University of Alberta

Marketing Salvation: Devotional Handbooks for Early Modern Householders

by

Amie Lynn Shirkie

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

English

English and Film Studies

Spring 2014
Edmonton, Alberta

Dedication

To my parents, with love.

Abstract

My doctoral dissertation examines early modern English devotional handbooks, which were designed to instruct the laity on the tenets of the Protestant religion and help them navigate the religious upheavals of the sixteenth century. As part of their wide-ranging efforts to educate the laity, reformers collaborated with printers to create vernacular books of private prayer and doctrinal instruction. Although many devotional handbooks were composed by members of the clergy, the affordability of print and the accessibility of vernacular scripture empowered laymen and women to transform themselves into authors, as they selected prayers and marked their favorite passages, even composing devotional handbooks of their own.

Adapting the model of a communications circuit, I explore the production, circulation, and use of devotional handbooks, tracing the connections between authors, who were also readers and sometimes directly involved in the printing of their prayer books, printers, and readers, who, in the act of using and marking their books and composing prayers of their own, fused the circuit by becoming authors. I expand my analysis of the sociology of devotional handbooks by taking into account early modern expectations of gender and performance.

In chapter one, "Abraham Fleming and the Development of a 'Godly' Rhetoric," I examine the collaboration between Abraham Fleming, prolific translator, author, and 'learned corrector' and Henry Denham, one of the period's most renowned printers of devotional material. In chapter two, "Thomas Bentley and the Feminine 'Face of the Church Militant,'" I explore the political and

religious agenda of Thomas Bentley, author and compiler of The Monument of Matrones (1582) and the performative possibilities his prayers open up to his women readers. Chapter Three, “Anne Wheathill’s Spiritual Medicine from ‘the garden of Gods holie word,’” demonstrates how Anne Wheathill used her devotional reading to create prayers of her own in A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs (1584). In my final chapter, “The Practice of Piety,” I expand on my theoretical analysis of early modern reading and writing practices in a survey of readers’ marginalia in devotional handbooks.

Acknowledgements

As my graduate research draws to a close, I am humbled by the huge debt of gratitude I owe to my mentors, friends, and family members, whose kindness, patience, and support have sustained me these many years.

I have been extremely fortunate to work with a group of talented and wise scholars over the course of my graduate career. I thank my supervisor, Dr. Sylvia Brown, for her sharing her expertise and encouragement. Her excellent advice and sensible approach to teaching and research have served as my model for emulation and have furthered my intellectual and personal growth. I could not have conceived of this version of my dissertation without her guidance. I am deeply grateful for the wisdom and kindness of my PhD committee members, Dr. David Gay, whose excellence as a scholar is equaled by his compassion and generosity as a friend and mentor, and Dr. Patricia Demers, who introduced me to Anne Wheathill and has been an inspiration to me for many years. I thank my external examiner, Dr. Edith Snook, whose work has had an important impact on my own research, and whose stimulating questions and judicious insights made my PhD defence a rewarding and exciting experience. Many thanks to my examiners Dr. Rick Bowers and Dr. Beverly Lemire for sharing invaluable suggestions and enthusiasm, and to Dr. Stephen Reimer for ensuring that my defence ran smoothly. Finally, I thank my M.A. supervisor, Dr. Ronald Cooley, who inspired me to study devotional handbooks and encouraged me to pursue graduate research.

I am grateful to the University of Alberta and the Department of English and Film Studies for providing financial support throughout my studies and a challenging, collegial environment in which to learn. Many thanks to the helpful, knowledgeable staff of the University of Alberta's Bruce Peel Special Collections Library, as well as the Folger Shakespeare Library, for allowing me to make use of their collections.

I am profoundly grateful to my support network of friends and colleagues who have shared with me joy, food, laughter, and crucial advice: Jessica Antonio Lomanowska, Mary Chan, Theo Finigan, Joel Fonstad, Bonnie Hughes,

Janis Ledwell-Hunt, Tram Nguyen, Matthew Rea, Laura Schechter, Melissa Stephens, and Kevin Ziegler. Above all, I am thankful for the unconditional love and unwavering support of my family: my parents, Debbie and Andy Shirkie, my sisters, Camille and Janice Shirkie, and my partner, Dean Ziegler.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

My doctoral dissertation examines early modern English devotional handbooks as instruments of spiritual and communal socialization and vehicles for the development of an authorial voice for the emergent Protestant laity. Devotional handbooks are artifacts of a developing juncture between print and piety, stimulated by the English Reformation and the growth of England's printing and bookselling industry. As reformers worked to make vernacular scripture available to readers across the social spectrum and the printing press lowered the cost and quickened the pace of book production, sixteenth-century men and women were offered access to an unprecedented variety of English devotional materials: Bibles, commentaries, paraphrases, concordances, Psalters, liturgies, sermons, catechisms, treatises on godly living and dying, biographies of exemplary Protestants (as well as cautionary tales), and a host of religious printed ephemera. As part of their wide-ranging efforts to educate the laity about the reformed religion and to foster adherence and, ideally, attachment to its tenets, reformers composed books of private and household prayer as supplements to the public worship prescribed by Church and state. On the principle that "use can...change the stamp of nature" (*Hamlet* 3.4.158), devotional handbooks directed the laity's habits of worship in the hopes of transforming their readers' inner natures. Many of these devotional handbooks were composed by members of the clergy to ensure continued reformation in every aspect of their readers' lives; yet even as devotional handbooks served as instruments of ideological discipline, they also empowered laymen and women to position themselves as spiritual leaders, guiding their households and communities with their knowledge of prayer and doctrine. Readers transformed themselves into authors as they selected prayers and marked their favorite passages, forging personal connections to the divine and even composing prayers of their own. As Ian Green's study *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* demonstrates, the market for Protestant print was extremely lucrative and devotional handbooks made up many of the period's best-sellers. Yet, despite their popularity and influence, devotional

handbooks have rarely been the subjects of sustained critical attention. This is an unfortunate omission, as devotional handbooks promise to provide new insights into the complexities of religious culture in early modern England and to illustrate the avenues chosen by authors to market private devotion to the masses.

My study seeks to rehabilitate our understanding of 'common' prayer in the early modern period as a spiritually generative practice, enabling personal expression and community formation. My analysis interweaves the histories of the book and reading with those of early modern religious belief, theories of education, and household practices. I am particularly interested in the role of devotional handbooks in the formation of gendered subjectivities. Rather than focusing exclusively on what devotional handbooks instruct readers to do, I explore the possibilities this genre creates for its authors—women and men across the social hierarchy—to transform their devotional reading into spiritual authority, not only to instruct the 'common' reader but also to admonish the Church and state. I define devotional handbooks as books of private and household prayer, designed to be recited individually or collectively, primarily, but not exclusively, within the home, as opposed to prayers issued by the state-sponsored Church of England to be recited during public worship. I distinguish devotional handbooks from other pious printed materials like commentaries, catechisms, sermons, and Psalters, although devotional handbooks frequently incorporate elements of each. The devotional handbooks I examine offer their readers combinations of occasional and routine prayers, doctrinal instruction, treatises on Christian duty, topically organized passages of scripture, and exposition on tenets like the Lord's Prayer, the Common Creed, and the Ten Commandments. Thomas Bentley's *Monument of Matrones*, which combines an anthology of contemporary women's religious writing with prayers for occasions as diverse as earthquakes and childbirth, instructions on women's duties, and an encyclopedia of famous historical and biblical women, demonstrates the potential breadth of the genre, but its focus on prayer unites *The Monument* with the other devotional handbooks I have chosen to examine. Indeed, prayer is as much the focal point of my study as

print. I do not see the devotional handbook merely as the religious counterpart of the courtly or secular conduct manual, although both aim to transform reading subjects by shaping their speech, thoughts, and behaviour; rather, I argue that the devotional handbook demands a more intimate and active response than a conduct book, guiding its readers in a process of "soul-fashioning" (Brown, *Pilgrim* 7) that engages the emotions, the intellect, the body and the voice in forging a private and collective connection to the divine.

The aim of my study is not only to introduce scholars of early modern literature and history to a genre of popular print influential in its own time, though often overlooked in our own, but also to examine devotional handbooks as manuals in a literal sense—books written, printed, purchased, held, read, internalized, and marked by the hands of the many people involved in their production and circulation. Adapting Robert Darnton's model of a communications circuit, I explore the production, circulation, and use of devotional handbooks, tracing the connections between authors, who were also readers and sometimes (in the case of Abraham Fleming) directly involved in the printing of their works, printers (and their employees, for although difficult to identify in the historical record, the activities of these often-anonymous workers made an indelible impact on the text), and readers, who, in the act of using and marking their books and sometimes composing prayers of their own, fused the circuit by becoming authors (11).[1] I expand my analysis of the sociology of devotional handbooks by taking into account early modern expectations of gender and performance. While acknowledging that women participated in print culture, general histories of the early modern book tend to conceive of authors, printers, and readers as universally male, while gynocentric studies tend to isolate the activities of women authors, printers, and readers from those of their male counterparts. Instead, I examine the devotional writing and reading practices of

[1] Darnton also includes the publisher, shipper, and bookseller in his model of the communications circuit (11), participants in the early modern book trade I will not examine in detail, partly due to lack of specific information about their activities, and partly because in sixteenth-century England, the positions of publisher, printer, and bookseller were not yet fully distinct (Johns 60).

both men and women for, although devotional handbooks often target a particular gender and/or class of readers, they were household items, read aloud to and used in common by men, women, children, and domestic servants. Though associated with private devotion, these prayers might be performed individually in a private chamber or closet, collectively in the presence of one's family members, servants, or neighbours, or even in the church as a supplement to public worship. The range of readers and options for the performance of prayer promoted by devotional handbooks is much wider, and the lines dividing readers based on gender, education, and class much less clearly demarcated, than is often acknowledged.

Robert Darnton suggests that the parts of the communications circuit "do not take on their full significance unless they are related to the whole" (11). To keep my examination within the manageable proportions of a dissertation-length study, I offer a historical snapshot of the early modern English devotional handbook's production and reception, showcasing in each chapter different possibilities for understanding its literary, historical, and religious significance and suggesting fruitful intersections between literary analysis and the history of the book. Each chapter is organized around an author and his or her devotional writing and is meant to highlight one or more aspects of the communications circuit. Chapter One, "Abraham Fleming and the Development of a 'Godly' Rhetoric," examines the devotional writing and printing activities of Abraham Fleming, prolific translator, author, and 'learned corrector' in the employ of Henry Denham. Chapter Two, "Thomas Bentley and the Feminine 'Face of the Church Militant,'" outlines the political and religious agenda of Thomas Bentley, author and compiler of *The Monument of Matrones* (1582) and the performative possibilities his prayers open up to his women readers. Chapter Three, "Anne Wheathill's Spiritual Medicine from 'the garden of Gods holie word,'" demonstrates how Anne Wheathill uses her reading to compose and authorize prayers of her own in *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs* (1584). In a final chapter entitled "The Practice of Piety," I expand on my theoretical analysis of early modern reading and writing practices in a survey of readers'

marginalia in devotional handbooks housed in the Folger Shakespeare Library and the University of Alberta's Bruce Peel Special Collections Library.

The communication circuit I trace is an adaptation of Darnton's model—rather than following one author or one devotional handbook through each phase of the communications circuit, I highlight multiple phases of the communications circuit in a small sample of devotional handbooks produced in close chronological, geographical, and social proximity in order to contextualize their religious, political, and gendered implications. Each of these devotional handbooks was printed in London between 1579 and 1584 in Henry Denham's print shop at the sign of the Star. It is possible that Abraham Fleming served as a 'learned corrector' for each. Each of the writers I examine falls under the broad label of 'Protestant' and wrote to bolster adherence to their faith under political pressure, though each pursues a unique social and religious agenda. The varied careers of authors I examine suggests the possibilities of reaching a wider public through print in this period: Abraham Fleming, sizar of Cambridge, who subsidized a protracted undergraduate career by composing pamphlets and devotional handbooks and working as a proof-corrector; Thomas Bentley, graduate of Grey's Inn, a socially-mobile antiquarian and churchwarden of Saint Andrew Holborn; and Anne Wheathill, a gentlewoman of whose life we know very little, but whose lively faith and erudition are revealed in the pages of her prayer book. Together, my chapters present a microcosm of sixteenth-century print and piety that enhances our understanding of early modern English literary and religious culture.

Old Forms and New Traditions: The Production of Orthodoxy

What critical attention devotional handbooks have received has been directed towards gauging continuity and change in debates over the 'success' of the English Reformation. The traditional thesis of the Reformation in England, as outlined by historians like A.G. Dickens, is that official changes in religious policy were enthusiastically embraced by the populace, who, despite centuries of faithful adherence, deemed the Roman Catholic Church to be in desperate need of

reform. This traditionalist view posits a remarkably uncomplicated conversion of the laity and cites the Reformation as a key influence in the development of English nationalism (Patterson, *Domesticating* 26); however, critics like Edwin Jones and Robert Whiting demonstrate that this argument overlooks a host of competing and contradictory evidence in order to reinforce a 'Whiggish' national mythology. Eamon Duffy and Christopher Haigh, among others, have revised this thesis considerably, contesting both the pace and success of the Reformation. In *The Stripping of the Altars*, Eamon Duffy represents the advent of Protestantism as a violent disruption of time-honoured patterns of Catholic devotion that exerted "an enormously strong, diverse, and vigorous hold over the imagination and the loyalty of the people up to the very moment of Reformation" (4). Christopher Haigh argues that the Reformation in England was an unpopular movement, brought about "against the wishes of the nation" by the "machinations of a tiny power elite" (11-12). But, as Norman Jones asks, if the Reformation was so unpopular, "How, then, did England come to be so Protestant by the mid-seventeenth century that a bloody civil war would be fought over what kind of Protestants to be rather than, as might have been predicted, over whether to be Catholic again?" (274). Patrick Collinson, Norman Jones, Diarmaid MacCulloch, and Nicholas Tyacke, among others, have worked to uncover the progress of Reformation in England, emphasising a gradual process of transformation that was consolidated around 1580. But questions remain about how this process of Protestantization was achieved. The "missing equation," suggests Norman Jones, is the recovery of "the actual process of reform": "We have to ask how individuals, families, and institutions negotiated the changes" (274). It is to answer these questions that scholars have turned to devotional handbooks, to excavate the experiences of 'ordinary' English men and women. Because they were designed to appeal to the laity and were made available for purchase, rather than imposed by Church and state, devotional handbooks offer a tantalizing glimpse into the private preferences and spiritual practices of their readers. In her pioneering 1951 study *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion*, Helen White

suggests that devotional handbooks "may well be expected to afford a more direct and more dependable way to the understanding of the religious consciousness of much of sixteenth-century England than any other single avenue of approach now available to us" (3-4).

Although the devotional handbook was an important tool in the Protestant campaign to win adherents to the reformed religion, its roots lie in the Catholic tradition. Helen White traces the development of the Protestant devotional handbook from its medieval antecedents, the Psalter, Primer, and Book of Hours. Designed as guides to private meditation as well as participation in the Mass, these books offered the laity a slice of monastic life, providing a simplified version of the daily round of devotion performed by monks and nuns, including the 'Little Hours' of the Virgin, the Gradual and Penitential Psalms, the Litany of the Saints, and the Office of the Dead, as well as prayers and instructions on Christian duty (Duffy, *Marking* 6). Despite the fact that these beautifully illustrated manuscripts were prohibitively expensive, they were very popular with the laity. Eamon Duffy postulates that "if not quite 'books for everybody', they penetrated a long way down the social scale" (*Marking* 4), especially after the advent of print lowered the cost of book production. The common association of manuscript production with Catholicism and print with Protestantism is, as Duffy shows, erroneous, as the majority of Books of Hours were printed by the beginning of the sixteenth century; so is the presumed Protestant monopoly on vernacular education, as the Catholic Primers and Books of Hours included English material by the end of the fifteenth century (Duffy, *Marking* 121; Salter, "The Uses of English" 114). The situation in England outlined by Duffy is that on the eve of the Reformation, printed vernacular Books of Hours were more popular than ever as print made them more affordable to a wider socio-economic spectrum of the laity; furthermore, he posits that Books of Hours were becoming "more, not less, Catholic—more sacramental, more churchly, more fortified, and enhanced with indulgences and pious promises" (*Marking* 121). How, then, did the reformers transform these books into tools of Protestant indoctrination and anti-

Catholic propaganda? What role did the devotional handbook play in the conversion of the English laity?

In their recent study *Cognitive Ecologies and the History of Remembering*, Evelyn Tribble and Nicholas Keene discuss the efforts of reformers to forge a new cognitive ecology in which to educate the laity, suggesting that reformers broke with the mnemonic scaffolds of Catholicism to forge a new set of material artifacts and social surrounds for newly converted Protestants to *think with* (16); however, the study of devotional handbooks reinforces larger arguments for continuity and gradual change in the progress of the Reformation. Throughout the long and often laborious process of religious change in England, reformers recognized the influence of private devotional literature and adopted elements of Catholic Primers and Books of Hours, editing, adapting, and expunging as necessary in order to make them consistent with the Protestant platform (White, "Sixteenth Century" 443). Examining the similarities between Catholic Books of Hours and Protestant devotional handbooks, Eamon Duffy argues that the reformers harnessed "old forms to smuggle in the new religion" (*Marking* 171). Elisabeth Salter rejects Duffy's assessment of the Protestant devotional handbook as a "Trojan horse" as cynical; rather than attempting to deceive the laity, Salter suggests that the authors of devotional handbooks drew on successful strategies for 'oralisation' used in Catholic devotional literature, such as doggerel rhyme and proverbs, in order to facilitate their education (*Popular Reading* 79). This level of continuity between the Catholic and Protestant traditions was meant to ease the laity's conversion and help them to cope with religious upheaval (Marsh 29). Each of the devotional handbooks I examine adapts the daily regimen of prayer prescribed by Catholic Books of Hours by presenting prayers to be recited throughout the reader's daily round of activities, rather than according to the canonical hours. But although adapting Catholic patterns appears to have been a well-established practice, Thomas Bentley expresses some discomfort with the proximity between reformist and Catholic strategies. In his preface, he attempts to distance his regimen of prayer from the Catholic tradition, directing his readers

not to assume "by anie method, order, diuision, title, direction, or application, that you shall find in this booke, or anie part therof, that I go about nicelie, curiouslie, or strictlie to inioine you to observe hours, daies, feasts, times, or seasons" (B3). Bentley's disclaimer suggests that reformers did not borrow heedlessly. They recognized the value of hundreds of years of corporate experience in educating the laity, but they also worked to develop their own methods and models to distinguish their prayers from those of their predecessors.

The devotional handbooks I examine were published in the latter half of Elizabeth I's reign, a period which Judith Maltby describes as a "crucial period of consolidation" for the Church of England (17). Their focus is less on converting the laity from Catholicism to Protestantism than on delineating the kind of Protestants their readers should become. Eamon Duffy has argued that on Elizabeth's accession, many of her subjects were still Catholic in terms of theology, if not in allegiance to the Pope. The 1559 Elizabethan Settlement promoted compromise and continuity in order to persuade, rather than compel, the people to relinquish their traditional beliefs and willingly adopt the tenets of Protestantism (*Marking* 167). Yet a vocal and influential contingent of zealous reformers, who had hoped that Elizabeth would rebuild the Church of England on the model of Geneva and abolish all vestiges of 'papistry,' considered the resultant national Church "'but halfly reformed'" (Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan* 25-26). Patrick Collinson's seminal work *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967) traces the breach that opened early in Elizabeth's reign between members of the clergy and ecclesiastical government who were satisfied with the religious settlement and those who agitated for further reform. Ardent reformists objected to remnants of Roman Catholicism in the Church of England, including the vestments and surplice worn by the clergy, the signing of the cross in baptism, the giving of the ring in marriage, the purification of women after childbirth, baptism by midwives, and kneeling at communion, amongst other grievances (36). Unlike Roman Catholic recusants or Protestant separatists, the 'puritans' Collinson delineates, also termed the 'godly,' 'hotter' sorts of Protestants, and non-

conformists by historians, remained within the national Church but resisted some of its practices and campaigned for thoroughgoing change. Cambridge radicals like Thomas Cartwright, John Field, and Thomas Wilcox argued for the abolition of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the Admonition controversy of the early 1570s, while Archbishop of Canterbury Edmund Grindal urged stronger penalties for Roman Catholic recusants and promoted more rigorous standards of education for the ministry. Catholic attacks on Protestants on the Continent, such as the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre and the Spanish assault on Protestants in the Low Countries, as well as events at home, such as the Northern Rebellion of Catholic nobles in 1569, the excommunication of Elizabeth I in 1570, and the arrival of Catholic missionaries in 1574, consolidated support for the reformist position and hostility towards recusants (MacCulloch 36-37). Collinson outlines the ascendancy of radical Protestant activism under Archbishop Grindal, epitomized by the practice of collective, open-air exercises in preaching and scriptural disquisition known as 'prophesyings.' Elizabeth objected to Archbishop Grindal's support of prophesying and suspended him from office in 1576. After Grindal's disgrace, a new generation of conservative Protestant bishops, "wholly unsympathetic to the puritan cause," rose to prominence, including John Aylmer, Edmund Freke, and John Whitgift (Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan* 201). In response to Spanish threats of invasion, the incursions of Jesuits, and ongoing plots involving Mary Queen of Scots, Elizabeth took steps to consolidate the Church of England against threats from either side of the confessional divide, imposing severe penalties on seminary priests and Catholic recusants and instructing her bishops to rein in the puritan clergy (MacCulloch 47-48). On his succession to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1583, John Whitgift demanded subscription to articles signalling unqualified approval for the Book of Common Prayer in its entirety from all members of the beneficed clergy, a measure which hundreds of ministers refused (Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan* 263). In response to nation-wide protest and political pressure, Whitgift relented in the summer of 1584, accepting conditional or limited subscription to these articles, but his

measures effectively hardened party lines between moderate and extreme puritanism (Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan* 272). The late 1570s and early 1580s marked what many scholars now believe was the true break with Catholicism for the majority of the English population, but it may also have marked the emergence of puritan separatists (MacCulloch 159).

The aim of Collinson's work—and the result of his considerable influence on Reformation studies in England—has been to problematize the "puritan" / "Anglican" divide by situating Elizabethan puritanism as a movement arising within the Church of England. Scholars writing in the wake of Collinson's research have tended to minimize the doctrinal differences between the godly and their conformist brethren. Seán Hughes points out that the doctrine of predestination so often associated with puritanism was by no means exclusive to Calvinism or the 'hotter' sort of Protestants (232). Alexandra Walsham argues that the difference between the beliefs of the godly and their neighbours was "essentially one of temperature rather than substance" (*Providence* 2). But, as Peter Lake and Michael Questier note, scholars still tend to frame questions of religious opinion as a series of binary oppositions (xiii). Even studies of the Reformation that aim to complicate either/or labels take as their starting point an assumed conflict between Catholic and Protestant, Protestant and puritan from the very beginning of the Elizabethan Settlement. The question of a clear-cut theological divide between puritans and conforming Protestants has been effectively challenged, but the perception that the 'hotter' sort of Protestants took their faith more seriously than men and women who conformed to the laws and practices of the Church of England persists (Maltby 8). As a result, even scholars who reject these stark polarities tend to invent terms for what Lake and Questier refer to as a "soggy" middle (xv). For example, Judith Maltby delineates a tradition of popular conformity, arguing that the majority of Elizabeth's subjects were neither 'church papists' nor puritans, but Prayer Book Protestants. The vernacular liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer functioned as a social leveller, providing Protestants with shared experiences and a common culture across

divides of class, gender, age (30). Over the course of Elizabeth's reign, the Book of Common Prayer gained "a place in the religious consciousness and even affections" of the majority of the English laity (17). Maltby's work is invaluable for demonstrating that conformists were no less firm in their allegiance to the Prayer Book than puritan non-conformists were in their objections to it. But as Lake and Questier note, "privileging the supposedly moderate middle risks, as it were, preserving rather than transcending the either/or choice between extreme positions (Catholic/Protestant, puritan/Anglican, Calvinist/Arminian) in and through which the middle ground has been created or conceptualized" (xv).

A similar polarity exists in discussions of the Book of Common Prayer. Like Judith Maltby's *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England*, Ramie Targoff's *Common Prayer* and Timothy *Rosendale's Liturgy and Literature* emphasize the significance of the public performance of a uniform liturgy in the formation of English Protestant subjectivity. Ramie Targoff discusses the habitual, collective reading of the vernacular liturgy as the cornerstone of Protestant, as opposed to Catholic or puritan, selfhood. In opposition to both Catholic and puritan traditions, which privileged individual over corporate prayer, and contrary to studies that link Protestantism with the development of a private sense of interiority, Ramie Targoff argues that "what emerges in the aftermath of the Reformation is less a triumphant embrace of the individual's private and invisible self than a concerted effort to shape the otherwise uncontrollable and unreliable internal sphere through common acts of devotion" (6). Timothy Rosendale challenges Targoff's implied dismissal of Protestant interiority, but still underlines the uniformity of the Prayer Book as a driving force of communal and national identity: "the uniform Book of Common Prayer enabled a new sense of similarity and community, a 'very comfortable' sense of uniform Christian conversion among all English subjects and a nationally common denomination of public religious experience" (37). If the Book of Common Prayer fosters a conception of "an England and English church which are essentially intertwined collective bodies of individuals across the aisle and

across the realm" (Rosendale 38), then, by implication, the devotional handbook, an instrument of private and household devotion available only to certain individuals, would disrupt this sense of communal and national identification. But Natalie Mears challenges our understanding of the uniformity of the Book of Common Prayer in her account of liturgies specially issued by the Church of England. Her research calls into questions the categories of conformity and non-conformity usually used to distinguish Protestants from puritans. In Targoff's account, non-conformists objected to the Book of Common Prayer in favour of spontaneous prayer, because they believed that the repetition of a set liturgy elicited an automatic and, therefore, insincere response (37). But Mears argues that the Church of England worked to prevent the performance of prayer from becoming too mechanical by circulating a series of prayers as a supplement to the Book of Common Prayer (46). Conformity to the Church of England did not necessarily entail the performance of a standardized liturgy, which could vary between dioceses, as bishops were licensed to compose their own special liturgies if they did not use ones provided by the Church of England (Mears 47). Furthermore, contrary to Targoff's assertion that the Book of Common Prayer did not allow the laity to deviate from the prayers of the minister (5), some of the special liturgies issued by the Church of England set aside time during the service for the performance of private prayer. Mears goes so far as to suggest that "the state itself deliberately encouraged and organized nonconformity" by modifying the Book of Common Prayer and devising new liturgies (54). Her research demonstrates that definitions of conformity and non-conformity in the period were more complex and fluid than our modern categorizations allow. Viewed in this light, devotional handbooks did not necessarily represent a challenge to the Book of Common Prayer. In fact, they may have furthered the Church of England's aims to foster a dynamic and vigorous practice of prayer and self-reflection.

The authors of devotional handbooks are often portrayed as members of the 'godly' or non-separatist puritans, who, motivated by their anxiety about the

state of religion in England, appealed to the laity to bring about further ecclesiastical, social, and personal reform (Haller 5). Unconvinced of the legitimacy of the state-sponsored liturgy or its ability to effect true conversion, they took matters into their own hands, writing books of prayer and doctrinal instruction to effect further reformation in the hearts and minds of the laity. William Miller, Abraham Fleming's principal biographer, and almost all scholars who have written about Fleming afterwards, describe Fleming's writing and religious affiliation as "puritanical and anti-papist" (142). Certainly, there is substance in Fleming's writing to support this categorization, including exhortations for personal and institutional reform, a reliance on scripture for spiritual and worldly guidance, a marked antipathy towards Catholicism, and a preference for "holie exercises, and godlie meditations" rather than singing, storytelling, or dancing—indicators that have been traditionally associated with puritanism (Davies 43-44; Stranks 62); however, aspects of Fleming's life and religious work disrupt the "starkly dichotomous model" used to draw clear-cut distinctions between Protestant conformity and puritan non-conformity (Walsham, *Providence* 4). Fleming enrolled at Cambridge in 1570, the same year that Thomas Cartwright delivered his controversial lectures calling for the abolition of the episcopacy. According to Patrick Collinson, Cambridge became the breeding ground for the new clerical puritanism, attracting young men who were used to setting themselves against ecclesiastical and academic authority (*Elizabethan Puritan* 122). Yet Fleming was a sizar of Peterhouse, where headmaster Andrew Perne, friend and mentor to the future Archbishop Whitgift, encouraged an atmosphere of religious toleration; indeed, some suspected Perne of being a secret Catholic (Miller 12; Collinson, "Perne"). Despite the anti-Catholic polemic Fleming expresses in *The Diamond of Deuotion*, he evidently formed a friendship with his headmaster, as he dedicated his 1576 translation of John Caius' *Of English Dogges* to Perne in gratitude for his assistance in alleviating an unnamed affliction (Miller 9). The anti-Catholic rhetoric that Thomas Bentley employs in *The Monument of Matrones* is no less vehement, yet

he expresses admiration for the renowned piety of two of the period's most resolute opponents of the Reformation in England, Katherine of Aragon and Mary I. In *Some Monuments of Antiquities*, Bentley praises the "'great devotion & zeal of the people in old time towards the house of the Lord'" in order to critique contemporary corruptions, such as the tendency of church officers to indulge in "'private drinkings'" and to enhance the amenities of the vestry at the expense of church stock (qtd. in Berlin 47). This suggests that anti-Catholic polemic was a political and rhetorical tool, rather than a straightforward indication of an individual's relationships and private beliefs. Fleming and Bentley's anti-Catholic polemic seems to stem from their efforts to protect the Church of England against present threats, rather than an overwhelming hatred of England's devotional history. It was possible to admire the pious works and devotional monuments of Catholics in the past, while condemning their incursions against the Church of England in the present.

Similarly, it was possible to agitate for further reform without rejecting the established Church of England or the state-sponsored liturgy. Each of the authors I study composed prayers for their readers to recite, so they were clearly not among the critics who objected to the recitation of set forms of prayer as mechanical or hypocritical. In *The Diamond of Deuotion*, Fleming expresses his frustration that the English people have not yet been moved to a true reformation, despite the fact that "[i]t is now twentie and odde yeares, since we haue had among vs the iewell of Gods word" (67):

> For where passing by manie other nations, thou hast trusted our nation withall: yet with a number of vs, it hath found as small entertainment, and felt as great resistance, as amongst them, at whose gates it neuer knocked. For a great portion of the land, partlie neuer yéelding themselues to the obedience thereof, and partlie falling from it, after they had once yéelded: stand proudelie as it were at the staues end with thée. The rest, which make profession of their submission vnto it, do it not accordinglie. (89-90)

The fault, according to Fleming, lies with the English people, not their Church; despite having access to vernacular scripture and a reformed liturgy, many refuse to change the error of their ways. Although he calls for a "reformation of manners" (91), Fleming's aim is to strengthen, not tear down, the existing Church of England, to mend its "manifolde breaches" and to present a united front to its enemies (103). This is not the viewpoint of a separatist or a radical. Fleming dedicated his translations of Virgil's *Bucolikes* to Archbishop Whitgift, and he preached eight times at the public forum of Paul's Cross between 1589 and 1606, a privilege he would not have enjoyed if there had been any suspicion about his allegiance to the Church of England (Miller 5-6). Fleming's views are not notably different from those of Thomas Bentley, who calls for "vnitie of true faith and religion" (4.462) and for the elimination of Catholics as well as radical puritans, "that thy Church may be well purged, and free from these cruell and bloud-thirstie hypocrites" (3.358). Of the authors I examine, Bentley is the most forthright in his criticisms of the liturgy and ministry of the Church of England, yet he is also its most vocal supporter. He served as churchwarden of Saint Andrew Holborn under Richard Bancroft, a formidable opponent of non-conformity, who was appointed its rector in 1584. If Bentley's provision of private prayers to be recited during the Church service, his disparagement of Queen Elizabeth's policies, and his criticism of the ministry did not bring him censure from Bancroft, one of the period's most powerful proponents of conformity, then perhaps the Protestant middle ground was not so "soggy" after all. Ardent support for the established Church of England may have taken forms that historians have mistakenly attributed to 'puritanism,' including the provision of private prayers, calls for further reform, and admonishments to the ecclesiastical authorities to purge the Church of its enemies. Rather than depicting a satisfied group of conformists in opposition to a discontented cohort of radicals, I am suggesting that orthodoxy itself may have demanded a passionate commitment to strengthening and reforming the national Church.

Although her religious and political connections remain a mystery, Anne Wheathill shows herself to be no less committed to reform than Bentley and Fleming. Her political commentary is veiled—she does not identify the "enimies" who persecute the the faithful (37), nor does she offer direct commentary on the practices of the Church of England or the policies of its governors—but Susan Felch suggests that Wheathill may have composed her prayers in solidarity with ministers who resisted subscription to Archbishop Whitgift's articles ("'Halff a Scrypture'" 162). Yet there is nothing in her prayers that could be labelled definitively as subversive. Even if Wheathill disagreed with Whitgift's measures, her dissent would not necessarily be a sign of radicalism. Hundreds of ministers resisted Whitgift's articles and he eventually reduced his demands under the pressure of their opposition. Resistance to one man's policies did not necessarily represent a break with the state-established Church. Indeed, resistance to policies that threatened the Church with stagnation and decline may have been one of the hallmarks of the ardent conformity operational in the prayers of Fleming, Bentley, and Wheathill. Each has his or her own religious and political agenda, but all work to strengthen adherence to the Church of England in their own way. Rather than composing private prayers to minimize the influence of the official Church, they participate in a vital discussion about what sort of Church it should be. The orthodoxy they encourage in their readers is not a passive, mechanical conformity born of indifference, but an ardent and spirited commitment to fortifying and improving the Church.

The Role of the Reader

Mary Hampson Patterson describes devotional handbooks as "reflecting pools, mirroring the complexities of an age racked by the politics of ideological fervor" (20). Patterson's notion of the devotional handbook as a mirror privileges the labour of authors, who, in their role as "translators of the vocabularies of the Reformation" and "shapers of an emerging piety," used the devotional handbook as a "conduit" through which to transmit their beliefs and objectives to their readers (22). The implication of this approach is that the beliefs and objectives of

authors and readers were one and the same: readers purchased devotional handbooks because they agreed with the views espoused by their authors and submitted themselves willingly to instruction. This is an assumption that Helen White echoes in her assertion that

> no one was likely even to consider using a manual of private devotion unless he desired a more intensive exploration of the resources of prayer than was immediately available in common pious practice. And when it came to the choice of his manual, we may be sure that he would take pains to find one which appealed to his own particular tastes and interests. (*Tudor Books* 3)

White's analysis of consumer motivations is rather limited—she does not consider, for example, that an individual might purchase a devotional handbook to boost the pious reputation of his or her household—but the logic of her assertion is difficult to refute: if a product sells, presumably it both reflects and influences the interests of its consumers. This is the assumption on which Ian Green bases his study *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*. In this immense survey, Green adopts a statistical approach to the study of Protestant print, electing to focus on early modern best-sellers, which he defines as "titles which were probably printed at least five times in the space of thirty years" (173). Although he acknowledges the limitations of his sample, noting that texts that went through fewer than five editions in a generation, like John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, could have had a significant cultural impact (174), the implication remains that best-sellers were more influential and more representative of the interests and experiences of their readers. Mary Hampson Patterson adheres to Green's premise, though she narrows his "wide-angle lens" (3) to focus on three devotional handbooks that exceed Green's criteria for best-seller status: Thomas Becon's *The Sick Man's Salve* (1558), John Norden's *A Pensive Man's Practice* (1584), and Edward Dering's *A Briefe and Necessary Instruction for Householders* (1572), none of which went through fewer than twenty-five recorded editions (22). She forthrightly owns that the goal of her study is not to

"untangle the degrees to which these books' readers and hearers 'successfully' obeyed the authors' every word"; she focuses on her chosen authors' prescriptions, working from the premise that "as these books sold, so presumably did their ideas" (23). Even Ian Green, who works to reconstruct the triangle of influence between text, book, and reader, as outlined by Roger Chartier (*Order of Books* 10), does not explore the role of the reader beyond constructing a hypothetical readership based on the cost and circulation of devotional handbooks. One of the implicit assumptions that underlies the work of Helen White, Ian Green, and Mary Hampson Patterson is that the flow of culture is unidirectional: prayers and prescriptions were composed by authors, distributed by printers and booksellers, and absorbed attentively by readers; however, Alexandra Walsham questions whether a printed text is "a transparent window into the psychology of its consumers, a mirror of the tapestry of habits, attitudes, and beliefs which make up collective mentalities" (*Providence* 37). Scholars have begun to challenge the assumption that printed texts unambiguously reflect the opinions of the social groups who used them. Yet, despite their limitations, devotional handbooks can tell us much about the pious reading and writing practices of the early modern laity and the possibilities that Protestant print created for spiritual participation and even leadership. These possibilities emerge if we abandon an exclusive focus on the producers of prayer, and the top-down model of cultural transmission that this focus reinforces, and examine the devotional handbook as part of a communications circuit.

Of the devotional handbooks I examine, only Abraham Fleming's *Diamond of Deuotion* meets Ian Green's qualifications for an early modern best-seller; however, the fact that Thomas Bentley's *Monument of Matrones* and Anne Wheathill's *handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs* each went through one edition does not negate their influence. Though the number of texts printed in an edition varied widely, from 500 to 1,500 copies, Ian Green suggests the number of copies per print run averaged between 1,250 and 1,500 by the late sixteenth century (*Christian's ABC* 67). That only a few copies of *The Monument of*

Matrones and one copy of *A handfull of holesome...hearbs* have survived suggests that these books may have been read out of existence by as many as 1,500 readers, certainly not an insignificant number for this period. Rather than focusing on sales, I have chosen to examine devotional handbooks that illustrate the opportunities this genre opened up to its authors and readers. I view 'print culture' in light of the labour, actors, and activities that produced meaning, including the labour of reading. My examination of the collaboration between authors, printers, and readers in the production of meaning complicates a stable or monolithic conception of authorship in the early modern period. The labour of printers determined many of the features that structured a reader's cognitive experience with the text. For example, Colin and Jo Atkinson make the numerical arrangement of Anne Wheathill's prayers a centrepiece of their interpretation of her devotional handbook, arguing that the significance of her prayers lies in her complex manipulation of a hexemeral numerical pattern ("Numerical Patterning"); however, there is no evidence that Anne Wheathill was responsible for numbering her prayers or that they are presented in the order she intended. In arguing that numbered prayers are unique to *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs*, Colin and Jo Atkinson overlook the fact many of Abraham Fleming's prayers are numbered as well; it is plausible that Henry Denham, who was responsible for printing both texts, numbered these prayers in order to enhance ease of access. The labour of Abraham Fleming as a proof-corrector in Henry Denham's shop demonstrates that the much of the work of translating culture lay in the hands of print shop employees, who weighed their interpretation of the author's intentions against factors like the cost and speed of production and the preferences of their readers. Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas Freeman's *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England*, which traces the collaboration of John Foxe and the printer John Day on the *Actes and Monuments*, is an excellent study of the labour shared by printers and authors in the production of meaning, as well as the factors that influenced decisions regarding print (which

were not always based on sales). But readers also played a crucial role in the production of meaning, particularly because many of them became authors.

An important starting point in my consideration of the confluence between producers and consumers of devotional handbooks has been Edith's Snook's assertion that writing about reading enabled early modern women to fashion a socially and politically authoritative voice with which to enter discourse. The thesis of Snook's *Women, Reading and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern England* has especially formative to my discussion of Anne Wheathill, but also influences my examination of Abraham Fleming and Thomas Bentley. Showcasing their reading was an important authorizing strategy for early modern men as well as women, especially men who were not writing from a position of social or economic privilege. We tend to assume that men, writing as the beneficiaries of patriarchy, did not need to rely on the tactics (often characterized as apologetic) used by women, writing as subordinates; however, Alexandra Shepard's research demonstrates that the extent of a man's autonomy under patriarchy was largely contingent upon his means (36). Exhibiting reading through writing would arguably have been as useful an authorizing strategy for a poor scholar of Cambridge or a parishioner anxious for political advancement as for an apparently unconnected gentlewoman. Fleming, Bentley, and Wheathill all position themselves as zealous readers of scripture and other pious texts in order to authorize their devotional writing. In the early modern "culture of credit" described by Craig Muldrew, in which social preferment and economic assistance were dependent upon one's reputation for piety, scripture was a powerful agent of discourse (3-4). In describing their writing as a process of diligent reading and labouring to collect "flowers" or "herbs" out of "the garden of Gods most holie word" (Wheathill A2v), Fleming, Bentley, and Wheathill demonstrate their authority to instruct others in a Protestant culture that valued the primacy of an unmediated connection with the Word. Invoking the language of gathering also connects their work to the humanist practice of gathering textual fragments from classical and spiritual authorities and framing them in speech and composition.

All thee underscore their religious reading in their prefaces and deploy fragments of scripture throughout their texts to showcase their pious study to advantage, but they also provide models for imitation to their readers.

The Imprint of Gender

While my examination does not minimalize the structural inequities of patriarchy that find expression in devotional handbooks, it offers a counterpoint to studies that emphasize women's total oppression by and exclusion from religious authority. Juxtaposing prayers written by women with those by men, my study also offers an alternative to scholarship that places early modern women writers in a universalizing continuum of 'feminine' experience, arguing that the conventions of genre are as significant a mediating factor as gender. In their prefaces as well as their prayers, the authors I examine reveal themselves to be astute practitioners of self-presentation, eminently capable of manipulating rhetorical figures and generic conventions to meet their own ends as well as readers' expectations. That Anne Wheathill advertises her status as an unmarried gentlewoman in her preface, as opposed to publishing her prayer book anonymously or posing as a man, suggests that she deploys her gender with a purpose in her writing. So does Abraham Fleming when he instructs male householders in the hopes of obtaining advantage from an aristocratic male patron, and Thomas Bentley when he performs the complex rhetorical negotiations of admonishing the Queen. Though gender undoubtedly affected these authors' reading and writing processes, shaping their access to education and resources, as well as the kind of advancement they could hope to achieve by writing, we should not assume that they deploy gender as a bare statement of fact. We can better understand how gender functions rhetorically in Wheathill's writing by comparing her work to those of the authors she imitated and challenged, rather than comparing her exclusively to authors who shared the same gender.

In addition to examining the rhetorical influence of the gender of the author, I consider the role of gender for the reader. Both Timothy Rosendale and Matthew Brown discuss the potentially empowering effects that rituals of

religious discipline offered early modern practitioners, but neither explores the impact of gender. I follow Timothy Rosendale and Catherine Bell in attempting to understand prayer as a "sphere of human experience with its own coherent claims to validity" (Rosendale10), but adapt my approach to include contemporary attitudes to gender, discussing the ways in which social expectations shaped the performance of prayer. Drawing on the ritual theory of Catherine Bell, Timothy Rosendale demonstrates that individual engagement in ritual prayer is not merely the site of passive participation and subordination, but of "active consent, potential appropriation, resistance, and negotiation" (111). Catherine Bell argues for a more nuanced understanding of ritual than as a blunt instrument of social control:

> It does not merely socialize the body with schemes that structure and reproduce parts (large or small) of the social order, nor does it merely construct the social person with versions of these schemes as the order of its subjectivity and consciousness. To do all that it must also enable the person to deploy schemes that can manipulate the social order on some level and appropriate its categories for a semicoherent vision of personal identity and action. Socialization cannot be anything less than the acquisition of schemes that can potentially restructure and renuance both self and society. (215-216)

Bell's theory has important implications for our understanding of early modern prayer, especially as regards women's reading and devotional practice. A good deal of effort gone into delineating and deploring the restrictions placed on women in male-authored prayers and meditations, but critics have tended to overlook the potential of ritual to empower individual participants. The performance of prayer requires and elicits a deeply personal, individualized response from the devotee, opening up possibilities for subjective transformation and political participation for women as well as men. Not simply a strategy for reinforcing a dominant ideology, ritual is "the strategic embodiment of schemes for power relationships—schemes that hierarchize, integrate, define, or obscure"

and can promote forces that work against social solidarity and control (Bell 216). As Bell explains,

> The strategies of ritualization clearly generate forms of practice and empowerment capable of articulating an understanding of the personal self *vis-à-vis* community...The results might well be seen in terms of the continuity between self and community, or in terms of an autonomous identity. However, the result might also be the formation of a subjectivity that polarizes thought and action, the personal self and the social body...The person who has prayed to his or her god, appropriating the social schemes of the hegemonic order in terms of an individual redemption, may be stronger because these acts are the very definitions of power, personhood, and the capacity to act. (217-218)

Throughout my discussion, I argue that in the process of ritual prayer, the female devotee does not simply passively absorb and repeat the words of male-authored devotions and liturgy; she asserts her place in a community of believers and articulates her deeply personal and individual relationship to the divine. As my examination of the prayers of Anne Wheathill and the marginalia of women readers demonstrates, early modern women were eminently capable of appropriating and transforming male-authored prayers into their own forms of cultural production.

Although designed to discipline readers, the devotional handbook did not render its audience passive or powerless. Fleming, Bentley, and Wheathill all began their authorial lives as readers and, in transforming their devotional reading into unique compositions, they demonstrated to "simple" readers like themselves how to do the same. Anne Wheathill offers her readers an especially powerful model of how to transform their devotional reading into spiritual authority. While Thomas Bentley, as churchwarden, had access to Bibles, liturgies, conduct manuals, and devotional writings by men and women, even those "obscured and worne cleane out of print" (B1), and Abraham Fleming, as a scholar and print shop employee, likely had access to most of the religious texts printed by Henry

Denham and his other employers, Anne Wheathill composed prayers that are every bit as sophisticated as those of her male counterparts, possibly using only a copy of the Geneva Bible, an internal Bible formed by household prayer and public recitation of the liturgy, and perhaps a devotional handbook or two as models for imitation. She may have owned these books, borrowed them from neighbours or family members, or experienced them through communal reading. While Elizabeth Eisenstein has famously examined the printing press as an agent of change in pan-European political, religious, and scientific developments, I suggest that the impact of the press can be seen most clearly in the work of a woman like Anne Wheathill. The proliferation of vernacular devotional material, made widely available and more affordable than ever before by the printing press, allowed members of the laity—women, as well as men, even those who lacked the means, education, and social connections of the elite—an opportunity to participate in the most vital and politically significant discourse of their age. Despite the patriarchal strictures placed on women's reading and writing, I want to suggest that Anne Wheathill might have been the rule, rather than the exception. Although few women published and disseminated their devotional writing in print, many engaged in the active reading and writing practices I will explore in these chapters. Even women who could read but not write—or, for that matter, women who could not read at all—could still participate in the culture of authorship by storing, digesting, reassembling, and deploying the scripture, prayers, and religious maxims that were the cultural currency of the era.

Chapter One: Abraham Fleming and the Development of a Godly Rhetoric

Of the authors I examine in this study, none would have understood marketing salvation to the laity better than Abraham Fleming. Employed by several prominent printing houses, Fleming edited, corrected, and augmented more than thirty publications, the most notable being the 1587 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Fleming also produced his own body of work, including translations, a rhetorical guidebook, and three devotional handbooks. Though his failure to produce much that accords with modern standards of literary merit has made him an easy target for ridicule, the very range of his work makes him a compelling subject of study, as he was so heavily immersed in the social and literary trends of his time. During the thirteen years he worked in the print shops of Saint Paul's as an author, translator, and corrector, Fleming had his finger on the pulse of some of the most important and influential literary developments of the late sixteenth century. His partnership with Henry Denham, a printer whose achievements Edward Arber places on level with those of Shakespeare, Spenser, and Sidney (1.xiii), generated some of the most innovative devotional handbooks of the period. Fusing time-honoured rhetorical techniques with the latest innovations in printing and pedagogy, Fleming and Denham transformed the devotional handbook into a powerful tool for educating the Protestant laity. Their collaboration on *The Diamond of Deuotion* (1581) produced an early modern best-seller that maintained its popularity with generations of readers. The commercial success of *The Diamond* influenced the design of devotional handbooks that Denham produced subsequently, and many of the strategies I discuss here are evident in *The Monument of Matrones* (1582) and *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs* (1584). Indeed, as an employee of Denham's print shop, Fleming may have collaborated with Thomas Bentley and Anne Wheathill and overseen the publication of their prayer books. Thus Fleming and Denham played a vital role in the development of a Protestant cognitive ecology,

their work influencing not only the material production of devotional handbooks, but also their meaning and reception.

Fleming, Denham, and the Circuit of Communication

The printer of *The Conduit of Comfort* (1579), *The Diamond of Deuotion* (1581), *The Monument of Matrones* (1582), and *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbes* (1584), Henry Denham played a pivotal role in the development and manufacture of the devotional handbook. As master printer at the sign of the Star, Denham was no mere overseer of production. Adrian Johns discusses the agency of Stationers in the creation and reception of knowledge. Stationers determined not only what material to print and how to disseminate it, but also in what form that material would reach its readers. Stationers controlled the material features that structured how printed texts were used and who had access to them. These features –including the format (folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo, broadsheet), the typeface (roman or black letter), the number of illustrations, the quality of the paper, the clarity of the type, as well as the accuracy of the text— signalled the text's cost, its intended audience, and what use the reader should make of its contents. Johns argues that "Knowledge itself, inasmuch as it could be embodied, preserved, and communicated in printed materials, depended on Stationers' labors" (60). But it was not only material form that determined the reception of a book, but also the credibility of its printer. The printer's reputation was a crucial factor in marketing the books readers relied on for their spiritual well-being. Readers determined the appropriate degree and kind of faith to invest in an unfamiliar book based on an assessment of the people involved in its production. In appraising a book's credibility, the name of a printer on a book's title page could tell a prospective reader as much about the contents as that of the author (Johns 30-32; 147). Henry Denham was one of the most successful printers in London during Elizabeth's reign because he built and maintained a reputation for producing high-quality, technically masterful editions under the aegis of government-issued patents; the reader who purchased a devotional handbook printed by Henry Denham could expect legibility, accuracy, and, perhaps most

importantly, legitimacy. In the midst of doctrinal controversy, the name of a printer with a reputation for orthodoxy and the assurance that the book had been printed *Cum Priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis* on the title page may have inspired the reader's confidence to choose a devotional handbook printed by Denham out of a sea of competitors.

Early in his career, Denham displayed his talents as a shrewd man of business as well as a master printer. Denham began his apprenticeship with Richard Tottel in 1556, was made free of the Stationers' Company on August 30, 1560, and five years later established the printing shop for which he is best known at the sign of the Star on Paternoster Row (Clegg, "Henry Denham" 94). Bordering Saint Paul's Churchyard, Paternoster Row was prime real estate for an up-and-coming printer. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Paul's Cross Churchyard had become the unrivalled center of the book trade in London and, consequently, all of England (Blayney 5). To open up a print shop on Paternoster Row and establish a successful business required a significant investment of capital at the outset. Denham likely earned the capital he needed to open his own shop by working as an assign to more established printers like John Day (Evenden 20). When Denham began his career, the book trade in England operated as a system of monopolies on genres of popular works, awarded to select printers who managed to attract powerful patrons in government (Evenden 25; Evenden and Freeman 15). Patents generally ran for seven or ten years but were often held successively by the same printer. Printers who held these lucrative patents became the wealthiest and most influential members of the Stationers' Company, while those less fortunate railed bitterly against the system of monopolies and even resorted to piracy (Evenden and Freeman 231). In the early years of his career, many of Denham's imprints were produced for privileged Stationers to sell at their shops. Though he did not hold his most lucrative patents till later in his career, Denham was able to build a strong foundation for his business because patent-holding Stationers like John Day, Richard Tottel, John Charlewood, Ralph Newberry, and Henry Bynneman, among others, entrusted him with a portion of

their printing. Later, when his business was thriving, Denham assigned printers like Henry Middleton and John Windet to produce texts for him. Denham would have supplemented this income by retailing copies of the imprints that were not earmarked to be sold in other Stationers' shops.

Much of the capital Denham accumulated in these early years would have been invested in equipment and employees. Denham acquired a varied stock of excellent-quality initial letters, ornaments, and borders, including a set of large woodcut initials attributed to Anton Sylvius, an Antwerp engraver. These letters, known as the A.S. series, were first used by Thomas Berthelet, printer to Edward VI, as early as 1546, as well as by Richard Jugge and John Cawood, printers to Elizabeth I, before they came into Denham's possession (Plomer 242). The beauty and clarity of Denham's black letter type, as well as the regularity of his nonpareil and other small-sized initials, indicate that he used and stored his type carefully, repairing and replenishing his stock as necessary (McKerrow 88-89). At the height of his career, Denham had four presses in operation, but he likely started out with two, the minimum number required to sustain continuous production and make efficient use of the pressmen and compositor (Evenden and Freeman 8-9). In addition to printing equipment, a printer had to acquire a large quantity of paper at the outset of any project, imported at considerable cost (often from France) as there were no English paper mills. Paper was an onerous expense, accounting for as much as forty per cent of the price of an entire book, and printers went through as many as 25-30 reams, each consisting of 500 sheets, per day to supply four or five presses (Gilmont 54; Parent 57). On top of all this, printers needed to buy or, more commonly, lease some of the most expensive real estate in the city to set up shop (Raven 28). Though some presses operated in small rooms, any printer wishing to expand his business required space for multiple presses, separate rooms in which to store paper and type, a room with hot water to clean type and dampen paper and, ideally, a quiet space for the corrector to work (Evenden and Freeman 10). Finally, for every press in operation, a printer needed to employ three workers, two pressmen and one compositor, as well as a

corrector for the shop, preferably one learned in several languages (Evenden and Freeman 11). The specialized skills of these workers were reflected in their wages. In all, as Evenden and Freeman conclude, much of the difference between success and failure in the printing industry depended upon having money upfront. Printers had to purchase all the materials they would need to print a book in advance, and they could not sell their product until all copies of an edition had been printed. Printers had higher expenses in advance compared to other trades and had to wait longer for a return on their investment (Evenden and Freeman 7). A printer who started out with capital could attract the best workers, purchase the best equipment, and thereby produce a high-quality product attractive to customers and patrons; financial reserves also helped the printer survive unexpected downturns, especially in the vulnerable period of becoming established (Evenden and Freeman 13).

As crucial to Denham's success as his financial assets was his reputation in the early modern printing industry. Adrian Johns argues that printers and booksellers were "manufacturers of credit" (33): the conduct and character of the Stationer played a central role in determining the value and reliability of the books that he or she produced (Johns 137). I suspect that the manufacture of credit was at least as important in building relationships with other members of the Stationers' Company as it was with potential customers and patrons. Because most Stationers lived in their printing houses, they were judged by the moral character of their households as well as their technical output. Denham must have impressed his peers early on, not only with his mastery of the art of printing, but also his capacity as a Christian householder, able to govern and organize the conduct of wife and children (if he had them), domestic servants, employees, and apprentices with efficiency and religious constancy (Johns 137). Established printers regularly entrusted Denham to print some of their most important projects. One of Denham's early imprints was *The Treasure of Gladnesse* (1563), which he printed for John Charlewood to sell in his shop in the Barbican. According to the title page, the printed text is a copy of

> a very little Manuell, and written in velam, to be made aboue CC. yeares past at the least, Whereby appeareth how God in olde time, and not of late onely, hath been truely confessed and honored. The Copy hereof, is for the antiquitie of it, preserued and to be seene in the Printers Hall.

That the printing of one of the Stationers' Company's treasured antiques was entrusted to a relative newcomer is a mark of the distinction Denham had earned only three years after completing his apprenticeship.[1] Even so, Denham's record was not spotless; like many new printers, he appears to have struggled to make a living outside the system of monopolies and was fined in 1564/5 for printing primers without a license; he was fined in the same year for receiving one William Mygchell into his service without informing the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company (Arber 1.122-123). In 1565/66, he was fined again for "mysusyng" one of the Wardens of the Company (Arber 1.142v). After some initial upsets, Denham appears to have obtained licenses for his imprints and registered his apprentices more regularly. Denham's peers admitted him into the Livery of the Stationers' Company on July 20, 1573 and elected him to several posts within the Company. Denham acted as an official searcher on several occasions and served as a Renter Warden from 1579/80 and 1580/81, Assistant by 1585, and Under-Warden in 1586/87 and 1588/89 (Arber 1.216; Brewerton). As a searcher, Denham would have participated in the inspection of print shops to find out what works, and in what numbers, were being produced; however, the majority of these searches were not to seize treasonous or seditious literature, but to ensure that the rights of patent holders were not being infringed upon and to discover illegal apprentices and journeymen (Clegg, "Stationers' Company" 280; Davis 237). Denham may have performed his duties rather too zealously, for in August 1579, he was fined for arresting a freeman of the company without a

[1] At this early stage of his career, Denham could not afford to pick and choose his projects according to personal interest and likely printed whatever was assigned to him by more established printers. Still *The Treasure of Gladnesse* is an interesting initial project, perhaps sparking Denham's interest in the contemporary antiquarian movement, which would find fuller expression in his editions of *The Monument of Matrones* (1582) and Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1587).

license. On January 6, 1579, he was fined for failing to attend before the Lord Mayor; however, a fine Denham incurred "for vsing vndecent speaches to the elder warden" was remitted in April 1584 (Arber 2.856; Brewerton).

Although Denham signed a petition against printing monopolies in 1577, he benefitted tremendously as the assign of William Seres. By 1570, Seres, who held a lucrative patent for printing Psalters, primers, and books of private prayer, had become one of London's most affluent and influential Stationers. Foreseeing that his son would not carry on his business, Seres began assigning a portion of his printing to Henry Denham as early as 1571; by 1575, Denham was printing most of the texts that were published under Seres' imprint (Davis 237). In 1578, Seres, no longer able to continue his own business, assigned Denham his privilege for printing Psalters, primers, and books of private devotion, and bestowed on Denham his presses, letters stock, and copies for a yearly rent, though the patent remained in his son's control after Seres' death in 1579 (Brewerton; Davis 237-238). As Seres' assign, Denham reaped the benefits of having the rights to print a large catalogue of profitable steady sellers, while perhaps avoiding some of the animosity that non-patent holding printers increasingly directed towards their privileged brethren. The petition that Denham signed in August 1577 charged that monopolies, especially on primers, catechisms, and prayer books, deprived "'the porest sort' of the Stationers' Company of their 'onelie relief'" (qtd. in Evenden and Freeman 288). Yet a census of London print shops in May 1583 reveals that Denham had four presses in operation, the same number as the illustrious John Day. Only Christopher Barker, printer to the Queen, and John Wolfe had more presses.[2] Upon acquiring Seres' presses and privilege, Denham's business expanded to the extent that he that he took seven young men from the Stationers' Company into partnership (Greg, *A Companion* 24). It may have been at this point that Denham began his association with Abraham Fleming.

[2] Of the remaining eighteen print shops in London, eight had only one press, six had two presses, and four had three presses (Evenden and Freeman 8).

Abraham Fleming, sizar of Cambridge, left the university after the Lent term of 1575 and did not receive his B.A. until 1581-2 (Miller 7). William Miller posits that Fleming, unable to pay his fees, left school from 1575-1581 to earn a living in the printing industry (15). The 1619 edition of *The Footepath of Faith*, printed over a decade after Fleming's death, includes a prefatory letter addressed to William Tottel, in which Ralph Blower reveals that he, William Hoskins and Abraham Fleming were "seruants" to the printer Richard Tottel, Denham's former master (2v). If Blower was not in error, Fleming may have been in Tottel's service between 1575 and 1583, though he was not registered with the Stationers' Company as an apprentice and Tottel's name is not linked to any of Fleming's surviving works (Miller 32). Miller speculates that Tottel may have had an arrangement with Fleming, by which he had a right to Fleming's services for a period of years and took a fee to allow Fleming to work for others (32-33). In addition to penning his own compositions and a translation of Virgil's *Bucolics*, printed in 1575, Fleming translated, indexed, augmented, and amended works for a number of printers, including Henry Middleton, John Charlewood, and Thomas Dawson, before his first imprint under Henry Denham, *The Conduit of Comfort*, appeared in 1579. From that time on, Fleming appears to have worked regularly, though not exclusively, in Denham's print shop as both an author and a 'learned corrector.' As corrector, Fleming played a crucial role in ensuring the accuracy of the printed text, correcting each proof as it was run off the press. The ideal proof corrector was well-educated, multilingual, sober and possessed of keen eyesight. Joseph Moxon wrote that a corrector ought to be competent in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, "to be very knowing in Derivations and Etymologies of words," knowledgeable in punctuation, cognisant of the duties and requirements of the compositor and pressmen, and "endowed with a quick Eye to espi the smallest *Fault*" (246-247). In addition to correcting proofs, Fleming compiled, organized, edited, translated, and augmented texts, and prepared paratextual materials, including prefaces, indexes, tables, and appendices, for at least fifteen printing houses before he became the general editor of the second edition of Holinshed's

Chronicles (1587). Fleming's Cambridge education, his good reputation as a scholar—he is listed on the roll of English writers for 1576 in the first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*—and his proficiency in Latin, demonstrated in his 1575 translation of Virgil, evidently placed him in high demand. Indeed, it is possible that he made his entry into the book trade during the printing of his translation of the *Bucolics*. It was customary in England for authors to attend the printing of their works and, in some cases, to assist the corrector in his duties (Evenden and Freeman 23). As classically educated correctors were in short supply, it is plausible that Fleming corrected the proofs for his translation in John Charlewood's print shop and began his association with Richard Tottel shortly thereafter. Hieronymus Hornschuch, author of *Orthotypographia* (1608), the first technical manual for printers and correctors, lamented that correctors of good character and education were often "off like a shot from this sweat-shop, to earn their living by their intelligence and learning, not by their hands" (9). Yet for Fleming, an impoverished scholar who had not yet taken his degree, the opportunity to earn money in the print shops surrounding Saint Paul's appears to have been too good an opportunity to pass up.

In conjunction with the compositor, Fleming, in his capacity as corrector, made an indelible impact on the texts he helped to produce. Together the compositor and corrector held considerable interpretive responsibility for the finished product, ideally acting with both the author's intention and the master printer's reputation in mind. The compositor, whose job it was to set the type for each page, did not reproduce a writer's manuscript slavishly (Johns 87-88). Joseph Moxon advised that a good compositor must actively "discern and amend" his copy and to read it with consideration in order to "get himself into the meaning of the *Author*" and translate that meaning as clearly as possible into the medium of print (92; 212). The compositor's aim was not only to reconstruct authorial meaning, but also to anticipate the needs and preferences of readers in the arrangement of borders, margins, woodcut illustrations, and different sizes and fonts of letters on the page. After the compositor ran a trial proof of each forme, it

was the corrector's job to check to the work of the compositor and ensure the accuracy of the substantives (Gaskell 110-111). Typically, the corrector occupied a small room adjoining the compositor's room and worked with another employee skilled in reading, who read the copy aloud to the corrector as he checked it against the proofs (Gaskell 111; Johns 90-1). This process would be repeated once, at most twice; any errors in the final printing were considered the corrector's responsibility, and he could be required to pay a compensatory fine. For this reason, a test copy or a 'revise' might be printed off to reassure the corrector that his emendations had been incorporated; however, due to the costliness of paper and the pressure to speed the correction process so the pressmen did not stand idle, it was more common for the corrector to check the first sheets of a print run as the rest were being printed off (Johns 90-1). The corrector's loyalty was to the master printer, not his fellow employees (Gaskell 111), and in at least one instance, Fleming's frustration with a compositor erupted into vitriol. In a Latin preface to an edition of John Withals' *Short Dictionarie in Latine and English* (1584) Fleming had corrected and augmented for the printer Thomas Purfoot, Fleming complained bitterly about the ignorance, blindness, and carelessness of the printer's employees, who disregarded his clear markings and introduced even more errors into the text than had been there before Fleming corrected it (Miller 234). Exhausted by his obligations to other printers, Fleming admits that perhaps he had not read as carefully as he ought to have done. Yet, he declared, if he had had one single, short hour of leisure in the day in which to stand by the press and supervise as the text was being printed, the result would have been much more polished (Miller 234). Miller finds Fleming's outburst puzzling (37). In the close-knit environment of Saint Paul's, could a corrector who wished to remain in demand afford to make enemies within the print shops? But a university education and a reputation for accuracy were Fleming's most important qualifications as a corrector and a crucial component in the manufacture of his credit with readers and Stationers alike. Fleming clearly judged a blot on his record for accuracy a greater threat to his future advancement than the hard

feelings of Thomas Purfoot and his employees and laid the blame almost entirely at their feet. Although Fleming appealed to his learned readers in Latin to demonstrate his erudition, he may have been mindful that the pressmen he derided were unlikely to be able to read it; however, his relationship with Purfoot may have been irreparably damaged, as Fleming is not recorded as a corrector for any of Purfoot's other projects.

Fleming's first devotional handbook printed by Henry Denham was *The Conduit of Comfort* in 1579. Over the next eight years, the *English Short Title Catalogue* lists a dozen texts authored or edited by Fleming and printed by Denham, the most famous of which is the second edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1587). Their association was most fruitful between 1581 and 1584, and William Miller suggests that Denham may have had first claim on Fleming's time during these years (38). It is even possible that Fleming lived in Denham's household at the sign of the Star on Paternoster Row, if he did not reside with Richard Tottel, as it was customary for printers, their families, apprentices, journeymen and sometimes even authors to live together above the print shop (Johns 75). As Adrian Johns notes, life in London tended to be remarkably localized (63). William Lambe, to whom Fleming dedicated *The Conduit of Comfort*, and in whose memory he composed *A Memoriall of the Famous Monuments* and *An Epitaph, or Funerall Inscription*, both printed by Denham in 1580, was buried in a tomb at Saint Faith's, the Stationers' church in the crypt of the cathedral at Saint Paul's. In *A Memoriall*, Fleming quotes Lamb's epitaph, "which I finde grauen in Brasse or Copper vpon the stone of his Sepulchre" (E1v). Defending Lambe posthumously from those who "call this Christian Gentlemans religion in question" Fleming offers his own eyewitness testimony that he saw Lambe at Paul's Cross "from eight of the clocke, vntill eleuen, attentiuely listening to the Preachers voice" and reading his Bible before the sermon began (D5-D5v). Fleming's testimony has the ring of truth. Working and perhaps living in the print shops surrounding Saint Paul's, Fleming may have met Lamb while

attending sermons at Paul's Cross, just as he could easily have walked to Saint Faith's to visit his deceased patron's tomb.

Although Fleming and Denham marketed salvation for profit, we should not discount personal zeal as a motivation for the devotional handbooks they produced. In his translation of Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, printed by Denham in 1580, Thomas Rogers praises Denham's "zeale to set forth good bookes for the aduancement of virtue, and care to publish them as they ought to be" (A9). Unlike other printers, Denham did not sacrifice quality and accuracy for "the sale of good workes" (A9). Motives of piety and profit were not necessarily incompatible in the sixteenth-century book trade. Popular demand ensured that whoever held the monopoly on printing books of private devotion was bound to make a profit. By printing accurate and visually attractive editions using high-quality materials, Denham may have fulfilled a personal ambition to glorify God through the printed word, while demonstrating to consumers and potential patrons that he was the best-qualified printer for the job. Likewise, Fleming's efforts to instruct others through his devotional writing do not stem only from personal aspiration, but also an apparently genuine concern for the state of reformed religion in England, as well as a charitable impulse towards the poor and unlearned. In a number of his publications, Fleming demonstrates concern for the welfare of the poor, the itinerant, and those who, like himself, trod a fine line between subsistence and destitution. In *The Conduit of Comfort*, Fleming advises the reader to be "a counseller to the vnlearned and teach the idiot vnderstanding: so shalt thou glorifie GOD in thy wisedome" (M4). Fleming acted on his own advice by adapting his prayers to the abilities of poor readers. He accommodates orality in his presentation of the material, organizing scripture into memorable 'sayings' that could be recalled and deployed by poor or uneducated readers, and he also incorporates techniques for teaching rudimentary literacy. By making his material accessible to a wide range of readers, Fleming offers symbolic capital as a charitable bequest and urges his readers to follow his example.

Educating "new Schollers in the Schoole of Christianitie"

Discussing Fleming's translation of Virgil, Robert Cummings suggests that Fleming was "a man engaged with the problem of where English poetry should go" (168). Fleming was more concerned to fit his translation to the abilities of readers who had not received an extensive formal education than he was to follow the fashionable trends of contemporary English poetry. According to Cummings, Fleming's translation is an alternative to the classroom, designed to be read even without a schoolmaster (162-163). I expand on Cummings' argument by suggesting that not only was Fleming interested in developing new directions for English poetry, but for Protestant humanist discourse as a whole. In *A Panoplie of Epistles, or, a Looking Glasse for the Vnlearned* (1576), Fleming offers exemplary letters to the uneducated to "arme and enable them against ignoraunce, the aduersarie and sworne enimie of vnderstanding," promising that no matter how "weake and slender" the capacity of the pupil, he shall learn to address the princely, the learned, the noble, and the wealthy with confidence and success (a5-a5v). In his devotional handbooks, Fleming incorporates a variety of mnemonic and pedagogical techniques in order to reach an audience "high and lowe, rich and poore, yong and old" (*Diamond* A3v). A desire to teach readers with varying degrees of formal education is a common thread that stretches across Fleming's extensive literary output. In the wake of the Reformation, and the cognitive demands it placed on adherents to absorb the tenets of the new religion, Fleming was an active participant in the effort to develop new strategies for instructing the laity.

In their useful study, C*ognitive Ecologies and the History of Remembering: Religion, Education and Memory in Early Modern England*, Evelyn Tribble and Nicholas Keene discuss the efforts of reformers to fashion new 'cognitive burrows' (to borrow Andy Clark's phrase), new environments and artifacts to extend the cognitive reach of the Elizabethan Protestant laity beyond "the ancient fortress of skin and skull" (Clark 5). Employing Extended Mind theory and Distributed Cognition, Tribble and Keene argue that the artifacts,

technologies, and institutions of a religion are central components to the machinery of religious thought; rather than imagining religion as possessing an internal doctrinal identity supported by various material props, they posit an "extended system distributed across the believer/practitioner and an array of material and social practices" (16). One of their intriguing premises is that "Late medieval Catholics *thought with* a different set of objects, artifacts, and social surrounds than Protestants did" (16). Reformers rejected many of Catholicism's cognitive scaffolds because they feared that "physical objects, ritual practices, and customary habits block true engagement and lead to an externalized, mindless practice that is at base material rather than spiritual" (23). Rejecting strategies that were structured to make the most of natural memory, including repetition, rhyme, patterns, imagery, and alliteration, as well as numerical groupings like the Seven Deadly Sins, the reformers sought new mnemonic and educational strategies to make religious experience as affective, spontaneous, and "online" as possible (19-20). However, as Tribble and Keene acknowledge, and as the number of devotional aids published in this period attests, the "amount of material and social scaffolding needed to accomplish the apparently simple goal of inculcating basic religious tenets is staggering" (42). Tribble and Keene focus on the dialogue format of the catechism as a Protestant innovation, but they do not consider the cognitive strategies developed concurrently in books of private prayer. It is in the mnemonic and pedagogic tactics Abraham Fleming incorporated into his devotional handbooks, as much as in the textual content of his prayers, that we can see his contribution to a developing Protestant cognitive ecology. But the break with older systems is not a clear-cut as Tribble and Keene imply. In his devotional handbooks, Fleming combines the advances of print technology with the design elements of manuscripts, the innovations of humanism with classical and medieval traditions of rhetoric. As a result, aspects of Fleming's cognitive strategies have recognizable antecedents in Catholic devotion; however, rather than seeing Fleming's devotional handbooks as 'Trojan horses,' smuggling in the new religion in the guise of the old forms (Duffy 172), I see them as innovative

experiments, harnessing the most effective strategies from classical and monastic rhetoric and adapting them to meet the needs of the Protestant laity.

One of the challenges Fleming faced was how to develop educational and mnemonic strategies suitable for readers with varying levels of formal education. With the benefit of his Cambridge education, Fleming would have been well-versed in classical and monastic systems of memory, as well contemporary innovations like Ramism. But the older systems of *memoria* were problematic, not only because of their association with Catholicism, but also because they were taught as part of a rigorous and well-developed program of grammar, logic, and rhetoric, the subtleties of which were likely beyond the reach of the average Elizabethan householder. I agree with Mary Carruthers that Renaissance writers on the art of memory worked from within a profoundly classical and medieval context (*Book of Memory* 155), but one of the crucial differences for Fleming and his fellow reformists is that they were not addressing learned monks or orators. I do not see Fleming's aim to make *The Diamond of Deuotion* "a Ship of safegard" for "euerie Christian, high and lowe, rich and poore, yong and old" as an idle boast (A3v). The challenge he faced was making information memorable and, more importantly, useable, not only to the educated elite, but also to the emergent Protestant laity. Keene and Tribble argue that the reformers saw memorization and recitation as barriers to true spiritual experience, cognate with the activities of the parrot and the magpie: "scaffolded actions such as reading a prayer, or repeating from memory set formulae and phrases barely count as meaningful actions, and as thought not at all. Routine is equated with automaticity, entirely implicit and rigid, lacking in both spontaneity and interiority, failing to access the engaged heart" (26). And yet for all the fear of memorization and routine that this analysis implies, Abraham Fleming and many of his fellow reformers were experimenting with the latest rhetorical innovations as well as familiar strategies to inculcate these very habits of thought. As an examination of his devotional writing makes clear, Fleming saw memorization and the imposition of a daily

routine as useful and, indeed, necessary for effecting the education and true conversion of the laity.

It is my hope that examining Fleming's devotional writing in light of these aims will redeem him from the charge of pedantry levelled at his work by some of his modern critics. The most damning of these criticisms are directed towards Fleming's poetry. In his devotional handbooks, Fleming uses poetry to summarize and reinforce the prayers and points of doctrine he has presented in prose. Fleming concludes *The Conduit of Comfort* with a lengthy poem entitled "The necessarie appurtenaunces belonging to this Conduit," and he summarizes each section but one of *The Diamond of Deuotion* with a poetic "Referendarie to the premises." In both *The Footepath of Faith* and *The Diamond of Deuotion*, he offers "spirituall Songs" and graces written "for the satisfaction of sundrie Readers desires, some beeing addicted to this, and some delighted in that kind of writing" (*Diamond* 249-250). It is admittedly sometimes difficult for a modern reader to appreciate how Fleming's irregular fourteeners could bring delight to his readers. Fleming's principal biographer, William Miller, calls Fleming's devotional verse "awkward and uninspired," concluding that, "As a writer of poetry, Fleming lacked both the divine spark and an adequate apprenticeship" (442-443). But Miller's evaluation, written half a century ago, is based on a post-Romantic conception of creative genius that would have been alien to the producers of sixteenth-century literature; the purpose of Fleming's devotional poetry is not to discover and express an original point of view, but to instruct. Indeed, as Elizabeth Salter helpfully delineates, Protestants used doggerel rhyme as a powerful tool for instructing the laity because of its popularity in Catholic devotional writing and oral discourse ("What Kind"117). Rather than breaking entirely with familiar idioms and literary devices, reformers capitalized on old strategies to make new doctrine accessible to the laity. Readers were accustomed to using doggerel rhyme in everyday speech, and its presence on the printed page encouraged them to 'oralise,' or appreciate the sound of what they read, either silently or aloud (Salter, "What Kind" 117). As Evelyn Tribble points out, hearing

and vocalizing were as important to the training of memory as seeing words printed on a page ("'Chain of Memory'"), a case illustrated by the enduring popularity of metrical Psalm translations in this period. Tribble and Keene note the "high level of mnemonic affordability" of the Sternhold/Hopkins Psalms, which they attribute to their strong residual orality (97). The simplicity of the 8/6 structure, with its clearly marked intonation units, internal rhymes and alliteration, and conventionally balanced phrases, produces highly memorable poetry (98). Thus the very features that make Fleming's poetry so unpalatable to modern readers—the jogging rhythm of the fourteeners, recurrent alliteration, and simple rhyme scheme—created a highly effective mnemonic tool for educating the laity.

Another feature of Fleming's devotional writing that does not appeal to post-Romantic sensibilities but would have resonated with early modern readers is its heavy reliance on proverbs and aphoristic 'sayings.' Like doggerel rhyme, proverbs were a staple of everyday speech as well as literate discourse. As I discuss in my chapter on Anne Wheathill, the central humanist mode of reading and writing revolved around gathering textual fragments from classical and spiritual authorities and 'framing' them in a new context, a practice adapted from an ancient and medieval tradition of *divisio* and *compositio*. In the humanist educational system, students were taught to mine texts for sententious material and to fragment it into proverbs and pithy 'sayings' to be recorded in commonplace books and redeployed in their own speech and writing. This habit of breaking down the text into memorable and memorizable 'chunks' was mirrored in the division of scripture into chapter and verse on the pages of English Bibles. As Evelyn Tribble notes, verse division gave the Bible an aphoristic effect that privileged memorability over the coherence of the text ("'Chain of Memory'"). The authors of the most influential rhetorical treatises of the sixteenth century, including Richard Sherry, Thomas Wilson, Richard Rainolde, Henry Peacham, and George Puttenham, all recommend the use of wise sayings and pithy gnomes as the foundation of successful oratory (Fox 127). But although the gathering and framing of aphoristic wisdom was the product of rigorous rhetorical

training and a symbol of an elite humanist education, it was also a staple of oral discourse. Proverbs were as ubiquitous in the written correspondence of the learned as they were in the everyday conversations of the laity. Adam Fox notes that "there was something inherently popular, and even populist, about proverbs. They were 'the voice of the people' and, as such, embodied the wisdom of Everyman, the collective psyche of the nation" (35). Thus proverbs were a powerful and time-honoured mnemonic tool, useful in educating the learned and unlearned alike.

Despite the intellectual prestige of proverbs and their association with scripture, many of the popular sayings in circulation were not pious. Adam Fox notes that the majority of the population gathered their aphorisms not from books or formal instruction, but from experience and unconscious emulation (134). The proverbial wisdom Fleming offers his readers is designed to replace popular sayings like "Piss and fart, a sound heart" or "You may lend your ass and shit through your ribs" as much as to inculcate religious tenets (Fox 142). Many of Fleming's proverbs in *The Footepath of Faith* and *The Diamond of Deuotion* are gathered directly from scripture, but Fleming organizes them into sophisticated mnemonic schemes in order to make them memorable and appealing enough to replace a multitude of impious popular sayings. For example, in *The Footepath of Faith*, Fleming presents aphorisms gathered mainly from the Book of Proverbs and arranges them into "Exhortations or lessons, Alphabeticall," wherein successive letters introduce alphabetically arranged sequences of proverbial 'sayings.' The alphabetical heuristic had long been employed in concording schemes, as outlined by Aristotle in *De memoria* and Quintilian in *Rhetorica Ad Herennium*, and evidenced by the design of medieval concordances. As Mary Carruthers explains, this scheme was designed to produce a *catena*, in which a letter or key-word acts as the hook for larger units of stored material; recalling the letter is supposed to enable the remembering subject to spontaneously recall whole quotations (*Book of Memory* 143). But the alphabetical scheme also recalls the familiar technique of teaching children to read using a printed horn-book. The

horn-book was a leaf of paper printed with the alphabet, the ten numerals, and the Lord's Prayer, protected by a thin plate of translucent horn and mounted on a plank of wood with a handle. This is another example of a pedagogical strategy with classical origins adapted to meet the needs of the unlearned. The alphabetical scheme, familiar from the most elementary techniques for inculcating literacy, is sophisticated enough to facilitate the recall of complex information. Fleming also restructures scripture itself to make it more memorable. In *The Garden of Eloquence*, Henry Peacham defines a gnome as "a saying pertaining to the maners, and common practises of men, which declareth by an apte breuity, what in this our lyfe ought to be done, or not done," but cautions that "euery sentence is not a fygure, but that onely which is notable, worthy of memory, and approued by the iudgement and consent of al men" (U3). Fleming restructures a lengthy verse like "Make not variance with a rich man, lest he on the other side weigh downe thy weyght: for golde and siluer hath destroyed many, and hath subuerted the hearts of kings" (Ecclus 8.2) into "Enter not into law with a rich man, for it is in him to peruert equitie and right" (*Footepath* 378). Not only is Fleming's adaptation keyed into an alphabetical mnemonic system, it is also shorter, less repetitive, and more balanced in construction than the scriptural original, making it easier to call to mind. The more effectively biblical aphorisms were stored in the memory, the more likely they were to replace impious popular sayings.

A related strategy for making material easier to digest and store in memory is 'chunking,' which Fleming experiments with throughout his devotional writing. As Mary Carruthers explains, in the monastic system of *memoria*, students were taught to divide material into pieces short enough to be recalled in single units and to key these units into a rigid, easily reconstructable order. The goal was to provide a "random-access" memory system, allowing one to immediately and securely retrieve a particular bit of information (*Book of Memory* 8). The amount of information that can be focused on, comprehended, and stored in memory is limited (ideally to a number of units between five and nine), so one of the fundamental principles for increasing mnemonic efficiency is

to compress large amounts of information into single unit markers (*Book of Memory* 105). Dividing information into numbered units is a tactic designed to make the most of the capacity of natural memory. In *The Conduit of Comfort*, Fleming divides the Lord's Prayer into seven petitions, each petition supplemented with brief expository passages from scripture to help the reader to understand and memorize each point. He repeats this strategy by dividing the Apostle's Creed into twelve articles and the Ten Commandments into two tables of five Commandments. Fleming also arranges 'chunks' of information into acrostic devices, clearly a favorite strategy of his. In *The Conduit of Comfort*, Fleming organizes somewhat lengthy prayers (about two leaves, on average) around a continuous acrostic of the name of his patron, William Lambe. This strategy improves ease of access and promotes discontinuous reading, enabling the reader to flip through the text to find a desired passage, but does not enhance memorability to the extent that the acrostics in *The Footepath of Faith* do. In "A handfull of holie Hymnes, and spirituall Songs," for example, Fleming not only organizes prayers of alternating prose and verse around an acrostic of his own name, but also divides each prayer into fourteen pithy phrases, the first letter of each keying an internal acrostic of his name. The acrostic forms the rigid, easily reconstructable order that is the key to the mnemonic structure. As John Sutton explains, units of information must be stored in the memory independently of each other, each unit of content mapping individually onto its place; the independence of gnomic items allows, in principle, the user to randomly search and access material at will ("Spongy Brains" 26). The amount of cognitive work required to retrieve information by reconstructing units from an acrostic within an acrostic seems counterproductive, but is actually designed to strengthen and discipline the memory. The rigid mnemonic structure eliminates the confusion endemic to natural memory because it allows only the deliberate combination and recombination of units of information (Sutton, "Spongy Brains" 26). The active effort required of the remembering subject may have worked to alleviate Reformist anxieties that associated Catholic mnemonic systems with passivity and

automaticity. The exertion of recalling aphorisms organized in this manner would ideally impel reflection on their meaning, rather than uncomprehending recollection.

Although Fleming's pedagogical strategies are designed to foster memorization and routine, they were never intended to create passive or mindless subjects; rather, they are tailored to meet the needs of "newe beginners in Christian knowledge" (*Footepath* 25). As Fleming outlines in the preface to "A Schoole of Skill," beginning learners need a firm grasp of basic principles before they can comprehend the subtleties of doctrine: "For he that determineth to erect and build a dwelling house, beginneth not at the roofe, but at the foundation: otherwise, as it were a preposterous kinde of attempt, so all the world would iudge it fond & ridiculous" (*Diamond* 183). Fleming's devotional handbooks are designed to foster deep internalization and instinctive recall of the essentials of the new faith to replace any lingering traces of the old. He provides doctrinal tenets, prayers, and proverbial sayings, divided strategically for mnemonic efficacy, so that readers will have this information stored in the memory and ready for use in any situation—in private prayer, in household devotion, at church, in conversation, in letters, and in public speeches. Discussing the efforts of early Christians to replace pagan urban processions with a stational liturgy, Mary Carruthers notes, "Things that are completely different and separate do not block each other: they act instead as two distinct memory sites. Where two or more competing patterns exist in one site, however, only one will be seen: the others, though they may remain potentially visible, will be blocked or absorbed by the overlay" (*Craft of Thought* 57). The persistence of doggerel rhyme and proverbial sayings in popular culture was ample proof of their mnemonic value for the learned and illiterate alike; rather than breaking entirely with familiar and time-honoured structures, Fleming adapts them not only to meet the doctrinal demands of the reformed faith but also the cognitive needs of his readers. He experiments with classical and medieval systems of memory and the increasingly

sophisticated technology of print, while at the same time incorporating elements of orality in order to reach the widest possible range of readers.

Transforming *The Footepath of Faith* into *The Diamond of Deuotion*

Fleming continued to develop mnemonic and pedagogical innovations in re-working *The Footepath of Faith* into *The Diamond of Deuotion*. Fleming composed *The Footepath of Faith* in or before 1578. William Hoskins (one of the printers Ralph Blower named as serving an apprenticeship with Fleming under Richard Tottel) entered it into the Stationers' Register on July 23, 1578, but no copy of an edition from this year is extant. A license to print a second edition was awarded to Edward White on April 25, 1580, and was printed in 1581 by White's assign Henry Middleton. In the same year, Fleming and Denham printed *The Diamond of Devotion*, which caused controversy as some of the content was identical to that of *The Footepath of Faith*. Edward White did not fail to notice the similarities and presented his grievances to the Court of the Stationers' Company on January 9, 1582. The court ruled that whereas a portion of *The Diamond* had been taken from *The Footepath of Faith*, Denham was required to pay a fee to Edward White and to excise all material borrowed from *The Footepath of Faith* in subsequent reprintings (Greg and Boswell 12; Miller 101). It is unclear whether Denham settled privately with Edward White or whether he simply ignored the ruling, but all subsequent editions of *The Diamond of Deuotion* reprinted the material in contention. The incident does not appear to have harmed Fleming's relationship with White's assign, Henry Middleton, as Fleming compiled indexes for Middleton's 1583 edition of John Calvin's *Sermons...vpon the Fifth Booke of Moses*, nor did it damage relations between Middleton and Denham; the two subsequently collaborated on a number of printing projects, including an edition of Peter Vermigli's *Loci Communes* in 1583.

Whether Denham was aware of the similarities between the two books when he printed *The Diamond* is unclear. Denham likely had his own reasons for printing *The Diamond of Deuotion*. If aware of the similarities between the two texts, he may have seen the potential value of *The Footepath of Faith* as both a

steady seller and a showcase of his workmanship to help him acquire patronage of his own. Under the system of monopolies prevalent when Denham began his career, patronage was the cornerstone of the printing industry. In order to obtain the lucrative patents that allowed a few Stationers to thrive while their brethren struggled, a printer needed to attract the attention of powerful patrons in the government by printing texts that demonstrated his mastery of the trade (Evenden and Freeman 15). These showpiece texts, carefully printed on high-quality paper and sometimes coloured and bound as presentation pieces, were expensive to produce and not necessarily expected to sell well with public. To meet general demand and to raise the necessary funds to produce deluxe editions for patrons, printers needed to balance the printing of presentation pieces with smaller, inexpensive, but steadily-selling works (Evenden and Freeman 15). In producing a smaller, more affordable, but handsomely printed devotional handbook written by a respected scholar and dedicated to George Carey, the son of Elizabeth I's cousin and Privy Counsellor, Denham may have been aiming to appeal to both audiences. Denham's investment paid off, despite the conflict it generated with Edward White, as *The Diamond of Deuotion* became an early modern best-seller,[3] raising not only money but also the public profile of Denham's shop.

William Miller's claim that there is less difference between *The Footepath of Faith* and *The Diamond of Deuotion* "than is often to be found between two editions of the same book" is an exaggeration (99-100). None of *The Footepath*'s extensive paratextual material is reproduced in *The Diamond of Deuotion*, and neither are 232 pages of prayers from lengthy first section, "The Footepath of Faith, and highway to Heauen" (although "The first tripartite or threefold Christian prayer to God for thankefullenesse of heart for all his giftes" is republished in *The Diamond of Deuotion* as part of "A Guide to Godlinesse"). However, "A Plant of Pleasure," "A Schoole of Skill," "A Swarme of Bees," and

[3] Ian Green defines an early modern best- or steady seller as a text printed at least five times in the space of thirty years (*Print* 173). *The Diamond of Deuotion* was printed five times in twenty-seven years, between 1581 and 1608.

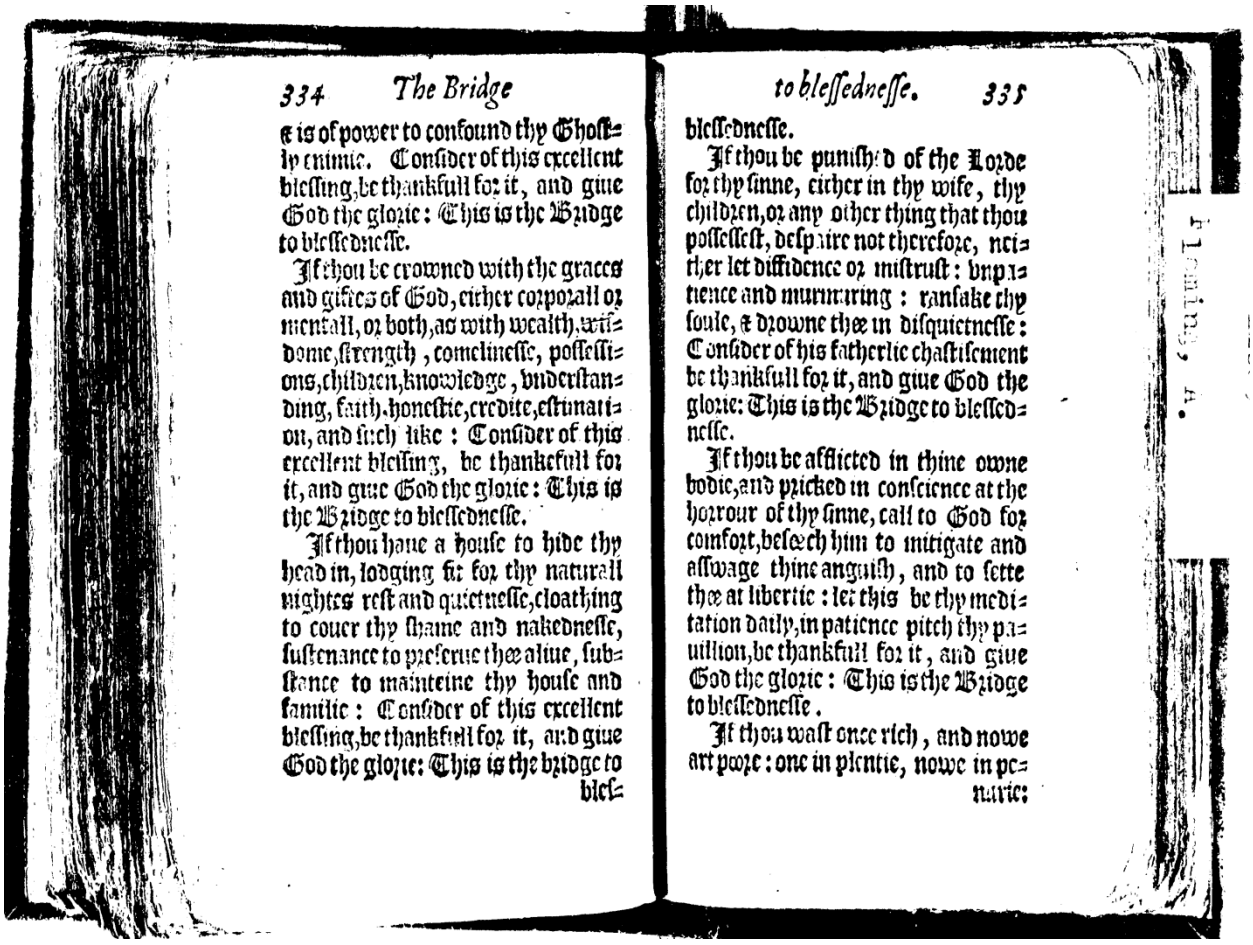
most of "A Groue of Graces" are taken directly from *The Footepath of Faith*, in addition to parts of "The Footepath to Felicitie" and "A Guide to Godlinesse." Fleming may have been too burdened by his commitments to other printing projects to compose an entirely new text, or he may have sought reward and advancement beyond what he had received from Sir Rowland Hayward, to whom he dedicated the 1578 and 1581 editions of *The Footepath of Faith*. In gratitude for these favours, and perhaps in the hope of securing more, Fleming offers Hayward a "newelie printed, altered, and augmented" edition, updating his dedicatory preface to acknowledge Hayward's remarriage, following the death of his first wife (4v). There is no record of Hayward's response, if there was any, to the 1581 edition of *The Footepath*; perhaps Hayward felt that he had already fulfilled his obligations as a patron and was not inclined to renew his favours. Fleming may have decided to try his luck with Sir George Carey, second Baron Hunsdon, to whom he dedicates *The Diamond of Deuotion*. But although penury and an onerous workload might have motivated Fleming to rework *The Footepath of Faith*, so, too, might have a desire to improve upon his earlier effort, especially with the aid of a master printer like Henry Denham. Denham produced a more accurate version of Fleming's text than Henry Middleton did. The 1581 edition of *The Footepath of Faith* includes a list of twenty-seven errors, along with an appeal from Fleming to the reader to correct the faults escaped; no such list is included among the pages of *The Diamond of Deuotion*. But the collaboration between Fleming and Denham did not simply produce a more accurate text—the typographical design and mnemonic strategies of *The Footepath of Faith* and *The Diamond of Deuotion* are almost completely divergent. These changes in visual and rhetorical presentation transform interactions between reader and text, and alter the way information is processed, put into action, and valued by its readers.

Compared to *The Diamond of Deuotion*, *The Footepath of Faith* is a typographically Spartan text. No border surrounds the pages, the only woodcut ornamentation is the occasional historiated initial, and the size and style of the typeface are, for the most part, uniform. By contrast, the pages of *The Diamond of*

Deuotion are decorated with woodcut borders, floral arabesques, and historiated initials. Headings, summaries, and divisions between units of text are indicated by changes in the style, size, and spacing of the type. Alongside the dedicatory epistle to George Carey is a woodcut illustration of the Carey family crest, featuring a swan and the motto "Comme je trouve." These design flourishes are evidence of the care and expense Henry Denham invested in his texts, as the woodcut crest appears to have been specially commissioned for *The Diamond* (although Denham was able to reuse it when he printed Fleming's *Monomachie of Motiues* in 1582, also dedicated to George Carey). *The Diamond* has more space for typographic ornamentation, as Denham chose to print as a duodecimo, rather than the sextodecimo chosen by Middleton for *The Footepath*. *The Diamond of Deuotion* would thus have been a more costly and time-consuming text to produce than *The Footepath of Faith*. Although slightly larger than *The Footepath*, *The Diamond* was still small enough to be portable and to capitalize on the contemporary vogue for diminutive, luxuriously decorated prayer books, designed to be carried in pockets or worn at the belt (Walsham, "Jewels" 134). Even the change in title from *The Footepath of Faith* to *The Diamond of Deuotion, Cut and squared into sixe seuerall points* highlights its luxurious, desirable qualities, while the rhetorical figures Fleming develops for each of the "points" promise variety and novelty; however, Fleming does not indulge in ornamentation for its own sake. Indeed, as Mike Pincombe notes, Fleming is highly critical of "'courtly Humanists'" who are only interested in "'curious devise and disposition'" (49-50). Like Henry Peacham, Fleming is more interested in rhetorical *ornatus*, not as mere decoration, but as "'gear' necessary for executing a particular task" (Smith 192). These rhetorical and typographical flourishes were undoubtedly added to impress potential patrons and buyers, but they were also designed to shape readers' interactions with the text, changing the way readers processed the information on the page and stored it in their memories.

One of the most obvious changes is the division and compartmentalization of information in *The Diamond of Deuotion*. While *The Footepath of Faith* is

divided into two parts (“The Footepath of Faith” and “The Bridge to Blessednes”) and the material in each section is differentiated only by brief headings, *The Diamond of Deuotion* is “cut and squared into sixe seuerall points,” each distinguished by its own title page, preface, and theme. The printing of a separate title page for each section may have been Denham’s innovation to sell parts of the text individually to those who could not afford to purchase the whole. But the typographical and thematic division of each section also encourages the reader to internalize the information in ‘chunks’ according to a distinct mnemonic scheme. This effect is enhanced by the typographical layout of each page. Whereas *The Footepath of Faith* has no borders, each page of *The Diamond of Deuotion* is surrounded by an ornate woodcut border, which not only increases the text’s aesthetic value, but also fixes and delimits the information on the page. *The Footepath of Faith* places few typographical restrictions on its readers’ autonomy, leaving sufficient room for handwritten commentary in the empty margins. By contrast, space in *The Diamond of Deuotion* is carefully controlled. There is hardly any white space available on the small pages for readers to add their own interpretations (although as my discussion on “The Practice of Piety” shows, this did not stop readers from trying). Information in *The Diamond of Deuotion* is consistently divided and meticulously itemized. For example, in a section of *The Footepath of Faith* reprinted in *The Diamond of Deuotion* as “The Footepath to Felicitie,” the material is introduced with a historiated initial and divided into paragraphs, but no other typographical cues guide the reading process (Fig. 1). By contrast, the same material in *The Diamond of Deuotion* is divided into chapters, each of which begins with a numbered summary of the contents, each number corresponding to a numbered paragraph within the chapter (Fig. 2). These short summaries promote ease of access, as they enable readers to scan through the contents at a glance, but also support memorization, encouraging readers to comprehend and store information in chunks. The summaries also work to control readers’ interpretation, ensuring that they take away from the material what Fleming wishes to emphasize.



334 The Bridge

ɛ is of power to confound thy Ghoſtly enimie. Conſider of this excellent bleſſing, be thankfull for it, and giue God the glorie: This is the Bridge to bleſſednesſe.

If thou be crowned with the graces and gifts of God, either corporall or mentall, or both, as with wealth, wiſdome, ſtrength, comelineſſe, poſſeſſions, children, knowledge, vnderſtanding, faith, honeſtie, credite, eſtimation, and ſuch like: Conſider of this excellent bleſſing, be thankfull for it, and giue God the glorie: This is the Bridge to bleſſednesſe.

If thou haue a houſe to hide thy head in, lodging fit for thy naturall nights reſt and quietneſſe, cloathing to couer thy ſhame and nakednesſe, ſuſtenance to preſerue thee aliue, ſubſtance to mainteine thy houſe and familie: Conſider of this excellent bleſſing, be thankfull for it, and giue God the glorie: This is the bridge to bleſ-

to bleſſednesſe. 335

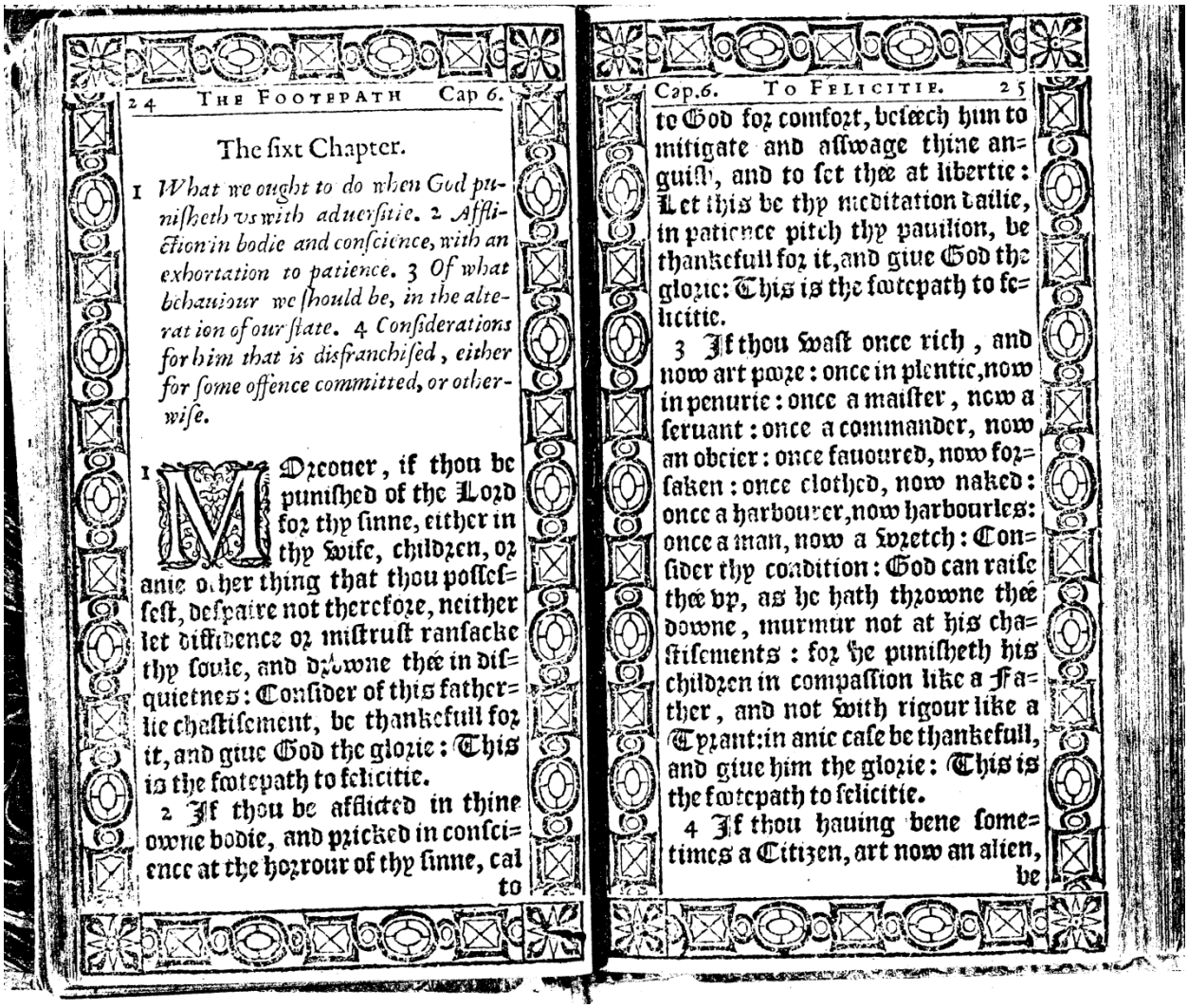
bleſſednesſe.

If thou be puniſhed of the Lorde for thy ſinne, either in thy wife, thy children, or any other thing that thou poſſeſſeſt, deſpaire not therefore, neither let diffidence or miſtruſt: impatience and murmuring: ranſake thy ſoule, & drowne thee in diſquietneſſe: Conſider of his fatherlie chaſtiſement be thankfull for it, and giue God the glorie: This is the Bridge to bleſſednesſe.

If thou be afflicted in thine owne bodie, and pricked in conſcience at the horrour of thy ſinne, call to God for comfort, beſeech him to mitigate and aſſwage thine anguiſh, and to ſette thee at libertie: let this be thy meditation daily, in patience pitch thy paſſion, be thankfull for it, and giue God the glorie: This is the Bridge to bleſſednesſe.

If thou waſt once rich, and nowe art poore: one in plentie, nowe in penurie:

Figure 1: *The Footepath of Faith*



24 THE FOOTEPATH Cap 6.

The sixt Chapter.

1 *What we ought to do when God punisheth vs with aduersitie.* 2 *Affliction in bodie and conscience, with an exhortation to patience.* 3 *Of what behauiour we should be, in the alteration of our state.* 4 *Considerations for him that is disfranchised, either for some offence committed, or otherwise.*

1 MOreouer, if thou be punished of the Lord for thy sinne, either in thy wife, children, or anie other thing that thou possessest, despaire not therefore, neither let diffidence or mistrust ransacke thy soule, and drowne thee in disquietnes: Consider of this fatherlie chastisement, be thankefull for it, and giue God the glorie: This is the footepath to felicitie.

2 If thou be afflicted in thine owne bodie, and pricked in conscience at the horrour of thy sinne, cal to

Cap.6. TO FELICITIE. 25

to God for comfort, beseech him to mitigate and asswage thine anguish, and to set thee at libertie: Let this be thy meditation dailie, in patience pitch thy pauilion, be thankefull for it, and giue God the glorie: This is the footepath to felicitie.

3 If thou wast once rich, and now art poore: once in plentie, now in penurie: once a maister, now a seruant: once a commander, now an obeier: once fauoured, now forsaken: once clothed, now naked: once a harbourer, now harbourles: once a man, now a wretch: Consider thy condition: God can raise thee vp, as he hath throwne thee downe, murmur not at his chastisements: for he punisheth his children in compassion like a Father, and not with rigour like a Tyrant: in anie case be thankefull, and giue him the glorie: This is the footepath to felicitie.

4 If thou hauing bene sometimes a Citizen, art now an alien, be

The printed page is thus not a passive medium, but a cultural agent (Tribble, *Margins* 4). Borders, historiated initials, woodcut flourishes, centred headings, and summaries, all of these typographic features serve to fix information in precise, verifiable dimensions, encouraging readers to trace, grasp, and apply the prayers and doctrinal tenets Fleming offers.

Lori Anne Ferrell suggests that the structure, visual design, and "facilitative tactility" (145) of early modern instructional manuals embodied a fundamental pedagogical message: "*you can grasp the truth of this idea as readily as you do this book, as skillfully as you do this page*" (137). She suggests that devotional handbooks are "the religious sub-*genera* of a secular genre" of textbooks promising mastery of practical arts like husbandry and geometry to members of an ambitious, but largely un-Latinate, 'middling class'; these how-to manuals, boasting state-of-the-art graphic design and pedagogical innovations, demonstrate the expansion of the middlebrow cognitive market of the late sixteenth century (138). The structure and typographic layout of these textbooks offered a kind of visual validation of the information they promised to convey, reassuring less- or unlearned readers that mastery of complex and challenging knowledge was at their finger-tips (138-139). In his pioneering study *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue*, Walter Ong traces the origins of the cognitive 'spatialization' of knowledge to the work of Peter Ramus. Ong suggests that the Ramist habit of organizing thought according to spatial models caused knowledge to be perceived as something contained and discoverable in the physical location of the book, thus refocusing "an entire pedagogical economy on the spatial arrangement of material" (314). Raphael Hallett discusses the experiments with printed arrangement, epitome, and display arising from Ramus' influential principles of method, logic, and debate. In the Ramist text, the 'place of argument' is made manifest on the surface of the printed page, which serves as a textual map of available resources; the topics and *loci* of classical tradition manifest themselves as "textured, textual locations on the page," with subcategories and routes of argumentation imprinted as both guides to and

repositories of knowledge (99-102). Ramism dominated the intellectual culture of Cambridge in the 1570s (Cummings 152), and its influence on Fleming can be seen in two brief Ramist-style tables of contents in *The Conduit of Comfort*. The taxonomic tables in *The Conduit of Comfort* offer a visual outline of the truths presented in the prayers and doctrinal tenets. By expounding the Lord's Prayer, the Common Creed, and the Ten Commandments "by Sentence and Example," Fleming promises to inculcate an understanding of the fundamental principles of doctrine, which he organizes around a mnemonic metaphor: the cistern of *The Conduit* is conscience, the pipe is peace, the lock is love, and the key is knowledge. Though the tables are tongue-in-cheek, more a playful rhetorical exercise than a guide to the concrete places of argument, the taxonomic *loci* still hold space and the capacity to generate knowledge (Hallett 112). The influence of Ramism can also be seen in Fleming's efforts to turn the page into a partitioned repository of knowledge. The compartmentalization of information in "The second Blossome" of "The First Branch" of a tri-partite division of prayers in "A Guide to Godlinesse," for example, advances a conception of knowledge as something to be discovered at precise co-ordinates in the text. This compartmentalization creates a reading experience not unlike the one Walter Ong describes in his discussion of the impact of the Ramist textbook in the classroom, where the schoolmaster could direct his students to discover knowledge by looking at a specific page, line and word number. According to Ong, this kind of practice became "a matter of daily routine in a typographical culture" after the advent of Ramism (314).

But even though the uniformity made possible by the technology of printing helped to 'fix' the place of knowledge on multiple copies of the same page, it is important to emphasize that recognition of the cognitive impact of the page did not originate with Ramus or the printing press. Nor are the 'places' of knowledge on the page incompatible with systems of memory. Indeed, many medieval writers acknowledge the mnemonic utility of page design. The spatialization of knowledge on the manuscript page was an important component

in the formation of mnemonic images, which facilitated the recall of specific passages of information on the page. Instructing young students on strategies for improving memory, Hugh of Saint Victor notes, "'it is a great value for fixing a memory-image that when we read books, we strive to impress on our memory...the color, shape, position, and placement of the letters...Indeed I consider nothing so useful for stimulating the memory as this'" (qtd. in Carruthers, *Book of Memory* 10). He advises readers to create a mental grid of the page, noting the placement of its constituent pieces and marking each bit so that it can be recalled clearly and distinctively. Because of the variation inherent to manuscript production, Hugh recommends that a student should always read from the same codex, so that the features of the page on which a particular segment of information appears will become part of one's mnemonic apparatus (Carruthers, *Book of Memory* 117). Raphael Hallett suggests that, by contrast, the Ramist text privileged a textual space for arguments over a mental repository, rejecting the classical and medieval system of mnemonic symbols and images, and substituting instead the austere, imageless map of the printed dichotomy (98). However, although the influence of Ramism can be seen in its compartmentalization of information, *The Diamond of Deuotion* is no bare Ramist text. Indeed, the typographic features used to partition information would be useful in constructing the sort of mental grid recommended by Hugh of Saint Victor. Furthermore, even though there are no brightly coloured illustrations comparable to those that adorn the pages of many medieval manuscripts, *The Diamond of Deuotion* is not an imageless text.

The much-vaunted aversion of English Calvinists to images and icons has been posited as one of the reasons Ramism was influential in Reformist circles. Lori Anne Ferrell suggests that in an age of "iconos*kepticism*," the Reformers embraced new methods of teaching using abstract forms, tables, and diagrams because they posed no threat to the Word (138). In *Word vs. Image: Cognitive Hunger in Renaissance England*, Ellen Spolsky goes so far as to argue that the Reformists' anti-imagistic stance actually stunted their efforts to educate the laity.

Because visual images are processed differently than written materials, the emphasis on the written Word excluded many people, especially the unlearned, from full participation in religious practice; without visual images, congregations were deprived of material to 'think with.' However, if we define what constitutes an 'image' too narrowly, we risk overlooking the important role that rhetorical images played in the developing Protestant cognitive ecology. Andrea Torre suggests that the meaning of the phrase 'image of memory' should be extended beyond illustrations to include "images described in the text, and images which are moulded in the reader's mind through metaphoric expressions, specific allegorical passages, or textual structures. In all such cases, whether real or mental, images can create a strong dialogue with the text they are linked to" (46). In *The Garden of Eloquence*, Henry Peacham discusses the pedagogical value of rhetorical images and how they work on the mind to produce a sense of understanding as persuasive as sight:

> because the mind and the sight do much resemble one another, we may wel borrow of the one and beare it to ye other, for as the sighte decearneth thinges, by their fourmes, and colloures, and sée what they be, so likewise the mind, by the power intelective, doth vnderstand truth from falshood, right from wrong, and honest meanings, from guilfull and subtill deuises, and also because the sight is a sure sence, and sildome deceyued, for that which we sée, we beleeue it to be so, therefore when we vnderstand a thing very well, we may say we sée it. (B2v)

It is the task of the effective orator to "expresse & set forth a thing so plainely, that it seemeth rather paynted in tables, then expressed with wordes" in order to help his readers achieve true understanding (O2). Thus, as John Sutton suggests, imagistic and textual models for mnemonic storage could function in complementary, rather than opposed, fashions, even in Protestant texts ("Body, Mind, and Order" 121).

As I have discussed, Abraham Fleming does not entirely abandon earlier strategies for cognitive scaffolding, even using rhetorical images when it serves

his purpose. These are not the startling or vivid illustrations often associated with classical and medieval systems of memory; there are no violent or shocking descriptions in the text make the material more memorable. But in the re-working *The Footepath of Faith* into *The Diamond of Deuotion*, Fleming develops popular figures from classical and humanist rhetoric to capitalize on the mnemonic value of images without encouraging false or idolatrous worship of them. In "A Swarme of Bees," for example, Fleming organizes Proverbs around an allegory of bees storing the wholesome "honey" of biblical wisdom into ten separate "honicombes" of "Be" and "Be not" advice. The bee was a well-known rhetorical figure for the process of *divisio* and *compositio*, which anyone who had received a humanist education would have associated with Seneca. Seneca advised, "'We ought to imitate bees, as they say, which fly about and gather [from] flowers suitable for making honey, and then arrange and sort into their cells whatever nectars they have collected'" (qtd. in Carruthers, *Book of Memory* 237). The bee was a popular device, also used by William Hunnis in *A Hyue Full of Hunnye* (1578), Hunnis's metrical rendering of the Book of Genesis. Fleming began to develop this figure in *The Footepath of Faith*, labelling two hundred "Be" and "Be not" aphorisms "A Hiue full of Bees." In *The Diamond of Deuotion*, "A Hiue full of Bees" is transformed into "A Swarme of Bees." The content of the aphorisms is exactly the same as in *The Footepath of Faith*, but the material has been reorganized to reinforce the mnemonic properties of the rhetorical image. For example, in *The Footepath of Faith*, the "Be's" are not separated from the "Be not's"—the material is presented continuously, and there is no attempt to divide the material into 'chunks' using sub-headings or numbers. By contrast, in *The Diamond of Deuotion*, Fleming has organized these sayings into ten "Honicombes," each of which contains twenty proverbial sayings. The first five "Honicombes" present one hundred "most wholesome exhortations vnto vertue and vertuous life" (the "Be's"); the last five "Honicombes" offer one hundred "most whoalsome dehortations from vice and vitious life" (the "Be not's"). Each aphorism is numbered, which enhances the appearance of typographic separation

between units. The division of these aphorisms into carefully divided cells and compartments reinforces Seneca's advice that one's reading should be culled, gathered, and laid away distinctively in separate places, "'for such things are better retained if they are kept separate'" (qtd. in Carruthers, *Book of Memory* 237). The mnemonic efficacy of the partitioned page is bolstered by the allegory Fleming develops in his preface to "A Swarme of Bees." The activity of the bees, who labour diligently in "the pleasant garden of Gods most holie word" to produce wholesome "Honie" for "all godlie disposed peoples" (212-213), represents Fleming's own labour of gathering and reframing scriptural material for the benefit of his readers. It also illustrates the habits of thought and reading Fleming works to inculcate in his unlearned readers. The allegory of the bees reminds readers that they, too, ought to be gathering, storing, and digesting what they read, while the rhetoric image functions as a powerful mnemonic scaffold. This image is sufficiently abstract, there being no visual illustrations of bees on the page, to fall within reformed parameters for the appropriate use of images, and is grounded in the classical, rather than Catholic, rhetorical tradition. Fleming's rhetorical images work in combination with the typographic design of the page to facilitate mnemonic storage and recall without arousing doctrinal controversy.

Fleming also employs botanical metaphors in *The Diamond of Deuotion*, another popular mnemonic trope from classical and medieval rhetoric. The material titled "A handfull of holie Hymnes, and spirituall Songs" in *The Footepath of Faith* becomes "A Plant of Pleasure" in *The Diamond of Deuotion*; "Christian exercises, short, sweete, and comfortable" are transformed into "A Guide to Godlinesse," divided into three "branches," each containing several "blossomes" of prayer; "Graces to be said before and after meales" are re-worked into "A Groue of Graces" containing forty-two "plants." As with the bees, the botanical metaphor combines established strategies for mnemonic scaffolding with typographic and pedagogical innovations to help unlearned readers absorb the information. In *The Footepath of Faith*, Fleming experiments with organizing 'chunks' of information into numbered units, as in "The first tripartite or threefold

Christian prayer to God for thankefulnesse of heart for all his giftes" (37). Fleming adapts a mnemonic strategy of numerical grouping that was a successful feature of Catholic devotion, demonstrated in memorable devices like the Seven Deadly Sins, the Four Cardinal Virtues, the Five Sacred Wounds, and so on. The results of Fleming's initial attempt are somewhat awkward; his numerical division of prayers around themes like obedience, hope, thanksgiving, and charity helps to compartmentalize information, but does little to facilitate mnemonic storage because the scheme is so abstract. There is no image for the reader to 'hook' the larger unit of information onto. In reworking this material into "A Guide to Godlinesse," Fleming opts for a simple but effective mnemonic device, organizing numerical divisions around the rhetorical image of a flowering tree. The tree has three "branches," confession, petition, and thanksgiving, and each branch is divided into numbered "blossomes" of prayer. He adopts a similar strategy in "A Groue of Graces" as well as "A Plant of Pleasure," keeping the acrostic-within-an-acrostic device he used in *The Footepath of Faith*, but organizing the prose hymns and verse songs into "fourteene seuerall flowers." In his preface to "A Plant of Pleasure," Fleming explains the purpose of his rhetorical devices: to provide "exercise coupled with delectation and pleasure, whereby not onelie the bodie, and euerie member thereof, is comforted, but the mind also, and the faculties or powers of the same iollilie quickened" (248). This justification recalls Henry Peacham's definition of rhetorical figures as devices that "take away the wearinesse of our common and dayly speach, and doe fashion a pleasant, sharpe, euident and gallant kinde of speaking, giuing vnto matters great strength, perspecuitie and grace" (H4v). Richard Halpern suggests that one of humanism's most important innovations was the injection of rhetoric into pedagogy, an approach to education that combined ideological content with rhetorical persuasion; humanists sought to develop a mode of indoctrination based on hegemony and consent, rather than force and coercion, using pedagogical strategies that elicited pleasure instead of inflicting pain (28). The pedagogical aims of the humanists and the Reformers intersected (and, indeed, they were often

one and the same), as the Reformers abjured the passive acceptance of ideology as one of the evils of Catholicism and sought to inculcate an active embrace of the reformed faith. Fleming's rhetorical imagery and mnemonic devices are meant to function as a form of cognitive discipline as well as play, providing the tools to inculcate doctrinal tenets and the incentive to make his readers desire their own ideological subordination (Halpern 30). Fleming works to replace popular forms of recreation—"fond fansies, fables, dotages, imaginations, dreames, & I cannot tell what idle and vnfruitefull discourses"—with "holie exercises, and godlie meditations" (249), but his aim is to entice readers to internalize and enact his regimen of spiritual discipline as though they had chosen it themselves.

In *The Diamond of Deuotion*, Fleming instructs his readers not only on the tenets of the reformed faith, but also on the dominant humanist system of reading and writing. The apicultural and horticultural metaphors are models for imitation as well as effective mnemonic scaffolds. By illustrating his own reading and writing process as bees gathering pollen to produce honey or a gardener selecting the choicest flowers and reassembling them into a pleasing arrangement, Fleming educates his readers on the process of *divisio* and *compositio*, offering the rudiments of a humanist education to those who might not receive it otherwise. He provides strategies for reading and memorization that diligent students might imitate and apply when reading or listening to scripture, the Book of Common Prayer, sermons, husbandry manuals, or a wide variety of other material. In so doing, Fleming offers his readers access to the symbolic capital that a humanist education bestowed on its practitioners in the early modern period. His scriptural aphorisms, gathered and framed for ease of access and internalization, could be deployed in a variety of public and private situations—letters, conversations, speeches, business negotiations—to enhance the credibility of those who used them. The ingenuity of *The Diamond of Deuotion* is that it is designed not only to be useful to the unlearned but also to appeal to the ambitious and socially mobile; Fleming combines the pedagogical foundations of an elite humanist education with innovations in cognitive and rhetorical theory, as well as print technology, to

make his text attractive to readers “high and lowe” and perhaps especially ‘middling’ (A3v).

“Profitable” Prayers: The Economics of Piety

At the time that Fleming composed his devotional handbooks, Britain was undergoing a process of profound socioeconomic transformation. The rate of population growth had been increasing since the 1520s, leading to regional shortages of basic necessities and driving up prices as demand exceeded supply. As Keith Wrightson outlines, in a society in which the majority of households were self-provisioning, yielding only a small surplus of agricultural goods to be sold on the market, demographic growth exerted pressure on a domestic economy with a limited capacity to respond quickly to demand with increased production (129). The growing numbers of people involved in agricultural industry in rural areas and manufacturing in urban areas altered the balance between those who were self-provisioning and those who purchased goods with their wages (Wrightson 129). Despite the shortage of necessities available for purchase, Britain’s domestic economy could not expand rapidly enough to accommodate a growing supply of labour; as a result, real wages could not keep pace with rising prices (Wrightson 146). As prices rose, so, too, did the fines and rents landlords required from their tenants, but the number and size of available tenancies were rapidly diminishing. As Wrightson affirms, these were hard economic times, especially for the labouring poor, but also for households that toed the line between subsistence and poverty, an increasing number of which slipped into destitution (147). Yet economic upheaval brought opportunity as well as devastation, especially for substantial tenant-farmers and prosperous urban householders. Those who could afford to keep their holdings had incentive to expand them, and households that had formerly produced for subsistence were spurred to produce for the market, encouraging specialization of labour. The expansion of the domestic economy in combination with international trade and exploration brought an influx of agricultural and luxury goods into the market, raising the standard of living dramatically for some households, particularly those

of yeomen and husbandmen. The prosperity of proto-capitalist tenant-farmers stimulated local economies, providing work for local craftsmen, urban tradesmen and manufacturers (Wrightson 140). Lori Anne Ferrell identifies this 'middling class,' a status group defined by its ambition, as the primary audience for books of spiritual and practical improvement. Ferrell posits that the promise of mastery over a complex doctrinal system would have been especially appealing to this "cohort of strivers eager to learn new ideas and captivated by complexity" (137).

It is primarily to this audience, upwardly mobile men in positions of moderate social and economic influence, but with varying levels of formal education, that *The Diamond of Deuotion* is designed to appeal. Fleming addresses those who hold "office in the Common-wealth," magistrates, merchants, and husbandmen who have "hanging on [their] hands, [a] wife, children, seruants, and a familie" (27-28). In his dedicatory epistle, Fleming promises to "requite the trauell of the vnderstanding Reader, with reasonable profit and aduantage" (A3). In this period, the conspicuous practice of piety offered social and economic, as well as spiritual, rewards. Craig Muldrew describes early modern England as a culture of credit: in a society without banks and with limited amounts of gold and silver in circulation, economic expansion depended upon credit extended between members of a community. As chains of credit grew longer and more complex, the risk of default grew, particularly by 1580, when the number of litigation cases reached its height. A man's access to credit, in the form of loans and financial assistance from his neighbours, was almost entirely dependent on his reputation for trustworthiness and moral discipline (Muldrew 3-4). Muldrew describes the development of "competitive piety" among householders who sought to promote their reputations for godliness and honesty in order to bolster the credit of their households (148-149). Critical to an early modern man's reputation was his ability to regulate not only his own social and religious practices, but those of the members of his household. As Alexandra Shepard outlines, "Heading a household was presented as the greatest portion of the patriarchal dividend to which all adult males might aspire, and...the

precondition of men's political involvement within the wider community" (70). If the household was construed as a microcosm of the state, then the man who successfully managed the domestic economy of his household and exercised authority over his wife, children, apprentices, and servants was the worthiest candidate for social and economic advancement.

Fleming combines doctrinal education with practical household instruction in order to transform his readers into consummate Christian householders, as proficient in the management of their domestic economies as they are in leading godly lives. It is the responsibility of the male head of household to serve as "a perfect patterne of pietie" for his wife, children, servants, and neighbours (30). The prayers and aphorisms Fleming has structured for ease of learning are ideal for instilling "wholesome precepts of Christian knowledge" into the hearts and minds of unlearned family members and servants, as well as householders themselves (28). Fleming advises householders to implement a daily routine of household prayer and instruction: in the morning, noon, and at night, a householder should "call together, like a good shepheard, [his] whole familie or flocke," lead them in prayer, and "laie before them in plaine speach, according to their slender capacities, the tender care and fatherlie loue of God" (28-29). In order to be an effective and exemplary spiritual leader, however, the male head of household must also adopt and internalize a rigorous regimen of self-discipline, as a man's mastery of his household was predicated on his mastery over himself (Shepard 77-78). It is worth noting the well-known exhortations of early modern conduct literature to chastity, silence, and obedience are not only directed towards women. In a culture of credit, a man's actions, speech, religious beliefs, and sexual habits were also subject to scrutiny and expected to be beyond reproach—indeed, for members of the economically precarious 'middling' strata, the financial security of their households depended on it. According to Alexandra Shepard, normative manhood was defined in conduct literature by comparison to deviant 'others' (8-9). The main axis of difference that Fleming works to establish in *The Diamond of Deuotion* is that between the 'godly' householder and his

ungodly counterpart, who is either so full of worldly concerns and effeminate lust that he neglects true religion, or who is so misguided about its tenets that he covertly adheres to and furthers false doctrine. Fleming admonishes householders to avoid drunkenness, concupiscence, the company of foolish men and loose women, gossip, and other idle chatter. He repeatedly emphasizes the importance of guarding one's tongue: "Be sure to kéepe thy mouth, so shalt thou kéepe thy life" (221); "Be discréet in thy talke & communication, and in thy behauior be mild, humble, & courteous" (224-225). But although the ideal householder should be chaste, sober, reserved, and mild, all of which are traits that Thomas Bentley prescribes to women, he must not be effeminate: "Be not delicate and nice: for that is the propertie of women" (234). Indeed, silence, chastity, and obedience are not considered effeminate qualities, but excessive indulgence and a loss of self-control are. Dancing, "light songs and sonets," "stories of loue," bawdy speech, and adultery are activities that threaten the purity of a man's "vessell," as well as the safety of his soul (16). Fleming aligns those who fail to exercise appropriate masculine self-control with "Antichristians," "Papists" and "sowers of sects and schismes in the Church" (7). The pit of Hell is the "portion of all such, as haue cast the commandements of God contemptuouslie behind them," whether they be "couetous persons, robbers, adulterers," "idle liuers, wantons," or "enimies to Gods truth" (7).

Fleming's prescriptions verify Alexandra Shepard's claim that "While men were often better placed to benefit from them, patriarchal imperatives nonetheless constituted attempts to discipline and order men as well as women" (1). Yet Fleming expresses anxiety that men cannot uphold the patriarchal order. Fleming reproaches men in positions of power and influence for neglecting not only their duty to God, but also to Church and state. Governors, "being more mindfull of the fulfilling of their affections" than God's glory, have failed to establish and uphold laws to protect the Church from its enemies; judges have "corruptlie declined from righteous iudgement," valuing their own ambition above true religion (95). Perhaps worst of all, the ministers, who "should haue

bene lightes vnto all estates, haue for the most part, no light in themselues" (96). How many, Fleming demands, who carry "the light of Gospell in their mouthes, carrie also in their hands, the filthie water of ambition and couetousnes, wherewith to quench it?" (96). These failures of masculinity have dangerous consequence for the state and the future of the reformed Church. Fleming warns that "there bée heapes of our people, which either through a déepe rooted affection and loue to Popish religion, or through a wicked opinion which they nourish of embracing the truth set foorth, are so nousled, blinded, and misled, as that they still abide in an vtter ignorance of the truth it selfe" (90). Even among men who profess the reformed faith, there is an absence of masculine drive and vitality:

> for the remnant of vs, which through grace haue trulie, and faithfullie beléeued, it is with so great weakenes of faith, and so small reformation of manners, that our glorious profession of the Gospell, supported and borne out with so small shewe of good fruites...maketh not onelie the enimies to condemne vs, but our selues to suspect one another, whether we belong vnto thée or no (91)

Fleming portrays a nation of men so committed to the pursuit of selfish ambition and worldly pleasure and so devoted to false doctrine that the Church of England is in danger of falling to heretical sects and Jesuit incursions. It was the responsibility of every householder to defend his family from the threats of recusancy and heresy, but *The Diamond of Deuotion* belies an anxiety that men are unwilling or unable to carry out this task. Indeed, Fleming grudgingly acknowledges the influential role that women play in household devotion, in an effort to spur men to take charge: "Is it not a shame that women, which are the weaker vessels, should put vs in minde what we ought to do?" (69). In theory, a devout woman bolstered a man's credibility as evidence of his ability to govern his household, but her authority and initiative were not to surpass his; in practice, however, women, more often than men, may have served as "a perfect patterne of pietie" to their households (30). Elizabeth Foyster argues that "a man's sexual

activities, or lack of them, were central to notions of honourable and dishonourable manhood," to the extent that "without the core of a worthy sexual reputation, all other contributing facets to male reputation could be meaningless" (10). Yet the sexual conduct of both men and women in the early modern period has received a disproportionate, possibly anachronistic, amount of analysis. In *The Diamond of Deuotion,* Fleming makes the individual's commitment to the reformed religion the most important qualification of masculinity, the wellspring of public displays of virtue, such as honest conversation, trustworthy economic dealing, charity towards one's neighbours, and the exercise of firm yet compassionate control over household subordinates.

Indeed, Fleming had personal, as well as pious, motives for redefining the qualities that established a man's credibility in early modern England. Of all the editors of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Annabel Patterson claims that only John Stow "could conceivably have deserved the charge of being of the 'Dregs of the common People'" (10). She does not align Abraham Fleming with the early modern populace because he received a university education and later served as chaplain to the Countess of Nottingham. What this brief biographical sketch does not acknowledge is that Fleming's university career was protracted by poverty; that Fleming was dependent on wage labour in the print shops of London and excluded from the predominant patriarchal definitions of manhood because he lacked the means to establish his own household; and that it was only at the end of a thirteen-year career in the printing industry that he secured a position that offered him a modicum of comfort and security. Although we know little about his background, William Miller speculates that Abraham Fleming's family was "far from well-to-do" (6). Abraham's older brother Samuel, a scholar of some ability, attended Eton for two years and entered King's College on a scholarship, receiving his B.A. from Cambridge University in 1570. His standing was seventh in an *Ordo senioritatis* of 114 students, ahead of Giles Fletcher the elder, who ranked eighth, and Gabriel Harvey, who was ninth. To these accomplishments, Samuel added a Master's degree and a Bachelor's of Theology (Miller 23-25). By

contrast, Abraham's university career was fraught by uncertainty and interruption. He matriculated at Peterhouse as a sizar or poor scholar in 1570, was in residence at intervals until 1575, left Cambridge without his degree, and did not receive his B.A. until 1582 (Miller 7). At the time Fleming composed his devotional handbooks, he was apparently unable to pay his fees and had left university to earn a living in the printing houses of Saint Paul's Churchyard. Although he found steady employment as an author, proof-corrector, and editor for many of London's most prominent printers, including Henry Denham, Fleming was never registered as an apprentice with the Stationers' Company (Miller 32-33); his labour, though continuous, was not in any formal sense secure. Although he thanks Andrew Perne, Master of Peterhouse, for relieving him of a serious affliction, as well as Sir Rowland Hayward, to whom he dedicated *The Footepath of Faith*, and William Lambe, for whom he composed *The Conduit of Comfort*, Fleming lacked both the social connections and financial reserves to help him rise in the world or continue his studies unimpeded. Perhaps the only social advantage he was able to attain at this stage of his life was his B.A., which took him twelve years to acquire.

Though not unlearned, Fleming occupied a marginal position in the social and economic hierarchy of early modern England, along with growing numbers of the labouring poor, "who worked, but whose domestic economies were ones of constant makeshifts and expedients, fraught with the perennial risk of tumbling into severe poverty in the event of any misfortune" (Wrightson 148). There is no evidence to suggest that Fleming had the means to marry and establish his own household, even if he was inclined to do so, which barred him from the social and economic advantages conferred upon householders. Men like Fleming, who had neither the social connections nor the financial resources to establish their own households, were excluded from the predominant patriarchal definition of manhood in significant ways, and faced the challenge of convincing other men that, despite these failings, they were worthy of social and economic advancement. In these circumstances, Fleming's best qualifications for obtaining

credit were his advanced education and his religious zeal. In his devotional writing, Fleming works to find alternatives to the predominant social definition of manhood to assert his fitness for promotion in patriarchal society, submitting his *copia* of biblical wisdom in place of material wealth as evidence of his humanist education and his ability to accumulate and deploy capital. This was not necessarily a novel strategy—Richard Halpern notes that literary *copia* "had always had metaphorical associations with wealth, and Renaissance humanists were quick to point out that the habits learned in gathering literary materials were like those needed to achieve mutual prosperity" (91); however, combining the symbolic capital of his humanist education with a demonstration of exemplary piety upped the ante, as faith came to be perceived as the essential building block of credit. In a culture of credit and competitive piety, a humanist education and a reputation for zeal could become powerful authorizing tools, advertising not only Fleming's learning and piety, but his fitness to instruct and, thereby, exert authority over other men.

Like contemporary husbandry manuals, Fleming's devotional handbooks align masculine authority with "the economics of using and ordering a discourse," working to cultivate the reader's sense of decorum by offering persuasive models of invention and disposition for future imitation (Hutson 31). In positioning himself as one who is willing and able to share his learning with others, Fleming promotes himself as a model of masculine decorum and generosity, worthy of holding mastery over others because he has attained mastery over himself. The art of household government, or *oikonomia*, is exemplary not simply in the sense that it is learned by example, but also that it is taught by example. The householder demonstrates his exemplarity in the instruction and transformation of his subordinates and thereby establishes himself "as the most honourable and necessary of citizens in any state" (Hutson 34). In the absence of any household subordinates to govern, Fleming sets himself the task of governing other men through the medium of print, promising to transform the unlearned masses into a commonwealth of reformed Christians. In the long run, Fleming's strategy may

have paid off. In 1589, Fleming was appointed chaplain to George Carey's sister, Catherine Howard, Countess of Nottingham.[4] But Fleming also offers his readers strategies for achieving their own social, as well as spiritual, advancement. Mary Thomas Crane discusses the centrality of aphoristic sayings to humanist education "to constitute and control a middle-class subject able to move upward within the changing hierarchies of the early modern state" (4). Many of the passages that Fleming culled from scripture offer practical advice on negotiating worldly business: "Be thou painefull and laborious in thy trade and occupation, so shalt thou atteine to be rich" (218); "Be not rash in thine enterprises: for of rashnesse and hardinesse commeth repentance and sorrowe" (239). But these sayings also provide a form of symbolic capital, which could be deployed in private and public letters, conversations, and business negotiations to bolster the religious and economic creditability of the man who used them strategically (Crane 6-7). According to Wayne Rebhorn, by printing their texts and disseminating them to a general audience, authors provided knowledge of rhetoric to anyone who encountered the text, putting an instrument into the hands of their readers by which they could rise (103). The pedagogical strategies Fleming incorporated into *The Diamond of Deuotion*, bolstered by techniques drawn from classical and monastic rhetoric and enhanced by Denham's mastery of printing and page design, generated a devotional handbook that was both educationally innovative and socially transformative. Fleming may have designed *The Diamond of Deuotion* to appeal to members of the 'middling sort,' but he structured his prayers and precepts to be memorable and useful to readers across the social spectrum. The poor and the unlearned could internalise and make use of *The Diamond* if they heard it read aloud because of the mnemonic structures Fleming employs in the text, which also provided models for imitation. In *The Diamond of*

[4] There is evidence to suggest that the Carey family did not simply acknowledge the compliment of Fleming's dedication without reading his book. Aemelia Lanyer, mistress of George Carey's father, Lord Hunsdon, refers to the *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum* as a "rich diamond of deuotion" (34). If this is not merely a stock phrase, it suggests that Lanyer read and recalled *The Diamond of Deuotion*, and that George Carey valued the book enough to share it with others.

Deuotion, Abraham Fleming offers his readers symbolic capital in a culture of credit and, more importantly, the means to further their own religious education.

Chapter Two: Thomas Bentley and the Feminine "Face of the Church Militant"

Thomas Bentley's *Monument of Matrones*, printed in 1582 by Henry Denham and Thomas Dawson, is a distinctively large and sumptuously illustrated anthology of prayers, meditations, precepts, and examples, furnishing an exhaustive guide to English Protestant private and household devotion. Though advertised "for the necessarie vse of both sexes," *The Monument* is one of the first English prayer books marketed specifically to women and purports to address almost every aspect of women's experience. Divided into "seuen seuerall Lamps of Virginitie," the first Lamp contains the scriptural prayers, hymns, and songs of biblical women; the second Lamp commemorates the prayers and meditations of contemporary Englishwomen; the third Lamp provides prayers for Queen Elizabeth's use on the anniversary of her coronation; the fourth Lamp contains prayers for the Sabbath and feast days; the fifth Lamp contains prayers for "all sorts and degrees of women"; the sixth Lamp sets forth precepts for women's duties; and the seventh Lamp lists historical and biblical examples of virtuous and sinful women. A "monument" to preserve the writing of "heroicall" women authors (B1), a political admonition to the Queen, an apocalyptic piece of anti-Catholic propaganda, a male-authored prescription for feminine conduct, and a "domesticall librarie" for the "simple reader" (B2v), *The Monument of Matrones* is a complex and sometimes contradictory prayer book, surpassing its contemporaries in size and scope. Of the devotional handbooks I have examined, none advances a more comprehensive political agenda or scrutinizes the devotional practices of women in more rigorous detail.

Critical studies of *The Monument of Matrones* have focused on Thomas Bentley's efforts to subordinate women and to limit their sexual and spiritual autonomy by imposing surveillance on their public, private, and domestic conduct, even their very thoughts. In scripting prayers in a woman's voice, Bentley exerts control over his female reader's articulation of faith and compels

her to echo his exhortations towards traditional feminine virtues like chastity and obedience (Staub 63). In Susan Staub's estimation, "virtually everything from the title page onwards seems calculated to contain female power" (63); however, my examination of *The Monument of Matrones* in its historical and religious context demonstrates that Bentley's gendered prescriptions are more nuanced than Staub's analysis allows. Despite the prevailing patriarchal ideology that confined women's influence to the private, domestic sphere, Bentley enlists women to strengthen and reform the English Church and nation. What can be discerned from his activities as an author, antiquarian, and churchwarden suggests that he recognised the strength and influence of women's devotional practice and encouraged their spiritual leadership, enjoining them to write and publish prayers, to participate in ceremonies, and to "instruct their whole familie in the principall points of christian religion: or...to exhort others to mortification and holinesse of life" (B4). The role he envisions for women in the Church is neither passive nor silent, though it requires extensive masculine control. The unresolved tension at the heart of his project is how to fashion women readers into energetic champions of the Church of England without authorizing them to challenge patriarchal dominance. Bentley's injunctions to social and sexual subordination in the fifth, sixth, and seventh Lamps are a counterweight to women's spiritual authority, and belie his anxiety that granting women too much autonomy will endanger the prevailing social order. Thomas Bentley's aim throughout *The Monument of Matrones* is to discipline the devotional practice of women, whether queens, housewives, or servants, and to channel their spiritual influence towards the fortification and defense of the Church of England. But although his regimen of prayer is intended to delimit women's devotional autonomy, to ensure that they keep within the bounds he prescribes, Bentley's prayers offer women possibilities for political participation and subjective transformation, the ramifications of which would be beyond masculine control.

Colin and Jo Atkinson convincingly demonstrate that the "Thomas Bentley of Graies Inne" advertised on the title page as *The Monument*'s author

and compiler entered Gray's Inn in 1563, later served as churchwarden at Saint Andrew Holborn in Faringdon Ward Without, [1] the wealthiest parish in London, and owned property in the neighbourhood of the parish (Introduction xiii-xiv). An active and zealous layman, Bentley claims in his prefatory epistles to have compiled *The Monument* to "benefit his church" (A2) and to have worked under the guidance and correction of "manie verie graue, wise, learned, and godlie Diuines" (B1v). His term of study at Gray's Inn may have introduced him to influential and learned members of London's religious elite. Gray's Inn was one of the premier institutions for the ambitious sons of the landed gentry, providing good social contacts and a liberal education for those who hoped to climb the social ladder. Distinguished students included William Cecil and Francis Walsingham (Atkinson and Atkinson, "Identity" 333). Elected to the prestigious office of churchwarden, Bentley's responsibilities would have included overseeing the parish finances, collecting rents and fees, distributing charity to the poor, and policing the conduct of its members. He would have been required to investigate and report absenteeism, slander, sexual misconduct, drunkenness, blasphemy, swearing, usury, and the pregnancies of unwed mothers, among other offenses, to the Church courts on a regular basis (Atkinson and Atkinson, "Identity" 345-346). Churchwardens were also responsible for purging the Church of the remnants of Roman Catholic worship and replacing the stone altars of the Mass with Communion tables (Atkinson and Atkinson, "Identity" 347). During his term as churchwarden, Bentley organized feasts to celebrate Elizabeth's birthday and the anniversary of her coronation, donated a Table of Commandments to the parish, replaced the church's stolen copy of *Calvin upon Job* with Jewel's *Works*, and restored pages cut from the church's copy of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (Atkinson and Atkinson, "Identity" 338-343). He kept careful accounts of the parish finances and compiled a book of extracts from the records

[1]There is some confusion about the date of Bentley's election to the position of churchwarden. Colin and Jo Atkinson date Bentley's appointment to 1582 ("Identity" 344), while John N. King dates it to 1584 ("Thomas Bentley's *Monument*" 217).

of Saint Andrew Holborn, a section of which is entitled *Some Monuments of Antiquities worthy memory, collected and gathered out of sundry old Accounts...since the time of King Henry the Sixth* (1584). He may also be the author of *His table declaring what the speciall will and general commandements of God are, for all estates to obserue* (1580), no longer extant (Atkinson and Atkinson, "Identity" 331-332). These activities delineate the interests of an ambitious and learned gentleman, a diligent administrator and antiquarian, and a zealous defender of the Church of England, which is consistent with the religious and political agenda Bentley promotes throughout *The Monument of Matrones*.

The Monument of Matrones is a challenging subject of study, not only because of its size but also because of the multiplicity of voices that Bentley, as compiler, incorporates into the text. In his preface "To the Christian Reader," Bentley describes the many years of "sore trauell" (B4v) he spent collecting "the excellent and rare works" of "woorthie women," many of which had been "dispersed into seuerall pamphlets, and in part...obscured and worne cleane out of print," in addition to editing male-authored devotional treatises to make them "particularlie applie" to women (B1). Bentley explains his role as that of "a faithfull collector" who has followed his copies and the intentions of their authors "trulie" (B3). Bentley consistently identifies the women authors whose work he includes in the second Lamp, which commemorates the prayers and meditations of women famed for their piety, but he rarely identifies his other sources, making it difficult to distinguish his voice from that of other men. Colin and Jo Atkinson identify passages from Juan Luis Vives' *De Institutione Christianae Feminae* in the prayers for mothers- and daughters-in-law in the fifth Lamp (Introduction xix-xx). At least two of the Collects in the fourth Lamp are drawn from liturgies specially issued by the Church of England in response to historical events. Bentley also regularly incorporates passages from the Geneva Bible and its marginal notes. In his preface, Bentley assures readers that he distinguishes between scripture and marginalia by placing passages from the Geneva Bible notes in parentheses for the benefit of the "simple reader" (B2v); however, Colin

and Jo Atkinson identify passages in the seventh Lamp where Bentley has silently folded in the Geneva Bible's marginalia, along with his own amplifications, usually in order to emphasize the wickedness of 'bad' women and the submissiveness of 'good' women ("Subordinating" 293).[2] Bentley's intent was likely less deceitful than Colin and Jo Atkinson imply—he may have omitted parentheses because he paraphrases the Geneva Bible's marginalia, rather than quoting it directly—but the scriptural citations included at the end of each entry make it difficult to distinguish his words from those of the Bible. As Colin and Jo Atkinson rightly ask, would a "simple," less well-educated reader be able to identify Bentley's sources? Would she be able to distinguish between the Word of God and the words of man? ("Subordinating" 293). It is difficult, too, for scholars to gauge how many of these prayers were composed by Bentley and, therefore, might be said to represent his private opinions and experiences. For example, the prayers for women in childbirth contain initial letters that Colin and Jo Atkinson have discovered match those of Thomas Bentley's family members, leading them to the assumption that Bentley composed these prayers for his personal and familial use (Introduction xiv). The idea that Bentley's wife Susan could be the "S.B." referred to in prayers for women dying in childbirth (and indeed, Susan was buried with her infant son Nathaniel on August 18, 1581) adds a new level of emotional urgency and poignancy to these prayers, but it is impossible to draw firm conclusions until more is known about Bentley's sources; however, even if Bentley did not write these prayers himself, he diligently gathered, edited and chose to present them in his prayer book. As my discussion of Abraham Fleming and Anne Wheathill affirms, the dominant humanist mode of cultural production was the creation of composite texts that wove together the author's words with the fragments of others' writing. Whether Bentley was a composer or a collector, the

[2] For example, in his account of Salome, Bentley silently folds in and amplifies the Geneva Bible's comment, "What inconuenience cometh of wanton dancing," rewriting it as "And thus wee see what a great mischiefe and inconuenience vnto the Church and Saintes of God came, by the lewde licentious life of a dauncing damosell" (7.230).

prayers he chose and the way he framed them demonstrate a personal point of view and advance a political agenda.

In *The Monument of Matrones*, the genuine interest of an antiquarian mingles with the ambition of a socially-mobile student of Gray's Inn, and both these concerns are united under Bentley's larger project of reforming and fortifying the Church of England against Roman Catholic incursions. Protestant paranoia about Catholic assaults on the reformed Church had reached a fever pitch by the early 1580s (MacCulloch 46). The Northern Rebellion of Catholic nobles in 1569, the excommunication of Elizabeth I in 1570, followed by an influx of Catholic missionaries in 1574, papal-backed efforts to invade Ireland in 1579 and 1580, the incursion of Jesuits and seminary priests, and the continued religious and political threat posed by Mary Queen of Scots all contributed to Protestants' growing sense of England as a nation under siege. Several priests, including Edmund Campion, had been tried and publicly executed for conspiring to assassinate Elizabeth (MacCulloch 46-47). Catholic attacks against Protestants on the Continent, most notably the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre of the Huguenots in 1572 and the Spanish persecution of Protestants in the Low Countries, intensified fears of Catholic invasion. While the influential circle of Protestant nobility headed by Leicester, Sidney, and Essex urged Elizabeth to aid the Protestant Low Countries in revolt against Spain (Shenk 98), Bentley worked to secure the home front. He admonishes Elizabeth to further reform the Church of England, avoid alliances with foreign Catholic powers, and take sterner measures against those who "seeke the vtter ouerthrowe of pure religion, and in place thereof labour to bring in the shamefull instauration of blasphemous idolatrie" (4.459). Catholic priests were thought to prey upon the unlearned, especially women, and to spread dissention in English households in addition to organizing assaults from abroad (Crawford 64). In response, religious officials enlisted householders to protect their families from perceived Catholic threats by guiding their religious education. Recognizing the importance of the household in bolstering the laity's attachment to the state-sponsored Church and its

vulnerability to religious insurgence, Bentley targets women readers to promote religious conformity in English households and communities. Although, in theory, wives were subordinate to their husbands in household management, they often served as joint governors of their households, and women were responsible for the religious education of children and servants (White 123-124). In *The Monument of Matrones*, Bentley encourages women to perform a vital role in the defense of the English Protestant nation.

The Monument of Matrones is not exceptional in advocating religious reforms or agitating against Catholicism; most, if not all, sixteenth-century English Protestant books of private prayer advance these ideas with varying degrees of urgency. But the scope of this devotional project is extraordinary, imitative of the other great Protestant "monument" of the sixteenth century, John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (Felch, *Elizabeth Tyrwhit's Morning* 61). To create a text worthy of presentation to the Queen and accessible to the "simpler sort of women" (B1), and to find printers to undertake this expensive and time-consuming venture, was no mean feat, and we can envision the appearance of *The Monument of Matrones* in 1582 as a major printing event. Indeed, Bentley and his printers may have intended *The Monument of Matrones* as an update of Foxe's literary landmark for a new generation of English Protestants, in a historical moment in which it was more important for the faithful to live and strengthen adherence to the Church of England than to die for it. Like Foxe, Bentley counters Catholic charges of novelty by establishing the trans-historical presence of the reformed faith (Monta 35). Bentley legitimates the spiritual labours of contemporary Englishwomen by connecting them to their biblical and historical foremothers. If Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* functions as a witness to the Marian martyrs' deaths to confirm the reader's faith in the true English Church (Monta 38), Bentley's *Monument* is a witness to women's faith-sustaining spiritual labour. Bentley offers women an opportunity to certify their faith not through suffering and death (although his prayers for women in childbirth indicate that this may be required and should be faced with courage), but by producing a new

generation of English Protestant subjects and binding communities and households together with their godly example. He urges his women readers to adopt a fortifying regimen of devotional practice and works to build a textual community of faith, encouraging his readers not to "conceale or deteine" their writing or that of "anie godlie authors men or women" for their "priuate vse," but to "take good opportunitie by this occasion offered euen for the common benefit of Christs congregation, to publish the same abroad, for the perfection of this good worke" (B2v). Despite the many restrictions he places on women's activities in *The Monument*, emphasizing that the potential for feminine transgression is never far, Bentley offers women a crucial, even heroic, role in "the field of this spirituall warfare," and encourages them to fight "the good fight of faith couragiouslie in the pure loue of their countrie, and christian charitie towards their neighbours" (B4).

In order to sell his vision across the social spectrum, from the most powerful woman in England to the "simpler sort" of housewife, Bentley and his printers Denham and Dawson market *The Monument of Matrones* as a pious luxury commodity. The first five Lamps, printed by Henry Denham, are sumptuously decorated with woodcut illustrations and carefully printed, as Bentley himself observes, on good-quality paper in a "faire vsuall letter, a thing to the aged and feeble sighted reader verie gratefull and much desired" (B4v). To print a text roughly half the size of the Bible, worthy of presentation to Elizabeth herself, was no small undertaking and would have required careful planning as well as a significant financial investment upfront. In addition to obtaining a large stock of paper, Denham commissioned a number of expensive woodcut illustrations, which he used only in *The Monument of Matrones* (King, "Thomas Bentley's *Monument*" 222). The wide margins of the text, the clear, consistently-sized type, the careful arrangement of borders and woodcut illustrations, and the accuracy of the text and indexes are all evidence of the care and expense Denham lavished on the text. H.R. Plomer calls the first five Lamps of *The Monument of Matrones* "the high-water mark of excellence in Denham's printing" (247-248). It

is possible that Denham prepared presentation copies for Elizabeth and members of her Privy Council. In order to obtain the lucrative patents that allowed some printers to thrive while their brethren struggled, a printer needed to attract the attention of powerful patrons in the government by printing texts that demonstrated his mastery of the trade (Evenden and Freeman 15). Denham's work on *The Monument of Matrones* was likely motivated by a combination of personal zeal and professional ambition, especially as the model on which he had established his successful business was under siege. By the early 1580s, outspoken resistance to printing monopolies was growing and the Stationers' Company was losing its ability to control unlicensed printing. As book piracy proliferated and existing patents became more difficult to uphold, the government gradually ceased issuing monopolies to individual printers (Evenden and Freeman 231). After William Seres' death in 1579, his patent for printing devotional handbooks passed nominally to his son and heir, William II, while Denham continued to pay a yearly rent to print under Seres' privilege. In October, 1582, the younger William Seres petitioned William Cecil to uphold his right to his father's patent in response to a bill of complaint presented by "certain young men of the Company" to the Privy Council "for the abolition of all patents" (Greg 23-24). The complainants, led by John Wolfe, a notorious book pirate and outspoken opponent of printing privileges, questioned the legitimacy of the younger Seres's claim (Davis 238). Whether Denham was satisfied with his arrangement with Seres or whether he might have preferred control of the patent for himself is unknown; however, it was undoubtedly more profitable for him to pay a fee to print as the sole assign of William Seres than to contend with a host of competitors if the patent were to be dissolved. It was perhaps with this possibility in mind that Denham undertook this ambitious project, to show Cecil and the members of the Privy Council that he, as master printer, was Sere's worthy heir and could be relied upon to produce the finest-quality prayer books in the realm.

The breakdown of the system of monopolies meant that a single master printer could no longer rely on financial backing from a patron to produce a large-

scale project. To print a text of the size and complexity of *The Monument of Matrones*, it was increasingly common for printers to form syndicates (Eveden and Freeman 231). To ease the workload and perhaps some of the financial burden of printing *The Monument*, Denham formed a partnership with Thomas Dawson. Thomas Dawson's career forms an interesting contrast to Denham's and the differences in their output highlight the growing rift between printing for patronage and printing for profit that emerged at this time. Though he never achieved lasting fame, Dawson was a successful printer by the standards of the sixteenth-century London book trade. Like Denham, Dawson began his career by producing texts for licensed Stationers before he acquired several lucrative patents of his own. The survey of printers submitted to the Bishop of London in 1583 showed that Dawson operated three presses in his shop at the Three Cranes in the Vinetree. He was evidently respected by his peers and held every major office in the Stationers' Company, serving as Master twice in 1609 and 1615 (Rush 200). Yet although a shrewd businessman and remarkably prolific printer, he did not possess the technical virtuosity of Henry Denham and the texts he printed brought him no lasting recognition (Rush 200). Colin and Jo Atkinson deem his printing of the last two lamps of *The Monument of Matrones* far inferior to the work of Denham, noting that while Denham fits approximately 365 words to a page, Dawson squeezes in about 495 words per page, resulting in small, cramped type that is more difficult to read ("Identity" 324-5). In contrast to Denham's elaborate, specially commissioned woodcut illustrations, Dawson used worn-out woodcuts that circulated from one printing house to another on the title pages of the sixth and seventh Lamps (King, "Thomas Bentley's *Monument*" 217). Thrift, rather than excellence, appears to have been the governing principle behind Dawson's printing of *The Monument*. Whereas Denham aimed to impress influential members of Elizabeth's government, Dawson, who had no stake in the continuance of Seres' patent (indeed, from his point of view, its dissolution may have been advantageous), seems to have sought a return on his investment. As the system of monopolies gave way to a free market, the impetus to impress patrons

with deluxe editions was dwindling (Evenden and Freeman 231), and Dawson expended only as much capital in production as he could hope to recoup in sales.

Colin and Jo Atkinson assert that "Major printers of devotional books like Denham and Dawson would surely not have published such a large work as *The Monument* had they not believed there was a market and that Bentley's name and connections would guarantee the book's success" ("Identity" 326); however, success in the early modern English book trade cannot be measured entirely in terms of sales. *The Monument of Matrones* went through only one edition, but it may have achieved Denham's end: Cecil intervened to ensure that Seres kept his father's patent, securing Denham's position as his assign (Davis 238). Even if sales of *The Monument of Matrones* did not yield Denham a profit, the continuation of Seres' patent surely did in the long run. Furthermore, Denham took steps to make *The Monument* saleable to the wider public by offering affordable and customizable options. Colin and Jo Atkinson estimate that a complete, unbound copy of *The Monument* would have cost at least four shillings and 2.5 pence, a considerable sum, though not beyond the reach of prosperous households (Introduction xvii); however, each of the seven Lamps but the first has its own title page, suggesting that customers could purchase Lamps separately. The marketing of individual Lamps may have expanded the text's audience beyond the wealthy elite by offering customizable options according to readers' means and interests. It is also possible that Denham envisioned *The Monument of Matrones*, as Thomas Bentley did, being used in the church. The quality of the paper, woodcut illustrations, and black letter type, which carried connotations of antiquity and authority (Lesser 107), made *The Monument* worthy of purchase and public display on the pulpit alongside Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, though its smaller size made it more portable for private use. As with *The Diamond of Deuotion*, Denham worked to create a product that fulfilled many purposes and appealed to a diverse readership. A deluxe edition in its entirety to impress the ruling elite, an affordable commodity in individual sections for the 'middling

sort,' *The Monument of Matrones* may have reached a wider audience than critics have assumed.

Despite the comparative shortcoming of the last two Lamps, *The Monument of Matrones* in its entirety is a visually striking text, the wealth of its contents mirrored by the richness of its design; nevertheless, in his preface "To the Christian Reader," Bentley admits that there are "plentie of prayer books more portable" and affordable on the market (B4). Why, with all the options available at the stalls of London booksellers, would an early modern woman wish to purchase and read *The Monument of Matrones*? As Mary Ellen Lamb describes, the growing wealth of the 'middling sort' in sixteenth-century England was matched by an increased circulation of material goods, offering early modern consumers unprecedented opportunities to adopt patterns of individual consumption (16). Emergent capitalism offered new possibilities for subject formation, as the power to consume material goods, including items of clothing, food, and books, became part of an increasingly complex language of the self: "With the power to purchase came, in theory, the power to shape new identities" for women as well as men (Lamb 16). Restraint, too, was a distinctive pattern of consumption. Religious discourse encouraged consumers to moderate personal luxuries and to choose spiritually-edifying goods over frivolous indulgences (Lamb 16). According to Lamb, "Whether only to herself or also to others, a woman defined herself by what she read—a sermon, a classical translation, or a prose romance—at least as much as by how she dressed, what she ate, or how she furnished her house" (Lamb 17). A woman who purchased and read the substantial, expensive, and sumptuously illustrated *Monument of Matrones* would announce herself to her household and her community as a member of England's literate Protestant elite, prosperous and yet discerning to choose a pious luxury item over an abundance of vain extravagances. *The Monument of Matrones* markets the fantasy that through the judicious exercise of her consumer power and rigorous devotional practice, the woman reader can join the spiritual ranks of the most powerful, well-educated, and wealthy women in the realm. As part of his

preface, Bentley includes "A breefe catalog of the memorable names of sundrie right famous Queenes, godlie Ladies, and vertuous women of all ages, which in their kind and countries were notablie learned" (B7). A veritable 'Who's Who' of devout female celebrities, the list includes Anne Bacon, Anne Basset (lady-in-waiting to Jane Seymour and maid-of-honour to Mary Tudor), Mary Cecil (first wife of William Cecil and sister of John Cheke), and Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby, as well as the renowned women authors showcased in the second Lamp. Bentley has included this list not "to currie fauour by flatterie with women," but to

> incourage, prouoke, and allure all godlie women of our time, in some measure, according to their seueral gifts giuen them of God, to become euen from their youth more studious imitators, and diligent folowers of so godlie and rare examples in their vertuous mothers, that as they either in sex, name, or estate are equall with them: so in learning, wisedome, good industrie, and in all holie studies and vertuous exercises commendable for women, they would dailie endeuour themselues to become like them, that so being lightened by their good examples both of life and doctrine, they may shine also together with them on earth, as burning lampes of verie virginitie (B7v-B8).

Even if the reader is equal to these paragons only in sex, rather than name, estate, or education, she can emulate their pious example by adopting the regimen of private and household devotion Bentley prescribes and fashion herself as a shining example of Protestant discipline.

In titling his prayer book *The Monument of Matrones* but organizing it into seven "Lamps of Virginitie," Bentley advances his vision of the role of women in the Church of England. The "Lamps of Virginitie" allude to the parable of the ten virgins in Matthew 25: 1-13. In the opening prefatory prayer, Bentley urges his readers to imitate the vigilance of the wise virgins: "with our loines girt about, and our lamps burning bright, we should take heed and be readie to...watch full warilie and continuallie...for the comming of thy sonne our spirituall Spouse" (A1v).

Jennifer Hellwarth suggests that this allusion epitomizes the control Bentley imposes on women's bodies, the girding of the loins implying the restriction of the seat of female reproductive power (67); but although Bentley compels his women readers to keep their bodies "pure, holie, and vndefiled" (A1v), he does not promote the veneration of physical virginity associated with Roman Catholic doctrine. With the notable exception of Elizabeth I, most of the biblical and historical "virgins" he celebrates are "matrones." This apparent contradiction reinforces the Protestant redefinition of virginity, advanced by Luther and Calvin, as a transitory stage in the transformation of women into ideal wives and mothers, and a spiritual, rather than physical, condition of chastity to be maintained once marriage has been consummated (Jankowski 11). Despite the claims of some scholars that Bentley aims to replace the Catholic cult of the Virgin with a Protestant cult of Elizabeth (Wilson 219; McClure and Headlam Wells 44), Bentley is more interested in legitimating the Protestant conception of chastity and delineating a new sphere of action for women than in filling an emotional void in the hearts of reluctant Protestants. Perhaps no discussion of virginity in the early modern period could be wholly dissociated from the medieval cult of the Virgin, but the discourse of spiritual virginity that Bentley draws on has its roots in the monastic tradition of the early Christian church. Writing in the third century C.E., Tertullian discusses the celibate, and especially the virgin, as the *sponsa Christi* ("bride of Christ"), and the image can be traced further back to the Gnostic *syzygia*, a spiritual, nonsexual union between human and divine; the *sponsa Christi* was a concept that transcended gender, allowing male and female virgins to become brides of Christ (Bugge 60-61; Jankowski 61). A closely related monastic image was that of the *miles*, the virgin as an elite Christian soldier in the battle against Satan, a concept referenced in the Latin poem *Facies militantis Ecclesiæ* ("The Face of the Church Militant") that prefaces *The Monument of Matrones*. Theodora Jankowski argues that if the image of *sponsa* applied equally to men as well as women, so, too, did the image of the *miles*. The images of the genderless soul battling Satan and uniting with Christ in love represented "two

facets of the spiritual life, two possibilities of serving or apprehending God" for both women and men (62). Augustine's discussion of rape in *De Civitate Dei* in the early fifth century laid the foundations for the concept of spiritual virginity promoted by sixteenth-century reformers, as he argued that a woman forced into sexual intercourse against her will could still be considered a virgin if she resisted her attackers mentally and spiritually; thus, although Augustine valorized physical virginity over marriage, he also argued that virginity exists primarily in the will, rather than in the physical body (Jankowski 57). Bentley draws on the monastic tradition of the *sponsa* and the *miles* to legitimate his project (and, by extension, the Protestant redefinition of virginity) by grounding it in the traditions of the early Christian church. Bentley promotes the *sponsa* and the *miles* as devotional models for men and women--the title page advertises the utility of *The Monument* for "both sexes"--but these images enable him to redefine the role of women in the Church, particularly in the wake of the dissolution of the convents. Thus the title pages of Lamps Two through Four show Elizabeth (a physical virgin), alongside biblical and historical wives and mothers (spiritual virgins), praying in the enclosed space of the prayer closet, rather than the convent cloister. The spiritual virginity Bentley advocates is not certified by the intact hymen of the nun who has consecrated her physical body to Christ. The new Protestant ideal is a chaste wife and mother who enlarges the reformed Church with children and who joins the field of spiritual warfare armed with the "ghostlie weapons" of prayer and meditation (B4).

But the radical, even dangerous, implications of promoting women's religious authority and autonomy lurk in the prefatory material as well as the larger text. As Mary Ellen Lamb observes, "To address women as active readers was to imagine their ability to respond to texts, to produce interpretations of their reading, and to criticize the texts they read...in ways that problematised women's status as object within patriarchy" (17). The threat of the unruly, transgressive woman is ever-present in the cautionary examples of wicked women Bentley lists in his preface and in the seventh Lamp, which Colin and Jo Atkinson call "a

patriarchal rewriting of...biblical texts to support women's subordination" ("Subordinating" 298). Even the exemplary women Bentley venerates are potentially problematic role models for a tractable female readership. Bentley's "breefe catalog...of godlie Ladies" includes Mary I of England and "Katherine Q. of England" (a reference to Katherine of Aragon, as Katherine Parr is listed in a separate entry). None of Henry VIII's other wives are included in this list, and only Katherine of Aragon is acknowledged Queen of England. The inclusion of Katherine and Mary is surprising, especially in light of the exclusion of Anne Boleyn, whose marriage to Henry VIII catalyzed England's break with the Church of Rome and who was instrumental in advancing the careers of Thomas Cranmer, Hugh Latimer, Matthew Parker, and other influential reformers. If Bentley's aim was to complement Elizabeth I by acknowledging the renowned piety of her sister, then why ignore her mother, whom John Aylmer describes as "the chief, first, and only cause of banyshing the beast of Rome, with all his beggerly baggage" (B4v)? Either Bentley did not consider her pious accomplishments significant enough to warrant mention, or he did not consider Anne Boleyn—reputed to be an outspoken and insubordinate wife, as well as an adulteress—an appropriate model for his female readers. Despite Bentley's vehement anti-Catholic polemic, his catalogue suggests that it is preferable for women to follow the example of Katherine and Mary as obedient and faithful wives, albeit on the wrong side of the confessional divide, than to challenge the patriarchal order.[3] But although well-known for their piety and fidelity, Katherine and her daughter had been dangerous obstacles to the Reformation in England. Mary I was a particularly vivid example of the destructive potential of women's religious authority. And at the centre of *The Monument* stands Anne Boleyn's daughter, Elizabeth I, an ambiguous model for the ideal Protestant woman Bentley aims to construct. Although Bentley promotes spiritual chastity, the perpetual physical

[3] Indeed, Bentley expresses conservative admiration for the "'great devotion & zeal of the people in old time towards the house of the Lord'" in *Some Monuments of Antiquities*, although he qualifies this praise by commending the abolition of Catholic "'superstition and idolatry'" under Elizabeth (qtd. in Berlin 47).

virginity that Elizabeth embodied represented "a queer space within the otherwise very restrictive and binary early modern sex/gender system" (Jankowski 8). Elizabeth's piety and learning were considered exemplary, but her position outside patriarchal authority was not. Even as this "breefe catalog" works to define a pious and obedient feminine ideal, it exposes the cracks in the foundations of patriarchy created by women's religious authority and underlines a central tension in Bentley's project: how to activate women as spiritual defenders without empowering them to overthrow patriarchal control.

To contain the radical possibilities opened up by women's reading and writing, Bentley uses his prefatory material to define and control his audience. As Heidi Brayman Hackel illustrates, paratexts work to establish distinctions between ordinary and exemplary readers. The most powerful and highly skilled readers are addressed in dedicatory epistles, while "those in danger of misconstruing or failing to grasp the text" are instructed in separate letters to the 'common' reader (Brayman Hackel 98). *The Monument of Matrones*' prefatory material employs visual and textual cues to establish a hierarchy of readers. Both the "praier vpon the posie prefixed" and the dedicatory epistle to Elizabeth are illustrated with historiated initials and set in roman type, the preferred typeface for printing humanist texts. The Latin poem *Lampas Virginitatis* ("The Lamp of Virginity") distinguishes the Queen from 'common' women readers, as very few would have received an education in classical languages. Unlearned readers are also excluded from the prefatory poems *Facies militantis Ecclesiæ* ("The Face of the Church Militant") and the *Argumentum libri* written by "L.S.", as well as the endorsement of "Rob. Marbeck *ad lectorem*." These poems would be intelligible only to Bentley's most learned women readers and men who had received at least a grammar school education. That *Facies militantis Ecclesiæ,* a revelatory vision of the militant Church on earth waging war against sin, is presented in Latin suggests that incendiary potential of apocalyptic polemic was deemed unsuitable for unsophisticated readers who might misapprehend its political significance. Uprisings on the Continent, most notably the Münster Rebellion of 1536, stood as

examples of the dangers of apocalyptic preaching for generations of reformers (Firth 32).Yet even if a woman reader could not translate these poems, she could still interpret their textual cues. The poems demonstrate Bentley's authority as a pious and learned gentleman, and indicate approval for his project by the educated masculine elite. These poems of endorsement are designed to advertise the book's scholastic quality and doctrinal credibility, encouraging the unlearned reader to yield to Bentley's superior learning and comply with his directives.

Bentley's preface "To the Christian Reader" reinforces this message by emphasizing the difference between the exemplary women he commemorates and the "simpler sort" of women readers. In contrast to the elegant presentation of the dedicatory epistle to Elizabeth, Bentley's preface to the reader is printed in cramped black letter type, used most often in printing vernacular texts accessible to readers who had not received a humanist education. Bentley begins by praising the "right famous Queenes, noble Ladies, vertuous Virgins, and godlie Gentlewomen" who have proved themselves "woorthie paternes of all pietie, godlinesse, and religion to their sex" and have laboured "with all carefull industrie and earnest indeuour" to produce the "verie godlie, learned, and diuine treatises" for "the common benefit of their countrie" (B1). Though not all aristocratic, the women authors showcased in the second Lamp are prosperous and unusually well-educated, granted privilege and influence by their social position as well as their renowned piety; therefore, their texts are worthy to be registered "as perfect presidents of true pietie and godlinesse in woman kind to all posteritie" (B1). But, Bentley clarifies, only a handful of exemplary women are capable of producing textual monuments beneficial to their Church and country for the comfort and instruction of men, as well as women. The "simpler sort of women" (B1), the anonymous, uncontrollable masses with varying degrees of education and social status, require vigorous masculine guidance to contain the threatening possibilities of their reading and devotional practice. As such, Bentley has mined passages from scripture and "manie other good bookes...penned by diuers godlie learned men" to teach women their proper "priuate and publike" duties and inculcate

respect for patriarchal authority (B1-B1v). To reinforce this point, Bentley closes by quoting excerpts from 1 Corinthians 11:4-16 under the heading "What ceremonie euerie woman ought by Gods word to vse in the time of praier, publike or priuate" (B8). In *Silent, Chaste and Obedient*, Suzanne Hull notes that Bentley eliminates verses 11 and 12, the only passages that stress "the interdependence and even equality of men and women" (141). Thus anxiety about the unruly potential of their reading and writing mingles with encouragement for women to participate in the defence of the English Protestant nation. The unlearned woman reader can emulate the pious example of Elizabeth I, but her devotional "monuments," by implication, must be different. Instead, she must labour to become an exemplary daughter, wife, and mother, who guides her household subordinates in devotion, keeps watch over her neighbours' religious practice, and diligently performs the spiritual exercises approved by men.

Instructing Elizabeth: Prayers "to be properlie vsed of the Qveenes most excellent Maiestie"

Elizabeth's difference from other women is stressed throughout *The Monument of Matrones*. While the fifth Lamp contains prayers and meditations "for all sorts and degrees of women," including queens in childbirth, Elizabeth, whose perpetual physical virginity was an acknowledged reality by 1582 (Hackett 95), is given her own Lamp of prayers to recite, suggesting that the prayers for ordinary women do not apply to her. Elizabeth's rule posed an ideological conundrum that her subjects struggled to resolve: as Constance Jordan outlines, woman was considered a *persona mixta*. Formed in the image of God in Genesis 1, she is the spiritual counterpart of man and deemed equally worthy of salvation, but in the hierarchy of creation established in Genesis 2 and 3, she is designated man's inferior and subordinate. As Jordan notes, "It was this divinely instituted condition of political subordination that a woman ruler, exercising authority over men and conceivably over a husband, obviously violated. To admit her fitness to govern required a new vision of human society, one in which this traditional hierarchy was altered" (421-422). Elizabeth's continuing refusal to marry allayed

fears that the nation would fall under the power and influence of a foreign husband, but also placed her in the anomalous position of wielding tremendous power outside the marital hierarchy that formed the basis of society; as articulated by John Knox, "woman in her greatest perfection, was made to serue and obey man, not to rule and command him" (13). Theodora Jankowski suggests that Elizabeth's exemplarity was an essential tool of *realpolitik*--the very uniqueness of her position allowed her to wield anomalous amounts of power that would quickly be construed as monstrous if other women threatened the patriarchal order by remaining unmarried and exercising authority over men (198). Yet though Bentley stresses Elizabeth's exemplarity, he does not exempt her from spiritual guidance and discipline. Indeed, he is at pains to fashion a discourse that gives him the authority to instruct Elizabeth as a woman, wife, and mother--and, by implication, a subordinate to his masculine prerogative. Bentley must construct Elizabeth as being both *like* and *unlike* other women in order to advise her without diminishing her authority as Queen and Supreme Governor of the Church of England.

In his prayers for Elizabeth, Bentley participates in an ongoing textual discussion of the parameters of Elizabeth's authority. As part of his strategy of self-authorization as a zealous and learned gentleman, qualified to direct the devotional practice of the most learned and powerful woman in England, Bentley claims to have compiled *The Monument* "with the approbation and allowance of the right reuerend father in God my Lord the bishop of London," John Aylmer (B1v).[4] If indeed Aylmer was involved in the project, Bentley's work may have appealed to him because it reinforced aspects of his own religious agenda. When he assumed the bishopric of London in 1576, Aylmer received specific instructions from Elizabeth to suppress recusancy, whether Catholic or radically

[4] John N. King suggests that Aylmer subsidized the printing of *The Monument of Matrones* on the strength of this claim ("Thomas Bentley's *Monument*" 222); however, there is no other evidence that Aylmer was involved in the project. The Queen's Injunctions of 1559 stated that no new book could be licensed for printing without the approval of the Bishop of London, but Aylmer's approval might have consisted of nothing more than permission for Bentley and Denham to produce and disseminate their text.

Protestant. He conducted visitations to ensure conformity to the Book of Common Prayer and stipulated that all clergy must administer the sacrament four times a year while wearing the surplice or risk suspension (Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan* 201-202). Although Bentley advocates reform and the removal of "relikes of idolatrie" (3.272), he does so within the bounds of the established Church. Calling for "vnitie of true faith and religion" (4.462), Bentley denounces radicals whose "foolish and vnlearned questions...engender strife and contention, and serue for nothing, but to the subuerting of the hearers, & ingraffing of errors" (4.463). Like Aylmer, Bentley works to fortify and improve the existing Church of England, not to replace or separate from it. Aylmer may also have approved *The Monument* because it resonated with his own efforts, twenty-three years earlier, to legitimate Elizabeth's rule in *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subiectes* (1559), a response to John Knox's notorious *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women* (1558). By the time of *The Monument's* publication, Elizabeth had sat on the English throne for twenty-four years. Bentley is less interested in demonstrating a woman's ability to rule than in influencing her religious policy; however, his efforts to situate Elizabeth in a long and glorified line of biblical queens respond to Knox's assertion that there are no modern-day Deborahs, only Jezebels and Athaliahs (38),[5] and his praise of Elizabeth's piety and the "long and blessed peace" (A2) of her reign answers Knox's contention that "to place a woman in authoritie aboue a realme, is to pollute and profane the royall seate...and that to mainteine [her] in the same, is nothing els, but continuallie to rebell against God" (47v). Bentley confronts the same ideological challenge posed by a woman's government. Aylmer hastened to assure his readers that although men are more apt to rule, Elizabeth could do no harm because her decisions were governed by law, Parliament, and wise male counsellors, a position that did not bring him immediate advancement from

[5] 2 Kings 11 describes how Athaliah, queen regnant of Judah, attempted to destroy the successors of her son, Ahaziah, after his death, and establish the worship of Baal. Six years later, the priest Jehoiada led an uprising, executed Athaliah, and placed her surviving grandson Joash on the throne.

Elizabeth (Usher). In his preface to the Queen and in the third "Lampe of Virginitie," which contains "sundrie formes of diuine meditations & Christian praiers" for Elizabeth's use, Bentley navigates these ideological complications in an effort to admonish Elizabeth without incurring punishment and to reinscribe her into the patriarchal order without challenging her right to rule.

At first glance, Bentley appears to combine unqualified praise for Elizabeth with unremarkable dictums for governance taken from scripture. Bentley praises Elizabeth's "good industrie in all vertue" and "the admirable monuments of [her] owne Honourable works," represented by the inclusion of Elizabeth's *Godlie Meditation* in the second Lamp (A2v). In acknowledging Elizabeth's superior learning, Bentley seeks Elizabeth's "good liking and princelie approbation" so that his text "may be both patronized against the wicked, and practised of the godlie" (A2v). But this compliment also serves another of Bentley's objectives, which is to mobilize Elizabeth as a learned Christian ruler to strengthen and reform the Church of England and to become an exemplary leader in European Protestant affairs. Bentley's consistent political aim is to fortify the Church of England against the perceived threat of Roman Catholicism, "visible & inuisible domesticall & foraine" (3.264). He represents Elizabeth as a model of godly scholarship to demonstrate her ecclesiastical authority to reform the Church of England, while using militant rhetoric to influence her religious policy. In the third Lamp, Bentley reminds Elizabeth how often she and her Council have been delivered from "wicked attempts, malignant deuises, and mischeeuous practises wrought and conceiued of all [her] common, craftie, and cruell enimies," who work to rob her of her "people, kingdome, peace and religion" (3.262-263). These critical circumstances require a godly and erudite ruler whose learning has led her to a correct understanding of the true Church and authorizes her to defend it from corruption. Scripting prayers in Elizabeth's own voice, Bentley exhorts Elizabeth to devote herself to godly scholarship and to use her considerable learning to mould the Church of England to reformed specifications:

> Oh how do I loue thy doctrine! Surelie thou knowst Lord, that I am woont to consume whole daies and nights in meditating of thy lawes. And I doo find, by experience, that I haue not done this in vaine. For I haue proued to be much wiser by thy precepts, than all mine aduersaries, which labour with all their power to destroie me, of how great dignitie or authoritie soeuer they be. (3.353)

Bentley casts Elizabeth as the most knowledgeable Christian prince in Europe, more learned than her Catholic counterparts because she does not rely on intermediaries to interpret scripture for her. Yet despite his avowal that he dares not "instruct your Highnesse (of whose notable learning I am not able to speake)" (A2v), Bentley does not scruple to advise her on religious policy. In praising her learning, Bentley reproves Elizabeth's diffidence towards Catholic incursions against the Protestant faith, reminding her that her considerable erudition should foster a desire to sever all Catholic alliances abroad and rid the Church of England of its enemies: she ought to "hate the superstitious crue of the vngodlie...and count them for [her] greatest enimies" (3.358). As a ruler whose learning has illuminated the corruptions and imperfections of the Roman Catholic faith, she must not "ioine [her]selfe vnto them" through alliances or marriage negotiations or "winke at their wickednesse and rebellion" (3.358). Although he does not name specific events or people, Bentley is likely referring to the marriage negotiations between Elizabeth and the French Duke of Anjou, an alliance proposed to liberate the Protestant Low Countries from Spanish control. Many of Elizabeth's subjects strongly opposed the match, especially as the massacre of the Huguenots, believed to have been instigated by Anjou's mother Catherine de Medici, was still a vivid memory (Levin 54). A vocal group of Elizabeth's advisors, headed by the Earl of Leicester, urged Elizabeth to intervene in the Low Countries directly, rather than allying herself with a Catholic prince (Shenk 8). After the marriage negotiations failed in the face of popular opposition, Elizabeth delayed sending troops to defend the Low Countries until 1585, but English and Dutch Protestants continued to look to Elizabeth as the champion of the European Protestant cause

(Shenk 99). Bentley urges Elizabeth not to renew negotiations with Anjou, but to take more aggressive measures against Catholics abroad and at home. Early in her reign, Elizabeth had employed tactics of persuasion, rather than coercion, against her Catholic subjects, circumventing the 1563 legislation that mandated the death penalty for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, and meting out relatively lenient fines and punishments for recusancy (Levin 28); however, as Protestant paranoia intensified over the next two decades, reformers urged Elizabeth to defend the Church of England against the perceived domestic Catholic threat. Parliament responded to these complaints by passing severe legislation against seminary priests working in England and Wales and, in the same year, raised the fines for recusancy to twenty pounds for each four-week period, a fine only the wealthy could afford, but these measures did not eradicate the threat of "church papistry" (MacCulloch 40). Bentley admonishes Elizabeth to "exercise [God's] power giuen vnto [her], and to destroie the wicked and prophane vtterlie; that thy Church may be well purged, and free from these cruell and bloud-thirstie hypocrites" (3.358). Commending Elizabeth's learning and appropriating her voice enable Bentley to critique surreptitiously what many perceived as complacence in Elizabeth's religious and foreign policy and to plant his own religious agenda in her mouth without openly overstepping the bounds of a humble and obedient subject.

In the same vein, Bentley praises Elizabeth's virginity in order to influence her political policy. Bentley invokes Elizabeth's virginity as a metaphor of her inviolate political condition and resistance to the threats and seductions of Catholicism (Jankowski 13). He urges Elizabeth to fulfil the roles of the *sponsa Christi*, obediently fulfilling the dictates of her spiritual husband's will, and the *miles*, valiantly defending the Church of England from its ghostly and temporal enemies. As an extension of her persona as a learned Christian prince, Bentley aligns Elizabeth with the wise virgins of Matthew 25, who have diligently prepared for the coming of their heavenly bridegroom. As Linda Shenk outlines, when Elizabeth's marriage negotiations with the Duke of Anjou reached an

unsuccessful close in 1582, many reformers came to believe that she could best champion the European Protestant cause by remaining unmarried (8). In this spirit, Bentley praises Elizabeth's "heroicall virginitie" (4.699) and casts her as a queen who willingly forgoes earthly opportunities for marriage and motherhood (and the undesirable influence of a foreign husband) to become "the most naturall mother and noble nurse" to God's favoured nation on earth (A2v). According to Shenk, "Praising Elizabeth as a virgin, learned queen was a way to celebrate the possibilities of what she could do as a queen ruling in her own right" (8). Yet, as Louis Montrose notes, because Elizabeth was the ruler of a pervasively patriarchal society, "she embodied an anomaly at the very center of that system, a challenge to the homology between hierarchies of rule and gender" (1). In order to resolve the paradox posed by an unmarried female ruler, Bentley reinscribes Elizabeth into the patriarchal order by providing her with a spiritual husband to compensate for her lack of an earthly husband. He casts her as an exemplary housewife whose learning and spiritual preparation qualify her to govern Christ's household on earth in his stead and places his own expectations of her duties in Elizabeth's mouth: to be "like a louing mother, and tender nursse, giuing my foster-milke, the foode of thy word and Gospell aboundantlie to all, in all places of my dominion, and endeuouring my selfe faithfullie to discharge the great trust committed vnto me" (3.272). In her role as the bride of Christ and mother of the nation, Elizabeth is both exemplary and exceptional. Her responsibility for the promulgation of scripture and the spiritual well-being of her people is an amplification of the duties Bentley prescribes for women in the private sphere of their households, but Elizabeth alone has been endowed with "speciall good gifts, princelie vertues, and heauenlie graces, fit for this my so high calling" (3.266). These singularly appointed gifts enable her to govern in the public sphere so that she may carry out her divinely ordained work of "reforming both...thy house, and estates, according to the prescript rule of thy written word & reuealed will" (3.270).

As a queen, Elizabeth wields power no ordinary woman could hope to achieve. As a wife, however, Elizabeth is subject to her husband's will and

authority. To compel Elizabeth to reform the Church of England and take more forceful measures against its Catholic enemies, Bentley scripts the commands of a spiritual father-in-law in "The Kings Heast." In a remarkable act of rhetorical ventriloquism, Bentley appropriates the voice of God, speaking to Elizabeth as the father of her spiritual spouse and reminding her that she is "subiect...to thy souereigne Lord, King and head...vnder whose gouernement thou shalt remaine most honourable and admirable" (3.318). Elizabeth might have power over her male counselors, clergy, and citizens, but Bentley is careful to stress that she has no authority to act contrary to the will of her spiritual spouse: "Beware therefore that yee abuse not this authoritie giuen vnto you by me, vnder certaine lawes and conditions. See that you directlie followe the waies that I haue appointed you to walke in" (3.309-310). Indeed, as Patrick Collinson has pointed out (*Elizabethans* 117), Bentley threatens Elizabeth with the removal of her power if she does not fulfill the dictates of God's will as he interprets them:

> albeit I haue embraced you with speciall fauour, as a father his children; yet thinke that I haue not exempted you from my power and authoritie: and that though you be Princes and Magistrates, yet knowe that you are mortall, euen as other men: yea remember that you shall once die, and shall stand at my iudgement-seate, euen as euerie most vile and poore man, to render and giue an accompt of your stewardship (3.309)

Bentley does not compare Elizabeth to her sister directly, but as Alexandra Walsham notes, the premature death of Mary Tudor, the quintessential cautionary example of a queen who sacrificed the true Church to serve the interests of her Spanish husband and the Church of Rome, was frequently invoked as an "ominous precedent" for Elizabeth if she did not carry out the reforms the godly desired ("'A Very Deborah'?" 148). Casting Elizabeth as the *sponsa Christi* is a strategy designed to spur her to political action while encouraging her to forgo marriage to foreign princes, and allows Bentley to admonish Elizabeth by scripting orders from the father of her heavenly husband.

In his prayers for Elizabeth, Bentley does not ignore or downplay early modern stereotypes about women's frailty and weakness, but instead of suggesting that they disqualify Elizabeth from governance, he uses them to underline the need for her subjection to God's will. The third Lamp is dedicated to Elizabeth's especial use on November 17, the anniversary of her coronation. Appropriating Elizabeth's voice, Bentley recalls her miraculous rise to power, emphasizing that it is not to her own merits that she owes her crown, as she is "a fraile woman of a short time, and full weake in the vnderstanding of iudgements and the lawes" (3.274). She has attained her position because "it hath pleased thee in thy secret wisdome...to raise me vp out of the dust and mire of persecution, to lift me vp out of the pit and dungeon, and to set me the chiefe of the Princes of this land...it is thy good will, not my deserts...to appoint me a fraile woman thy Lieutenant here on earth" (3.266). Recounting Elizabeth's imprisonment under Mary Tudor, Bentley evokes the precariousness of Elizabeth's ascent to the throne and her continued vulnerability to Catholic plots and conspiracies. As a "fraile woman," she is given no credit either for escaping death or elevating herself to her present position, and thus owes her entire obedience to God and, by extension, the Protestant cause that she was entrusted to advance. Despite her considerable learning, Elizabeth's position as a female monarch is anomalous, unsupported by England's patriarchal social structure and distribution of power. The spectre of Elizabeth's past recalls the disastrous reign of her sister and implies that a woman's rule is only acceptable if she advances God's true Church on earth. She is, as the repeated capitalization of the word reinforces, "QVEENE of this Realme," not KING (3.262). Bentley reminds her that she ought to be "the principall member and chiefe instrument" to "futher [the] Gospell, for the which [she] suffered," lest she appear ungrateful for the crown God has placed upon her head (3.262). Bentley's strategy is not unlike John Foxe's in updated editions of the *Actes and Monuments*: he credits God with Elizabeth's deliverance in order to place her under obligation to fulfill his will and reminds her of the dangers that Catholicism continues to pose to the English nation as well as her own person

(Freeman 38-39).[6] As Thomas Freeman observes, recounting Elizabeth's early sufferings served as "a very useful rod with which to smite the Catholics" (40). Although couched as a celebration of the anniversary of her coronation, these prayers remind Elizabeth that as a woman ruler, she has been vested with God's authority, rather than her own, and, as such, is under a profound obligation to advance the true Church, the aims of which Bentley and other like-minded preachers and counsellors sought to define.

In his prayers scripted for Elizabeth's use, Bentley treads a fine line between flattering his Queen and criticizing her policies, between composing prayers for her use and putting words into her mouth. Using Elizabeth and even God as his puppets in what amounts to a literary act of ventriloquism is an audacious strategy for advising the Queen, but in casting her as a learned, virtuous sovereign, the bride of Christ and the mother of the nation, whom divine providence has delivered from a multitude of dangers, Bentley could be accused of little more than echoing the popular rhetoric used by ministers, members of Parliament and Elizabeth herself (Hackett 78). His portrayal also counters the criticisms that 'hotter' sorts of Protestants were beginning to level against her (Shenk 101). In Bentley's account, Elizabeth is the target of Catholic plots "bicause in truth I professe thy Christian religion, and seeke by establishing the same through good and godlie lawes, to serue thee zealouslie, sincerelie, and purelie; according to the rule and veritie of thine eternall word" (3.263). Such a declaration might sound like enthusiastic praise for Elizabeth's governance, but Patrick Collinson notes that "trained sniffer dogs ought nevertheless to be able to pick up the scent of a kind of resistance doctrine in Bentley's prayers and meditations" (*Elizabethans* 116-117). Bentley is careful to register his approval

[6] In the second Lamp, Bentley includes three "Christian praiers of our Souereigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth, which hir grace made in the time of hir trouble, and imprisonment in the Tower, and after hir Coronation" to similar effect (2.35). The first two prayers come from the "Miraculous Preservation of Lady Elizabeth" in John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, an account of her imprisonment under Mary I. The third prayer comes from Richard Mulcaster's *Queen's Majesty's Passage through the City of London to Westminister the Day before Her Coronation* (1559).

for the Church of England's doctrine and liturgy throughout *The Monument of Matrones*, not aligning himself with the ardent reformists who criticized the Prayer Book and its ceremonies; however, the dissatisfaction he expresses with the ministry in the fourth Lamp and his evident fear of Catholic enemies abroad and in the Church belie his acclaim for Elizabeth's religious leadership. Indeed, such lavish praise would underscore to a wary reader, or perhaps to Elizabeth herself, how far her rule fell from this commendation. As Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman point out, "the more lavish the praise, the greater the potential for criticism, as praise raised both the level of expectation and increased the chances of a failure to meet those expectations" (5). Criticism masquerading as flattery has the added advantage of being difficult to police. Bentley makes Elizabeth's translation of Marguerite de Navarre's *Le Mirroir de l'âme pécheresse* (1531) the centrepiece of his second Lamp as a "goodlie monument of praier, precepts, and examples meet for meditation, instruction, and imitation to all posteritie" (A2v), but presenting Elizabeth with a text that honours her own work is also an irreproachable strategy for reminding her that her early potential as a beacon of the reformed cause has yet to be fulfilled. Elizabeth's *Godlie Meditation* reinforces aspects of Bentley's own religious agenda in its emphasis on Elizabeth's soul as the bride of Christ and, more pointedly, on the dangers of ignoring the warning of "true Preachers" in favour of false doctrine (2.7). Ministers and counsellors frustrated with Elizabeth's lack of religious reforms felt that she still failed to heed the admonishments of godly preachers and that the Church of England maintained the remnants of "damnable doctrine" (2.4). But in presenting Elizabeth with "[her] owne praiers to [her] selfe" (A2v), Bentley could hardly be held responsible if they also pointed out her shortcomings.

Performing the complex textual negotiations of admonishing Elizabeth without directly criticizing her enables Bentley to disseminate his religious agenda while advertising his fitness for public governance to an influential audience. Bentley urges Elizabeth to expel all "vnwoorthie and vngodlie" counsellors from her court and household, and "Advance such men...to honour

and office vnder thee, as be of a good conscience, sound religion, and vpright life, such as will be painfull watchmen, and diligent stewards, and both can and will make iust decrees, and execute good lawes" (3.311-312). In advising Elizabeth to promote godly men to her counsel, Bentley may have been advancing himself as a candidate. John N. King suggests that Bentley designed *The Monument of Matrones* as an appeal for court patronage (*Tudor Royal* 244). The exceptionally ambitious project of compiling and publishing *The Monument of Matrones* seems designed to demonstrate Bentley's humanist education and ardent desire for reform as much as to commemorate the religious writing of English women. Throughout the text, Bentley advertises himself as having the authority and capability to advise women from all walks of life, from the poor, unmarried serving girl to the Queen of England. Lorna Hutson suggests that for men educated in the humanist system, the rhetoric of husbandry, and the pervasive fiction of the well-governed wife that it promoted, could be deployed to demonstrate fitness for public governance (22). A mastery of the art of ordering the private household, a microcosm of the nation's economy, and fashioning thrifty and tractable female subjects was seen as an aptitude for exercising public authority. Although Bentley dedicates *The Monument* to Elizabeth, he may have aimed to impress like-minded men of influence in order to advance his career.

"Giue thanks secretlie to your self": Private Prayers for Public Worship

Bentley's efforts to strengthen the Church of England extend beyond influencing the public policy of the Queen to shaping the private thoughts and prayers of its congregants. The title page of Thomas Bentley's fourth "Lampe of Virginitie" advertises a regimen of prayer "to direct all godlie men and women daie and night, readilie and plainlie to the holie mount of heauenlie contemplation, and true sanctification of the Lords daie our Sabboth." Designed to be read "priuatlie both at home, and also in the Church, at conuenient times permitted," Bentley intends his prayers to keep readers "from vaine exercises, and idle cogitations, and to spend the Sabboth daie both wholie and holilie to the Lord as it behooueth" (4.640). Bentley envisions the Sabbath as a day in which every

waking moment is sanctified through prayer, meditation, and confession, beginning "So soone as ye awake in the morning" (4.363) and progressing as the reader sees the sun rise, dresses herself, steps out of bed, and gathers her family or kneels alone to confess her sins and prepare for public worship. Once the reader has reached the church, Bentley provides her with "priuate petitions" (4.416) to recite "secretlie" (4.419) to herself before and during the church service. At the heart of Bentley's enterprise is an apprehension that the appearance of religious conformity might mask indifference to or, worse, dissension from the state-sponsored liturgy, and his prayers work to fill any gap between a congregant's outward performance of worship and inward state of mind. But even as he aims to strengthen adherence to the Book of Common Prayer, Bentley's prayers vacillate between controlling and licensing women's private devotional choices, promoting conformity to the Church of England and implicitly pointing out its shortcomings. In his attempt to regulate every aspect of his readers' Sabbath-day activities, especially their silent, inward prayers, Bentley fosters the development of a private, political subjectivity with potentially subversive consequences.

In order to explore these consequences, we must, following Alan Stewart's lead, unpack our notions of privacy in the early modern period. The Protestant emphasis on the individual's unmediated relationship with God is often associated with a developing sense of a 'private self' encompassing

> the right to personal autonomy, as opposed to the requirement that one submit to authority; a consciousness (and potential manipulation) of the split between the internal self and the public face presented to the rest of the world; and the right to conceal or keep secret the workings of this inner self. (Jagodzinski 6)

The rise of silent, solitary reading in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the development of private spaces within the household, such as private chapels, sitting rooms, and prayer closets, are said to have fostered and reflected a growing desire to cultivate the interior life, unmediated by social, political, and religious control (Jagodzinski 13). According to Cecile Jagodzinski, the ability to read

privately "granted independence from...communal structures as the interactions between reader, text, and author moved from the public forums of church and court to the privacy and solitude of the home and even to personalized private spaces within the home" (2). Jagodzinski links the development of private religious subjectivity specifically to silent reading in domestic spaces, but her study fails to take into account the range of reading practices and spaces available to early modern readers. Andrew Cambers convincingly counters the traditional association between Protestantism and privacy by demonstrating that collective, social and public reading were "vital strand[s]" in the fabric of godly devotion (*Godly Reading* 7). Even reading that scholars have assumed was private was not necessarily silent or solitary. Alan Stewart's examination of Lady Margaret Hoby's closet devotions reveals that removal into private household spaces "functions as a very *public* gesture of withdrawal, a very public sign of privacy" (168). Closet prayers often preceded familial devotion, but multiple family members might gather inside; even when performed individually, these prayers were rarely silent and could often be overheard by other members of the household (Cambers, *Godly Reading* 47). In short, we should not assume that the lines between public and private devotion are clearly demarcated. Thomas Bentley's Sabbath-day prayers demonstrate that household devotion could be a communal activity, while private prayers could be recited imperceptibly in the midst of public worship. Private prayer has public, political ramifications.

Bentley's domestic prayers present a vision of vigorous collective piety that engages every member of the household. Although the title page to the fourth Lamp suggests the prayers may be used by "godlie men" as well as women, Bentley has tailored them for use by female readers in declarations such as "I miserable woman, and wretched sinner, acknowledge and confesse, that I am not woorthie the least of all thy mercies" (4.575). The sense of reproach and repression these specifically feminine confessions of sin invokes contrasts with the crucial role Bentley assigns women in guiding their families and communities in devotion. Husbands and wives are given equal authority to lead their families in

prayer in “An exhortation to be vsed of Maisters and Dames euerie Sundaie morning” (4.402). In a prayer “to be vsed...especiallie in the dangerous and contagious time of the plague,” the “Maister & Mistres” are instructed to kneel “with their familie, in some conuenient place of their house” and pray with “feruent harts” while their servants and children respond to each petition (4.482). Once she has risen and prepared herself for the day, the reader is to gather her family “by your bedside, in your parlour, or other sweete, clean, conuenient place” (4.378) to pray, reinforcing Cambers’ claim that household prayer need not be solitary. Bentley also provides prayers for children and servants to recite before meals and familial Bible reading (4.632). Although Lady Margaret Hoby’s family may have been exemplary, Andrew Cambers’ examination of their Sabbath-day activities illustrates the dynamic and multifaceted devotional regimen Bentley prescribes. Lady Margaret Hoby engaged in private and public prayer, meditation, psalm-singing, devotional writing, sermon repetition, and household catechising on a regular basis. She extended the boundaries of her household to the community by taking in the children of neighbours and providing them with a spiritual education (“Readers’ marks” 214). Bentley, too, exhorts his female readers to use all their talent and “wits” for “the edification and profit of [their] neighbour[s]” (4.386). When it is time to depart for public worship, the female reader is urged to “stir vp your selfe, and exhort all your children, seruants, strangers and neighbours about you, with chéerefull minds, willinglie and diligentlie to resort to the Church” (4.402). Though Bentley requires his female readers to be chaste and obedient, he neither expects nor desires their silence when it comes to promoting “true religion” (4.538). He enlists his readers to lead men, women, and even “strangers” to the established Church service, making them responsible for advancing religious conformity in their communities.

Despite the blending of public and private that occurs in Bentley’s household prayers, he stipulates that once the reader has departed for church, her prayers are to be performed silently. It is not surprising that a dutiful warden of one of London’s most prominent churches would encourage his readers to prepare

for public worship with meditation, but the lengths that Bentley goes to in order to direct every moment of the reader's attention towards the appropriate course of worship are unusual. He includes twelve prayers to be recited silently between the walk to church and the beginning of the service:

> When you be going towards the Church, the better to expell idle thoughts, and noifull cogitations, and to prepare your harts to deuotion... meditate and saie with your selfe some of these Psalmes and praiers following; the which also for more readinesse would be learned by hart, and said without booke (4.403)

Encouraging readers to memorize his prayers so they can be performed "without booke" is practical advice, since Bentley himself admits that his tome is "not so portable" (B2v). Carrying this hefty volume, not to mention reading while walking, would be cumbersome. Presumably, the walk to church was a sociable event, offering opportunities for gossip and other distractions from the careful spiritual preparation the reader performed at home. Bentley's prayers are scripted to keep readers' attention focused on the service ahead, reminding them that the Church of England is the site of "pure religion" (4.537): "I [am] kindled withall, in beholding the repairing of thy sacred Church, and to see therin a very great companie of godlie men & women lawfullie assembled together...hearing thy holie doctrine, & dulie receiuing...thy blessed Sacraments accordinglie" (4.407). Bentley emphasizes the Church's "wholesome doctrine" (4.537) and divinely appointed ceremonies throughout, lest the reader should join the Church's critics in questioning its legitimacy. Bentley directs the reader, once she has been seated in her pew, "to be verie intentiue to the Psalmes and praiers in the Church," rather than visiting with her neighbours or allowing her mind to wander:

> When thou entrest the temple to pray or sing Psalmes; leaue behind thee the heapes of wauering thoughts, and forget vtterlie the care of outward things, that thou maist giue all thine attendance to diuine matters. For it is vnpossible for him to speake with God, that talketh with the whole world in silence (4.411)

As Ramie Targoff outlines, the Roman Catholic Mass encouraged the performance of private devotion during the priest's service; proponents argued that the unintelligibility of the Latin liturgy facilitated genuine expressions of piety because it allowed the laity to focus on developing their own prayers (14). By contrast, the vernacular liturgy of the Church of England was designed to inhibit personal deviation by facilitating the laity's full comprehension and participation (5). The result, argued Thomas Cranmer, ought to be that "'with one sound of the heart and one accord, God may be glorified in his church'" (qtd. in Targoff 25). Bentley's directives are designed to curb the reader's "wauering thoughts" and "care of outward things" to engage her full participation and active consent in the performance of public worship.

But in scripting private prayer to be recited before and during the church service, Bentley acknowledges the possibility that Common Prayer does not always achieve its desired end of uniting speech with thought. Critics of the Prayer Book argued that the public performance of prayer could conceal hypocrisy, finding biblical precedent for their complaint in Christ's warning in the Sermon on the Mount: "And when thou prayest, be not as the hypocrites: for they loue to stand, and pray in the Synagogues, and in the corners of the streetes, because they would be seene of men" (Matt. 6:5). Christ suggests that the danger of public prayer is its performative nature—worshippers might feign heartfelt devotion for the benefit of a worldly, rather than divine, audience. Thomas Cartwright argued that reciting set prayers fails to produce sincere religious devotion and sustains an undesirable gap between a congregant's outward performance and inward thoughts. Cartwright feared that worshippers might detach their hearts and minds imperceptibly from the visible bodily performance of public worship (Targoff 39-40). Responding to Christ's warning in his *Exposition of Matthew* (1533), William Tyndale acknowledges the possibility of dissimulation, but suggests that the sincere performance of prayer has a visible impact on the body: true prayer "would so comfort the soul and courage the heart, that the body, though it were half dead and more, would revive and be lusty

again" (258). Lancelot Andrewes expands on Tyndale's assertion, arguing that devotional sincerity is observable in the body and can be gauged by physical indicators such as the worshipper's movements, expression, and tone: although hypocrites "'occupy not only their legs in going up and down, but their eyes to look in every place,'" genuine piety engages "'all the members of the body...in the service of God'" (qtd. in Targoff 9). Proponents of the Prayer Book advanced the Aristotelian belief in the power of physical gestures and habits to stimulate internal change and enhance spiritual engagement in worship (Targoff 10). Ramie Targoff argues that the Book of Common Prayer operated on the principle that the repeated collective performance of a standardized liturgy would transform and guide the laity's faith, subsume their personal idiosyncrasies, and curtail their "lewd and perverse imaginings" (16); however, *The Monument of Matrones* demonstrates that not only critics but also ardent supporters of the Church of England expressed more doubts about this principle than Targoff's account allows. Bentley is at pains to foster strict adherence to the Book of Common Prayer, yet he comes close to the position of its critics in admitting that the liturgy cannot stave off "dullnesse and coldnesse in deuotion" (4.624):

> Praieng in the temple, oftentimes I heed not what I speak. I praie, but by the absence of my wandering mind, it is made fruitlesse. With my bodie I enter into thy temple; but my hart standeth without: therefore my praier vanisheth awaie. For the outward sound of the voice, without the inward symphonie of the hart auaileth nothing. Then is it a great follie, naie madnesse, when by praier presuming to speake in presence of the mightie God, we doo brutishlie wander in vaine thoughts, and arrest our minds vpon verie trifles (4.415-416)

That his petitioner's mind wanders "often" and that the "outward" performance of speech and bodily gesture does not produce an instinctive, "inward" agreement of the heart suggests that Bentley harboured serious reservations about the transformative potential of the liturgy. His prayers to be recited privately in the church are designed to help the reader unite mind, body, and spirit in an authentic

and all-encompassing performance of public worship, but his project belies an anxiety that the Book of Common Prayer by itself is inadequate to this task.

Indeed, one of Bentley's primary concerns is that attendance at Church of England services and participation in its liturgy might mask a lingering attachment to Catholicism. Increasingly severe penalties for recusancy encouraged the practice of "church papistry," private Catholic spirituality concealed by public religious conformity (Jagodzinski 27). Targoff suggests that spiritual leaders tended to minimize the threat of dissembling (4), but Bentley is clearly exercised by the danger it poses to the established Church: "For thou knowest, O Lord, what a sort there are, which bewitched with the diuell, and the Popes doctrine, doo vtterlie abhor Christs holie communion; and sauing for feare of the lawe, would neuer come at it" (4.485). The threat of church papistry is its invisibility; private Catholics "resist not thy truth and pure religion openlie, and obstinatelie, professe our religion, yet mingled with manie superstitions and abuses, worshipping and calling vpon Saints...or be addicted to outward ceremonies...and traditions of their fathers" (4.541). Church papists, argues Bentley, are a danger to themselves because they receive the sacraments without true faith, ensuring their "damnation" (4.577), but they are also a menace to the faithful, unless they guard their communities, households, and even their inmost thoughts with constant vigilance. Perhaps with an eye to Catholic householders who attended church services in order to avoid heavy fines while their families remained recusants (MacCulloch 150), Bentley admonishes the reader "to frequent the Church often, not alone, but with your whole familie, as you ought" (4.401). He encourages his readers to scrutinize their family members, neighbours, and fellow congregants for signs of true faith, including "honest conuersation," "purenesse of life," "constant" confession, and "embracing, preaching, and professing" vernacular scripture (458-459), urging the faithful to "separate" themselves from "the companie of the vngodlie ones" and their "superstitious inuocations" (4.460): "Let vs not so much as take their names into our mouthes, which powre out heapes of blasphemies to thy great dishonour, and

defacing of thy truth" (4.460). Bentley urges women to promote religious education and to catechise their children and servants on a regular basis (4.640), but equally important to this program of defence is rigorous self-surveillance: "Be thou euermore working through thy holie spirit in me...such things as be allowed and pleasant vnto thee; least at anie time cleauing to superstition and hypocrisie, I doo worship thee amisse" (4.422). Bentley's prayers are an effort to provide women with the religious education they need to detect and fend off any threat to the established religion from others or themselves.

In prescribing prayers to be recited privately in the Church, Bentley works to discipline the silent thoughts of his readers, re-directing their focus from worldly to divine matters, from "superstition" to established doctrine. To ensure that worshippers do not disengage from the service when they are not required to speak, Bentley provides private prayers to fill almost every imaginable gap. He intends some of these prayers to be recited "before Common praier begin" (4.416) and is careful to stipulate that they should only "be vsed at conuenient times in the church, that is, either before, or after publike seruice: for to that all men present ought to be attentiue" (4.448). But he contradicts this directive by providing instructions to be followed during the service: "Before the Sermon or Homilie, read some of these sentences of Scripture" (4.519); "Before the publike administration of the holie sacrament of Baptisme, the better to call to mind our owne vow and promise made long since vnto God, praie priuatelie to your selfe" (4.562); "After publike baptisme praie, and giue thanks secretlie to your selfe, as time will serue" (4.565). Furthermore, his prayers "to be said before the receiuing of the blessed Communion" are explicitly designed to be recited during the administration of the sacrament, "as you kneele at Gods boord" (4.580), "When ye are about to receiue the bread" (4.591), "When you see the wine" (4.592), and "When you are about to receiue the wine or cup" (4.595). According to Cecile Jagodzinksi, through silent reading, "The eyes became the channels through which impressions reached the heart and worked their effects. This made possible private devotion and private scholarship unmediated by an official church" (25-

26). Paul Saenger also discusses the liberating effects of silent reading: when the intellectual culture of the medieval universities was predominantly oral, heretical or seditious speculations could be rooted out because they were subject to peer review in the very act of their formulation; however, the development of silent reading removed "the individual's thoughts from the sanctions of the group" (399). If silent reading in the classroom encouraged critical thinking, even skepticism, by enabling students to evaluate the opinions of the professor against what they read (399), it is worth considering the effects of silent reading in the church, particularly during a liturgy and sermon performed in English. While the Latin Mass permitted worshippers to deviate from the liturgy of the priest, it may have offered fewer opportunities for critical analysis because it was incomprehensible to many of the laity. By contrast, the vernacular liturgy of the Church of England enabled worshippers to compare the words of the minister to those of other authors as well as their inner voice and to develop their own opinions free of communal and ecclesiastical sanction. If silent reading permitted freedom from religious authority, how much more autonomy would be permitted by silent and imperceptible recitation, especially if performed, as Bentley himself recommends, "without booke"?

It is difficult to assess how controversial Bentley's directives for silent prayer would have been. Ramie Targoff's influential account claims that the state-sponsored liturgy demanded absolute conformity: "Unlike the pre-Reformation service, which allowed for a wide variety of prayers to be spoken or read simultaneously during the church service, the practice of common prayer depended upon complete uniformity: there should be no division...between that which the worshippers feel in their hearts and that which is said out loud" (25). This is in keeping with the "Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer" printed in the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, which stipulates that it is a criminal offence if "any manner of person [parson], vicar, or other whatsoever minister" refuses to recite the Common Prayers "in such order and form as they be mentioned and set forth" in the book, or recites any "other open prayers than is mentioned and set

forth in the said book" (6-7). Similarly, it is against the law for "any person or persons" to compel "any parson, vicar, or other minister...in any other place to sing or say any common and open prayer...in any other manner and form than is mentioned" (8). No lay person is permitted to "unlawfully interrupt" or hinder the minister's performance of Common Prayer, or to "speak anything in the derogation, depraving, or despising of the same book" (8). The Act specifically targets "open prayer," which it defines as "prayer which is for other to come unto or hear, either in common churches or privy chapels or oratories, commonly called the service of the Church" (7).[7] The Act does not delineate the acceptable practice of private prayer, likely because Common Prayer is designed to replace it, nor does it address the activities of the laity, so long as they attend and do not openly interrupt the service. However, Natalie Mears' research demonstrates that the Church of England issued specially-commissioned prayers and liturgies that departed from the official service on a number of occasions during Elizabeth's reign in response to nationwide crises, such as war, drought, and plague, and successes, such as military victory (44). In these critical situations, ministers were instructed to allot time during the service for the private prayers of the congregation. A specially-issued *Fourme to be vsed in common prayer twise a weeke...during this tyme of mortalitie and other afflictions* (1563), in response to an outbreak of plague, mandates that "the sayde Curates and Ministers shall exhort the people assembled...to geue themselues to their priuate prayers and meditations: For whiche purpose, a pawse shalbe made of one quarter of an houre and more: by the discretion of the saide Curate. During whiche tyme, as good scilence shalbe kept as may be" (A3). It is perhaps in these situations that Bentley envisions his readers praying "secretlie among the faithfull, and in the congregation" (4.419), but his instructions do not specify this. The Book of Common Prayer's essay "Of Ceremonies" stipulates that "no man ought to take in

[7] John Booty notes that "open prayer" refers to the audible, collective performance of the public liturgy, as opposed to the individual performance of private devotions (*Book of Common Prayer* 7).

hand nor presume to appoint or alter any public or common order in Christ's Church, except he be lawfully called and authorized thereunto" (18). Bentley is careful to stipulate that his prayers should not be recited during the liturgy, so as to avoid charges of altering the official Church service, but in providing private meditations to be recited during Communion, he offers a devotional experience of the sacrament different from the Book of Common Prayer and only available to those with access to his text. So long as the prayers are recited "secretlie," neither their author nor their reader can be accused of transgression. Indeed, the image of the female devotee praying privately during the public services, her activities invisible and indiscernible to her fellow worshippers, place her in much the same position as the secret Catholic who appears to conform to the established Church service, but whose private devotions are unknowable and inaccessible. If Bentley licenses his readers to recite his prayers during Communion, what is to stop them from reciting someone else's or composing their own? Jagodzinski argues that authors play a crucial role in the creation of a private self (5). In his attempt to control his readers' most private thoughts, Bentley sanctions silent divergence from the established Church service and privileges the individual's devotional experience over the collective's.

Bentley claims *The Monument* was published with the approbation of John Aylmer, Bishop of London, so the religious authorities appear not to have perceived these secret Sabbath-day prayers as a threat. Yet Bentley anticipates criticism in his preface "To the Christian Reader" and is careful to defend himself from charges of altering or detracting from the official Church service, lest any should judge that his purpose is "to hinder common praier, or interrupt the ministration of the word and sacraments in the church, where & at what time I knowe we ought all to glorifie God together with one hart, spirit, and mouth" (B3). In his defence, Bentley falls back on his role as "a faithfull collector" who has followed his copies "trulie" and designated the prayers for public or private use, depending on their original context (B3). Secondly, he claims he has followed "the good example of the learned fathers of our time," by setting aside

the most "woorthie" prayers for a "more speciall place, apt time, and peculiar purpose" than in their original contexts (B3). Thirdly, and "principallie," he has sought "by the meanes of some plaine forme and easie method of praier and meditation" to prepare the "vnlearned at all times, and in all places...to auoid ignorance and tediousnesse" and to "further their godlie desires" (B3). Once again, ignorance is a spiritual danger, providing opportunities for the unlearned to backslide into religious error or heresy unless they are guided every step of the way through public worship. Yet Bentley himself acknowledges the uncomfortable proximity between private petitions recited during Common Prayer and church papistry, admonishing that "we ought...to be no otherwise occupied, either in reading or in praieng, than the publike minister is, vnlesse we would be deemed meere superstitious, and vnder the pretense of seuerall deuotion to commit manifest vngodlinesse" (B3). He bids the reader to recite those prayers "proper for the church... onelie at conuenient times by the ordinances of the church lawfullie permitted," so as to avoid charges of altering the official Church service, but to recite "the rest which are more priuate to be vsed...at your discretions, when and so often as opportunitie shall serue" (B3). What constitutes an appropriate and lawful opportunity for private prayer is left to the discretion of the "vnlearned" reader. Even as he attempts to control her prayers, Bentley licenses the individual's devotional autonomy and grants her the authority to choose her own course of worship. In attempting to discipline his readers, Bentley creates a private devotional subjectivity beyond his control.

To some extent, the tension between authority and autonomy that Bentley's prayers create mirrors a similar tension in the Book of Common Prayer. According to Timothy Rosendale, "Reformation discourse as a whole was not only state-authorizing, but more importantly and more fundamentally *self*-authorizing" (75). The Book of Common Prayer's liturgy demands its participants play carefully scripted roles, subordinating their private petitions to public prayer, articulating and perpetuating the ideology of the state; however, the access to vernacular scripture offered by the Book of Common Prayer and the emphasis

placed on edification, understanding, and illumination, authorize individual comprehension and interpretation of the Word, while the reformed Communion ceremony stresses the individual's transformation through grace (Rosendale 85). Rosendale concludes that the access to vernacular scripture and the emphasis on the individual in sacramental theology offered by the Book of Common Prayer "simultaneously acknowledge and create the discursive possibility of a new subjectivity, centered on individual interpretive agency in relation to both Scripture and sacrament" (108). Bentley borrows and alters elements from the Book of Common Prayer to intensify its focus on the individual. He works to strengthen the reader's personal attachment to the state-established Church by assigning private responsibility, promoting self-surveillance to ensure individual investment. In a prayer to be used before the minister reads "the first or second lesson," Bentley copies the Book of Common Prayer's Collect for the Second Sunday of Advent nearly verbatim: "Blessed Lord, which hast caused all Holy Scriptures to be written for our learning: Grant us that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them; that by patience and comfort of thy holy word, we may embrace and ever hold fast the blessed hope of everlasting life, which thou has given us in our Savior Jesus Christ" (BCP 79). As Timothy Rosendale suggests, reading scripture is figured in the Book of Common Prayer as "an intensely subjective 'inward' encounter from which one derives life-sustaining nourishment—a vigorous process of receiving, noting, mastering, and finally internalizing the truth contained therein" (86). The progression from hearing and reading scripture in a collective setting, to marking it, perhaps on the page or in a commonplace book as well as in the memory, to applying it to oneself and one's experience, thereby learning, and "inwardly" digesting so that it transforms and becomes a part of the reader exemplifies the deeply private and actively individual internalization of the Word that the Book of Common Prayer promotes. Bentley subtly intensifies this emphasis by adding, "Blessed Lord, which hast caused all holie Scriptures, both in the old and new Testaments, to be written and red for our learning" (4.517), stressing the responsibility of the reader

to internalize the Bible in its entirety. The Church service facilitates the reading of the Word, but the reader is accountable for privately studying and digesting it, perhaps even the books not recited during the service, such as the Book of Revelation (Austern, McBride, and Orvis 17).

Bentley also copies and supplements the Book of Common Prayer's Litany to foster rigorous self-scrutiny. He includes the original "Prayer of Chrysostom" and prayers "for the Queen's Majesty," "For Rain, If the Time Require," "For Fair Weather," "In the Time of Dearth and Famine," "In the Time of War," and "In the Time of Any Common Plague or Sickness," but he also adds nineteen "Other godlie Collects" (4.471): two concerning drought and the "fruits of the earth" (4.473), two concerning "vnseasonable weather" (4.477), five concerning "plague or sicknesse" (4.480), four concerning "the appearing of monsters" (4.495), earthquakes, "a blasing star, or other meteors"(4.504), two concerning rebellion (4.505), and four concerning "the tyrannie of strange and forraigne gouernors" (4.510). At least two of these alternative Collects, "In time of rebellion or intestine warre" and "In the time of anie particular or generall earthquake," were adapted from specially-commissioned liturgies issued by the Church of England, and it is possible that others were as well. As churchwarden, Bentley would have had access to these materials and his inclusion of them might represent an effort to create a public archive of alternative state-sponsored liturgies; or, inspired by their example, he may have composed them himself. These prayers further Bentley's aim, shared by the Church of England, to portray contemporary events as providential punishments that could only be resolved by sincere repentance (Mears 55). While the Litany of the Book of Common Prayer provides general petitions for aid in fairly unspecific situations and imparts a sense of collective responsibility for sin, these Collects employ, in Arthur Golding's phrase, "'the terror of the outward sight of the example [to] drive us towards the inward consideration of ourselves'" (qtd. in Richardson 11). Instead of 'particularising,' denouncing specific individuals within the congregation, which contemporary sermon theory discouraged because it made parishioners feel

unjustly singled out, Bentley works to engage the emotions of his readers and provoke self-examination to make the general *feel* particular (Richardson 13). He invokes contemporary catastrophes and powerful cultural anxieties, such as the major epidemic of 1563, the Northern Rebellion of 1569, the 'Great Earthquake' of 1580, and threats, real and imagined, of foreign invasion, events that retained the power to confound and terrify his audience. He recalls the events of April 6, 1580, one of the most resonant disasters for generations to come (Walsham, *Providence* 130), in emotionally evocative detail, encouraging readers to examine their consciences and identify their sins: "the strange & terrible earthquake...shooke, or rather...euen vomited vs with fearfull trembling harts, and amazed spirits out of our houses, which we so shamefully haue polluted and defiled with our vile sinnes and wickednesse" (4.495). Bentley turns the 'Great Earthquake' into a "visible sermon" (Walsham, *Providence* 117) for the reader to internalize and examine for signs of eschatological certainty, compelling amendment of life "least we be caught vp amongst the number of the wicked and reprobate" (4.497). Bentley encourages the reader to examine her conscience and identify the sins that justify God's wrath to produce repentance: "The axe is set to the roote of the tree, and if we be not as rotten members, without all sense and feeling, we may perceiue our fearefull destruction and desolation to be at hand, vnless we speedilie repent and turn to thee" (4.496).

The threat of further castigation is meant to effect correction, but Bentley also capitalizes on these threats to further his own religious agenda. God has chastised the English people because they have failed to embrace the state-established Church wholeheartedly, despite its provision of vernacular scripture: "we haue beene so long taught out of thy most holie and sacred word, and yet no fruits of true repentance or Christian life will appeare" (4.496). He plays on fears of a Catholic invasion by recalling the reign of Mary Tudor and reminding readers of their past and present failures to uphold the reformed faith: "Did not we, through our wicked liues, wretchedlie loose the Arke of thy holie word, and the true ministration of Sacraments, not manie yeeres agone, which the popish

Philistines tooke from vs? And now, when thou...hast miraculouslie sent it againe; see how bold we be with the Beth-samites, unreuerentlie to receiue it" (4.485). He ascribes England's past and present misfortunes to the people's failure to correctly interpret God's warnings and amend their lives accordingly. The English are like the Israelites, to whom God sent "monstrous and fearfull signes and tokens, to declare that thy visitation was not farre off" but "they, like vnto vs at this daie, did alwaies interpret these things after the imagination of their vaine harts, promising to themselues peace, when destruction was ouer their heads" (4.496). Bentley's alternative Collects are designed to foster self-analysis but also to guide the reader to the correct interpretation of these events. In laying the blame for pestilence, poor crops, civil uprisings, foreign invasion, earthquakes, meteors, and a host of other ills on the nation's tepid piety and tolerance of Catholicism, he portrays the English Church under siege, fusing anti-Catholic paranoia with burgeoning patriotic feeling to forge a collective English Protestant consciousness (Walsham, *Providence* 5). But in encouraging the meticulous analysis of the self in relation to these events, Bentley places the ultimate interpretive authority in the reader. As Alexandra Walsham demonstrates, "providentialism became a major element in the subjective experience of the godly" (*Providence* 19). Bentley attempts to direct his readers' conclusions, but must ultimately relinquish the power of interpretation to the private individual, whose inward reflections are no more accessible or controllable than her private prayers.

Bentley's supplementary prayers for the Communion service reveal a similar tension between interpretive control and agency. The twenty prayers and meditations he includes to be recited in preparation for the Lord's Supper represent a concerted effort to reinforce the Church of England's doctrine and head off both Catholic interpretations and puritan criticisms of the sacrament. While Catholic dogma held that the Eucharistic bread and wine were transformed into the actual body and blood of Christ through the act of consecration, Bentley refutes the doctrine of transubstantiation, stressing that "this sacred supper" is "no earthlie bodie, no carnall meate, nor anie fleshlie substance" (4.569). He also

opposes the radical Protestant contention that the Eucharist is a strictly memorial act of thanksgiving: the sacrament is no "vaine" ceremony, "no bare signe, no vntrue figure of a thing absent" (4.569). Instead, the sacrament is "the nourishment of our soules" through which "we may not onlie heare, see, taste, and knowe the mercie of God our Creator" but also "feele wrought in vs...the tranquillitie of conscience; the increase of faith; the strengthening of hope; and the long spreading abroad of brotherlie loue and kindnesse" (4.569-570). Bentley's theology is neither detailed nor specific, but upholds the Calvinist sacrament endorsed the Book of Common Prayer, which maintains that divine grace is spiritually bestowed by the Eucharistic elements when they are consumed in faith, enabling the reception of and participation in Christ's mystical body (Rosendale 91). As Bentley explains, "as our outward man is nourished by letting in this bodilie meat into the stomach, that is helthsome and sound to be digested; so our inward man may be spirituallie fed and satisfied, by receiuing the meate thereof into our soule and hart, sound and whole in faith" (4.572). Spiritual transformation is wrought in the "inward man" through the individual's remembrance of and response to Christ's sacrifice. As Rosendale notes, the minister provides the sacrament which the "outward man" consumes, but "its actual internalization is a strictly individual affair of subjective discretion and participation" (102). Ramie Targoff suggests that participation in the general confession that precedes Communion suspends distinctions between congregants, as individual identities are subsumed by collective participation in the rite (33), but Bentley stresses that communal participation is unproductive, perhaps even dangerous, without the individual's emotional and intellectual engagement: "the doubting man neither eateth the flesh spirituallie, nor yet drinketh the bloud; though carnallie, and to our eies he seemeth to consume the Sacrament of the bodie and bloud with his teeth and mouth, but his damnation rather" (4.577). True faith is indistinguishable from performance in the eyes of the human observer. One cannot tell by looking if a communicant is receiving life-sustaining spiritual nourishment through the established Church service, or consigning himself to

damnation by clinging to “idolatrous darknesse” (4.580). Bentley provides private prayers to induce his readers to “receiue these holie mysteries without corruption, to vse them without alteration, to continue them without superstition” (4.565), carefully directing the reader’s interpretation at theologically contentious points in the ceremony: “When you see the wine, behold it with your corporall eies. For as Christ saith, it is wine: but lift vp your soule vnto Christ in heauen, whose bloud is there alwaie fresh and liuelie...to sprinkle and quicken thee” (4.592). Steering the reader from the doctrine of transubstantiation, Bentley invokes a symbolic understanding of the sacrament that encourages the reader to meditate on her direct, unmediated relationship with Christ; in so doing, he diminishes the centrality of the Eucharistic elements as well as the clergy. Bentley makes clear that, within the context of reformed theology, the most ‘real’ version of the self is the private inward self, whose true thoughts and feelings, though they can perhaps be guided and shaped by the prayers of men, are discernible only to God.

Though designed to police the inmost thoughts of his readers, Bentley’s prayers demonstrate the possibility of a new religious subjectivity and endorse withdrawal into the privacy of the mind, which is ultimately inaccessible to outside authority. ‘Private speech’, speech directed towards the interior self, is revolutionary in its implications. Laura E. Berk defines children’s private speech as “‘a critical intermediate state in the transition from external social communication to internal self-direction...the cornerstone of all higher cognitive processes, including selective attention, voluntary memory, planning, concept formation, and self-reflection’” (qtd. in Jagodzinski 11). Cecile Jagodzinksi suggests that silent reading fosters private speech and, thereby, the discovery and development of individuality in the early modern period; but while she argues that solitude is essential to nurturing the private self, Bentley’s prayers demonstrate that privacy can be created in public spaces, that it is a permissible, desirable, and legitimate part of worship, so long as it is directed towards the proper ends. My argument is not that Thomas Bentley, the zealous churchwarden of Saint Andrew Holborn, intended his prayers to have potentially subversive or liberating

consequences for his readers; on the contrary, his prayers are designed to stymie his women readers' interpretive autonomy and carefully guide their private thoughts at every stage of public worship. Yet his strategy opens up interpretive possibilities for his readers that are beyond his ultimate control.

Bentley addresses his prayers to women to guide their private devotional practices and to enlist their support for his own religious and political aims; however, he cannot compel interior conformity without invoking individual authority. He cannot authorize his female readers to implement his religious agenda without licensing them to develop and pursue agendas of their own. Bentley's account of his activities as churchwarden in *Some Monuments of Antiquities* (1584) suggests that he enlisted the participation of the female parishioners of Saint Andrew Holborn in ceremonies and gathering funds for the maintenance of the church and relief of the parish poor (Berlin 47-48). His prayers to be recited before the sermon in the fourth Lamp suggest that Bentley also recruited women to monitor and influence the ministry. Emphasizing that the clergy has no power that does not come from God, and expressing a strong desire for godly zeal, eloquence, and strict adherence to the Book of Common Prayer, these prayers encourage women to develop opinions about the performance of the ministry and to make their approbation, or lack thereof, known. Bentley's prayers for the ministry provide a sort of checklist designed to instruct women readers on the qualities an exemplary, learned minister should possess: "Giue vnto him the spirit of feare, godlinesse, fortitude, counsell, zeale, knowledge, discretion, wisedome, vnderstanding, and constancie" (4.522-523). In reciting Bentley's prayers, the reader joins her voice to those of leading male reformers in calling for the thorough education and training of ministers: "Lord, let him come vnto vs with abundant knowledge...of the diuine mysteries of the blessings of the Gospell of Christ" (4.523). He must not perform a "bare reading" of the scripture and sermon, as the so-called "reading ministers" sent out by the Church of England to supply the lack of educated preachers were said to do (Kearney 28); the word of God must act "as a burning fire shut vp in his bones" and "burst" forth from his

belly through his mouth “as the wine, which hath no vent,” yet he must maintain “perfect iudgement”, uttering “nothing rashlie, or vndiscreetlie” (4.523-524). Above all, he must conform to the established Church of England service, “reteining the forme of whoalsome words, and sounding onlie that doctrine, which is vttered by thy sonne out of thy bosome” (4.528). Judith Maltby notes that conforming worshippers in some parishes applied to Church courts if their ministers deviated from the liturgy and ceremonies of the Book of Common Prayer (48), a course of action Bentley implicitly endorses, declaring that ministers who depart “from the order of faith, and the rule of thy word...greatlie obscure the light of thy doctrine, and obtrude vpon vs the vanitie of their owne inuentions” (4.528). Importantly for Bentley’s agenda, the ministry must, without fear of repercussion, root out the church papistry and non-conformity, often prevalent amongst the highest-ranking parishioners: “Giue them libertie of speech, boldlie without feare, to blame and rebuke all false doctrine, blasphemous superstition, and abuses in the Church” (4.528). Though he cautions his readers that the minister is “vndoubtedlie” God’s “mouth and messenger” and, therefore, ought not to be ‘scornefullie disdaine[d]” (4.526), the minister is not exempt from reproach, and Bentley’s prayers encourage the reader to judge for herself whether or not the minister has fulfilled his duties. Patricia Crawford notes that members of the clergy were often dependent upon their female parishioners’ approbation for financial and emotional support. Women played an influential role in advancing the careers of clergymen, providing patronage, introducing them to influential members of the Church and court, intervening and even demonstrating in public on their behalf. Widows bequeathed gifts and money in their wills and even poor women contributed to the livelihood of ministers (Crawford 77). Though Bentley guides the reader’s expectations of the clergy, the woman reader is free, in the privacy of her mind, to evaluate the preacher’s performance and to develop her own criteria for zealous and inspiring preaching. She might keep these opinions to herself, or she might share them with her family, friends, and fellow-congregants, thereby influencing the minister’s conduct and his future

career. Thus the reader's private prayers and judgements have public and potentially far-reaching ramifications. Bentley's prayers give his readers a voice in shaping the ministry of the Church of England, authorizing their critique of male religious authority and their participation in some of the most significant and controversial religious discussions of the day.

Bentley offers women a more public forum to reflect and develop opinions on the governance of the nation in prayers to be recited by mothers and daughters on November 17, the anniversary of Elizabeth's coronation. In scripting praise mingled with admonishment for the Queen, Bentley works to further his own political agenda, but these prayers also provide women with authority to voice opinions on Elizabeth's religious policies. If mothers and daughters performed these prayers in front of their households, they would have an opportunity to lead their families and possibly even their neighbours in a political assessment of Church and state. Constance Jordan argues that despite the deference male authors paid to Elizabeth, the implications of their arguments for gynaecocracy were "almost negligible in their real consequences" for early modern women (424); but Jacqueline Vanhoutte proposes that some women may have been inspired by the example of their powerful, unmarried Queen to assert more autonomy in their households and communities (100). Bentley suggests that women's voices ought to be privileged on a day that honours the rule of one woman over the entire nation. Designed to become part of an annual ritual, these prayers reinforce women's role in commemorating and promoting the Protestant cause with the added weight of a tradition passed down from mother to daughter. As is consistent throughout *The Monument of Matrones*, these prayers reinforce Bentley's anti-Catholic agenda. Bentley joins a host of preachers and pamphleteers in recounting the afflictions and deliverance of the English reformers to create a swell of nationalistic pride and anti-Catholic antagonism on the anniversary of Elizabeth's coronation (Walsham, "'A Very Deborah'?" 146). Recalling the dispersion of the "banished exiles of England, and persecuted members of Christ" under Mary I (4.683), the mother passes onto her daughter the memory of the English

reformers' struggles against Roman Catholic adversaries: "multitudes of the cruell enimies did not ceasse craftilie to enuiron and beset vs round about...Manie of vs wandered in the waste wildernesse, and sought strange cities commodious to dwell in, halfe dead" (4.684). Drawing on Psalm 107 and aligning the Marian exiles with Moses and the Israelites in the wilderness, these prayers situate the English reformers in a long line of faithful believers, including women, who suffered persecution for the true Church. Bentley works to establish a tradition of collective Protestant memory, passed down by women from generation to generation, to ensure that anti-Catholic sentiment remained strong in English households. Mother and daughter praise Elizabeth as a Protestant champion who "diddest deliuer thy people of England from danger of war and oppression, both of bodies by tyrannie, & of conscience by superstition, restoring peace, and true religion" (4.686). Yet Elizabeth's religious policy is not above reproach and, as in his prayers to be recited by the Queen, Bentley's praise is spiked with admonition. As Alexandra Walsham observes, sermons and pamphlets commemorating Elizabeth's coronation were "not so much saluting her achievements as outlining a set of ideals to be aspired to" ("'A Very Deborah'?" 147). Commendations of Elizabeth's reign underscore expectations of how the nation ought to be governed and encourage readers to question whether her policies actually merit praise: "Preachers haue beene sent foorth plentiouslie, lawes haue beene executed mercifullie, orders haue been set downe politikelie, dangers haue beene declined discreetly" (4.694). In light of contemporary religious and political upheavals, including the Spanish invasion of Ireland, the incursion of militant Jesuit priests, and Elizabeth's continuing refusal to increase the ranks of Church of England preachers (Collinson, *Elizabethan Puritan* 191), the reader might well wonder if acclaim for Elizabeth's "peaceable and vnbloudie gouernment" was warranted (4.710). Bentley invites women to join their voices to those of reformist male clergy and counselors in admonishing Elizabeth to take sterner action against Catholic incursions: "Assist hir...to quaile the pride of the triple-headed Romish **Cerberus**, to banish his beggerlie ceremonies, to abridge the terme of his reigne,

and finallie to cut off and preuent the seeds that continuallie striue to spring vp from abhominable superstition and idolatrie" (4.688). Bentley's prayers place women in the vanguard of defending their households and communities against threats to the state-established Church. He works to create new family traditions, with all the weight and authority that traditions carry, in order to disseminate his agenda and fortify Protestant households for generations to come. As churchwarden, Bentley implemented public performances of this household practice in the celebrations he organized at Saint Andrew Holborn in 1584 for Elizabeth's birthday and the anniversary of her coronation. Under his direction, fifty-two of the oldest poor women in the parish commemorated Elizabeth's birthday by praying for her health and prosperity in front of the congregation, each receiving spice cake, wine, and two pence for her labour. Twenty-seven maidens of the parish performed prayers of thanksgiving in the church on the twenty-seventh anniversary of Elizabeth's coronation, in return for alms (Berlin 48). That poor, aged women and young maidens, amongst the most disenfranchised members of the parish, were given an opportunity to lead the congregation in prayer suggests what a powerful impact these prayers may have had. Bentley scripted these prayers to promote his own opinions by placing them in the mouths of women to recite to others, but in authorizing women to instruct their households, even their congregations, on matters of public governance, Bentley also provides them with a forum to develop and circulate their own ideas and opinions.

Bentley expands on women readers' opportunities for devotional and political leadership by providing weekly prayers to be recited by mothers and daughters to their families every evening on the Sabbath. "A compendious forme of praier for the whole estate of Christes Church" offers women an opportunity to comment on the performance of men in public office, and prayers "For Ciuil Magistrates" and "For Bishops and all spirituall Pastors" allow them to step outside their nominal sphere of domestic influence (4.732-733). A prayer "For increase of true preachers, complaining of the lacke herein" authorizes women to

criticize corrupt, indifferent, or unlearned ministers and to call for their removal: "Wilt thou neuer displace these carelesse hirelings, and raise vp in their places such as shall be vigilant pastors ouer their charge?" (4.737). Although his women readers could not attend grammar schools and universities, Bentley suggests that they have a right to be concerned about the management of the institutions where men in positions of authority are educated. In a petition "For all Vniversities and Schooles," the mother prays that their "preachers and teachers...may be there instructed in all godly knowledge and learning, and be made fit to walke woorthilie in their vocation" (4.738), implicitly inviting the reader to evaluate whether men in positions of authority were qualified to carry out their duties. Bentley also encourages women to comment on ecclesiastical governance in a prayer "For the authoritie of discipline to be established in the Church" (4.743). Taking aim at lax religious policies that permit the continuation of recusancy and church papistry, particularly in the privileged ranks of the aristocracy, the mother leads her daughter in a prayer "that the authoritie of Ecclesiasticall censure and discipline...may be placed in the Church, to the due punishment of sinfull life, and contempt of thy word...that it may extend indifferentlie vnto all estates both high and lowe...to the speedie and perfect reformation of all such things as are yet disordered in this thy Church" (4.743). Creating a ritual in which women are empowered to speak in front of their households and members of their community on matters of ecclesiastical and public governance offers women an opportunity to develop and voice their own opinions. As Edith Snook observes, these prayers are polemical in tone and extend the boundaries of women's influence ("Dorothy Leigh's *The Mother's Blessing*" 170). A ritual passed from mother to daughter and performed on a weekly basis works to establish a tradition of women's political and spiritual leadership, encouraging them to voice their opinion on male-dominated institutions and influence others to bring about social, educational, and religious reforms.

"Weake, fraile, and earthen vessels": Disciplining the Female Body

Although Thomas Bentley's religious agenda is fairly consistent throughout *The Monument of Matrones*, the role he envisions for women in his ideal Protestant nation is fraught with contradictions. On one hand, encouraging women to instruct their families and neighbours and to judge the conduct of men in positions of power, and, on the other, enjoining women to "sobernes, silence, shamefastnes, and chastitie, both of bodie & mind" (5.1), Bentley's directives seem to fluctuate between empowering and subjugating women, especially in the fifth "Lampe of Virginitie," a collection of prayers and meditations "to be vsed onlie of...women." To some extent, these contradictions stem from the multiplicity of voices Bentley draws into his text, his editorial hand shaping but not entirely erasing the perspectives of the authors he incorporates into *The Monument of Matrones*. *The Monument* also mirrors the competing discourses of gendered equality and hierarchy unresolved in the dominant culture. As Frances Dolan observes, "from the start, Protestant discourse contained within it justifications of male dominance and limits placed on that dominance, justifications of female subordination and limits on that subordination" (41). Feminist critics attuned to discourses of female subordination have turned to the fifth Lamp, which has received more critical attention than any other volume of *The Monument of Matrones*, because it illuminates masculine ideals of feminine conduct for "for all sorts and degrees of women, in their severall ages and callings" including "Virgins, Wiues, Women with child, Midwiues, Mothers, Daughters, Mistresses, Maids, Widowes, and old women." These analyses have yielded important insights, usefully situating Bentley's prayers for expectant and delivering mothers in the religious and medical discourse of early modern childbirth. But a disproportionate focus on Bentley's childbirth prayers and a tendency to read the fifth Lamp narrowly as conduct literature have elided the devotional function of Bentley's "praiers and meditations." In the first place, Suzanne Hull reminds us that conduct literature is not necessarily a reliable index of early modern women's lived experience: "Men's writing was *prescriptive* and *proscriptive*, but not always *descriptive*. It pictured women according to men's

ideals and interpretations" (*Women* 23). In the second place, while Bentley's prayers do reflect and respond to the dominant cultural discourse surrounding women's conduct and bodies, they are, first and foremost, meditative aids and need to be examined in their devotional context if we are to appreciate their function. In short, rather than mining the Fifth Lamp exclusively for examples of what early modern men think about women, I ask instead how and to what end women might have turned to Bentley's prayers. Under what conditions might these prayers and meditations have been performed, and what transformations were they designed to bring about in their readers?

Read separately from the rest of *The Monument* and taken out of its larger devotional context, the fifth Lamp may seem oppressive and domineering to modern readers in its efforts to discipline women's unruly bodies. Torri Thompson argues that Bentley's goal is to force women to internalize discourses of bodily shame and subjection through "the humiliation and public display of the female body" (28). Certainly, Bentley's emphasis on women's dangerous inclination to "vncleane cogitations, harlotrie, whooredome, and all impuritie" (5.2) supports Thompson's claim that the text asserts masculine control over women's sexuality by encouraging them to police their own bodies (24). Reminding his women readers that their bodies are "weake, fraile, and earthen vessels," Bentley directs them to "bridle [their] lusts and appetites" (5.9). Prayers for strength to "resist all sinfull motions" of the body in spite of its "manifold imperfections, womanlie weakenesses, & miserable corruptions" correspond to contemporary medical discourse on women's physical infirmity (5.7-8). Early modern understandings of the body were based on humoral theory, first espoused by the Hippocratic writers and further developed by Galen in the second century. Physical health and mental disposition were based on the balance of the four humoral fluids: blood, yellow bile, phlegm, and black bile. Specific physiological functions and personality traits were associated with each humor: for example, phlegm nourishes the cold and moist organs like the brain and kidneys, whereas blood warms the body; an excess of yellow bile or choler provokes anger,

whereas an excess of black bile is associated with melancholia (Gutierrez 16; Schoenfeldt 3). The one-sex model systematized by Galen placed men and women in a vertical hierarchy based on the humoral differences between men's hot and dry bodies and women's cold and excessively moist ones. A woman's reproductive organs were thought to be the inverse of a man's, placed inside her body because it lacked sufficient heat to cause her sexual organs to drop (Gutierrez 16; Paster 79). The one-sex model positioned women as imperfect men, rendered unfit for active, public governance by their sluggish, clammy, and excessively leaky bodies (Hull, *Women* 19; Paster 79). The perception that female bodies produced excessive, hence disturbing and shameful, amounts of fluid, through breast milk, tears, menstrual blood, and urine, called into question women's ability to control both their physical and verbal outpourings, as "overproduction at one orifice bespeaks overproduction at the rest" (Paster 45). As Gail Kern Paster notes, "Representations of the female body as a leaking vessel display that body as beyond the control of the female subject, and thus as threatening the acquisitive goals of the family and its maintenance of status and power" (25). Anxiety about women's uncontrolled and uncontrollable bodies was heightened by early modern perceptions of the womb as "an animal within an animal," possessing its own consciousness, sensitive to smells, and capable of upsetting a woman's bodily economy as it wandered wilfully around her lower body (Miller 5; Paster 45). As Naomi Miller points out, such conceptions only reinforced stereotypes of feminine error and changeability (5).

To help his women readers cope with their natural infirmity and transform themselves into the exemplary Protestant wives and mothers he envisions, Bentley encourages them "continuallie to exercise [them]selues with labour both of bodie and mind, in patience and sufferance, that [they] may be apt and fit both for maidenlie and huswifelie affaires" (5.9). Michael Schoenfeldt illustrates how Galenic physiology and Protestant theology pressured the consuming subject to conceive all acts of ingestion and excretion as "very literal acts of self-fashioning" (11). By regulating the body through diet and exercise, the consuming subject

could engage in a process of "remaking" herself through methodical and disciplined action (Schoenfeldt 11). Wholesome forms of physical exercise, such as domestic labour, helped to reconstitute the body by conjuring the blood, whose warmth combats the idleness and lethargy of a women's cold, moist body (Floyd-Wilson 136). To "vtterlie extinguish...all inordinate lusts" (5.10), Bentley recommends physical exertion to virgins and single women, seen as particularly vulnerable to the appetites of the unruly womb because they could not alleviate their sexual impulses through marital intercourse (Gutierrez 17). Early modern medical discourse associated an appetite for food with an appetite for sex (Gutierrez 14), so Bentley also recommends temperance in diet. Along with its corollary organs of digestion, the liver and the spleen, the stomach occupied "a central site of ethical discrimination" in early modern culture, because it separates the dross from the nutritive material, distinguishing good from bad (Schoenfeldt 25-26). By choosing "abstinence and temperance before banketing or bellie-cheere," women could subdue the "sinfull motions and concupiscences of the flesh" and preserve "the gift of continencie, and virginitie" (5.11-12). Bentley is careful to specify that the wrong sort of physical stimulus will have a disastrous effect on women's bodies and warns that "bankets, weddings, idle games, heathenish sports, & dissollute plaies...and dansings, the extreame of all vices" as well as "excessiue feeding" will arouse "incontinencie" (5.3-4). Indeed, those "whose delight is all the daie long in chambering and wantonnes, in excesse of wine, vaine pleasures, and all maner of wickednes and riot" accentuate the negative feminine qualities of the body, becoming "immodest, wanton, and effeminate persons" (5.3). Similarly, in *The Anatomy of Abuses*, Phillip Stubbes warns that "filthie dauncing...stireth vp filthie lust" and thereby "womannisheth ye mind" (Ov4). This suggests that to discipline the body through "godlie exercise" (5.2) and dietary temperance is to approach the masculine constitutional ideal, while a failure to self-regulate renders the body more feminine, as evidenced by the lack of control "effeminate persons" exercise over their own speech, producing "many idle words, much babling, filthie speech, and scurillitie"

(5.3). By contrast, the woman who disciplines her unruly body is able to "order [her] tongue, and dispose [her] talke" (5.1), to participate meaningfully in the spiritual community.

Nevertheless, we must question the implications of a regimen of self-discipline imposed by a male author on women readers to govern their unruly bodies and restrain their sexuality. Bentley's guidelines for women to regulate their diet and physical exertion might seem to offer women an opportunity to surmount their corporeal limitations, transforming their "fraile vessels" (5.52) into more perfect and, by implication, masculine bodies under Galen's one-sex model. Michael Schoenfeldt argues that bodily disciplines of self-mastery and restraint were a key feature of gentlemanly self-fashioning, suggesting that "not all exercises in self-control are occasions of pathological repression" (17). To be in thrall to the whims of an undisciplined, disordered body, subject to a variety of internal and external forces, is the true "site of subjugation and subject of horror" in early modern medical discourse; to perform exercises of self-regulation and restraint is to fortify the self and authorize individuality (Schoenfeldt 11-12). Schoenfeldt admits, however, that although women were patients and practitioners of humoral manipulation, most were barred from receiving the formal medical education that produced the highly theorized discourse of physiological interiority developed by men (37-38). He concludes that women turned to religious discourse rather than to physiological self-regulation to articulate their inwardness (37), as if the body and spirit did not intersect in devotional practice. However, the early modern performance of prayer was a profoundly embodied experience. Protestant religious discourse encouraged the involvement of the body in prayer, interpreting its motions as both sign and agent of spiritual engagement (Craig 182). Nancy Gutierrez points out that men administering regimens of bodily control, "whether based on a 'scientific' understanding of female physiology or a belief in women's naturally weakened state of resolve, by inference assumes women's place on any hierarchical scale is lower than is man's—whether the hierarchy is political, social, physical, or

moral" (20). Yet as many useful studies have revealed, early modern women were certainly capable of mastering and reinterpreting the parameters of male-authored religious and medical discourse. Translation provides an excellent example of women transforming male-authored discourse into their own forms of cultural production. We might consider the possibility that women were also capable of translating and transforming male-authored directives into potentially empowering regimens of self-discipline. Although Bentley's prayers do not offer a highly theorized model of humoural self-management, they do endeavor to alter the reading subject physically as well as spiritually; the fact that they were written by a man does not preclude the possibility that early modern women readers achieved a measure of satisfaction and empowerment from the performance of these prayers.

As an example of a physically and spiritually transformative regime of prayer, I consider Bentley's lamentations for adulterous women. Taken out of their devotional context, these prayers that compare a sexually transgressive woman to a sow and a dog seem to epitomize misogynistic revulsion for and repression of the female body. "A lamentation of anie woman, virgin, wife, or widowe, for hir virginitie or chastitie, lost by fornication or adulterie" dramatizes the confession of "a wretch found walowing in all impietie...blemished with shame & ignominie" (5.13-14), who envisions herself lying prostrate before the threshold of the church and entreating the righteous to "Trample mee vnder your feet as a Jesabell, for I am a daughter of Sodom and Gomer, that deserueth to obteine no mercie" (5.21). In Torri Thompson's estimation, "While not openly advocating physical beating, the text just as effectively batters women into subordination through male–authored confession" (26). But Thompson's argument assumes that readers' encounters with texts amount to passive absorption of their contents, a response Bentley himself does not encourage. As Edith Snook observes, prayers are "work," designed to be used, performed, and experienced, not to be read passively ("Dorothy Leigh's *The Mother's Blessing*" 164). The prayers Bentley provides in the fifth Lamp are designed to supplement

a daily round of individual, household, and public worship by addressing events and stages in a woman's life cycle as well as spiritual and emotional crises arising in daily life. Some of these prayers are intended to be shared with others (such as "A praier to be vsed of a virgin newlie married togither with hir husband"), but women's intensive and affective devotion was most often performed in the solitude of the prayer closet (Molekamp, "Early modern" 54; Cambers, *Godly Reading* 47). In the seclusion of her closet, a woman could engage in the process of "heart piety," intensive, discontinuous reading that engages the body and senses to deeply focus and transform the reader (Brown 70). She might also compose responses to what she read in scripture or her own original prayers and meditations, aloud, on paper, or in silent conversations with the divine, so we should not assume that closet devotion was passive or unresponsive. A woman reader might turn to these lamentations if she had engaged in "fornication or adulterie," but more likely would have used them as meditative aids to inspire contrition for less specific transgressions: the subtitle marks the lamentations as "not vnapt also to be vsed of anie Christian sinner, or sinfull soule adulterated and fallen awaie by sinne from hir spirituall spouse Christ Jesus" (5.13). Thus, although the lamentations employ the trope of an adulterous woman, they do not apply exclusively to sexual transgressions or female bodies. Indeed, given the prevalence of feminine metaphors used to distinguish the 'true' Protestant faith as the bride of Christ from the Roman Catholic faith as the 'false' whore (Crawford 13), these lamentations are equally applicable to spiritual infidelity. The description of the speaker sneaking away at dawn from her "woonted deuotion" to commune with an unnamed group who employed "dissimulation, and deceit" to "perswade" and "entise" her (5.17) could easily dramatize the spiritual seduction to Catholicism that Bentley labours to prevent. Whatever the nature of the reader's transgression, Bentley works to engage the reader's imagination and passions to purge and purify her body and soul.

The Monument of Matrones draws on a long meditative tradition and its dramatic and affective confessions are designed to engage the bodies,

imaginations, and emotions of its readers to effect contrition and prepare the soul for the infusion of grace. Charles Hambrick-Stowe outlines the redemptive drama of sin and salvation that Catholics, Protestants, and puritans adapted from the writings of Saint Augustine and enacted cyclically through self-examination, meditation, and confession. Following the model provided by Augustine's *Confessions,* the beginning of all devotion for Christians of diverse persuasions was penitence and humility "with the confessor on his knees before the throne of God's mercy" (Hambrick-Stowe 34).[8] In Book VIII of the *Confessions,* which describes the "Birthpangs of Conversion," Augustine outlines the meditative process of self-abasement and confession that prepared his soul for conversion: "What accusations against myself did I not bring? With what verbal rods did I not scourge my soul so that it would follow me in my attempt to go after you!" (146). Neither a passive nor a peaceful process, Augustine describes a "grand struggle in my inner house, which I had vehemently stirred up with my soul in the intimate chamber of my heart" (146). Sickened and tortured with bitter self-accusation, Augustine describes himself "twisting and turning" to free himself from the "chain" of sin: "You, Lord, put pressure on me in my hidden depths with a severe mercy wielding the double whip of fear and shame, lest I should again succumb, and lest that tiny and tenuous bond which still remained should not be broken, but once more regain strength and bind me even more firmly" (150). Fear and shame are divinely inspired and efficacious passions in this context because they "'loosen'" the penitent from sin and force him or her to recognize "'an utter insufficiency...to procure the least spiritual relief'" without the intervention of the Spirit (Hooker qtd. in Hambrick-Stowe 81). Augustine's "profound self-examination" dredges up "a heap of all my misery and set[s] it 'in the sight of my

[8] Although the first English translation of Augustine's *Confessions* was not published until 1620, his writings were widely available in popular collections like *Certaine Select Prayers Gathered out of S. Augustines Meditations* (1577) and Thomas Rogers'*Pretious Booke of Heauenlie Meditation* (1581) and *S. Augustine's Manuel* (1581), which Bentley draws from in the fourth Lamp. Kathleen Lynch demonstrates the pervasive influence of Augustine's example in the development of Protestant spirituality, noting that English men and women did not need direct access to Augustine's *Confessions* to benefit from his example (48).

heart,'" precipitating "a vast storm bearing a massive downpour of tears" (152). Withdrawing from his companion into solitude, "I threw myself down somehow under a certain figtree, and let my tears flow freely. Rivers streamed from my eyes, a sacrifice acceptable to you...and...I repeatedly said to you: 'How long, O Lord? How long, Lord, will you be angry to the uttermost?'" (152). Conviction and compunction for sin are followed by complete self-abasement, and Augustine's posture is reminiscent of Old Testament examples of humiliation, such as Israel's defeat at Ai, when "Joshua rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon his face before the ark of the LORD, until the eventide, he, and the elders of Israel, and put dust upon their heads" (Josh. 7.6; Hambrick-Stowe 34). "Abased and "emptied" of worldly needs and desires, the soul is prepared by God for the infusion of grace. In the midst of "the bitter agony of my heart" Augustine experiences conversion in the form of a voice advising him to "Pick up and read" the scripture (152). Seizing his Bible and reading the first passage he beheld, "it was as if a light of relief from all anxiety flooded into my heart. All the shadows of doubt were dispelled" (153). The redemptive cycle of wounding and terrifying, cleansing and renewing, comforting and reviving the heart formed a cornerstone of devotional practice across theological party lines (Hambrick-Stowe 159). Cyclical as well as teleological, joyously uplifting as well as recursively abject, disciplinary piety was part of a lifelong process of spiritual growth and transformation designed to facilitate "an authentic, inward drive to repent and reform" (Brown 125).

Bentley's lamentations for adulterous women in the fifth Lamp of *The Monument of Matrones* dramatize many of the elements of Augustine's conversion narrative for readers to perform in their own lives and converge with contemporary regimens of physiological self-discipline. Examining these lamentations as devotional performances in a tradition of pious and physical discipline illuminates the function of prayers that otherwise might seem to have been designed exclusively to degrade their readers. In these lamentations, sin is figured as a physical as well as spiritual infirmity, which disorders the body and

disrupts its ability to produce wholesome, meaningful speech: “The tong doth not his office; the throte is dammed vp; all the senses and instruments are polluted with iniquitie” (5.13). In order to unstop the plugged throat and stimulate the unresponsive tongue to express true contrition, the penitent must be purged physically as well as spiritually. Bentley refers to female bodies as “water pots,” which are “oppressed with euils, filled to the full with water and teares” (5.52). In Augustine’s account, the arousal of his passions affects the condition of his body: “My uttered words said less about the state of my mind than my forehead, cheeks, eyes, colour, and tone of voice” (146). Blushing and weeping for his sins is not merely a physical reaction to the emotional experience of fear and shame, but an alteration of his bodily humours. Through the rigorous performance of affective disciplinary piety, the penitent is meant to purge herself of sin and noxious humors by expelling penitential tears and sweat. Like Augustine, the penitent must recall her sins and scourge herself verbally and imaginatively to release this purgative moisture. As Cynthia Garrett discusses, the aim of preparatory meditation in the reformed tradition is to arouse the intense emotional engagement that Calvin advocates in communicating with the divine; although the total inability of humans to persuade God was a central tenet of reformed theology, the belief that God responds to fervency in prayer, expressed not only in frequency but in the expression of powerful emotion, persists in Protestant discourse (339). A calm heart and reconciled spirit are the ultimate aims of prayer, but Garrett notes that “the act of prayer itself appears to require emotional disorder, and when such disorder does not arise spontaneously, it must be incited” (340). Bentley’s lamentations work to rouse powerful feelings of fear and shame, but also to carefully guide those emotions towards repentance and reconciliation. Bentley calls upon the reader to place herself imaginatively in the position of an adulteress, to recall and confess her transgressions and infidelities (spiritual or sexual), in order to stir up “the wellspring of teares” (5.15). The reader is to imagine herself, in vivid and emotive detail, an orphan, a widow, and a barren woman, bewailed by an assembly of women and trampled “as a filthie rag” under

the feet of the righteous (5.28). She is to employ the "sting of sinne" and "rod of sorrowe" and imagine herself tormented, scourged, plagued, even crucified (5.28) in order to provoke "great streames of lamentations" to "wipe and purifie" her heart (5.22). Bentley directs the reader to recall the biblical examples of Peter and Mary Magdalen, who "after their fall, wiped awaie their bitter passions...with salt teares, fleaing sinne, and purging awaie the venom of the serpent," in order to bring about a similar redemptive transformation in herself: "And this I speake, to the end these things may take effect also in me miserable sinner" (5.22). It is plausible that some readers may have enacted the spiritual agony of disciplinary piety by performing physical gestures of humiliation, as some devotional manuals recommend kneeling, breast-beating, or lying prostrate on the ground (Brown 17; Hambrick-Stowe 35). Though critical accounts have tended to emphasize the confinement, enclosure, and silence of the feminine prayer closet, Andrew Cambers suggests that women's closet devotion was "laced with emotion, and rarely silent," involving the voice and body in "noisy outpourings of the heart" (*Godly Reading* 46-47). As in Augustine's account, the emptying and abasement of the heart are followed by redemption and reconciliation to God; after the reader has "rent" her heart and "prouoke[d] streames of teares to gush" from her eyes, "there will followe remission of sinnes, the paines will be auoided, and the torments shall not be felt" (5.23). Lamentation will be replaced with rejoicing, the "sackcloth of sorrowe [will] be rent asunder" and the penitent will be girded with "gladnesse" (5.26). The woman reader who entered her prayer closet to perform intensive, affective devotional exercises would ideally emerge reconciled with her God and physically, as well as spiritually, transformed.

Thus contrary to accounts that set the "humanistic and rational" style of Protestant meditation against the contemplative and emotional style of Catholic meditation (Davies 426), the arousal of the passions was an integral component of Protestant affective meditation. In directing the reader to imagine herself as an adulteress, Bentley draws on the technique of composition by similitude, a practice integral to affective meditation for Catholics as well as Protestants.

Bentley's vivid and frenetic description of a sinner outcast and trampled underfoot by the righteous conjures the sort of emotionally urgent and visually concrete setting that the English Jesuit Richard Gibbons recommends in creating meditative images: we must see "'the places where the things we meditate on were wrought, by imagining ourselves to be really present at those places; which we must endeavour to represent so lively, as though we saw them indeed, with our corporall eyes'" (qtd. in Martz 27). Instead of trying to analyze concepts like sin and death in abstract terms, Gibbons advises devotees to use their image-forming faculties to create an embodied meditative experience; for example, in meditating on death, we should visualize "'our selves laied on our bed, forsaken of the Physitians, compassed about with our weeping friends, and expecting our last agony'" (qtd. in Martz 28). As I noted in my discussion of Abraham Fleming, despite their much-vaunted aversion to images, Protestant authors recognized the meditative efficacy of images and employed them to engage body and mind in an all-encompassing performance of devotion. Bentley is careful to direct the meditative images he creates towards rigorous self-examination and spiritual discipline; his images do not encourage abandonment to the senses in the manner of a Baroque poet like Richard Crashaw (Low 126). Only tears of spiritual inspiration and penitence were considered appropriate for the godly, who viewed excessive displays of emotion with disapprobation as both feminine and Catholic (Molekamp, *Women and the Bible* 140). As Kathleen Lynch explores in *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World*, Protestants and Catholics made different use of a shared Augustinian meditative foundation and engaged in bitter contests over their competing claims to Augustine's spiritual identity (43). I do not wish to elide the differences that developed between Catholic, Protestant, and puritan adaptations of the Augustinian meditative tradition, but to demonstrate their shared foundation in order to explicate the role of affective meditation in Bentley's prayers for women.

Examining these prayers in their devotional context reveals that their sole function was not to humiliate or subjugate the female body in the interests of

masculine sexual control (although they likely had this effect), but to humiliate and subjugate "anie" and all "Christian sinner[s]" to promote bodily self-discipline and prepare the spirit for the infusion of divine grace (5.13). Torri Thompson likens Bentley's lamentations for adulterous women to the iron bit of a scold's bridle, forced into a woman's mouth to humiliate and silence her in a grim echo of oral or fellatial rape (27), but her analysis does not take into account the ritual purpose of abasement within the context of affective meditation. As Matthew Brown points out, the redemptive cycle of disciplinary piety these lamentations enact resulted not only in subjection, but also eventually in spiritual satisfaction, even delight (30). Strong emotion, and the tears, sweat, groans, and sighs that it provokes, unites body and spirit in the transcendent and all-consuming act that Tyndale describes as an appropriate private adjunct to public prayer (Targoff 7). Though contemporary medical discourse on female bodies linked irrationality, sexual intemperance, and emotional excess with the unruly passions of the womb, spiritual exercises like Bentley's lamentations promise to help women transcend the limitations of their bodies and attain profound spiritual communion with the divine. Although women's closet devotion might be directed, to some extent, by the dominant patriarchal order, since many of these devotional exercises were written by men, Femke Molekamp argues that "in the 'secret' devotions of women there exists an intimacy with God, a capacity for spiritual union, which is essentially...unknowable to the male onlooker" (*Women and the Bible* 137-138).

Unfortunately for modern scholars, the practice of "heart piety" rarely leaves material traces on the pages of early modern devotional handbooks. Indeed, readers who employed their devotional handbooks in the performance of intensive affective meditation may well have read their books out of existence. But the recovery of women's spiritual journals, biographies, eulogies, and writing reveals that affective meditation was an integral part of their spiritual practice. Lady Grace Mildmay recounts her mother's daily custom of entering her prayer closet to perform intensive and emotional meditation: "'every morning she would

withdraw herself alone and spend an hour in meditation and prayers to God, with her face all blubbered with tears. And she counselled me never to weep but for my sins, saying that those tears did break the beauty of a woman'" (qtd. in Molekamp, *Women and the Bible* 140). Her devotional practice, certified by penitential tears, a forceful and persuasive symbol of her exemplary piety, made Mildmay's mother a powerful spiritual role model to her household. Early modern women were capable not only of deriving satisfaction and spiritual authority from the performance of male-authored prayers and meditations, but also of transforming male-authored discourse into meditations of their own composition. Katherine Parr's *Lamentation or Complaint of a Sinner*, included in the second Lamp of *The Monument of Matrones*, was one of the most popular and influential religious texts of the sixteenth century, a persuasive example to others of what a woman's devotional practice could achieve. Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judæorum* is another powerful example of a woman transforming a male-authored meditative tradition into a public commemoration of the vigorous piety of early modern women. Neither Parr's spiritual autobiography, nor Lanyer's passionate meditation on the crucified body of Christ, bears a close resemblance to Bentley's lamentation of an adulterous woman, but it was through the practice of male-authored meditations like Bentley's that early modern women expressed their spirituality and learned to compose prayers of their own. Anne Wheathill, whose *handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs* was published only two years after *The Monument of Matrones*, transformed her reading of male-authored texts into her own unique devotional project. While there is no direct evidence that Wheathill read *The Monument of Matrones*, it is possible that Bentley's summons for women to publish their devotional writing helped pave the way for Anne Wheathill to disseminate her own prayers in print. Despite the contradictions in Bentley's directives to women, his *Monument of Matrones* created opportunities for women to become spiritual leaders in their households and communities and to raise their voices publicly in defense of the Church of England.

Chapter Three: Anne Wheathill's Spiritual Medicine from the "garden of Gods most holie word"

Although Anne Wheathill's *handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs*, published in 1584, bears the distinction of being "the first English prayer book written by a woman directed to other women" (Atkinson and Atkinson, "Anne Wheathill's *A Handfull*" 661), it has not received the same scholarly attention as writings by her female contemporaries, such as Isabella Whitney or Mary Sidney. Her prayers do not appear alongside those of Katherine Parr or Elizabeth Tyrwhit in most major anthologies of early modern women's writing. Despite considerable efforts to recover early modern women's writing, Anne Wheathill remains absent from most discussions of female literary experience.[1] A possible explanation for this absence is the view that devotional handbooks such as Wheathill's are simply regurgitations of scripture; prayer books are often overlooked as original compositions in their own right. A second deterrent might be our inability to place Wheathill biographically into a specific social network or religious writing community. As Colin and Jo Atkinson write, "Nothing is known of Wheathill's identity" ("Anne Wheathill's *A Handfull*" 661). She was not the wife of a king, as Katherine Parr was, nor a well-known member of a leading reformist circle, as Anne Vaughan Lock was. The title page and preface to her text advertise her status as a "gentlewoman," but this is not necessarily a strict statement of fact, as "the appellation's inclusion on a title page was sometimes motivated by a printer's desire to reassure his audience that the writer was not an uneducated person" (Atkinson and Atkinson, "Anne Wheathill's *A Handfull*" 661). Her preface implies that she was unmarried at the time of the composition of her prayers, so we cannot trace her life through a husband's family, or her own, as no decisive information about her Wheathill connection has surfaced.

In the absence of hard biographical data, a multitude of questions arises

[1] Recent exceptions are Susan Felch's article "'Half a Scrypture Woman": Heterglossia and Female Authorial Agency in Prayers by Lady Elizabeth Tyrwhit, Anne Lock, and Anne Wheathill" (2011) and *The Broadview Anthology of Sixteenth-Century Poetry and Prose*, edited by Marie Loughlin, Sandra Bell, and Patricia Brace (2012).

that make it difficult to place Anne Wheathill within the context of early modern women's writing. Some studies have posited an image of Wheathill deliberately, if somewhat apologetically, risking what Wendy Wall calls "the stigma of print" (*The Imprint of Gender* 173) to disseminate her prayers and to make a profit (Beilin 51; Warnicke 123). Yet we have no information about the circumstances under which Wheathill's printer, Henry Denham, gained access to her manuscript and we cannot assume with certainty that the transaction was straightforward.[2] As Marcy North reminds us, "Publishers did not need an author's permission to print a text they had acquired, and many publications...were not initiated by the authors at all" (69). Manuscripts could be delivered to printers by friends, published posthumously by devotees, or even stolen by printers. Both Elizabeth Eisenstein's account of the printing house as a gathering place of elite intellectuals and learned male labourers and Anthony Grafton's corrective account of a bustling pre-Industrial workplace, "[f]illed with the noise of machinery and the curses of workers when the presses were in operation, noisy with quarrels and dirty" (102), make it difficult to imagine the participation of women in early modern book production, as does the theory of a "stigma of print." If, as Wendy Wall writes, a woman's decision to disseminate her writing through print was perceived as "a refusal to respect sanctioned cultural boundaries" because it allowed her to venture symbolically beyond the confines of her home and her passive 'feminine' role (*The Imprint of Gender* 281), then how could a woman travel to Paul's Churchyard to have her manuscript published, let alone oversee its printing? Yet women were a visible and valuable presence in the print shop, assisting their husbands and sometimes inheriting their trade (Johns 78). As Helen Smith's useful study reveals, women owned print shops, managed apprentices and journeymen, engaged directly with purchasers, and ably handled the business in their husbands' absence (96). And though it is difficult to ascertain the extent to

[2] Colin and Jo Atkinson speculate that John Day was Wheathill's original printer, as his mark appears in her text, suggesting his son and heir Richard might have given the printing rights to Denham ("Anne Wheathill's *A Handfull*" 661-2).

which Stationers' wives were involved in the mechanical labour of book production, entries in the records of the Stationers' Company suggest that girls were employed in book binding and in removing wet sheets from the press (Smith 96). If Henry Denham had a wife, she would have lived above his shop and assisted him in both the production and retail of his books; there is a good chance that she would have been highly literate (Smith 91).[3] Although women in the early modern book trade are difficult to trace, they were by no means absent or anomalous. Women attended sermons at Saint Paul's Churchyard and purchased texts from stalls and bookshops, so the presence of an authoress in a print shop might not have been the impossibility that some critics have suggested. Women's participation in the book trade was undoubtedly mediated by class; in this respect, Anne Wheathill's status as a "gentlewoman" might have offered her more freedom—one would not expect to see Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke, for example, associating with Stationers' wives and employees in a London print shop. But if a literate gentlewoman lived in London, she likely visited the centre of the English book trade. And if Anne Wheathill actively sought the publication of her manuscript, there is at least a possibility that she attended Denham's print shop at the sign of the Star.[4] On the other hand, while Wheathill's preface offers a brief account of an unmarried woman composing and publishing prayers "for the common benefit and comfortable exercise of all such as are deuoutlie disposed" (Aii), we can only speculate who her intended audience was and whether she intended to print at all. Her preface may be an authorial justification of her decision to write, or it could be a document mediated, edited, perhaps even composed, by Denham himself in order to make the text

[3] We should not dismiss this possibility because no wife is mentioned in the historical record, as the labour of countless printers' wives went unrecorded unless they inherited their husbands' business.

[4] The publication of Anne Bradstreet's *Tenth Muse lately sprung up in America* (1650), delivered by her brother-in-law, John Woodbridge, to her printer in England and prefaced by an address to the reader that Woodbridge composed, illustrates further possibilities (Keeble). A male relative or friend, perhaps Wheathill's minister, may have carried her manuscript to Denham's print shop and overseen its publication on her behalf.

commercially viable. As Heidi Brayman Hackel writes, “The preliminaries...may have been written by the author or by a publisher, translator, or friend. Nowhere are the roles of the different people involved in the production of a book more obviously blurred than in the case of a book’s apparatus” (93). Granted, there is no evidence, no marked discrepancy in tone or style, to suggest that the author of the prayers is not the author of the preface, but research into the History of the Book reminds us that we need to be cognisant of the material conditions and commercial considerations that shaped the production of early modern texts, as well as our assumptions about authorship. As Marcy North writes, “women reached print in a variety of ways that do not fit modern notions of literary career and authorial autonomy” (69). Indeed, considering the diverse avenues through which a text might reach print destabilizes a fixed conception of Anne Wheathill as a ‘woman author.’ Is there any evidence to suggest that a woman wrote these prayers? How do we know that ‘Anne Wheathill’ existed at all?

Gynocritical studies of early modern women’s writing have sought to identify and recover a distinctly ‘feminine’ voice on the basis of women writers’ sex. As Danielle Clarke outlines, “The assumption is that we can isolate and identify ‘women’ as a category in the Renaissance, marked by ideological position, and by their ‘difference’ from male writers” (*Renaissance Women Poets* x). In *Redeeming Eve*, Elaine Beilin argues that “the concept of woman had a pervasive and crucial influence on women writers in three principal ways: by motivating them to write; by circumscribing what they wrote and how they wrote it; and in some seemingly paradoxical cases, by encouraging them to subvert cultural expectations of women’s writing” (xvii-xviii). This model presupposes that women’s subjugation to the private, domestic realm shaped their entry and reception in the public realm of discourse. It suggests that women who entered the realm of print risked criticism and infamy, that consciousness of this transgression provoked apology and self-consciousness, and that women’s writing was circumscribed by a desire to reassure their readers that they had not overstepped their ‘feminine’ bounds. It also suggests that early modern women’s writing

reflects a personal and autobiographical response to lived experience. Anne Wheathill, as some critics have noticed, does not sit easily in this continuum of feminine literary experience. Colin and Jo Atkinson note,

> She never writes with a personal, female voice, never uses feminine pronouns or 'handmaid,' nor addresses issues specific to women. She does not write as a woman concerned with the special needs of wives, mothers, and widows, nor does she pray for specific things such as cures for illness or protection during famine or war. Furthermore...her book contains no prayers for women in childbirth. ("Anne Wheathill's *A Handfull*" 661)

This evaluation, though accurate, reveals as much about our expectations of the subject matter of early modern women's writing as it does about Wheathill's failure to fulfill those expectations. The relative dearth of critical attention given to Anne Wheathill, compared to her well-known contemporaries, is perhaps due to the fact that her text does not perform according to modern expectations of what early modern women's writing ought to do, namely, offer a personal account of 'feminine' experience.

It is my contention that a personal and political voice is present in Wheathill's text and that the way this authorial voice is fashioned is worthy of study; however, in order to uncover this voice and understand its implications, we need to move beyond trying to locate Anne Wheathill in a universalizing pattern of feminine experience. As Danielle Clarke and Elizabeth Clarke argue, "The gynocritical tendency to attribute certain qualities to the text on the basis of the writer's sex has proved a valuable critical and political tactic, but it now looks simplistic as a methodology, and it disables any attempt to examine the ways in which texts themselves contribute to the networks of meanings hovering around the gendering of authorship" (2). Increasingly, critics view early modern women's writing as "culturally determined *representations* of their own speech" (Clarke and Clarke 2) and examine the ways in which gender is constructed and performed in men and women's writing. If we understand 'woman' as a rhetorical figure, a "circulated, refractory [idea] and not as a signature tied to a biological

agent" (Coles 9), then we are freed from the immobilizing uncertainty of the unknown (and perhaps unknowable). From this point of view, not knowing who Anne Wheathill was, the circumstances under which her text reached print, or even whether she really existed is no longer a critical stumbling block. Indeed, *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs* provides an interesting test-case about what we can infer about a text without relying on an author's biography. What we can do is examine how the rhetorical figure of 'woman' is deployed in Wheathill's text. The original audience for *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs* likely had no more access to biographical information about Anne Wheathill than we do, yet the model of female authorship put forth in her text was clearly plausible enough for a commercial market. Therefore, even if *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs* does not yield concrete results about the life of Anne Wheathill, it offers important insights in the possibilities it illustrates for early modern women's reading and writing.

Although we do not have access to a manuscript of *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs*, we can better understand how and why Wheathill wrote by reconstructing her reading practices. Although Kimberly Coles questions "the standard narrative of women writers as marginal within the operations of sixteenth-century English culture" (1), contemporary domestic manuals equated women's public speech with "unruliness, shame, and insubordination" (Brayman Hackel 200). According to Wendy Wall, a woman's decision to enter the public realm of print was a decision to venture outside the culturally prescribed private boundaries of the household: "In a world in which privilege was attached to coterie circulation and published words were associated with promiscuity, the female writer could become a 'fallen' woman in a double sense: branded as a harlot or a member of the nonelite" (*The Imprint of Gender* 281). Many women were educated to attain reading-only literacy, a practice that Heidi Brayman Hackel argues is consistent with the value placed on women's silence in domestic conduct manuals: "Like a schoolgirl able to read but not to write, the ideal woman constructed in these books listens without speaking, observes without

commenting" (200). The extent to which "the stigma of print" (*The Imprint of Gender* 173) presented a barrier to women's writing has been challenged by critics like Kimberly Coles, who argues that some women writers were actually "central to the development of a Protestant literary tradition" (3). Edith Snook argues that one of the most powerful ways for early modern women to claim authority as writers was to position themselves as readers, particularly readers of scripture, as this was socially acceptable material for them to engage with; by constructing themselves as pious readers, women could enter a literary, political, and intellectual discourse from which they were often excluded (*Women, Reading, and the Cultural Politics* 4). Snook asserts, "Writing about reading provides women with a language with which to fashion a writing voice, and reading provides a topic that is at once appropriate to women and a route through which to engage with the world beyond the household door" (*Women, Reading, and the Cultural Politics* 24). By examining Anne Wheathill's construction of herself as a 'reading woman' in her preface and how her reading influenced the composition of her prayers, we can better understand how she fashioned her authorial voice.

"To all Ladies, Gentlewomen, and others": Anne Wheathill's "Epistle dedicatorie"

Although title pages, prefaces, and other preliminary materials are sometimes overlooked due to a critical emphasis on the 'main text,' these 'paratexts' are crucial to our understanding of early printed books. The paratext, as Gerard Genette describes, is "that by which a text announces itself as a book" and works to negotiate that book's entry into the public realm (Brayman Hackel 88). As Evelyn Tribble and Heidi Brayman Hackel have demonstrated, the preface was a space that authors and printers could exploit to control their readers' interactions with the text, as the preface's seemingly marginalized space outside the 'main text' enabled textual experimentation and innovation. As Julie Eckerle writes, "precisely *because* it is marginalized, the space of the preface becomes an acceptable place for those typically denied a voice to say those things that have no place in the privileged text" (98). Because early modern women writers wrote

from the social margins, critics have viewed their prefaces as the marginal space through which they entered discourse and, accordingly, as evidence of their uniquely 'feminine' voices (Eckerle 98). "Because women had to defend not only their authorial choices but their very identities as respectable women as well," argues Julie Eckerle, "their prefaces must be somewhat autobiographical" (98). However, in light of the ambiguities I have outlined surrounding the authorship of paratextual materials and the commercial and generic pressures that shaped them, I propose an examination of Anne Wheathill's preface that focuses on the model of reading and authorship it offers for "all Ladies, Gentlewomen, and others," rather than gleaning the preface for specific details about Anne Wheathill's life. Gynocritical studies that emphasize women's efforts to overcome the stigma of print have often assumed that an address to a female audience is a gesture of apology, an effort to reassure readers that they have not overstepped their feminine bounds by presuming to address a male audience. In *Redeeming Eve*, Elaine Beilin suggests that "many women writers specifically invoked a female audience partly out of legitimate sympathy, but partly to camouflage their public voice, to pretend that addressing other women was not really talking to the world" (xx). Colin and Jo Atkinson argue that Anne Wheathill "knew she would appear audacious, so she begins her preface by addressing her book to women, not men" ("Anne Wheathill's *A Handfull*" 664). This analysis overlooks the possibility that the primary aim of a dedicatory epistle addressed to "Ladies" may have been to construct and instruct a female readership. Colin and Jo Atkinson suggest that the publication of *The Monument of Matrones* in 1582 led to "the establishment of a female devotional tradition" and encouraged its printer, Henry Denham, to publish *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs* two years later ("Anne Wheathill's *A Handfull*" 660). Indeed, as Colin and Jo Atkinson posit, since Denham was Wheathill's publisher, she may have been familiar with Thomas Bentley's *Monument of Matrones* and been inspired by it ("Anne Wheathill's *A Handfull*" 664). It is possible that Anne Wheathill composed and printed her devotional handbook in response to Bentley's enjoinder to women to "publish"

their prayers "abroad" (B2v). Her prayers further the female devotional tradition established by *The Monument of Matrones*, and her preface offers strategies for writing, as well as reading, for a female readership.

In her evaluation of her preface, Elaine Beilin writes, "Anne Wheathill represents the typical concerns of the sixteenth-century pious woman writer, to spread God's word while reassuring herself and her readers that she is not overstepping the bounds of feminine decorum" (52). Yet in her efforts to place Anne Wheathill in a larger continuum of early modern women's writing, Beilin fails to consider the extent to which prefaces were shaped by rhetorical conventions and commercial expectations. As Heidi Brayman Hackel notes, preliminaries work to prescribe a book's readership, drawing in and shaping desirable readers by pushing them towards a position of sympathy, pliability, and friendliness, and sending hostile or unskilled readers away (116). Three commonly used tactics employed to manipulate reader's responses are the construction of a "gentle" or "courteous" reader, a bid for the book's protection, and opposition to hostile readers (Brayman Hackel 116). Wheathill's preface works to construct a "gentle" readership by dedicating her prayers "To all Ladies, Gentlewomen, and others, which loue true religion and vertue, and be deuoutlie disposed." The task of the "gentle" reader, as Brayman Hackel outlines, is "the ability and willingness to perceive the 'best' meaning when confronted with multiple interpretations of a text" (118). To read courteously is to approach the text with a friendly and uncritical eye and to peruse and digest it carefully and completely in order to avoid misinterpretation. Courteous reading is associated with good Christianity and is incompatible with resistance; an incomplete or cursory reading is represented as a censure to the book and an injury to its author (Brayman Hackel 117-9). The inclusion of "others" in the list of dedicatees suggests that Wheathill's preface aims at a broad audience, but the readership it works to construct consists first and foremost of "Ladies" and "Gentlewomen," specifically those who "loue true religion and vertue, and be deuoutlie disposed." The placement of "Ladies" and "Gentlewomen" before "others" creates a

hierarchy of readers that speaks to contemporary anxieties about the reading habits of the lower orders (Brayman Hackel 83). Wheathill's preface implies that spiritual merit is more important than wealth or rank, although in a culture in which "identity determined interpretation," rank and spiritual merit were often linked (Brayman Hackel 83). Interestingly, the title page also identifies Wheathill as a "gentlewoman," likely in an effort to authorize Wheathill's prayers on the basis of her class.[5] The appellation suggests an equal footing between the author and her audience—Anne Wheathill is a "gentlewoman" addressing other "Gentlewomen." Wheathill's "gentle" readers are members of the "elect," whom Christ has "moisteneth...with his most pretious blood" (Aiii-Aiiiv). They are readers who are "vertuouslie bent" and, like Wheathill herself, possess "a desire to increase therein" through frequent prayer and meditation (Aiii-Aiiiv). The composition of her prayers is represented as an exemplary model of how a woman ought to "bestowe the pretious treasure of time," especially in "the state of [her] virginitie or maidenhood" (Aii). In outlining her own efforts to "auoid idlenes" and advance "Gods glorie" by gathering "hearbs" "out of the garden of Gods most holie word," Wheathill positions herself as an ideal reader who carefully and zealously gathers, digests, and puts to use her reading, offering spiritual nourishment "for the common benefit and comfortable exercise of all such as are deuoutlie disposed." In prescribing its ideal reader, Wheathill's preface offers a model for imitation—the ideal reader is also a writer, a bearer of godly fruit for the benefit of the elect. By implication, the hostile reader is not only un-Christian, but also ungenerous—one who neither partakes of Wheathill's "hearbs," nor offers any in return.

Another rhetorical tactic often deployed in early modern prefaces, one which has been viewed as especially significant in women's writing, is the humility topos, an apologetic disclaimer for writing and an expression of

[5] Henry VIII's 1543 Act for the Advancement of True Religion criminalized Bible reading for men beneath the rank of yeoman and women beneath the rank of gentlewoman. Although this Act was repealed in Edward VI's reign, suspicions lingered about the "'divers naughtie and erronyous opynions'" of the "'lower sorte'" (qtd. in Brayman Hackel 83).

reluctance to appear in print. As I have outlined, a traditional gynocritical reading would argue that to be a woman in print was to risk censure for leaving the prescribed 'feminine' sphere of the domestic and entering the public 'masculine' sphere of discourse. Wendy Wall argues that "prohibitions on women's relationship to public writing did not necessarily effect their silence," but rather provoked them into "complex forms of negotiation and compromise" (*The Imprint of Gender* 283). Accordingly, Julie Eckerle argues, "the obstacles facing women who wished to publish, combined with both traditional and then-contemporary needs for authorial disclaimers, meant that women writers simply *had* to explain themselves in order to create an audience receptive to their (that is, *women's*) work" (99-100). The underlying assumption behind her argument is that the figure of 'woman' was a stigma to be overcome and that women writers were forced to justify their authorial activities through the revelation of personal details and to manipulate readers into sympathy through flattery and self-effacing apologies (103). Yet Eckerle's argument ignores the extent to which gender is performed in texts. It is not as though being a woman writer forced one to self-identify as such—many devotional treatises and collections of prayers were published anonymously or omitted their authors' names from the title page. Presumably Henry Denham did not consider Anne Wheathill's gender a barrier to her book's appeal since her name is advertised on the title page, suggesting that it was even a selling point. Kimberly Coles argues that the rhetorical figure of 'woman' is produced self-consciously and strategically in texts in order to achieve political and commercial objectives (10). Rather than viewing gender as "a reliable index of 'real' expression," we must strive to understand its construction in terms of "the cultural economy in which it was developed and circulated" (Coles 10). We can better understand how Wheathill's text fit into this cultural economy by comparing her preface to the conventions of the genre in which she wrote. As Eckerle herself acknowledges, in collaboration with Michelle Dowd, generic choice helped shape the construction of the female self in early modern English writing (1). Helen Wilcox agrees, arguing that the texts of early modern

women "rarely reveal them as 'the same woman twice'" and that "the aspects of selfhood—indeed, the very nature of the personalities expressed through these different literary forms—will themselves vary according to the individual generic or rhetorical context" (16-17). A comparison between Wheathill's preface and the prefaces of male contemporaries who wrote in the same genre enhances our understanding of her authorial voice and what this voice might have conveyed to the readership it works to construct.

The title of Wheathill's text, *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs, gathered out of the goodlie garden of Gods most holie word*, draws on the botanical terms of early modern herbal and gardening manuals. It also aligns her text with other devotional books that emphasize their health-giving properties by appropriating botanical tropes, such as Thomas Becon's *The flower of godlye praiers* (1561), the anonymously-written *A godly garden out of which most comfortable herbs may be gathered for the health of the wounded conscience of all penitent sinners* (1574), Nicholas Breton's *A smale handfull of fragrant flowers selected and gathered out of the louely garden of sacred scriptures* (1575), and Abraham Fleming's "Plant of Pleasure" in *The Diamond of Deuotion* (1581). As Leah Knight outlines, a number of devotional works masqueraded as gardens in order to highlight the beauty and curative powers of their prayers (11). Even the design of Wheathill's book situates her prayers within the 'spiritual herbal' genre, as one of the two alternating borders that surrounds the pages resembles the borders of contemporary knot gardens (Knight 119). Printers were generally responsible for designing the layout of their books, so Henry Denham likely chose a floral border to make *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs* competitive with books like Thomas Twyne's *The garlande of godly flowers* (1574).[6] Aligning prayer books with gardening manuals showcasing the medicinal properties of plants was a lucrative marketing strategy. As Leah Knight asserts, "The printer's calculus was simple: everyone gets sick, so everyone is in the

[6] Denham used the same borders in the 1581 edition of *The Diamond of Deuotion*, so he also may have chosen them to align Wheathill's text with Fleming's popular prayer book.

market for a herbal" (22). Just so, as the reformed religion encouraged each individual to examine his or her own conscience for signs of salvific certainty, everyone was in the market for books to help them diagnose their spiritual health and heal their diseased souls. By advertising her text as *A handfull of holesome prayers*, Wheathill and her printer, Henry Denham, present her prayers as part of a spiritually nourishing and curative regimen of household medicine, designed to be brought into the home, read, internalized, and applied as part of the daily domestic routine. The reader who purchases this text is encouraged to consult and recite these prayers as part of a spiritually healthy lifestyle.

Likely because botanical metaphors are so common in early modern texts, critics have overlooked their significance in Wheathill's prayer book. Colin and Jo Atkinson suggest that there is nothing particularly feminine (nor, by implication, interesting) about the book's title and that it is "one among many" of these "spiritual herbals," "a book, or at least a title, in the mainstream," many of which were written by men and marketed towards male, as well as female, readers ("Anne Wheathill's *A Handfull*" 668). Yet comparing Wheathill's preface to others of the spiritual herbal genre yields insight into what critics have assumed is a distinctly 'feminine' apologetic or self-conscious tone in Wheathill's writing. In this view, when Wheathill describes her prayers as "a small handfull of grose hearbs; which [she has] presumed to gather out of the garden of Gods most holie word," and acknowledges "the weakenes of [her] knowledge and capacitie" (Aiiv), she displays "her self-consciousness as a woman writer" (Beilin 53). What this analysis fails to take into account is the contemporary Protestant discourse that valued the primacy of an unmediated connection between the reader and the Word of God over the powers of an earthly education. Thomas Rogers prefaces his translation of Augustine entitled *A Pretious booke of heauenlie meditations* (1581), also printed by Henry Denham, by describing his text as the "simple...frute of his studie" (A3):

> My gift which I doe offer is for price of no great value; such as a poore Student may present. For as the Persians from the richest to the poorest,

> woulde gratifie their Kings with giftes and rewardes, some with golde, as Noble men; some with silke, and spices, as Marchant men; and some too with simple apples, and plums, and such like frute, as Husbandmen, who had no better to giue: So, though persons of Honor may giue you gold and iewels; marchants veluet, silk, and spices; rich men costlie rewardes: yet can a poore laborer in the garden of Christian knowledge, giue no better than such as he hath, apples and plums, euen the frute of his studie, and trauel. (Aiiv-Aiii)

Even as this statement seems to denigrate Rogers' textual offering, it also establishes its authority: though "Noble men," aligned with pagan Persians, might offer gifts that are more impressive because they are laden with the trappings of secular wealth and power, it is Rogers' "simple apples, and plums" that have the power to nourish and sustain the reader's spirit because they come from "the garden of Christian knowledge." The "poore laborer" who toils for unadorned scriptural wisdom is more authoritative than the "rich men" and "marchants" whose worldly, ornamental offerings lack substance to feed the soul. Similarly, Sir John Conway prefaces his *Meditations and praiers* (1569), the running title of which is *The posye of flowred prayers*, by distancing his book from the secular flourishes of a privileged humanist education:

> I am taughte by the Apostle, that Faithe is not grounded in the bewtie of Oratours eloquence, ne yet in pride of painted woordes, but onely in Diuine grace, and guiftes. This *Posye of Flowred Praiers*, beareth no pleasure for *Pallas* Knightes: neither will I looke that any *Amphion* which wil build a newe *Thebes*, with the concorde of his *Muse* wil lende it likinge: to please such, truely passeth my sclender skill. (Ci)

Though he seems to disparage his own "sclender skill" compared to "the bewtie of Oratours eloquence," Conway, like Rogers, aligns the simplicity of his text with divinely-inspired faith in order to authorize his work. Conway and especially Rogers were influential and extremely well-educated men, so when they modestly declaim the simplicity of their work and the slenderness of their skill, we assume

that they are making rhetorical gestures, rather than revealing autobiographical details. As Kevin Dunn describes, the *captatio benevolentiae*, the author's effort to capture the audience's goodwill, stems from the classical rhetorical tradition in which the author builds credit and manoeuvres the audience into a position of sympathy through self-abnegation (x). Apologies for the writer's defects are part of the humility topos, which "takes its power from the inverse relationship between perceived and actual authority" (Dunn 5-6). The influential *Rhetorica ad Herennium* suggests that "the more effective a speaker's self-abnegation, the more seriously the listener will take his words on the subject, since he has made his own motivation invisible" (Dunn 6). Even Thomas Bentley employs the *captatio benevolentiae* in his preface to *The Monument of Matrones*: "I meeklie craue pardon for this my bold enterprise attempted both with bashfulnesse, doubtfulnesse, and feare to become a writer in this so learned an age, or to trouble your studies with my rude labours" (B4v). No reader who observes the authoritative tone in which Thomas Bentley instructs Elizabeth I could seriously accuse him of "bashfulnesse," yet readers have assumed as much about Anne Wheathill for employing a very similar rhetorical strategy. Dunn argues that "we need to recover our lost ear for prefatory rhetoric if we are to comprehend properly questions of authorship and authority in the Renaissance" (xi), suggesting that "The 'I' that speaks the preface of the early modern book is never merely the writerly 'I'; it is first and foremost the essence of the authorial claim...it is always a rhetorical figure, a gesture with a design on its audience, an attempt at self-authorization" (11). Wheathill's self-effacing apology for writing is more than a personal revelation (if, indeed, it is that); her preface is a sophisticated rhetorical manoeuvre, imitative of those of her male contemporaries, whose prefaces may have served as a model for her own.

Yet despite the similarities between Wheathill's prefatory rhetoric and the humility topos employed by her contemporaries, the authorial figure of 'woman' on her title page and in her preface would have carried distinct connotations for early modern readers. While Wheathill's audience might have been familiar with

the humanist learning of John Conway and especially Thomas Rogers, they likely assumed that Wheathill did not have access to the same level of education. Even as Conway and Rogers employ the humility topos to distance themselves from a privileged humanist education, both reveal that they are its products by demonstrating their secular and classical knowledge. Wheathill does not make classical or mercantile references, which would accord with readers' expectations that she had not received a formal education. Contemporary discourse privileged men as spiritual authorities and construed women's reading and writing as weak, trivial, and sexually corrupting (Snook, *Women, Reading and the Cultural Politics* 16). Yet, as outlined, Edith Snook argues that women could claim authority as writers by portraying themselves as readers of scripture. The title of Wheathill's prayer book, *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs, gathered out of the goodlie garden of Gods most holie word* positions Wheathill as a gatherer of the wisdom of scripture, which lends divine authority to her text. She begins her preface by apologizing for her presumption in writing, lest she be judged by the "learned" as "grose and vnwise; in presuming, without the counsell or helpe of anie, to take such an enterprise in hand" (Aiiv). This may seem to be a conventionally 'feminine' expression of apology for entering into a male-dominated realm of print and religious discourse; however, in distinguishing her efforts from those of the "learned," Wheathill can claim authority for her writing by distancing herself from a Latinate humanist education. As Edith Snook writes, within a Protestant framework that emphasized the power of vernacular scripture to reveal divine truth, women exemplified the ideal Protestant reader, armed only with "the grace and power of God" and unburdened by "man's politic wisdom," to paraphrase John Bale (Snook, *Women, Reading, and the Cultural Politics* 41). In this context, simple faith and religious zeal establish the "holesome...operation and workeing" of Wheathill's prayers (Aiii). While others may have "gathered with more vnderstanding," none have gathered with more zeal: "without presumption I may boldlie saie, they have not sought them with a more willing hart and feruent mind; nor more to the aduancement of Gods glorie, & the desire

of acceptation, than I haue doon" (Aiii). Edith Snook asserts, "the notion of religious zeal, through which Wheathill authorises her work because of her exclusion from more culturally powerful forms of knowledge, alters the site of authority in religion from learning and tradition to the Word read by the divinely inspired reader" (*Reading Women Writers* 168). Wheathill's skillful rhetorical manoeuvring demonstrates to her readers how a woman writer can authorize her entry into religious discourse. Drawing on a conventional humility topos to dissociate her writing from that of the "learned," Wheathill shows that the "simple" prayers of an unlearned woman are valuable and authoritative and creates space for her female readers to join the conversation.

Just as casting herself as an unlearned woman enables Wheathill to authorize her prayers, so, too, is she able to exploit fissures in the discourse surrounding the role of women in gardening and healing. As Jennifer Munroe describes, contemporary gardening and husbandry manuals created gendered distinctions between men and women's horticultural labour. While men were encouraged to grow elaborate gardens for "profit and pleasure," women were relegated to planting modest flower and herb gardens to supply their kitchens (Munroe 6). Only men were permitted to hold the professional designation of 'gardener,' and gardening manuals worked to efface women's horticultural contributions by construing them as "amateurs in need of special guidance" (Munroe 10). In *The Country Housewifes Garden*, William Lawson offers instructions on growing common household herbs "because I teach my Country Housewife, not skillfull Artists" (17). Lawson's dismissal effaces the fact that women like Elizabeth Shrewsbury and Lucy Harrington were praised for their artistry in designing elaborate and innovative gardens (Munroe 6). Despite perceptions of women's lesser skill, most authors of husbandry manuals prescribe knowledge of healing and household physic to women. In "The points of Huswifrie" appended to *Five hundred points of good husbandry*, Thomas Tusser provides a list of "sundry good" herbs a housewife should keep in stock, "ere an sycknes do come," but he also advises her to "Ask Medicus counsell, ere

medicine ye make, / and honour that man, for necessities sake" (14). In *Covntrey Contentments, or the English Husvvife*, Gervase Markham recommends that a good housewife should "haue knowledge of all sorts of hearbs belonging to the Kitchin...She shall also know the time of the yeere, Month and Moone, in which all Hearbs are to bee sowne; and when they are in their best flourishing, that gathering all Hearbs in their height of goodnesse, she may haue the prime vse of the same" (57). Markham acknowledges the value of the housewife's herbal expertise, which "she must get by her owne labour and experience" (57), but he is also careful to emphasize that women's skill in household physic does not outstrip that of the "learned" male professional:

> Indeede we must confesse that the depth and secrets of this most excellent art of phisicke, is farre beyond the capacity of the most skilfull woman, as lodging onely in the brest of the larned Professors, yet that our hous-wife may from them receiue some ordinary rules, and medicines which may auaile for the benefit of her family, is (in our common experience) no derogation at all to that worthy Science. (4-5)

Although it is "meet" for the housewife to have "a phisicall kinde of knowledge, how to administer many wholsome receits or medicines" for the good of her family's health, she should not presume an understanding of "depth and secrets of this most excellent art of phisicke," nor, by implication, should she venture outside the household to treat people other than her family members (4). Yet, as Jennifer Munroe points out, even as Markham works to relegate women's herbal medicine to the realm of common, non-specialist knowledge, his admonition betrays anxiety that the line between the "larned Professors" and the "ordinary" housewife is not demarcated as clearly in practice as it is in theory (30).

As Wendy Wall demonstrates, women played a pivotal role in providing healthcare not only to their families, but also to their communities: "Creating and dispensing drugs, housewives were the medical practitioners most likely to come into actual contact with a patient's body" (*Staging Domesticity* 165). Because professional medical service could be costly and because some physicians

preferred to make diagnoses without seeing the patient, on the basis of an analysis of a urine sample or a description of symptoms, many relied on amateur healers, such as clergymen, wise women and, most commonly, housewives, rather than physicians (Wall, *Staging Domesticity* 165). Indeed, Wall suggests, "household physic was the *only* form of medicine available to most people in early modern England" (*Staging Domesticity* 165). Aristocratic women like Lady Grace Mildmay and Lady Margaret Hoby were active healers in their households and communities, regularly consulting their herbals, diagnosing illnesses, administering cures, and making records of their treatments, in addition to leading their families in household devotion. Countless women across the social spectrum did not leave written records of their medical practice, but performed similar tasks, preparing medicines, delivering babies, applying leeches, and dressing wounds (Beier 219). Linda Beier argues that women's recurring bodily cycles of menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, lactation and menopause "tied [them] both personally and socially to physical processes of life" (219) and that women's "particular talents for nurturing and healing" were viewed as being "inherent in their female nature" (241). Women's active role in healing allegedly prompted the sixteenth-century herbalist and physician Leonard Fuchs to declare that "'Many an old wife or country woman doth often more good with a few known and common garden herbs than our bombast physicians with all their prodigious, sumptuous, far-fetched rare conjectural medicine'" (qtd. in Knight 16).

The gap between the discourse surrounding women's medical practice and the reality of their primacy in administering healthcare to their households and communities makes herbal physic a powerful authorizing force in Wheathill's preface. Though male physicians cited lack of formal education as a barrier to prevent women from practising as herbalists, lack of learning was not always a detriment to women's medical authority. For example, Leah Knight posits that male physicians were less knowledgeable about herbs in their unprocessed form than housewives, since the manual labour of collection and decoction was considered distasteful and was often left to underlings (16). In Wheathill's

preface, the manual labour of gathering and arranging "hearbs" is a testament to her zealous desire to serve God and to offer spiritual physic to her "brethren and sisters in the Lord" (Aiii). The fact that she has gathered scriptural material herself, "without the counsell or helpe of anie" (Aiiv), is a basis of authority for her prayers: because she has laboured in "the garden of Gods most holie word," her expertise is grounded in experience, rather than book learning, enabling her to declare with confidence, "although they be not so pleasant in taste, as they can find out, to whom God hath giuen the spirit of learning: yet doo I trust, this small handfull of grose hearbs, holesome in operation and workeing, shall be no lesse acceptable...than the fragrant floures of others, gathered with more vnderstanding" (Aiiv-Aiii). Wheathill's "hearbs" are efficacious in their simplicity, powerful because hand-picked for their curative powers, rather than their aesthetic value, and offered for the reader's benefit, rather than the author's gain. Unlike Isabella Whitney, Margaret Tyler, or Jane Anger, Wheathill does not express a desire for financial remuneration in her preface, nor does she include a request for patronage from well-placed contemporaries. In Patrick Cullen's view, "one of the most striking features of her work is its total avoidance of self-promotion" (x). This avoidance may be linked to contemporary concerns that women who sought to profit from their herbal knowledge were disreputable herbwives or even witches, rather than charitable gentlewomen practitioners who employed their skill only to benefit others (Laroche 52). As Leah Knight outlines, those who practised medicine for profit, including educated male physicians, were sometimes accused of greed and quackery, while the efforts of unlearned healers were often aligned with Christian charity (55). An Act passed in 1542 denounced "'the Companie and Felowship Surgeons of London'" for "'mynding oonlie theyre owne lucres, and nothing the profite or ease of the diseased'" and endorsed the work of amateur practitioners, "'whome God hathe endued with the knowledge of...certeyne herbes rootes and waters,'" because they "'have mynistred the same to the poore people oonelie for neighbourhode and Goddes sake and of pitie and charytie'" (qtd. in Knight 55). The unlearned healer is more trustworthy because "endued" with

divine knowledge, rather than a worldly education, and motivated by "pitie and charytie," rather than personal gain.

The unlearned healer also plays a pivotal role in creating community because she helps others "for neighbourhode and Goddes sake." As Catherine Field demonstrates, women's authority as practitioners of household physic extended beyond the private, domestic realm and into the neighbouring community, offering women an opportunity to step literally outside the confines of their homes (52). The same manuals that encourage women to practice household medicine also acknowledge their authority in spiritual healing. Thomas Tusser emphasizes that, in addition to cultivating "Cold herbes in hir garden, for agues that burn" and preparing "Rose water and treacle, to comfort the hart," "the good huswife" must also practice devotion as part of household "Phisicke":

> Remember thy soule, let no fansye preuayle,
> Make ready to Godward, let faith neuer quayle,
> The sooner thy selfe, thou submittest to God,
> the sooner he ceaseth, to scourge with his rod. (14-15)

Tusser's ideal housewife has a ready knowledge of herbal remedies to service her household, but is also responsible for the maintenance of her family's spiritual health, lest earthly curatives fail. Spiritual preparation is as important a part of women's household duties as the gathering and preparation of medicinal herbs. Gervase Markham admonishes "our english Hus-wife" to be "a godly, constant, and religious woman, learning from the worthy Preacher & her husband" so that "from the generall example of her vertues...her family may both learne to serue God, and sustaine man in that godly & profitable sort which is required of euery true Christian" (2). The housewife might learn her examples from her husband or preacher, but she adapts and displays them as a godly example to instruct her family and community. Just so, Anne Wheathill draws from the generic conventions and rhetorical strategies of her male contemporaries but modifies them in order to gain credit as a builder of spiritual community and a godly example for her readers to imitate. Wheathill's fruitful reading of scripture

authorizes her role as a spiritual healer and the composition and dissemination of her prayers enables her to share devotional physic with a community of believers: already, she has "gained those, whom I know not, as well strangers to me, as my acquaintances, to be my freends, that shall taste these grose hearbs with me" (Aiiiv). If, through the wider distribution of her prayers through print, she obtains "the good iudgement and liking of all my brethren and sisters in the Lord, I shall thinke my time most happilie bestowed" (Aiii-Aiiiv). The authorial role that emerges from Wheathill's preface is that of a leader and facilitator of spiritual community and she encourages her readers to adopt her pious example.

Herbs "gathered out of the goodlie garden of Gods most holie word": Composition and Commonplacing

The botanical trope in Wheathill's title and preface extends our understanding of how she composed her prayers and how her activities as a reader and author would have been perceived by her early modern audience. As Jennifer Munroe describes, botanical metaphors in secular and spiritual texts are representative of the intersections between fashioning the landscape and the self in the early modern period, as the garden was a gendered and ideologically-charged space through which men and women could manipulate their position in society (Munroe 1). Traditionally, the pleasure gardens of the elite were distinct from the subsistence or kitchen gardens of the lower orders; however, as a growing number of the 'middling sort' attained sufficient wealth and leisure to plant aesthetic gardens, the garden came to signal a moment of rupture in the social hierarchy and functioned as a "highly manipulable [indicator] of social status" (Munroe 4). Men and women from the lower orders could appropriate the status markers of the elite by purchasing plants once deemed rare and exotic but which had become less expensive over time through frequent cultivation. Labourers in the gardens of the aristocracy could destabilize status boundaries by transferring their specialized skills, and sometimes even bulbs and seeds they had pocketed, to their own gardens (Munroe 5). Similarly, as has often been noted, the development of the printing press and the Reformation's privileging of the

vernacular made texts sites of disruption. As the printing press flourished, making books more affordable and widely available, more printed books found their way into the homes and hands of the lower orders. As the reformers worked to replace the Vulgate Bible with a variety of English translations, more readers were offered the possibility of an unmediated connection with God's word. Just as men and women from the lower orders of society could pocket bulbs and seeds from the gardens of the elite, imitating and appropriating their gardening practices, so, too, could disenfranchised readers cull rhetorical strategies and passages from their books and Bibles.

The discursive practices of gathering and framing textual fragments permeated sixteenth-century social, economic, political, and literary discourse. As noted in my discussion of Abraham Fleming, early modern humanism inherited and adapted an ancient and medieval system of reading that stressed *divisio* and *compositio*, a system that found its most frequent expression in the practice of commonplacing. Students engaged in a process of active reading, mining the text for sententious material, which they broke down into digestible 'sayings' and recorded under topical headings in their commonplace books. In his recommendation for Mary Tudor's education, Juan Louis Vives outlines a paradigm of the commonplace method:

> She should have a fairly large notebook in which she should note down in her own hand any words occurring in her reading of serious authors which are either useful for everyday purposes or unusual or stylish; also to be noted down are forms of expression which are clever, well-worded, smart, or learned; also, pithy remarks which are full of meaning, amusing, sharp, urbane, or witty; also, stories and anecdotes, from which she may draw lessons for her own life. (qtd. in Moss 116)

Although Vives offers separate programs of study for both male and female pupils, Ann Moss contends that the proposed methods for commonplacing differ very little, "except that the boy is assumed to have fellow pupils, whereas the girl is obviously being educated on her own" (115). The emphasis in Vives'

description is on the use-value of commonplace material. That which is “useful for everyday purposes” will help the gatherer to “draw lessons for her own life,” inscribing and reinforcing established cultural codes, and that which is “clever,” “learned” or “witty” will empower the gatherer to enter discourse by providing examples for imitation and recognizable signs of learning. As Mary Thomas Crane describes, the ‘sayings’ gathered should be “at the same time both ‘common’—based on the commonly accepted beliefs and standards of prevailing cultural codes—and ‘uncommon’—stylistically unusual in such a way as to make their common content seem striking, memorable, persuasive and true” (8). The commonplace book was to provide the reader with a storehouse of fragments of collective wisdom to be drawn on and re-assembled in composition. Many of the words used to describe commonplace collections, such as nosegays, gardens, orchards, arbors, sylvas, bowers, forests, and florilegia, are botanical metaphors, highlighting the connection between texts and plants as collectible items (Knight 1-2). In the commonplace method, plants and texts are aligned, as a ‘slip’ or ‘cutting’ of text is transplanted from its original site and reproduced in another (Knight xi). Just as gardeners might appropriate the plants of the elite in an effort to raise their social status, so could readers accumulate symbolic capital by collecting authoritative fragments of literature by respected ancient and contemporary authors and display them in their own writing as markers of their status and education (Crane 6).

In theory, those who could make use of the symbolic capital of commonplacing had received a humanist education in order to gather the appropriate material in Latin or Greek. We might ask whether this symbolic capital would be available to a woman of Anne Wheathill’s social standing, as commonplacing was a tenet of a humanist educational program from which women were formally excluded, unless, like Mary Tudor, they were women of wealth and privilege with access to private tutelage. According to Mary Thomas Crane, a mastery of commonplacing was acquired over years of rigorous humanist indoctrination and exercise (8); yet Anne Moss and Peter Mack concur that

women could enter into "the mental community of the common-place book" by listening to sermons and speeches and attending to the rhetorical structure and strategies of books (Moss viii; Mack 2). The Reformation's emphasis on *sola scriptura* in the vernacular meant that readers did not require an education in Latin to participate in religious discourse—they could authorize their writing simply by drawing from the word of God. The increasing affordability and availability of printed books enabled readers across the social and economic spectrum access to a self-guided education and printed vernacular commonplace books provided patterns for imitation. Heidi Brayman Hackel points out that, despite a rigorous formal curriculum, readers were given the freedom to develop their own methods of commonplace organization (146-7). Erasmus advises readers, "prepare for yourself a sufficient number of headings, and arrange them as you please" (638). Johannes Amos Comenius presents an image of "a *Student*" who "sitteth alone, addicted to his *Studies*, whilst he readeth *Books*, which being within his reach, he layeth open upon a *Desk* and picketh all the best things out of them into his own *Manual*, or marketh them in them with a dash, or *a little star*, in the *Margent*" (qtd. in Sherman, *Used Books* 7). Comenius's description demonstrates that there is more than one way to participate in the reading practice of *divisio* and *compositio*: the student might keep a notebook open on his desk to record the "best things" under commonplace headings or he might make a mark in the margin to draw his attention back to the fragment of text at a later reading. According to William Sherman, it was increasingly common by the end of the sixteenth century for readers to make notes on their reading, in notebooks, erasable writing tables, or in the margins of their books (*Used Books* 7) and Scott Mandelbrote notes that readers were encouraged to learn the Bible by making commonplaces and committing passages to memory (20). Not all of these practices constitute the formal humanist system of commonplacing, but they do suggest ways in which readers who did not have access to a humanist education could participate in a culture of gathering and framing fragments of text and creating authoritative discourse by drawing on what they read. As I discussed,

Abraham Fleming's *Diamond of Deuotion* and other contemporary prayer books contain rhetorical cues and mnemonic strategies to assist unlearned readers in the practice of *divisio* and *compositio*, employing metaphors of bees and gardens to inculcate humanist habits of reading and 'chunking' information into digestible fragments. Lack of formal education would be no greater barrier to a woman reader who wished to gather wisdom from scripture than it would be for a man, although early modern women were less likely to attain both reading and writing literacy and may have had access to fewer books; however, scripture, recited communally from the Book of Common Prayer, quoted at length in sermons, and read aloud from Bibles, catechisms, and devotional handbooks in private and public gatherings, formed much of the fabric of early modern speech, readily available to those who could not read or write. The rhetorical strategies of *divisio* and *compositio* were built into prayers, sermons, and scriptural paraphrases, offering models even to those who inscribed fragments of wisdom onto the heart, rather than paper. If the illiterate had opportunities to participate in the cognitive ecology of the commonplace book, then surely so would a literate gentlewoman like Anne Wheathill, particularly if she had examples from other books to imitate.

As part of the humanist emphasis on inculcating virtue through education, commonplacing formed a transformative framework for reading, encouraging readers not only to record their reading but also to internalize and put it to use. As Bradin Cormack and Carla Mazzio outline, "book use involves not just the practical application of printed words in the world but also their internalization as 'printe' in 'minde'" (2). Erasmus stressed that commonplacing should lead not simply to memorization but also production:

> That must be digested which you devour in your varied daily reading, must be made your own by meditation rather than memorized or put into a book, so that your mind crammed with every kind of food may give birth to a style which smells not of any flower, shrub, or grass, but of your own native talent and feeling. (qtd. in Crane 63)

By laying out the various pieces of information one has digested and internalized

into a new order, the reader creates knowledge and acquires the power of self-expression; as such, the compositions that arose from these re-assembled fragments were not denigrated as unoriginal or plagiarized (Moss 105; Carruthers 244-6). Two genres through which readers frequently put their devotional gatherings to use were scriptural paraphrase and collage. Through paraphrase, a biblical text is elaborated within a narrative framework to clarify its meaning for the reader; in scripture collage, which Susan Felch describes as "the sixteenth century counterpart to contemporary 'found poetry,'" fragments of scripture are "sewn together to create a continuous narrative" (*Elizabeth Tyrwhit's Morning* 44). As Felch outlines, both genres were staples of medieval Books of Hours and commentaries on the Psalms, but received renewed emphasis from humanists like Erasmus, Vives, Savonarola, and Fisher (*Elizabeth Tyrwhit's Morning* 41). Paraphrase and collage draw on two vital, though seemingly contradictory, modes of reading scripture in the early modern period. Susan Felch describes the extensive knowledge and profound familiarity with the Bible that caused Robert Tyrwhit to describe his wife Elizabeth as "halff a Scrypture Woman" ("'Halff a Scrypture'"147). To stitch together fragments of scripture into a coherent paraphrase or collage required a prodigious understanding of the Bible's unity, even as it drew on the habits of discontinuous reading. Peter Stallybrass argues that the material features of the Geneva Bible promote the discontinuous reading evidenced in collage. The two concordances, "A Brief Table of the Interpretation of the Propre Names which are chiefly found in the olde Testament" and "A Table of the Principal Things that are Conteined in the Bible," encourage nonlinear reading, in that "one can detach a word from its narrative context and/or reattach a word to other seemingly disconnected, passages in which the same word occurs" (Stallybrass 60). Similarly, the division of scripture into verse numbers enables readers to quickly locate passages without reference to the surrounding text (Stallybrass 72). Through the process of daily reading and meditation that Erasmus recommends, the reader could digest and internalize these fragments and then re-assemble them in new and different forms. As John Reichert writes,

"Nothing could be more characteristic of the Protestant habit of mind than the fortuitous movement of the memory by which one passage of Scripture leads to another and another" (199). Though continuous and discontinuous reading seem like contradictory habits, they were, in fact, complementary practices. It was her familiarity with the Bible in its entirety combined with the practice of discontinuous reading that enabled Anne Askew to collate passages from John 2, Exodus 34, 2 Corinthians 3, Daniel 14, Acts 7, Luke 21, Amos 9 and Isaiah 59 in a single paragraph in "The confession of me Anne Askew, for the time I was in Newgate, concerning my belief" (Stallybrass 72). It is also this process that George Herbert depicts in "The Holy Scriptures II" :

> This verse marks that, and both do make a motion
> Unto a third, that ten leaves off doth lie:
> Then as dispersed herbs do watch a potion,
> These three make up some Christian's destinie. (5-8)

Herbert's sonnet vividly illustrates the organic, divinely inspired, and carefully attended to assembly of reading by which meditation on one passage of scripture quickly draws the mind to connect it to others like stars in a constellation or "dispersed herbs" gathered together to make a "potion" (4-7), even as the fragments maintain the unity of the divinely-appointed whole. Each arrangement is valuable, part of a "configuration" of scripture's "glorie," but each is also deeply personal, constitutive of the individual Christian's "destinie" (2-8).

Commonplacing is a useful lens through which to view Wheathill's prayers because it helps us to recalibrate the standards by which we judge her work. A post-Romantic valuation might dismiss her prayers as impersonal or unoriginal regurgitations of scripture and fail to recognize them as original compositions in their own right. Yet, as Kevin Brownlee and Walter Stephens suggest, although medieval and early modern authors were credited for being the originators of their texts, they were evaluated by their judicious imitation, adaptation, and quotation of respected sources, rather than their originality (2). According to Mary Thomas Crane, commonplacing was an instrument of both

authentication and control, as gathering approved fragments and framing them under culturally inscribed commonplace heads determined and stabilized the parameters of discourse (4); however, though the commonplace method worked to frame and control all educated subjects, it also enabled personal expression. As Kevin Sharpe writes, "as the note-taker copies the important passages of the most learned authors, he shares in the wisdom of all literate humanity. Yet as he selects, paraphrases, arranges, glosses, cross-references and indexes, he performs a very individual reading and interpretation, and an act of power 'over' the text, an act which makes what he writes and thinks his own" (191). The compiler of borrowed fragments "essentially rewrote, fashioned a new text, which was anything but common, indeed was unique" (Sharpe 278). In her examination of Anne Wheathill, Susan Felch draws on Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia—literally, "many tongues"—which posits that culture, and language itself, is heteroglot and formed from the words of others. The concept of heteroglossia is a useful theoretical supplement to my examination of commonplacing because it posits that authorial agency is determined by the use an author makes of the multiple voices that surround her ("'Halff a Scrypture'" 159). In a definition of artistic merit that echoes the directives of Vives and Erasmus, Bakhtin judges artistic competence by the selective assimilation of the words of others (341), a definition that would ring true for any early modern humanist. Thus, although Wheathill's prayers draw heavily on scriptural commonplaces, we should not assume that they are impersonal or that her arrangement of biblical passages is a passive activity. The subtitle, "Collected and Dedicated to all religious Ladies, Gentlewomen, and others; by Anne Wheathill, Gentlewoman," emphasizes that the collection and arrangement of scriptural passages is her own: these are Anne Wheathill's "hearbs" ("homelie" though they might be). If we view Wheathill's prayers as the product of commonplacing, whether drawn from an actual commonplace book, an internal repository of scripture in her memory, or markings in the margin of her Bible, we can begin to understand how her reading shaped her view of the world and how her composition negotiates the social and spiritual hierarchies of her

time. Examining her selection, arrangement, and interpretation of scriptural passages enables us to recognize the construction of "a personal identity, a personal politics, a political self" (Sharpe 277).

"Gouerned by thy holie word": Wheathill and the Geneva Bible

Although Wheathill's prayers contain a number of scriptural references that appear to be drawn from memory, not traceable to any particular text of the Bible, it is clear that she consulted a copy of the Geneva Bible during their composition, as at least eighty-eight passages have been copied nearly verbatim from the Geneva Bible's marginal notes. Wheathill's use of the Geneva Bible is interesting for what it suggests about how an early modern woman reader could interact with scripture and, in particular, its marginalia. Although the Geneva Bible has a long-standing reputation as the translation of choice for the 'hotter sort' of Protestant, on account of its supposedly bitter Calvinist notes (Daniell 306), Peter Stallybrass warns that ownership of a Geneva Bible "tells us little or nothing about the owners' beliefs," as it was the most popular translation until at least the first half of the seventeenth century (51-2). As Femke Molekamp outlines, the Geneva Bible's popularity was due to its "unprecedented availability and affordability in the English Bible market" and its efforts to attract "a readership that spanned the social hierarchy, as well as the spectrum of Protestant zeal" ("'Of the Incomparable treasure'" 121-122). The availability of smaller formats, the scholastic quality of the translation, and a plethora of reading aids that included maps, diagrams, summaries, and extensive marginal notes endeared the Geneva Bible to both scholars and the laity (Molekamp, "'Of the Incomparable treasure'" 122). Molekamp posits the Geneva Bible as one of the most intensively read texts in the majority of English households (121). Ian Green notes that the Geneva Bible was most frequently printed in quarto from 1580-1610 and that quartos generally contained the full range of paratextual apparatus, while the cheaper and more compact octavos and duodecimos had a very limited supplementary material (*Print* 57; 68). If the identification of Anne Wheathill as a "gentlewoman" is accurate, then it is certainly plausible that her household owned

a copy of a Geneva quarto. Given the prayers' heavy reliance on the Geneva Bible's marginalia, it is difficult to imagine the author composing them without regular access to a personal or household copy. As David Wright points out, oral reading and teaching of the Bible, repeated and reinforced in regular church and household worship, played a vital role in scriptural instruction, enabling many of the devout to compile an internal Bible that could be quoted from memory, rather than the page (59); according to Beatrice Groves, however, the Geneva Bible's marginal notes "were never read out in church, quoted in sermons or formed into proverbial phrases" (115). As the Geneva Bible's annotations were not a part of communal church service, she reasons that they "formed instead part of the private reading experience of the individual" (115). Groves' assertion that the Geneva Bible's marginal notes did not enter proverbial knowledge is debateable, given that they were sometimes included in printed books of biblical commonplaces and interspersed throughout a range of contemporary writings, including Shakespeare's plays and sonnets.[7] However, the majority of passages quoted in Wheathill's prayers are not traceable to printed commonplace books, which suggests that she collected them while reading her Bible privately.

In an argument with a "certaine diuine recounted for a lerned man," William Tyndale reportedly vowed that if "God spared hym life, ere many yeares he would cause a boy that driueth the plough to know more of the Scripture" than the Pope did (Foxe 1076). Affordably priced and wildly popular, the Geneva Bible (which drew heavily on Tyndale's translation) put an English translation of scripture into the hands of thousands of Tyndale's proverbial ploughboys, selling over half a million copies in the sixteenth century alone (Sherman, *Used Books* 71). No longer did the laity have to consult a copy of the Bible chained to a church lectern—the Geneva Bible's portability and affordability encouraged

[7] For example, Burnet notes the influence of the Geneva Bible's translation of Ps. 77:4, "Thou keepest mine eyes waking: I was astonied and could not speake," and its accompanying marginal note, "Meaning, that his sorrowes were as watchmen that kept his eyes from sleeping," on Sonnet 61 (114): "It is my love that keeps mine eyes awake; / Mine own true love that doth my rest defeat, / To play the watchman ever for thy sake" (10-12).

private and household study, profoundly altering the laity's interactions with scripture (Molekamp, "'Of the Incomparable treasure'" 123). But its easy accessibility also fed contemporary fears of how the unlearned would interpret and use the Word of God. In particular, as noted in the Geneva Bible's preface, the Geneva translators were anxious to prevent the development of "errors, sectes and heresies" arising from a "lacke of the true knowledge" of scriptural exegesis. The Geneva Bible's preliminaries and marginalia were designed to educate and inform a lay audience, fostering a personal and household attachment to scripture; at the same time, they worked in tandem to harness and control a diverse multitude of unknown readers (Molekamp, "Using a Collection" 8).[8] The preface "To the Christian Reader" prescribes the reading habits of its audience by manipulating them into a position of pliability and humility, reminding them of "the manifold and continuall benefites which Almightie God bestoweth" and their duty to give thanks for these mercies by "willingly receiu[ing] ye word of God, earnestly studie[ing] it, & in all your life practis[ing] it." In order to prevent erroneous or potentially seditious readings and to aid the unlearned, the Geneva Bible includes "briefe annotations vpon all the hard places." Furthermore, in order to illuminate passages that "seemed so darke that by no description they coulde be made easie to the simple reader," the annotators have "set them foorth with figures and notes for the full declaration thereof" to ensure that the unlearned "may sufficiently knowe the true meaning of all such places." Heidi Brayman Hackel notes that "letters to the reader typically address weaker readers, those in danger of misconstruing or failing to grasp the text" (98). The Geneva Bible's preface suggests that those who lack "true knowledge" are the most prone to "errors, sectes and heresies" and works to head them off at the pass by meticulously directing each step of their reading experience.

Yet, as Michael Jensen outlines, the preface also constructs the "simple"

[8] However, the Geneva Bible itself occupied an ambiguous position in relation to religious authority as it was produced in exile and both the Bishops' Bible (1568) and the Authorized Version (1611) were issued to counteract its influence and limit or eliminate its marginalia (Furniss 6).

reader as an ideal, one who is willing to be guided by the translators' determination of the text's "true meaning" (30). The translators assert their authority over the "simple" reader by emphasizing their zealous labour and diligent study to produce a translation that sets forth "the puritie of the worde and right sense of the holy Ghost." Their authority to guide the reader's interpretation is established by their knowledge of Hebrew, unfamiliar even to most educated readers (Hamlin 6), as well as their "diligent reading of the best commentaries" and conference with "godly and learned brethren," enabling them to declare with confidence that "we haue in euery point and worde, according to the measure of that knowledge which it pleased Almightie God to giue vs, faithfully rendred the text, and in all hard places most syncerely expounded the same." Their efforts guided by God and superior scholarship, the translators establish their authority to determine how scripture should be read, interpreted, and applied. As Michael Jenson suggests, the Geneva Bible is designed to be a 'closed' text, which works to prevent diversity in interpretation by performing the interpretive task itself (37). It seeks to limit the possibility of interpretive gaps by filling them with paratextual guides to prevent "simple" readers from drawing their own potentially erroneous conclusions. Even the layout of the page reinforces this aim. Bordered by marginal notes on three sides and running summary heads at the top, the scriptures appear self-enclosed and firmly surrounded by the apparatus of interpretation (Gribben 11). The marginal notes continuously interrupt the reading process, ensuring that the reader is never left alone (Tribble, *Margins* 33).

The annotators' extensive efforts to guide and control reading reveal their awareness that language cannot enforce absolute closure. Though the Geneva Bible's paratextual apparatus aims to guide readers towards a 'correct' understanding of the text, it also reveals proliferation and indeterminacy of meaning in the transmission of God's Word (Sherman, *Used Books* 74). Though the marginal notes advance a Calvinist doctrinal position, which undoubtedly influenced readers, the tone is not as authoritarian, nor the content as radical, as has often been alleged (Jensen 83; Furniss 1). William Slights suggests that

marginal annotation serves as a teacher-in-the-text, building up readers' stores of technical and historical information and their capacity for moral enlightenment (20). Although some editions of the Geneva Bible contained more extensive reading aids than others, all work to provide a spiritual grid through which readers can interpret their own experience (Jensen 31; Furniss 29).[9] Material evidence suggests that readers did not hesitate to personalize their Bibles or to leave marks of their reading experience on the pages. William Sherman's examination of the Huntington Library's collection reveals that one in five Bibles contains "significant" inscriptions by early readers (*Used Books* 73), while Femke Molekamp finds that over half the copies of the Geneva Bible housed in the British Library include readers' marginalia ("Using a Collection" 9). Early modern readers underlined, circled, or otherwise marked passages in scripture and the marginal commentary, indicating passages to remember, registering emotional emphasis, and occasionally even challenging what they read; they drew cross-references to other passages in scripture and expanded on the annotators' commentary, thereby joining their voices to doctrinal and exegetical discussions (Molekamp, "Using a Collection" 9). According to Molekamp, "What is clear is that for owners of these Bibles who could read them fluently for themselves, endorsing, challenging, and amending the texts was an integral part of their reflective reading process" ("Using a Collection" 10). Some readers even copied or composed prayers on the margins of their Bibles, recording their individual meditative responses to scripture (Molekamp, "Using a Collection" 10-11). Marks of active reading and engagement in the margins show that while Geneva Bible's paratextual apparatus may have guided readers' interpretations, it did not prevent them from forming their own opinions; indeed, the paratexts seem to have

[9] Femke Molekamp finds "a striking difference" in the kinds of reading aids included black letter editions as compared to those in roman type ("Using a Collection" 4). For example, Grashop's instructions on "How to take profit in reading the scriptures" are only included in black letter quartos and small folios, designed to appeal to less educated readers (Green *Print* 73). Access to a wider range of editions of the Geneva Bible might shed light on which kind of edition Wheathill consulted and, by extension, her social position and education.

inspired personal and creative responses to scripture.

The Geneva Bible's paratextual apparatus clearly played an influential role in Anne Wheathill's interaction with scripture, offering tools to make her a zealous and skilful gatherer in the "garden of Gods most holie word." The preface to the Geneva Bible lists several metaphors for "the worde of God," including "the light to our paths, the key of the kingdome of heauen, our comfort in affliction, our shielde and sworde against Satan, the schole of all wisedome, the glasse wherein we beholde Gods face, the testimonie of his fauour, and the onely foode and nourishment of our soules," nearly all of which Anne Wheathill draws on in her prayers. These are commonplace metaphors, used in any number of contemporary devotional texts, but the correspondence between Wheathill's prayers and the Geneva Bible's prefatory poem "Of the incomparable treasure of the holy Scriptures, with a prayer for the true vse of the same" suggests that the composition of Wheathill's prayers was inspired and closely guided by the Geneva Bible's paratextual materials. Each biblical reference in the poem is accompanied by a note that directs the reader to the source of the scriptural metaphor. For example, the note accompanying the line "Here is the spring where waters flowe, / to quench our heate of sinne" lists Isaiah 12:3, "Therefore with ioy shall ye drawe waters out of the welles of saluation"; Isaiah 49:10, "they shal not be hungrie, neither shal they be thirstie...for he that hath compassion on them, shall leade them: euen to the springs of waters shal he driue them"; Revelation 22:17, "let him that is a thirst, come: and let whosoeuer will, take of the water of life freely"; and Revelation 21:16, which gives the measurements of a heavenly city, "whose temple the Lambe is." In the forty-ninth prayer of *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs*, "wherein is shewed, that God is alwaies our protection, if we trust in his sonne Iesus Christ," Wheathill stitches together all four of the biblical passages referenced in the Geneva Bible's note: "Thou art the well of pleasant waters, wherewith whosoeuer is filled, they shall neuer be a thirst: for thou O lambe of GOD, that dwellest in the middest of the throne, wilt lead thine vnto the founteine of liuing waters, and giue them euerlasting rest"

(142). The Geneva Bible's note may have guided Wheathill to scriptural passages that she could gather and frame under a topical heading like "the water of life" and then reassemble in a scriptural collage. The poem's admonishment, "Reade not this booke in any case, / but with a single eye" is accompanied by a marginal reference to Matthew 6:22, "The light of the body is the eye: if then thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be light." In her second prayer, "for remission of sinnes, for victorie against Satan, and for the inward light of the soule," Wheathill combines and expands on the poem's verse and marginal note:

> Lighten the eie of my hart and vnderstanding, with the light of thy grace and comfort, thereby expelling the darknes of ignorance. Lighten also one other eie of my soule, which is the eie of affection. The sight of this eie is so dimme, that it hath no perfect and true iudgement; yet it is so blinded with the vanities of this world, that one thing in appearance séemeth to be twentie; like the sight of the deceitfull eies of glasse. (4-4v)

Wheathill links the biblical metaphor of illumination to the development of understanding recommended by the poem. While the metaphor is commonplace, Wheathill's description of "the eie of affection," which is "so blinded with the vanities of this world, that one thing in appearance séemeth to be twentie," seems to be a clear reference to and variation on the "single eye" associated with godly knowledge in the poem. In another instance, the poem advises the reader to

> Pray still in faith with this respect,
> to fructifie therein,
> That knowledge may bring this effect,
> to mortifie thy sinne.

The accompanying notes reference Jude 20, "But, yee beloued, edifie your selues in your most holy faith, praying in the holy Ghost," and Psalm 119:11, "Moreouer by them *is* thy seruant made circumspect, *and* in keeping of them there *is* great reward." Wheathill links the metaphor of spiritual fruitfulness and edification in her fifth prayer, "Against the temptation of the diuell, and for Gods fauour and grace":

> but when thou O God doost inwardlie instruct vs by thy holie spirit, then féele we thy graces swéeter than the honie and the honie combe...grant me thy heauenlie wisedome and grace to be gouerned by thy holie word, which if I follow, I shall haue all prosperitie, corporall and spiritual, bringing foorth such fruits as haue life. (11-11v)

Drawing together the instruction of the Holy Spirit with reward and the production of spiritual fruit, Wheathill's prayer seems to take its inspiration from the prefatory poem and accompanying marginalia. Interestingly, the phrase "the honie and the honie combe" comes from Psalm 119:10, suggesting that once directed to the Bible verse by the marginal note, Wheathill included the preceding verse in this collage of the Geneva Bible's poem and notes. These correspondences and others suggest that the Geneva Bible's preface and poem may have inspired and directed Wheathill's choices for key metaphors she employs in her prayers. If my hypothesis is correct, then her prayers must have been composed between 1578 and 1584, as the poem "Of the incomparable treasure of the Holy Scriptures" was not included in the Geneva Bible's preliminary material until 1578.

The Geneva Bible's marginalia also clearly guided Wheathill's interpretation of scripture, although the prominence of the annotations in her prayers raises questions about what constituted a 'marginal' text for an early modern reader. As mentioned, Wheathill's prayers contain at least eighty-eight unambiguous references to the Geneva Bible's marginal notes. Some prayers make only passing reference to the Geneva marginalia, but whole sections of other prayers are composed of fragments of marginal commentary. For example, Wheathill's twenty-third prayer, "wherein the hart poureth out itselfe before God, with humble submission and christian lowlines in diuers considerations," includes a collage of seven Geneva Bible annotations:

> It is not in mans power to turne to thée O God, but thy worke onelie to conuert vs: for we consider thy Maiestie, and the weaknesse of our sinfull flesh. Thy mercie worketh in vs sorrowe and repentance for our former

> life. All things are gouerned by thy prouidence O God; if thou blesse vs, all creatures shall fauour vs. Let thy holie spirit counsell me how to come foorth of this carefull and troublesome life, that I may hide my selfe vnder the shadowe of thy wings, where I know I shall be defended by thy power, which shall be a signe of thy fatherlie care towards me. Wherefore I will resigne my selfe wholie vnto thée, trusting in thy protection. (57-57v)

The correspondence between this passage and the source notes suggest how closely Wheathill consulted the Geneva Bible, copying each of the following passages from the margin nearly verbatim: Lamentations 5:21 note l, "Whereby is declared that it is not in mans power to turne to God, but is onely his worke to conuert vs, and thus God worketh in vs before we can turne to him"; Ezekiel 16:63 note p, "This declareth what fruites Gods mercies worke in his, to wit, sorow, and repentance for their former life"; Hosea 2:18 note x, "Meaning, that hee will so blesse them that all creatures shall fauour them"; Psalm 143:8 note h, "Let thine holy Spirit counsell me how to come forth of these great cares and troubles"; Psalm 143:9 note i, "I hid my selfe vnder the shadow of thy wings, that I might be defended by thy power"; Psalm 143:12 note n, "Resigning my selfe wholy vnto thee, and trusting in thy protection." Elsewhere in this prayer, Wheathill makes only passing references to scripture, such as the parable of "the offring of two mites, which the poore woman threw into the treasurie at Jerusalem" (56v) in Mark 12:38-44 and Luke 20:45-7 and 21:1-4, and the admonition in James 2:10 to keep God's law and commandments: "For whosoeuer he be that breaketh but one of them, is guiltie of all" (57). These loosely quoted allusions to scripture suggest a close and comfortable familiarity, the operation of an "internal Bible" in the mind of the writer (Brown, *Women's* 12); Wheathill's reliance on the marginalia, however, suggests that the authority to provide commentary on scripture remains at least partially in the hands of the Geneva Bible's annotators. The nearly verbatim transcription of the annotations indicates that the author is less familiar with the marginal commentary—it has perhaps been stored in a commonplace book, rather than a repository in the

writer's mind—but it also suggests that the writer may have placed more value on a word-for-word reproduction of commentary than of scripture itself. In other words, the reformist reliance on the infallible authority of the Word of God—*sola scriptura*—might be transferred to the words of the annotators. Indeed, in at least one instance, Wheathill privileges the marginal commentary over scripture as the Word of God. In Prayer 33, "A praier to be said at all times," instead of quoting Leviticus 10:3, "Then Moses sayde vnto Aaron, This is it that the Lord spake, saying, I will bee sanctified in them that come neere me, & before all the people I will be glorified," Wheathill copies the commentators' note verbatim and equates it with the Word of God: "For thou hast said, I wil punish them that serue me otherwise than I haue commanded them, not sparing the chéefe, that the people may feare and praise my iudgements" (86v). The Leviticus passage itself indicates how far removed scripture might be from the actual word of God, as it is transmitted from God to Moses to Aaron and then to the reader through various acts of transcription and translation that inevitably altered those words over time. Wheathill may have chosen the commentators' gloss as the more intelligible explanation of God's words, but is also possible that scripture and commentary, the center and the margin, could become indistinguishable in the reader's mind.

The possibility that the text 'proper' and its marginal supplement could be conflated in the act of deciphering a printed text was a source of anxiety in early modern religious discourse. As William Slights points out, "Because of its proximity to the word of God, the marginal gloss was felt by some to be an unholy supplement, an attempt to put words into the mouths of the prophets and apostles" (68). Despite the Protestant emphasis on *sola scriptura*, critics of the Geneva Bible feared that its allegedly radical commentary might displace the centrality of scripture itself, placing the authority of interpretation in the hands of the annotators, much as it had formerly been held by the Roman Catholic clergy (Slights 34). Slights suggests that the subversive act of appropriating the power of the Word recalls the destabilizing strategy of *la marginalité*, which Jonathan Culler describes as "a subversion of the distinctions between essential and

inessential, inside and outside," asking, "What is a center if the marginal can become central?" (140). Indeed, Slights argues that "the properly managed Renaissance reader was encouraged to view such 'supplementary' notes as fully integrated parts of what he or she was reading" (13). Set in a small font off to the side, the spatial appearance of the supplement signals its difference from the 'main' text, but the sheer mass of marginal annotations on the pages of the Geneva Bible also commands readers' attention, encouraging them to shuttle between the text and its notes, rather than to read the text continuously; readers might thus absorb supplementary commentary along with the centered text, perceiving textual voices in a dialogue that creates new webs of meaning. The supplement, suggests Slights, is not simply what is left over and set against the centered text (62-3); the textual and the contextual blend together in an "ever-expanding reading experience" and the exchange of information and ideas between them can be "extraordinarily direct and intense" (69). Critics of the Geneva Bible asserted that the annotators had marginalized the word of God with their extensive commentary; both the Bishop's Bible of 1568 and the Authorized Version of 1611 were more restrained in their annotation in response to these concerns (Sherman, *Used Books* 74). Proponents trusted that art imitated the nature of the divine and considered scriptural annotation as "a properly constituted *figura veritatis*" (Slights 68).

On one hand, Wheathill's use of the Geneva Bible's marginalia suggests that she internalized the directive of its preface to become a "simple" reader, willing to place the authority of interpretation in the hands of the annotators. On the other hand, this act of colonization ushers her into an interpretive community, enabling her entry into discourse. As Femke Molekamp suggests, in an effort to communalise a Protestant readership, the Geneva Bible "advertises itself as formed in a collaborative religious environment while inviting the reader, through the marginal notes, to participate in the community of interpretive brethren through the reading experience" ("'Of the Incomparable Treasure'" 123). The scripture and marginal notes respond to one another in dialogue, creating

references and correspondences to the extratextual world and drawing readers into a conversation with what they have read (Slights 76). This dialogue prevents silent reading from becoming an isolated experience and mimics an oral tradition of reading and discussing scripture in company (Slights 76; Molekamp, "'Of the Incomparable Treasure'" 123). Katherine Parr, Elizabeth Tyrwhit, Anne Vaughan Locke, and most other sixteenth-century women writers who entered religious discourse belonged to well-known reformist circles by virtue of their social position or marriage, and would have been present and participant in such discussions. For an unmarried woman of Anne Wheathill's social standing, opportunities to participate in religious discussions outside her household and congregation would have been rare, perhaps non-existent; certainly, her preface suggests that she composed her prayers in isolation, "presuming, without the counsell or helpe of anie, to take such an enterprise in hand" (Aiiv). Engaging with scripture and the Geneva Bible's paratexts enables her participation in religious discourse and, by drawing on what she has gathered from these sources in the composition of her prayers, she extends the conversation beyond the margins of the page to "all [her] brethren and sisters in the Lord" (Aiii). If, as Richard Duerden argues, 'scripture' is an authorizing trope that "changes who can enter discourse and...the kind of attention they can demand" (19), I would suggest that the Geneva Bible's partatextual material also authorizes Wheathill's entry into religious discourse because it shows her careful and zealous engagement with some of the most respected biblical scholarship available to lay readers of the day. Her use of the Geneva Bible's marginalia advertises her status as a godly reader who has dedicated herself to extensive private study to like-minded readers who might recognize these references from their own studies; however, as there are no marginal notes in *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs* to distinguish her sources, Wheathill's readers might well have assumed that the words were her own, making her appropriation of the authority of the male annotators complete. Attention to the Geneva Bible's marginalia demonstrates that Wheathill was a serious amateur scholar, who drew on the materials available to her in order to

compose prayers that would build and nourish a spiritual community. Incorporating and expanding on the Geneva Bible's supplementary materials, she created her own supplement to public worship and, through print, participated in a national discussion on some of the most important religious issues of her day.

For the "common benefit": Community and Common Prayer

William Slights concludes that the interpretive control exerted by the marginal annotations was such that "[t]he radical invitation of St. John to devour Scripture and transform it into one's own private vision is *not* realized in the margins of the English Bibles" (124). Yet, although Wheathill adheres to many of the Geneva Bible's directives, she notably ignores those that prohibit women from contributing publicly to religious discourse, such as 1 Corinthians 14:34 note 15: "Women are commanded to be silent in publique assemblies, and they are commanded to aske of their husbands at home." Janel Mueller argues that for those women who ventured into the public realm of print, feminizing their voices was a "tactical impossibility" if they wished to avoid censure (174). Discussing Katherine Parr's *Prayers or Meditations* (1545), she asserts, "For Parr's project to stand a chance of approval from the monitoring king and archbishop, its first-person voice would have to ring with the generic human accents of a pious Christian soul" (174). Wheathill seems to have adopted a similar strategy in the composition of her prayers. "It is impossible," Patrick Cullen writes, "to distinguish a personal 'I' from the generic 'I' of confessional and pentitential discourse" (ix). Yet it is in her adoption of a generic, rather than a personal voice, that Wheathill's political and religious position is most clearly articulated. The intertwining of "I" and "we" in Wheathill's prayers is similar to the fusion of personal and universal voice adopted, as Ramie Targoff illustrates, in the Book of Common Prayer (87). In creating a voice of prayer that is at once personal and representative, inherently adaptable to the situation of any believer, Wheathill asserts her authority to speak on behalf of a community of worshippers. Gathering and framing fragments of scripture, biblical commentary, passages from contemporary devotional treatises, and the generic voice employed in the public

liturgy, Wheathill assembles the tools of a readily-available religious and rhetorical education and offers the fruits of her labour "for the common benefit and comfortable exercise of all such as are deuoutlie disposed." In so doing, Wheathill promotes her private vision of worship and meditation in a way that the male authors of these materials probably did not intend, and she offers a model that like-minded women readers could imitate using the devotional materials at their disposal.

Even if we cannot distinguish an autobiographical voice, Wheathill's selection and handling of scripture reinforces her spiritual and political agenda, as she mobilizes biblical commentary and passages from the well-known *Imitation of Christ* to justify her speech. Thomas à Kempis's treatise was remarkably popular with Catholic and Protestant worshippers alike, and shares many of the same concerns voiced in Wheathill's prayers, including a critique of worldly education and an emphasis on Bible study, the role of grace in carrying out good works, and an unfeigned love of Christ (Green, *Print* 307). *The Imitation of Christ* was widely available in Latin editions and English translations and paraphrases and was a popular model for composition—Katherine Parr's *Prayers or Meditations* (1545) draws heavily on the third book of Richard Whitford's translation of the *Imitatio Christi* (Mueller 175). The most popular Protestant translation was Thomas Roger's *Of the Imitation of Christ* (1580), published by Wheathill's own printer, Henry Denham. Wheathill draws on passages from the third book of *The Imitation of Christ* in the third and thirty-first prayers of her collection; her household may have owned a copy of this best-selling guide to a life of faith or she might have encountered it aurally as it permeated communal worship and popular religious discourse.[10] In her third prayer, Wheathill depicts the sinner's anxiety in addressing the divine, an anxiety that may have been particularly resonant given cultural prescriptions against women's speech, even if

[10] According to Ian Green, a work the size and length of the *Imitation of Christ* was likely to cost at least tenpence or a shilling unbound (*Print* 39). If we take the identification of Anne Wheathill as a "gentlewoman" at face value, then it is plausible she had access to a household copy.

the passage itself comes from the male-authored *Imitation of Christ*: "Who am I, that I dare be so bold to speake vnto thée? I am thy most poore sinfull seruant, a vile worme, and much more poore and miserable, than I either know my selfe, or dare tell vnto thée" (6). Yet it is because of the speaker's position as a "vile worm" and a weak, infirm and sinful servant that God intervenes to make speech possible. Those who "dare attribute vnto themselues, that they can guide their owne harts" are presumptuous, for "there is none able to speak a word, except thou giue it him; neither is anie able to thinke a good thought, without thée: much lesse may anie doo the thing that good is, without the assistance of thy holie spirit" (115-115v). Divine providence inspires and, by implication, justifies Wheathill's prayers; if no one is able to speak a word without the assistance of God, then the fact that Wheathill has composed these prayers and that others may recite them shows that they have been written with divine help and approval. The source for this passage is the Geneva Bible's marginal gloss on Proverbs 16:1, note a, but removed from its original context and re-framed in another, it furthers Wheathill's spiritual and political message: to speak her faith and to set a spiritual example for others is a godly requirement.

The theme of using one's allotted time and gifts to their full potential is developed repeatedly throughout Wheathill's prayers. Referencing the Parable of the Talents in Matthew, she warns against the dangers of misspending God-given talent, "abusing thy gifts of grace manie waies, burieng the same in obscure darknesse, woorse than the seruant that hid his maisters treasure, not putting it to anie increase" (8). Her confessional speaker laments, "But I most miserable creature, can shew vnto thy maiestie no part of that which thou gauest me, to vse to thine honor and glorie" (8). To confess one's faith boldly is to be a "strong wrestler" in defense of God's word against earthly enemies (33v); to remain silent, to hide the fruits of divine inspiration, is to be spiritually unproductive, to "doo as manie of the Jewes did, which beléeued on thy sonne, yet durst they not boldlie confesse him, neither make their faith known, least they should haue

béene expelled out of the synagog" (62v-63). Wheathill employs this scriptural example of silent and unfruitful faith to justify a public declaration of belief:

> But through the helpe of thy grace, Lord, I will speake nothing, but that I firmelie beléeue, and that which I do beléeue; I will by no meanes hide, but speake boldlie...Loue causeth me to confesse thée before all the world, and for thy sake to worke towards my neighbour, as thou hast commanded me (63)

As Edith Snook asserts, "Being visible is necessary for the creation of the godly community because its members recognise each other through the public signs of God's grace" (*Reading Women Writers* 166). To "speake boldlie" is not only to honour God, but to assist one's neighbour, a point Wheathill emphasizes throughout her text: "sendest the dewes of thy grace vpon me, which causeth me to bring foorth the fruits of good works, to thine honour, and the helpe of my neighbor" (12). This stress on bearing fruit for the benefit of others highlights the spiritually nourishing quality of Wheathill's prayers and her desire that they will achieve communal good—that in composing prayers for others, she will not only guide them in the right way to worship, but will inspire a similar desire in her readers to honour God and to build community through prayer, a goal emphasized in her preface. Both her preface and her prayers show her efforts, through print, to build spiritual connections and to guide a broad audience in worship.

In her depiction of a spiritual community, Wheathill engages with contemporary debates about the nature of prayer and the role of the individual in worship, but she also participates in more controversial discussions about the struggles of the true Church. Paradoxically, it is the very ambiguity of Wheathill's authorial voice, interwoven with the words of respected male authorities, that makes her prayer book a potentially powerful vehicle of religious and political solidarity. The vision of community that emerges from her prayers is that of a household of believers, in which God "is our head, we are the members of his bodie: he dwelleth in his faithfull, and they in him" (34). In this vision of spiritual husbandry, all believers are equal under God, members of the same body. The

thoughts of the elect are guided by the "diuine presence" residing in each, and the elect are daily searched out, proven, and made known to each other, "sometimes by aduersitie, sometimes by prosperitie" (122v). Salvation is predestined and achieved only by Christ, "who moisteneth all his elect with his most pretious blood" (Aiiiv). Colin and Jo Atkinson stress that although Wheathill's theology is "on the Calvinist side of the allowed continuum," it does not mark her as a radical ("Anne Wheathill's *A Handfull*" 662-663); as Seán Hughes points out, the doctrine of predestination was never exclusive to hard-line Calvinism, nor to so-called puritans (233). In a paraphrase of Psalm 23, Wheathill offers what seems like unqualified praise for the established Church of England: "Thy blessed sonne hath put vs to féed in the pleasant, gréene, and beautifull pasture of his holie church," which abounds with "all spirituall meate of the word of God" and offers a "fresh and pleasant riuer of running water of godlie doctrine, wherewith we often doo refresh our soules" (94v-95). But despite Wheathill's expressed admiration for the "vnitie" of the Church and the "liuelie faith" of its members (94v), Susan Felch notes that her prayers are "shot through with a sense of present and impending persecution" and a desire to distinguish the elect from the ungodly ("'Halff a Scrypture'" 162). In a climate of Protestant paranoia, intensified in 1584 by the assassination of William of Orange and England's mounting conflict with Spain in the Netherlands, apprehensions of impending doom were not unusual (Levin 57). A prayer on behalf of "poore faithful subiects of the Church here militant vpon earth" (36v) recalls the apocalyptic rhetoric used by Thomas Bentley to rouse his readers to fortify the Church of England against Roman Catholic incursions; however, unlike Bentley, Wheathill never names the "enimies" who persecute the "small flocke" of the faithful (37). Bentley declares himself an ardent supporter of the Church of England, even he as acknowledges its weaknesses, but Anne Wheathill never clarifies whether the "church" she praises is the visible, state-sponsored Church of England. Her description of the elect, whose membership in the spiritual household of Christ cannot be assumed and must be demonstrated by signs of God's providence, suggests that she is

referring to the invisible 'Church' of the elect, which was not necessarily coextensive with the visible Church of England (Monta 35). The implications of evoking the invisible Church, used to distinguish the elect from the ungodly, particularly in moments of persecution, are complex. Foxe invokes the invisible Church in *The Actes and Monuments* to distinguish the 'true' transhistorical Church of the Marian martyrs from the Roman Catholic Church (Monta 35), but ardent Protestants later invoked the invisible Church to convey their objections to the visible trappings of Church of England (Mears and Ryrie 17). Any register of dissatisfaction with the established Church of England is carefully veiled, but there are hints of it in Wheathill's prayers. Unlike Fleming and Bentley, she never offers prayers for, or even mentions, the Queen, the bishops, or anyone else in a position of ecclesiastical authority. There is nothing obviously reprehensible in these omissions—who could find fault with a woman for refraining from comment on the public, political sphere?—but they do leave her prayers conveniently uncommitted. Indeed, the very ambiguity of *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs* may have enabled frustrated reformers to interpret it as support for their struggles against the conservative faction ascendant in the Church of England by 1584.

Although Wheathill's political commentary is less explicit than Fleming's and especially Bentley's, there are hints that her critique of the established Church might be more radical than theirs, particularly in her discussion of the ministry. As Patrick Collinson outlines, Archbishop of Canterbury Edmund Grindal's efforts to improve the ministry and educate the laity through the practice of collective, open-air exercises in preaching and scriptural disquisition, known as 'prophesyings,' were put to an end by Elizabeth I, who expressed herself content with a ministry who could read scripture and the official Homilies (*Elizabethan Puritan* 191). In the wake of Grindal's disgrace, a new generation of conservative Protestant bishops rose to prominence, including John Aylmer, Edmund Freke, and John Whitgift (*Elizabethan Puritan* 201). When Whitgift succeeded Grindal as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583, he commanded subscription to articles

signaling unqualified approval for the Book of Common Prayer in its entirety from all members of the beneficed clergy. Between three and four hundred ministers initially refused to give their consent, creating a serious rift in the Church (*Elizabethan Puritan* 263). Susan Felch suggests that Anne Wheathill may have composed *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs* in the aftermath of Whitgift's accession, to fortify radical Protestants who resisted Whitgift's measures under intense political pressure ("'Halff a Scrypture'" 162). In a prayer that recalls the complaints of ardent Protestants about the inadequacy of the ministry, Wheathill emphasizes the necessity of a true understanding of scripture. Drawing once again from the third book of *The Imitation of Christ*, she notes that while the Israelites asked Moses to deliver the Word of God to them, she follows Samuel in her desire to receive spiritual instruction directly from the mouth of the divine:

> Speake on Lord, for thy seruant dooth hearken, for thou art the giuer and inspirer of life, who art able without anie to instruct me. The Ministers speake for thée thy secreats, but thou vnlockest the vnderstanding of the things pronounced; they rehearse to vs thy commandements, but it is thy aid and helpe that giueth strength to walke ouer the same, and giuest light vnto the minds. Wherefore, bicause thou art the euerlasting truth, speake thou Lord my God vnto me, least I die, and be made vnfruitfull (81-81v)

While the ministers play an instrumental role in delivering God's Word to the faithful, they are not, in themselves, able to inspire true faith and understanding. This must come from divine inspiration, the working of the Holy Spirit in the believer and the direct communication between the believer and God. If God does not speak directly to the petitioner, he or she will be unregenerate and unfruitful, given up to spiritual death. This implies that hearing the words of the minister and repeating set prayers cannot, by themselves, generate true faith. Wheathill's assertion is not overtly radical—both Abraham Fleming and Thomas Bentley criticize the ministry and Bentley expresses doubts about the efficacy of the public liturgy more directly than Wheathill does. However, both Fleming and

Bentley imply that ministers who do not value "their own ambition above true religion" (Fleming, *Diamond* 95) can convert the laity; Anne Wheathill suggests that the ministry of the Church of England, in its current state, cannot. The ministers, who merely "rehearse" God's commandments, by implication lack true understanding. Wheathill's veiled critique recalls Grindal's efforts to educate the ministry and improve preaching through exercises in 'prophesying,' which Elizabeth and her conservative bishops had roundly suppressed. By drawing on *The Imitation of Christ*, a popular, authorized devotional text, Wheathill could easily deflect any charges of criticism against the Church of England, although her substitution of "Ministers" for Roger's "Prophets" reinforces her point that the ministers do not receive instruction directly from God. But Wheathill's prayers for an active, working faith, emphasized in repeated requests for the joining of heart, body and mind in prayer, have political implications. In what could be interpreted as a critique of the official liturgy, she warns that salvation cannot be achieved by mindless repetition: "for it is not enough, O God almightie, to praise thée with mouth, except our whole hart agrée therevnto, framing our life vnto the same" (27). In acknowledging the possibility of incongruence between inner belief and outward show, Wheathill engages in the debate surrounding the efficacy of the Book of Common Prayer. Wheathill makes clear that although she supports the principle of Common Prayer by providing set prayers for the faithful to consult and recite, she does not condone rote repetition that fails to engage the body, mind, and heart of the worshipper; rather, she warns readers that God "wilt not heare hypocrits, but those that praie vnto thée with an vnfained faith, and true repentance" (25). Wheathill's exhortations to seek God "in singlenesse of heart" in prayer and for the workings of a true, active faith in the petitioner are by no means unorthodox (142). But in the context of a ministry embattled over the unqualified endorsement of the Book of Common Prayer, they may have signaled disapproval for Archbishop Whitgift's policies to readers in the know.

Attempting to pinpoint the religious affiliation of authors on the basis of their officially sanctioned, publicly disseminated prayers is a difficult business,

particularly when our definitions of religious affiliation continue to be based on binary oppositions between Catholic and Protestant, puritan and 'Anglican.' It is not my intention to suggest that Anne Wheathill was a radical non-conformist or a separatist, only that what appears to be a total absence of personal or political commentary in Wheathill's prayers, especially compared to those of Abraham Fleming and Thomas Bentley, might, in fact, be a powerful statement of solidarity with beleaguered reformists who resisted the measures imposed by a conservative faction of bishops. But even if Wheathill's prayers did resonate with 'hotter' sorts of Protestants, they might also have appealed to conservative readers. Susan Felch's claim that Wheathill's dedication to readers who love "true religion" would function as a code word to radical Protestants is questionable ("'Halff a Scrypture'"162), especially considering that Thomas Bentley employs this phrase liberally. One of the stumbling blocks to interpreting devotional handbooks is that we have lost our ear for the rhetoric of early modern prayer—statements that sound radical when taken out of context may, in fact, be conventional across a spectrum of religious opinion. Nor is there any evidence that early modern readers interpreted these statements uniformly. As I discuss in "The Practice of Piety," individual readers drew very different conclusions from copies of the same devotional handbook. Building spiritual community, rather than generating political or doctrinal controversy, was Wheathill's aim. What Wheathill's discussion of the ministry does declare openly to her readers is the primacy of a woman's connection to the divine, which, although guided by the ministrations of men, is not dependent on them.

Despite their political implications, Wheathill's prayers do not demonstrate a radical revision of worship; indeed, they speak to many of the same concerns of the leading devotional treatises of her day. What is less common and potentially more radical is that a woman's opinions are inserted into public religious discourse through the composition of prayers to be spoken in a genderless and universal voice. Though dedicated "to all religious Ladies" first, Wheathill's prayers carry the authority to lead and instruct male and female

readers in worship. Through paraphrase and collage, Wheathill retains the authority of scripture, but also builds a forceful new narrative that furthers her own spiritual and political agenda, and offers her women readers a powerful model for imitation; however, in order to assuage fears that women's devotional practice challenges patriarchal dominance, Wheathill tempers the radical implications of her handbook by emphasizing the spiritually generative, communally beneficial fruits of women's devotional labour. The model of devotional practice Wheathill provides for her readers is not unlike the pattern of affective piety recommended by contemporary devotional manuals, which directed literate women to withdraw into solitary spaces within the home or garden for private, meditative study (Molekamp, "Early Modern Women" 54). The botanical title of Wheathill's prayer book invites the reader to retire, literally or figuratively, "from the outer wilderness to an enclosed space or garden within" (Alexander 859). Private affective devotion was designed to engage the reader's emotions through contemplation in order to help the reader digest what she had read (Molekamp, "Early Modern Women" 55-6). Wheathill encourages her readers to consume the Word of God as Ezekiel did, "when thou diddest cause him to eate a book, wherewith his bowels were filled, and it séemed in his mouth swéeter than honie" (95). Through careful, frequent study and meditation, the reader consumes and internalizes scripture till it fills her very being, and through rumination and digestion, produces spiritual manna to be shared with others. Yet, as Femke Molekamp argues, even as female readers were encouraged to practice private affective devotion, anxieties lingered that they would be subject to unknowable and ungovernable passions once they had withdrawn into solitary meditation ("Early Modern Women" 58-9). Wheathill's prayers demonstrate that private study and meditation do foster the construction of a political self, but she assures her readers that this subject formation is guided by the Word of God and "his rod of discipline and correction," which chastens "when we swarue at anie time out of the right waie" (96v). Furthermore, she demonstrates to her readers that the surest way to stem concerns that women's devotional practices are

subversive or threatening is to share the fruits of their labour for the common good.

In *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs*, Anne Wheathill demonstrates a thorough knowledge of the Bible and its commentary, and her selection, arrangement, and interpretation of scripture reveals an astute and lively engagement with the religious debates of her time. Her prayers, writes Patrick Cullen, are the work of one who has "thoroughly immersed herself in, and mastered, the cadence of the best English religious prose of her age" (xi). We might rightly ask, then, why Anne Wheathill remains absent from mainstream discussions of early modern women writers. Margaret Ezell has called for an examination of the values and ideologies that shape our constructions of the past, so that we might recover previously marginalized or devalued segments of female literary experience (7). If we view Anne Wheathill's prayer book not as a passive and impersonal regurgitation of male-authored texts, but as a unique and meritorious composition on its own terms, we can hear the individual and original voice that emerges from her text. We can also consider its implications for theories of the development of early modern women's selfhood. Wendy Wall argues that in order to negotiate the stigma of print, women predicated their writing on bodily dissolution, creating a riven subjectivity (*The Imprint of Gender* 287). Shannon Miller suggests that women had no fixed place from which to define themselves as authors because they were forced to maneuver through male-authored spaces (145); however, my research into the practice of commonplacing and early modern conceptions of reading and writing challenges these conclusions. If gathering and framing fragments from the writing of respected male authorities enabled men to accumulate symbolic capital (and the social, political, and economic benefits thereof), it stands to reason that this practice also offered symbolic capital to women. The implications of this symbolic capital might vary according to the writer's gender—women could not hope to be promoted to public office, for example—but in a culture of competitive piety, a public demonstration of scriptural mastery might boost the social and economic

credibility of a woman's household, as well as her reputation as a spiritual leader to her community and beyond. Nancy Vickers has demonstrated that sixteenth-century sonneteers consolidated their social authority as authors by linguistically dismembering the female body through the blazon (4). Anne Wheathill's prayers demonstrate that by dismembering and re-assembling fragments of male-authored texts, an early modern woman writer could create a unified authorial self. Terry Sherwood argues that a Protestant emphasis on contribution to the "common good" enabled the development of a stable and sustained early modern self (8). If 'I' is constituted by and through language, and if the process of constituting meaning through texts enables the creation of a political subject, Anne Wheathill's activities as a reader and writer for "the common benefit" posit a powerful alternative to the perpetually riven female subject dancing in a cultural net.

Coda: The Practice of Piety
Tracing the Readers of Devotional Handbooks

In tracing a communications circuit, I have explored the production of devotional handbooks, the political and religious agendas of their authors, the rhetorical and pedagogical strategies they employed, the social and economic considerations that shaped material form, and the impact of material form on readers' reception; I have advanced theories about the interactions between devotional handbooks and their early modern readers—both those which their authors intended and those beyond authorial control—and the circumstances under which these interactions took place; and I have attempted to reconstruct the reading and writing practices of the authors of devotional handbooks, demonstrating how authors transformed their devotional reading into authority to enter religious and political discourse. However, the authors I have examined were, in some ways, exemplary readers: readers who devoured, ruminated on, and digested their reading so completely that they transformed what they read into their own compositions; readers with sufficient education, talent, resources, and social connections to see their devotional handbooks into print. Despite contemporary complaints about the multitude of books,[1] the vast majority of early modern readers did not publish their own compositions, and only one percent of the texts printed in England between 1475 and1640 were written by women (Hull, *Women* 25). What, then, of the anonymous masses of 'ordinary' readers who purchased devotional handbooks in large numbers? Prayers to be read "at the putting on of our clothes" or "at the washing of our hands" show how fully readers were encouraged to assimilate these tenets into their daily lives. But to what extent did the prescriptions of devotional handbooks approximate lived

[1] Johannes Mathesius recorded Martin Luther's famous complaint in *Table Talk* (1566): "The multitude of books...is much to be lamented; no measure nor end is held in writing; every one will write books; some out of ambition to purchase praise thereby, and to raise them names; others for the sake of lucre and gain, and by that means further much evil."

experience? How fully did readers absorb the tenets of these guides and how did they respond to or even resist them? These are important questions to address, because they respond to the criticism that devotional handbooks can only tell us what their writers prescribed, not what their readers actually did. Examining books for physical traces of their readers has become increasingly common in studies of the early modern book. Signs of use, such as marginal notes, underlined words, and marks of ownership, provide important clues about how early modern readers engaged with texts physically and cognitively, and help us to discover the impact of early modern print culture.

To uncover traces of early modern readers and to reconstruct the body of social practices arising from readers' interactions with their books, I have examined a selection of printed sixteenth- and seventeenth-century devotional handbooks at the Folger Shakespeare Library and the University of Alberta's Bruce Peel Special Collections Library. At the Folger Shakespeare Library, I examined fifty-eight volumes, comprising sixty-eight individually published devotional handbooks (some volumes contained multiple devotional handbooks bound together), printed between 1549-1640, and at the Bruce Peel Special Collections Library, I examined twenty-four devotional handbooks printed between 1635-1674. This gives me a sample of eighty-two devotional handbooks published over 125 years, which, if not representative, is at least large enough to provide a sense of general trends in reading practice. In addition to the devotional handbooks I discuss in my dissertation, I examined a range of steady sellers by well-known and anonymous authors, as well as texts that went through only one edition. I extended the definition of devotional handbooks to include a few commentaries on scripture and religious treatises, which would have been used in the home as part of private or household devotion, as well as six Catholic primers and prayer books, which, after 1558, would have become private, even clandestine, books of devotion. My study is not comprehensive enough for me to weigh in on a discussion of whether commentaries were read differently than prayer books or whether Catholics read differently than Protestants—

undoubtedly, there were differences, though I suspect there was also a great deal of continuity; rather, my aim in including these texts has been to explore the widest range of reading practices possible in the materials to which I had access.

One of the methodological challenges of historicizing reading practices is determining a reading audience. In his 1958 survey *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England*, Louis B. Wright situates the devotional handbook in the households of the 'middling sort,' a nebulous class of upwardly mobile husbandmen, yeomen, and tradesmen who pursued spiritual as well as social and economic improvement, an observation recently reiterated by Lori Anne Ferrell (137). However, Tessa Watt has argued that the notion of a definable audience for cheap print is a myth, demonstrating that the market was inclusive, rather than exclusive, as the wealthy elite purchased ballads, pamphlets and printed ephemera alongside householders and the labouring poor (3). Devotional handbooks do not exactly qualify as 'cheap print,' as they are considerably longer than pamphlets and, therefore, more expensive to produce and purchase. In general, paper was the most costly component of book production (Evenden and Freeman 10): the more pages a book contained, the more expensive it would be (in addition to the costs of extra labour required to produce a longer text and greater wear-and-tear on equipment and type). Ian Green estimates that book prices during Elizabeth's reign ranged from 8d. or 10d. to a few shillings, and between 1s. and 4s. in the late seventeenth century, prices that were affordable for the gentry, yeomen, merchants, and urban professionals, but well beyond the reach of the genuinely poor (*Print* 11); however, one did not have to own a devotional handbook in order to read it, nor did a book's circulation end with its initial purchase, as my own examination of early modern marginalia will demonstrate. Books were lent and bequeathed to family members, servants, and neighbours, circulating through households and communities, and were bought and sold in the second-hand book trade, which helped to make books more attainable to those who could not afford to purchase them new.

Furthermore, Kevin Sharpe shows that many early modern readers at both ends of the social spectrum experienced texts aurally, rather than visually. One could hear the Bible and Book of Common Prayer read aloud in church, proclamations recited at the market cross, and ballads and pamphlets sung or recited in alehouses or by travelling booksellers. Household servants and secretaries read aloud to members of the gentry and aristocracy, and families, neighbours, and servants congregated on Sundays to read and pray together (Sharpe 271). Andrew Cambers has discussed the special importance of collective and public reading to the godly, a practice that intersected with other components of their religiosity, such as listening to sermons, writing, and praying. Members of the godly read aloud not because they were incapable of reading silently, but because collective, oral reading was interwoven with puritan identity and helped to distinguish them from their non-godly neighbours (*Godly Reading* 7-8). The devotional handbooks I have examined contain visual and rhetorical cues to encourage readers to 'oralise' their reading, as well as directives to read aloud to others. Thomas Bentley's prayers to be recited collaboratively by husbands and wives, mothers and daughters, in the presence of their households, challenge Cambers' argument that collective, oral reading was the hallmark of puritan readers. Although oral reading was popular among women and often associated with the domestic sphere, men and women from diverse economic, educational, and confessional backgrounds would have experienced texts aurally, both in their private households and in public spaces. According to Sharpe, "What seems clear is that *listening* to texts in no way diluted their impact on early modern auditors" (272). Hearing a book read aloud did not preclude intellectual engagement with texts or prevent readers from internalizing what they heard and putting it into practice. Thus we cannot determine a reading audience based on book prices and records of ownership alone, as early modern reading practices were embedded within an oral culture; however, while we can hypothesize a wide range of readers for devotional handbooks, many of these encounters have not left marks on the page. We cannot know with certainty, unless written evidence is discovered, how

readers who experienced a text aurally reacted to or engaged with it. We also cannot reconstruct the reading experiences of the partially literate. Heidi Brayman Hackel notes that women and poor laborers were more likely to be partially literate, taught to read but not to write, than the upper-to-middling class of men (199-200). Partially literate readers undoubtedly enjoyed a lively spiritual and intellectual engagement with their books, but these interactions have not left material traces to verify their existence to modern scholars. Though David Cressy, Margaret Spufford, and Robert Whiting have constructed literacy rates on the basis of people's ability to sign their name, their studies do not take into account the full range of possibilities for experiencing and interacting with early modern texts. As Heidi Brayman Hackel's work demonstrates, we must develop a more fluid definition of reading that accounts for the permeability between orality and literacy (205).

In the event that readers did leave traces of their reading on the pages of devotional handbooks, the evidence is often difficult to interpret. As Roger Chartier notes, reading is a historically and culturally conditioned process—we cannot assume that early modern readers read in the same way that we do, or that the marks they left on a page meant the same things to them that they might mean to us ("Labourers" 90). Andrew Cambers argues that "Ambiguity seems to be at the heart of the history of reading since it relies on evidence which is itself capable of being read in starkly divergent ways" ("Readers' Marks" 231). In his examination of Margaret Hoby's marginalia, Cambers warns against the pitfalls of generalizing about early modern reading practices on the basis of an isolated annotation, arguing that the true value of marginalia is only revealed in conjunction with other records of readers' intellectual and devotional lives, such as commonplace books, letters, diaries, and the other books in a reader's household library ("Readers' Marks" 230-231). While it is undoubtedly true that these materials shed valuable light on early modern reading practices, it is also true that such records are often unavailable. For one thing, not all readers wrote detailed accounts of their reading practices, as did Margaret Hoby; for another,

the personal collections and documents of early modern readers have been redistributed in modern libraries all over the world. Are we to ignore the marginalia of anonymous or otherwise undocumented readers in favour of exemplary readers? Should we overlook the materials we have access to if we do not have the resources to conduct an exhaustive study? It seems to me that the best strategy for scholars of early modern marginalia is to contextualize readers' marks as fully as possible in light of gendered, educational, social, and religious practice in order to uncover their rich significance, while acknowledging that our findings offer possibilities, rather than unassailable proofs. As D. F. McKenzie points out, "to assume...that analytical bibliography must be empirically based, and to limit our knowledge to that which may be derived by inductive inference from direct observations, is to invite the obvious objection that no finite number of observations can ever justify a generalization" (245). Rather than limiting inquiry by dismissing what we cannot prove or inviting open-ended discussion of possible explanations for the same limited range of phenomena, McKenzie proposes "recognizing the present situation of multiple 'probabilities' as the desirable one and regarding them as hypotheses to be tested *de*ductively" (247).

Of the fifty-eight volumes I examined at the Folger, forty-nine, or eighty-four per cent, contained readers' marginalia, including written inscriptions, such as dates, marks of ownership, family records, and marginal commentary, as well as symbolic or incidental inscriptions, such as manicules, trefoils, underlining, drawings, and pen trials. Of the twenty-four volumes I examined at the Bruce Peel Special Collections Library, eighteen contained readers' marginalia, or seventy-five per cent. The quantity of marginalia varies considerably, even between different copies of the same book. The volumes housed at the Folger contain the signatures (not including initial letters or references to other people) of seventy-one individuals; of these, fifteen, or twenty-one per cent, belong to women. In the Bruce Peel collection, twenty-eight individuals have signed their names, nine, or thirty-two per cent, of them women. It is difficult to identify the first owners and readers of these devotional handbooks on the evidence of signatures. The earliest

dated mark of ownership is that of William Bedal,[2] who wrote his name in a 1601 edition of Edward Hutchins's *Sampsons Iavvbone against the Spiritual Philistine*, housed at the Folger, along with this verse:

> william Bedal
> is my nam with
> hand and pen I
> Writ the sam if
> my pen had bin
> better I wold have
> mened it my eferi
> leter

Bedal dated this inscription 1627 and signed his book again in 1632. Although it is possible that Bedal purchased the book when it was first published in 1601 and began to annotate it twenty-six years later, he was likely not its first owner or reader. Indeed, none of the marks of ownership including dates link the books with their first owners—fourteen signatures date from the seventeenth century, sixteen from the eighteenth century, five from the nineteenth century, and none from the sixteenth century. Preserving the date of their encounters with the text may have become more important to later generations of readers, as they developed a sense of connection to readers of the past and worked to position themselves in a devotional lineage. Alternatively, it is possible that traces of early owners are difficult to find, either because they read their devotional handbooks out of existence, or because of the book collecting practices that have shaped the collections of major research libraries. A long-standing archival preference for pristine copies has ensured their survival over copies that show obvious signs of use (Brayman Hackel 140). Devotional handbooks that bear the marks of intensive reading over many generations were more likely to be discarded by collectors or rebound and refinished, their pages cropped and their margins

[2] This may be the signature of William Bedell (1572-1642), the Irish-born, Cambridge-educated Bishop of Kilborn and Ardagh, or that of his son William.

bleached, to obliterate the marks of their early readers. The devotional handbooks that endured may have been carefully preserved family heirlooms—or they may have been used in less tangible ways by their readers.

The annotations that have survived provide us with important information about how devotional handbooks circulated and were used within households and communities. As I have discussed in my previous chapters, devotional handbooks played an important role in solidifying a family's religious identity and establishing devotional traditions. For example, a copy of the 1651 edition of Richard Baxter's *Plain Scripture Proof of Infants Church-Membership and Baptism* at Bruce Peel contains William Kynaston's hand-written record of the birth and baptism of his three sons, Thomas, John, and William.[3] Kynaston's precise notation of the date and time (to the minute) of each child's birth suggests that each arrival was a momentous occasion. Eamon Duffy suggests that birth entries including information about the time and date of birth were used to cast horoscopes (*Marking* 45), a practice in which even the godly sometimes indulged, despite the admonition of Jean Calvin that "the silly eagerness to predict from the position of the sky and the stars what is going to happen to someone and what will be each person's inborn fate" stems from "Satanic superstition" (qtd. in Maxwell-Stuart 74). William Kynaston notes that Thomas "began to learn and to read May 9 1670," revealing his interest in his children's intellectual development and education. Literacy ensured that the precepts of faith were passed onto the next generation, as this book was passed onto Thomas, who also signed his name in this book. The date of each son's baptism and list of attending witnesses records the creation and solidification of a spiritual community. Baptism marked a child's membership in the church and "witnesses," rather than "godparents," a term puritans often associated with Catholicism (Mears and Ryrie 21), were bound to the child socially and spiritually. That this baptismal record appears in Baxter's defence of infant baptism, his response to a debate with the Anabaptist cleric John

[3] For further discussion of this inscription, see *Marginated: Seventeenth-Century Printed Books and the Traces of their Readers* (Brown and Considine 97).

Tombes, is especially significant, as it shows how fully William Kynaston absorbed the dictates of Baxter's text. The Cheshire Parish Records verify the marriage of William Kynaston to Katherine Clubb in Farndon on January 30, 1664 (as Kynaston records), as well as the christenings of Thomas, John, and William. There is also a record of the birth of Elizabeth Kynaston, William's sister, in Hanmer, Flint on August 8, 1641. She resided in Farndon, and served as a witness at the baptism of John Kynaston, as did another relative, Edward Kynaston. Kynaston records that his mother-in-law, Rose Clubb, was a witness at his son William's baptism. A copy of a 1583 edition of Calvin's *Sermons vpon… Deuteronomie* at the Folger (STC 4443 copy 2) contains a similar record of the family of Richard and Catherine Symons, noting the births of their five children between 1716 and1725: Richard, William, Elizabeth (who died at age eleven), Dick, and Catherine. In a later entry, made with darker ink and a shakier hand, the writer notes that "Catherine the Wife of Rich Symons was buried June the 29: 1735." Although, as David Cressy discusses, the pages of early modern books were sometimes used for jotting down recipes, stuffing cracks in windows and chimneys, and even as toilet paper, religious texts held a special, even sacred, place in the family library (93). Eamon Duffy suggests that birth entries served the practical purpose of determining seniority among heirs, but secular and spiritual concerns were not easily separable or necessarily incompatible (*Marking* 45). Kynaston's book, which records the participation of three generations in a tradition of godly worship, suggests that it may have functioned as a totem, a centrepiece of household devotion that fortified a family's religious identity and transmitted it to future generations. Symons' book contains handwritten marginal directives such as "Note," "Read all," and "Note all this," demonstrating that the Symons family did not simply record their family history in this book and then leave it on the shelf. These instructions may have been designed to guide the reading of other members of the family as well as serving as personal cues to the annotator.

We can see traces of familial use in the devotional handbooks that bear the inscriptions of multiple family members. Most notably, these handbooks contain inscriptions by women, demonstrating their active participation in household devotion and their role in building spiritual connections across families and communities. The Folger's copy of the 1579 edition Johann Habermann's *The Enimie of Securitie* (STC 12582.48) contains the signatures and annotations of William, Francis, and Elizabeth Ward. William Ward has inscribed his name multiple times throughout the book, suggesting that he was its primary user. His annotations shed light on how he used this book and prescribe how it should be read by other members of his household. Ward invokes the tradition of the *memento mori* in one inscription, encouraging reflection on the inevitability of death and the misery of this earthly life as part of spiritual preparation for the life to come:

> Remember my
> Beginning Having end for a man
> that is born of a womman have
> but a few days to live and his
> days are in sorrow and sighs.

As Garrett Sullivan discusses, the exhortation to 'remember' one's death aims to generate not just an internal, cognitive operation of memory but a social performance, encouraging the subject to behave in ways that promote salvation (6). William Ward's inscriptions demonstrate his personal stakes in reading and set an example for other readers of this book to follow. That Ward's inscriptions were also intended for others is clear in a farewell entry:

> William Ward is going
> To leave all his friends
> and cannot stay for he is
> sent for and cannot stay no long[er]
> God preserve them night and day.

This leave-taking suggests that this book circulated amongst members of the Ward family and their friends, who wrote messages for each other as well as declarations of their relationship to the text. Frances Ward also signed her name and personalized the book with her own inscription:

> Lord have mercy
> upon us and save
> us and condemne
> those that talk eny
> distruction
> Lord let them seeke there
> bread out of Disstante
> placess

It is notable that the Ward women were educated to write as well as read, and encouraged to make their mark on the text. Elizabeth Ward also signed her name, a record of her participation in her family's devotional practice. As Mary Erler suggests, the re-use of prayer books, at once the communal property of a household and yet strongly individualized by the previous owner's name, must have contributed to the formation of collective identity and to the sense of the individual as part of a collective history, a subject position which for women was still relatively rare (43). Though the inscriptions suggest that the book belonged to William Ward, Frances and Elizabeth's annotations in a book that appears to have circulated within their community serve as a public declaration of their individual connections to the text and their participation in the spiritual life of their family.

A copy of the 1633 edition of Daniel Featley's *Ancilla Pietatis*: *or, The Hand-Maid to Private Devotion* (STC 10728) housed at the Folger demonstrates how devotional handbooks enabled women readers to assert their religious identities and act as leaders in their spiritual communities. An inscription on the front free page records, "This Valuable Book of Devotion was a present of Mrs. Judith Morrison of Tallentire in Cumberland to her grandson William Grainger in 1718." The many marks of ownership inscribed on the pages suggest the book's

circulation between the members of three families. The earliest identifiable owner is Richard Morrison, who signed his name in 1694. Marriage records indicate that Judith Morrison, likely Richard's daughter, married Richard Studholme in Wigton, Cumberland on June 15, 1693. Richard Morrison passed the book onto his daughter after her marriage, which she signed as Judith Studholme in 1697. Judith's husband Richard Studholme, born in Wigton in 1673, and his kinswoman Elizabeth (likely his older sister, born in Wigton in 1671) signed their names in this book and recorded their place of residence as Tallentire in 1713. A woman named Alice also signed her first name in 1713, along with the inscription, "In booth in welth and want," perhaps an indication that she had recently married or a declaration of friendship to the Studholme family. As there is no record of an Alice Studholme from this period, it is possible that this was Alice Grainger, christened in Wigton in 1676, the older sister of Thomas Grainger, born in Wigton on June 25, 1767. Richard and Judith Studholme's daughter, also named Judith, married Thomas Grainger in Aikton, Cumberland on June 23, 1715. Their son William was christened in Bootle, Cumberland on May 17, 1718. Judith Studholme, née Morrison, presented her devotional handbook to her grandson William in 1718, likely in celebration of his birth or christening. This copy of Featley's *Ancilla Pietatis*, circulating between members of the Morrison, Studholme, and Grainger clans, helped to cement relationships between these three families and fostered a sense of religious community built on shared devotional practice. If Judith Studholme composed prayers of her own, they have not survived, but, like Anne Wheathill, she played an important role in establishing household spiritual traditions and passing them onto new generations. She may have read these prayers aloud to her kinsfolk and neighbours, in the manner recommended by Thomas Bentley in *The Monument of Matrones*. The signatures of multiple family members show that it was a communally used book, but that it was Judith Studholme's to pass onto her grandson demonstrates the primacy of her connection to the text.

The Folger's copy of the 1608 edition of Richard Day's *Booke of Christian Praiers* (STC 6432) also shows the role of devotional handbooks in early modern women's subject formation and offers evidence of female relationships bolstered and memorialized on the pages of the book. The different signatures of Penelope Baxter suggest that she inscribed her name at different points of her life and her education. On the back free page, in what looks like a shaky hand, perhaps due to the age and inexperience of the writer or her emotional state, someone has written, "My sister Lidia died August 10 day 1689." A first attempt to spell "Lidia" has been crossed out, as has a second attempt to record the year. Below, in a more confident, though still juvenile, hand and a lighter coloured ink, Penelope Baxter has written "Penelope Baxter ow[neth] this book / Penelope Smith wetnes to [i]t," evidence, perhaps, of a girlhood friendship between two Penelopes, as well as Penelope Baxter's pride of ownership in this book. It is possible that Penelope Smith could not write, as both names are written in Penelope Baxter's hand. Beneath this, Penelope has drawn a picture of a smiling skeleton; it looks like a child's depiction of a skeleton, clumsy and anatomically imprecise. The borders of Day's book are decorated with woodcut illustrations of a skeleton leading men and women of all estates to their deaths. As an example, one illustration shows a skeleton leading a shepherd with the caption, "Leave thy shéep / and with mée créepe" (111v). Another illustration shows a skeleton leading away an elegant lady, saying, "Countesse or what thou art: I strike thee with my dart" (114). Whether these illustrations and the doggerel that accompanies them would have been amusing to a child or frightening is difficult to say. Certainly, the record of Lidia's passing documents a very personal experience of death, not just of abstract figures but a beloved sister. The picture of the skeleton might be drawn in imitation of the many skeletons that decorate the borders of the prayer book, but it might also show the young Penelope Baxter reflecting on the inevitability of her own death and the need to prepare accordingly. On the front free page, in the same hand as the inscription on the back free page, Penelope Baxter again asserts her ownership: "Penelope Baxter

ow[neth] this bok." Below this, in a more graceful and practiced adult hand, an older Penelope Baxter has signed her name, with the following inscription:

> O lord have marsi upon u[s]
> and give us a happi li[ve] in
> this world and a happier in
> the world to come.

Penelope's handwriting has become more sophisticated but her focus on the preparation for death remains. It appears to have been a book that she consulted at different periods of her life, from childhood to womanhood, and by which she defined her religious identity.

In their annotations, readers reveal not only traces of their personalities but also their own expectations for their reading. Readers' inscriptions demonstrate their desire not merely to view the pages passively but to actualize knowledge through performance, as the authors of devotional handbooks often advised. In the same copy of Johann Habermann's *The Enimie of Securitie* that he shared with his family, William Ward asks for grace "not to look / but to understand" his book, for "larnning is better / than house or land." In the Folger's copy of a 1581 edition of Abraham Fleming's *The Footepath of Faith* (STC 11039), Jane Peake also prays for grace not simply to look "but understand / for our Better," suggesting that devotional reading was expected to bear public fruit, benefitting the reader's family and community as well as herself. To "understand" the text, as opposed to passively or inattentively observing it, was to study it intensively—to read and re-read the text, silently and aloud, to reflect upon it privately, discuss it with members of one's family and religious community, and, in some cases, to read the text with a pen in hand, marking significant passages and making notes of what was learned. This active form of reading was meant to imprint the text on the heart and mind of the reader (Cormack and Mazzio 79). In his copy of Edward Hutchins' *Sampsons Iavvbone*, William Bedal advises,

> Hee that wisedome wil
> obtaine and would note

Spend his time in vaine
Read ore this Booke [and]
marke it right

To ‘marke’ the book, in both senses of the word, to store its contents in the memory as well as to make a physical mark on the page, is to transform the reading subject—as Bedal puts it, to “Fashone thy selfe” according to the dictates of the text. In the Folger’s copy of the 1617 edition of Samuel Hieron’s *Helpe vnto Deuotion* (STC 13410.2), an anonymous benefactor offers the book as a “Blackprint” to the recipient’s children, so that “the Subject wil / Ingraft them / with th[ei]r duty to God.” Devotional handbooks played an important role in household education, and were used to teach children knowledge of scripture and Christian morals alongside reading and writing. The men and women who purchased devotional handbooks sought social and spiritual transformation not only for themselves, but also the members of their household. These inscriptions might lead us to the conclusion that early modern readers acquiesced passively to their books, that they were content to be “ingrafted” with whatever they read. But, as Matthew Brown points out, “subjectivity is also a process of subjection, of readers becoming subject to religious discipline with all the restrictions and potentialities a discipline implies” (87-88). A paradigm of reading that views signs of resistance or transgression as the most interesting or ‘active’ form of reading ignores the profound spiritual satisfaction that readers sought by enthusiastically, even aggressively, integrating their devotional handbooks into their subjective lives. In a letter believed to have accompanied a copy of John Norden’s *Progresse of Pietie* (1596) at the Folger, one ‘R.M.’ offers instructions to his wife on how to use her book: “‘Use it, turne it, teare it with turning, to God’s glory and your owne comfort’” (qtd. in Smith, *‘Grossly’* 188). To use the book to the point of destruction is to actualize its contents so completely that the material form becomes extraneous. Readers who leave traces of their readings on the pages—or who obliterate the pages with use—transform their books as radically as they themselves are transformed.

Even the marks that may seem most insignificant to modern readers made an indelible impact on the text, altering the reading experience not only for the annotator, but for all readers who came to the text after. The most commonly-occurring marks in the books I have examined are symbolic: underlined passages, trefoils, brackets, asterisks, crosshatches, and manicules, squeezed into the main text, written beside headings or in the margins of the pages. These marks are sometimes accompanied by marginal commentary that helps to clarify their function, but more often they formed a personal system of reference for an annotator for whom their significance required no explanation. It seems a safe assumption that if a reader underlined or placed a mark beside a passage, this passage had claimed the reader's attention and he or she marked it to indicate its importance and highlight it for future ease of retrieval. Unlike books printed in larger formats, the margins of devotional handbooks are relatively free of the printed marginalia designed to control readers' interpretations and guide them through the text (Sherman, *Used Books* 18). If a printed book did not contain the navigational aids needed to help readers make sense of what they read, readers added them to the text. As William Sherman observes, books customized by their readers are "the most striking indication that printing did not automatically, or immediately, render readers passive" (*Used Books* 9). Marks that draw the eye to noteworthy passages and fragment information into manageable units promote habits of discontinuous reading, signalling not only to the annotator, but also all subsequent readers, what passages are most worthy of attention and extraction. Some symbols may have carried more weight than others. For example, William Sherman suggests that the manicule was one of the most personal symbols a reader could make, with a gestural function that extends beyond its straightforwardly indexical one ("Towards a History" 42-43). A drawing of a hand beside a passage in a text symbolized the process of gathering 'flowers' of wisdom and also draws attention to the embodied nature of early modern reading, linking the work of the hand with the eyes, ears, mind, and heart ("Towards a History" 23). In a copy of the 1670 edition of Simon Patrick's *Parable of the*

Pilgrim at Bruce Peel, an anonymous reader has drawn a manicule beside a passage offering "a serious caution against Spiritual Pride, and a vain conceit of your own abilities" (197), and another beside a passage "concerning the good you are to do your Brethren" (219). The trefoil, sometimes drawn with a curving stem and leaves, also symbolizes the process of gathering 'flowers' or 'herbs' of wisdom, indicating to the reader that the passage is worthy of imprinting on the mind as well as in the commonplace book. In the Folger's copy of the 1596 edition of Thomas Wright's *Disposition or Garnishmente of the Soule* (STC 18335), an anonymous annotator has drawn trefoils in the margin beside passages on free will and election, including an anecdote about Solomon, underlining the kernel of wisdom he or she intended to take away from the text: "Now Salomon was put to his choyce, he might haue asked welth, long lyfe, reuenge of his enemies, yet he preferred wisdome before them all" (B3v-B4). Thomas Wright, a Roman Catholic priest and controversialist, wrote this treatise while imprisoned (and printed it illegally on a secret English press), to fortify the faith of English recusants and to convince Protestants of the errors of their doctrine, so it is possible that the reader marked passages on free will with the intention of drawing on them in disputes, rather than recording them in a commonplace book. Both examples show readers reading for action, mining the text for tenets that could be actualized in performance, but non-verbal marks also show readers customizing their books with personal mementos. A copy of the 1651 edition of Richard Baxter's *Saint's Everlasting Rest* at the Bruce Peel Library offers a fascinating example of the range of non-verbal marks readers could use to personalize their texts.[4] Red and silver seals beside chapter headings and flower petals pressed between the pages are vivid and tangible connections to readers from the past.

In addition to non-verbal symbols, some readers also recorded brief marginal commentary that gives us more insight into how they read their books. In a copy of the 1650 edition of Richard Baxter's *The Saint's Everlasting Rest* at Bruce Peel, an anonymous reader has written "marke" eight times in the margins

[4] See *Marginated* (Brown and Considine 101) for further discussion.

throughout this 995 page tome.[5] Interestingly, given the context of civil and religious strife in which the text was written, the word "marke" appears by passages arguing that true conversion is achieved through "rational perswading" rather than "compelling men to profess...by the sword" (223) and that earthly sufferings will be rewarded by salvation. The same annotator has also written "see" in the margin beside two passages containing biblical citations, suggesting that the reader intended to look up these scriptural passages for further reflection, or perhaps to check on Baxter's use of sources. Other readers left traces of their personalities as well. The words "a very good hint" are written beside a passage describing "the torments of the damned," recalling the experiment of the Marian martyr Thomas Bilney as recorded in John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*:

> If all this be nothing, go and try thy strength by some corporal torment: As Bilney before he went to the stake, would first try his finger in the candle: so do thou; Hold thy finger a while in the fire and feel there whether thou canst endure the fire of Hell. (263).

This is, as the reader seems to wryly note, a very good hint to make one imagine the torments of hell, although we have no way of knowing if he or she actually followed this advice (Brown and Considine 98). In a less visceral example, a reader of the 1651 edition of Richard Baxter's *Saints Everlasting Rest* at Bruce Peel has written "think of often" in the white space surrounding a passage asking readers, "Consider, how do we wrong the Lord and his Promises? and disgrace his wayes in the eyes of the world?" (582). If, as William Slights asserts, "printed marginalia did more than any other material feature of book production in the period to determine...the nature of the reading experience" (3), then what role might handwritten marginalia have played in shaping the reading experience? Readers who write in the margins, particularly in books that do not contain printed marginalia, take on the role of "teachers-in-the-text," directing the concentration of subsequent readers to passages that the annotator has deemed most worthy of consideration, and encouraging them to participate in an

[5] See *Marginated* (Brown and Considine 98).

intertextual dialogue (Slights 20). If notes printed on the margins of the page catch the eye and interrupt the progress of reading, then how much more might handwritten marginalia, more distinct in size and appearance than printed marginalia, serve to catch the reader's eye and draw his or her attention to what the annotator has written? Even simple annotations have the potential to transform the reader's experience of the text and blur the distinctions between authors and readers.

Readers supplemented the work of print shop employees by adding navigational aids or corrections to their books, further blurring the line between book consumers and producers. In the Folger's copy of a 1605 edition of Thomas Tymme's *Siluer Watch-Bell* (STC 24421), a reader has added a handwritten table of contents to the prefatory material, briefly summarizing the contents of each chapter. The reader has done no more than copy the running heads for each chapter from the main text, but this addition restructures the text for ease of access, encouraging discontinuous reading by enabling readers to choose which chapters to read at a glance without having to peruse the entire book. Readers also transformed their books and took on the role of printing house proof-correctors when they made amendments to the text. For example, in the Bruce Peel Library's copy of William Austin's *Certaine Devout, Godly, and Learned Meditations* (1635), a reader has corrected a printer's error, indicating in the margin that "tahn" should have been printed as "Then" (268). In a copy of the 1657 edition of Johannes Justus Lansperger's *Discovrs en Forme de Lettre* (1657) at Bruce Peel, a reader has cut out a small piece of print, possibly from a list of errata, and pasted it over top of the original text. On the title page for the "First Lampe of Virginitie" in one of the Folger's copies of *The Monument of Matrones* (STC 1892 copy 2), a reader has annotated the running head, suggesting that "the diuine Praiers, Hymnes, or Songs, made by sundrie holie women in the Scripture" should include the addition "or songe by." The intention behind this correction is difficult to gauge: is the reader suggesting this modification because songs and hymns are meant to be sung? Or is the reader implying that these scriptural women were not

'makers' in the sense of authors, and that they merely performed the hymns and prayers that had been created by others? The same annotator has corrected the heading "The four lamentations of the daughter of Zion" to "five" (24). In the second Lampe, another annotator notes that William Cecil's preface to Katherine Parr's *Lamentation* has been bound out of place, and marks the pages where it should appear (36). The presence of readers' corrections in the margins of their books corroborates Adrian Johns' argument that "Printed texts were not intrinsically trustworthy," nor were they free of errors (36). Not only authors and print shop employees worked continually to manufacture credit for their texts, but they also involved readers in this process, encouraging them to standardize their copies by including lists of errata for readers to correct. In correcting the text, readers contribute to the illusion of fixity, even as their corrections draw attention to the fact that the printing press did not produce uniformly correct products.

Not all readers' annotations have a direct bearing on the content of the text, nor were books always used for the purposes their original authors intended. Some of the Catholic primers I have examined show how difficult it can be to interpret annotations without context. For example, in a copy of the 1555 *Manuale ad Vsum Insignis Ecclesie Sarisburiensis* at the Folger (STC 16155a), a reader has marked a number of passages on baptism, such as the ceremonial significance of the sign of the cross, the font, the oil, and the water, as well as the role of godparents. At first glance, I guessed that these might be the marks of a sixteenth-century Roman Catholic reader, who highlighted these passages to clarify or reinforce his or her beliefs on the sacrament of baptism in the face of state pressure to reform; however, an inscription on the front paste-down specifies that the book came from the library of Charles Lloyd, Bishop of Oxford from 1827-1829, and it is likely that these annotations were his. Although he held traditional high-church views, Lloyd undertook a serious study of Roman Catholic doctrine, which he assessed in an essay for the *British Critic* in October, 1825, arguing that none of the Catholic Church's historical documents or public formularies supported the worship of images; by 1829, Lloyd publicly expressed

support for Catholic civil liberties (Baker). It is possible that Lloyd made these annotations as part of his research on Roman Catholic doctrines. Certainly, this is not the use for which the *Manuale* was originally intended, and this example illustrates the hazards of assuming that annotations that do not express hostility must, therefore, indicate compliance to the text. Many annotations are related to the content of the text only peripherally, as in the case of records of bills and indentures written in Catholic primers. In the Folger's copy of a 1557 *Primer in Englishe and Latine* (STC 16081), an anonymous reader has made a note of a bill drawn up during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The inscription does not specify who drew up this bill or what it concerned, only that it was made. I found a similar inscription in the Folger's copy of a 1554 *Manuale ad Vsum per Celebris Ecclesie Sarisburiensis* (STC 16153) made by "William Chattres, Clarke of Colworth," who signed his name throughout the book and made two records of a bill or indenture drawn up in August in third and fourth year of the reign of King Phillip and Queen Mary (1556-57) in the margins. The details of this bill are, once again, unspecified. According to Eamon Duffy, records of agreements, debts, and contractual obligations are fairly common in Catholic books of devotion, and not simply because they offered a convenient (because redundant) source of paper; rather, for some readers, Catholic primers achieved the status of sacred objects and were used in place of Bibles for swearing solemn oaths and obligations (*Marking* 43-44). After the Elizabethan Settlement, Roman Catholic liturgical books, altar-cloths, vestments, and other ornaments were illicitly purchased and concealed by members of the parish (Duffy, *Stripping* 569). The record of a bill made during the reign of Elizabeth in a Catholic primer demonstrates that they was still in use, despite the efforts of reformers to replace them with Protestant books of private devotion.

The most substantial examples I have found of readers transforming their books and themselves into authors are interleaves, pages of readers' annotations bound in with the printed text. One illuminating example is the Folger's copy of Ferdenando Filding's translation of Daniel Tossanus's *Exercise of the Faithfull*

Soule (1583) (STC 24144). This devotional handbook recounts the persecution of the Huguenot Church of Orleans, where Tossanus was a minister from 1561-1568, and presents a Calvinist exposition of the articles of the Apostle's Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Although the margins of the Folger's copy are unmarked, an anonymous reader has inserted three leaves of notes written in a Secretary hand on "the doctryne of Ellection" into the back of the book. Using numbered points and sub-headings, the reader outlines, "1. what Gods ellection is: the cause theareof 2. how Gods ellectyon p[ro]ceedeth in workinge our Salvation 3. to whome Godes ellection p[er]teyneth." It may have been in an effort to sort out the nuances of this complex and multi-faceted doctrine that the reader made these notes. As Seán Hughes discusses, the range of Protestant debates on this doctrine was extensive, influenced by Peter Martyr, Heinrich Bullinger, Martin Bucer, Calvin, and Theodore Beza, as well as its Roman Catholic inheritance (233). The reader's notes avoid some of the most divisive points in these debates, such as whether predestination was supralapsarian, infralapsarian, based on God's foreknowledge, or based on God's 'middle' knowledge (indeed, these debates may have been beyond the interest of lay readers); however, the reader does seem to embrace the classic 'Calvinist' position endorsed by Beza, suggesting that, from eternity, God elected some to salvation and others to damnation, based entirely on "his owne will, chooseinge and p[re]ferringe to lyefe such as pleaseth him." To bring about this end, God sent his Son to redeem the elect—as the annotator puts it, "The passion of Christe is the efficient cause of our salvacyon." The reader does not address the thorny issue of whether or not the elect could cease to be elect. Offering advice on "whether a man in his liefe may be c[er]tayne of his Ellection," the reader advises, "Let him not clymbe up to...heaven to know; but let him discend into himselfe; And theare searche his faythe in Christe the sonne of God." If the penitent finds within a firm and assured faith, "not feyned by the wantinge of gods holie spyrite," he may number his soul among those of the elect. As Alexandra Walsham has demonstrated, the meticulous inward search for eschatological certainty was a hallmark of

Elizabethan puritanism (*Providence* 19). The reader's insertion does not contradict the theology of Tossanus' text, but it amplifies its Calvinist leanings. Tossanus promises to explicate the key doctrines of the Reformed faith, including the doctrines of faith, the Trinity, creation, and providence, but he does not include a specific section on election (56). It may have been to fill this gap that the reader added these notes, perhaps for his or her own edification, as well as for that of subsequent readers.

Another copy of *The Exercise of the Faithfull Soule* housed at the Cambridge University Library, available for viewing on *Early English Books Online*, offers an example of how two readers could approach the same text in entirely different ways. This copy has been marked by an unknown reader who added an abbreviated table of contents to the title page, detailing the page number on which Tossanus' discussion of each of the twelve articles of the Apostle's Creed begins, and added marginal citations for biblical references in the main text. *The Exercise* contains printed marginalia, summarizing the key points of the text and providing Bible verses for some of Tossanus's scriptural references; however, many of the text's biblical allusions do not include citations, which the reader has added as a supplement to the printed notes. Aside from noting sources, this reader seems to have been particularly interested in the suffering and death of the Huguenots, noting, beside a passage describing the massacre at the Church of Orleans in 1568, "140 Slayne at ye p[r]eaching of ye worde" (13). Beside a passage describing further persecution in 1570, the annotator has written "5 or 600 murdered," though Tossanus makes no mention of slaughter, writing only that the parishioners were pelted with stones and harassed "with iniuries, outrages, & all kinde of scorning and derisions" (23). Beside Tossanus's description of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, the annotator has written, "700 Christia[ns] slayne in Fraunce" (24), a relatively low estimate for the time. It was, perhaps, with the victims of the French Wars of Religion in mind, that the annotator marked Tossanus' paraphrase of Saint Cyprian and wrote "observe" in the margin: "Wherefore do we put on our black mourning weedes, when as our

brethren goe to doe on their white garments to rest with ye Lorde? Let vs sorrow for them rather as absent, than dead: & not as people that we haue lost, but yt we await for to see againe" (299). These two copies of *The Exercise of the Faithfull Soule* offer evidence of readers approaching the same text and marking it in very different ways. The reader of the Folger's copy amplifies and, thereby, alters the doctrinal position of the text, claiming authority as one who has carefully studied and digested the tenets of election and is qualified to instruct other readers. The reader of the Cambridge Library's copy supplements the text by adding navigational aids and marginal notes, increasing ease of reference and showcasing his or her own learning by providing more extensive biblical cross-references than the author or printer did. This reader also draws attention to the massacre of the faithful in the French Wars of Religion, memorializing their deaths, and perhaps calling to mind the threats the godly faced in England.

The Folger's copies of *The Monument of Matrones* also provide excellent examples of readers tailoring their devotional handbooks according to their interests. The Folger has four copies of *The Monument of Matrones* in its holdings, though only one copy contains all seven "Lamps of Virginitie." This copy (STC 1892 copy 1) also contains the most extensive marginalia, and is the subject of Kate Narveson's article entitled "Traces of Reading Practice in Thomas Bentley's *Monument of Matrones*." This copy had at least one identifiable owner or reader, as a short manuscript note has been inserted at the end of the fourth Lamp signed by John Brasbridge, a reminder sent from his cousin Sheldon to Francis Willoughby about money owed. But the majority of annotations have been written in a different hand by an unidentified reader, possibly a member of John Brasbridge's household or another household altogether. This reader has underlined several passages in the text, marked other passages with trefoils or a distinctive symbol resembling a crosshatch, written comments in the margins in both Latin and English, and has inserted a manuscript page summarizing "the principall points" of Dorcas Martin's *Instruction for Christians* into the Fourth Lamp. The focus of Narveson's article is on the annotator's gender. Although

acknowledging that the style of handwriting (italic with some characteristics of a Secretary hand) is inconclusive, Narveson argues that the annotator was male, partly on the basis of Latin literacy, which was rare among women, but also because "the annotator makes almost no marks or comments in the volumes addressed most explicitly to women readers" (12). As Narveson notes, the majority of annotations occur in the second Lamp, which contains the devotional writings of Katherine Parr, Elizabeth I, Elizabeth Tyrwhit, and Dorcas Martin, among others; there are no annotations in the first Lamp, the prayers, hymns, and songs of women from scripture, nor are there any annotations in the third Lamp, which contains prayers for the Queen. Significantly, in Narveson's view, the only annotations in the fifth Lamp, which contains occasional prayers specifically for women's use, occur in the gender-nonspecific "generall Confession of sinnes" (203); the few annotations in the sixth Lamp occur beside passages about marriage, the headship of husbands, and the management of daughters. Interestingly, Narveson does not discuss the annotator's marks in the seventh Lamp, an encyclopedia of biblical women, which were placed beside the entries on Abigail and the Shumanite woman. Evaluating the pattern of the reader's annotations, Narveson contends, "On the assumption that he annotated only those sections of interest to him, it seems reasonable to conclude that this material on women neither offered matter of use to him nor spoke to his interests" (13). Narveson's argument, though helpful, rests uncritically on the gynocentric assumptions I outlined in my discussion of Anne Wheathill: 1) that we can categorize early modern women by their 'difference' from men; 2) that early modern women, regardless of class, education, or religious affiliation, shared an identifiable ideological position and set of interests, which 3) revolved around 'feminine' topics like childbirth, housekeeping, and the needs of wives, mothers, and widows. The troubling, though likely unintended, implication of Narveson's argument is that because the reader marked passages on the unworthiness of sinners, the assurance of God's forgiveness, and the doctrinal significance of baptism and communion, the reader was likely male. The unspoken assumption

that early modern women were more concerned with their domestic responsibilities than the salvation of their souls, or that they lacked the capacity to engage in serious theological study, ignores the achievements of the women commemorated in *The Monument of Matrones* and the devotional practice of countless early modern women; it is not an assumption that Thomas Bentley makes. It also highlights what seems to me an unavoidable problem in the study of readers' marginalia: how can we as scholars separate our interpretation of marginalia from our own expectations and interests? When analyzing evidence as subjective as an unknown reader's marks on the page, I find it extremely difficult, perhaps impossible, not to let my own hopes or assumptions about what those marks might mean guide my interpretation. The differences in my analysis compared to Kate Narveson's illustrate the exciting possibilities offered by the study of marginalia and the inescapably subjective nature of interpretation.

In the spirit of proposing multiple probabilities, as D. F. McKenzie suggests, my examination of these marginal inscriptions focuses on the role of the reader as author, rather than speculating on the reader's gender. These annotations show a reader extracting the material he or she has found most relevant or interesting, altering it by condensing it into a more digestible form, and inserting it back into the text, thus fusing the communication circuit by performing the work of an author or, perhaps more appropriately, a *re-author*. The style of reading exemplified by this annotator is what Michel de Certeau describes in his oft-cited essay as 'poaching,' or reading for action. The most frequently occurring mark in this book is underlining, often accompanied by a crosshatch and/or a brief marginal comment summarizing the contents of the passage. As an example, in the second Lamp, the reader has underlined part of a passage explaining that "death is none other thing to a Christian man, but a libertie or deliuerance from his mortall band" (22), marked it with a crosshatch, and has written in the margin beside it, "Mors quid?" On another page, the reader has underlined "And as thou art his corporall mother, so art thou thorough faith his spirituall mother: and I following thy faith with all humblenesse, am his spirituall mother also" (8), and in

the margin has written, "the faithfull soule is the spirituall mother of Christ." As Andrew Cambers suggests, when readers identify key points in the text with a marginal gloss, it is often with the intention of adding these passages to a commonplace book at a later date ("Readers' Marks" 224); the reader may have recorded the germ of these passages in a commonplace book under headings like "Death" or "The Soul." The reader does not merely regurgitate the text word-for-word, but also re-packages information into gnomic phrases. For example, the reader takes a fairly lengthy passage, underlines what he or she perceives to be the most important part, and converts this extract into a pithy aphorism: beside "Then my Lord, who shall condemne me? Or what Iudge will damne me? Sith that thou, which art my Iudge, art also my father, my spouse, and my refuge. Alas, what father? Such as doth neuer con|demne his child: but alwaies doth excuse and defend" (27), the annotator has written, "If Christ acquit, who can condemne?" This rephrasing turns the passage into a convenient parcel of proverbial wisdom, which could easily be recalled in public speaking or private conversation. These annotations also serve as navigational aids, helping the reader to find his or her way around this very lengthy devotional handbook in the absence of printed marginalia. Kate Narveson has identified the handwork of this reader in the Folger's copies of John Phillips's *Perfect Path to Paradice* (1588) and Victorinus Stregelius's *Proceeding in the Harmonie of King Davids Harpe* (1591), as well as Niels Hemmingsen's *The Way of Life* (1578) and John Bernard's *The Tranquilite of the Minde* (1570) in the Huntington Library's collection (16). In *The Monument of Matrones* and *The Perfect Path to Paradice*, the majority of annotations occur next to passages on the mercy of God, the forgiveness of sins, the unworthiness of sinners, and the importance of avoiding hypocrisy by matching words with deeds.

We can see an example of how the reader digested the material he or she annotated in a manuscript leaf inserted into the fourth Lamp. On this leaf, the reader has written out by hand some of the "principall points" collected at the end of Dorcas Martin's *Instruction for Christians*, which is included in the second

Lamp. Most of these "principall points" have been copied verbatim with some abbreviation; however, the reader has made a few interesting alterations. Instead of copying the sentence "Because of the weakenesse of our faith, our Lord hath giuen vs the Sacraments" (246), the reader has written, "For strengthening of o[u]r faith o[u]r Lord hath given us, his sacraments," ignoring Martin's emphasis on human frailty and stressing instead the fortifying power of the sacraments. On the symbolism of the water in baptism, Dorcas Martin explains, "The water, as the propertie thereof is to wash, doth signifie the washing of our soules, which is done for vs through the bloud of Iesus Christ, in the forgiuenes of our sins. The water also is put vpon the head, in signe of death: neuerthelesse, in that it is done but for a little time, it is a figure of our resurrection" (246). On the manuscript leaf, the reader condenses Martin's explication and excludes water's role as a "signe of death," focusing instead on its signification of redemption: "The water signifieth the washing of o[u]r soules through the bloud of Christ in the forgivenes of our sinnes, and is a figure of o[u]r resurrection." Although some of these modifications were clearly made to conserve space, the reader has also altered the content to align it with his or her own beliefs; in modern phrasing, the reader accentuates the positive, choosing to emphasize strength and salvation over failure and death. After copying the rest of Martin's discussion of the sacraments word-for-word, the reader adds, as if for emphasis, "Ther ar two sacraments," perhaps to reinforce the Church of England's definition of the sacraments in opposition to the seven sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church. This brief summary clearly served a specific purpose for the reader. On the bottom right-hand corner of the page, the reader stipulates the placement of this page in the "4 Lampe. Pagina 599." The reader places the insertion towards the end of a collection prayers, written and gathered by Thomas Bentley, to be recited before, during, and after the Eucharist. The manuscript insertion follows a prayer entitled "Another thanks-giuing after the Communion," which ends with this petition:

> Keepe this thine ordinance, and right vse of thy Sacrament amongst vs euermore, that this good worke and diuine ceremonie may alwaies be a

> note and badge of our publike profession...Remoue awaie all abuses, and prophanations of this holie and sacred supper, together with the horrible and idolatrous adorations inuented by Sathan and his members, to the shamefull deforming of thy godlie & goodlie institution (4.599)

As an aid to ensure "the true and vnpolluted vse" of the sacraments (4.599), the reader has summarized the key points of reformed doctrine for quick consultation and clarification, lest doubt or confusion should arise. What is less clear is the intended audience for this supplement: was the reader reinforcing these doctrinal points for private study? Or did the reader compose this document for the benefit of others in his or her household? Although the reader has copied much of Dorcas Martin's summary verbatim, this is a good example of a reader appropriating the author function, fragmenting, digesting, and re-writing the material into a new form, altering its significance by placing it in a different part of the text. It is possible the reader felt that Thomas Bentley did not provide enough theological education on the sacraments and worked to fill the gap, or perhaps he or she was simply reinforcing Bentley's message for the benefit of unlearned readers; either way, the reader has transformed private reading practice into a public act of authorship.

Kate Narveson suggests that the manuscript leaf is evidence that the reader had a formal theological education, which would have been unavailable to women at this time (14), a claim that overlooks the detail that a woman wrote *An Instruction for Christians* in the first place. Other than the fact that fewer women learned how to write than men, is there a compelling reason why an early modern woman could not study Dorcas Martin's catechism and copy out a summary of key doctrinal points? Catechisms were designed to instruct the theologically unlearned—in fact, Dorcas Martin specifies that it be used by mothers to educate their children. It is true that women were less likely to be literate in Latin than men, as they did not receive a grammar school education; however, it was not uncommon for wealthy and aristocratic families to hire tutors for their daughters. A woman who had attained writing literacy might have also learned enough Latin

to make the inscriptions in this book, such as “Fides, quid?” and “Pro Remissione Peccatorum,” underneath which the annotator remarks, “For Remission of synnes.” The Latin annotations are brief and not so complex in grammatical structure or vocabulary as to suggest a specialist education. Narveson claims that the reader has not annotated passages about women, but she does not discuss the marks in the seventh Lamp, which occur beside entries on Abigail and the “Shumanitess,” whose history is recounted in 2 Kings 4:8-37 and 8:1-6. Both entries narrate the deeds of women who ventured freely outside of their homes and acted independently of their husbands. Though the reader seems to be most interested in tracing the sequence of events, he or she has underlined passages praising Abigail’s “wisedome & godly perswasions” (7.121). These stories form a marked contrast to the passages in the sixth Lamp that the reader has underlined, advising fathers to restrict the bodies of their daughters and husbands to exercise headship over their wives. The reader does not include written annotations to clarify how he or she interpreted these passages, but Narveson suggests that these might be the marks of a husband and father seeking advice on the management of his wife and daughters (12); however, it is equally possible that the reader was making note of the contradictions between patriarchal dictates and the positive achievements of biblical women. Certainly, there is not enough evidence from this to determine the gender of the reader. That said, I am inclined to agree with Narveson on the basis of annotations of attribution. Narveson’s examination of marginalia in a copy of *The Monument of Matrones* at the Folger Shakespeare Library (STC 1892 copy 1) indicates that at least one early modern reader was able to discern Bentley’s unacknowledged sources. In over a dozen marginal notes, the annotator points out Bentley’s unacknowledged borrowing from two translations of Augustine by Thomas Rogers, *A Pretious Booke of Heauenlie Meditation* (1581) and *S. Augustine’s Manuel* (1581) (Narveson 16), noting the chapter and page numbers of Bentley’s sources. As Narveson points out, some of Bentley’s amplifications alter the borrowed material almost beyond recognition, so the reader must have been extremely well-versed in Rogers’ translations to

have noticed it (16). It is not impossible, or even unlikely, that a woman reader would have studied Rogers' translations so carefully that she recognized the material in another text, but it is difficult to see what purpose marking Bentley's sources would serve. Would a reader who had not received a formal, perhaps a university, education be interested enough in sources to make such detailed notes of them?

While we may not have enough information to draw firm conclusions about the gender of the annotator, the marks on the page are still instructive. Based on the fact that the reader owned, or had access to, this lengthy and relatively expensive devotional handbook, had attained writing as well as (at least basic) Latin literacy, and could afford extra leaves of paper to bind in with the text, it seems a safe conclusion that the reader came from a well-to-do household. Although servants and members of the working poor might encounter devotional handbooks aurally, the intensive, private study exemplified by the markings in this volume, and the opportunities for authorship that writing in the margins and on interleaves provided, would have required sufficient leisure, space, and supplies. This is not to suggest that poor readers could not participate in a process of *meditatio* and *compositio*, but the fruits of their reading practice are less likely to be recorded. There is also evidence here of serious devotional study, reading for action with the intention of actualizing the text through performance. I think it is revealing that the majority of the reader's annotations occur beside prayers written *by* women, rather than *for* women. Despite Narveson's claim that the reader had "no investment in the issue of women's godliness" (17), the extensive marginalia alongside the devotional writings of Elizabeth I, Katherine Parr, and Dorcas Martin suggest to me a willingness to take women's devotional writing very seriously. Perhaps the reader was more interested in the prayers of women, rather than in the prayers of Thomas Bentley; perhaps the reader intended to follow the example of these women and write prayers of her (or his) own. As scholars, it is challenging to separate our own research interests from our interpretation of highly subjective evidence. It is difficult not to approach a

devotional handbook that addresses some of the most intimate experiences of early modern women's lives—sex, marriage, and childbirth—without hoping to find marks that give us some insight into readers' reactions. This reader's annotations do not offer explicit commentary on early modern gender relations (or not in the way that we might expect); however, they do reveal important information about how early modern readers approached their books, and how they made use of their reading.

Although interleaves offer the fullest examples of readers transforming themselves into authors, all readers who marked their texts have re-shaped them for later readers. Even if subsequent readers find these interventions irritating or attempt to ignore them, their attention will still be drawn by the visual cues of annotation to the passages marked on the page. If printed paratexts have the potential to influence and change the process of reading, so, too, do the handwritten annotations of readers. Early modern devotional handbooks, which were most often printed as octavos and duodecimos, contain fewer annotations than other genres printed in larger formats, such as law books and schoolbooks (Narveson 18); however, the annotations I have examined present evidence of readers' lively engagement with their books. Although there are few traces of resistant reading, there are many signs of active reading—readers internalizing, supplementing, and re-shaping their books show that the process of indoctrination was anything but passive. It is important, however, to avoid the pitfalls of assuming that this style of reading was more 'active' than other forms of reading. Oral reading and affective meditation, for example, also involved the hearts, minds, and bodies of their readers but these processes did not necessarily leave marks on the page. It is useful to bear in mind, as Andrew Cambers points out, that a reader might engage with a given text in different ways, depending on the context in which he or she read (*Godly Reading* 31). Thus a book that contains only a mark of ownership, or no marginalia at all, was not necessarily relegated to the shelf, but may have been read in ways that did not require the reader to mark the text. Readers' marginalia remind us of the need for caution in drawing

conclusions about readership based on the author's intended audience. Male readers left marks on the pages of devotional handbooks directed towards women, just as women readers left marks of their reading in devotional handbooks intended for men. Devotional handbooks played an important role in the household education of children, which was often guided by their mothers. Although their paratextual material suggests that they were designed to appeal to male householders, both *The Footepath of Faith* and Day's *Booke of Christian Praiers* bear the signatures of young girls. Children appear not to have been the first owners of these devotional handbooks, which seem to have been passed down to them after a few generations of use. As the marks of ownership I have examined indicate, the audience of devotional handbooks expanded over time to include more women and children, especially as social, economic, and political conditions changed, making the devotional handbook no longer exclusively of interest to the 'middling' sort of male household (although there is every indication that the audience of devotional handbooks was always much broader than this). By the same token, we should not assume that devotional handbooks were ready *only* by children or the unlearned—the devotional handbook cannot be reduced to the status of a beginner's learning tool just because it features devices that might seem simplistic to modern readers, such as rhymes, proverbs, acrostics, ABC's, and woodcut illustrations. As I have discussed, these were components in a system of memory that was integral to the humanist education of the elite. The doctrinal and devotional tenets advanced in devotional handbooks are sophisticated, though presented in an accessible and somewhat simplified form for lay readers. The annotations show examples of well-educated readers studying their texts and working through them, transforming their reading into action by adding their own marks to the pages.

Conclusion

My examination of readers' marginalia works to qualify my assertion that Abraham Fleming, Thomas Bentley, and Anne Wheathill were extraordinary, as opposed to 'ordinary,' readers. They were confident, masterful writers of religious prose who deserve more critical attention than they have hitherto received, to be sure, but, as readers, they participated in shared cultural practices of internalization and appropriation that were much more common than has generally been acknowledged. In opposition to schools of criticism that dismiss religion as a form of false consciousness, a discursive mechanism of ideological control, I have worked to demonstrate in each of my chapters the possibilities which the performance of prayer, whether carried out individually or collectively, in the household or in public spaces, offered its readers. It may be objected that my analysis is too optimistic, that it naively overlooks the very real social and economic constraints that early modern society imposed on women and the labouring poor. In response, I freely acknowledge that I deal in possibilities. In this, I take my lead from Sasha Roberts: "The wonderful thing about literary studies is that it *can* move beyond the limitations of empiricism. If literary history cannot embrace the possible in the past, then it has little to offer the future" (265). The fragmentary evidence to be found in the margins of devotional handbooks does not and perhaps cannot, by itself, substantiate my claims. In the first place, too much has been lost. Thomas Bentley's assertion in his preface to *The Monument of Matrones* that he collected the "excellent and rare" works of women authors, many of which have been "dispersed into seuerall pamphlets, and in part some thing obscured and worne cleane out of print" (B1), suggests how many books may have been lost within the first few generations of printing. Perhaps one of the reasons why Anne Wheathill has received so little critical attention is the uneasy suspicion that her prayer book was a failure, that only one copy of *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs* has survived because early modern readers cared for it so little. However, the opposite is as likely to be true: the fact that only one copy has survived suggests that as many as 1,499 readers used their

copies with such intensive regularity that they were “worne clean” out of existence. Sales alone cannot measure the influence of a book or the receptivity of its audience to a woman’s participation in devotional culture. Likewise, we cannot dismiss the possibility that men and women who lacked the means, education, or inclination to leave marks and records of their reading engaged in the transformative reading processes I have hypothesized.

In order to build a plausible case, I have proceeded not unlike the authors and readers I study, gathering and framing the findings of studies of early modern reading practices to produce a composite and broad-spectrum analysis. I have discussed the influence of Edith Snook’s work, but also formative to my study have been Heidi Brayman Hackel’s gendered examination of marginalia and paratextual materials, Kevin Sharpe’s discussion of commonplacing and the development of a political authorial voice that it enables, Andrew Cambers’s consideration of how physical space influences the performance of reading, Matthew Brown’s application of phenomenological theory to the practice of intensive, affective meditation, Cecile Jagodzinski’s examination of the subjective implications of private reading, and Evelyn Tribble and Nicholas Keene’s discussion of the development of a Protestant cognitive ecology, among others. My contribution has been to close the interpretive gap between the labours of producers and consumers of devotional literature, uniting the sociology of devotional handbooks with an examination of the social, political, religious, and economic agendas of their authors and a comprehensive investigation into the activities of their readers. In an effort to recover early modern reading practice, scholars have examined texts for cues that directed the reading performance, as well as signs of readers’ use. I take up both approaches throughout my analysis, but also consider another avenue for studying the reading habits of early modern men and women, that of reconstructing the reading practices of authors. If the authors I examine began their writing lives as readers, it stands to reason that their writing illuminates the reading materials to which they had access and the use

they made of those materials. Examining early modern writers as readers helps to fill in gaps left by studies of marginalia and material indicators of performance. Reconstructing a historical practice as intimate and immediate as reading is always a matter of educated guesswork, but tracing an author's reading habits is no more speculative than attempting to interpret a hastily-scrawled note on the margin of a page; indeed, it is arguably a much less speculative practice because an entire text offers a fuller record than a marginal note. Examining the reading activities of the authors of devotional handbooks, in addition to examining their texts for material cues of performance and readers' marginalia, we can expand our understanding of the patterns and possibilities of early modern reading.

By tracing writers' sources in light of the historical record, we uncover something of the process by which they transformed themselves from consumers to producers of texts. Each of the writers I examine exhibits of a deep familiarity with scripture and liturgical language, likely inculcated over a lifetime of private and public study and recitation. Although the division of scripture into chapter and verse and a growing proliferation of navigational aids may have promoted discontinuous reading, as Peter Stallybrass discusses (51), a tradition of intensive, cyclical reading of the Bible in its entirety persisted (Owens 44). In his preface to the 1540 edition of the Great Bible, Thomas Cranmer urged readers, particularly unlearned readers who "vnderstande nott the depe and profoude misteryes of scriptures," to "take the bookes into thyne handes, reade the hole storye, and that thou vnderstandest kepe it well in memorye: that thou vnderstandest not, reade it agayne and agayne" (a4v-a5). Lewis Bayly's immensely popular *Practise of Pietie* (1612) included "Briefe directions how to reade the holy Scriptures, once euery yeere ouer, with ease, profit, and reuerence" (310). Continuous reading supported a typological method of interpreting the Bible, enabling readers to draw connections between the Old and New Testaments and their own lives and experiences (Owens 45). David Wright suggests that continuous reading and recitation of the Bible, repeated and reinforced by regular public and household worship, allowed the devout to compile an internal Bible that could be quoted

from memory, rather than the page (59); however, each of the authors I examine also practiced discontinuous reading, fostered by the commonplace method that the cornerstone of humanist education. Indeed, some of the evidence in their writing contradicts the notion of an internal Bible. Their word-for-word quotation of passages of scripture and marginalia from diverse translations of the Bible suggests that much of their reading and writing was conducted with an open book and a pen in hand. My examination of readers' marginalia in devotional handbooks suggests that readers and authors of devotional handbooks shared in a similar culture of continuous and discontinuous reading, combining a deep-seated familiarity with scripture and contemporary devotional treatises with intensive, affective meditation, and dynamic, inquisitive acts of gathering and appropriation. Only a small percentage of early modern readers transformed their reading into printed compositions for sale on the public market, but the culture of discourse in which they participated, though undoubtedly mediated by gender, education, and social, political, and economical status, was by no means the exclusive property of men or the elite. To queries about what devotional handbooks can do to illuminate our understanding of early modern 'literature,' I respond that for the vast majority of men and women living in early modern England, devotional handbooks were 'literature.' They deserve our scholarly attention in kind.

Works Cited

Alexander, Catherine. "The Garden as Occasional Domestic Space." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 27.3 (2002): 857-71. Print.

Arber, Edward, ed. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D*. 5 vols. London, 1875-94. Print.

Atkinson, Colin B., and Jo B. Atkinson. "Anne Wheathill's A Handfull of Holesome (though Homelie) Hearbs (1584): The First English Gentlewoman's Prayer Book." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27.3 (1996): 659-672. Print.

- - -. "The Identity and Life of Thomas Bentley, Compiler of *The Monument of Matrones* (1582)." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 31.2 (2000): 323-348. Print.

- - -. Introduction. Bentley xi-xxxiii.

- - -. "Numerical Patterning in Anne Wheathill's *A Handfull of Holesome (though Homelie) Hearbs* (1584)." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 40.1 (1998): n. pag. Web. 21 April 2010.

- - -. "Subordinating Women: Thomas Bentley's Use of Biblical Women in 'The Monument of Matrones' (1582). *Church History* 60.3 (1990): 289-300. Print.

Augustine, Saint, Bishop of Hippo. *Confessions*. Ed. and trans. Henry Chadwick. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991. Print.

Austern, Linda Phyllis, Kari Boyd McBride, and David L. Orvis, eds. *Psalms in the Early Modern World*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011. Print.

Austin, William. *Certaine Devout, Godly, and Learned Meditations*. London, 1635.

Aylmer, John. *An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subiectes*. London, 1559.

Baker, William J. "Lloyd, Charles (1784-1829)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford UP, 2004. Web. 5 November, 2012.

Baxter, Richard. *Plain Scripture Proof of Infants Church-Membership and Baptism*. London, 1651.

- - -. *The Saint's Everlasting Rest*. London, 1560, 1561.

Bayly, Lewis. *The Practise of Pietie*. London, 1612.

Becon, Thomas. *The Sick Man's Salve*. London, 1558.

Beier, Lucinda McCray. *Sufferers and Healers: The Experience of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987. Print.

Beilin, Elaine V. *Redeeming Eve: Women Writers of the English Renaissance*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1987. Print.

Bell, Catherine M. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992. Print.

Bentley, Thomas. *The Monument of Matrones*. 3 Vols. Eds. Colin B. Atkinson and Jo B. Atkinson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. Print. Essential Works for the Study of Early Modern Women, Ser. 3, Pt. 1, Vols. 4-6.

Berlin, Michael. "Reordering Rituals: Ceremony and the Parish, 1520-1640." *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*. Eds. Paul Griffiths and Mark S.R. Jenner. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000. Print.

Bernard, John. *The Tranquilite of the Minde*. London, 1570.

Blayney, Peter W.M. *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard*. London: Bibliographical Society, 1990. Print. Occasional Papers of the Bibliographical Society 5.

The Book of Common Prayer 1559: The Elizabethan Prayer Book. Ed. John E. Booty. 1976. Charlottesville: U of Virginia P for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 2005. Print.

Bracken, James K., and Joel Silver, eds. *The British Literary Book Trade, 1475-1700*. *Dictionary of Literary Biography*. Vol. 170. Detroit: Gale Research, 1996. Print.

Brayman Hackel, Heidi. *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005. Print.

Brewerton, Patricia. "Denham, Henry (fl. 1556–1590)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford UP, 2004. Web. 21 May 2012.

Brown, Matthew P. *The Pilgrim and the Bee: Reading Rituals and Book Culture in Early New England*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2007. Print.

Brown, Sylvia, ed. *Women's Writing in Stuart England: the Mother's Legacies of Dorothy Leigh, Elizabeth Joscelin, and Elizabeth Richardson*. Stroud: Sutton, 1999. Print.

Brown, Sylvia, and John Considine. *Marginated: Seventeenth-Century Printed Books and the Traces of their Readers*. Edmonton: U of Alberta Libraries, 2010. Print.

Brownlee, Kevin and Walter Stephens, eds. *Discourses of Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*. Hanover: Published for Dartmouth College by UP of New England, 1989. Print.

Bugge, John. *Virginitas: An Essay on the History of a Medieval Ideal*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975. Print.

Burnet, R.A.L. "Shakespeare and the Marginalia of the Geneva Bible." *Notes and Queries* 26.2 (1979): 113-114. Print.

Caius, John. *Of Englishe Dogges*. Trans. Abraham Fleming. London, 1576.

Calvin, Jean. *Sermons of M. John Calvin upon the fifth booke of Moses called Deuteronomie*. London, 1583.

Cambers, Andrew. *Godly Reading: Print, Manuscript, and Puritanism in England, 1580-1720*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011. Print.

- - -. "Readers' Marks and Religious Practice: Margaret Hoby's Marginalia." *Tudor Books and Readers: Materiality and the Construction of Meaning*. Ed. John N. King. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010. 211-231. Print.

Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008. Print.

- - -. *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. Print.

Certeau, Michel de. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Trans. Steven Rendall. Berkeley: U of California P, 1984. Print.

Chartier, Roger. “Labourers and Voyagers: From the Text to the Reader.” Finkelstein and McCleery 87-98.

- - -. *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. Cambridge: Polity, 1994. Print.

Clark, Andy. *Natural-Born Cyborgs: Minds, Technologies, and the Future of Human Intelligence*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003. Print.

Clarke, Danielle, ed. *Isabella Whitney, Mary Sidney and Aemelia Lanyer: Renaissance Women Poets*. London: Penguin, 2000. Print.

Clarke, Danielle and Elizabeth Clarke, eds. *‘This Double Voice’: Gendered Writing in Early Modern England*. New York: Macmillan, 2000. Print.

Clegg, Cyndia Susan. “Henry Denham.” Bracken and Silver 94-96.

- - -. “The Stationers’ Company of London.” Bracken and Silver 275-291.

Collinson, Patrick. *Elizabethans*. Hambledon: Cambridge UP, 2003. Print.

- - -. *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1967. Print.

- - -. “Perne, Andrew (1519?–1589).” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford UP, 2004. Web. 7 November 2013.

Coles, Kimberly Anne. *Religion, Reform, and Women’s Writing in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2008. Print.

Conway, Sir John. *Meditations and Praiers*. London, 1569.

Cormack, Bradin and Carla Mazzio. *Book Use, Book Theory: 1500-1700*. Chicago: U of Chicago Library, 2003. Print.

Craig, John. “Bodies at Prayer in Early Modern England.” Mears and Ryrie 173-196.

Crane, Mary Thomas. *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993. Print.

Crawford, Patricia. *Women and Religion in England, 1500-1720*. London: Routledge, 1993. Print.

Cressy, David. “Books as Totems in Seventeenth-Century England and New England.” *Libraries, Books and Culture* 21.1 (1986): 92-106. Print.

- - -. *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1980. Print.

Cullen, Patrick. Introduction. Wheathill vii-xii. Print.

Culler, Jonathan. *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1982. Print.

Cummings, Robert. “Abraham Fleming’s Eclogues.” *Translation and Literature* 19.2 (2010): 147-169. Print.

Daniell, David. *The Bible in English: Its History and Influence*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2003. Print.

Darnton, Robert. “What is the History of Books?” Finkelstein and McCleery 9-26.

Davies, Horton. *From Cranmer to Hooker, 1534-1603*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1970. Print. Vol. 1 of Worship and Theology in England. 5 vols. 1961-1975.

Davis, Bryan P. “William Seres.” Bracken and Silver 231-238. Print.

Day, Richard. *A Booke of Christian Prayers*. London, 1578, 1608.

Dering, Edward. *A Brief and Necessary Instruction*. London, 1572.

Dickens, A.G. *The English Reformation*. New York: Schocken, 1964. Print.

Dimmock, Matthew, and Andrew Hadfield, eds. *Literature and Popular Culture in Early Modern England*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009. Print.

Dolan, Frances E. *Marriage and Violence: The Early Modern Legacy*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2008. Print.

Doran, Susan, and Thomas S. Freeman, eds. *The Myth of Elizabeth*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Print.

Dowd, Michelle M. And Julie A. Eckerle, eds. *Genre and Women’s Life Writing in Early Modern England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007. Print.

Duerden, Richard. “Equivalence or Power? Authority and Reformation Bible Translation.” O’Sullivan and Herron 9-23. Print.

Duffy, Eamon. *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240-1570*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2006. Print.

- - -. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c.1580*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1992. Print.

Dunn, Kevin. *Pretexts of Authority: The Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1994. Print.

Eckerle, Julie A. "Prefacing Texts, Authorizing Authors, and Constructing Selves: The Preface as Autobiographical Space." Dowd and Eckerle 97-114. Print.

Eisenstein, Elizabeth. *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*. 2 vols. New York: Cambridge UP, 1979. Print.

Erasmus, Desiderius. *Collected Works of Erasmus*. Vol. 24. Ed. Craig R. Thompson. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1978. Print.

Erler, Mary C. *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002. Print.

Evenden, Elizabeth. *Patents, Pictures and Patronage: John Day and the Tudor Book Trade*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. Print.

Evenden, Elizabeth, and Thomas S. Freeman. *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs.'* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011. Print.

Ezell, Margaret J.M. *Writing Women's Literary History*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1993. Print.

Featley, Daniel. *Ancilla Pietatis*: *or, The Hand-Maid to Private Devotion*. London, 1633.

Felch, Susan M, ed. *Elizabeth Tyrwhit's Morning and Evening Prayers*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. Print.

- - -. "'Half a Scrypture Woman": Heterglossia and Female Authorial Agency in Prayers by Lady Elizabeth Tyrwhit, Anne Lock, and Anne Wheathill." *English Women, Religion, and Textual Production, 1500-1625*. Ed. Micheline White. Burlington: Ashgate, 2011. 147-166. Print.

Ferrell, Lori Anne. “Grasping the Truth: Calvinist Pedagogy in Early Modern England.” *Truth: Interdisciplinary Dialogues in a Pluralist Age*. Eds. Christine Helmer and Kristin De Troyer. Peeters: Leuven, 2003. 137-158. Print.

Field, Catherine. “‘Many hand hands’: Writing the Self in Early Modern Women’s Recipe Books.” Dowd and Eckerle 49-63. Print.

Finkelstein, David, and Alistair McCleery, eds. *The Book History Reader*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2006. Print.

Firth, Katharine. *The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain, 1530-1645*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979. Print.

Fleming, Abraham. *The Conduit of Comfort*. London, 1579.

- - -. *The Diamond of Deuotion, Cut and Squared into Sixe Seuerall Points*. London, 1581.

- - -. *The Footepath of Faith, Leading the Highwaie to Heauen*. London, 1581, 1619.

- - -. *A Memoriall of the Famous Monuments*. London, 1580.

- - -. *A Panoplie of Epistles, or, a Looking Glasse for the Vnlearned*. London, 1576.

Floyd-Wilson, Mary. “English Mettle.” *Reading the Early Modern Passions*. Eds. Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, and Mary Floyd-Wilson. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2004. 131-146. Print.

A Fourme to Be Vsed in Common Prayer...During this Tyme of Mortalitie and Other Afflictions. London, 1563.

Fox, Adam. *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700*. Oxford: Clarendon, 2000. Print.

Foxe, John. *Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Dayes*. London, 1563.

Foyster, Elizabeth A. *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage*. London: Longman, 1999. Print.

Freeman, Thomas S. “Providence and Prescription: The Account of Elizabeth in Foxe’s ‘Book of Martyrs.’” Doran and Freeman 27-55.

Furniss, Tom. “Reading the Geneva Bible: Notes Toward an English Revolution?” *Prose Studies* 31.1 (2009): 1-21. Print.

Garrett, Cynthia. “The Rhetoric of Supplication: Prayer Theory in Seventeenth-Century England.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 46.2 (1993): 328-357. Print.

Gaskell, Philip. *A New Introduction to Bibliography*. 1972. New Castle: Oak Knoll, 1995. Print.

Gilmont, Jean-François. *Bibliographie Des Éditions de Jean Crespin 1550-1572*. Geneva: Droz, 1981. Print.

Grafton, Anthony T. “The Importance of Being Printed.” *The History of the Book in the West: 1455-1700*. Vol. 2. Ed. Ian Gadd. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. 91-112. Print.

Green, Ian. *The Christian’s ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c. 1530-1740*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996. Print.

- - -. *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000. Print.

Greg, W. W., ed. *A Companion to Arber: Being a Calendar of Documents in Edward Arber’s Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1967. Print.

Greg, W. W., and E. Boswell, eds. *Records of the Court of the Stationers’ Company 1576 to 1602 from Register B*. London: Bibliographical Society, 1930. Print.

Gribben, Crawford. “Deconstructing the Geneva Bible: The Search for a Puritan Poetic.” *Literature and Theology* 14.1 (2000): 1-16. Print.

Groves, Beatrice. “Shakespeare’s Sonnets and the Genevan Marginalia.” *Essays in Criticism* 57.2 (2007): 114-128. Print.

Gutierrez, Nancy A. *‘Shall She Famish Then?’ Female Food Refusal in Early Modern England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003. Print.

Habermann, Johann. *The Enimie of Securitie or A Dailie Exercise of Godly Meditations*. London, 1579.

Hackett, Helen. *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*. New York: St. Martin's, 1995. Print.

Haigh, Christopher, ed. *The English Reformation Revised*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987. Print.

Haller, William. *The Rise of Puritanism: Or, The Way to the New Jerusalem as Set Forth in Pulpit and Press from Thomas Cartwright to John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643*. New York: Harper, 1938. Print.

Hallett, Raphael. "Ramus, Printed Loci, and the Re-invention of Knowledge." *Ramus, Pedagogy and the Liberal Arts: Ramism in Britain and the Wider World*. Eds. Stephen J. Reid and Emma Annette Wilson. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011. 89-112. Print.

Halpern, Richard. *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1991. Print.

Hambrick-Stowe, Charles E. *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1982. Print.

Hamlin, Hannibal. *Psalm Culture and Early Modern English Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004. Print.

Hellwarth, Jennifer Wynne. *The Reproductive Unconscious in Medieval and Early Modern England*. New York: Routledge, 2002. Print.

Hemmingsen, Niels. *The Way of Life*. London, 1578.

Herbert, George. *The English Poems of George Herbert*. Ed. Helen Wilcox. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007. Print.

Hieron, Samuel. *A Helpe vnto Deuotion: Containing Certain Moulds or Forms of Prayer, Fitted to Seuerall Occasions*. London, 1617.

Holinshed, Raphael, et. al. *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles*. London, 1581.

Hornschuch, Hieronymus. *Hornschuch's Orthotypographia 1608*. Eds. and trans. Philip Gaskell and Patricia Bradford. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1972. Print.

Hughes, Seán F. "'The Problem of "Calvinism"': English Theologies of Predestination c. 1580-1630." *Belief and Practice in Reformation England: A Tribute to Patrick Collinson from his Students*. Eds. Susan Wabuda and Caroline Litzenberger. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. 229-249. Print.

Hull, Suzanne W. *Chaste, Silent and Obedient: English Books for Women, 1475-1640*. San Marino: Huntington Library, 1982. Print.

- - -. *Women According to Men: The World of Tudor-Stuart Women*. London: AltaMira, 1996. Print.

Hunnis, William. *A Hyue Full of Hunnye Contayning the Firste Booke of Moses, Called Genesis*. London, 1578. Print.

Hutchins, Edward. *Sampsons iavvbone against the spiritual Philistine*. London, 1601.

Hutson, Lorna. *The Usurer's Daughter: Male Friendship and Fictions of Women in Sixteenth-Century England*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Jagodzinski, Cecile M. *Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England*. Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1999. Print.

Jankowski, Theodora A. *Pure Resistance: Queer Virginity in Early Modern English Drama*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2000. Print.

Jensen, Michael. "'Simply' Reading the Geneva Bible: The Geneva Bible and its Readers." *Literature and Theology* 9.1 (1995): 30-44. Print.

Johns, Adrian. *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1998. Print.

Jones, Edwin. *The English Nation: The Great Myth*. Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1998. Print.

Jones, Norman. "Negotiating the Reformation." *Religion and the English People 1500-1640: New Voices, New Perspectives*. Ed. Eric Josef Carlson. Kirksville: Thomas Jefferson UP, 1998. 273-280. Print.

Jordan, Constance. "Woman's Rule in Sixteenth-Century British Political Thought." *Renaissance Quarterly* 40.3 (1987): 421-451. Print.

Kearney, James. *The Incarnate Text: Imagining the Book in Reformation England*. Philadelphia: U of Penn P, 2009. Print.

Keeble, Neil. "Bradstreet, Anne (1612/13-1672)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford UP, 2004. Web. 17 September 2013.

King, John N. "Thomas Bentley's Monument of Matrons: The Earliest Anthology of English Women's Texts." *Strong Voices, Weak History: Early Women Writers & Canons in England, France, & Italy*. Eds. Pamela Joseph Benson and Victoria Kirkham. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2005. 216-238. Print.

- - -. *Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1989. Print.

Knight, Leah. *Of Books and Botany in Early Modern England: Sixteenth-Century Plants and Print Culture*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009. Print.

Knox, John. *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women*. Geneva, 1558. Print.

Lake, Peter, and Michael Questier, eds. *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660*. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000. Print.

Lamb, Mary Ellen. "Inventing the Early Modern Woman Reader through the World of Goods: Lyly's Gentlewoman Reader and Katherine Stubbes." *Reading Women: Literacy, Authorship, and Culture in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*. Eds. Heidi Brayman Hackel and Catherine E. Kelly. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2008. 15-35. Print.

Lansperger, Johannes Justus. *Discovrs en Forme de Lettre*. Paris, 1657.

Lanyer, Aemilia. *The Poems of Aemilia Lanyer: Salve Deus Rex Judæroum*. Ed. Susanne Woods. New York: Oxford UP, 1993. Print. Women Writers in English 1350-1850.

Laroche, Rebecca. *Medical Authority and Englishwomen's Herbal Texts, 1550-1650*. Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009. Print.

Lawson, William. *The Covntrie Housewifes Garden*. London, 1672. Munroe, *Making Gardens of their Own*. Print.

Lesser, Zachary. "Typography Nostalgia: Play-Reading, Popularity, and the Meanings of Black Letter." *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, Stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England*. Ed. Marta Straznicky. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 2006. 99-126. Print.

Levin, Carole. *The Reign of Elizabeth I*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002. Print.

Low, Anthony. *Love's Architecture: Devotional Modes in Seventeenth-Century English Poetry*. New York: New York UP, 1978. Print.

Luther, Martin. *Selections from the Table Talk of Martin Luther*. *Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation*. Ed. Les Bowler. 3 November 2011. Web. 18 October 2011.

Lynch, Kathleen. *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Print.

MacCulloch, Diarmaid. *The Later Reformation in England, 1547-1603*. New York: St. Martin's, 1990. Print.

Mack, Peter. *Elizabethan Rhetoric: Theory and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002. Print.

Maltby, Judith. *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. Print.

Mandelbrote, Scott. "The Bible and Didactic Literature in Early Modern England." *Didactic Literature in England, 1500-1800: Expertise Constructed*. Eds. Natasha Galisyer and Sara Pennell. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003. 19-39. Print.

Manuale ad Vsum Insignis Ecclesie Sarisburiensis. Rouen, 1555.

Manuale ad Vsum per Celebris Ecclesie Sarisburiensis. London, 1554.

Markham, Gervase. *Covntry Contentments, OR The English Husvvife*. London, 1623. Munroe, *Making Gardens of their Own*. Print.

Marsh, Christopher. *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England: Holding Their Peace*. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. Print.

Martz, Louis L. *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1954. Print.

Maxwell-Stuart, P.G, ed. and trans. *The Occult in Early Modern Europe: A Documentary History*. New York: St. Martin's, 1999. Print.

McClure, Peter, and Robin Headlam Wells. "Elizabeth I as a Second Virgin Mary." *Renaissance Studies* 4.1 (1990): 38-70.

McKenzie, D. F. "Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices." *The History of the Book in the West: 1455-1700*. Vol. 2. Ed. Ian Gadd. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. 243-317. Print.

McKerrow, R. B., ed. *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640*. Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1968. Print.

Mears, Natalie. "Special Nationwide Worship and the Book of Common Prayer in England, Wales and Ireland, 1533-1642." Mears and Ryrie 31-57.

Mears, Natalie, and Alec Ryrie, eds. *Worship and the Parish Church in Early Modern Britain*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013. Print.

Miller, Naomi J. "Mothering Others: Caregiving as Spectrum and Spectacle in the Early Modern Period*." Maternal Measures: Figuring Caregiving in the Early Modern Period*. Eds. Naomi J. Miller and Naomi Yavneh. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000. 1-25. Print.

Miller, Shannon. "Constructing the Female Self: Architectural Structures in Mary Wroth's Urania. *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*. Eds. Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1999. 139-182. Print.

Miller, William C. *Abraham Fleming, Elizabethan Man of Letters: A Biographical and Critical Study*. Diss. U of Pennsylvania, 1957. Print.

Molekamp, Femke. "Early modern women and affective devotional reading." *European Review of History* 17.1 (2010): 53-74. Print.

- - -. "'Of the Incomparable treasure of the Holy Scriptures': The Geneva Bible in the Early Modern Household." Dimmock and Hadfield 121-135. Print.

- - -. "Using a Collection to Discover Reading Practices: The British Library Geneva Bibles and a History of their Early Modern Readers." *Electronic British Library Journal* (2006): 1-13. Web. 5 May 2010.

- - -. *Women and the Bible in Early Modern England: Religious Reading and Writing*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013. Print.

Monta, Susannah Brietz. *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005. Print.

Montrose, Louis. *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender and Representation*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2006. Print.

Moss, Ann. *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996. Print.

Moxon, Joseph. *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing (1683-4)*. Eds. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter. London: Oxford UP, 1958. Print.

Mueller, Janel. "Devotion as Difference: Intertextuality in Queen Katherine Parr's Prayers or Meditations (1545)." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 53.3 (1990): 171-197. Print.

Muldrew, Craig. *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England*. New York: Palgrave, 1998. Print.

Munroe, Jennifer. *Gender and the Garden in Early Modern English Literature*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. Print.

Munroe, Jennifer, ed. *Making Gardens of Their Own: Advice for Women, 1550-1750*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007. Print. The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works. Essential Works for the Study of Early Modern Women: Part 3.

Narveson, Kate. “Traces of Reading Practice in Thomas Bentley’s Monument of Matrones.” *ANQ* 21.2 (2008): 11-18.

Norden, John. *A Pensive Man’s Practice*. London, 1584.

- - -. *A Progresse of Pietie*. London, 1596.

North, Marcy L. “Women, the material book and early printing.” *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women’s Writing*. Ed. Laura Lunger Knoppers. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009. 68-82. Print.

Ong, Walter J., *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1958. Print.

O’Sullivan, Orlaith, and Ellen N. Herron, eds. *The Bible as Book: the Reformation.* New Castle, Del: Oak Knoll, 2000. Print.

Owens, W. R. “John Bunyan and the Bible.” *The Cambridge Companion to Bunyan*. Ed. Anne Dunan-Page. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010. 34-50. Print.

Parent, Annie. *Les Métiers du Livre à Paris au XVIe Siècle (1535-60)*. Geneva: Droz, 1974. Print.

Paster, Gail Kern. *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993. Print.

Patrick, Simon. *The Parable of the Pilgrim*. London, 1670.

Patterson, Annabel. *Reading Holinshed’s Chronicles*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1994. Print.

Patterson, Mary Hampson. *Domesticating the Reformation: Protestant Best Sellers, Private Devotion, and the Revolution of English Piety*. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 2007. Print.

Peacham, Henry. *The Garden of Eloquence Conteyning the Figures of Grammer and Rhetorick*. London, 1577.

Phillips, John. *The Perfect Path to Paradice*. London, 1588.

Pincombe, Mike. *Elizabethan Humanism: Literature and Learning in the Later Sixteenth Century*. Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001. Print.

Plomer, Henry R. “Henry Denham, Printer.” *The Library* n.s. 10.39 (1909): 241-250. Print.

The Primer in Englishe and Latine. London, 1557.

Raven, James. *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade 1450-1850*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2007. Print.

Rebhorn, Wayne A. *The Emperor of Men's Minds: Literature and the Renaissance Discourse of Rhetoric*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995. Print.

Reichert, John. *Milton’s Wisdom: Nature and Scripture in Paradise Lost*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1992. Print.

Richardson, Catherine. *Domestic Life and Domestic Tragedy in Early Modern England: the Material Life of the Household*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2006. Print.

Roberts, Sasha. “Women’s Literary Capital in Early Modern England: Formal Composition and Rhetorical Display in Manuscript and Print.” *Women’s Writing* 14.2 (2007): 246-269. Print.

Rogers, Thomas, trans. *Of the Imitation of Christ*. By Thomas à Kempis. London, 1580.

- - -. *A pretious booke of heauenlie meditations*. London, 1581.

- - -. *S. Augustine’s Manuel*. London, 1581.

Rosendale, Timothy. *Liturgy and Literature in the Making of Protestant England*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007. Print.

Rush, Richard R. “Thomas Dawson, Printer.” *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 71.2 (1977): 199-201. Print.

Saenger, Paul. “Silent Reading: Its Impact on Late Medieval Script and Society.” *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 13 (1982): 367-414. Print.

Salter, Elisabeth. *Popular Reading in English c. 1400-1600*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2012. Print.

- - -. “The Uses of English in Printed Religious Texts c. 1497-1547: Further Evidence for the Process and Experience of Reformation in England.” *English* 61.233 (2012): 114-134. Print

- - -. “What Kind of Horse Is It? Popular Devotional Reading During the Sixteenth Century.” Dimmock and Hadfield 105-120. Print.

Schoenfeldt, Michael C. *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999. Print.

Sharpe, Kevin. *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2000. Print.

Shenk, Linda. *Learned Queen: The Image of Elizabeth I in Politics and Poetry*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. Print.

Shepard, Alexandra. *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*. New York: Oxford UP, 2003. Print.

Sherman, William H. “Towards a History of the Manicule.” *Owners, Annotators and the Signs of Reading*. Eds. Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote. New Castle: Oak Knoll, 2005. 19-48. Print.

-- -. *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2008. Print.

Sherwood, Terry G. *The Self in Early Modern Literature: For the Common Good*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne UP, 2007. Print.

Slights, William W.E. *Managing Readers: Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2001. Print.

Smith, Helen. *‘Grossly Material Things’: Women and Book Production in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012. Print.

Smith, Shawn. “Henry Peacham the Elder.” *British Rhetoricians and Logicians, 1500-1600*. *Dictionary of Literary Biography*. Vol. 236. Ed. Edward A. Malone. Detroit: Gale Group, 2001. 188-201. Print.

Snook, Edith. “Dorothy Leigh’s The Mother’s Blessing and the Political Maternal Voice in Seventeenth-Century England.” *The Literary Mother: Essays on Representations of Maternity and Childcare*. Ed. Susan C. Staub. Jefferson: McFarland, 2007. 161-184. Print.

- - -. *Reading Women Writers in the Cultural Politics of Early Modern England*. Diss. U of Western Ontario, 2001. *Proquest Dissertations and Theses*. Web. 3 September 2010.

- - -. *Women, Reading, and the Cultural Politics of Early Modern England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005. Print.

Spolsky, Ellen. *Word vs. Image: Cognitive Hunger in Shakespeare's England*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Print.

Spufford, Margaret. *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England*. Athens: U of Georgia P, 1982. Print.

Stallybrass, Peter. "Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible." *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2002. Print.

Staub, Susan C. "Breaking the Head of the Serpent: Women's Childbirth Prayers in *The Monument of Matrones*." *Renaissance Papers* (2006): 61-76. Print.

Stewart, Alan. *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997. Print.

Stranks, C.J. *Anglican Devotion: Studies in the Spiritual Life of the Church of England Between the Reformation and the Oxford Movement*. London: SCM, 1961. Print.

Stregelius, Victorinus. *A Proceeding in the Harmonie of King Davids Harpe*. London, 1591.

Stubbes, Phillip. *The Anatomie of Abuses*. London, 1583.

Sullivan, Jr., Garrett A. *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Webster*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005. Print.

Sutton, John. "Body, Mind, and Order: Local Memory and the Control of Mental Representations in Medieval and Renaissance Sciences of Self." *1543 and All That: Image and Word, Change and Continuity in the Proto-Scientific Revolution*. Eds. Guy Freeland and Anthony Corones. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2000. 117-150. Print.

- - -. “Spongy Brains and Material Memories.” *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England*. Eds. Mary Floyd-Wilson and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. 14-34. Print.

Targoff, Ramie. *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 2001. Print.

Thompson, Torri L. “Female Bodies Misbehaving: Mortification in Early Modern English Domestic Texts*.” Bodily Discursions: Genders, Representations, Technologies*. Eds. Deborah S. Wilson and Christine Moneera Laennec. Albany: State U of New York P, 1997. 19-37. Print.

Torre, Andrea. “Patterns and Functions of the Mnemonics Image in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.” *Ars Reminiscendi: Mind and Memory in Renaissance Culture*. Eds. Donald Beecher and Grant Williams. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2009. 45-67. Print.

Tossanus, Daniel. *The Exercise of the Faithfull Soule*. Trans. Ferdenando Filding London, 1583.

The Treasure of Gladnesse. London, 1581.

Tribble, Evelyn B. “‘The Chain of Memory’: Distributed Cognition in Early Modern England.” *Scan: Journal of Media Arts Culture* 2 (2005): n. pag. Web. 12 May 2013.

- - -. *Margins and Marginality: The Printed Page in Early Modern England*. Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1993. Print.

Tribble, Evelyn B., and Nicholas Keene. *Cognitive Ecologies and the History of Remembering: Religion, Education and Memory in Early Modern England*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Print.

Tusser, Thomas. *The points of Huswifrie*. London, 1574. Munroe, *Making Gardens of their Own*. Print.

Tyacke, Nicholas, ed. *England’s Long Reformation 1500-1800*. London: U of London P, 1998. Print.

Tymme, Thomas. *A Siluer Watch-Bell*. London, 1605.

Tyndale, William. *Doctrinal Treatises and Introduction to Different Portions of the Holy Scripture*. Ed. Henry Walter. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1848.

Usher, Brett. "Aylmer, John (1520-21-1594)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford UP, Jan. 2008. Web. 30 March 2012.

Vanhoutte, Jacqueline. "A Strange Hatred of Marriage: John Lyly, Elizabeth I, and the Ends of Comedy." *The Single Woman in Medieval and Early Modern England*. Eds. Laura Amtower and Dorothea Kehler. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2003. 97-115. Print. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 263.

Vickers, Nancy. "Members Only: Marot's Anatomical Blazons." *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*. Eds. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio. New York: Routledge, 1997. 3-21. Print.

Virgil. *The Bucolikes of Publius Virgilius Maro*. Trans. Abraham Fleming. London, 1589.

Wall, Wendy. *The Imprint of Gender: Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993. Print.

- - -. *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002. Print.

Walsham, Alexandra. "Jewels for Gentlewomen: Religious Books as Artefacts in Late Medieval and Early Modern England." *The Church and the Book*. Ed. R.N. Swanson. Woodbridge: Boydell P for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 2004. 123-142. Print.

- - -. *Providence in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999. Print.

- - -. "'A Very Deborah'? The Myth of Elizabeth I as a Providential Monarch." Doran and Freeman 143-168.

Warnicke, Retha M. *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation*. Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1983. Print.

Watt, Tessa. *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991. Print.

Wheathill, Anne. *A handfull of holesome (though homelie) hearbs*. Ed. Patrick Cullen. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996. Print. The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works. Part 1: Printed Writings, 1500-1640. Vol. 9.

White, Helen C. "Sixteenth Century English Devotional Literature." *Joseph Adams Memorial Studies*. Eds. J.G. McManaway, G.E. Dawson, and E.E. Willoughby. Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948. 439-446. Print.

- - -. *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1951. Print.

White, Micheline. "Power Couples and Women Writers in Elizabethan England: The Public Voices of Dorcas and Richard Martin and Anne and Hugh Dowriche." *Framing the Family: Narrative and Representation in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*. Eds. Rosalynn Voaden and Diane Wolfthal. Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005. 119-138. Print.

Whiting, Robert. *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1989. Print.

Wilcox, Helen. "'Free and Easy as ones discourse'? Genre and Self-Expression in the Poems and Letters of Early Modern Englishwomen." Dowd and Eckerle 15-32.

Wilson, Elkin Calhoun. *England's Eliza*. 1939. New York: Octagon, 1966. Print. Harvard Studies in English 20.

Withals, John. *A Short Dictionarie in Latine and English*. London, 1584.

Wright, David. "John Knox's Bible." O'Sullivan and Herron 51-63. Print.

Wright, Louis B. *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1958. Print.

Wright, Thomas. *Disposition or Garnishmente of the Soule*. London, 1596.

Wrightson, Keith. *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2000. Print.