Grave, &c.* (London: William Dugard, 1649)

Dugdale, William, *The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated, &c.* (London: Thomas Warren, 1656)

Dyke, Jeremiah, *Divers Select Sermons on Severall Texts, &c.* (London: Tho. Paine, 1640)

Eliot, George, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, 2 vols (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, MDCCCLVIII [1858])

Erasmus, Desiderius, *De immensa dei misericordia*, trans. by Margaret Pole (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1526)

_____, 'A Sermon on the Immense Mercy of God', trans. by Michael J. Heath, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, ed. by John W. O'Malley (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 69-139

Evance, Daniel, *Iusta Honoraria, &c.* (London: For Edward Husband, [1646])

Everard, John, *The Gospel-Treasury Opened, &c.* (London: John Owsley for Rapha Harford, 1657)

F., I., *A Sermon Preached at Ashby De-la-Zovch in the Covntie of Leicester, &c.* (London: William Jones, 1635)

Fairclough, Samuel (1594-1677), *Hagioi axioi, &c.* (London: R. D. for Tho. Newberry, 1653)

Fairclough, Samuel (1625-1691), *Suffolks Tears, &c.* (London: R. I. for Tho. Newberry, 1653)

Farley, Henry, *St. Pavles-Chvrch Her Bill for the Parliament* (London: [G. Eld for R. Milbourn], 1621)

Feak, John [i.e. Samuel Butler], *A Funeral Sermon Thundred forth, &c.* (London: For I. P., 1660)

Feak, Mr. [i.e. Samuel Butler], *A Word for All: Or, the Rumps Funerall Sermon, &c.* ([London]: n. p., 1660)

Featley, Daniel, *The Dippers dipt* (London: For Nicholas Bourne and Richard Royston, 1645)

Featley, Daniel, and others, *Threnoikos. The House of Mourning, &c.* (London: John Dawson for R. M., 1640)

Fenner, William, *The Danger of Deferring Repentance, &c.* (London: Jo. Stafford for Richard Burton, 1654)

_____, *The Danger of Deferring Repentance, &c.* (London: H. B. for W. Thackeray, 1684)

_____, *A Divine Message to the Elect Sovl*, 3rd edn (London: For John Stafford, 1652)

_____, *The Sacrifice of the Faithfull* (London: For John Stafford, 1649)

_____, *The Works of The Learned and Faithful Minister of Gods Word, M. William Fenner, &c.* (London: T. Maxey for John Rothwell, 1651)

_____, *The Works of W. Fenner, B. of Divinity* (London: E. Tyler for I. Stafford [i.e. John Stafford], 1657)

Ferne, John, *The Blazon of Gentry: Devided into two parts* (London: John Windet for Toby Cooke, 1586)

Fisher, John, *This sermon folowyng was compyled & sayd in the Cathedrall Chyrch of saynt Poule, &c.* (London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1509)

_____, *The sermon of Joh[a]n the bysshop of Rochester made agayn y^e p[er]nicious doctryn of Martin luther, &c.* ([London]: Wynkyn de Worde, [1521])

Fitzgeffrey, Charles, *The Curse of Corne-horders, &c.* (London: I. B. for Michael Sparke, 1631)

_____, *Deaths Sermon Vnto the Liuing* (London: W. Stansby for John Parker, 1620)

_____, *Gods Blessing upon the Providers of Corne, &c.* (London: For M. S., 1648)

Fitzjames, Richard, *Sermo die lune in ebdomada Pasche* (Westminster: Wynkyn de Worde, 1495)

Fleming, Abraham, *The Diamond of Devotion, &c.* ([London]: Henrie Denham, 1581)

Fletcher, Phineas, *The Purple Island, Or The Isle of Man* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Printers, 1633)

de Fonseca, Cristóbal, *Devout Contemplations Expressed In two and Fortie Sermons Vpon all y^e Quadregesimall Gospells*, trans. by James Mabbe (London: Adam Islip, 1629)

Forced Divinity, Or Two Sermons Preached by the Compulsion of Two sorts of Sinners, &c. (London: For F. C., [1650?])

Frost, John, *Select Sermons, Preached upon sundry occasions* (Cambridge: John Field, 1657)

Froysell, Thomas, *Yadidyah Or, The Beloved Disciple* (London: M. S. for Thomas Parkhurst, 1658)

Fuller, Thomas, *The Best Name on Earth* (London: R. D. for John Stafford, 1657)

_____, *The Just Mans Funeral* ([London]: William Bentley for John Williams, 1649)

_____, *A Sermon Preached at S. Clemens Danes, &c.* (London: R. W., 1657)

G., H., *The Mirrovr of Maestie, &c.* (London: William Jones, 1619)

Gamon, Hannibal, *Gods Ivst Desertion of the Vnivst* (London: G. Eld for Thomas Thorp, 1622)

Gardiner, Richard, *A Sermon Appointed For Saint Pauls Crosse, &c.* (London: For R. Royston, 1642)

_____, *A Sermon Preached at S Maries in Oxford, &c.* (Oxford: John Lichfield and James Short for William Davis, 1622)

Gataker, Thomas, *Abrahams Decease* (London: John Haviland for Fulke Clifton, 1627)

_____, *Christian Constancy Crowned by Christ* (London: John Haviland for William Bladen, 1624)

_____, *Saint Stevens Last Will and Testament* (London: E[lizabeth] P[urslowe] for Nicolas Bourne, 1638)

Gauden, John, *Funerals Made Cordials, &c.* (London: T. C. for Andrew Crook, 1658)

_____, *A Sermon Preached In the Temple-Chappel, &c.* (London: J. Best for Andrew Crook, 1660)

Goffe, Thomas, *Deliverance from the Grave* (London: [G. Purslowe] for Ralph Mab, 1627)

Goode, William, *Jacob Raised, &c.* (London: T. R. and E. M. for Nath. Webb and Will. Grantham, 1647)

Goodwin, Thomas, *A Fair Prospect, Shewing clearly The difference between things that are Seen, & things that are not Seen* (London: A. Maxey for John Rothwell, 1658)

Gouge, William, *A Learned and very vsefvl Commentary on The Whole Epistle to the Hebrewes* (London: A. M., T. W. and S. G. for Joshua Kirton, 1655)

_____, *A Shock of Corn Coming in In its Season* (London: For Samuel Gellibrand, 1654)

Green, Henry, and James Croston, eds, *The Mirrovr of Maiestie: Or The Badges of Honovr Conceitedly Emblazoned* (Manchester and London: The Holbein Society, 1870)

Guillim, John, *A Display of Heraldrie, &c.*, 2nd edn (London: Richard Badger for Ralph Mab, 1632)

Hall, Joseph, *The Hypocrite* (London: William Stansby for Nathaniel Butter, 1630)

_____, *The Works of Joseph Hall, &c.* (London: John Haviland for Richard Moore, 1625)

Hardy, Nathaniel, *A Divine Prospective: Representing the Just Mans Peacfull [sic] End* (London: For John Clark, 1654)

_____, *Divinity in Mortality* (London: A. M. for Nathanael Webb and William Grantham, 1653)

_____, *The Epitaph of a Godly Man, &c.* (London: J. G. for Nathanaell Webb and William Grantham, 1655)

_____, *The Safest Convoy, Or, the Strongest Helper* (London: For Nathanael Web and William Grantham, 1658)

_____, *A Sermon Preached At St. Gregories Church, &c.* (London: n. p., 1658)

Harington, Henry, *An Elegie upon the Death of the Mirrovr of Magnanimity, &c.* (London: For H. O., 1642)

Harrison, Michael, *The Best Match: Or, The Believer's Marriage with Christ* (London: Nathanael Ranew, 1691)

Harrison, William, and William Leigh, *Deaths Advantage Little Regarded, &c.*, 2nd edn (London: Felix Kyngston, 1602)

Hasselwood, Henry, *Doctor Hill's Funeral-Sermon* (London: n. p., 1654)

Heavtonaparnvmenos: Or a Treatise of Self-Denyall (London: W. Wilson for Richard Royston, 1646)

Hell broke loose, &c. (London: For Charles Gustavus, 1651)

Herbert, Thomas, *An Elegie vpon the Death of Thomas Earle of Strafford, Lord Lievtenant of Ireland* ([London]: n. p., 1641)

Herolt, Johannes, *Sermones discipuli detempore de sanctis, &c.* [(Cologne: Ulrich Zel, 1474)]

Hewitt, John, *Nine Select Sermons, &c.* (London: Henry Eversden and Tho. Rooks, 1658)

Heywood, Oliver, *A Narrative of the Holy Life, and Happy Death of [...] Mr. John Angier, &c.* (London: For Tho. Parkhurst, 1683)

Higgon, Theophilus, *A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse, &c.* (London: Felix Kyngston for William Aspley, 1611)

Hildersam, Arthur, *The Doctrine of Fasting and Praier, and Humiliation for Sinne* (London: George Miller for Edward Brewster, 1633)

Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan*, ed. by J. C. A. Gaskin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996; repr. 2008)

Hodges, Thomas, *The Hoary Head Crowned* (Oxford: Leon Lichfield for Thomas Robinson, 1652)

Horn, John, *The Life of Faith in Death, &c.* (London: Abraham Miller, 1649)

How, Samuel, *The Svfficiencie of the Spirits Teaching, without Hvmane-Learning, &c.* ([Amsterdam]: n. p., 1640)

Howson, John, *A Sermon Preached at S. Maries in Oxford, &c.*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1603)

Humphrey, Laurence, *The Nobles or of Nobilitye* (London: Thomas Marshe, 1563)

Hunt, Richard, *The Bow of Jonathan with the Flower de Lvce, &c.* (London: William Godbid, 1657)

Hurtado de Mendoza, Diego, *The Pleasaunt Historie of Lazarillo de Tormes a Spaniarde, &c.* trans. by David Rowland (London: Abel Jeffes, 1586)

J., T. [i.e. John Taylor], *An Apology for Private Preaching* ([London]: For R. Wood, T. Wilson and E. Christopher, [1642])

Jacombe, Thomas, *Enochs Walk and Change, &c.* 2nd edn (London: T. R. and E. M. for Ralph Smith, 1656)

Jenner, Thomas, *The Soules Solace, Or Thirtie and one Spirituall Emblems* (London: [J. Dawson], 1626)

Johnson, Robert, *Dives and Lazarvs, Or rather, Divellish Dives* (London: A. M. for Phil. Byrch, 1620)

[Juxon, William], *The Subjects Sorrovv, &c.* (London: n. p., 1649)

K., H. (attrib. Henry Killigrew), *A Sermon Preached Before the Kings Most Excellent Majesty at Oxford, &c.* (Oxford: For W. Web, 1643)

Keach, Benjamin, *A Summons to the Grave, &c.* (London: For Ben. Harris, 1676)

Kem, Samuel, *The Messengers Preparation For an Addresse to The King For a Well-grounded Peace* (London: Robert Austin, 1644)

_____, *Orders given out; the Word, Stand Fast* (London: I. M. for Michael Spark, 1647)

_____, *A Sermon Preached before the Commissioners of both Kingdomes, &c.* (London: For R. Austin, 1646)

King, Henry, *The Sermons of Henry King (1592-1669), Bishop of Chichester*, ed. by Mary Hobbs (Cranbury, NJ: Scholar Press, 1992)

Kitchin, John, *The Grand Statute, &c.* (London: For Francis Kitchin and John Garway, 1660)

The Lamentation of a Sinner, or Bradshaw's horrid Farewel, &c. (London: n. p., 1659)

Lany, Benjamin, *Five Sermons, Preached before His Majesty at Whitehall* (London: For Timothy Garthwait, 1669)

Latimer, Hugh, *Certayn Godly Sermons, &c.* (London: John Day, 1562)

_____, *Frvitfvll Sermons, &c.* (London: Thomas Cotes for the Stationers' Company, 1635)

[Laud, William], *The Archbishop of Canterbury's Speech, &c.* (London: Peter Cole, 1644)

Leigh, John, *The Saints Rest, and Reward in Heaven* (London: J. G. for Tho: Heath, 1654)

[Lewkenor II, Edward, ed.], *Threnodia In Obitvm D. Edovardi Lewkenor Equitis, &c.* (London: Arnold Hatfield for Samuel Macham and Matthew Cooke, 1606)

Lightfoot, John, *A Sermon Preached before the Honorable House of Commons, &c.* (London: R. C. for Andrew Crook, 1645)

A Little Pamphlet of Saint Augustine entituled the Ladder of Paradise (London: [J. Allde?] for Edward Aggas, [c. 1580])

Littleton, Adam, *A Sermon At the Funeral Of the Right Honovrable The Lady Jane, &c.* (London: John Macock, 1669)

Livesey, James, *Enchiridion Judicium, &c.* (London: R. I. for Tho. Parkhurst, 1657)

Loe, William, *A Sermon Preached at Lambeth, April 21. 1645* (London: For Richard Royston, 1645)

The London Cuckold, &c. (London: For J. Back, 1688)

A Looking-Glasse for Statesmen, Wherein they may clearely see the reward of their several Actings (London: For I. H., 1648)

Love, Christopher, *Grace: The Truth and Growth and Different Degrees thereof* (London: T. R. and E. M. for John Rothwell, 1652)

Loveday, Robert, *Loveday's Letters Domestick and Forrein* (London: J. G. for Nath. Brook, 1659)

Luther, Martin, *Ein nützlich und fast tröstlich predig* (Basel: Adam Petri, 1520)

M., J., *The Ranters Last Sermon* (London: J. C., 1654)

Marriot, Robert, *A Sermon in Commemoration Of the truely Vertuous and Religious Gentlewoman, M^{rs}. Elizabeth Dering, &c.* (London: E. P. for N. Bourne, 1641)

Marshall, Stephen, *Meroz Cursed, &c.* (London: R. Badger for Samuel Gellibrand, 1642)

_____, *Threnodia. The Churches Lamentation for the Good Man his losse, &c.* (London: For Stephen Bowtell, 1644)

Matz, Robert, ed., *Two Early Modern Marriage Sermons: Henry Smith's A Preparative to Marriage (1591) and William Whately's A Bride-Bush (1623)* (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2016)

Mayne, Jasper, *A Sermon against Schisme: Or, The Seperations of these Times* (London: For R. Royston, 1652)

McCullough, Peter, ed., *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons and Lectures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005)

McCullough, Peter, and others, eds, *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne*, c. 16 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013-present)

McKenzie, D. F., ed., *The Works of William Congreve, Volume I: The Old Batchelor, The Double-Dealer, Love for Love* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Meggott, Richard, *A Sermon Preached at St. Martins in the Fields, &c.* (London: E. Tyler and R. Holt for Joseph Clark, 1670)

Molyneux, Max, ed., *The Institution of a Young Noble Man by James Cleland, Volume I: Introduction and Text* (New York, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1948)

Moore, Francis, *Natures Goodnight* (London: J. G., 1656)

ap Morgan, Shon, *The Welch-Mans Warning-Piece* (London: Robert Wood and Henry Marsh, 1642)

Mossom, Robert, *A Plant of Paradise, &c.* (London: R. N., 1660)

Munday, Anthony, *Chrysanaleia, &c.* (London: George Purslowe, 1616)

Nalton, James, *Gods Great care of his Good People in Bad Times* (London: A. M. for Nathanael Webb, 1665)

_____, *Twenty Sermons Preached upon Several Texts* (London: For Dorman Newman, 1677)

Nashe, Thomas, *Martins Months minde, &c.* ([London: Thomas Orwin], 1589)

Newton, George, *Magna Charta: Or, the Christian's Charter Epitomized* (London: For Edward Brewster, 1661)

Niccols, Richard, *Monodia Or Walthams Complaint, &c.* (London: W[illiam] S[tansby] for Richard Meighen and Thomas Jones, 1615)

Nicholets, Charles, *A Burning yet Unconsumed Bush, Exemplified* (London: B. Harris, 1700)

Nye, John, *A Display of Divine Heraldry, &c.* (London: Tho. James, 1678)

O. D. D., J. [i.e. 'John Owen, Doctor of Divinity'], *Bradshaws vltimvm vale, &c.* ([London]: n. p., 1660)

Oldmayne, Timothy, *Gods rebuke in Taking from vs that worthy and honourable Gentleman Sir Edward Lewkenor Knight, &c.* (London: Edw. Griffin for John Parker, 1619)

_____, *Lifes Brevitie and Deaths Debility* (London: N. and I. Okes, 1636)

[Overton, Richard], *A new Play Called Canterburie His Change of Diot* ([London]: n. p., 1641)

up Owen, Iohn [i.e. 'John Owen'], *The true Copy of a Welch Sermon, &c.* ([London]: For I. Underwood, 1643)

up Owen, Shon, *A true Copy of the Welch Sermon, &c.* (London: For Thomas Bates, 1646)

Palmer, Thomas, *The Saints Support in these sad Times, &c.* (London: M. Okes for William Ley, 1644)

Parker, Matthew, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ & Priuilegiis Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, &c.* (London: John Day, 1572)

Parre, Richard, *The End of the Perfect Man* (Oxford: William Turner, 1628)

Parsons, Robert, *A Sermon Preached At the Funeral of the R Honorable John Earl of Rochester, &c.* (Oxford: For Richard Davis and Tho: Bowman, 1680)

Patrick, Simon, *Divine Arithmetick, &c.* (London: R. W. for Francis Tyton, 1660)

_____, *Divine Arithmetick, &c.*, 3rd edn (London: T. R. for Francis Tyton, 1672)

Peacham, Henry, *The Compleat Gentleman, &c.* (London: For Francis Constable, 1622)

_____, *Minerva Britannia* (London: Wa: Dight, 1612)

_____, *Thestylis atrata, &c.* (London: J[ohn] H[aviland] for Francis Constable, 1634)

Pearsall Smith, Logan, ed., *Donne's Sermons: Selected Passages with an Essay* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1919)

_____, ed., *The Golden Grove: Selected Passages from the Sermons and Writings of Jeremy Taylor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930)

Perkins, William, *A Reformed Catholike, &c.* ([Cambridge]: John Legat, 1598)

_____, *A Warning against the Idolatrie of the last times* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1601)

Perrey, Philip, *A Sermon Intended to be preached at the Funeral of M. Edmund Whitwell, &c.* (London: W. B. for John Saywell, 1654)

Peters, Hugh, *Aeternitati Sacrum* ([London]: n. p., [1651])

Peters's Resurrection, By way of a Dialogve Between Him and a Merchant, &c. (London: n. p., 1659)

The Petition and Articles or severall Charge [sic] exhibited in Parliament against Edward Finch Vicar of Christs Church in London, &c. (London: R. Harford, 1641)

ap Pew, William, *De Welchmans Sermon As it was Telivered pefore De Welch Hempassador at Hy-Perry-Parne, &c.* (London: Evan Harry-Watkin, 1660)

Pierce, Thomas, *Englands Season for Reformation of Life* (London: For Timothy Garthwait, 1660)

Pont, Robert, *Against Sacrilege, Three sermons Preached by Maister Robert Pont, &c.* (Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1599)

Porder, Richard, *A Sermon of gods fearefull threatnings for Idolatrye, &c.* (London: Henry Denham, 1570)

Potter, George R., and Evelyn M. Simpson, eds, *The Sermons of John Donne*, 10 vols (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1953–1962)

Preston, John, *The Doctrine of the Saints Infirmities* (London: Nich. and John Okes for Hen. Taunton, 1636)

_____, *The Fvlness of Christ for Vs* (London: M. P. for John Stafford, 1639)

_____, *The Golden Scepter* (London: R. Badger for N. Bourne and R. Harford, and F. Eglesfield, 1638)

Pricke (alias Oldmayne), Robert, *A Verie Godlie and Learned Sermon, treating of Mans mortalitie, &c.* (London: Thomas Creede, 1608)

Propositions Agreed upon at a Court of Common Councell, &c. (London: Richard Cotes, 1642)

Rainbowe, Edward, *A Sermon Preached at Walden in Essex, &c.* (London: W. Wilson for Gabriell Bedell, M. M[eighen] and T. C[ollins], 1649)

Rainolds, John, *A Sermon Vpon Part of the Eighteenth Psalm, &c.* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1586)

Ramsay, Andrew, *A Warning to Come Ovt of Babylon, &c.* (Edinburgh: George Anderson, 1638)

Ramsay, David, *A Sermon Or, Little Treatise* (Aberdeen: Edward Raban, 1633)

Rawley, William, *A Sermon of Meekenesse, &c.* (London: John Haviland for Matthew Lownes, 1623)

Reading, John, *Characters of True Blessednesse, &c.* (London: E. G[riffin] for Joyce Norton and Ric. Whitakers, 1638)

Rew, James, *The Wound's o' the Kirk o' Scotland, &c.* (London: William Dugard, 1650)

Reynolds, Edward, *Imitation and Caution for Christian Women, &c.* (London: E. M. for George Calvert, 1659)

_____, *Mary Magdalens Love to Christ* (London: n. p., 1659)

Roberts, Francis, *The Checquer-work of God's Providences, Towards his own People, Made up of Blacks and Whites, &c.* (London: R. W. for George Calvert, 1657)

Rogers, Thomas, *A Sermon vpon the 6. 7. and 8. Verses of the 12. Chapter of S. Pauls Epistle vnto the Romanes, &c.* ([London]: John Windet, 1590)

Rollock, Robert, *Certaine Sermons Vpon Severall Places of the Epistles of Pavl* (Edinburgh: Henrie Charteris, 1599)

Rutherford, Samuel, *A Sermon Preached to the Honorable House of Commons, &c.* (London: Richard Cotes for Richard Whittakers and Andrew Crooke, 1644)

Sadler, Anthony, *Mercy in a Miracle Shewing, The Deliverance, and the Duty, of The King, and the People* (London: T. C. for L. Sadler, 1660)

Saltern, Thomas, *Dorcas: A Trve Patterne of a goodly life, &c.* (London: M. F. for Roger Jackson, 1625)

Samways, Peter, *The Wise and Faithful Steward* (London: William Godbid, 1657)

Savonarola, Girolamo, *Predica dell'arte del Bene morire* ([Florence]: Bartolommeo di Libri, 1496)

Sclater, William, *Death's Summons, and the Saints Duty* (London: Richard Hodgkinson, 1640)

_____, *The Remedie of Schisme* (London: T. Paine and M. Symmons for Tho. Slater, 1642)

The Sermon and Prophecie of Mr. James Hvnt of the County of Kent ([London]: For Thomas Bates, 1641)

A Sermon Preached The last Fast day in Leaden-Hall Street, &c. (London: For John Lovel, 1643)

Sermons at Paul's Cross, 1521-1642, ed. by Torrance Kirby and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

Shami, Jeanne, ed., *John Donne's 1622 Gunpowder Plot Sermon: A Parallel-Text Edition* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1996)

A Short View of the life and actions of the late Deceased Iohn Pim Esquire, &c. ([London]: John Hammond, [1643])

Shute, Christopher, *Ars piè Moriendi: Or, The true Accomptant* (London: R. Trott for John Williams, 1658)

Sibbes, Richard, *A Glance of Heaven* (London: E. G. for I. R., 1638)

_____, *The Retvrning Backslider, &c.* (London: G. M. for George Edwards, 1639)

Singleton, Robert, *A Sermon Preached at Poules Crosse the Fourth Sondag in Lent* (1535), ed. by Torrance Kirby, in *Sermons at Paul's Cross, 1521-1642*, ed. by Torrance Kirby and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 32-49

Slatyer, William, *Genethliacon* (London: George Miller, 1630)

Smart, Peter, *A Sermon Preached in the Cathedrall Chvrch of Dvrham, &c.* ([London]: [Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcet], 1640)

Smith, Samuel, *The Great Assize, &c.*, 12th edn (London: John Okes, 1644)

Sparke, Thomas, *A Sermon Preached at Cheanies at the Bvriall of the right honorable the Earle of Bedford, &c.* (London: [John Windet], 1585)

_____, *A Sermon Preached at Cheanies the 14. of September, 1585, &c.* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, [1585])

Sparrow, Anthony, *The Bishop of Exons Caution to His Diocese Against False Doctrines, &c.* (London: For Timothy Garthwait, 1669)

_____, *A Rationale upon the Book of Common-Prayer of the Church of England* (London: For T. Garthwait, 1668)

Spencer, John, ed., *Kaina Kai Palaia. Things New and Old* (London: W. Wilson and J. Streater for John Spencer, 1658)

Spenser, Edmund, *The Faerie Qveene* (London: For William Ponsonbie, 1596)

Spurstow, William, *A Crown of Life, The Reward of Faithfulness* (London: For Ralph Smith, 1662)

Squire, John, *A Sermon Preached at Hartford Assises, &c.* (London: T. S. for Nicholas Bourne, 1617)

_____, *Tes Irenes Trophæa* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1620)

Staunton, Edmund, *A Sermon Preacht at Great Milton in the County of Oxford, &c.* (Oxford: Hen: Hall for Tho: Robinson, 1659)

Sterne, Laurence, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, ed. by Ian Campbell Ross, rev. edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Stock, Richard, *The Chvrches Lamentation for the losse of the Godly* (London: John Beale, 1614)

Strickland, John, *Gods Work of Mercy, in Sions Misery, &c.* (London: J. Raworth for L. Fawne, 1644)

_____, *Immanuel, Or The Church Triumphing in God with us* (London: Matthew Simmons for Henry Overton, 1644)

Swift, Jonathan, *A Tale of a Tub and Other Works*, ed. by Angus Ross and David Woolley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986; repr. 2008)

Swift, William, *A Sermon Preached at the Fvnerall Of that Painfvll and faithfull seruant of Iesus Christ, &c.* (London: J. D. for Fulke Clifton, 1622)

T., I. [i.e. John Taylor], *A Tale In a Tub, Or a tub Lectvre, &c.* (London: n. p., 1642)

Tailboys, Samuel, *A Nevv Lachrymentall and Fvnerall Elegy, &c.* (London: B. Alsop, 1624)

Taylor, Jeremy, *A Funerall Sermon, Preached at the Obsequies of the Right Hon^{ble} and most vertuous Lady, The Lady Frances, &c.* (London: J. F. for R. Royston, 1650)

_____, *The Great Exemplar of Sanctity and Holy Life, &c.* (London: R. Norton for Richard Royston, 1657)

Taylor, John, *A Funerall Elegie, &c.* (London: E. P. for Henry Gosson, 1637)

_____, *A Swarme of Sectaries, and Schismaticques, &c.* ([London]: n. p., 1642)

[Taylor, John], *The Discovery Of a Swarme of Seperatists, &c.* (London: For John Greensmith, 1641)

Three Sermons, Or Homelies, to Moooue Compassion, &c. (London: J. Windet for Andrew Maunsell, 1596)

Topsell, Edward, *The Fowles of Heauen or History of Birdes*, ed. by Thomas P. Harrison and F. David Hoeniger (Austin, TX: The University of Texas Press, 1972)

_____, *The Historie of Fovre-Footed Beastes* (London: William Jaggard, 1607)

The Touchstone Or, Trial of Tobacco, &c. (London: n. p., 1676)

The True Mannor and Forme of the Proceeding to the Funerall of the Right Honourable Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, &c. (London: For Henry Seale, 1646)

A Trve Relation of a Combvstion, Hapning, at St. Anne's Chvrch, &c. ([London]: n. p., 1641)

A Trve Relation of a Scotchman, &c. (London: Thomas Harper, 1641)

Trundle, John (attrib.), *Keepe within Compasse, &c.* (London: For I. Trundle [i.e. John Trundle], [1619])

Turbervil, Hodg [i.e. Edmund Gayton], *Walk Knaves, walk* (London: n. p., 1659)

Two Broad-Sides Against Tobacco, &c. (London: For John Hancock, 1672)

De Valois, Margaret, *Heptameron, or the History of the Fortunate Lovers, &c.*, trans. by Robert Codrington (London: F. L. for Nath: Ekins, 1654)

Vicars, John, *Coleman-street Conclave Visited* (London: For Nathanael Webb and William Grantham, 1648)

_____, *Jehovah-jireh* (London: T. Paine and M. Simmons, 1642)

_____, *True Information of the Beginning and Cause of all our troubles, &c.* (London: n. p., 1648)

Vicars, Thomas, *ΠΟΜΦΑΙΟΦΕΡΟΣ. The Sword-bearer* (London: B. A. and T. Fawcet for R. Milburne, 1627)

Vines, Richard, *The Hearse of the Renowned, The Right Honourable Robert Earle of Essex and Ewe, &c.* (London: T. R. and E. M. for Henry Seile, 1646)

_____, *Magnalia Dei ab Aquilone, &c.* (London: G. M. for Abel Roper, 1644)

- W., P. [Peter Watkinson], *Mary's Choice, &c.* (London: Robert White for Henry Mortlock, 1674)
- Walker, Anthony, *Planctus Unigeniti, &c.* (London: Thomas Mabb for Samuel Ferris, 1664)
- Wall, John, *A Sermon Preached at Shelford, in Nottinghamshire, &c.* ([London]: H. L[ownes] for Matthew Lownes, 1623)
- Walton, Izaak, *The Lives of Dr John Donne, &c.* (London: Tho. Newcomb for Richard Marriott, 1670)
- Ward, Samuel, *All in All* (London: Aug. Mathewes for John Marriott and John Grismand, 1622)
- _____, *Balme from Gilead to Recouer Conscience* (London: T. S. for Roger Jackson and William Bladen, 1617)
- _____, *A Coal from the Altar, &c.* (London: H. L. for Samuel Macham, 1615)
- _____, *The Life of Faith*, 2nd edn (London: Augustine Mathewes for John Marriott and John Grismand, 1621)
- _____, *A Peace-offring to God, &c.* (London: A. Math. for John Marriott and John Grismand, 1624)
- _____, *Woe to Drvnkards* (London: A. Math. for John Marriott and John Grismand, 1622)
- Ward, Seth, *An Apology for the Mysteries of the Gospel* (London: Andrew Clark for James Collins, 1673)
- Waring, Robert, *A Sermon Preached at St. Margarets in Westminster, &c.* (London: n. p., 1672)
- [Warner, John], *The Devilish Conspiracy, &c.* (London: n. p., 1649)
- A Warning-piece to all Drunkards and Health-Drinkers, &c.* (London: n. p., 1682)
- Warren, John, *Domus ordinata* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1618)
- Webster, John, *Monuments of Honor* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1624)
- Weever, John, *Ancient Fvnerall Monvments with in [sic] the vnited Monarchie of Great Britaine, &c.* (London: Thomas Harper, 1631)
- Whitefoote, John, *Israea agchithanes* (London: W. Godbid for Edward Dod, 1656)
- Wilkinson, Henry, *The hope of Glory, &c.* (Oxford: A Lichfield, 1657)
- Wilkinson, Robert, *Joseph sold by his Brethren, &c.* (London: W. S., 1647)

_____, *The Merchant Royal, &c.* (London: Tho. James for John Lawrence, 1682)

_____, *The Merchant Royall* (London: Felix Kyngston for John Flasket, 1607)

_____, *The Stripping of Ioseph* (London: W. S. for Hen. Holland and Geo. Gibbs, 1625)

Williams, John, *Great Britains Salomon* (London: John Bill, 1625)

_____, *A Sermon of Apparell, &c.* (London: Robert Barker and John Bill, 1620)

Wilson, Thomas, *Christs Farewell to Jerusalem, and last Prophetie* (London: For Francis Burton, 1614)

Winstanley, William, *The Loyall Martyrology, &c.* (London: Thomas Mabb for Edward Thomas, 1665)

Printed Secondary Sources

Abram, W. A., 'Mr. Bradley Hayhurst, Vicar of Leigh, 1646-1657', *Lancashire and Cheshire Historical & Genealogical Notes*, 1 (1878-1879), 254-55

Acheson, Katherine, ed., *Early Modern English Marginalia* (New York, NY and Abingdon: Routledge, 2019)

Achinstein, Sharon, *Literature and Dissent in Milton's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Adams, Simon, 'The Heralds and the Elizabethan Court: Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester as Deputy Earl Marshal', in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 1-25

Adamson, J. S. A., 'Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England', in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 161-97

Adlington, Hugh, 'Gospel, law, and *ars praedicandi* at the Inns of Court, c. 1570-c. 1640', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 51-74

_____, *John Donne's Books: Reading, Writing, and the Uses of Knowledge* (forthcoming)

_____, 'The *State's* Book-man?: References to Milton in Satirical Book Catalogues of the Interregnum', *The Seventeenth Century*, 27.4 (2012), 454-76

Adlington, Hugh, David Griffith, and Tara Hamling, 'Beyond the Page: Quarles's *Emblemes*, Wall-Paintings, and Godly Interiors in Seventeenth-Century York', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 78.3 (2015), 521–51

Adlington, Hugh, Tom Lockwood and Gillian Wright, eds, *Chaplains in early modern England: Patronage, literature and religion* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2013)

Alcorn Baron, Sabrina, ed., *The Reader Revealed* (Washington, DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2001)

_____, 'Red Ink and Black Letter: Reading Early Modern Authority', in *The Reader Revealed*, ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron (Washington, DC: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 2001), pp. 19–30

Alford, Stephen, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Amussen, Susan D., and Mark A. Kishlansky, 'Introduction', in *Political culture and cultural politics in early modern England: Essays presented to David Underdown*, ed. by Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 1–15

Andersen, Jennifer, and Elizabeth Sauer, 'Current Trends in the History of Reading', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. by Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 1–20

Anderson, Misty G., 'Sacred Satire: Lampooning Religious Belief in Eighteenth-Century Britain', brochure for the exhibition 'Sacred Satire: Lampooning Religious Belief in Eighteenth-Century Britain', Lewis Walpole Library, 22 September 2011–2 March 2012 <<https://walpole.library.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Sacred%20Satire.pdf>> [accessed 31 December 2018]

Anglo, Sydney, 'Introduction', in *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. by Sydney Anglo (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1990), pp. xi–xvi

Anonymous, *Denham Parish Registers, 1539–1850. With Historical Notes and Notices* (Bury St Edmunds: Paul & Mathew, 1904)

_____, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: British Museum, 1904; repr. Lawrence, MA: Quarterman Publications, 1979)

_____, 'Minor Queries Answered', *Notes and Queries*, 5.138 (19 June 1852), 585–86

_____, *Notices and Illustrations of the Costume, Processions, Pageantry, &c. Formerly Displayed by the Corporation of Norwich* (Norwich: Charles Muskett, 1850)

Anselment, Raymond A., 'Anthony Walker, Mary Rich, and Seventeenth-Century Funeral Sermons of Women', *Prose Studies*, 37.3 (2015), 200–24

_____, 'Samuel Clarke's *Lives* and husbands' remembrances of their wives', *The Seventeenth Century*, 34.4 (2019), 513–30

Appleby, David J., *Black Bartholomew's Day: Preaching, Polemic and Restoration Nonconformity* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2007)

Archer, Ian, 'The arts and acts of memorialization in early modern London', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598–1720*, ed. by J. F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 89–116

Archer, Jayne Elisabeth, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight, eds, *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2011)

Armstrong, Brian G., 'The Story Told by Printers' Marks: From Offense to Defense: The Nature of Reformed Theology in Its First Century', in *Habent sua fata libelli: Books Have Their Own Destiny: Essays in honor of Robert V. Schnucker*, ed. by Robin B. Barnes, Robert A. Kolb and Paula L. Presley (Kirkville, MO: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1998), pp. 7–16

Armstrong, Megan C., *The Politics of Piety: Franciscan Preachers During the Wars of Religion, 1560–1600* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004)

Ashmore, Joseph, 'Faith in Lancelot Andrewes's preaching', *The Seventeenth Century*, 32.2 (2017), 121–38

Astington, John H., *Actors and Acting in Shakespeare's Time: The Art of Stage Playing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

_____, *Stage and Picture in the English Renaissance: The Mirror up to Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

_____, 'Visual Texts: Thomas Middleton and Prints', in *Thomas Middleton and Early Modern Textual Culture: A Companion to the Collected Works*, ed. by Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 226–46

Aston, Margaret, 'Art and Idolatry: Reformed Funeral Monuments?', in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 243–66

_____, 'Bibles to Ballads: Some Pictorial Migrations in the Reformation', in *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy*, ed. by Simon Ditchfield (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 106–30

_____, 'The *Bishops' Bible* Illustrations', *Studies in Church History*, 28 (1992), 267–85

_____, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

_____, 'Gods, Saints, and Reformers: Portraiture and Protestant England', in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. by Lucy Gent (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 181-220

_____, 'Moving Pictures: Foxe's Martyrs and Little Gidding', in *Agent of Change: Print Culture Studies After Elizabeth L. Eisenstein*, ed. by Sabrina Alcorn Baron, Eric N. Lindquist and Eleanor F. Shevlin (Amherst and Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), pp. 82-104

B., T., 'The Sermon of San Bernardino', *The Burlington Magazine*, 60.347 (1932), 116-19

Backhouse, Janet, 'Illuminated Manuscripts and the Development of the Portrait Miniature', in *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*, ed. by David Starkey (London: Collins & Brown, 1991), pp. 88-93

Barker, S. K., and Brenda M. Hosington, 'Introduction', in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473-1640*, ed. by S. K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), pp. xv-xxix

Barkley, Harold, *Likenesses in Line: An Anthology of Tudor and Stuart Engraved Portraits* (London: HMSO, 1982)

Bartram, Claire, 'Some Tomb for a Remembraunce': Representations of Piety in Post-Reformation Gentry Funeral Monuments', in *Pieties in Transition: Religious Practices and Experiences, c. 1400-1640*, ed. by Robert Lutton and Elisabeth Salter (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 129-43

Bastow, Sarah L., *Edwin Sandys and the Reform of English Religion* (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2020)

Bath, Michael, 'Introduction', in George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes*, ed. by Michael Bath (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Scholar Press, 1989), pp. 1-11

Baum, Gregory, 'The Absence of England in James Mabbe's "The Spanish Ladie"', *Cervantes*, 33.2 (2013), 71-95

Baxandall, Michael, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988)

Bayley, Peter, *French Pulpit Oratory 1598-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980)

Bayman, Anna, *Thomas Dekker and the Culture of Pamphleteering in Early Modern London* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014)

Becker, Lucinda M., *Death and the Early Modern Englishwoman* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003)

Bellany, Alastair, ‘Rayling Rymes and Vaunting Verse’: Libellous Politics in Early Stuart England, 1603–1628’, in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 285–310

Bellany, Alastair, and Thomas Cogswell, *The Murder of King James I* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2015)

Ben-Aryeh Debby, Nirit, ‘The Preacher as Goldsmith: The Italian Preachers’ Use of the Visual Arts’, in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 127–53

_____, *The Renaissance Pulpit: Art and Preaching in Tuscany, 1400–1550* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007)

_____, ‘The Santa Croce Pulpit in Context: Sermons, Art and Space’, *Artibus et Historiae*, 29.57 (2008), 75–93

Benedict, Barbara M., *Making the Modern Reader: Cultural Mediation in Early Modern Literary Anthologies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996)

Bennett, Martyn, *The Civil Wars Experienced: Britain and Ireland, 1638–1661* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2000)

Bergeron, David M., ‘The Emblematic Nature of English Civic Pageantry’, *Renaissance Drama*, 1 (1968), 167–98

_____, *English Civic Pageantry 1558–1642*, rev. edn (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University, 2003)

Bermingham, Ann, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2000)

Bevan Zlatar, Antoinina, and Olga Timofeeva, eds, *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017)

Birrell, T. A., ‘Sir Roger L’Estrange: The Journalism of Orality’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume 4: 1557–1695*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 657–61

Black, Joseph, ‘The Rhetoric of Reaction: The Martin Marprelate Tracts (1588–89), Anti-Martinism, and the Uses of Print in Early Modern England’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 28.3 (1997), 707–25

Black, Joseph L., ‘The Marprelate Controversy’, in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500–1640*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 544–59

Blackmore, Richard J., ‘The Ship, the River and the Ocean Sea: Concepts of Space in the Seventeenth-Century London Maritime Community’, in *Maritime History and Identity: The Sea and Culture in the Modern World*, ed. by Duncan Redford (London and New York, NY: I. B. Tauris, 2014), pp. 98–119

Blagden, Cyprian, 'Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography*, 6 (1954), 161–80

Blake, Erin C., 'Shakespeare, Portraiture, Painting and Prints', in *The Edinburgh Companion to Shakespeare and the Arts*, ed. by Mark Thornton Burnett, Adrian Streete and Ramona Wray (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 409–34

Bland, Mark, 'The Appearance of the Text in Early Modern England', *Text*, 11 (1998), 91–154

_____, *A History of Book Illustration: The Illuminated Manuscript and the Printed Book*, 2nd edn (London: Faber and Faber, 1969)

Blatchly, John, 'Suffolk Treasure is in California', *East Anglian Daily Times*, 28 January 2012, p. 24

_____, *The Town Library of Ipswich Provided for the Use of the Town Preachers in 1599: A History and Catalogue* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1989)

Blayney, Peter W. M., 'The Alleged Popularity of Playbooks', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 56.1 (2005), 33–50

Blench, J. W., *Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons, 1450–c. 1600* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964)

Bockemühl, Michael, *Rembrandt* (Cologne: Taschen, 2004)

Bolzoni, Lina, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from its Origins to St Bernardino da Siena*, trans. by Carole Preston and Lisa Chien (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004)

Boulton, D'A. J. D., 'Insignia of Power: The Use of Heraldic and Paraheraldic Devices by Italian Princes, c. 1350–c. 1500', in *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy: 1250–1500*, ed. by Charles M. Rosenberg (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), pp. 103–27

Bowen, Lloyd, 'Representations of Wales and the Welsh during the Civil Wars and Interregnum', *Historical Research*, 77.197 (2004), 358–76

Bradstock, Andrew, 'Digging, Levelling, and Ranting: The Bible and the Civil War Sects', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, ed. by Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 397–411

Brady, Andrea, *English Funerary Elegy in the Seventeenth Century: Laws in Mourning* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)

Brayman Hackel, Heidi, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Bremer, Francis J., *Congregational Communion: Clerical Friendship in the Anglo-American Puritan Community, 1610–1692* (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 1994)

Bremer, Francis, and Ellen Rydell, 'Performance Art? Puritans in the Pulpit', *History Today*, 45.9 (1995), 50–54

Britland, Karen, 'Felix Kingston, Aurelian Townshend's *Ante-Masques*, and the Masque at Oatlands, 1635', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79.4 (2016), 655–75

Broadway, Jan, *'No historie so meete': Gentry culture and the development of local history in Elizabethan and early Stuart England* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2006)

_____, 'Symbolic and Self-Consciously Antiquarian: The Elizabethan and Early Stuart Gentry's Use of the Past', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 76.4 (2013), 541–58

Brock, Michelle D., 'Internalizing the Demonic: Satan and the Self in Early Modern Scottish Piety', *Journal of British Studies*, 54.1 (2015), 23–43

Brownlees, Nicholas, *The Language of Periodical News in Seventeenth-Century England* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2011)

_____, 'Welsh English in English Civil War Pamphlets', in *Studies in English and European Historical Dialectology*, ed. by Marina Dossena and Roger Lass (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 209–31

Bruce, John, 'The caricatures of Samuel Ward of Ipswich', *Notes & Queries*, 4.1 (1868), 1–2

Bumke, Alison, 'More Than Skin Deep: Dissecting Donne's Imagery of Humours', *The Review of English Studies*, 66.276 (2015), 655–75

Burke, Peter, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001; repr. 2019)

_____, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd edn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009)

Burke, Victoria E., 'My Poor Returns': Devotional Manuscripts by Seventeenth-Century Women', *Parergon*, 29.2 (2012), 47–68

Burlinson, Christopher, 'Richard Corbett and William Strode: chaplaincy and verse in early seventeenth-century Oxford', in *Chaplains in early modern England: Patronage, literature and religion*, ed. by Hugh Adlington, Tom Lockwood and Gillian Wright (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 141–58

Bury, Liz, 'Relive John Donne's 17th-century sermons in virtual reality project', *Guardian*, 11 November 2013, <<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/nov/11/john-donne-virtual-reality-sermon>> [accessed 24 April 2020]

Cambers, Andrew, *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

_____, 'Reading, the Godly, and Self-Writing in England, circa 1580-1720', *Journal of British Studies*, 46.4 (2007), 796-825

Capp, Bernard, 'The Book Trade and the Distribution of Print in the 1650s', in *The Book Trade in Early Modern England: Practices, Perceptions, Connections*, ed. by John Hinks and Victoria Gardner (New Castle, DE and London: Oak Knoll Press and The British Library, 2014), pp. 209-28

_____, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism* (London: Faber, 1972)

_____, 'The Religious Marketplace: Public Disputations in Civil War and Interregnum England', *English Historical Review*, 129.536 (2014), 47-78

_____, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet 1578-1653* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994)

Carlson, Eric Josef, 'The Boring of the Ear: Shaping the Pastoral Vision of Preaching in England, 1540-1640', in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. by Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 249-96

_____, 'English Funeral Sermons as Sources: The Example of Female Piety in Pre-1640 Sermons', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 32.4 (2000), 567-97

Chamberlain, Jeffrey S., 'Portrait of a High Church clerical dynasty in Georgian England: the Frewens and their world', in *The Church of England c. 1689 - c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism*, ed. by John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 299-316

Chancey, Karen, 'The Amboyna Massacre in English Politics, 1624-1632', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 30.4 (1998), 583-98

Christensen, Carl C., 'The Significance of the Epitaph Monument in Early Lutheran Ecclesiastical Art (c. 1540-1600)', in *The Social History of the Reformation*, ed. by Lawrence P. Buck and Jonathan Zophy (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1972), pp. 297-314

Claridge, Claudia, and Andrew Wilson, 'Style evolution in the English sermon', in *Sounds, Words, Texts and Change: Selected Papers from 11 ICEHL, Santiago de Compostela, 7-11 September 2000*, ed. by Teresa Fanego, Belén Méndez-Naya and Elena Seoane (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, 2002), pp. 25-44

Clark, Sandra, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets 1580-1640* (London: The Athlone Press, 1983)

Clark, Stuart, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Claydon, Tony, 'The sermon, the 'public sphere' and the political culture of late seventeenth-century England', in *The English sermon revised: Religion, literature and history 1600–1750*, ed. by Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 208–34

Clegg, Cyndia Susan, *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Clement, Jennifer, 'Bowels, emotion, and metaphor in early modern English sermons', *The Seventeenth Century*, 35.4 (2020), 435–51

_____, 'Dearly Beloved: Love, Rhetoric and the Seventeenth-Century English Sermon', *English Studies*, 97.7 (2016), 725–45

_____, 'He being dead, yet speaketh: the preacher's voice in early seventeenth-century posthumous sermon collections', *Renaissance Studies*, 32.5 (2018), 738–54

_____, 'Introduction: Rhetoric, Emotion and the Early Modern English Sermon', *English Studies*, 98.7 (2017), 655–60

Clement, Taylor, 'Moveable types: the de-individuated portrait in the age of mechanical reproduction', *Renaissance Studies*, 31.3 (2017), 383–406

Clymer, Lorna, 'The Funeral Elegy in Early Modern Britain: A Brief History', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy*, ed. by Karen Weisman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 170–86

Coffey, John, 'Burton, Henry (1578–1648)', in *Puritans and Puritanism in Europe and America: A Comprehensive Encyclopedia*, ed. by Francis J. Bremer and Tom Webster, 2 vols (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2006), I, p. 42

Colclough, David, ed., *John Donne's Professional Lives* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003)

_____, 'Silent Witness: The Politics of Allusion in John Donne's Sermon on Isaiah 32:8', *The Review of English Studies*, 63.261 (2012), 572–87

Cole, Richard G., 'Reformation Printers: Unsung Heroes', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 15.3 (1984), 327–39

Collinson, Patrick, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1988)

_____, 'Ecclesiastical vitriol: religious satire in the 1590s and the invention of puritanism', in *The reign of Elizabeth I: Court and culture in the last decade*, ed. by John Guy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 150–70

_____, 'Elizabethan and Jacobean Puritanism as Forms of Popular Religious Culture', in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1996), pp. 32-57

_____, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: The Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation* (Reading: University of Reading, 1986)

_____, 'A Magazine of Religious Patterns': An Erasmian Topic Transposed in English Protestantism', *Studies in Church History*, 14 (1977), 223-49

_____, 'Magistracy and Ministry: A Suffolk Miniature', in Patrick Collinson, *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1983), pp. 445-66

_____, *The Religion of Protestants: The Church in English Society 1559-1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982)

_____, *Richard Bancroft and Elizabethan Anti-Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Collinson, Patrick, Arnold Hunt, and Alexandra Walsham, 'Religious publishing in England 1557-1640', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV: 1557-1695*, ed. by John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 29-66

Como, David R., *Radical Parliamentarians and the English Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)

Coombs, Katherine, *The Portrait Miniature in England* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1998)

Cooper, J. H., 'The Vicars and Parish of Cuckfield in the Seventeenth Century', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, 45 (1902), 1-33

Cooper, Tarnya, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2012)

_____, 'Frail flesh, as in a glass': the portrait as an immortal presence in early modern England and Wales', in *Fashioning Identities in Renaissance Art*, ed. by Mary Rogers (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 197-212

_____, 'Predestined Lives? Portraiture and Religious Belief in England and Wales, 1560-1620', in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 49-63

_____, 'Professional Pride and Personal Agendas: Portraits of Judges, Lawyers, and Members of the Inns of Court, 1560-1630', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 157-78

Cooper, Tarnya, and Andrew Hadfield, 'Edmund Spenser and Elizabethan portraiture', *Renaissance Studies*, 27.3 (2013), 407–34

Corbett, Margery, and Ronald Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England 1550–1660* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979)

Corns, Thomas N., ed., *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Cozens-Hardy, Basil, and Ernest A. Kent, *The Mayors of Norwich 1403 to 1835* (Norwich: Jarrold and Sons, 1938)

Craig, John, 'Psalms, groans and dogwhippers: the soundscape of worship in the English parish church, 1547–1642', in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 104–23

_____, 'Sermon Reception', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 178–97

Cranfield, Nicholas W. S., '“Must the fire either goe out, or become all wildfire?” A collection of Oxford sermons 1634–1638', *The Bodleian Library Record*, 13.2 (1989), 122–32

Crawford, Julie, *Marvelous Protestantism: Monstrous Births in Post-Reformation England* (Baltimore, MD and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005)

_____, 'Oral Culture and Popular Print', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 114–29

Cressy, David, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)

_____, 'Death and the social order: the funerary preferences of Elizabethan gentlemen', *Continuity and Change*, 5.1 (1989), 99–119

_____, *England on Edge: Crisis and Revolution 1640–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

_____, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England: Tales of Discord and Dissension* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Crick, Julia, and Alexandra Walsham, eds, *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Croft, Pauline, 'Libels, Popular Literacy and Public Opinion in Early Modern England', *Historical Research*, 68.167 (1995), 266–85

Cruikshank, Frances, *Verse and Poetics in George Herbert and John Donne* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010)

Cullum, Thomas Gery, and Gery Milner-Gibson-Cullum, 'Extracts from the Registers of Denham, in the Hundred of Risbridge, Suffolk', *The East Anglian*, 4 (1891-1892), 230-33

Cummings, Brian, 'Afterword: Words and Images', in *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), pp. 285-91

Curtis, Neal, ed., *The Pictorial Turn* (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2010)

Cust, Richard, 'Catholicism, Antiquarianism and Gentry Honour: The Writings of Sir Thomas Shirley', *Midland History*, 23 (1998), 40-70

_____, *Charles I and the Aristocracy, 1625-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

_____, 'William Dugdale and the Honour Politics of Stuart Warwickshire', in *William Dugdale, Historian, 1605-1686: His Life, his Writings and his County*, ed. by Christopher Dyer and Catherine Richardson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 89-108

Dabbs, Thomas, 'Paul's Cross and the Dramatic Echoes of Early-Elizabethan Print', in *Paul's Cross and the Culture of Persuasion in England, 1520-1640*, ed. by Torrance Kirby and P. G. Stanwood (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 223-44

Dall'Aglia, Stefano, 'Faithful to the Spoken Word': Sermons from Orality to Writing in Early Modern Italy', *The Italianist*, 34.3 (2014), 463-77

Daly, Peter M., 'The Emblem in Material Culture', in *Companion to Emblem Studies*, ed. by Peter M. Daly (New York: NY: AMS Press, 2008), pp. 411-56

_____, 'The Place of the English Emblem Book in the Context of Continental Emblem Book Production to the Year 1700', in *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem*, ed. by Bart Westerweel (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 1-33

Davidson, Adele, '"A More Singular Mirror": Herbert, Acrostics, and the Biblical Psalms', *George Herbert Journal*, 38.1/2 (2014-2015), 15-30

Davies, Marie-Hélène, *Reflections of Renaissance England: Life, Thought and Religion Mirrored in Illustrated Pamphlets 1535-1640* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 1986)

Davis, David J., *From Icons to Idols: Documents on the Image Debate in Reformation England* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2016)

_____, 'Godly Visions and Idolatrous Sights: Images of Divine Revelation in Early English Bibles', in *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Feike Dietz and others (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 167-82

_____, *Seeing Faith, Printing Pictures: Religious Identity during the English Reformation* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2013)

D'Avray, David, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

_____, 'Printing, mass communication, and religious reformation: the Middle Ages and after', in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, ed. by Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 50–70

Day, J. F. R., 'The Heraldic Funeral', *Coat of Arms*, 190 (2000), online edn, <<https://www.theheraldrysociety.com/articles/the-heraldic-funeral>> [accessed 11 September 2018]

_____, 'Primers of Honor: Heraldry, Heraldry Books, and English Renaissance Literature', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 21.1 (1990), 93–103

Delcorno, Pietro, *In the Mirror of the Prodigal Son* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2017)

Denney, Peter, 'Popular Radicalism, Religious Parody and the Mock Sermon in the 1790s', *History Workshop Journal*, 74 (2012), 51–78

Derrin, Daniel, 'Engaging the Passions in John Donne's Sermons', *English Studies*, 93.4 (2012), 452–68

_____, 'Self-Referring Deformities: Humour in Early Modern Sermon Literature', *Literature & Theology*, 32.3 (2018), 255–69

Dickie, Simon, *Cruelty and Laughter: Forgotten Comic Literature and the Unsentimental Eighteenth Century* (Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011)

Diehl, Huston, 'Graven Images: Protestant Emblem Books in England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 39.1 (1986), 49–66

Dixon, Leif, *Practical Predestinarians in England, c. 1590–1640* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014)

Dixon, Rosemary, 'Sermons in Print, 1660–1700', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 460–79

Dorment, Richard, 'Art Under Attack, Tate Britain, review', *Telegraph*, 30 September 2013, <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/art/art-reviews/10344483/Art-Under-Attack-Tate-Britain-review.html>> [accessed 22 April 2020]

Downs, Jordan S., 'The Curse of Meroz and the English Civil War', *The Historical Journal*, 57.2 (2014), 343–68

Draper, Helen, 'Her Painting of Apricots': The Invisibility of Mary Beale (1633–1699)', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 48.4 (2012), 389–405

Driver, Martha W., *The Image in Print: Book Illustration in Late Medieval England and its Sources* (London: The British Library, 2004)

Duffy, Eamon, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1992)

Dugan, Eileen T., ‘The Funeral Sermon as a Key to Familial Values in Early Modern Nördlingen’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 20.4 (1989), 631–44

Duguid, Timothy, *Metrical Psalmody in Print and Practice: English ‘Singing Psalms’ and Scottish ‘Psalm Buiks’, c. 1547–1640* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014)

Dunn, Diana, ‘Introduction’, in *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Diana Dunn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 1–16

Dunthorne, Hugh, *Britain and the Dutch Revolt, 1560–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

Durkin, Neil, ‘His Praeludary Weapons: mocking Colonel Hewson before and after the Restoration’, in *Subversion and Scurrility: Popular Discourse in Europe from 1500 to the Present*, ed. by Dermot Cavanagh and Tim Kirk (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 106–24

Durning, Louise, and Clare Tilbury, ‘“Looking into Jesus”[:] Image and Belief in a Seventeenth-Century English Chancel’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 60.3 (2009), 490–513

Durston, Christopher, ‘For the Better Humiliation of the People’: Public Days of Fasting and Thanksgiving during the English Revolution’, *The Seventeenth Century*, 7.2 (1992), 129–49

Durston, Christopher, and Jacqueline Eales, ‘Introduction: The Puritan Ethos, 1560–1700’, in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560–1700*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 1–31

Dyrness, William A., *Reformed Theology and Visual Culture: The Protestant Imagination from Calvin to Edwards* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Eade, Jane, ‘The triptych portrait in England 1585–1646’, *The British Art Journal*, 6.2 (2005), 3–11

Eales, Jacqueline, ‘Provincial preaching and allegiance in the first English Civil War, 1640–6’, in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, ed. by Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 185–207

_____, ‘Samuel Clarke and the ‘Lives’ of Godly Women in Seventeenth-century England’, *Studies in Church History*, 27 (1990), 365–76

_____, ‘“So many sects and schisms”: religious diversity in Revolutionary Kent, 1640–60’, in *Religion in Revolutionary England*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Judith Maltby (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2006), 226–48

Edie, Carolyn A., 'The Public Face of Royal Ritual: Sermons, Medals, and Civic Ceremony in Later Stuart Coronations', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 53.4 (1990), 311–36

Eliot, T. S., *For Lancelot Andrewes: Essays on Style and Order* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1928)

Ellinghausen, Laurie, *Labor and Writing in Early Modern England, 1567–1667* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008)

Engel, William E., Rory Loughnane and Grant Williams, eds, *The Memory Arts in Renaissance England: A Critical Anthology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

Ettenhuber, Katrin, *Donne's Augustine: Renaissance Cultures of Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

_____, 'The Preacher and Patristics', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 34–53

Evans, John T., *Seventeenth-Century Norwich: Politics, Religion, and Government, 1620–1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979)

Evenden, Elizabeth, and Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Ezell, Margaret J. M., *The Oxford English Literary History, Volume 5, 1645–1714: The Later Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

Faraday, Christina Juliet, 'Tudor time machines: Clocks and watches in English portraits c. 1530–c. 1630', *Renaissance Studies*, 33.2 (2019), 239–66

Farmer, Jr., Norman K., *Poets and the Visual Arts in Renaissance England* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1984)

Farooq, Jennifer, 'Preaching for the Queen: Queen Anne and English Sermon Culture, 1702–1714', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 37.2 (2014), 159–69

Farr, David, *Major-General Thomas Harrison: Millenarianism, Fifth Monarchism and the English Revolution 1616–1660* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014)

Feingold, Mordechai, 'Parallel Lives: The Mathematical Careers of John Pell and John Wallis', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69.3 (2006), 451–68

Feitzinger Brown, Laura, 'Brawling in Church: Noise and the Rhetoric of Lay Behavior in Early Modern England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 34.4 (2003), 955–72

_____, 'Slippery Listening: Anxious Clergy and Lay Listeners' Power in Early Modern England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 47.1 (2016), 3–23

Ferguson, Arthur B., *The Chivalric Tradition in Renaissance England* (Washington, DC: Folger Books, 1986)

Ferrell, Lori Anne, *Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603–1625* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998)

_____, 'Preaching and English Parliaments in the 1620s', *Parliamentary History*, 34.1 (2015), 142–54

_____, 'The sacred, the profane and the Union: politics of sermon and masque at the court wedding of Lord and Lady Hay', in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, ed. by Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 45–64

_____, 'Sermons', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 193–201

Ferrell, Lori Anne, and Peter McCullough, eds, *The English sermon revised: Religion, literature and history 1600–1750* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2000)

_____, 'Revising the study of the English sermon', in *The English sermon revised: Religion, literature and history 1600–1750*, ed. by Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 2–21

Finch, Jonathan, 'A Reformation of Meaning: Commemoration and Remembering the Dead in the Parish Church, 1450–1640', in *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480–1580*, ed. by David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), pp. 437–49

Fincham, Kenneth, *Prelate as Pastor: The Episcopate of James I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990)

_____, 'The Restoration of the Altars in the 1630s', *The Historical Journal*, 44.4 (2001), 919–40

Fincham, Kenneth, and Nicholas Tyacke, *Altars Restored: The Changing Face of English Religious Worship, 1547–c. 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Fleming, Juliet, 'Changed opinion as to flowers', in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 48–64

_____, 'How to look at a printed flower', *Word and Image*, 22.2 (2006), 165–87

Fleming, Juliet, William Sherman, and Adam Smyth, eds, 'The Renaissance Collage: Toward a New History of Reading', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 45.3 (2015) (special issue)

Foister, Susan, 'Sixteenth-Century English Portraiture and the Idea of the Classical', in *Albion's Classicism: The Visual Arts in Britain, 1550-1660*, ed. by Lucy Gent (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 163-80

Forbes Johnson, Alfred, *A Catalogue of Engraved and Etched English Title-Pages Down to the Death of William Faithorne, 1691* (Oxford: The Bibliographical Society, 1934)

Ford, Alan, *James Ussher: Theology, History, and Politics in Early-Modern Ireland and England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

_____, 'Making dead men speak': Manipulating the memory of James Ussher', in *Constructing the Past: Writing Irish History, 1600-1800*, ed. by Mark Williams and Stephen Paul Forrest (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), pp. 49-69

Ford, Judy Ann, *John Mirk's Festial: Orthodoxy, Lollardy, and the Common People in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006)

Fowler, Alastair, *The Mind of the Book: Pictorial Title Pages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

Fox, Adam, 'Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England', *Past & Present*, 145.1 (1994), 47-83

_____, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000)

_____, 'Religious Satire in English Towns, 1570-1640', in *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640*, ed. by Patrick Collinson and John Craig (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 221-40

Fox, Adam, and Daniel Woolf, 'Introduction', in *The spoken word: Oral culture in Britain 1500-1850*, ed. by Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 1-51

Foxell, Nigel, *A Sermon in Stone: John Donne and His Monument in St Paul's Cathedral* (London: The Menard Press, 2015)

Francis, Jill, 'Order and Disorder in the Early Modern Garden, 1558-c. 1630', *Garden History*, 36.1 (2008), 22-35

Francis, Keith A., 'Sermon Studies: Major Issues and Future Directions', in *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689-1901*, ed. by Keith A. Francis and William Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 611-30

Francis, Keith A., and William Gibson, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689-1901* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Francis Richardson, Caroline, *English Preachers and Preaching 1640-1670: A Secular Study* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1928)

Franke, Paul C., 'The Heraldry of *The Faerie Queene*', *Coat of Arms*, 4.4 (1980-81), 317-23

Freist, Dagmar, *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London 1637-1645* (London and New York, NY: I. B. Tauris, 1997)

Frymire, John M., *The Primacy of the Postils: Catholics, Protestants, and the Dissemination of Ideas in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2010)

Fumerton, Patricia, “‘Secret’ Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets”, *Representations*, 15 (1986), 57–97

Galbraith, Steven K., ‘Latimer Revised and Reprised: Editing Frutefull Sermons for Pulpit Delivery’, *Reformation*, 11.1 (2006), 29–46

Games, Alison, *Inventing the English Massacre: Amboyna in History and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020)

Gants, David L., ‘A Quantitative Analysis of the London Book Trade 1614–1618’, *Studies in Bibliography*, 55 (2002), 185–213

Garner, Mark, ‘Preaching as a Communicative Event: A Discourse Analysis of Sermons by Robert Rollock (1555–1599)’, *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 9.1 (2007), 45–70

Gaudio, Michael, *The Bible and the Printed Image in Early Modern England: Little Gidding and the pursuit of scriptural harmony* (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2017)

Genette, Gérard, ‘Introduction to the Paratext’, trans. by Marie Maclean, *New Literary History*, 22.2 (1991), 261–72

Gentles, Ian, *The English Revolution and the Wars in the Three Kingdoms, 1638–1652* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007)

_____, ‘The iconography of revolution: England 1642–1649’, in *Soldiers, writers and statesmen of the English Revolution*, ed. by Ian Gentles, John Morrill and Blair Worden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 91–113

_____, ‘Political Funerals during the English Revolution’, in *London and the Civil War*, ed. by Stephen Porter (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 205–224

George, David, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Lancashire* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1991)

Gibson, William, ‘The British Sermon 1689–1901: Quantities, Performance, and Culture’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the British Sermon 1689–1901*, ed. by Keith A. Francis and William Gibson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 3–30

Gill, Miriam, ‘Preaching and Images in Late Medieval England’, in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Carolyn Muessig (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 155–80

Gilman, Sander L., *The Parodic Sermon in European Perspective: Aspects of Liturgical Parody from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1974)

Gittings, Clare, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1988)

Goeglein, Tamara, 'Death is in the "I" of the Beholder: Early Modern English Emblems of Death', in *Emblems of Death in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by Monica Calabritto and Peter Daly (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2014), pp. 59–95

Goldring, Elizabeth, 'Heraldic drawing and painting in early modern England', in *Painting in Britain 1500–1630: Production, Influences and Patronage*, ed. by Tarnya Cooper, Aviva Burnstock, Maurice Howard and Edward Town (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 262–77

Gordon, Andrew, 'If my sign could speak': The Signboard and the Visual Culture of Early Modern London', *Early Theatre*, 8.1 (2005), 35–51

Grabes, Herbert, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-imagery in titles and texts of the Middle Ages and English Renaissance*, trans. by Gordon Collier (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982)

Grafton, Anthony, *The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe* (London: The British Library, 2011)

Gregory, Brad S., 'The Radical Reformation', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Reformation*, ed. by Peter Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 115–51

Green, Ian M., *Continuity and Change in Protestant Preaching in Early Modern England* (London: Dr Williams's Trust, 2009)

Green, Ian, 'Orality, script and print: the case of the English sermon c. 1530–1700', in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, Volume I: Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. by Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 236–55

_____, 'Preaching in the Parishes', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 137–54

_____, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Gribben, Crawford, *God's Irishmen: Theological Debates in Cromwellian Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

_____, *John Owen and English Puritanism: Experiences of Defeat* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

_____, 'Preaching the Scottish Reformation, 1560–1707', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 271–86

Griffiths, Antony, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603-1689* (London: British Museum Press, 1998)

Guibbory, Achsah, 'Israel and English Protestant Nationalism: 'Fast Sermons' during the English Revolution', in *Early Modern Nationalism and Milton's England*, ed. by David Loewenstein and Paul Stevens (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp. 115-38

Haigh, Christopher, and Alison Wall, 'Clergy JPs in England and Wales, 1590-1640', *The Historical Journal*, 47.2 (2004), 233-59

Halasz, Alexandra, *The marketplace of print: Pamphlets and the public sphere in early modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

Hamlin, Hannibal, *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Hamling, Tara, 'The Appreciation of Religious Images in Plasterwork in the Protestant Domestic Interior', in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 147-67

_____, '“An Arelome To This Hous For Ever”: Monumental Fixtures and Furnishings in the English Domestic Interior, c. 1560-c. 1660', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation*, ed. by Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 59-88

_____, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010)

_____, 'Visual and material sources', in *Understanding Early Modern Primary Sources*, ed. by Laura Sangha and Jonathan Willis (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), pp. 129-52

_____, 'Visual Culture', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 75-102

_____, '“Wanting Arms”: Heraldic Decoration in Lesser Houses', in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 205-19

Hamling, Tara, and Richard L. Williams, eds, *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007)

_____, 'Introduction', in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 1-13

Hammer, Paul E. J., *The Polarisation of Elizabethan Politics: The Political Career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585-1597* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Hampton, Stephen, 'Hagiography and Theology for a Comprehensive Reformed Church: John Gauden and the Portrayal of Ralph Brownrigg', *Calvin Theological Journal*, 50.2 (2015), 181-210

_____, 'The Manuscript Sermons of Archbishop John Williams', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 62.4 (2011), 707-25

Hanson, Craig Ashley, *The English Virtuoso: Art, Medicine, and Antiquarianism in the Age of Empiricism* (Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009)

Harding, Vanessa, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Hardman, Susan, 'Puritan Ascetism and the Type of Sacrifice', *Studies in Church History*, 22 (1985), 285-97

Harley, John, *The World of William Byrd: Musicians, Merchants and Magnates* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010)

Harrison, S. J., *Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Hawkins, Edward, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II*, ed. by Augustus W. Franks and Herbert A. Grueber, 2 vols (London: British Museum, 1885)

Heal, Bridget, 'Introduction: Art and Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe', *Art History*, 40.2 (2017), 246-54

_____, *A Magnificent Faith: Art and Identity in Lutheran Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

Heal, Bridget, and Joseph Leo Koerner, eds, 'Art and Religious Reform in Early Modern Europe', *Art History*, 40.2 (2017) (special issue)

Heal, Felicity, 'Art and Iconoclasm', in *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I: Reformation and Identity, c. 1520-1662*, ed. by Anthony Milton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 186-209

_____, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003)

Heal, Felicity, and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994)

_____, "'Prudentia ultra Sexum': Lady Jane Bacon and the Management of Her Families", in *Protestant Identities: Religion, Society, and Self-Fashioning in Post-Reformation England*, ed. by Muriel C. McClendon, Joseph P. Ward and Michael MacDonald (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), pp. 100-24

- Hearn, Karen, 'Heraldry in Tudor and Jacobean Portraits', in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 220–35
- Helmets, Helmer J., *The Royalist Republic: Literature, Politics, and Religion in the Anglo-Dutch Public Sphere, 1639–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- Henderson, George, 'Bible Illustration in the Age of Laud', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8.2 (1982), 173–216
- Hentschell, Roze, 'The Cultural Geography of St Paul's Precinct', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Age of Shakespeare*, ed. by R. Malcolm Smuts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 633–49
- _____, 'Moralizing Apparel in Early Modern London: Popular Literature, Sermons, and Sartorial Display', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 39.3 (2009), 571–95
- Hessayon, Ariel, 'The Apocrypha in Early Modern England', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*, ed. by Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 131–48
- Hickman, David, 'Wise and Religious Epitaphs: Funerary Inscriptions as Evidence for Religious Change in Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, c. 1500–1640', *Midland History*, 26.1 (2001), 107–27
- Hill, Christopher, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London: Allen Lane, 1993)
- _____, 'From Marprelate to the Levellers', in Christopher Hill, *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill, Volume One: Writing and Revolution in 17th Century England* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1985), pp. 75–95
- _____, 'The Political Sermons of John Preston', in Christopher Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution: Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th Century* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1958; repr. Mercury Books, 1962), pp. 239–74
- Hill, Tracey, 'Owners and Collectors of the Printed Books of the Early Modern Lord Mayors' Shows', *Library & Information History*, 30.3 (2014), 151–71
- _____, *Pageantry and power: A cultural history of the early modern Lord Mayor's Show, 1585–1639* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2010)
- Hilton, James, *Chronograms: 5000 and more in number excerpted out of various authors and collected at many places* (London: Elliot Stock, 1882)
- Hindle, Steve, 'Dearth and the English revolution: the harvest crisis of 1647–50', *Economic History Review*, 61.1 (2008), 64–98
- _____, 'Imagining Insurrection in Seventeenth-Century England: Representations of the Midland Rising of 1607', *History Workshop Journal*, 66 (2008), 21–61

Hiscock, Andrew, and Helen Wilcox, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

Hodgson, Elizabeth, 'The Domestic "Fruite of Eves Transgression" in Stuart Funeral Sermons', *Prose Studies*, 28.1 (2006), 1-18

Holmes, Geoffrey, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973)

Höltgen, Karl Joseph, 'Early Modern English Emblematic Title-Pages and their Cultural Context', in *Entree aus Schrift und Bild: Titelblatt und Frontispiz im England der Neuzeit*, ed. by Werner Busch, Hubertus Fischer and Joachim Möller (Hgg.) (Berlin: LIT, 2008), pp. 40-79

_____, 'The English Reformation and Some Jacobean Writers on Art', in *Functions of Literature: Essays presented to Erwin Wolff on his sixtieth birthday*, ed. by Ulrich Broich, Theo Stemmler and Gerd Stratmann (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1984), pp. 119-46

Hornback, Robert, *The English Clown Tradition from the Middle Ages to Shakespeare* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2009)

Hotblack, John T., 'The Armorial Bearings of the City of Norwich', *Norfolk Archaeology*, xvii (1910), 245-53

Houlbrooke, Ralph, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)

_____, 'Funeral Sermons and Assurance of Salvation: Conviction and Persuasion in the Case of William Lord Russell of Thornhaugh', *Reformation*, 4 (1999), 119-38

_____, 'The Puritan Death-bed, c. 1560-c. 1660', in *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700*, ed. by Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 122-44

Howe, Sarah, 'The Authority of Presence: The Development of the English Author Portrait, 1500-1640', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 102.4 (2008), 465-99

Hughes, Ann, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

_____, 'A Moderate Puritan Preacher Negotiates Religious Change', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 65.4 (2014), 761-79

_____, 'Preachers and Hearers in Revolutionary London: Contextualising Parliamentary Fast Sermons', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 24 (2014), 57-77

_____, 'Preaching the "Long Reformation" in the English Revolution', *Reformation*, 24.2 (2019), 151-64

_____, 'The Pulpit Guarded: Confrontations between Orthodox and Radicals in Revolutionary England', in *John Bunyan and His England, 1628-88*, ed. by Anne Laurence, W. R. Owens and Stuart Sim (London and Ronceverte, WV: The Hambledon Press, 1990), pp. 31-50

_____, 'Thomas Dugard and His Circle in the 1630s - A 'Parliamentary-Puritan' Connexion?', *The Historical Journal*, 29.4 (1986), 771-93

Hunt, Arnold, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

_____, 'Recovering Speech Acts', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 13-29

_____, 'The succession in sermons, news and rumour', in *Doubtful and dangerous: The question of succession in late Elizabethan England*, ed. by Susan Doran and Paulina Kewes (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2014), pp. 155-72

Hunt, William, 'Civic Chivalry and the English Civil War', in *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), pp. 204-37

Hunter, Michael, ed., *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010)

Huntington Nason, Arthur, *Heralds and Heraldry in Ben Jonson's Plays, Masques and Entertainments* (New York, NY: University Heights, 1907)

Hyde, Jenni, 'Verse Epitaphs and the Memorialisation of Women in Reformation England', *Literature Compass*, 13.11 (2016), 701-10

Ingram, Martin, 'Ridings, Rough Music and the "Reform of Popular Culture" in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 105.1 (1984), 79-113

Jack, Ronald D. S., ed., *Scottish Prose 1550-1700* (London: Calder & Boyars, 1971)

Jackson Ken, and Arthur F. Marotti, 'The Turn to Religion in Early Modern English Studies', *Criticism*, 46.1 (2004), 167-90

James, Anne, 'Preaching the Good News: William Barlow Narrates the Fall of Essex and the Gunpower Plot', in *Paul's Cross and the Culture of Persuasion in England, 1520-1640*, ed. by Torrance Kirby and P. G. Stanwood (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2014), pp. 345-60

James, Anne, and Jeanne Shami, 'GEMMS (Gateway to Early Modern Manuscript Sermons 1530-1715): Confronting the Challenges of Sermons Research', *Digital Studies/Le champ numérique*, 9.1 (2019), 1-24

_____, *Remembering the Dead: The Role of Manuscript Sermons & Sermon Notes in Researching Early Modern Memorial Practice* (London: The Congregational Memorial Hall Trust, 2019)

Jardine, Lisa, and Anthony Grafton, “‘Studied for Action’: How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy”, *Past & Present*, 129 (1990), 30–78

Jenkins, Simon, ‘The dazzling walls of medieval England deserve a bold restorer’, *Guardian*, 21 March 2008, <<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/mar/21/religion.heritage>> [accessed 5 September 2018]

Jenkinson, Matt, ‘Preaching at the Court of Charles II: Court Sermons and the Restoration Chapel Royal’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 442–59

Jenkinson, Matthew, ‘Preaching at the Court of James II, 1685–1688’, *The Court Historian*, 17.1 (2012), 17–33

Johnson, Francis R., ‘Notes on English Retail Book-prices, 1550–1640’, *The Library*, Fifth Series, 5.2 (1950), 83–112

Jones, Evan J., ‘The Death and Burial of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, 1576’, *The Carmarthen Antiquary*, 2.4 (1957), 184–201

Jones, Jonathan, ‘Art Under Attack at Tate: the exhibition that risks desecrating itself’, *Guardian*, 30 September 2013, <<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2013/sep/30/art-under-attack-tate-britain-review>> [accessed 22 April 2020]

Jones, Malcolm, ‘The parodic sermon in medieval and early modern England’, *Medium Ævum*, 66.1 (1997), 94–114

_____, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010)

Jones, Norman L., ‘William Cecil and the making of economic policy in the 1560s’, in *Political Thought and the Tudor Commonwealth: Deep structure, discourse and disguise*, ed. by Paul A. Fideler and T. F. Mayer (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 1992), pp. 173–98

Karant-Nunn, Susan C., *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Kerner, Joseph Leo, *The Reformation of the Image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004)

Ketelaar, Eric, ‘The Genealogical Gaze: Family Identities and Family Archives in the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries’, *Libraries & the Cultural Record*, 44.1 (2009), 9–28

Kiefer Lewalski, Barbara, *Donne’s Anniversaries and the Poetry of Praise: The Creation of a Symbolic Mode* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973)

Killeen, Kevin, *The Political Bible in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

_____, 'Veiled Speech: Preaching, Politics and Scriptural Typology', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 387–403

King, John N., *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and Early Modern Print Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Kingsley, Margery A., *Transforming the Word: Prophecy, Poetry, and Politics in England, 1650–1742* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2001)

Kirby, Torrance, 'The Civil Magistrate and the *'cura religionis'*: Henrich Bullinger's prophetic office and the English Reformation', in *Henrich Bullinger: Life, Thought, Influence*, ed. by Emidio Campi and Peter Opitz (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2007), pp. 935–50

_____, 'Robert Singleton's Sermon at Paul's Cross in 1535: The 'True Church' and the Royal Supremacy', *Reformation & Renaissance Review*, 10.2 (2008), 343–68

_____, "'Synne and Sedition': Peter Martyr Vermigli's "Sermon concernynge the tyme of rebellion" in the Parker Library', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 39.2 (2008), 419–40

Kirby, Torrance, and P. G. Stanwood, eds, *Paul's Cross and the Culture of Persuasion in England, 1520–1640* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2014)

Klemp, P. J., 'Civil War Politics and the Texts of Archbishop William Laud's Execution Sermon and Prayers', *English Literary Renaissance*, 43.2 (2013), 308–42

_____, '“He that now speakes, shall speak no more for ever”: Archbishop William Laud in the Theatre of Execution', *The Review of English Studies*, 61.249 (2010), 188–213

_____, 'Lancelot Andrewes, Plagiarism, and Pedagogy at Hampton Court in 1606', *Philological Quarterly*, 77.1 (1998), 15–39

Knapp, James A., 'The Bastard Art: Woodcut Illustration in Sixteenth-Century England', in *Printing and Parenting in Early Modern England*, ed. by Douglas A. Brooks (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 151–72

Knights, Mark, ed., 'Faction Displayed: Reconsidering the Impeachment of Dr Henry Sacheverell', *Parliamentary History*, 31.1 (2012) (special issue)

_____, 'Possessing the Visual: The Materiality of Visual Print Culture in Later Stuart Britain', in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580–1730*, ed. by James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 85–122

Knights, Mark, and Adam Morton, 'Introduction: Laughter and Satire in Early Modern Britain 1500–1800', in *The Power of Laughter and Satire in Early Modern Britain: Political and*

Religious Culture, 1500–1800, ed. by Mark Knights and Adam Morton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 1–26

Knights, Mark, and others, ‘Commonwealth: The Social, Cultural, and Conceptual Contexts of an Early Modern Keyword’, *The Historical Journal*, 54.3 (2011), 659–87

Krausman Ben-Amos, Ilana, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Kreitzer, Beth, *Reforming Mary: Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

Krysmanski, Bernd W., *Hogarth’s Hidden Parts: Satiric Allusion, Erotic Wit, Blasphemous Bawdiness and Dark Humour in Eighteenth-Century English Art* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2010)

Kuchar, Gary, *George Herbert and the Mystery of the Word: Poetry and Scripture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017)

Kuin, Roger, ‘Colours of Continuity: the Heraldic Funeral’, in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare’s England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 166–89

_____, ‘Hieroglyphics of Nobility: The Banners in Sir Philip Sidney’s Funeral Procession’, *Sidney Journal*, 33.2 (2015), 1–25

Lacey, Andrew, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003)

Lake, Peter, ‘Reading Clarke’s *Lives* in Political and Polemical Context’, in *Writing Lives: Biography and Textuality, Identity and Representation in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 293–318

Langley, Chris R., *Worship, Civil War and Community, 1638–1660* (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2016)

Laoutaris, Chris, ‘The Prefatorial Material’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare’s First Folio*, ed. by Emma Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 48–67

Lares, Jameela, *Milton and the Preaching Arts* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 2001)

Laven, Mary, ‘Introduction’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. by Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 1–11

Lawson, Andrea C., ‘Reading John Bourcher’s Seventeenth-Century Gift Book’, *The Center & Clark Newsletter*, 51 (2010), 5–6

Lerer, Seth, ‘Errata: print, politics and poetry in early modern England’, in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 41–71

_____, *Error and the Academic Self: The Scholarly Imagination, Medieval to Modern* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002)

Leslie, Michael, 'The Dialogue Between Bodies and Souls: Pictures and Poesy in the English Renaissance', *Word & Image*, 1.1 (1985), 16–30

Lesser, Zachary, 'Typographic Nostalgia: Play-Reading, Popularity, and the Meanings of Black Letter', in *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England*, ed. by Marta Straznicky (Amherst and Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), pp. 99–126

Lewis, Rhodri, 'Of "Origenian Platonisme": Joseph Glanvill on the Pre-existence of Souls', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 69.2 (2006), 267–300

Lindley, Phillip, 'The Visual Arts and their Functions in the English Pre-Reformation Church', in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 15–45

Llewellyn, Nigel, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c. 1500 – c. 1800* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991)

_____, 'Claims to Status through Visual Codes: Heraldry on post-Reformation Funeral Monuments', in *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. by Sydney Anglo (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1990), pp. 145–60

_____, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

_____, 'Honour in Life, Death and in the Memory: Funeral Monuments in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6 (1996), 179–200

Lockwood, Tom, 'Poetry, patronage and cultural agency: the career of William Lewis', in *Chaplains in early modern England: Patronage, literature and religion*, ed. by Hugh Adlington, Tom Lockwood and Gillian Wright (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 103–22

Love, Harold, 'L'Estrange, Joyce and the Dictates of Typography', in *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture*, ed. by Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 167–80

_____, 'Originality and the Puritan Sermon', in *Plagiarism in Early Modern England*, ed. by Paulina Kewes (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 149–65

_____, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)

Luborsky, Ruth S., and Elizabeth M. Ingram, *A Guide to English Illustrated Books 1536–1603*, 2 vols (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1998)

Lund, Mary Ann, 'Donne's convalescence', *Renaissance Studies*, 31.4 (2017), 532–48

_____, 'Early Modern Sermon Paratexts and the Religious Politics of Reading', in *Material Readings of Early Modern Culture: Texts and Social Practices, 1580-1730*, ed. by James Daybell and Peter Hinds (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 143-62

Lynch, Kathleen, *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

MacCulloch, Diarmaid, *Building a Godly Realm: The Establishment of English Protestantism, 1558-1603* (London: The Historical Association, 1992)

Macfarlane, Kirsten, 'The Biblical Genealogies of the King James Bible (1611): Their Purpose, Sources, and Significance', *The Library*, Seventh Series, 19.2 (2018), 131-58

MacLagan, Eric, 'Sculpture by Bernini in England (Concluded)', *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 40.228 (March 1922), 112-120

MacLagan, Michael, 'Genealogy and Heraldry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *English Historical Scholarship in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. by Levi Fox (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 31-48

MacLure, Millar, *The Paul's Cross Sermons 1534-1642* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1958)

Major, Philip, 'Urne-Buriall and the Interregnum Royalist', in *"A man very well studied": New Contexts for Thomas Browne*, ed. by Kathryn Murphy and Richard Todd (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2008), pp. 191-210

Malcolm, J. P., *An Historical Sketch of the Art of Caricaturing. With Graphic Illustrations* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1813)

Mallette, Richard, 'Blasphemous Preacher: Iago and the Reformation', in *Shakespeare and the Culture of Christianity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Dennis Taylor and David Beauregard (New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2003), pp. 382-414

Maltby, Judith, 'The Good Old Way': Prayer Book Protestantism in the 1640s and 1650s', *Studies in Church History*, 38 (2004), 233-56

von Maltzahn, Nicholas, 'From pillar to post: Milton and the attack on republican humanism at the Restoration', in *Soldiers, writers and statesmen of the English Revolution*, ed. by Ian Gentles, John Morrill and Blair Worden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 265-85

Manganiello, Stephen C., *The Concise Encyclopedia of the Revolutions and Wars of England, Scotland, and Ireland, 1639-1660* (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, 2004)

Manning, John, *The Emblem* (London: Reaktion Books, 2002)

Mantz, D. C., S. E. Gardner, and E. M. Ramsden, 'The Benefit of an Image, Without the Offence': Anglo-Dutch Emblematics and Hall's Liberation of the Lyric Soul', in *Anglo-Dutch*

Relations in the Field of the Emblem, ed. by Bart Westerweel (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 253–76

Marcus, Leah S., *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton* (London: Routledge, 1996)

Marsh, Christopher, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

_____, 'A Woodcut and Its Wanderings in Seventeenth-Century England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79.2 (2016), 245–62

Marsh, Christopher W., *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

Marshall, Joseph, 'Recycling and Originality in the Pamphlet Wars: Republishing Jacobean Texts in the 1640s', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 12.1 (2000), 55–85

Marshall, Peter, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)

_____, 'The Company of Heaven: Identity and Sociability in the English Protestant Afterlife c. 1560–1630', *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques*, 26.2 (2000), 311–33

_____, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2017)

_____, *Invisible Worlds: Death, religion and the supernatural in England, 1500–1700* (London: SPCK, 2017)

Martin, J. W., 'The Marian Regime's Failure to Understand the Importance of Printing', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 44.4 (1981), 231–47

Martin, Jessica, *Walton's Lives: Conformist Commemoration and the Rise of Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Massai, Sonia, 'John Wolfe and the Impact of Exemplary Go-Betweens on Early Modern Print Culture', in *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels (Berlin and New York, NY: De Gruyter, 2005), pp. 104–18

May, Steven W., and Alan Bryson, eds, *Verse Libel in Renaissance England and Scotland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

McCall, Fiona, *Baal's Priests: The Loyalist Clergy and the English Revolution* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013)

_____, 'Children of Baal: Clergy Families and Their Memories of Sequestration during the English Civil War', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 76.4 (2013), 617–38

_____, 'Continuing Civil War by Other Means: Loyalist Mockery of the Interregnum Church', in *The Power of Laughter and Satire in Early Modern Britain: Political and Religious Culture, 1500-1820*, ed. by Mark Knights and Adam Morton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), pp. 84-106

McCullough, Peter, *Lancelot Andrewes: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming)

_____, 'Making Dead Men Speak: Laudianism, Print, and the Works of Lancelot Andrewes, 1626-1642', *The Historical Journal*, 41.2 (1998), 401-24

_____, 'Music Reconciled to Preaching: A Jacobean Moment?', in *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 109-29

_____, 'Preaching and Context: John Donne's Sermon at the Funerals of Sir William Cokayne', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 213-67

_____, 'Sermons', in *The Oxford Handbook of English Prose 1500-1640*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 560-75

McCullough, Peter, Hugh Adlington, and Emma Rhatigan, eds, *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

McCullough, Peter E., 'Lancelot Andrewes's Transforming Passions', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.4 (2008), 573-89

_____, *Sermons at Court: Politics and religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean preaching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

McElligott, Jason, 'The Book Trade, Licensing, and Censorship', in *The Oxford Handbook of Literature and the English Revolution*, ed. by Laura Lunger Knoppers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 135-53

_____, 'Introduction: Stabilizing and Destabilizing Britain in the 1680s', in *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s*, ed. by Jason McElligott (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 1-12

McElroy, Tricia A., 'Genres', in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, ed. by Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer and Felicity Heal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 267-83

McGovern, Jonathan, 'The political sermons of Lancelot Andrewes', *The Seventeenth Century*, 34.1 (2019), 3-25

McKenzie, D. F., 'Speech—Manuscript—Print', in D. F. McKenzie, *Making Meaning: "Printers of the Mind" and Other Essays*, ed. by Peter D. McDonald and Michael F. Suarez, S. J. (Amherst and Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), pp. 237-58

McKeown, Simon, 'Death and a Maiden: Memorial Engravings from the Circle of Erik Dahlberg', *Emblematika*, 14 (2005), 417-39

McKerrow, Ronald B., *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland 1485-1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1913)

McKitterick, David, 'Ovid with a Littleton': The Cost of English Books in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 11.2 (1997), 184-234

McRae, Andrew, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004)

McShane, Angela, 'Recruiting Citizens for Soldiers in Seventeenth-Century English Ballads', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 15 (2011), 105-37

_____, 'Subjects and Objects: Material Expressions of Love and Loyalty in Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, 48.4 (2009), 871-86

Mears, Natalie, and Alec Ryrie, 'Introduction: Worship and the Parish Church', in *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Natalie Mears and Alec Ryrie (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 1-10

_____, eds, *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013)

Mendle, Michael, 'De Facto Freedom, De Facto Authority: Press and Parliament, 1640-1643', *The Historical Journal*, 38.2 (1995), 307-32

_____, 'Preserving the Ephemeral: Reading, Collecting, and the Pamphlet Culture of Seventeenth-Century England', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. by Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 201-16

Merritt, J. F., 'Puritans, Laudians, and the Phenomenon of Church-Building in Jacobean London', *The Historical Journal*, 41.4 (1998), 935-60

_____, *Westminster 1640-60: A royal city in a time of revolution* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2013)

Michelson, Emily, 'Bernardino of Siena Visualizes the Name of God', in *Speculum Sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon*, ed. by Georgiana Donavin, Cary J. Nederman and Richard Utz (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 157-79

_____, 'Dramatics in (and out of) the pulpit in post-Tridentine Italy', *The Italianist*, 34.3 (2014), 449-62

_____, *The Pulpit and the Press in Reformation Italy* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2013)

Milner, Matthew, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011)

Milton, Anthony, 'Anglicanism and Royalism in the 1640s', in *The English Civil War: Conflict and Contexts, 1640-49*, ed. by John Adamson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 61-81

_____, 'Arminians, Laudians, Anglicans, and Revisionists: Back to Which Drawing Board?', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 78.4 (2015), 723-43

_____, ed., *The British Delegation and the Synod of Dort (1618-1619)* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005)

_____, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

_____, ed., *The Oxford History of Anglicanism, Volume I: Reformation and Identity, c. 1520-1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

_____, 'A Qualified Intolerance: the Limits and Ambiguities of Early Stuart Anti-Catholicism', in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 85-115

Mishra, Rupali, *A Business of State: Commerce, Politics, and the Birth of the East India Company* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018)

Mitchell, W. J. T., *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994)

Mohamed, Feisal G., 'Milton, Sir Henry Vane, and the Brief but Significant Life of Godly Republicanism', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 76.1 (2013), 83-104

Molekamp, Femke, 'Early modern women and affective devotional reading', *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, 17.1 (2010), 53-74

_____, 'Of the Incomparable treasure of the Holy Scriptures': The Geneva Bible in the Early Modern Household', in *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Matthew Dimmock and Andrew Hadfield (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 121-35

_____, 'Popular Reading and Writing', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 59-73

_____, 'Seventeenth-century Funeral Sermons and Exemplary Female Devotion: Gendered Spaces and Histories', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 35.1 (2012), 43-63

Morgan, David, 'The look of the sacred', in *The Cambridge Companion to Religious Studies*, ed. by Robert A. Orsi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 296–318

Morgan, John, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

Morgan, Victor, 'A Ceremonious Society: an Aspect of Institutional Power in Early Modern Norwich', in *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society*, ed. by Anne Goldgar and Robert I. Frost (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2004), pp. 133–63

_____, 'The Construction of Civic Memory in Early Modern Norwich', in *Material Memories*, ed. by Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward and Jeremy Aynsley (Oxford: Berg, 1999), pp. 183–97

_____, 'The Dutch and Flemish presence and the emergence of an Anglo-Dutch provincial artistic tradition in Norwich, c. 1500–1700', in *Dutch and Flemish artists in Britain 1550–1800*, ed. by Juliette Roding and others (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2003), pp. 57–72

_____, 'Perambulating and Consumable Emblems: The Norwich Evidence', in *Deviceful Settings: The English Renaissance Emblem and its Contexts*, ed. by Michael Bath and Daniel Russell (New York, NY: AMS Press, 1999), pp. 167–206

Morrall, Andrew, '"On the Picture of the King Charles the First...written in Psalms": Devotion, Commemoration and the Micrographic Portrait', in *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), pp. 211–39

Morrill, John, 'The unweariableness of Mr Pym: influence and eloquence in the Long Parliament', in *Political culture and cultural politics in early modern England: Essays presented to David Underdown*, ed. by Susan D. Amussen and Mark A. Kishlansky (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 19–54

_____, 'William Dowsing and the administration of iconoclasm in the Puritan revolution', in *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War*, ed. by Trevor Cooper (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 1–28

Morrissey, Mary, 'Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons', *The Historical Journal*, 42.4 (1999), 1111–23

_____, *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons, 1558–1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

_____, 'Scripture, Style and Persuasion in Seventeenth-Century English Theories of Preaching', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53.4 (2002), 686–706

_____, 'Sermon-Notes and Seventeenth-Century Manuscript Communities', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 80.2 (2017), 293–307

_____, 'Sermons, Primers, and Prayerbooks', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 491–509

Müller, Johannes, 'Permeable Memories. Family History and the Diaspora of Southern Netherlandish Exiles in the Seventeenth Century', in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Müller and Jasper van der Steen (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), pp. 283–95

Muller, Sheila D., ed., *Dutch Art: An Encyclopedia* (New York, NY: Garland, 1997)

Munro Cautley, H., *Royal Arms and Commandments in Our Churches* (Ipswich: Norman Adlard, 1934)

Murray, Catriona, *Imaging Stuart Family Politics: Dynastic Crisis and Continuity* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2017)

Murray, Daisy, *Twins in Early Modern English Drama and Shakespeare* (London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2017)

Murrell, Jim, 'John Guillim's Book: A Heraldic Painter's *Vade Mecum*', *Walpole Society*, 57 (1993/1994), 1–51

Must, Nicholas, *Preaching a Dual Identity: Huguenot Sermons and the Shaping of Confessional Identity, 1629–1685* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2017)

Nelson Burnett, Amy, *Teaching the Reformation: Ministers and Their Message in Basel, 1529–1629* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Neufeld, Matthew, *The Civil Wars After 1660: Public Remembering in Late Stuart England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013)

Newstok, Scott L., *Quoting Death in Early Modern England: The Poetics of Epitaphs Beyond the Tomb* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

Nicholson, Eirwen E. C., 'The Oak v. the Orange Tree: Emblemizing Dynastic Union and Conflict, 1600–1796', in *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem*, ed. by Bart Westerweel (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 227–52

Norbrook, David, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Norton, David, *The King James Bible: A Short History from Tyndale to Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

O'Connell, Sheila, *The Popular Print in England 1550–1850* (London: British Museum Press, 1999)

O'Connor, Daniel, *The Chaplains of the East India Company, 1601–1858* (London: Continuum, 2012)

Oates, Rosamund, *Moderate Radical: Tobie Matthew and the English Reformation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)

Olson, Rebecca, *Arras Hanging: The Textile That Determined Early Modern Literature and Drama* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2013)

Owst, G. R., *Preaching in Medieval England: An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1530–1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926)

Padelford, Frederick M., 'Robert Aylett', *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, 10 (1936), 1–48

Palmer Wandel, Lee, 'Catechisms: Teaching the Eye to Read the World', in *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. by Feike Dietz and others (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 53–76

_____, 'Introduction', in *Early Modern Eyes*, ed. by Walter S. Melion and Lee Palmer Wandel (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2010), pp. 1–9

Parish, Debra L., 'The Power of Female Pietism: Women as Spiritual Authorities and Religious Role Models in Seventeenth-Century England', *Journal of Religious History*, 17.1 (1992), 33–46

Parkes, M. B., 'Stephan Batman's Manuscripts', in *Medieval Heritage: Essays in Honour of Tadahiro Ikegami*, ed. by Masahiko Kanno and others (Tokyo: Yushodo Press, 1997), pp. 125–56

Parry, Graham, *The Arts of Anglican Counter-Reformation: Glory, Laud and Honour* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006)

_____, 'High-Church Devotion in the Church of England, 1620–42', in *Writing and Religion in England, 1558–1689: Studies in Community-Making and Cultural Memory*, ed. by Roger D. Sell and Anthony W. Johnson (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 239–52

Pavličková, Radmila, 'A Funeral and a Political Pamphlet: The Funeral Sermon for the Archbishop Johann Schweikard of Mainz in 1626', in *Friars, Nobles and Burghers—Sermons, Images and Prints: Studies of Culture and Society in Early-Modern Europe*, ed. by Jaroslav Miller and László Kontler (Budapest and New York, NY: Central European University Press, 2010), pp. 129–47

Payne, Ann, 'Heraldry and Genealogies', in *Art Collecting and Lineage in the Elizabethan Age: The Lumley Inventory and Pedigree*, ed. by Mark Evans (In.p.]: The Roxburghe Club, 2010), pp. 21–27

Peacey, Jason, 'Pamphlets', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 453–70

_____, *Politicians and Pamphleteers: Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004)

_____, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

_____, 'The Print Culture of Parliament, 1600–1800', in *The Print Culture of Parliament, 1600–1800*, ed. by Jason Peacey (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 1–16

_____, 'The Revolution in Print', in *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution*, ed. by Michael J. Braddick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 276–93

Peacock, John, 'The image of Charles I as a Roman emperor', in *The 1630s: Interdisciplinary essays on culture and politics in the Caroline era*, ed. by Ian Atherton and Julie Sanders (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 50–73

_____, 'Inigo Jones's catafalque for James I', *Architectural History*, 25 (1982), 1–5

Pearson, David, 'The Libraries of English Bishops, 1600–40', *The Library*, Sixth Series, 14.3 (1992), 221–57

Pebworth, Ted-Larry, '"Let Me Here Use That Freedom": Subversive Representation in John Donne's "Obsequies to the Lord Harington"', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 91.1 (1992), 17–42

Pengelly, W., 'Notes on a Devonshire Funeral Sermon in the Seventeenth Century', *Report and Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 14 (1882), pp. 493–515

Perlove, Shelley, and Larry Silver, *Rembrandt's Faith: Church and Temple in the Dutch Golden Age* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009)

Pernet, Sonia, '"Where there is a frequent preaching, there is *no necessity* of pictures": The Fluid Images of John Donne's Preaching as Substitutes for Visual Representations', in *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), pp. 143–55

Pettegree, Andrew, 'Catholic Pamphleteering', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. by Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 109–26

_____, 'Illustrating the Book: A Protestant Dilemma', in *John Foxe and his World*, ed. by Christopher Highley and John N. King (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 133–44

_____, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

Phillips, John, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535–1660* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1973)

Phillippy, Patricia, ‘Herselfe livinge, to be pictured’: ‘Monumental Circles’ and Women’s Self-Portraiture’, in *The History of British Women’s Writing, 1610–1690*, ed. by Mihoko Suzuki (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 129–51

Pierce, Helen, ‘Anti-Episcopacy and Graphic Satire in England, 1640–1645’, *The Historical Journal*, 47.4 (2000), 809–48

_____, ‘Images, Representation, and Counter-Representation’, in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Volume 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 263–79

_____, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2008)

_____, ‘Text and Image: William Marshall’s Frontispiece to the *Eikon Basilike* (1649)’, in *Censorship Moments: Reading Texts in the History of Censorship and Freedom of Expression*, ed. by Geoff Kemp (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), pp. 79–86

Plumb, J. H., *The Death of the Past* (London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, 1969; repr. 1978)

Poole, Kristen, *Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Porter, Stephen, ‘Introduction’, in *London and the Civil War*, ed. by Stephen Porter (London: Macmillan, 1996), pp. 1–30

Potter, Lois, *Secret rites and secret writing: Royalist literature, 1641–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Powell, Susan, ‘What Caxton Did to the *Festial*: From Manuscript to Printed Edition’, *Journal of the Early Book Society*, 1 (1998 for 1997), 48–77

Price, David, and Charles C. Ryrie, *Let it Go Among Our People: An Illustrated History of the English Bible from John Wyclif to the King James Version* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2004)

Pritchard, Penny, ‘The Eye of a Needle: Commemorating the ‘Godly Merchant’ in the Early Modern Funeral Sermon’, *The Journal of Religious History, Literature and Culture*, 3.2 (2017), 70–90

Proctor Williams, William, ‘From Maidenhead to Conventicle: The Curious Transformation of a Woodcut’, *The Library*, Seventh Series, 21.1 (2020), 102–09

Quantin, Jean-Louis, *The Church of England and Christian Antiquity: The Construction of a Confessional Identity in the 17th Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Quitslund, Beth, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547–1603* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008)

Rae McDermott, Jennifer, “The Melodie of Heaven’: Sermonizing the Open Ear in Early Modern England”, in *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Wietse de Boer and Christine Göttler (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2013), pp. 177–97

Ramsay, Nigel, ed., *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare’s England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014)

_____, ‘William Smith, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant’, in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare’s England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 27–67

Randall, Dale B. J., and Jackson C. Boswell, *Cervantes in Seventeenth-Century England: The Tapestry Turned* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Randall, Helen W., ‘The Rise and Fall of a Martyrology: Sermons on Charles I’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 10.2 (1947), 135–67

Raymond, Joad, ‘The Cracking of the Republican Spokes’, *Prose Studies*, 19.3 (1996), 255–74

_____, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)

_____, ‘Irrational, impractical and unprofitable: reading the news in seventeenth-century Britain’, in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 185–212

_____, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Read, Sophie, *Eucharist and the Poetic Imagination in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

_____, ‘Lancelot Andrewes’s Sacramental Wordplay’, *The Cambridge Quarterly*, 36.1 (2007), 11–31

Reinis, Austra, “Admitted to the Heavenly School”: Consolation, Instruction, and Admonition in Aegidius Hunnius’s Academic Funeral Sermons’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 38.4 (2007), 995–1012

Reisner, Noam, ‘The Preacher and Profane Learning’, in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 72–86

_____, ‘Textual sacraments: capturing the numinous in the sermons of Lancelot Andrewes’, *Renaissance Studies*, 21.5 (2007), 662–78

Rhatigan, Emma, ‘Preaching to Princes: John Burgess and George Hakewill in the Royal Pulpit’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 62.2 (2011), 273–96

_____, 'Preaching Venues: Architecture and Auditories', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 87–119

_____, 'The sinful history of mine own youth': John Donne preaches at Lincoln's Inn', in *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*, ed. by Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring and Sarah Knight (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 90–106

Richards, Jennifer, *Voices and Books in the English Renaissance: A New History of Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019)

Richards Jennifer, and Fred Schurink, eds, 'The Textuality and Materiality of Reading in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73.3 (2010) (special issue)

Rickey, Mary Ellen, *Rhyme and Meaning in Richard Crashaw* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1961)

Ridgely, Beverly S., 'The Cosmic Voyage in Charles Sorel's *Francion*', *Modern Philology*, 65.1 (1967), 1–8.

Rigney, James, 'Sermons into Print', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 198–212

_____, 'To lye upon a Stationers stall, like a piece of coarse flesh in a Shambles': the sermon, print and the English Civil War', in *The English sermon revised: Religion, literature and history 1600–1750*, ed. by Lori Anne Ferrell and Peter McCullough (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 188–207

Rivers, Kimberly A., *Preaching in the Memory of Virtue and Vice: Memory, Images, and Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010)

Roberts, Stephen K., 'The Sermon in Early Modern Wales: Context and Content', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 303–25

Rothstein, Marian, 'Disjunctive Images in Renaissance Books', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 14.2 (1990), 101–20

Rublack, Ulinka, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the Protestant Reformations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

Ryrie, Alec, 'The Psalms and Confrontation in English and Scottish Protestantism', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 101.1 (2010), 114–37

Ryrie, Alec, and Tom Schwanda, eds, *Puritanism and Emotion in the Early Modern World* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016)

Sadler, S. L., 'Dowsing's arguments with the Fellows of Pembroke', in *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia during the English Civil War*, ed. by Trevor Cooper (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 56–66

Saenger, Michael, *The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006)

Saunders, Austen, 'Articles of Assent: Clergymen's Subscribed Copies of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England', in *Early Modern English Marginalia*, ed. by Katherine Acheson (New York, NY and Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 115–33

Savorelli, Alessandro, 'L'héraldique des Della Robbia à Florence entre abstraction et naturalisme', in *Heraldic Artists and Painters in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, ed. by Torsten Hiltmann and Laurent Hablot (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke, 2018), pp. 207–21

Schuchard, Marsha Keith, *Restoring the Temple of Vision: Cabalistic Freemasonry and Stuart Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2002)

Schupbach, William, *The Paradox of Rembrandt's 'Anatomy of Dr. Tulp'* (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1982)

Schwanda, Tom, 'Paul Baynes and Richard Sibbes', in *Protestants and Mysticism in Reformation Europe*, ed. by Ronald K. Rittgers and Vincent Evener (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), pp. 369–88

Scodel, Joshua, *The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1991)

Scott-Giles, C. W., *Shakespeare's Heraldry* (London: J. M. Dent, 1950; repr. London: Heraldry Today, 1971)

Scott-Warren, Jason, 'Cut-and-Paste Bookmaking: The Private/Public Agency of Robert Nicolson', in *Early Modern English Marginalia*, ed. by Katherine Acheson (New York, NY and Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 35–50

_____, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

Scott Kastan, David, 'Print, literary culture and the book trade', in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, ed. by David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 81–116

Scribner, R. W., *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)

Seaver, Paul, 'Puritan Preachers and their Patrons', in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 128–42

Seaver, Paul S., *Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985)

Selwyn, David G., *Edmund Geste and His Books: Reconstructing the library of a Cambridge don and Elizabethan bishop* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 2017)

Semler, L. E., *The English Mannerist Poets and the Visual Arts* (Cranbury, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998)

_____, 'Select bibliography', in *The Cambridge Companion to John Donne*, ed. by Achsah Guibbory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 259–77

Shami, Jeanne, 'The Cultural Significance of Donne's Sermons', *Literature Compass*, 4.2 (2007), 433–42

_____, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis in the Late Jacobean Pulpit* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003)

_____, 'New Manuscript Texts of Sermons by John Donne', in *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700, Volume 13: New Texts and Discoveries in Early Modern English Manuscripts*, ed. by Peter Beal (London: The British Library, 2007), pp. 77–119

_____, 'Reading Funeral Sermons for Early Modern English Women: Some Literary and Historiographical Challenges', in *Religious Diversity and Early Modern English Texts: Catholic, Judaic, Feminist, and Secular Dimensions*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti and Chanita Goodblatt (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2013), pp. 282–308

_____, 'The Sermon', in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern English Literature and Religion*, ed. by Andrew Hiscock and Helen Wilcox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 185–206

_____, 'Women and Sermons', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 155–77

Shapiro, Barbara J., 'Political Theology and the Courts: A Survey of Assize Sermons c1600–1688', *Law and Humanities*, 2.1 (2008), 1–28

Sharpe, Kevin, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603–1660* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010)

_____, *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2000)

_____, 'So Hard a Text?' Images of Charles I, 1612–1700', *The Historical Journal*, 43.2 (2000), 383–405

Sharpe, Kevin, and others, 'The Visual Turn in Early Modern German History and Historiography', *German History*, 30.4 (2012), 574–91

Sharpe, Kevin, and Peter Lake, 'Introduction', in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 1–20

Sharpe, Kevin, and Steven N. Zwicker, 'Introduction: discovering the Renaissance reader', in *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. by Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 1–37

_____, eds, *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Sheils, William, 'John Shawe and Edward Bowles: Civic Preachers at Peace and War', in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 209–33

Shell, Alison, 'Catholic texts and anti-Catholic prejudice in the 17th-century book trade', in *Censorship and the control of print in England and France 1600–1910*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1992), pp. 33–57

_____, 'Multiple Conversion and the Menippean Self: the Case of Richard Carpenter', in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti (Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1999), pp. 154–97

Sherlock, Peter, 'Episcopal Tombs in Early Modern England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 55.4 (2004), 654–80

_____, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008)

Sherman, William H., '“The Book thus put in every vulgar hand”: Impressions of Readers in Early English Printed Bibles', in *The Bible as Book: The First Printed Editions*, ed. by Paul Saenger and Kimberley van Kampen (London: British Library, 1999), pp. 125–33

_____, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008)

_____, 'What Did Renaissance Readers Write in Their Books?', in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. by Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 119–37

Simon, Irène, 'The preacher', in *Before Newton: The life and times of Isaac Barrow*, ed. by Mordechai Feingold (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 303–32

Simons, Patricia, 'The Flaming Heart: Pious and Amorous Passion in Early Modern European Medical and Visual Culture', in *The Feeling Heart in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Meaning, Embodiment, and Making*, ed. by Katie Barclay and Bronwyn Reddan (Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2019), pp. 19–42

Skinner, Quentin, *Visions of Politics, Volume 3: Hobbes and Civil Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Slenczka, Ruth, 'Lucas Cranach the Younger's Funeral Sermon as a Lutheran Treatise on Art', in *Visual Acuity and the Arts of Communication in Early Modern Germany*, ed. by Jeffrey Chipps Smith (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 103–17

Smith, Helen, *'Grossly Material Things': Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

_____, "Print[ing] your royal father off": Early Modern Female Stationers and the Gendering of the British Book Trades', *Text*, 15 (2003), 163–86

Smith, Hilda L., *All Men and Both Sexes: Gender, Politics, and the False Universal in England, 1640–1832* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002)

Smith, Hilda L., and Susan Cardinale, eds, *Women and the Literature of the Seventeenth Century: An Annotated Bibliography based on Wing's Short-title Catalogue* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990)

Smith, John Russell, *Bibliotheca Cantiana: A Bibliographical Account of What Has Been Published on the History, Topography, Antiquities, Customs, and Family Genealogy of the County of Kent* (London: John Russell Smith, 1837)

Smith, Julie A., 'An Image of a Preaching Bishop in Late Medieval England: The 1498 Woodcut Portrait of Bishop John Alcock', *Viator*, 21 (1990), 301–22

Smith, Nigel, *Andrew Marvell: The Chameleon* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2010)

_____, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640–1660* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1994)

Smyth, Adam, 'Book Marks: Object Traces in Early Modern Books', in *Early Modern English Marginalia*, ed. by Katherine Acheson (New York, NY and Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), pp. 51–69

_____, 'Little Clippings: Cutting and Pasting Bibles in the 1630s', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 45.3 (2015), 595–613

_____, *Material Texts in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)

_____, "Rend and teare in peeces": Textual Fragmentation in Seventeenth-Century England', *The Seventeenth Century*, 19.1 (2004), 36–52

Smyth, Adam, and Gill Partington, eds, *Book Destruction from the Medieval to the Contemporary* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014)

Snow, Vernon F., *Essex the Rebel: The Life of Robert Devereux, the Third Earl of Essex 1591–1646* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1970)

Sowerby, Tracey A., 'Negotiating the Royal Image: Portrait Exchanges in Elizabethan and Early Stuart Diplomacy', in *Early Modern Exchanges: Dialogues Between Nations and Cultures, 1550-1750*, ed. by Helen Hackett (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 119-41

Sparrow Simpson, W., 'English Chronograms', *Notes & Queries*, 4.135 (30 July 1870), 90-91

Spicer, Andrew, 'The material culture of early modern churches', in *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling and David Gaimster (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), pp. 82-97

Spraggon, Julie, *Puritan Iconoclasm during the English Civil War* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003)

Spufford, Margaret, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)

Spurr, John, *The Laity and Preaching in Post-Reformation England* (London: Dr Williams's Trust, 2013)

Stainton, Lindsay, and Christopher White, *Drawing in England from Hilliard to Hogarth* (London: British Museum, 1987)

Stanwood, P. G., 'Consolatory Grief in the Funeral Sermons of Donne and Taylor', in *Speaking Grief in English Literary Culture: Shakespeare to Milton*, ed. by Margo Swiss and David A. Kent (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 2002), pp. 197-216

_____, 'Critical Directions in the Study of Early Modern Sermons', in *Fault Lines and Controversies in the Study of Seventeenth-Century English Literature*, ed. by Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (Columbia, MO and London: University of Missouri Press, 2002), pp. 140-55

Starza Smith, Daniel, *John Donne and the Conway Papers: Patronage and Manuscript Circulation in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)

_____, 'This strange conglomerate of books', or 'Hobbs' Leviathan': Bishop Henry King's Library at Chichester Cathedral', in *Art, Literature and Religion in Early Modern Sussex: Culture and Conflict*, ed. by Matthew Dimmock, Andrew Hadfield and Paul Quinn (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 121-45

Stearns, Raymond Phineas, *The Strenuous Puritan: Hugh Peter 1598-1660* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1954)

Stelzer, Emanuel, *Portraits in Early Modern English Drama: Visual Culture, Play-texts, and Performances* (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2019)

Stephens, F. G., and M. D. George, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Division I: Political and Personal Satires*, 11 vols (London: Chiswick Press, 1870-1954)

Stern, Tiffany, 'Sermons, Plays and Note-Takers: *Hamlet* Q1 as a 'Noted' Text', *Shakespeare Survey*, 66 (2013), 1-23

Stern, Virginia F., *Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979)

Stewart, Alan, *The Oxford History of Life-Writing, Volume 2: Early Modern* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)

Stijnman, Ad, and Elizabeth Savage, eds, *Printing Colour 1400–1700: History, Techniques, Functions and Receptions* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2015)

_____, ‘Foreword’, in *Printing Colour 1400–1700: History, Techniques, Functions and Receptions*, ed. by Ad Stijnman and Elizabeth Savage (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2015), pp. ix–xi

Stoker, David, ‘Norwich ‘Publishing’ in the Seventeenth Century’, in *Printing Places: Locations of Book Production & Distribution Since 1500*, ed. by John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (London: The British Library, 2005), pp. 31–46

Stone, Lawrence, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965)

Stoyle, Mark, ‘Caricaturing Cymru: Images of the Welsh in the London Press 1642–46’, in *War and Society in Medieval and Early Modern Britain*, ed. by Diana Dunn (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 162–79

Strong, Roy, ‘Introduction: The Tudor Miniature: Mirror of an Age’, in Roy Strong and V. J. Murrell, *Artists of the Tudor Court: The Portrait Miniature Rediscovered 1520–1620* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983), pp. 9–13

Sweetnam, Mark, ‘The Caroline Sermon: Texts, Contexts, and Challenges’, *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 44 (2014), 215–31

Tarlow, Sarah, *Ritual, Belief and the Dead in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Taylor, Larissa, ed., *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2001)

_____, *Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992)

Taylor, Larissa Juliet, ‘Funeral sermons and orations as religious propaganda in sixteenth-century France’, in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 224–39

Thomas, Keith, ‘Art and Iconoclasm in Early Modern England’, in *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*, ed. by Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 16–40

_____, 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition*, ed. by Gerd Baumann (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), pp. 97–131

Tilbury, Clare, 'The Heraldry of the Twelve Tribes of Israel: An English Reformation Subject for Church Decoration', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 63.2 (2012), 274–305

Tittler, Robert, *The face of the city: Civic portraiture and civic identity in early modern England* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2007)

_____, 'The malleable moment in English portraiture, c. 1540–1640', in *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling and David Gaimster (Abingdon and New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), pp. 275–92

_____, *Portraits, Painters, and Publics in Provincial England, 1540–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

_____, 'Portraiture and Memory Amongst the Middling Elites in Post-Reformation England', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation*, ed. by Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 37–57

Trevor-Roper, Hugh, 'The Fast Sermons of the Long Parliament', in Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change* (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 294–344

Tromly, Frederic B., '"Accordinge to sounde religion": the Elizabethan controversy over the funeral sermon', *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 13.2 (1983), 293–312

Trubowitz, Rachel, 'Female Preachers and Male Wives: Gender and Authority in Civil War England', in *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution*, ed. by James Holstun (London: Frank Cass, 1992), pp. 112–33

Tudor-Craig, Pamela, 'Group Portraits of the Protestant Reformers', in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 87–102

Tung, Mason, 'Thomas Jenner's *The Soules Solace* (1626): A Study of Its Standing in the Development of the English Emblem Tradition', *Emblematica*, 14 (2005), 181–222

Tyacke, Nicholas, *Aspects of English Protestantism c. 1530–1700* (Manchester and New York, NY: Manchester University Press, 2001)

Valone, Carolyn, 'The Art of Hearing: Sermons and Images in the Chapel of Lucrezia della Rovere', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 31.3 (2000), 753–77

Verweij, Sebastiaan, 'Sermon Notes from John Donne in the Manuscripts of Francis Russell, Fourth Earl of Bedford', *English Literary Renaissance*, 46.2 (2016), 278–313

Voss, Paul J., 'Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29.3 (1998), 733–56

_____, ‘“Created Good and Faire”—The Fictive Imagination and Sacred Texts in Elizabethan England’, *Literature & Theology*, 14.2 (2000), 125–44

Vyroubalová, Ema, ‘Catholic and Puritan Conspiracies in Samuel Ward’s *The Double Deliverance* (1621)’, in *Puritans and Catholics in the Trans-Atlantic World 1600–1800*, ed. by Crawford Gribben and Scott Spurlock (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 47–65

Wabuda, Susan, ‘Bishops and the Provisions of Homilies, 1520 to 1547’, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25.3 (1994), 551–66

_____, *Preaching During the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

_____, ‘Triple-Deckers and Eagle Lecterns: Church Furniture for the Book in Late Medieval and Early Modern England’, *Studies in Church History*, 38 (2004), 143–52

Wackett, Jayne, ‘Examining the Unexpected: Printed Images in the Prayer Books of Edward VI and the Primers of Mary Tudor’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 105.1 (2014), 257–83

Wahrman, Dror, *Mr. Collier’s Letter Racks: A Tale of Art & Illusion at the Threshold of the Modern Information Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Walsham, Alexandra, ‘The Art of Iconoclasm and the Afterlife of the English Reformation’, in *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), pp. 81–115

_____, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1993)

_____, ‘Domesticating the Reformation: Material Culture, Memory, and Confessional Identity in Early Modern England’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 69 (2016), 566–616

_____, ‘Domme Preachers’? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print’, *Past & Present*, 168 (2000), 72–123

_____, ‘“The Fatall Vesper”: Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London’, *Past & Present*, 144 (1994), 36–87

_____, ‘Idols in the Frontispiece? Illustrating Religious Books in the Age of Iconoclasm’, in *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. by Feike Dietz and others (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 21–52

_____, ‘Impolitic pictures: providence, history, and the iconography of Protestant nationhood in early Stuart England’, *Studies in Church History*, 33 (1997), 307–28

_____, ‘In the Lord’s Vineyard: Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain’, in Alexandra Walsham, *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 1–49

_____, 'Inventing the Lollard Past: The Afterlife of a Medieval Sermon in Early Modern England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 58.4 (2007), 628–55

_____, 'Jewels for Gentlewomen: Religious Books as Artefacts in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', *Studies in Church History*, 38 (2004), 123–42

_____, 'Preaching without speaking: script, print and religious dissent', in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, ed. by Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 211–34

_____, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

_____, 'Recycling the Sacred: Material Culture and Cultural Memory after the English Reformation', *Church History*, 86.4 (2017), 1121–54

_____, 'The Reformation and "The Disenchantment of the World" Reassessed', *Historical Journal*, 51.2 (2008), 497–528

_____, 'The Reformation of the Generations: Youth, Age and Religious Change in England, c. 1500–1700', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 21 (2011), 93–121

_____, 'Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Vernacular Bible', *Journal of British Studies*, 42.2 (2003), 141–66

Walsham, Alexandra, and Julia Crick, 'Introduction: Script, print, and history', in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300–1700*, ed. by Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1–26

Wark, Robert R., *British Portrait Drawings 1600–1900: Twenty-five Examples from the Huntington Collection* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1982)

_____, *British Silver in the Huntington Collection* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1978)

_____, *Early British Drawings in the Huntington Collection 1600–1750* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1969)

Warnicke, Retha M., 'Eulogies for Women: Public Testimony of Their Godly Example and Leadership', in *Attending to Women in Early Modern England*, ed. by Betty S. Travitsky and Adele F. Seeff (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1994), pp. 168–86

Watson, J. R., *The English Hymn: A Critical and Historical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997)

Watson, Patricia Ann, *The Angelical Conjunction: The Preacher-Physicians of Colonial New England* (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991)

Watson, Robert N., *The Rest is Silence: Death as Annihilation in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994)

Watson, Róisín, 'Funeral Monuments, Ritual and Print: Strategies of Memorialization at the Württemberg Court', *Past & Present*, 234.12 (2017), 139–64

Watt, Tessa, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)

Webster, Tom, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England: The Caroline Puritan Movement c. 1620–1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997)

_____, 'Preaching and Parliament, 1640–1659', in *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon*, ed. by Peter McCullough, Hugh Adlington and Emma Rhatigan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 404–22

Weinstein, Minna F., 'Stephen Marshall and the Dilemma of the Political Puritan', *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 46.1 (1968), 1–25

Wells-Cole, Anthony, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558–1625* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1997)

Wendorf, Richard, 'Ut Pictura Biographia: Biography and Portrait Painting as Sister Arts', in *Articulate Images: The Sister Arts from Hogarth to Tennyson*, ed. by Richard Wendorf (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), pp. 98–124

White, Adam, 'England c. 1560–c. 1660: A Hundred Years of Continental Influence', *Church Monuments*, 7 (1992), 34–74

Whiting, Robert, *The Reformation of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

Wilks, Timothy, 'The Art and Architecture of War, Revolution, and Restoration', in *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution*, ed. by Michael J. Braddick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 483–98

Will, Kathryn, 'Literary and Dramatic Heraldry', in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare's England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 266–82

Willen, Diane, 'Thomas Gataker and the Use of Print in the English Godly Community', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 70.3 (2007), 343–64

Willetts, Pamela J., 'The Identity of Thomas Myriell', *Music & Letters*, 53.4 (1972), 431–33

Williams, Jr., Franklin B., 'Commendatory Verses: The Rise of the Art of Puffing', *Studies in Bibliography*, 19 (1966), 1–14

_____, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books before 1641* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1962)

Williams, Helen, “‘Alas, poor YORICK!’: Sterne’s Iconography of Mourning”, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 28.2 (2015–2016), 313–44

Williams, Hilary, *Rembrandt on Paper* (Los Angeles, CA: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009)

Williams, J. B., ‘Hugh Peters’, *Notes and Queries*, 11.8 (1913), 461–63

Williams, Richard L., ‘The Reformation of an Icon: Portraits of Christ in Protestant England’, in *Art Re-formed: Re-assessing the Impact of the Reformation on the Visual Arts*, ed. by Tara Hamling and Richard L. Williams (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 71–86

Williams, Tamsyn, ‘Magnetic Figures’: Polemical Prints of the English Revolution’, in *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540–1660*, ed. by Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), pp. 86–110

Willie, Rachel, ‘Sensing the Visual (Mis)representation of William Laud’, in *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), pp. 183–210

Willis, Jonathan, *The Reformation of the Decalogue: Religious Identity and the Ten Commandments in England, c. 1485–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017)

Winn Dabbs, Thomas, ‘The Extended Language of Religious Reform: Marking Up a Register for Early Modern Sermons’, paper presented at ‘Digital Humanities 2017’, Montréal, Canada, 8–11 August 2017, <<https://dh2017.adho.org/abstracts/294/294.pdf>> [accessed 20 April 2020]

Wizeman, SJ, William, ‘The Marian Counter-Reformation in Print’, in *Catholic Renewal and Protestant Resistance in Marian England*, ed. by Elizabeth Evenden and Vivienne Westbrook (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), pp. 143–64

_____, *The Theology and Spirituality of Mary Tudor’s Church* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006)

Wood, Sam, ‘The Funeral of Henry VII and the Drama of Death’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, ed. by Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 373–85

Woodcock, Thomas, and John Martin Robinson, *Heraldry in National Trust Houses* (London: The National Trust, 2000)

_____, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988)

Wooding, Lucy, ‘Reading the Crucifixion in Tudor England’, in *Discovering the Riches of the Word: Religious Reading in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Sabrina Corbellini, Margriet Hoogvliet and Bart Ramakers (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2015), pp. 282–310

_____, ‘“So sholde lewde men lerne by ymages’: Religious Imagery and Bible Learning’, in *The English Bible in the Early Modern World*, ed. by Robert Armstrong and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2018), pp. 29–52

Wooding, Lucy E. C., *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000)

Woodward, Jennifer, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England 1570–1625* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997)

Woolf, D. R., ‘Speech, Text, and Time: The Sense of Hearing and the Sense of the Past in Renaissance England’, *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 18.2 (1986), 159–93

Woolf, Daniel, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500–1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)

Wynne-Davies, Marion, ‘“With such a Wife ’tis heaven on earth to dwell’: Memorialising Early Modern Englishwomen’, *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 2 (2010),
<<http://www.northernrenaissance.org/with-such-a-wife-tis-heaven-on-earth-to-dwell-memorialising-early-modern-englishwomen/>> [accessed 10 August 2019]

Yamamoto-Wilson, John R., *Pain, Pleasure and Perversity: Discourses of Suffering in Seventeenth-Century England* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013)

Yip, Hannah, ‘“The text and the occasion mingled together make a chequer-worke, a mixture of black and white, mourning and joy”: Visual Elements of the Printed Funeral Sermon in Early Modern England’, in *What is an Image in Medieval and Early Modern England?*, ed. by Antoinina Bevan Zlatar and Olga Timofeeva (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), pp. 157–82

Young, Alan R., ‘Heraldry and Alternate Emblematic Forms in the Age of Shakespeare’, in *Heralds and Heraldry in Shakespeare’s England*, ed. by Nigel Ramsay (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), pp. 283–307

Yule, George, ‘James VI and I: furnishing the churches in his two kingdoms’, in *Religion, culture and society in early modern Britain: Essays in honour of Patrick Collinson*, ed. by Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 182–208

Unpublished Theses

Cooper, Tarnya, ‘Memento Mori Portraiture: Painting, Protestant Culture and the Patronage of the Middle Elites in England and Wales, 1540–1630’, 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 2001)

Counsell, Fiona Ann, ‘Domestic Religion in Seventeenth Century English Gentry Households’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2017)

Depold, Jennifer Rene, 'The martial Christ in the sermons of late medieval England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 2015)

Faber, Benne Klaas, 'The Poetics of Subversion and Conservatism: Popular Satire, c. 1640 – c. 1649' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1992)

Hanebaum, Simone, 'Textual monumentality and memory in early modern England, 1560–c. 1650' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2019)

Ingram, Juliet Amy, 'The Conscience of the Community: The Character and Development of Clerical Complaint in Early Modern England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2004)

Mackenzie, Jennifer, 'Renaissance Heraldry' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 2017)

McIntosh, Jeri L., 'English funeral sermons, 1560–1640: the relationship between gender and death, dying and the afterlife' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Oxford, 1990)

Morton, Adam Edward, 'Glaring at Anti-Christ: Anti-Papal Images in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1680', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2010)

Orlik, Susan Mary, 'The 'Beauty of Holiness' Revisited: An Analysis of Investment in Parish Church Interiors in Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltshire, 1560–1640', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 2018)

Painting Stubbs, Clare Elizabeth, 'Abraham Fleming: writer, cleric and preacher in Elizabethan and Jacobean London' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011)

Rigney, James, 'The English Sermon, 1640–1660: Consuming the Fire' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1994)

Wilkie, Vanessa Jean, "'Such Daughters and Such a Mother': The Countess of Derby and her Three Daughters, 1560–1647' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California, Riverside, 2009)

Will, Kathryn Karen, 'Cultivating Heraldic Histories in Early Modern English Literature' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 2014)

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Ashton, Robert, 'Gayer, Sir John (*bap.* 1584, *d.* 1649)',
<<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10477>> [accessed 10 September 2018]

Bickley, A. C., 'Fenner, William (c. 1600–c. 1640)', rev. by Mark Robert Bell,
<<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9291>> [accessed 15 June 2020]

Blom, J., and F. Blom, 'Austin, John [*pseud.* William Birchley] (1613–1669)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/908>> [accessed 18 June 2020]

Burns, William E., 'Carpenter, Richard (1604/5–1670?)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4739>> [accessed 7 February 2020]

Cranfield, Nicholas W. S., 'Corbett, Richard (1582–1635)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6292>> [accessed 2 January 2019]

_____, 'Howe, Josias (*bap.* 1612, *d.* 1701)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13960>> [accessed 11 June 2020]

Cust, L. H., 'Gifford, George (*fl.* 1632–1635)', rev. by Antony Griffiths, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10659>> [accessed 6 February 2020]

Dever, Mark E., 'Sibbes [Sibs], Richard (1577?–1635)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25498>> [accessed 23 January 2020]

Donagan, Barbara, 'Kem, Samuel (1604–1670)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15314>> [accessed 7 February 2020]

Durston, Christopher, 'Hewson, John, appointed Lord Hewson under the protectorate (*fl.* 1630–1660)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13157>> [accessed 4 January 2019]

Fielding, J., 'Dod, John (1550–1645)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7729>> [accessed 14 January 2019]

Gibson, Kenneth, 'Burton, Henry (*bap.* 1578, *d.* 1647/8)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4129>> [accessed 7 February 2020]

Greaves, Richard L., 'Venner, Thomas (1608/9–1661)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28191>> [accessed 10 January 2019]

Green, Ian, 'Warner, John (*bap.* 1581, *d.* 1666)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28758>> [accessed 18 September 2019]

Healy, Simon, 'Harington, John, second Baron Harington of Exton (*bap.* 1592, *d.* 1614)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12328>> [accessed 6 October 2019]

Humphreys, Jennett, 'Cheyne [*née* Cavendish], Lady Jane', rev. by Sean Kelsey, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5261>> [accessed 17 September 2019]

Jenkins, Gary W., 'Balmford, James (*b. c.* 1556, *d.* after 1623)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1245>> [accessed 10 September 2018]

Jennings, Stuart B., 'Palmer, Thomas (*b.* 1611/12, *d.* in or after 1667)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21219>> [accessed 6 February 2020]

Knowles, James, ‘Hastings [*née* Stanley], Elizabeth, countess of Huntingdon (*bap.* 1587, *d.* 1633)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/40549>> [accessed 6 October 2019]

Larminie, Vivienne, ‘Bamford [Balmford], Samuel (*d.* 1657)’, <<https://doi.org/10.109/ref:odnb/1246>> [accessed 10 September 2018]

Larminie, Vivienne, and Tim Wales, ‘Nye, John (*bap.* 1620, *d.* 1686?)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/20415>> [accessed 13 June 2020]

Lee, Sidney, ‘Fletcher, Joseph (1582/3–1637)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9734>> [accessed 30 May 2020]

Lewis, G., ‘Topsell, Edward (*bap.* 1572, *d.* 1625)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/27557>> [accessed 10 June 2020]

MacCaffrey, Wallace T., ‘Hatton, Sir Christopher (*c.* 1540–1591)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12605>> [accessed 10 September 2018]

McDermott, Roger N., ‘Nalton, James (*c.* 1600–1662)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19735>> [accessed 2 February 2020]

McLellan, Ian William, ‘Gayton, Edmund (1608–1666)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10480>> [accessed 17 June 2020]

Mendelson, Sara H., ‘Rich [*née* Boyle], Mary, countess of Warwick (1624–1678)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23487>> [accessed 10 October 2019]

Morrill, John, ‘Devereux, Robert, third earl of Essex (1591–1646)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7566>> [accessed 8 October 2019]

Parkin, Jon, ‘Pierce [Peirse], Thomas (1621/2–1691)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22226>> [accessed 10 September 2018]

Patterson, W. B., ‘Fuller, Thomas (1607/8–1661)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10236>> [accessed 18 September 2019]

Peacey, J. T., ‘Hewitt [Hewytt, Hewett], John (*bap.* 1614, *d.* 1658)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13147>> [accessed 7 February 2020]

Prior, Mary, ‘Wilkinson [*née* Gifford], Elizabeth (1612/13–1654)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/66353>> [accessed 28 May 2020]

Seaver, P. S., ‘Caryl, Joseph (1602–1673)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4846>> [accessed 31 December 2018]

Speck, W. A., ‘Sacheverell, Henry (*bap.* 1674, *d.* 1724)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24440>> [accessed 12 January 2019]

Stanwood, P. G., ‘Benlowes, Edward (1602–76)’, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2097>> [accessed 2 January 2019]

Tillbrook, Michael, 'James, William (1542-1617)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14623>> [accessed 10 September 2018]

Vernon, E. C., 'Love, Christopher (1618-1651)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17038>> [accessed 7 February 2020]

Wright, Stephen, 'Vicars, Thomas (1589-1638)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28265>> [accessed 10 September 2018]

Wroth, W. W., 'Simon, Thomas (*bap.* 1618, *d.* 1665)', rev. by Matthew Craske and Lesley Craske, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/25577>> [accessed 9 October 2019]

Yiannikou, Jason, 'Rogers, John (c. 1570-1636)', <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23982>> [accessed 8 June 2020]

Zim, Rivkah, 'Batman [Bateman], Stephan [Stephen]' (c. 1542-1584), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1704>> [accessed 5 October 2019]

Other Web Resources

<<http://blackpage73.blogspot.com>> [information about the 'Black Page' exhibition, Shandy Hall, accessed 25 August 2019]

<<https://www.europeanheraldry.org/united-kingdom/ireland/lords-lieutenant-ireland/commonwealth-1649-1660/>> [information about the arms of Henry Ireton (*bap.* 1611, *d.* 1651), accessed 26 August 2019]

<<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/atherton-richard-1656-87>> [information about Richard Atherton (c. 1656-1687), accessed 9 August 2019]

<<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/broughton-richard-1542-1604>> [information about Richard Broughton (1542-1604), accessed 14 September 2018]

<<https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/lewknor-sir-edward-ii-1587-1618>> [information about Edward Lewkenor II (1587-1618), accessed 27 August 2019]

<<http://www.jermy.org/nj-williamj-hallmedal.html>> [information about the medal presented to Joseph Hall (1574-1656) at the Synod of Dort, accessed 28 September 2019]

<<https://www.kentarchaeology.org.uk/research/monumental-inscriptions/wye>> [information about the ledger stone for Elizabeth Cole (d. 1651) at Wye, Kent, accessed 10 August 2019]

<<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/435918>> [information about Edwaert Collier, *Vanitas Still Life* (1662), accessed 17 April 2020]

<<http://vba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-HUW0-LLY-1552.html>> [information about Huw Llŷn (fl. 1532–1594), accessed 14 September 2018]

Algar, Christian, ‘Visual Verses: John Vicars’s God in the Mount, or Jehova-jireh, 1641’ (2017), <<https://blogs.bl.uk/english-and-drama/2017/03/visual-verses-john-vicarss-god-in-the-mount-or-jehova-jireh-1641.html>> [accessed 9 August 2019]

_____, ‘Visual Verses: Thomas Watson’s Hekatompathia, or Passionate Century of Love, 1582’ (2016), <<https://blogs.bl.uk/english-and-drama/2016/08/visual-verses-thomas-watsons-hekatompahia-or-passionate-century-of-love-1582.html>> [accessed 9 August 2019]

American Sermons, 1652–1819, <<https://www.readex.com/content/american-sermons-series-1-2-1652-1819>>

Chess, Simone, ‘Woodcuts: Methods and Meanings of Ballad Illustration’ (2007), <<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/woodcuts>> [accessed 11 June 2020]

The Clergy of the Church of England Database, <<http://theclergydatabase.org.uk>>

Crossman, Colette, ‘Seeing the Sacred: Burne-Jones’s Reception as a “Great Religious Painter”’, *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, 14.2 (2015), <<http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/summer15/crossman-on-burne-jones-s-reception-as-a-great-religious-painter>> [accessed 14 April 2020]

Early English Books Online (EEBO), <<https://search.proquest.com/legacyredirect/eebo>>

‘Early Modern Visual Marginalia’ (2015), <<http://www.crash.cam.ac.uk/events/26149>> [accessed 20 January 2020]

Early Stuart Libels, <<https://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/index.html>>

‘Elizabethan Treasures: Miniatures by Hilliard & Oliver’ (2019), <<https://www.npg.org.uk/whatson/elizabethan-treasures/exhibition/>> [accessed 6 October 2019]

The English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), <<http://estc.bl.uk>>

GEMMS – Gateway to Early Modern Manuscript Sermons, <<https://gemms.itercommunity.org>>

Hamling, Tara, and Jonathan Willis, eds, *After Iconophobia? An Online Symposium* (2017), <<https://manyheadedmonster.wordpress.com/2017/03/20/after-iconophobia/>> [accessed 20 April 2020]

‘Heraldry in the Medieval City: The Case of Italy in the European Context’ (2015), <<https://heraldica.hypotheses.org/3350>> [accessed 20 August 2018]

‘The Holme Family’, V&A online catalogue, <<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O51693/the-holme-family-painting-unknown/>> [accessed 1 January 2019]

James, Anne, 'August 5, 1616: Remembering the Gowrie Conspiracy' (2016), <<http://gemmsproject.blogspot.com/search/label/James%20Cleland>> [accessed 11 September 2018]

Journal of the House of Commons, 2 (12 July 1641), <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol2/pp206-208#h3-0002>> [accessed 14 January 2019]

Journal of the House of Commons, 3 (15 December 1643), <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol3/pp341-342>> [accessed 26 August 2019]

Journal of the House of Commons, 4 (15 September 1646), <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/commons-jrnl/vol4/pp668-670>> [accessed 1 October 2019]

Knopp, Katrin Simona, 'Castrum doloris', in *Encyclopedia of Early Modern History Online*, ed. by Graeme Dunphy and Andrew Gow (2015), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2352-0272_emho_COM_029030> [accessed 21 September 2019]

Manuscript Pamphleteering in Early Stuart England, <<https://mpese.ac.uk>>

North, Marcy L., 'Early Modern Anonymity', *Oxford Handbooks Online* (2015), <<https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935338-e-12>> [accessed 1 June 2020]

'Preaching Death in Early Modern France and England: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' (2012), <<https://preachingdeath.wordpress.com/presentation>> [accessed 22 April 2020]

'Printing and Misprinting: Typographical Mistakes and Publishers' Corrections (1450–1650)' (2018), <http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2018/03/Programme_PrintingMisprinting_Final.pdf> [accessed 6 January 2019]

'Remembering the Reformation' digital exhibition, Cambridge University Library, <<https://exhibitions.lib.cam.ac.uk/reformation/>> [accessed 24 April 2020]

'Sterne's publications' digital exhibition, Cambridge University Library, <<https://exhibitions.lib.cam.ac.uk/laurencesterne/artifacts/black-page/>> [accessed 25 August 2019]

'Townships: Birtle-with-Bamford', <<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/lancs/vol5/pp174-176>> [accessed 6 October 2019]

'Tudor color printing' digital exhibition, Cambridge University Library, <<https://exhibitions.lib.cam.ac.uk/tudorcolour/case/introduction/>> [accessed 7 September 2018]

Virtual St. Paul's Cathedral Project, <<https://vpcp.chass.ncsu.edu>> [accessed 22 April 2020]

Waddington, Raymond B., 'Pietro Aretino', *Oxford Bibliographies*, online edn (2016), <<https://doi.org/10.1093/OBO/9780195399301-0308>> [accessed 2 January 2019]

Yip, Hannah, 'Silent Preaching: Laypeople's Manuscript Sermons, c. 1530 - c. 1700' (2019),
<<http://gemmsproject.blogspot.com/2019/03/>> [accessed 17 June 2020]

