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Continuities: The Ongoing English Catholic Tradition from the 1570s to the 1630s

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The greater the change, the more obvious the discontinuity. In the lives of individiduals, communities, and nations the changes are more likely to be remarked and recorded than the continiuties. In England and Europe the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were periods of change and discontinuity, especially in religion. In England the 1530s saw Henry VIII's separation from Rome and the dissolution of the monasteries: there was radical Protestant experiment under Edward VI and Catholic reaction with Mary Tudor; during Elizabeth's long reign these disparate elements coexisted uneasily in the national Church of England; under the Stuarts the Laudian, high church, party gained the ascendancy but by the mid-1640s the bishops and the King had been defeated. Europe too saw Protestant Reformations and Catholic Counter-Reformation. The Council of Trent, meeting intermittently from 1545 to 1563, had doctrinal, liturgical, pastoral, and spiritual consequences for all Catholics. For instance, old religious orders were reformed and new ones recognised. The Society of Jesus, founded in 1540, was the most widely influential order in the fields of missionary work, education, and spirituality. Jesuit methods of meditation dominated European spirituality in the early seventeenth century, and they influenced English poetry of the period.[1]

The religious changes in England from the 1530s meant that those who lived through them, including Donne's parents, would have experienced a variety of religious beliefs and practices. The doctrines preached, the liturgies performed and the appearance of the churches changed with each succeeding monarch. Even during Elizabeth's reign the established church was neither settled nor unified, and the Catholic minority was also bitterly divided.[2] The content of personal belief could no longer be assumed as a matter of course.

Despite government laws and penalties to make people conform to the established Church, individuals such as Ben Jonson, William Alabaster, and Sir Kenelm Digby changed their minds and had a period of Catholicism or

Anglicanism before reverting to the religion of their birth. Some abandoned the security of the Church of England and became Catholics, including prominent lay people such as Sir Tobie Mathew, Lord William and his half brother Philip Howard the martyr, and Elizabeth, Lady Falkland, four of whose daughters became Benedictine nuns at Cambrai. Many English priests and religious were converts to Catholicism: the Benedictines Augustine Baker and Serenus Cressy, the Capuchin Benet Canfield, the Jesuit martyr Edmund Campion, and numbers of secular priests.[3] Others, like John Donne, eventually abandoned the Catholicism of their families and its attendant social restrictions and dangers. For some, the conversion experience was quick and decisive, like "once at a crash Paul"; for others, including Donne, it was a much slower, more laboured process.[4] Memories and habits from the past, whether they were recognised or denied, accompanied the individual convert through the process of change.

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Donne's Catholic background was important for him personally, but his particular Catholic ancestry also had a wider significance. Through his mother Donne was descended from Sir Thomas More, arguably the most important single figure in the history of post-Reformation English Catholicism.[5] Up to 1532 the Church in England was part of the Roman Catholic Church; by 1534 Henry VIII had cast off the authority of Rome and was acting as Supreme Head of the English church. The executions of the London Carthusians, Bishop John Fisher, and Sir Thomas More in 1535 were decisive proof of his power. From then on the history of the Roman Catholic Church in England was that of a disestablished minority (except from 1553 to 1558), whose members were to know varying degrees of hardship and persecution. Many of them, including descendants and relatives of Sir Thomas More, chose to live abroad in Catholic countries where they were free to practise their religion.[6] For these exiled English Catholics nationality was no longer simply territorial, it became a matter of shared language, culture and tradition or continuity.

In the years after More's execution materials were being collected (his English works were printed in 1557) and English biographies of him written by Roper (printed in 1626), Rastell and Harpsfield; Ro. Ba's life of More was written about 1599 and made use of Stapleton's Latin life of 1588; Cresacre More's life of his grandfather was printed in 1630. Conscious family continuity, Recusant publication of lives of More and artistic representations of him,[7] kept his memory before the English Catholic public. Even before his

English works were printed, More's prayers were being copied in manuscript,[8] and they were included in the many editions of the popular Recusant *Manual of Prayers* from 1583. The family also preserved items that had been personally associated with More from his drinking cup and prayer book to a fragment of his hair shirt and other relics, including his head.[9]

It is clear that the deaths of the Carthusians, Fisher and especially More were quickly seen as martyrdoms. Harpsfield described More as "our blessed Protomartyr of all the laity for the preservation of the unity of Christ's church".[10] His biography concluded with a reference to the relief that Catholics were enjoying under queen Mary, relief achieved at least in part through More's "hearty and devout intercession and his foresaid co-martyrs, and of our protomartyr St. Alban, and other blessed martyrs and saints of the realm".[11] Even John Foxe, from the uncompromisingly Protestant perspective of his *Book of Martyrs* (1563, 1570, 1576, 1583, 1596, 1597, 1610, etc.) commented, "perhaps in the pope's kingdom they may go for martyrs, in whose cause they died". The way in which More's memory was kept alive by his family group, the preservation of items associated with his life, and the assumption that he died as a martyr for the true faith and so went straight to heaven from whence he could intercede for his country and co-religionists, was the paradigm for Catholic attitudes to the martyrs of the later Elizabethan and Stuart period. Paradoxically, at a time when Rome was asserting its authority and placing heavy emphasis on due legal processes for canonisation, the cult of the Catholic martyrs in England was entirley unofficial (More and Fisher were not canonised until 1935) and reminiscent of the popular canonisation of martyrs in the early church.

Accounts of the sufferings and deaths of the English martyrs under Elizabeth and James were written up by Catholics in English and in Latin for European audiences.[12] Variously adapted, edited and collected, they remained in circulation among Catholics until the eighteenth and nineteenth century collections of Challoner and Morris, with the late seventeenth-century transcriptions of Fr. Christopher Grene, S.J. providing an important link in the chain of preservation and transmission of the historical accounts. This is what Chauncy envisaged when he wrote of the Carthusian martyrs under Henry VIII:

> it would be neither right nor profitable to pass over in silence the glorious deeds of our ancestors or to bury them in eternal oblivion. Rather their mighty works must be brought into the light and made widely known for the service of posterity, that generations yet to

> come may learn and behold, and, as they behold, may glorify God almighty, whose wondrous glory is ever seen in his saints. For the purpose a faithful history must be drawn up—no better method or more suitable means can be devised. The history must be faithfully set out on paper and be passed on to the knowledge of posterity in the form of a faithful written record. (p. 37)[13]

It is also worth noting that the historical tradition of the Elizabethan and Jacobean martyrs was not confined to prose accounts of their sufferings and deaths. Verses about and by the martyrs,[14] some of them apparently intended to be sung, circulated widely in manuscript and were even copied by Protestants.[15] And their relics were boldly won, highly valued and carefully preserved.

Three points about the prose and verse literature on the martyrs are worth making. One is that it was Catholic literature. Only a Catholic could write the truth about the Catholic martyrs. To the government these men and few women were traitors and since the government controlled the official press, that is how they were presented in popular propaganda. In an age when religious truth had become a confessional possession, that official, Protestant version of the truth had to be refuted by accounts that enabled Catholics to see these "traitors" as martyrs for the true faith, whose example could inspire others to stand firm and follow their example: "It is the blood of martyrs shed / That must convert the land."[16] The second point about the martyr literature, that is characteristic of much other Recusant literature, is the expression of love for England often coupled with lamentation for her current spiritual condition.[17] The third point is also common to other Recusant literature, the importance of committing Catholic records to paper so that they may be handed on to a Catholic posterity; this is the tradition in the making and it implies the expectation that English Catholicism will survive.

The recent medieval past was of little interest to cultured men and women of the late Tudor-early Stuart period although the antiquarian movement took an interest in some of its records and individuals like Archbishop Parker recognised the importance of gathering together books and records scattered by the dissolution of the monasteries and subsequent iconoclasm.[18] But to most Elizabethans the languages and literary style of the later Middle Ages were barbarous (nonclassical Latin, middle English, lack of metrical sophistication[19]) and its religion untrue, unhistorical and superstitious. The artefacts and customs, the history and spirituality of medieval Catholicism were not valued, except by Catholics.

Only someone sympathetic to the furnishings and customs of Durham priory before the reformation would have written the description known as the *Rites of Durham*,[20] although its circulation was never restricted to Recusants; it was Printed in 1672 at a time when High Church and antiquarian taste was more appreciative of such records. A more personal account of the furnishings and Customs of Long Melford church before the reformation was written about 1599 by a convicted Recusant, Roger Martyn.[21] In the course of his description Martyn admits that he had removed a retable of the crucifixion from the church, "which is in my house decayed", together with the clock, bell and organs from St James' chapel and the organs from the rood loft. His action reveals his expectation that Catholicism would survive: "that my heirs, when time shall serve, shall repair, place there and maintain all these things again."

Martyn's action was a flagrant breach of Elizabeth's 1559 Injunctions: that "no person keep in their houses any abused images, tables, pictures, paintings and other monuments of . . . . idolatry and superstition". But despite that Injunction, he was by no means the only Catholic to remove church stuff and books to the safety of his own home. Many treasures of English medieval ecclesiastical art have been preserved by Catholic families in this country and English religious communities abroad. Examples include the Syon cope, the Towneley vestments and the Butler-Bowden cope. The fact that all these vestments have been repaired and altered according to changing liturgical fashions is a reminder that to Catholics these were not just antiquarian objects; they continued to be used in Catholic worship and new vestments were made so that the tradition was maintained. Similarly pre-Reformation liturgical books would only be of interest to Catholics. The splendidly illustrated Luttrell psalter was in the possession of the Catholic antiquary Lord William Howard, before passing to a related Catholic family, the Widdringtons, being given by Mary Widdrington to Nicholas Shireburn of Stonyhurst in 1703.[22] Catholics were also more likely to keep and annotate old Books of Hours with family births and deaths.

Saints' lives were another category of work that was vulnerable to Protestant prejudices. Lord William Howard's antiquarian pursuits were characteristic of his period,[23] but his Catholic allegiance was reflected in the contents of his library.[24] In addition to the history, genealogy, parliamentary and legal material to be expected in an antiquarian collection, there were Catholic controversial works, Catholic history, such as the twelve volumes of Baronius' *Annals*, and saints lives, printed and in manuscript, which included a metrical life of St. Cuthbert, Lydgate's life of St Edmund and a life of St. Thomas à Becket. This last might have been an early seventeenth-century

translation of a late twelfth-century Latin original found "among a chaos of cast books and waste papers", probably in Oxford.[25] The translator's preface is revealing about his recognition of the importance of the original manuscript and the measures he took to preserve it. He believed that saving the memory of Becket's life and miracles "from perpetual oblivion doth depend principally upon the preservation of this one copy", therefore "I have turned it into English and bestowed the original where (as I hope) the same shall perpetually remain to the satisfaction of all such as desire the sight of it". He gave it to the English College, Douai, and there, in the municipal library of Douai, it remains.[26] Although many other books of Catholic interest were preserved by individuals and families sympathetic to Catholicism, still more were lost.[27]

From about 1606 another Recusant with antiquarian interests lived with Lord William, Nicholas Roscarrock. He too knew Sir Robert Cotton and Henry Ferrers, and he corresponded with William Camden. He evidently shared Lord William's interest in saints' lives. Between about 1606 and 1621, by which time he had gone blind, he compiled a large manuscript collection of lives of British saints.[28] He concentrated on Celtic and Anglo-Saxon saints, using a wide range of documentation, oral tradition and even personal memories. He also added prefatory matter on the Catholic church's attitude to saints' lives and miracles, about their canonisation and about devotion to them. His concern to instruct his Catholic (and any other) readers about Catholic beliefs and practices towards the saints, and to defend them against Protestant criticism, was common to most of the other saints' lives published for the English Recusants.

However, with one exception (John Wilson's *English Martyrologe*, 1608, 1640), all the printed lives up to 1639 and most thereafter were about European not British saints; they were mostly written by Italians and Spaniards, the saints were all religious (including tertiaries) or priests and many of them were very recent, such as St Teresa of Avila (†1582) and Maria Maddalena de'Pazzi (†1607). There was also another manuscript collection of lives of thirty-four British women saints dating from about 1610.[29] Like Roscarrock, Wilson and the compiler of this manuscript concentrated on Anglo-Saxon saints. Were they perhaps attempting to redress the continental emphasis of the printed works by gathering up lives of saints who were part of England's national heritage? The compiler of the collection of women saints' lives had no doubt about the inspirational value of native saints

> whose memorable acts God hath preserved for our instruction . . . so much the more forcibly moving, in that they have most been bred in

> this land, where we ourselves have been born, walked on this earth, on which we walk, filled this air which we draw with their renowned fame, sanctified it with their holy acts, blessed it with their merits, magnified it with their miracles and enriched it with their sacred bones and bodies . . . Embrace we their examples, sorrow we at our far distance, and sigh we in part after their resemblance. Their fervour inflame us, their Constancy confirm us, their perseverance crown us, which their suffrage obtain us.[30]

The importance of the national tradtion is stressed by Wilson:

> I do not here offer unto you any new thing . . . but that which so many ages since, hath by a certain inheritance . . . of your forefathers, descended . . . unto you, and shall hereafter unto your, and all posterity . . . I have here gathered together, and restored unto you again, that which the injury of times had violently taken from you, and sought to abolish all memory thereof: humbly presenting the same, as a duty of my love towards you, and my dearest country.[31]

These concerns—the need to rescue and preserve England's Catholic heritage, to hand it on to their (Catholic) posterity and the expression of love for their native country, these are themes we have met already in connection with the martyr literature, which is, of course, closely related to saints' lives.

It was not only the lives of English saints and martyrs that needed to be rescued for a Catholic posterity, but knowledge of traditional Catholic customs, areas of church history and pre-reformation spirituality. I/J. B's *Treatise with a kalendar, and the proofes thereof concerning the holy-daies and fasting-daies in England* printed in about 1603 [32] argued that those traditional English customs needed to be made known "to our posterity" lest they be so far forgotten "by longer discontinuance", "that it may be thought lawful to omit them altogether". But finding out about them was difficult. The author gives a poignant description of the loneliness and difficulty of such research; his project was rescued by meeting with an old Marian priest who had personal memories of the observances and a good library of relevant books.[33]

A larger scale historical project was undertaken from 1621 to 1624 by the English Benedictine, Dom Augustine Baker. In connection with the reconstitution of the English congregation in 1619, he was required to research the pre-dissolution Benedictine foundations of England.[34] In the course of this work he had access to Sir Robert Cotton's library. Some years later, in 1629,

Baker wrote to Cotton from Cambrai, where he was spiritual director to the English Benedictine nuns from 1624 to 1633; in addition to the daughters of Lady Falkland the community included four great-great-granddaughters of Thomas More.[35] He asked Cotton to send saints' lives and other devotional works containing contemplative material, especially anything by the fourteenth-century English mystics Walter Hilton and Richard Rolle.[36]

The request was significant. Baker had himself attempted to live a life of contemplative prayer, but had received no help and had endured years of spiritual aridity. He eventually found guidance in the writings of mystical authors, including the fourteenth-century *Cloud of Unknowing*.[37] He taught the nuns of Cambrai contemplative prayer, based on his own experience and sharing with them the fruits of his extensive reading. It was a way of prayer very different from the systematic, Jesuit-derived method of meditation that prevailed elsewhere. Baker rediscovered a tradition of English spirituality that was in danger of being submerged and lost beneath the newer, Jesuit type of prayer and meditation. A follower of Baker, Dom Serenus Cressy, had Hilton's *Scale of Perfection* printed in 1659[38] and Julian of Norwich's *XVI Revelations of Divine Love* followed in 1670. *The Cloud of Unknowing* was not printed but circulated widely in manuscript,[39] a reminder that printing was not necessary for a work to be widely known.

Dom Augustine Baker's reading, and hence the authors that he shared with the nuns of Cambrai and which they copied so assiduously, was not exclusively insular. He translated and adapted works by continental medieval mystics including Thomas à Kempis, Tauler, Suso, Ruysbroeck and Herphius.[40] Nor was his outlook narrowly retrospective. He was familiar with the works of the roughly contemporary Capuchins, Barbanson and Benet Canfield; the latter's interest in the contemplative life and knowledge of medieval English and continental mystical authors was similar to Baker's.[41] He also knew the writings of the Spanish Teresian or Discalced Carmelites, St Teresa and John of the Cross.[42] Drawing on a wide range of sources, Baker represents a unique blending of the best of the older English contemplative tradition with continental medieval mysticism and the newer works of the counter-reformation. His contribution to the survival of writings by fourteenth-century English mystics was significant, but so was his openness to continental contemplative authors. The tradition of contemplative prayer that he taught to the nuns of Cambrai lived on to enrich not only his own Order, but the ongoing tradition of English spirituality.

It is unlikely that English Catholicism would have survived the century and a half of persecution from 1535 onwards without recourse to the continent

of Europe. Catholic education, priestly training and the cloistered religious life were only possible in Catholic countries. English Catholics living in those countries were more immediately in touch with new developments and new publications, which translators like Sir Tobie Mathew and Thomas Everard subsequently made available to English readers. Most Catholic books in English were printed abroad, at places like St Omer,[43] where publication was not subject to the physical limitations and insecurity of the secret presses operating in England. It was in Europe that English Catholicism was able not only to survive and to maintain ways of life, such as cloistered religion, that were impossible in England, but also to develop, through access to new reform movements such as the discalced Carmelites and new publications, including the Douai-Rheims Bible of 1582, 1609-1610. The lives of Augustine Baker, Benet Canfield, the English Jesuits, Gertrude More and Mary Ward indicate some of the possibilities available to English religious in touch with continental developments. Laymen, like the publishers John Heigham and Richard Verstegan or the musician Peter Philips, also made a life for themselves in Catholic Europe.

Although the contribution of the English Catholic exiles in Europe was vital to the survival of Catholicism in seventeenth-century England, their influence should not be allowed to obscure the ongoing English tradition of Catholicism that reached back to the time before the reformation. The continuity of religious communities like the Bridgettines of Syon and the Carthusians of Sheen Anglorum preserved books, vestments and other artefacts: Baker's copy of *The Cloud of Unknowing* seems to have come to him from Benet Canfield who received or copied it from a Carthusian copy.[44] In addition to the rather passive tradition whereby artefacts were preserved and texts copied, there was a more active effort to research and record various aspects of England's Catholic past. English Catholics, in England and in exile, cared about their past.

No community or individual changes without reference to the past, even though that past may be denied, reacted against, ignored or forgotten.

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Notes

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[1] For background see H.O. Evennett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation* (Notre Dame, 1970), chap. 1; A.D. Wright *The Counter-Reformation* (London, 1982), chap. 1; A.L. Martin, *The Jesuit Mind* (Ithaca, 1988); T.H. Clancy, "Spiritual Publications of the English Jesuits, 1615-1640," *Recusant History* 19 (1989):426-46; and, of course, Louis L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation* (2nd ed., New Haven, 1962).

[2] John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community* (London, 1975), chap. 2; A Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England* (London, 1979) chaps. 7-10; and Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age* (London, 1978), pp. 114-19.

[3] P. Salvin and S. Cressy, *The Life of Father Augustine Baker*, ed. J. McCann (London, 1933); *The Confessions of Venerable Father Augustine Baker*, ed. J. McCann (London, 1922); *Memorials of Father Augustine Baker*, ed. J. McCann and H. Connolly, *Catholic Record Society* 33 (1933); Anthony Low, *Augustine Baker* (New York, 1970); J. Brousse, *The Lives of Ange de Joyeuse and Benet Canfield*, ed. T.A. Birrell (London, 1959); R. Simpson, *Edmund Campion* (London, 1896); Evelyn Waugh, *Edmund Campion* (3rd ed., Oxford, 1961); G.F. Nuttall, "The English Martyrs 1535-1680: A Statistical Survey," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 22 (1971):194-95; and for individual priests, G. Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests*, vol. 1 (Ware & Durham, 1968), vol.2 (Great Wakering, 1975).

[4] See Donne's "Preface" to *Pseudo-Martyr*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Montreal & Kingston, London, Buffalo, 1993); and the accounts of Dennis Flynn, "Donne's Catholicism," *Recusant History* 13 (1975-76):1-17, 178-95.

[5] J. C. Aveling, "The More Family and Yorkshire," and J. K. McConica, "The Recusant Reputation of Thomas More," both in *Essential Articles for the Study of Thomas More*, ed. R. S. Sylvester and G. P. Marc'hadour (Hamden 1977), pp.26, 136-137

[6] P. McGrath, *Papists and Puritans Under Elizabeth I* (London 1967), pp.59-63; P. Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent 1588-1795* (London 1914), ch.1.

[7] In addition to individual paintings of More and his family, (*The King's Good Servant Sir Thomas More* (National Portrait Gallery exhibition, London 1977) items 169-72, 177, 228, 259, 282-3, 286) his death was represented in etchings including J. B. Cavalleri *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Trophaea*, Rome 1584 and R. Verstegan *Theatrum Crudelitatum*, Antwerp 1587: see A. G. Petti "Richard Verstegan and Catholic Martyrologies of the late Elizabethan Period," *Recusant History* 5 (1959-1960): 78ff.

[8] e.g. by Robert Parkyn in Bodleian MS Lat.Th.d.15 fos.116^{v}-118^{v} and in a prayer roll at the Folger Shakespeare Library; they were also copied from the printed *Manual of Prayers* c.1595 by Peter Mowle, Oscott College MS 10.

[9] *The King's Good Servant Sir Thomas More* (National Portrait Gallery exhibition 1977), items 284, 286, 228, 227, and B. Camm, *Forgotten Shrines* (London 1910) "Relics of the English Martyrs," pp. 364, 367, 371, 372, 375, 377.

[10] *EETS* os 186 p.213.

[11] *EETS* os 186 pp.217-218.

[12] Original works by Alfield, Allen, Gennings, Mush, Persons, Worthington, etc. (and all the titles in A. F. Allison and D. M. Rogers, *Catalogue of Catholic Books in English . . . .1558-1640*, rptd. London 1968, are available in the facsimile series *English Recusant Literature*, ed. D. M. Rogers), the collection of material on the English martyrs edited by J. H. Pollen, *Catholic Record Society* 5 (1908), and R.Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, ed. J. H. Pollen (London 1924), are the main sources.

[13] Challoner; J. Morris, *The troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers*, 3 vols. (London 1872, 1875, 1877).

[14] L. I Guiney, *Recusant Poets* (London 1938), pp.268-284, and H. E. Rollins, *Old English Ballads* (Cambridge 1920), pp.70-179.

[15] e.g. The poem on Campion's death printed in STC 4537 (Guiney, p.178) was copied by Stephen Batman in Houghton Library fMS Eng.1015 and Sir John Harington, *The Arundel Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry*, ed. R. Hughey (Columbus 1960) #66.

[16] Guiney, p.181, line order reversed.

[17] e.g. Campion's "Brag" (printed by Simpson and Waugh); implied rather than overtly stated in Hide's *Consolatorie Epistle*, 1579; William Blundell's poem "Changes", Guiney, #96.

[18] Stephen Batman referred to and gave evidence of the kind of researches he carried out on Parker's behalf in Houghton fMS Eng. 1015 fo.1 24^{v}, etc. Much of Parker's library survives at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

[19] But note J. Buxton, *Elizabethan Taste* (New Jersey 1963), "The Elizabethan Appreciation of Chaucer," pp.223-230.

[20] *Rites of Durham . . . written 1593*, ed. J. T. Fowler, *Surtees Society* 107 (1903).

[21] *The Spoil of Melford Church*, ed. D. Dymond and C. Paine (Ipswich 1989).

[22] F. Wormald, and C. E. Wright, *The English Library before 1700* (London 1958), p.167; H. S. Reinmuth, "Lord William Howard and his Catholic associations," *Recusant History* 12 (1974): 226-234.

[23] Other Catholic antiquaries whose unpublished work was acknowledged by William Camden and William Dugdale included Sampson Erdeswicke †1603, Henry Ferrers †1633, and Thomas Habington †1647 for whose son see K. Allott, *The Poems of William Habington* (London 1948). For the antiquarian background see S. A. E. Mendyk, *Speculum Britanniae* (Toronto 1989).

[24] D. Mathew, "The Library at Naworth," in *For Hillaire Belloc*, ed. D. Woodruff (London 1902), and *Surtees Society* 68 (1877) 469-487.

[25] The original manuscript passed from Thomas Trilicke, Bishop of Rochester (1364-72) to William Reed, Bishop of Chichester (1368-85) who gave it to Exeter College, Oxford, to be chained in their library. The translation survives in Oxford, MS. Eng. hist. c.322 and part only at Ushaw College, Durham.

[26] It was given to the college 1610-1618 by William St. George whose Father, John St. George, was probably the translator.

[27] e. g., books from Durham priory, A. I. Doyle, "The Library of Sir Thomas Tempest: its origins and dispersal," in *Studies in Seventeenth-century English Literature, History and Bibliography*, ed. G. Janssens and F. Aarts (Amsterdam 1984), and "The Printed Books of the Last Monks of Durham," *The Library*[6] 10 (1988): 201-219.

[28] Cambridge University Library, MS Add. 3041.

[29] MS Stowe 949 edited in *EETS* os 86

[30] *EETS* os 86 (1886), pp. 9-10

[31] *STC* 25771 sig. *S2[v]. See further: J.T. Rhodes, "English Books of Martyrs and Saints of the late XVI[th] and early XVII[th] Centuries," *Recusant History* 22 (1994): 7-25.

[32] Roscarrock cited this work, together with Wilson's *Martyrologe* and the 1616 *Manual of Prayers*.

[33] The clergy ordained under Queen Mary were very important in preserving and handing on the Catholic traditions of pre-reformation England; more needs to be known about them.

[34] His researches were published in C. Reyner's *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia* (1626). Another English monastic chronicler at about this time was the Franciscan, Luke Wadding, *Annales Ordinis Minorum*, 8 vols. (1625-54).

[35] D. Latz, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 23-57.

[36] D. M. Rogers, "Some Early English Devotional Books from Cambray," *Downside Review* 57 (1939): 458-463.

[37] On which he wrote a commentary: *The Cloud of Unknowing . . . with a commentary . . . by Father Augustine Baker*, ed. J. McCann (London, 4th ed., 1943).

[38] It was last printed in 1533. Sir Thomas More had recommended it in his *Dialogue* (1529), and Baker is said to have quoted from it in "old English," *Catholic Record Society* 33 (1933), p. 128.

[39] The copying activities of Baker's fellow Benedictine Monks and the nuns of Cambrai, especially Barabara Constable, were formidable: P. Spearritt, "The Survival of Mediaeval Spirituality among the Exiled English Black Monks," *American Benedictine Review* 25 (1974), pp. 293-294, 310-315.

[40] His *Ladder of Perfection* was translated by T. H. D. in *Nine rockes to be avoided* . . . (1600); his *Directorium aureum contemplativorum* and *Tractatulus de effusione cordis* were translated and copied (or re-copied) for the exiled nuns of Syon in 1571.

[41] His biography by Brousse, translated into English in 1623, *The Lives of Ange de Joyeuse and Benet Canfield*, ed. T. A. Birrell (London 1959), and for his *Rule of Perfection* of 1609, etc, see K. Emery, *Benoit de Canfield* (Binghamton 1987) and p.17 for some of his sources.

[42] No work by St John of the Cross was printed in English before 1700.

[43] L. Rostenberg, *The Minority Press and the English Crown* (Nieuwkoop 1971), chs. 1-10.

[44] *The Cloud of Unknowing*, ed. J. McCann, p.152. In his *Ancient funerall monuments* (1631), p.144, John Weever claims that Persons' *Christian Directory* (1582 etc.) was derived from Carthusian writings. For earlier Carthusian influence see: M. Sargent, "The transmission by the English Carthusians of some late medieval spiritual writings," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27 (1976): 225-240.