"Such Old Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry:" The Enigmatic Appeal of Religious Imagery in Iconophobic Seventeenth Century England

by

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ABSTRACT

The popularity of religious art in late seventeenth century Protestant England stands in apparent contradiction to the profound anti-Catholic sentiment that many current scholars argue characterizes the period. A close analysis of London auction catalogs from 1690 reveals that a significant number of all pictures listed for sale featured typically Catholic subject matter. Consulting both seventeenth century literature and current scholarship provides a rationale for this apparent contradiction. Factional conflict within Protestantism itself was often focused on the issue of religious imagery. Accordingly, it functioned as a means of articulating religious difference. While the radical Puritan mission may have involved abolishing all English "monuments of superstition," Anglicanism held biblical and hagiographic imagery to be an essential aspect of Christian worship. This thesis argues that Anglicans embraced religious imagery as a means of rejecting the Puritan cause and, in doing so, forged a unique Anglican identity.

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To Dr. Carol Gibson-Wood,

for her inspiration, support and guidance.

Chapter 1 -The Market For Religious Pictures in Late Seventeenth-Century England

The popularity of religious art in seventeenth-century England receives surprisingly little mention in current art-historical scholarship. The period saw a renewed commitment to Protestantism with the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and, along with it, a heightened mistrust of European Catholicism.[1] As a result, many twentieth-century art historians have equated the general rejection of Catholicism in early modern England with a widespread lack of interest in the religious artistic tradition that is often associated with Catholic practices. Strangely enough, however, paintings featuring typically Catholic subject matter were among the most popular items at London auction houses during the late seventeenth century. The interest in such images, against a background of anti-Catholic sentiment, demands explanation. In this thesis, I seek to uncover the source of desire for such art work in a staunchly Protestant culture. In the process, I hope to identify the social group most interested in such imagery, as well as gain an understanding of the role religious art played in early modern English society.

By the time of the Glorious Revolution in 1688, the popularity of art auctions had become firmly established in London. England had its first auction sale at Somerset House in London in 1674.[2] Approximately ten years later, the custom of holding and attending art auctions had become fashionable. An estimated four hundred picture auctions occurred throughout the second half of the 1680s. By 1690, weekly sales were held in London.[3] The forty-two surviving auction catalogs from 1690 indicate that a broad spectrum of subjects was popular with Londoners. Landscape, portrait, mythological, allegorical, animal, and genre scenes are frequently listed in these inventories, indicating that auctioneers catered to a variety of tastes. Of most importance to this thesis, however, are paintings featuring biblical and hagiographical imagery. These

subjects comprise ten per cent of the items listed for sale in 1690. Interestingly, pictures featuring typically Catholic subject matter were among the most popular of these religious scenes.

Although generally associated with Catholicism, images of the Virgin Mary appear frequently in the auction catalogs of 1690. Indeed, judging by the titles listed in auction catalogs, seventeen per cent of all religious images listed for sale in 1690 feature the Virgin. Even more exclusively linked to the Catholic faith is a reverence for the saints. Although Protestants did not acknowledge the saints' ability to serve as intercessors between human beings and God, twenty-one per cent of all religious pictures recorded in 1690 highlight saints.[4] By far the most popular is St. John, whose image comprises twenty-three per cent of hagiographical pictures in 1690. Surpassing images of both St. John and the Virgin Mary, however, are pictures featuring Jesus. These comprise thirty-two per cent of all religious imagery listed for sale. Pictures dealing with New Testament themes dominate the catalogs of 1690. With Old Testament themes making up seventeen per cent and Apocryphal images constituting only six per cent of the total, New Testament scenes comprise a sixty-three per cent majority. Following closely behind Jesus and the Virgin Mary, the New Testament figure Mary Magdalen appears frequently in auction catalogs. In fact, sixteen per cent of New Testament scenes feature this biblical figure and saint.

Auction catalogs from 1690 provide us with a strong sense of early modern English taste in art. The list of titles which are supplied in the auction catalogs remain a strong testament to the popularity of religious images in seventeenth-century England. Unfortunately, this evidence does not include reproductions of the art work itself. While

surviving images from the period may provide examples of the types of images that were offered for sale at these auctions, none can be attributed with certainty to late seventeenth-century London auction sales. This study will not therefore provide an in-depth analysis of specific religious paintings from the period. Instead, the conditions of the art market and the social factors which contributed to the development of taste in art consumption and display will be the focus of analysis in this thesis.

The apparent interest in religious imagery stands out awkwardly against the strong hostility toward religious art that existed throughout the latter half of the seventeenth century. During the Civil War and Interregnum period (1642-1660), an iconoclastic Calvinist attitude enjoyed governmental support. At this time, radical Puritans expressed their hostility toward religious imagery, and outward forms of worship in general, through destroying vast amounts of church decoration. Although extensive violent iconoclasm did not continue after the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, a sentiment that may be called iconophobic remained a feature of the period. A large portion of society maintained a strong fear of, or hatred toward, religious imagery. Popular protests and written criticism against "such old monuments of superstition and idolatry" endured, regardless of governmental attitudes.[5] When the Calvinist-leaning William of Orange ascended the throne in 1688, official toleration was granted to Nonconformist groups like those who had shaped the events of the 1640s and 1650s.

The poem "Advice to a Painter" published in 1688 indicates the iconophobic sentiment that many of William's supporters would have espoused. Celebrating the renewed commitment to Protestantism that occurred with the Glorious Revolution, this anonymous author calls for an end to all Catholic, or "Popish," influence in England:

"First, draw a Popish Army, Brisk and Gay,/ Fighting and Beat, Destroy'd and Run away/ . . . Now draw a Cloud, and Croud of Priests to Run,/ Like Broken Merchants, when their Stocks are gone."[6] The author goes on to denounce the religious artistic tradition by which Catholicism was symbolized in early modern England: "To Crown the Work, let a large Gallows stand/ All trembling by, arm'd with their Guilt and Fears/ Kneel to this Image and pour out their Prayers/ And after Dye by Suffocation."[7] Looking for salvation to the image before them, the priests in this poem are condemned to death. Here, the image is cast, at best, as a useless object. Figuring prominently in the priests' demise, the image may even be regarded as a cause of ultimate ruin.

In this poem, a strong connection between Catholicism and religious imagery is made. More importantly, the use of religious art in Christian worship is condemned as an idolatrous practice. Considering the existence of such sentiments, the popularity of biblical and hagiographical imagery at early London auction sales seems difficult to explain. It is possible that the growing suspicion of religious art caused many art collectors to sell their religious paintings, thereby flooding the art market with biblical and hagiographical pictures. However, it is unlikely that art dealers would have attempted to sell such images in a culture possessing strong hostility to religious art. With this in mind, therefore, how can we explain the appeal of such art in an iconophobic society? Who would have purchased these seemingly Catholic images? Finally, how did they function in society? While Catholic recusants are known to have existed in early modern England, their numbers have been estimated at less than two per cent of the population.[8] This small Catholic population could not have been responsible for the popularity of biblical and hagiographical imagery at late seventeenth-century auction sales. Thus, we

must turn to England's Protestant population for a more complex answer to these questions.

Twentieth-century scholarship on English painting in the seventeenth century provides little insight into London's attraction to religious art. Indeed, many art historians have dismissed the seventeenth century in England as an unimportant period for the study of religious painting. In the classic survey of English painting, *English Painting from the Seventh Century to the Present Day,* published in 1932, Charles Joshua completely fails to acknowledge the existence of a religious painting practice in seventeenth-century England. Dedicating one chapter to the seventeenth century, Joshua focuses exclusively on portraiture, discussing images of political and aristocratic figures only.[9] Focusing his attention on royal patronage of the arts, William Gaunt in *The Concise History of English Painting,* published in 1964, discusses the Stuart monarchy's attraction to the European Baroque style not for its spiritual quality, but for its opulence. He informs readers that "The infiltration of this style did not necessarily have a religious connotation, but its fitness to regal and aristocratic purpose commended it."[10] In *The Age of Patronage: The Arts in Society, 1660-1750,* published in 1965, Michael Foss pointedly denies the existence of a religious painting tradition in seventeenth-century England. Foss regards the Protestant Reformation as profoundly destructive of the English painting tradition, asserting that "The old iconography had been rejected as too Roman and too Catholic"[11] and that artists "avoided the problems of a perilous iconography by restricting themselves chiefly to portraits."[12]

More recently, Boris Ford discusses the debates around religious images in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain* of

1988, stating that the debates "led to the secularization of art, to its removal from churches to palaces and great houses."[13] Even Iain Pears, who will be discussed later on in this chapter with regard to his contribution to our understanding of the early English art market, downplays the importance of religious art in seventeenth-century England in his 1988 publication, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680-1768.* Although he acknowledges the existence of biblical and hagiographical imagery at auction sales, he claims that "the profound English suspicion of Catholicism necessarily involved a considerable distaste for many of the [religious] paintings."[14] Whether explicitly rejecting or failing to acknowledge the existence of a religious painting tradition in seventeenth-century England, much art historical scholarship casts this period of history as significant for the production of secular art only. As such, it does not offer an explanation for the sale of religious pictures at late seventeenth-century auction houses.

Looking beyond art historical texts to recent scholarship on the religious history of the period, we find mention of religious imagery in an educational, and even propagandist, context. In his 1991 publication "Anglicanism and the Arts: Religion, Culture and Politics in the Eighteenth Century," Jeremy Gregory analyzes the new strategies used by the Church of England after the Glorious Revolution to strengthen and increase the Anglican congregation. While he acknowledges the iconophobic sentiment that existed in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, he draws our attention to the clergy's use of religious imagery as a persuasive instructional tool, suggesting that "there is some indication of a growing realization that, in the right hands, paintings could make telling points about the Anglican position."[15]

Writing in 1993, Jonathan Barry also acknowledges the didactic function of religious imagery in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, stating that "Religious publishing also had important ties with the visual arts, as many more of the substantial publications were illustrated with prints."[16] Both Barry and Gregory encourage readers to consider media not typically considered in art historical studies of religious art. In their estimation, prints and book illustrations can provide significant insight into early modern Anglican practices. Thus, through their broad analysis of early modern English religious imagery, these authors have both provided an important direction this thesis will pursue.

Current scholarship on the early English art market can also shed light on the issue of religious art in seventeenth-century England. Although minimal attention has been given specifically to the demand for religious imagery, research into the surrounding social, cultural, political, and economic issues has helped to establish a context for the development of an interest in biblical and hagiographical pictures at auction sales. In 1955, Henry and Margaret Ogden published the first significant study of the late seventeenth-century London auction catalogs in a book entitled *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century.* Although their analysis of the catalogs from 1689 to 1692 primarily serves to explain the rising "vogue" of landscape painting, the authors discuss the wider issues surrounding the development of the art market itself.

The Ogdens reveal the steady rise in frequency with which auction sales were held in London between 1685 and 1692. They estimate twenty-four thousand pictures were sold in London at auction sales at the peak of the trend in 1691.[17]Along with the possibility of a speculative boom in 1690 and 1691, they attribute the popularity of picture sales to a change in the country's customs law after the Glorious Revolution.[18] In

what was possibly a move to help Dutch art dealers, William III's administration turned a blind eye to the existing law prohibiting the importation of pictures for personal use. In 1694, a statute was passed which legalized the importation of pictures for "private use or sale."[19] This statute, the Ogdens claim, can be regarded as a key factor in the development of the early London art market.

While more recent scholarship has proposed other reasons for the rise of the art market, the Ogdens' analysis of the auction catalogs themselves remains invaluable. Paying close attention to the subject matter of paintings listed in the catalogs, they provide a breakdown of the categories and their frequency in nine auction catalogs. During 1690 and 1691, we can see the popularity of landscape painting, which comprised eighteen-point-five per cent of the total number of pictures listed, and semi-landscape painting,[20] comprising ten per cent of the total number. For the purposes of this thesis, it is most interesting to note that the Ogdens identified the genre of history painting as a significant competitor to that of landscape in the auction sales. Biblical scenes figured widely in the genre of history painting, which comprised twenty per cent of the total number of items listed for sale. Although this interest in the sub-category of religious history painting is not discussed by the Ogdens, their findings have helped to establish biblical and hagiographical imagery as a significant area of interest in late seventeenth-century auction sales.

After the Ogdens published *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century,* more than thirty years passed before a comprehensive study of the early London art market was completed. In 1988, Iain Pears published *The Discovery of Painting: the Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680-1768,* providing readers with both an

analysis of the historical conditions surrounding the early market and some controversial perspectives on the sudden popularity of auction sales at the end of the century. Although Pears dates the first London auction sale to 1674 at Somerset House, he sees the real development or "invention" of the art market occurring between 1680 and 1760. In 1682, a picture auction was held in London which established the model for the many sales that would take place into the eighteenth century.[21] In 1686, Thomas Manby, England's first independent art dealer, held a highly publicized and widely popular picture auction in London.[22] Attracting a broad spectrum of London's population from both the middle and upper classes, Manby's sale, of mostly foreign paintings, was a success. From this point, auction sales rapidly became fashionable. As mentioned above, auctions in London occurred weekly throughout 1690. By 1691 sales nearly doubled, reaching a total of ninety-nine.[23] While the eighteenth century retained the custom of selling pictures by auction, the intense enthusiasm of the 1690s was not maintained. Only approximately five to ten auctions were held each year between 1730 and 1750. By 1760, the custom had declined further.[24]

Pears's extensive research on the development of the early London art market is successful in broadening the more focused picture presented by the Ogdens. Furthermore, his interpretation of the reason for the "invention" of the art market has and continues to provoke debate around the topic. Many scholars support Pears's emphasis on the financial boom of the 1680s as a key factor in the popularization of art auctions in London. Commercial expansion, especially in London, around the time of the Glorious Revolution generated wealth and rapid growth in the nation's capital. An increasingly affluent middle class joined the upper class in a desire to consume luxury goods, such as

the pictures for sale at auction houses.[25] Pears's close attention to consumer demand here can provide us with some insight into the possible consumer audience for religious imagery at auction sales.

Although the financial boom of the 1680s has been acknowledged by many as central to the development of the market, Pears's perspective on the resulting class dynamics has been regarded as controversial. Scholars like Carol Gibson-Wood have criticized Pears's assumption that the middle-class interest in art at auction sales resulted from a desire to emulate aristocratic culture for promoting a particularly disempowering view of the middle class in early modern London. Similarly, Pears's certainty that foreign paintings composed the focus of the art market has invited much criticism. Asserting the low quality of English painting at the time, Pears insists that foreign pictures were in the highest demand at London auction sales. For this reason, Pears isolates the collapse of the ban on foreign imports in 1695 as a key factor in the development of the art market.

The disempowering view of middle-class culture promoted by Pears may be a result of his emphasis on aristocratic, rather than middle-class, collectors. Drawing from the more readily available records of aristocratic collections and contemporary scholarship on taste, which was also rooted in the aristocratic tradition, Pears cannot provide a believable picture of the middle-class culture that was so integral to the rise of the art market. His discussion of religious art demonstrates the shortcomings of his focus. Attempting to explain the interest in biblical and hagiographical imagery for sale at London auction sales, Pears looks to developments in early modern philosophy concerned with religious imagery.

According to Pears, the iconophobic sentiments of Puritans in the seventeenth

century became a source of contention for philosophers, such as David Hume, during the eighteenth-century Enlightenment period. Arguing for the moral neutrality of painting, Hume contended that the potential for good or evil existed within all paintings. Thus, only the viewer could determine the status of the image. Viewers who were educated in the virtues of taste, and who thus held an objective perspective with regard to painting, could gain spiritual guidance from a biblical scene. In contrast, the uneducated viewer, who was unable to achieve objectivity, could respond to such an image only in an idolatrous manner.[26] According to Pears, this new philosophy accounted for what he considers to be a small degree of interest in biblical scenes at auction sales. Hagiographical imagery, however, was widely unpopular, in Pears's estimation. Signaling Catholic influence, these images would not have appealed to most collectors and were therefore rejected.[27]

Pears's discussion of Enlightenment philosophy clearly fails to acknowledge the large number of middle-class consumers at seventeenth-century London auction sales, which Pears himself recognizes. Even if Hume's philosophy had originated in the seventeenth century, the middle class, many of whom were not educated in the liberal arts, would have been unaware of the philosophy of taste. Thus, Pears' emphasis on Enlightenment philosophy does not help explain the popularity of biblical images with a growing middle class. Furthermore, his assertion that Catholic-type imagery was rejected is not supported by the evidence in auction catalogs; rather, the frequent appearance of such imagery in catalogs confirms its popularity. While Pears's discussion of religious art helps to establish the demand for biblical and hagiographical imagery at auction sales as having a significant impact on our general understanding of the early London art market,

it also leaves many questions unanswered.

Like Pears, David Ormrod in "The Origins of the London Art Market, 1660-1730," published in 1998, highlights the acceptance of painting's "moral neutrality" during the Enlightenment period[28] as an explanation for the popularity of biblical and hagiographical imagery at late seventeenth-century auction sales.[29] In doing so, he too fails to address the significance of middle-class consumption at these auction sales. Moreover, Ormrod, like Pears, tends to neglect the development of a unique middle-class culture of consumption during the late seventeenth century. Instead, he highlights the importance of official attitudes in shaping the taste of London consumers, specifically with regard to religious imagery. Focusing on the demand for foreign pictures in London, Ormrod asserts that legal restraints against importing religious pictures were generally enforced during periods of governmentally-initiated religious reformation. For example, he mentions that few religious images were accepted into the country during both Elizabeth I's reign and the Civil War and Interregnum period (1642-1660).[30] In contrast, the reigns of Charles II and James II were both favourable to importing religious pictures which may have featured Catholic subject matter, because of their Catholic sympathies.[31] According to Ormrod, William III's love of painting overshadowed his Protestant convictions, explaining the large numbers of religious paintings sold at late seventeenth-century auction houses.[32]

While Ormrod's perspective on the demand for religious painting is compelling, it tends to promote a simplistic view of an English population whose religious loyalties shifted with the change of each monarchy. Importation laws may have been a factor in defining the early London art market. However, consumer demand must have played an

even more crucial role. Had demand for religious imagery among the middle and upper classes of London not existed on its own, few dealers would have attempted to import religious pictures, regardless of government or church attitudes. Indeed, Ormrod himself asserts that official restrictions against the importation of luxury goods, like pictures, were easily evaded, thus downplaying the power of the law. As he mentions, dealers were importing pictures long before the ban on importation was lifted in 1695. Furthermore, Ormrod emphasizes that the high taxation on imports after 1695 would logically have discouraged the demand for foreign images, but did not. Buyers typically underestimated the value of paintings in order to avoid paying high duties.[33]

As Ormrod reveals, laws played a minimal role in shaping the early art market. It seems only logical to assume that the attitudes of the Church and government would also have had a limited effect on the demand for religious pictures at auction sales. If art collectors and dealers were willing to evade laws against the importation of pictures, surely they would have found methods to import and sell potentially subversive religious images. Despite the apparent contradiction in his essay, Ormrod is successful in encouraging readers to question the impact of governmental attitudes on social events like auction sales.

Highlighting the importance of middle-class culture in late seventeenth-century London, the current body of scholarship on early modern consumption offers a more persuasive picture of the rise of the early art market. As Pears himself acknowledges, the middle class comprised the bulk of buyers at auction sales. Thus, a shift in focus from the attitudes of the ruling elite to those of the middle class in the work of Carol Gibson-Wood has produced some convincing pictures of patterns of consumption at early London

auction sales. In her essay "Picture Consumption in London at the End of the Seventeenth Century," of 2002, Gibson-Wood suggests that many of these sales attracted middle-class buyers who purchased images for the purpose of home decoration.[34] Her study of both probate and orphan's court inventories between the early 1690s and the early eighteenth century reveals that many middle-class Londoners owned the type of pictures that would be found at London auction sales.[35]

Of one hundred middle-class households including those of merchants, shopkeepers, tradesmen, artisans, and professionals, sixty-two record ownership of pictures. Furthermore, the average value of the pictures listed in inventories was approximately ten shillings – a price which corresponds to those at auction sales.[36] Possessing a value similar to such items as petticoats and pewter dishes, many pictures purchased at London auction sales can be viewed as affordable luxuries of the time.[37] From this study, it appears that auction sales were popular with a fairly broad spectrum of society. Pictures purchased at these sales would have been found in many modest London homes during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Along with the growing demand for pictures in London, according to Gibson-Wood, an English tradition of painting developed. Gibson-Wood discusses the significant number of native-born artists mentioned in auction catalogues, as well as the large numbers of anonymous works and copies listed for sale.[38] Such items may have been the products of an English school of painting, well documented by Bainbrigge Buckeridge in his *Essay Toward an English School of Painting*, published in 1706. Attention must be paid to these works, as well as to the interest in foreign art.[39]

Gibson-Wood asserts that along with landscape, still life, mythological,

allegorical, and genre paintings, pictures featuring biblical and hagiographical content would likely have appeared in middle-class interiors throughout London. She draws attention to the significant number of biblical and hagiographical pictures listed for sale in auction catalogs. These numbers, she suggests, may indicate a growing interest in devotional subjects for home decoration in early modern London. Although Gibson-Wood does not offer an in-depth discussion on the possible role of auction pictures in household devotional practice, her suggestion provides a useful direction for this thesis.

Studies like that of Gibson-Wood build on the current interest in the rise of consumption during the early modern period. Lorna Weatherill's "The Meaning of Consumer Behavior in Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century England," published in 1993, asserts the value of studying patterns of consumption for understanding daily experience in early modern England.[40] Her study of probate inventories from eight regions of England between 1675 and 1725 supports the conception of a middle-class culture of consumption. She draws attention to the growing number of pictures found in households throughout the period, especially in urban areas like London.[41] Interestingly, she notes that pictures appeared more frequently in inventories of the commercial middle class, than in those of the gentry, suggesting a particularly middle-class interest in activities like picture auction sales.[42] Although she mentions the genres of landscape and portraiture, her study does not analyze the demand for certain types of pictures among the middle class. Similarly, Ann Bermingham's introduction to *The Consumption of Culture: Image, Object, Text,* published in 1995, does not provide us with specific information on the profile of the early art market in London. However, her interest in the cultural and social function of early modern

consumer culture provides us with some interesting insights into the early art market as a cultural and social force.

Bermingham reminds us that social spaces, like the art auction, can provide opportunities to construct social identities.[43] Thus, the act of consuming in the seventeenth century can be regarded as a means of constructing personal attributes in an increasingly self-conscious society. Furthermore, Bermingham emphasizes the domestic space itself as a strong signifier of the owner's identity. In this way, household decoration can be seen as intimately connected to self-presentation.[44] Bermingham recommends that we see patterns of consumption as powerful "social tools" which are instrumental in shaping class identity.[45] Considering the significance of religious affiliation to early modern society, we may regard patterns of consumption at early auction sales as instrumental in forging religious identities as well.

Although he provides no discussion of the popularity of religious art at auction sales in seventeenth-century London, Brian Cowan's "Arenas of Connoisseurship: Auctioning Art in Later Stuart England," published in 1998, may provide the most appropriate starting point for a discussion of biblical and hagiographical imagery in early modern England. Like Bermingham, he emphasizes the ability of auction sales to showcase individual taste and, in doing so, create social identities.[46] Perhaps more important for the purposes of this thesis is his discussion of a letter written in 1674 by the Marquis of Windsor to his wife. Having just attended England's first auction sale at Somerset House in London, the Marquis recounts the highlights of the event. Emphasizing the high sale price of forty-five pounds, he reveals that the very first picture to be sold featured the story of "Adam and Eve beaten out of Paradise." Again marveling

at the sale price of two hundred and sixty pounds, the Marquis mentions Sir James Oxenden of Kent's purchase of a painting featuring Jesus confuting the Doctors.[47]

In providing this evidence, Cowan's article makes some important points relevant to the subject of this thesis: religious imagery was not merely available, but was purchased, at auction sales in London. From the Marquis's letter, it seems that biblical imagery may even have been highly sought after at the time. Owing to its elite status, we cannot regard the Somerset auction as a model for later sales at the end of the century. However, we can assume that the ownership of religious imagery was desirable to some English people. Furthermore, considering the public nature of the auction sale, we may also believe that the purchasing of religious imagery was an activity to be showcased. Current scholarship, in combination with evidence from the auction catalogs themselves, reveals to us that many middle-class home owners would also have purchased religious imagery at late seventeenth-century auction sales. By doing so, they too acknowledged the desirable nature of such an activity. Consequently, their actions force us to investigate the social, cultural, religious, and political encouragement towards purchasing and owning biblical and hagiographical imagery in a society where there was overt hostility to religious art.

With an understanding of the social, political, economic and cultural context surrounding the development of the London art market, this study can begin to define the questions regarding religious imagery which have been excluded from recent scholarship. The Ogdens, Pears, and Ormrod have all provided readers with the historical background surrounding the rise of the art market. However, a similar approach has not yet been taken to the development of interest in religious art. The demand for biblical and

hagiographical imagery at early auction sales must be situated in the iconophobic atmosphere of seventeenth-century England. Considering this background of religious tension, how can we explain the popularity of religious art at London auction sales? Furthermore, how did they function in a potentially hostile society?

Both Gibson-Wood and Weatherill have constructed a convincing domestic context in which to place the type of pictures purchased at auction houses. While asserting the decorative role of pictures in middle-class interiors, Gibson-Wood also posits the devotional function of religious images in the household. The perspectives promoted by both Gregory and Barry on the educational role of religious imagery in Anglican practice may reinforce Gibson-Wood's position. With these ideas in mind, we must discover the role of biblical and hagiographical imagery, if any, in seventeenth-century household devotional practices. What contribution would religious images purchased at auction sales have made to the visual program of middle-class domestic interiors? Pushing the function of such objects beyond both practical and decorative use, Bermingham and Cowan have both suggested the role of decorative items in constructing social identity. Did religious images also play a role in the formation of identity and, if so, what sort of identity was being constructed?

As recent scholars have demonstrated, an analysis of the early London art market can enrich our knowledge of the development of taste, consumer culture, class dynamics, political and even legal history in early modern England. Through further analysis, however, late seventeenth-century auction catalogs can also enhance our understanding of England's tumultuous religious history. As already mentioned, there are no known surviving examples of the images sold at late seventeenth-century auction sales. Thus, the

pictures themselves cannot be the focus of this analysis; however, our knowledge of their existence and circulation through the auction catalogs can ultimately lead to a better understanding of early modern English society in a period of religious conflict. The tenuous position occupied by religious images in seventeenth-century society will become apparent in the course of this thesis. A close study of selected primary sources from the period, in addition to an analysis of current scholarship, will reveal that factional conflict within Protestantism reached a height in the first half of the century and that religious imagery, like that described in auction catalogs, became a focal point of conflict between opposing Protestant groups.

While both seventeenth-century accounts and the current literature provide us with a vivid picture of iconophobia in seventeenth-century England, the expression of favor toward religious imagery in literature from the early modern period is more subtle and is often neglected by current authors. The evidence provided by late seventeenth-century auction catalogs therefore helps to uncover the existence of a strong body of support for religious imagery in early modern England. Thus, this thesis will demonstrate that an intense iconophobic sentiment was matched by an equally intense demand for religious art, like that sold at London auction sales, in seventeenth-century England. In the process, it will attempt to articulate the social role of biblical and hagiographical imagery in a period of history marked by religious discord.

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[1]Arthur F. Marotti, *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern Engish Texts* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), pp. 85-87.

[2] Brian Cowan, "Arenas of Connoisseurship: Auctioning Art in Later Stuart England," pp. 153-165 in Michael North and David Ormrod, eds., *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 153.

[3] Iain Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680-1768* (London: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 57.

[4] Anglicans acknowledged the saints as holy individuals. However, they, along with other Protestants, rejected the saints' ability to serve as intercessors between human beings and God. See James Montague,

"A Premonition to All Most Mighty Monarchs, Kings, Free Princes, and States of Christendom," pp. 3-8 in Paul Elmer More and Frank Leslie Cross, eds., *Anglicanism: The Thought and Practice of the Church of England, Illustrated from the Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (London, S.P.C.K, 1962), p. 4.

[5] Judith Hook, *The Baroque Age in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), p. 146.

[6] Anonymous, "Advice To A Painter," (London: n.p., 1688), p. 1.

[7] Ibid., p. 2.

[8] Craig Rose, *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion, and War* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), p. 2.

[9] Charles Joshua, *English Painting from the Seventh Century to the Present Day* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, Inc., 1932), pp. 47-61.

[10] William Gaunt, A *Concise History of English Painting* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 1964), p. 48.

[11] Michael Foss, *The Age of Patronage: The Arts in Society, 1660-1750* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1965), p. 91.

[12] Ibid, p. 91.

[13] Boris Ford, ed., *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain, Volume 4: The Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 236.

[14] Pears, p. 42.

[15] Jeremy Gregory, "Anglicanism and the Arts: Religion, Culture and Politics in the Eighteenth Century," pp. 82-109 in Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory, eds., *Culture, Politics, and Society in Britain, 1660-1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p. 89.

[16] Jonathan Barry, "Cultural Patronage and the Anglican Crisis: Bristol, 1689-1775," pp. 191-208 in John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor, eds., *The Church of England c. 1689-1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 194-195.

[17] Henry and Margaret Ogden, *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955), p. 89.

[18] Ibid., p. 88.

[19] Ibid., p. 88.

[20] The term "semi-landscape" refers to images which feature other components besides landscape such as battle scenes, hunting scenes, animal pictures, ruins, topographical scenes, and seasonal themes. See Ogden and Ogden, p. 90.

[21] Pears, p. 57.

[22] Ibid., p. 72.

[23] Ibid., p. 59.

[24] Ibid., pp. 101-102.

[25] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[26] Ibid., p. 42.

[27] Ibid., p. 42.

[28] The Enlightenment period in England is considered to have begun in the late seventeenth century and gained momentum throughout the eighteenth century. See Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and Early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722* (London: Longman, 1993), pp. 376-377.

[29] David Ormrod, "The Origins of the London Art Market, 1660-1730," pp. 167-185 in Michael North and David Ormrod, eds., *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 174.

[30] Ibid., pp. 173-174.

[31] Ibid., p. 175.

[32] Ibid., p. 181.

[33] Ibid., p. 177.

[34] Carol Gibson-Wood, "Picture Consumption in London at the End of the Seventeenth Century," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 84, no. 3 (2002), p.491.

[35] Ibid., p.491.

[36] Ibid., pp.493-494.

[37] Ibid., p.493.

[38] Ibid., p. 495.

[39] Ibid., p. 495.

[40] Lorna Weatherill, "The Meaning of Consumer Behavior in Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century England," pp. 206-227 in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods*. (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 206.
[41] Ibid., p. 209.
[42] Ibid., p. 210.
[43] Ann Bermingham, "Introduction," pp. 1-20 in Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, eds., *Consumption of Culture: Image, Object, Text* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 10.
[44] Ibid., p. 12.
[45] Ibid., p. 14.
[46] Cowan, p. 162.
[47] Ibid., p. 153.

The seventeenth century in England was marked by intense religious turmoil. By the Civil War period, a violent rejection of Catholicism, especially in the form of religious imagery, had become a feature of English life. Thus, iconoclastic sentiment, or at least a deep suspicion of religious art, has often been considered a hallmark of seventeenth-century England, forcing us to wonder at the appeal of biblical and hagiographical imagery at London auction sales. Yet, while anti-Catholic sentiment was shared by most English Protestants at the time, iconoclasm was not unanimously supported. Even when iconoclasm was promoted by the government, significant resistance to such zeal can be found in contemporary literature. Through an analysis of selected seventeenth-century sources, this chapter will demonstrate the strong level of support for religious imagery that existed alongside violent iconoclasm in seventeenth-century England. Indeed, it will become apparent that traditional viewpoints regarding Christian worship often countered Puritan radicalism, specifically concerning religious imagery. For this reason, the seventeenth century in England can be characterized by ongoing conflict and debate over the contentious issue of religious art.

At the heart of religious conflict in England during the seventeenth century was the widespread perception that "popery" was an impending threat to English liberty. The contemporary term "popery" came to signify numerous things in early modern England centering on the power of the Pope and Roman Catholic practices. In the seventeenth century, however, "popery" gradually became identified with the arbitrary or autocratic government which early modern English people associated with the Catholic monarchies on the continent.[1] The monarchy of Charles I (1625-1649) embodied the threat of popery because of both its despotic style and its alliance with Catholic France. In this context,

popery signaled foreign invasion and the possibility of religious persecution of Protestants. Feelings of anti-popery continued to intensify as the seventeenth century progressed.

During the reign of Charles I, many English Protestants perceived the threat of popery to be especially high. Charles I's success in promoting the ceremony and spectacle associated with Catholicism in the Church of England during the 1630s can be viewed as one of the major causes of the Civil Wars of 1642-1649 and the subsequent establishment of the Commonwealth and Protectorate from 1649 to 1658.[2] In 1649, the English monarchy and Anglican church were replaced by a commonwealth government and a Presbyterian state church.[3] This Interregnum, with neither a monarchy nor an Anglican state church, endured until 1660. The year 1649 had marked the end of the Civil Wars of 1642-1646 and 1648 between parliamentary radicals and royalist sympathizers.[4] Much of the strife had focused on religious issues, including Anglican attitudes to religious imagery.[5] Under the authority of both Charles I and the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, the Church of England had come to embrace a religious philosophy which welcomed much of the ceremony and spectacle of the Catholic church. The philosophy known as Arminianism thus represented a great threat to the strongly Puritan, or Calvinist, parliament of the Civil War and Interregnum.

Whereas Arminianism celebrated external forms of worship, including images of religious figures, Calvinism condemned most usages of religious imagery. The representation of God had been forbidden entirely by the French reformer John Calvin (1509-1564) on the ground that God possessed no similitude to what humankind experiences through the senses: "Therefore, it remains that only those things are to be sculpted or painted which the eyes are capable of seeing: let not God's majesty, which is far above the perception of the eyes, be

debased through unseemly representations."[6] Similarly, Calvin found no value whatsoever for religious representation in the church. Indeed, the extent of humanity's weakness due to original sin would, according to Calvin, inevitably lead to idolatry in a place of worship. Here, God's Word alone was considered capable of conveying the Christian message.[7] In the realm of education, however, Calvin accepted a limited use of religious imagery. In his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* of 1536, Calvin states: "And yet, I am not gripped by the superstition of thinking absolutely no images permissible."[8] He goes on to suggest that depictions of historical events, which some current scholars have interpreted to include biblical episodes, can "have some use in teaching or admonition."[9] Although he rejected images of God and the Trinity, Calvin condoned the representation of biblical figures, including Jesus, for commemorative and didactic purposes. He remained ambiguous regarding both the appropriate location and context for such images, however, maintaining a firm position only on the necessity of excluding religious art from the church setting.

Although Calvinist sympathizers found a place in the Church of England, many were determined to reform Anglican practices. These Calvinist-leaning Protestants, sometimes called Puritans because of their desire to simplify the Church of England's liturgy and form of worship, had been at odds with the Church of England before Arminianism had been popular. Indeed, traditional Anglicanism favored the use of imagery in the church. From the time of the early Church through to the medieval period, the incarnation of Christ had been regarded as a justification for the material, pictorial representation of Jesus and the Trinity.[10] As a result, religious art was a key aspect of worship during this time. Based upon the Church of England's claim to a direct connection to the medieval church, therefore, Anglicans accepted a limited use of religious imagery in the church.[11] As the Catholic-leaning philosophy of Arminianism

acquired more power in the Church during the early seventeenth century, however, the division between Calvinist sympathizers and the established Church grew.[12] The incompatibility of these two religious viewpoints directly contributed to the wars of the 1640s and the military rule that endured until 1660, when the monarchy and the Church of England were restored.[13]

Dissatisfaction with the Arminianist tendencies of the monarchy and the Church of England had begun in the 1630s, specifically over the issue of religious imagery. In 1633, William Laud became Primate of England.[14] With this new power, he hoped to reverse the iconoclastic damage that English churches had endured during the Henrician Reformation of the mid-1530s.[15] Laud's goal to re-adorn English churches to medieval standards was strongly supported by King Charles I and, thus, advanced quickly as the 1630s progressed.[16] The Archbishop held two fundamental viewpoints which caused him to favor images in the 1630s. Both the idea that images were necessary for public worship and the opinion that Jesus's body deserved greater worship than Jesus's word, encouraged Laud to elevate the importance of external forms of worship.[17] Here, Laud contradicted one of the central tenets of Protestant faith: the preeminence of scripture. Although inward rather than outward expressions of faith were prized by most Protestants, whether Anglican or Calvinist-leaning, Laud actively promoted spectacle and ceremony in the Church of England. Owing to his emphasis on the body of Jesus, the altar became the focal point of adornment. Altars decorated with "tapestries, sculptures of saints, crucifixes and colored glass" represented, to many Protestants, the divergences which Laud had made from true Protestantism.[18]

By reducing the importance of scripture in Protestant worship, Laud was challenging the Calvinist emphasis on the written word over imagery. Considering the Calvinist sympathies of the pre-Civil War Parliament, it is not surprising that Laud's policies regarding church

ornamentation were challenged. In 1640, the archbishop attempted to gain legal support for his reforms of the Church; Parliament rejected his proposal. When Civil War broke out two years later, Laud was put on trial for his promotion of religious imagery. The outcome was impeachment, execution, and the reversal of the reforms made to the Church regarding religious imagery.[19] To the largely Calvinist government, Laud's irreverent opinion concerning scripture was considered to be blasphemous. Not only did Laud's focus on externals downplay the importance of the written word; it was considered by many to challenge the first of the Ten Commandments: "Thou shalt not have false gods before thee." With the charge of idolatry, Laud's policy of church decoration was eradicated.

John Vicars's publication, *The Sinfulness and Unlawfulness of Having or Making the Picture of Christ's Humanity* (1641), captures the iconoclastic sentiment that shaped the events of the 1640s and 1650s. The Puritan Vicars does not directly attack the Church of England for supporting the visual representation of Jesus.[20] Rather, he considers the sin of idolatry to be widespread: "there is too frequent and too unsensible abuse in these our daies of so much and so long and cleare knowledge and light of the Gospel of Christ."[21] Indeed, he emphasizes that approval of these images exist among committed Protestants: "idolatry in adorning the Crucifixe, and other pictures and images of Christ, is mightily countenanced and encouraged even by us [Protestants]."[22] Perhaps Vicars is referring to the Church of England's policies regarding religious imagery under the authority of Archbishop Laud.

Expressing strong Calvinist sentiments, Vicars warns fellow Protestants of the danger that images of Jesus represent: "I conceive it is a sin against the Text and direct Word of God inhibiting any Carnall, or fleshly consideration, much more a picturing of the Lord Jesus Christ."[23] As we have seen, Calvin did not condemn representations of Jesus. Many Puritans

like Vicars, however, seem to have interpreted Calvin's injunction against depictions of the Trinity to include those of Jesus. Attitudes such as this proceeded to inform the policies of the government and Church until 1660. Throughout the 1640s and 1650s, Presbyterianism, greatly influenced by Calvinist doctrine, remained the state religion.[24] For this reason, iconoclastic episodes were highly concentrated around these years. As early as 1641, the House of Commons was pushing for the legal enforcement of iconoclasm in London churches. Although this law was not passed by the House of Lords at this time, the House of Commons printed and distributed their "Resolutions of the House of Commons on Ecclesiastical Innovations" on 1 September, 1641.[25]

Stating "That all crucifixes, scandalous pictures of any one or more of the Trinity and all Images of the Virgin Mary shall be taken away and abolished," the House of Commons further ordered that chancels be leveled, communion tables be moved from the east wall of the church, and rails be removed, as well as tapers, candle sticks and other communion table decoration.[26] Bowing at hearing the name of Jesus, as well as toward the chancel area in general was also condemned. Indeed, the chancel in medieval churches had emphasized the division between clergy and congregation that Calvinist-leaning Protestants rejected. Frequently elevated above the nave and separated from the congregation by a screen, the chancel area communicated the exalted status of the clergy. Furthermore, since the altar symbolized the sacrifice of Jesus's body, it had been the focus of decoration in church architecture, especially under the Laudian regime. For these reasons, the altar and chancel area became the targets of Puritan iconoclasm during the 1640s.[27]

Due to the circulation of the "Resolutions," altars were removed from most London churches by 1642.[28] When iconoclasm became officially enforced in 1643, the destruction of

church interiors quickly extended beyond the chancel area. In August of 1643, the House of Lords issued an Ordinance "For the utter demolishing, removing and taking away of all monuments of Superstition or Idolatry Out of all the Churches and Chappells within this kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales." The ordinance was explicit in its instruction, reiterating the contents of the "Resolution of the House of Commons" two years previously, while extending the order of destruction beyond "all Crucifixes, Crosses, and all Images and Pictures of any one or more Persons of the Trinity, or of the Virgin Mary" to include "all other Images and Pictures of Saints, or Superstitious Inscriptions in or upon all and every the Said Churches or Chappells or other places of publick Prayer."[29] Churchwardens were to be responsible for the removal of these objects by 1 November 1643, otherwise a fine of forty shillings would be levied.[30]

Even before the ordinance of August 1643, a committee of MPs was appointed on 24 April 1643 to oversee the demolition of church images and objects deemed offensive by the government.[31] Although they were not required to do so, some of these inspectors kept records of their iconoclastic activities in the counties for which they were responsible. Frequently, it seems that their own part in the destruction was highlighted. William Dowsing was one of these MPs, appointed to the eastern counties of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. His journal provides an inventory of the destruction carried out in a Sudbury church: "We brake down a picture of God the Father, two crucifix's, and Pictures of Christ, about an hundred in all."[32] In addition, Dowsing supervised and participated in the dismantling of the steeple's cross, the removal of sculptural angels, an image of St. Dunstal, sixty unidentified "superstitious" pictures, the altar rails and the church steps. At Clare College Chapel in Cambridge, Dowsing targeted similar

types of imagery, adding to his list of destruction the representations of the Holy Lamb and the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove.[33]

Dowsing's journal is useful in providing a profile of the imagery Puritans most objected to. Admittedly, his claim to have removed "one thousand Pictures Superstitious" at Clare College calls the accuracy of his journal into question. Indeed, that Dowsing went to the trouble of recording his iconoclastic activities at all suggests his eagerness to gain parliamentary approval through the presentation of his journal. A record of extensive damage to church architecture would have ensured this favor. Regardless of what appear to be inflated figures, however, Dowsing's journal is crucial in establishing a concrete inventory of images deemed offensive and idolatrous by Puritans.

Richard Culmer, another MP commissioned by Parliament, approached his duties with even more enthusiasm than Dowsing. He too recorded his iconoclastic activities, in this case at Canterbury Cathedral, and the church in Mynster in the county of Kent. In 1657, these journal entries were put into narrative form by his son, Richard Culmer Jr., in *A Parish Looking-Glasse for Persecutors of Ministers*. The publication was a response to rumors that Culmer Sr. was to be suspended from his post in Mynster. Shortly before the publication of this piece, he and the curate of his parish had come into conflict over the issue of iconoclasm. Believing the curate to hold popish sensibilities, Culmer Sr. expressed his Puritan perspective by destroying an image of Jesus in the vicarage house.[34] *A Parish Looking-Glasse* narrates this event, as well as earlier official iconoclasm that Culmer had conducted in 1643, emphasizing the worthiness of these endeavors in Culmer Sr.'s defense.

Culmer Jr.'s account of his father's daring actions at the church in Mynster in 1643 reveals a strong commitment to the Puritan parliamentary cause. When the churchwardens in

Mynster refused his order to dismantle the crosses on the spire of the church steeple, he took matters into his own hands: "by Moon-light, [Culmer Sr.] got up to the top of the spire, seven roods or poles from the ground, and did sit on the round Globe there; and did with a rope affix ladders so."[35] After paving the way for destruction of the crosses, Culmer Sr. hired Peter Wotton and Thomas Austin, identified as "Workmen and Masons," to climb the ladder and demolish the crosses, one wooden and one iron. Unspecified "Idolatrous Monuments" were also destroyed, along with the leveling of the chancel.[36]

Culmer Jr. may have embellished these iconoclastic episodes with the intention of emphasizing his father's Puritan zeal to the Calvinist Parliament of the Interregnum period. Indeed, he was requesting that the government block his father's suspension. Despite the author's motivation and its effect on the validity of the text, *A Parish Looking-Glasse* is nonetheless helpful in demonstrating the significance of religious imagery during the Interregnum period. The great effort Culmer Sr. expended to destroy apparently idolatrous monuments would have communicated his support for Parliamentary interests. In addition, *A Parish Looking-Glasse* reveals that iconoclastic episodes were not confined to the years just after the ordinance issued by the House of Lords in 1643. Culmer Sr.'s destruction of the image of Jesus around the time of the publication of the piece reveals the perception of a continual need for Protestants to safeguard England against the threat of popery, even after the intense Civil War years.

The colorful prose of *A Parish Looking-Glasse* highlights dramatic episodes of iconoclasm as a feature of the Interregnum period. Amidst Culmer Jr.'s embellished description of his father's heroic efforts for the Puritan cause, the significant resistance to church iconoclasm may be easy to miss. That Culmer Sr. was forced to initiate the dismantling of the

steeple crosses at the church in Mynster because of the parish's unwillingness to participate discloses a level of opposition to the Puritan mission, even during the Civil War years. Indeed, publications of the Restoration period reveal the illegal actions of churchwardens who buried or stored stained glass and other prized religious images destined for destruction after the House of Lords issued its ordinance in 1643. These objects were reinstalled after the restoration of the Anglican church and monarchy in 1660.[37] Although iconoclasm and support for it was widespread for much of the century, resistance among committed Protestants within the Church of England remained a constant challenge.

The destruction of London's Cheapside Cross provides an example of the divisions that had formed over the issue of religious imagery by the Civil War period. On 2 February 1642, an unofficial assault on the monument took place; presumably, a group of enthusiastic Puritans had hoped to communicate their sympathies by removing the cross. Challenged by approximately one hundred Londoners led by a group of apprentices, the Puritan radicals failed to destroy the monument.[38] The apprentices called themselves the "defenders of the cross," expressing their rejection of the destructive reformation initiated by the Puritans. Only when governmental sanction had been given for the demolition of Cheapside Cross a year later in May 1643 was the monument successfully removed. Even then, the presence of four militia companies during the demolition suggests that opposition to iconoclasm continued to pose a threat to the Puritan cause.[39]

The restoration of the Anglican church and the monarchy in 1660 overturned the official Calvinism of the Interregnum. In 1662, shortly after Charles II took control of the throne, an Act of Uniformity was passed, requiring that all ministers submit to the new Anglican Prayer Book and Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion.[40] All ministers who would not conform to this law would

be ejected from their parishes. Accordingly, all Calvinist-leaning Protestants, whether ministers or lay persons, who wished to worship outside of the established Anglican church were termed "Nonconformists." Along with the reestablishment of Anglicanism as the state church, the Restoration brought about renewed favour for imagery and ceremony within the Church of England. Because of this, hostility toward church decoration grew among Nonconformist or Dissenting Protestants; therefore, the conflict between orthodox Anglicans and committed Calvinists over the issue of religious imagery remained a feature of the period. Furthermore, the Catholic tendencies of King Charles II were common knowledge during his reign from 1660 to 1685. The King's Catholic-leanings and his resulting approval of ceremony and spectacle in the Church likely heightened tensions surrounding the issue. Written criticism of the Restoration period indicates an intensified hostility toward Catholicism.

Published posthumously in 1665, an *Appeal to Scripture and Antiquity* by the Bishop of Chester, Henry Ferne (1602-1662) criticizes the use of religious imagery in the Catholic church. Ferne refers to the writings of both the Old Testament and the Church Fathers when condemning this external form of worship: "we may without rash judgment challenge the Church of Rome for so needlessly exposing her people to the peril of Idolatrie or Superstition."[41] Perhaps Ferne was also commenting on the favor shown toward religious imagery in the Restoration church. Not only did the display of church images hidden away during the Civil War and Interregnum period coincide with the Restoration of Charles II, the display of new religious images also occurred during his reign. For example, the statue of St. Michael was erected on the steeple of that London church, All Saints Barking, between 1659 and 1660, just as Charles was preparing to take the throne. It was not condemned to destruction as a monument of idolatry until 1681, when the fear of Catholicism reached yet another height during the Exclusion Crisis between 1679 and 1681.[42]

A pamphlet entitled *Certain Letters Evidencing the Kings Stedfastness in the Protestant Religion* addresses the heightened fear of Catholicism during the Restoration period. Presumably printed and circulated by the monarchy itself, this pamphlet was issued just as Charles was ascending the throne in 1660, in the hope of ending the popular debate over his worthiness as the Protestant sovereign. In the pamphlet, Charles's exile in France during the Interregnum period is highlighted as an opportunity to publicize his reputation as a committed Protestant not just at home, but also abroad. A letter, supposedly written by Pastor of the Reformed Church of Paris Raymond Gaches, to the well known English clergyman Richard Baxter, highlights Charles's reputation as a pious Protestant throughout France: "this Prince being born, and duly educated in the true Religion, never departed from the publick profession of it."[43] Emphasizing the Protestant loyalties of both Gaches and Baxter, this pamphlet serves as a testimony to Charles's Protestant character.

Beyond merely reintroducing ceremony and spectacle into the Anglican church, Charles II had begun to forge alliances with the Catholic King, Louis XIV of France. This new political alliance drew England closer to the possibility of the arbitrary Catholic rule which many Protestants feared. In 1669, James, the heir to the throne, openly converted to Catholicism, which intensified fears around papal conspiracy even further. Not surprisingly, his conversion inspired a group in Parliament, who became known as the Whigs, to take measures against the likelihood of a future Catholic rulership. The Exclusion Crisis of 1679 to 1681 involved the Whigs' efforts to exclude James from the throne on the basis of his Catholicism.[44] Despite this resistance, James ascended the throne in 1685 and began to make adjustments which would allow for legal Catholic worship in England. In 1687 he issued a Declaration of Indulgence allowing both freedom of worship and access to public office for Catholics and Protestant

Dissenters.[45] His imprisonment of seven orthodox Anglican bishops because they refused to stand by the 1688 Declaration of Indulgence communicated his Catholic loyalties to the nation.[46]

James's Catholic sympathy incited debate, not only within Parliament, but also among his subjects, regarding his worthiness as a successor to the English throne. In response to a pamphlet entitled *Reasons whereupon the Duke of York may most strongly be reputed and suspected to be a Papist*, another was published in 1681, entitled *The Grand Inquest Or a full and perfect Answer to several Reasons By which it is pretended His Royal Highness the Duke of York May be proved to be a Roman Catholic*. This pamphlet's author responds directly to the earlier printed criticism of James, overturning popular rumors suggesting his Catholic sympathies. James's consistent absence from church was widely interpreted as proof of his conversion to Catholicism. Rejecting this assumption, the author of *The Grand Inquest* specifically attacks the Dissenting population, who are here presented as comprising the majority of opposition to James's succession: "Should many Years absence from Church during *Religious Worship*, be a Badge of *Popery*; then all or most of the *Nonconformists* must go under the same *Livery*."[47]

Once again, popular fears of popery became focused on the issue of religious imagery. While the above-mentioned statue of St. Michael on All Saints Barking church in London had been left unharmed throughout the Restoration years, it began to incite hostility during the Exclusion Crisis. As the debate was coming to a close in 1681, the statue was destroyed. *The Birth and Burning of the Image Called St. Michael*, published just after the burning of the statue in 1681, recounts the events leading up to the destruction of image. Written from the perspective of the churchwarden, Edmund Sherman, this narration serves to defend his own actions throughout the event. Although Sherman himself was arrested and fined for failing to remove the image, his publication casts the church lecturer, Jonathan Saunders, as the key supporter of

popish ceremony involving the statue of St. Michael: "Nor can we deny but that Mr. Sanders was the first that brought up the Use of these Ceremonies in our church, and that they never were practized until after this Great Carved Guilded Image was mounted on top of the Altar."[48] According to Sherman, Saunders had moved the statue from the steeple to the church interior on top of the altar in 1677. Being sure to emphasize his initiative in destroying the image, Sherman states: "and I being first indicted for letting it stand so long have now burnt it even likewise."[49] Not surprisingly, church imagery became the focus of intense conflict while the fear of Catholicism within the monarchy was high. Although many Protestants who attended All Saints Barking clearly favored the use of images in worship, it appears that a significant body of Protestants favored iconoclasm more.

When William of Orange arrived in England in November 1688, he received much English support for his efforts to preserve Protestantism in England. Not only Dissenters, but the majority of government, churchmen, and lay people acknowledged William's new authority over English ecclesiastical and political matters.[50] Anti-Catholic riots in London upon William's arrival reveal that Protestant sentiment dominated much of popular opinion.[51] Clearly, many Protestants viewed William's new political and ecclesiastical authority as an end to the threat of popery that had been so prevalent during much of the century.

Shortly after William took the throne in 1688, however, unified Protestant approval of the Glorious Revolution began to crumble. Much of the opposition to William's ascendancy was found within the church. Many of the clergy, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, would not swear the oath of allegiance to William. These "nonjurors" who regarded their oath to King James II as life-long, were pitted against those who favored William, the "jurors." Ultimately, the nonjurors lost their diocese.[52] The appointment of Dissenting

clergymen as replacements for the nonjurors reveals William's preference for Nonconformist, rather than Anglican, Protestants. Thus, both a schism within the Church of England and a rift between William and the Anglican church were created immediately. This conflict within Protestantism would soon be concentrated on the issue of religious imagery.

William's Calvinist background proved to be a guiding force in his dealings with church politics. The immediate tension felt within the Church of England soon expanded to create divisions outside the church. In 1689, William introduced both the Comprehension and Indulgence Bills.[53] By establishing "comprehension," he was inviting moderate Dissenters into the state-supported Church of England. Nonconformists who did not fall into the moderate group were called non-Trinitarians-- or non-believers in the doctrine of the Trinity. These Dissenters would be protected from any penalty for their beliefs by the Act of Indulgence.[54] Even more radical was William's hope to repeal the Test Act and thereby allow Dissenting Protestants to hold office, despite their refusal to take the Anglican sacrament. Tory, or High Churchmen, who were ultimately pro-royalist and conservative regarding changes within the Church of England, rejected these proposals. Although they prevented the Comprehension Bill and the repeal of the Test Act from taking effect, they passed the Act of Indulgence.[55]

The degree of favor William exhibited toward Protestant Dissenters was a severe threat to the authority of the Church of England as a state church.[56] William's intentions did not coincide with those of orthodox Anglicans, and thus the connection that had once existed between state and church began to deteriorate. The degree to which Nonconformists threatened Anglican clergymen is revealed in a comment of the Marquis of Halifax to the effect that the Tories "had rather turn papist then take in the presbuterians amongst them".[57] That these views began to be expressed by lay people is revealed in an anti-comprehension pamphlet of 1689 in which the

author wrote, "a church that grows numerous by taking in Dissenters may be no stronger, than an Army that fills up its Company with Mutineers."[58] This pamphleteer's reference to the army is likely no accident. The military rule of Cromwell during the 1640s and 1650s, which had rejected Anglicanism in favor of a Presbyterian state church, was likely on the minds of English people as the post-Revolution religious settlement was being established. Once again, the Calvinist position was gaining strength. Perhaps now, during William's reign, Nonconformity was beginning to vie with Catholicism for the position of enemy to the Church of England. Along with Catholic popery, Dissent was beginning to successfully encroach upon the Church's power.

Dissent in London reached a peak of strength after 1688. William's Act of Indulgence not only protected the Dissenters from punishment for worship outside the Church of England, but it allowed Dissenters to acquire licenses to build meeting houses. As early as 1690, there were nine-hundred and forty Dissenting congregations, excluding Quaker meeting houses, in England. By 1711, the number of Nonconformist meeting houses outnumbered Anglican churches by two to one. Between these years, approximately 4000 new licenses had been issued.[59] That tensions began to form around the issue of religious art after the Glorious Revolution is not surprising. Looking back to the Civil War period, iconoclasm had become a means for Puritans to exert their authority over the Anglican church. The destruction in Anglican churches during that period reveals Puritan fears surrounding the similarities between Anglicanism, Arminianism and Catholicism. Similar sentiments against religious images were expressed at the end of the seventeenth century. Such publications as *A Discourse Concerning the Second Council of Nice, Which first Introduced and Established Image-Worship in the Christian Church*, by Thomas Comber, of 1688, reveals the strong stance among critics of

religious imagery, many of whom were also critics of Anglican church practices involving decoration. Interestingly, shortly after this piece was published, Comber became a pro-Williamite and was granted the deanery of Durham to replace the original non-juring occupant, Denis Grenville.[60] Thus, his Dissenting sympathies were apparent during his time.

In *A Discourse Concerning the Second Council of Nice*, Comber looks back to the Council of Nicaea in 787, when iconoclasm was condemned by the early Church and, according to the author, when "Idolatry" was sanctioned.[61] Challenging the legitimacy of the Nicaean council, Comber writes: "But as for this *Nicene* Council, they can neither confute their Adversaries by Scripture, nor yet by the Councils, Fathers and Tradition, and were better at an Anathema than an Argument".[62] He considers the first commandment in the Old Testament, "Thou shalt not have false gods before me," the ultimate statement against religious imagery. Indeed, Comber states that "The Religious Veneration which is now by the *Roman* Church said to be due to Images, cannot be grounded upon Scripture, because it was expressly forbid in the Old Testament."[63] Images of saints and biblical figures would, from this perspective, bring the sins of Roman Catholicism into Protestant churches.

Looking to contemporary iconoclastic episodes and public protests regarding religious imagery in the church, a clear picture of the anti-image position in seventeenth-century England emerges. The Puritan rejection of religious imagery did not confine itself to such blatant symbols of Catholic worship as images of the Virgin Mary or of the Saints. Rather, informed by the Calvinist perspective, Dissenters rejected all pictorial representations of religious figures in the physical space of the church, including crucifixions, crosses, the Trinity, Jesus in the form of a dove, the Paschal Lamb, and even nonrepresentational decoration around communion tables.

Often, an unspecific dismissal of all "superstitious images" led to the destruction of any image reminiscent of the Catholic artistic tradition.

Against this intense criticism of religious art, the popularity of biblical and hagiographical imagery at late seventeenth-century auction sales may appear to be puzzling. The subtle resistance to iconoclasm exhibited by orthodox Anglicans throughout the period, however, points the way to a possible explanation. Admittedly, the defensive position taken by many Protestants against violent acts of church iconoclasm does not necessarily indicate that Protestants were actively seeking out religious imagery for use in the home. However, such episodes disclose the intense conflict that persisted throughout the century over the issue of religious imagery, regardless of governmental attitudes. With this in mind, we must consider more closely the argument for religious imagery among the Anglican laity and clergy. In the process, the implications of this argument, or position, for patterns of worship involving religious imagery may be revealed.

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[1] Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and Early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722* (London: Longman, 1992), p.121.
[2] Alan Smith, *The Emergence of a Nation State: The Commonwealth of England, 1529-1660* (London: Longman, 1984), p.297.
[3] Ibid., pp.305-306.
[4] Keith Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), p.198.
[5] Smith, p.282.
[6] John Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536), trans. Ford Lewis Battles, ed. John T. McNeill (2 vols., Library of Christian Classics, vol. XX, 1961), Book 1, ch 11, p. 112.
[7] Carlos M. N. Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 225.
[8] Calvin, p. 112.
[9] Ibid., p. 112.
[10] John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: The Destruction of Art in England, 1525-1660* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 11-12.
[11] Judith Hook, *The Baroque Age in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), p.146.
[12] Justo L. Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity: The Reformation to the Present* (San Fransisco: Harper and Row Publishers, 1985), p.80.
[13] Smith, p.282.
[14] Laud, being the Archbishop of Canterbury, was ranked first amongst all the archbishops in England.
[15] Phillips, p.157.
[16] Ibid., p.162.
[17] Ibid., pp.158-159.

[18] Ibid., p.160.
[19] Ibid., p.176.
[20] Lindley, p.317.
[21] John Vicars, *The Sinfulness and Unlawfulness of Having or Making the Picture of Christ's Humanity* (London: Printed by M. F. for John Bartlet, 1641),p.3.
[22] Vicars, preface.
[23] Ibid., p.4.
[24] Smith, p.344.
[25] Phillips, p. 184.
[26] Ibid., p. 184.
[27] Ibid., p. 27.
[28] Lindley, p.45.
[29] *An Ordinance of Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, For the utter demolishing, removing, and taking away of all monuments of Superstition or Idolatry* (London: Printed for Edward Husbands, 1643), pp. 4-5.
[30] Ibid., p. 6.
[31] Lindley, p. 256.
[32] Phillips, p. 186.
[33] Ibid., p. 186.
[34] Richard Culmer Jr., *A Parish Looking-Glasse For Persecutors of Ministers* (London: Printed by Abraham Miller, 1657), p. 11.
[35] Ibid., p. 24.
[36] Ibid., pp. 24-25.
[37] Phillips, p. 188.
[38] Lindley, p. 46.
[39] Ibid., p. 257.
[40] Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and Early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722*, p.41.
[41] Henry Ferne, *An Appeal to Scripture & Antiquity* (London: Printed for R. Royston, 1665), p.56.
[42] Edmund Sherman, *The Birth and Burning of the Image Called St. Michael* (London: Printed by Richard Janeway, 1681), p.2.
[43] *Certain Letters Evidencing the Kings Stedfastness in the Protestant Religion* (London: Printed by Thomas Newcomb for Gabriel Bedell, and Thomas Collins, 1660), p. 32.
[44] Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and Early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722*, p.124.
[45] Craig Rose, *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion and War* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), p.2.
[46] Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and Early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722*, p.183.
[47] *The Grand Inquest* (London: n. p., 1680), p. 21.
[48] Sherman, p. 9.
[49] Ibid., p. 7.
[50] Rose, pp.7-9.
[51] Ibid., p.9.
[52] Ibid., pp,157-160.
[53] Ibid., p. 162.
[54] Ibid., p. 162.
[55] Ibid., p. 165.
[56] Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and Early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722*, p. 361.
[57] Rose, p.164.
[58] Ibid., p.162.
[59] Geoffrey Holmes, *Politics, Religion and Society in England, 1679-1742* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1986), p.193.
[60] Stanford E. Lehmberg, *Cathedrals Under Seige: Cathedrals in English Society, 1600-1700* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Press, 1996), p.80.
[61]Thomas Comber, *A Discourse Concerning the Second Council of Nice, Which First Introduced and Established Image Worship in the Christian Church* (London: Printed for Walter Kettilby, 1688), preface.
[62] Comber, p.34.

[63] Ibid., preface.

The analysis of religious conflict summarized in chapter two emphasizes the general hostility toward Catholicism in seventeenth-century England. However, this study has also surveyed the intense factional conflict within Protestantism itself that began early in the seventeenth century and endured until well into the eighteenth century. The consistent strength of Calvinist-leaning Protestants throughout the seventeenth century caused many Anglicans to feel increasingly threatened by the Puritan cause. By the end of the century tension between Calvinist sympathizers and Anglicans was high. In response, popular conformist literature reveals a strong desire to distance itself from the Calvinist outlook. As we have seen, conflict between these Protestant groups was often focused on the issue of religious imagery. Accordingly, popular literature exploited this conflict as a means of identifying Protestant loyalties and articulating religious difference. By analyzing several popular poems and dialogues from the period, this chapter proposes that religious imagery played a key role in defining Anglican identity, making the social significance of biblical and hagiographical imagery in early modern English society apparent.

Although the fear of popery remained high throughout the period, Calvinist-leaning Protestants were also regarded with increasing suspicion and anxiety as the seventeenth century progressed. During the 1630s, persecution of Puritans under the Laudian regime had forced many into exile. Popular awareness of the reforming cause was probably minimal throughout these years. Perhaps this lack of awareness can explain the alarm of conformists when "sectaries," or religious radicals who rejected both the Anglican religion and the Presbyterian Church of England as established by Cromwell, began to openly gather in London between 1643 and 1644.[1] By 1646, approximately

thirteen Independent churches, twelve Baptist churches, and ten Separatist churches had formed.[2] Although recent research has estimated that only approximately one thousand sectaries were likely to have lived in London during the 1640s, contemporary conforming Londoners perceived the threat of sectaries to be extremely high.[3]

The general rejection of traditional authority and promotion of democratic practice that sectaries exhibited was regarded with fear by Londoners of all social classes. Modeled after Calvinist and other reformed religions, sectarian churches offered a challenge to both sacred and secular conventions in England. In contrast to the Church of England, these churches were not organized according to parish boundaries. Independents went so far as to suggest that each congregation should be governed independently of other London congregations.[4] Attitudes toward membership also differed from those in the Church of England. Only those Christians who could exhibit their faithfulness could belong to sectarian congregations.[5] In these groups, the laity, rather than church and state authorities, became responsible for the spiritual health of their members.

Although Independents acknowledged the importance of university education for their ministers, other sectarian congregations rejected academic learning altogether. Baptists and Separatists believed that the uneducated were capable of bringing God's message to Christians, just as they had in the time of Jesus.[6] Since the congregation in these churches was responsible for electing ministers, no distinction was made between the preachers and the lay members. Here, the social and religious hierarchy integral to the Church of England was entirely dismissed. The rejection of fundamental Anglican doctrinal practices and issues, such as infant baptism, however, may have presented the greatest challenge to the established order. The adult baptism espoused by Baptists and

some Separatist groups undermined basic principles of Anglican faith.[7] Rejecting both the state and religious authorities, sectaries may have appeared, to many Londoners, to be dangerous radicals.

Popular literature from the time reveals the resentment with which sectarians were regarded by conformists. As early as 1642, popular apprehension was rising over the perceived threat that sectaries posed to the established order. In that year, John Taylor voiced this fear in *A Warning for England and, Especially For London in the Famous History of the Frantick Anabaptists*. Taylor's account of the Anabaptist, John of Leyden, in the city of Munster during the 1530s, serves to warn Londoners of the Anabaptist threat in London in the 1640s. According to Taylor, Leyden "infected great numbers who had their secret meetings in corners and conventicles most usually upon the night, admitting none but such as were addicted to their opinions."[8] Here, Taylor expresses the popular fear of an uncontrollable rise in the power of sectaries.

Attitudes like those of Taylor can explain the episodes of popular violence directed against sectaries in the early 1640s. In March 1643 a group of conforming apprentices attacked worshippers attending a conventicle in London's Leadenhall Street. The Baptist Platt family in London suffered similar abuse from their conforming neighbours in 1644-5. Unwilling to silence their condemnation of infant baptism, the family was forced to endure legal prosecution.[9] In February 1645, a Shrove Tuesday riot became the excuse for a large group of boys to attack an Antinomian[10] preacher named Giles Randall.[11] However small in scale, these episodes of hostility indicate the intensity of popular resentment toward sectaries in the mid-seventeenth century.

After the Restoration of the monarchy, governmental and popular persecution was extended to all nonconforming Protestants, including sectaries and Puritans. Having proved their strength in the Civil War and Interregnum years, Puritans represented a great threat to religious and political conformists, who hoped to preserve the established monarchy and church after 1660. Although Charles II was open to wider comprehension at the beginning of his reign, his tolerance for Nonconformity, or Dissent, was minimal and shortlived. In 1662, an Act of Uniformity was imposed, revealing the Church of England's hope to reestablish the structure of the church that had existed before the Interregnum period.[12] Nonconformist clergy were excluded from the church and universities, making a more comprehensive Church of England impossible. The Quaker Act issued during the same year communicated the extent of the government's hostility toward Nonconformity. Quakers who refused to swear the oath of allegiance to the state and church authorities were to be imprisoned.[13] This level of harshness toward Dissent was not relaxed throughout Charles's reign. During the Exclusion Crisis (1681-1685) particularly, Charles became resentful of the determined exclusionist Whig perspective. Not surprisingly, persecution of Nonconformity was especially high during these years.[14]

Charles found much popular support for his measures against Nonconformity. "Venner's Rising," the popular Puritan uprising of 1661, revealed that radical Nonconformity continued to threaten the traditional order. In response to both Puritan radicalism and the reestablishment of the monarchy and state church, a strong Anglican "reflex" developed in the early years of Charles II's reign.[15] A widespread desire to revive traditional Anglican forms of worship during this time indicates the strength of conformist sentiment throughout the Civil War and Interregnum years. This Anglican

impulse after 1660 was particularly strong among the gentry; however, it extended throughout all ranks of society. Due to popular demand, those Anglican clergy who had been dispossessed of their parishes during the 1650s were unofficially reinstated after 1660. This popular enthusiasm for conformity led to the official "Great Ejection" in which an estimated two thousand and twenty-nine Puritan clergy, lecturers, and fellows throughout England and Wales were ejected from their posts.[16] It is likely that Charles' repressive policy toward Nonconformity was a response to this popular Anglican sentiment.

Governmental persecution of Dissent did not persist after the reign of Charles II. Both James II and William III showed sympathy toward the Nonconformist cause. As mentioned above, both rulers issued a Declaration of Indulgence at the beginning of their reigns, allowing for freedom of worship for Protestant Dissenters. The occurrence of the Glorious Revolution itself, however, indicates the lack of favour with which James's policies were regarded. Although popular support for William of Orange was high upon his arrival in 1688, its rapid decline can be explained, in part, by his preferential treatment of Nonconformists in the revolution settlement. Those conformists who had hoped for a return to the Restoration church, regarded William's Calvinist sympathies with apprehension. In 1693, the Oxford antiquary Anthony A. Wood criticized William's Act of Toleration, expressing fear for the stability of the Church of England: "the effect of toleration- instead of enjoying their religion in peace without disturbance, they [Dissenters] endeavour to pull downe the Church by their writings and preachings."[17] The committed Anglican, Abraham de la Pryme, expressed similar fears in his diary entry of 10 October 1696: "Methought I foresaw a Religious War in the nation, in which our most

apostolick and blessed church should fall prey to the wicked, sacrilegious Nonconformists."[18] Here, de la Pryme is most likely recalling the violence and disorder of the Civil War period. His words indicate an increasing fear and distrust of Dissent among seventeenth-century Anglican conformists.

While some Anglicans, like A. Wood and de la Pryme, express outright fear of Dissent, others responded to the threat of Nonconformity with derisive satire. A large body of popular literature from the late seventeenth century relies upon scorn to undermine Nonconformity. Interestingly, iconoclasm is often ridiculed as one of the weakest aspects of the Puritan cause. Thus, the issue of religious imagery can be regarded as integral to such popular literature. Because of this focus, contemporary satirical literature also supports the notion that a favourable attitude toward religious imagery was a key aspect of the Anglican identity. In the process, popular conformist literature tends to define Nonconformity in terms of a radical and irrational rejection of religious imagery. Implicit in these derisive, satirical depictions of Nonconformity, is a self-representation of orthodox Anglicanism. The authors' consistent condemnation of Puritan iconoclasm in these works indicates that an acceptance of biblical and hagiographical imagery was championed by Anglicans. Even direct statements of support for the use of religious imagery are expressed, suggesting that Anglicans were proud of their historical connection to a Christian artistic tradition.

As Judith Hook reminds us, the Church of England claimed to possess an unbroken connection to the early and medieval churches, both of which promoted, throughout most of their periods, the use of religious imagery in worship.[19] Based on this very connection, Laud had supported the depiction of saints in church interiors early in

the century.[20] Thus, we can see the acceptance of biblical and hagiographical imagery on the basis of its traditional status. By the late seventeenth century, Anglican authors had begun to exploit the Church of England's connection to the practices of the early and medieval churches as a means of legitimating Anglican practices, notably those around religious imagery. In 1682, the anonymous author of *The Character of a True Protestant* describes the "True" Protestant's support of external forms of worship in the church, based upon their ancient status: "Traditions and Ceremonies he reverences, as they are Antiquities, and stream from the Spring of Original Purity."[21] The proctor and controversial writer, Abraham Woodhead (1608-78)[22] makes similar statements in his *Concerning Images and Idolatry*, published posthumously in 1689: "It is granted by Protestants that the use of Images in Churches was introduced in the fourth Age [century]," casting the issue of religious imagery as a focal point around which Protestants vied for religious authority.[23] Here, Woodhead presents the legitimacy of Anglicanism as being based upon its connection to the early church. In this way, biblical and hagiographical imagery is heralded as proof of the Church of England's ancient history and authority. Such a statement expresses the importance of religious imagery to the identity of the Anglican worshipper.

Henry Playford's "The Madman" of 1682 exemplifies the dichotomy that was often drawn by conformists between the reasonable Anglican and the irrational, violent Dissenter. This poem appeared in a collection of ballads, poems, and songs entitled *Wit and Mirth: An Antidote Against Melancholy*, satirizing contemporary social and political, as well as religious issues. "The Madman" traces a former Anglican's descent into Nonconformity and, as a result, madness:

A Protestant I first was
The Church is my Recorder,
And then I did
(As I was bid)
Love Decency and Order:

The Common Prayer and Organ
The Surplice, Copes and Rotchets
I then upheld,
Till I was fill'd
With Presbyterian Crotchets.[24]

Referring to the Church of England's use of both the Book of Common Prayer and clerical vestments, the author expresses his strong support for Anglican ceremony and doctrine. In this way, a rational, legitimate Anglicanism is contrasted to disorderly, fictitious Presbyterian "Crotchets", or whimsical fancies. Ultimately, the "madman's" acceptance of Presbyterianism is presented as the root of his insanity: "I was so bad /I fell stark mad /With the changing of Religions."[25]

Playford's description of the "mad" Presbyterian involves a colorful description of senseless iconoclasm:

We pull'd down all the Crosses,
And gain'd the Peoples Curses,
They were so pin'd
They could not find
A Cross left in their purses.

We broke all painted windows,
In Churches and Chappels,
We did no good
But shed the Blood

This diatribe against iconoclasm can be contrasted with the author's earlier expression of support for Anglican ceremony in the church. While he makes no direct statement of support for religious imagery, both his preference for Anglican tradition and his condemnation of church iconoclasm constitute a defense of the use of religious imagery

in the church. Playford's choice to highlight iconoclasm specifically as one of the most objectionable practices of the Nonconformist cause suggests the value of religious imagery in Anglican worship. In the process of condemning Nonconformity, "The Madman" implicitly champions the use of biblical and hagiographical imagery in Anglican practice.

In "The Distracted Puritan," Playford directly attacks the Puritan's condemnation of so-called superstitious imagery in the Church of England. Just as he does in "The Madman," Playford casts the Dissenter in this song as highly irrational. The "Distracted Puritan" asks, "Am I mad, o noble Festus?" referring to the clown in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*. More than irrational, the Puritan described here is also presented as disorderly, aggressive and irreverent:

> I appear'd before the Arch-Bishop,
> And all the high Commission:
> I gave him no Grace,
> But told him to his face
> That he favour'd Superstition.

Playford relies on his derisive account of the Puritan character to undermine such accusations of superstition within the Church of England. In fact, he manages to make iconophobic sentiment the focus of his attack on the Puritan cause by attaching this chorus to every verse in the song:

> Boldly I preach, hate a Cross, hate a Surplice,
> Miters, Copes, and Rotchets:
> Come hear me pray nine times a day,
> And fill your heads with Crotchets.

In this way, Playford is successful in constructing a strong binary opposition between the conformist and the Puritan around the issue of religious imagery. While the irrational

Puritan in this song condemns the Anglican favor for crucifixes and other external forms of worship, like the wearing of vestments, the exalted Archbishop remains committed to ceremony and spectacle in the church. Once again, the Anglican is cast as the defender of religious imagery in the Church.

Providing even more insight into the late seventeenth-century Anglican identity is *A Dialogue Between Mr. Prejudice, A Dissenting Country Gentleman and Mr. Reason, A Student in the University* by Thomas Wood, published in 1682. Here, a prosaic dialogue-form conveys the significance of the debate over religious imagery that existed between Dissenters and Anglicans at the end of the century. Like Playford, the author of this piece relies on the tropes of the irrational (prejudiced) Dissenter and the reasonable, objective conformist to both convey his Anglican sympathies and condemn the Dissenting position. In response to Prejudice's question, "But pray, what can you say to the Images over your College Gates and in other places; your young Boies painted with Wings at their Backs over your Altars; your Brass Candlesticks; your Saints painted in Glass Windows," Reason offers a rational explanation in support of religious imagery: "Why we say just as much to them as you say to the Pictures that hang up in your Parlour: they are onely suffered to be there for decency and ornament sake . . . why they may not be permitted now, for the ornament of God's House, and for civil and historical uses, not onely lawfully and decently, but even profitably [there being no apparent danger of Supersition] . . . the most zealous, hot-headed, profound Dissenter could never give any thing that was like a substantial Reason."[26]

In this passage, Reason, or the author, is likely discussing what appears to be the general practice of displaying pictures in the home for decorative and commemorative

purposes. If Calvinists accept such a custom, as he states, their condemnation of religious imagery, either in a decorative or a commemorative context, can be regarded as illogical. In this way, the author highlights an inconsistency in the Calvinist belief system. By addressing the Puritan rejection of religious imagery, he draws attention to the irrational nature of Nonconformity. Likewise, the contrasting reasonable nature of Anglicanism is exemplified through the Anglican expression of support for the use of biblical and hagiographical imagery in the Church: "we (the Sons of the Church of England) profess an invincible Hatred to Idolatry; you would understand that we are thoroughly sensible, that those Images have Eyes, and see not; Ears, and hear not; etc., do not, cannot regard our Worship; That we Scorn to offer the Sacrifice of Prayer to a Creature that is beneath us; that none can answer our Petitions, but a God that is glorious, immortal . . . Tis onely a civil Respect to the Place, upon the supposal that God is more immediately present there where the most sacred and Solemnest Parts of Religion are perform'd: No more idolatrous than when you stand bare in the Presence Chamber."[27] Here, the author makes an effort to draw a sharp distinction between the use of religious imagery and idolatry. Thus, he both condemns the Puritan tendency to equate all religious representation with idolatry and defends the continued use of biblical and hagiographical imagery in the Anglican church.

By highlighting the incoherent, or inconsistent, nature of the iconoclastic Dissenting position, the author is successful in undermining the Nonconformist stance against the use of religious imagery in the Church. More importantly, the author casts the Anglican support of religious imagery as proof of the Church of England's rational character.[28] Accordingly, the use of religious imagery is presented as evidence of

Anglican legitimacy. By the end of the century, Anglican authors were still promoting themselves as defenders of religious imagery. In 1698, the anonymous author of *A Dialogue Between Mr. Canterbury A Church of England-Man, and Mr. Scott A Dissenter* attempted to discourage separation from the Church of England by clarifying some major points of debate between Anglicans and Dissenters, including the issue of religious imagery. Directing his publication toward moderate Dissenters who may have recently defected from the Church of England, this author hopes that "they [these papers] will rectifie your Mistakes, which (though I believe contrary to your Designs) are very destructive to the Happiness of the Church, the Peace of the Nation, and the Glory of God."[29]

The *Dialogue* strongly supports the Anglican acceptance of religious images, specifically by defending the position of Archbishop Laud. Sparking the first point of debate between the two Protestants is a picture of Laud in Mr. Canterbury's house. Perhaps the author made a deliberate choice to introduce Laud into the story as an image, since the Archbishop was strongly associated with his approval of religious imagery. Predictably, Mr. Scott takes the opportunity to attack both the Archbishop and his support for ceremony and spectacle in the church: "He was certainly a very violent and furious Man against the Godly, who had more Religion in them, than to submit to his Fancies and superstitious Inventions; and to our Misery he has left so many Sons like himself."[30] Mr. Scott's criticism of Laud is followed by a lengthy defense of the Archbishop. Speaking through the character of Mr. Canterbury, the author replies to the Dissenting Mr. Scott: "I cannot believe that any English Man ever intended nobler Prospects for the Benefit of Religion, the Reputation and Honour of the Church, than that unfortunate Gentleman."

Continuing his defense of Laud and his followers onto the next page, Mr. Canterbury declares, "that I cannot subscribe to the Judgement you pass on our Clergy: for as far as I can observe, they are quiet peaceable Men; Persons of Loyalty, Learning, and good Temper; and they have with great Success vanquished the Champions of Rome."[31]

Mr. Canterbury's high praise of the Archbishop can be read as an expression of support for Laud's controversial enthusiasm for imagery in the church. As Mr. Scott reveals in his comment about Laud's "fancies and superstitious Inventions," Laud had become strongly associated with ceremony and spectacle in the church. Praise of Laud would likely have been interpreted by contemporary readers as support for religious imagery itself. Mr. Canterbury denies the superstitious nature of Anglican imagery by stating that the clergy "have with great Success vanquished the Champions of Rome," referring to the Catholic church. Furthermore, he defends the use of religious imagery in the Church of England by praising the clergy who support such images as "Persons of Loyalty, Learning, and good Temper." Here, we see a clear connection between education, reason, religious imagery and Anglicanism. Likewise a picture of the uneducated, irrational, and iconoclastic Dissenter is implied. Thus, the Anglican can be not only identified by, but also praised for, his/her acceptance of biblical and hagiographical art.

It appears that much contemporary opinion positively associated Anglicanism with religious art; likewise, the rejection of such art was considered by many to be a hallmark of Dissent. As the above analysis of popular literature demonstrates, religious imagery could function as a vehicle through which to articulate religious difference. If the support for religious art in popular literature could identify Anglican loyalties, it may

logically be supposed that the act of buying or displaying such imagery functioned in the same manner. I argue that those who admired and/or purchased biblical and hagiographical pictures at London auction sales, for example, openly communicated their position on the debate over religious imagery, their Anglican sympathies, and even their rejection of the Puritan cause. Just as the custom of purchasing and displaying portraits of royalty announced political affiliation, the open support for biblical and hagiographical pictures at auction sales could exhibit religious sympathies.[32] The acceptance of such imagery could serve to unite Anglicans, further alienating the Dissenting population.

Popular conformist literature provides some insight into the social function of religious imagery in seventeenth-century England. An analysis of popular poems and dialogues from the period suggests that admiring a crucifix, a piece of stained glass in a church, or a religious picture was an activity to be showcased. Anglican authors openly supported religious imagery, partly for its ability to connect both the early and medieval churches with the Church of England. Most important however, the Anglican acceptance of these images communicated a rejection of the increasingly powerful and threatening Nonconformist perspective. Nonconformist challenges to the authority of the Church of England were often framed around the issue of religious imagery. Thus, art became a focal point for a power struggle between the two Protestant groups within which religious legitimacy was debated. In their publications, Anglican authors both defended and promoted the use of religious imagery for decorative, as well as commemorative, purposes. In the context of this conformist mentality, Anglican laity who openly admired and purchased biblical and hagiographical pictures may have done so as a symbol of their loyalty to the Church of England. A picture featuring the Madonna and Child, the

Crucifixion, or a biblical story in the late seventeenth century could therefore indicate the self-conscious identity of Anglicanism in the midst of Protestant conflict and division.

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[1] Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution, Vol. 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 1-2.
[2] Keith Lindley, *Popular Politics and Religion in Civil War London* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), pp. 284-286.
[3] Ibid., p. 79.
[4] Gonzalez, p. 151.
[5] Lindley, p. 282.
[6] Ibid., p. 289.
[7] Ibid., p. 286.
[8] John Taylor, *A Warning for England and, Especially For London in the Famous History of the Frantick Anabaptists* (London: n. p., 1642), p. 7.
[9] Lindley, p. 301.
[10] Antinomians were distinguished by their view that Christians were released from observing the moral law. See Watts, pp. 113-114.
[11] Ibid., p. 302.
[12] Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and Early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722* (London: Longman, 1993), p. 37.
[13] Ibid., p. 149.
[14] Ibid., pp. 147-148.
[15] Ibid., p. 40.
[16] Watts, p. 219.
[17] Anthony A. Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary of Oxford, 1632-1695*, in Craig Rose, *England in the 1690s: Revolution, Religion, and War* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 1999) p. 175.
[18] Abraham de la Pryme, *The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme*, ed. Charles Jackson, in Rose, p. 175.
[19] Judith Hook, *The Baroque Age in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), p.146.
[20] Phillips, p.166.
[21] Anonymous, *The Character of a True Protestant* (London: Printed for T. S., 1682).
[22] Although raised an Anglican, Abraham Woodhead converted to Catholicism at an unknown point in is later life. His writings, many of which were published posthumously, exhibited a defensive position on both Catholic and Anglican practices in the face of Puritan criticism. See M. Slusser, "Abraham Woodhead (1608-78): Some Research Notes, Chiefly About His Writings," *Recusant History*, vol. 15, no. 6 (1981), p. 406.
[23] Abraham Woodhead, *Concerning Images and Idolatry* (Oxford: n.p.,1689), p.69.
[24] Henry Playford, *Wit and Mirth: An Antidote Against Melancholy* (London: Printed by A. G. and J. P., and sold by Henry Playford, 1682), p. 75.
[25] Ibid., p. 75.
[26] Thomas Wood, *A Dialogue Between Mr. Prejudice, A Dissenting Country Gentelman, and Mr. Reason, A Student in the University* (London: Printed for T. Sawbridge, 1682), pp. 6-7.
[27] Ibid., p. 8.
[28] The author's emphasis on the Church of England's rational character may be an indication of "latitudinarian" sympathies. Partially based on their rational views, "latitudinarians" within the Restored clerical establishment, aimed to accommodate moderate dissenters in the Church of England. By highlighting the rational character of Anglicanism, the author may be arguing for the Church's ability to accommodate moderate Dissent. See Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and Early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722,* p. 147.
[29] Anonymous, *A Dialogue Between Mr. Canterbury A Church of England-Man, and Mr. Scott A Dissenter* (London: n. p., 1698), Epistle Dedicatory.
[30] Ibid., p. 2.
[31] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[32] Since at least the early seventeenth century through to the late eighteenth century, printing companies had been issuing inexpensive prints of royalty for private purchase. Both historical and contemporary royal figures were consistently printed and made available to consumers. These prints were often displayed on walls in the home, announcing the political affiliations of the homeowners. See Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England, 1550-1850* (London: The British Museum Press, 1999), pp, 82-85.

Throughout the iconophobic years of the seventeenth century, Anglicans presented consistent resistance to the anti-image sentiment of the Puritans. The use of religious imagery had been a celebrated Anglican tradition based upon the Church of England's claim to a direct connection with the ancient and medieval Christian churches. Therefore, despite the periodic official iconoclasm of the seventeenth century, the use of religious imagery within Anglican practice survived. A strong tradition of household worship developed throughout the seventeenth century, encouraging an enthusiasm for popular prints and illustrated devotional literature. This chapter investigates the increasingly important practice of private devotion in early modern England. In the process, it will demonstrate that household worship became an acceptable and even desirable context for the display of religious images. Through the analysis of seventeenth-century broadsides, ballads and devotional book illustrations, it will become apparent that biblical and hagiographical imagery was able to thrive in the Anglican household. Pictures at London auction sales can be positioned within this devotional setting, casting the seventeenth-century domestic interior as a complex site of visual display.

By the early part of the seventeenth century, private worship had become an important part of the pious Anglican's daily routine. Indeed, at four o'clock each morning, Elizabeth Walker (1623-1690), wife of the clergyman Anthony Walker, awoke for her morning prayer. Elizabeth would devote between two and three hours to prayer and meditation, followed by a short time reading the Bible with her servants.[1] Later on, at five o'clock in the evening, she would resume her private devotions and prepare for family prayer with her children and servants.[2] The closing of her day was also preceded

by prayer, which she carefully described in her diary, "I going to Prayer, according to my usual custom, before I kneeled down by an outward action of my Hand . . . . ."[3] Much of Elizabeth's diary was executed with the intention of instructing her two daughters in Christian piety.[4] When her husband published the writings in 1690, Elizabeth's diary functioned as a Christian model for the general reader. Today, the diary reveals the significance of private devotion in seventeenth-century England.

Elizabeth Walker was clearly a remarkably pious woman, no doubt connected with her position as a clergyman's wife. However, her strict pattern of household worship indicates the degree to which private devotion had become integral to seventeenth-century Anglicanism. Since the early stages of the Reformation, the Church had advocated household worship. In 1540, Archbishop Thomas Cranmer published his second folio edition of the *Great Bible*, stating in the Prologue that the Bible should be available in the vernacular form to the laity. In the same year, he issued a proclamation encouraging all laymen to read the Bible as often as desired in any location, especially in the home.[5] Surviving probate inventories reveal that Bibles had become ubiquitous in lower, middle and upper-class households by the early seventeenth-century.[6] In addition to Bible study, the Book of Common Prayer, the Church of England's liturgy, and its companion catechism were intended to be followed both in church and at home. Sermons were even published at this time for those who wished to study the pastor's words after the service was over. However, although the sixteenth-century clergy promoted household worship, no policy was established to guarantee this practice.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the clergy were expressing dissatisfaction with the laity's knowledge of basic Protestant tenets.[7] As a remedy for this perceived

ignorance, the Church of England began to publish instructional religious literature for use in the home. From this point onward, the already existing, somewhat limited body of devotional literature began to grow and diversify. Along with Bibles and prayer books, sermons and homilies continued to be published at an ever-increasing rate. Between 1603 and 1640, at least two thousand sermons were published. After the Restoration, their popularity rose. Approximately twenty-four thousand sermons were published between 1660 and 1783.[8] Catechisms were also popular in the seventeenth century. Between 1620 and 1710, dozens of household catechisms were published by the Anglican clergy.[9] Alongside this emphasis on Anglican doctrine grew an increasing interest in private prayer. The great output of prayer manuals, handbooks and treatises between 1600 and 1660 reflects this new focus amongst both the clergy and the laity.[10] The volume and diversity of devotional literature at this time thus marks the seventeenth century as a key period for household worship in English history.[11]

In response to the laity's apparent ignorance of Anglican doctrine, the clergy began to place increasing emphasis on the use of catechisms. Most catechisms produced by the Church of England concentrated on the fundamental tenets of faith, such as the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the doctrine of the sacraments of baptism and communion.[12] Often in a question-and-answer format, this educational literature was intended to be used as a supplement to regular church attendance. The knowledge afforded by catechetical exercises, the clergy believed, would promote a deeper understanding and appreciation of church sermons, of the sacraments, and of scripture itself. For this reason, catechisms discouraged rote learning and instead encouraged a broad understanding of Protestant faith by supplementing exercises with

scriptural references, prayers and meditations.[13] Catechisms were recommended for use in church, school, and the home. Parents and heads of households were encouraged to lead children and servants in their catechetical exercises daily.[14] Many were written for a broad audience possessing a range of intellectual capacities. Approximately forty pages in length, the average catechism could be used by children, youths, and servants.[15]

Like catechisms, sermons possessed a fairly broad appeal. Indeed, sermons were written primarily to be delivered at church services, most of which were held for the public. Later bound and published, these sermons could be studied by the laity for deeper understanding. Catechetical sermons became very popular in the second half of the seventeenth century.[16] Similar to the catechism itself, these published works addressed basic tenets of Protestant faith such as the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the sacraments.[17] In contrast to these all-encompassing catechetical sermons, were short sermons addressing more specialized topics such as salvation, faith, good works, or idolatry. Several different sermons touching different topics were often bound together. Each sermon was intended to be read on Christian holidays like Easter, or on consecutive Sundays.[18]

Once the fundamental tenets were mastered, the seventeenth-century Protestant may have consulted a treatise to further his/her understanding of faith. Unlike sermons, which were primarily designed for oral communication, these literary compositions were written to be read and studied.[19] While sixteenth-century treatises often functioned as aids to general Bible study, most published in the seventeenth century dealt with specific topics. Addressing in detail the themes of preparation for death and communion, cases of conscience, the life of faith, repentance, and methods of petitionary prayer, treatises

appealed to a more educated and elite group of readers than did the average catechism or catechetical sermon.[20]

Along with catechisms, sermons, and treatises which instructed readers in both Anglican doctrine and the scriptures, prayer, or devotional, manuals were widely published in the seventeenth century. In fact, the subject of prayer is considered to have comprised the bulk of devotional literature in the seventeenth century.[21] While most instructional religious literature addressed doctrinal issues, thereby acknowledging the differences between Anglicanism and Calvinist-leaning Protestantism, prayer manuals promoted little sectarian debate.[22] Indeed, all Protestants shared the belief in an unmediated relationship between human beings and God. For this reason, the importance of private prayer was recognized by both Anglicans and non-Anglican Protestants. Similarly, all Protestants recognized the value of consulting scripture as the ultimate source for prayer. Consequently, few distinctions were made between the different Protestant groups on the appropriate method of prayer. Devotional manuals written by Anglicans tended to provide detailed instruction on how and when to pray, as well as on suitable topics of prayer. While some Calvinist-leaning Protestants favored a more spontaneous approach to prayer, Church of England prayer manuals were consulted by all Protestant groups.[23]

Given the growing emphasis on religious literature, it is not surprising that literacy rates continued to climb after the early stages of the Reformation. Approximately thirty per cent of England's population could read and write in the 1530s. A century later, the number had doubled in southern England. After the Restoration, northern England's population had also attained a literacy rate of approximately thirty per cent.[24] Although

literacy was steadily growing, England was far from being completely literate by the time devotional literature was flourishing in the seventeenth century. Here, an interaction between oral and literate culture can explain the popularity of religious instructional books despite the still high rate of illiteracy. As the diary of Elizabeth Walker reveals, literate heads of households would have read the Bible aloud to both their children and servants. Children may have read aloud to their illiterate parents, and even neighbours to one another.[25] Thus, although not everyone could read devotional literature, many would have participated in the practice of household worship in seventeenth-century England.

Devotional manuals of the period present a recommended, or ideal, pattern of daily devotion. While sermons, treatises, and catechisms also provide readers with spiritual guidance, they tend to focus on Anglican doctrinal issues specifically, without addressing daily worship; in contrast, prayer manuals offer to readers a complete guide to proper religious conduct. Highlighting the duties of prayer and scripture reading, these handbooks direct readers through a daily devotional routine, placing special emphasis on Sabbath days and Christian holidays. In 1612, the Bishop of Bangor, Lewis Bayly, published *The Practice of Piety, Directing a Christian How to Walk That He May Please God*, providing a model for most prayer manuals to come. The eleventh edition of *The Practice of Piety* appeared in 1619 and by 1734, the fifty-eighth edition was released, revealing the extent of the book's appeal. Written for a middle- to lower-class audience of merchants and tradesmen, Bayly's manual reveals the ideal pattern of devotion for modest seventeenth-century households.[26]

The Practice of Piety provides readers with a detailed devotional routine beginning with the waking moment of the day. Immediately after rising, Bayly

recommends, the Christian should begin his/her morning devotions by meditating on the parallel between sleep and death, waking and resurrection. After a short time considering God's mercy, the reader is directed to consult the Bible: "But for as much that, as Faith is the soul, so reading and meditating of the Word of God are the Parents of Prayer: Therefore, before thou prayest in the Morning, first, reade a Chapter in the Word of God."[27] A list of prayers is then provided for the reader to repeat. Before finishing, a section of the Psalter from the Book of Common Prayer is to be read. These morning exercises are to be performed early in the morning in order to prepare the Christian for his/her day of work: "Begin therefore every dayes work with God's Word and Prayer."[28] By the time noon-hour approached, the pious follower of Bayly's handbook would have allotted approximately one hour to private devotion. If he or she had children or servants, another hour was expected to have been dedicated to group prayer and Bible study.[29]

As the day unfolds, the reader is required to carry out more devotions at various intervals. Before meals, he/she is encouraged not only to say grace, but to meditate on the theme of thanksgiving. In both the afternoon and the evening, prayer, meditation, and scripture reading are to be performed. If such a schedule is followed, the whole Bible should be read once per year. In addition, a selection of prayers and meditations is provided for each section of the day. While Bayly recommends that morning devotion be forward looking, midday and evening prayers provided in *The Practice of Piety* promote self-reflection. At these times, the Christian is expected to examine his/her conduct over the course of the day: "Sit down a while before thou goest to bed, and consider with thy self what memorable thing thou hast seen, heard, or read that day . . . what sin thou hast committed that day against God or Man.[30] In addition to this focus on daily conduct,

Bayly provides prayers dealing primarily with the themes of repentance for sin, thanksgiving, and intercession on behalf of the Church of England.[31]

According to Bayly, preparation for the Sabbath day must begin on Saturday evening, requiring that work be finished earlier than usual in order to be well rested on Sunday. Arising early on Sunday morning, the Christian must meditate on the theme of repentance, followed by prayer, praise, and thanksgiving to God for his mercy. Preparation for Holy Communion on both Saturday evening and Sunday morning require that the communicant examine him/herself according to the standard of the Ten Commandments.[32] Since all secular duties were to be replaced by religious devotion on the Sabbath day, Bayly recommends prayer and meditation for nearly every hour of the day: "Now the sanctifying of the Sabbath consists in two things: First, In resting from all servile and common businesse pertaining to our naturall life: Secondly, In consecrating that rest wholly to the service of God."[33] Indeed, as well as his/her morning prayer and preparations for Holy Communion, the Christian is to be occupied by meditating on the Sunday church service—the focus of the Sabbath.[34] Especially if the reader of Bayly's book is the father or head of the household, he/she must spend the greater part of the day meditating, singing psalms, evaluating his/her household according to the direction of the pastor's sermon, and studying the church catechism.[35]

Bayly provides his readers with special prayers and meditations for the sick and dying. Christian holidays are also to be honored by special prayers, as well as by fasting. Addressing both the ordinary and the special days established by the Christian calendar, Bayly offers his readers a complete guide to private devotion. His comprehensive approach is echoed in the manuals published later in the century. Jeremy Taylor's *Holy*

Living of 1650 purported to provide all the devotional needs of its Anglican readers, including "Prayers containing the whole duty of a Christian, and the parts of Devotion fitted to all Occasions and furnish'd for all Necessities."[36] As did Bayly, Taylor hoped to provide basic instruction in daily devotion that would be accessible to a range of intellectual capacities.[37] He recommended a straightforward routine of prayer in the morning, afternoon, and evening: "in the morning when you awake accustome yourself to think first upon God, of something in order to his service; and at night also, let him close thine eyes."[38] Daily prayers at noon were also prescribed, as well as a self-reflective routine of prayer and meditation on Sundays.[39]

As suggested in its title, *The Whole Duty of Man: Necessary for all Families* repeats this comprehensive approach. In this devotional manual, published by the clergyman Richard Allestree in 1657, seventeen brief chapters outlining the Christian duty to God are to be read on Sundays, three times over the course of a year. In addition, one hundred pages of short prayers are included for daily use. Designed to be used in combination with the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, *The Whole Duty of Man* also prescribed a complete devotional routine for its readers. Perhaps even more appealing than its comprehensive approach, however, was the manual's simple language and tendency to avoid addressing the theological debates that were circulating during the Interregnum period in which it was published.[40] As Allestree states: "The only intent of this ensuing Treatise, is to be a short and Plain Direction to the very meanest Readers."[41] Indeed, *The Whole Duty of Man* was widely popular, even among Calvinist-leaning Protestants. Presbyterian clergyman Richard Baxter and Puritan clergyman Thomas Gouge both recommended this handbook to the laity, revealing the surprisingly

noncontroversial status of prayer and prayer manuals in the seventeenth century.[42] Furthermore, the attitudes of both Baxter and Gouge indicate the trend among some clergymen to downplay the importance of the theological debates that plagued the seventeenth century. By recommending that the laity consult basic prayer guides like *The Whole Duty of Man*, they emphasized the importance of following the moral code that was central to Christianity.

While prayer manuals of the period indicate an ideal pattern of household worship, contemporary diaries present evidence regarding the actual practice of private devotion. As Elizabeth Walker's diary reveals, prayer, meditation, and Bible reading could be central to the daily routine of a clergyman's wife. In fact, the families of clergymen account for a high number of spiritual diarists from the period, not only because of their obvious attention to religion, but also because they generally possessed a high level of literacy.[43] Like Elizabeth Walker, Elizabeth Bury (1644-1720), wife of the clergyman Samuel Bury, made her daily devotional exercises the focus of her diary. Edited and published by her husband, Elizabeth Bury's diary served as a model of Christian piety. According to her husband, Bury followed a strict pattern of daily devotion including morning and evening prayer and family worship.[44]

On special occasions, like the Sabbath day, Elizabeth Bury's entire days were devoted to prayer and meditation. Bury's schedule for Sunday worship recalls the guidelines set out in Bayly's *The Practice of Piety*. Putting devotion before all other tasks, Bury began her Sundays with morning prayer and meditation, Bible reading and singing. Before attending Sunday service, Bury would lead the family in devotional exercises, followed by her own private prayer in preparation for the church service. Since

her servants did not attend church, she would make sure to discuss the sermon with them after the service was over. Bury would then resume private prayer and self examination before leading family worship once again.[45]

Bury's rigorous pattern of Sunday devotion suggests that she may have been following a devotional manual, something like Bayly's *Practice of Piety*. Her concern for the piety of both her servants and family, her complete attention to prayer and scripture, and her focus on the Sunday church service all comply with Bayly's instruction for Sunday devotion. Furthermore, the many self-reflective comments in her diary indicate that Bury was evaluating her devotional routine according to an ideal standard, likely provided by one or more of the available devotional handbooks. On 11 October 1693, Bury reflected on her inattention to prayer: "Indulg'd Drowsiness in the Morning, hindered my due Preparation for the Day, which griev'd and vex'd my Soul; yet the Lord was gracious, and in the second Attempt in secret Prayer, drew out my Heart in Pleading."[46]

Bury's position as a clergyman's wife, like that of Elizabeth Walker, may have encouraged the self-reproach evident in her diary. However, this sentiment is also common in devotional journals of pious women who were not related to clergymen. In her spiritual diary, the Countess of Warwick (1624-1678) recorded much disappointment at her inability to fulfill an ideal pattern of devotion.[47] The diary of Lady Elizabeth Delaval (1653-1671) indicates that she also possessed a high standard of diligence toward her devotional exercises. As recorded in her journal, Lady Elizabeth made sure to indulge in only "6 houer's slepe in the 24" in order to satisfy both her lengthy devotional routine and her many secular duties.[48] Because of their high social standing, these women do not

represent the average Anglican's approach to household worship. Indeed, relatively high levels of female illiteracy, especially among the lower classes, have left us with few surviving records of daily devotional habits in modest homes.[49] However, the examples of Elizabeth Walker, Elizabeth Bury, Lady Elizabeth Delaval and the Countess of Warwick show us that religious devotion was practised in the households of both the clergy and the laity.

As theses diaries suggest, household worship was often regarded as a female responsibility. The belief that women possessed a greater potential for piety than men was widespread, explaining the particularly female preoccupation with religious devotion in seventeenth-century diaries.[50] However, men were not exempt from devotional duties, even though women may have been generally responsible for household piety. The renowned seventeenth-century diarist Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) frequently discusses his attention, and lack thereof, to private prayer. In contrast to the rigid routine of the female diarists mentioned above, Pepys records a more erratic devotional practice. As he writes on 12 January 1664, "So to my office till late and then home to bed—after being at prayers, which is the first time after my late vow to say prayers in my family twice in every week."[51]

Pepys seems to wrestle with his negligence of religious duty, especially early on in 1661: "I took leave and went home. Where to prayers (which I have not had in my house a good while), and so to bed."[52] Later, in 1668, he is still negotiating the issue of private devotion both with his wife and within himself: "I did this night promise to my wife never to go to bed without calling upon God upon my knees by prayer, and I begun this night, and hope I shall never forget to do the like all my life."[53] Pepys's continuous

attention to private prayer suggests the strong value of such a practice within the Anglican community to which he belonged. Evidently, the duty of household worship extended to both men and women, regardless of contemporary notions surrounding female piety.

This obvious interest in devotional literature, together with the strong iconophobic tendencies of seventeenth-century society, has led some recent scholars to assume that religious imagery played, at best, a minimal role in the practice of household worship. In his *Anglican Devotion: Studies in the Spiritual Life of the Church of England Between the Reformation and the Oxford Movement* of 1961, C. J. Stranks presents reading, whether the Bible or a piece of devotional literature, as the focus of seventeenth-century Anglican household worship. According to Stranks, "The rare use of a crucifix, or sacred pictures, compelled him [the Christian reader] to make his own mental image."[54] Similarly, Ian Green, writing in 1996, highlights the Protestant rejection of visual aids as the greatest difference between Protestant and Catholic catechizing in the seventeenth century.[55]

Current scholars, however, remain divided over the issue of religious imagery in household worship. In fact, Jeremy Gregory, writing in 1993, regards religious imagery as central to Anglican worship, especially after the Glorious Revolution. More specifically, Gregory sees a concerted effort among the late seventeenth-century clergy to enlarge the Anglican congregation. Gregory points to religious imagery as a primary means of achieving this goal. A growing use of religious imagery in churches, Bibles, and devotional literature, as well as an acceptance of religious subject matter in popular paintings are considered to have served a type of propaganda campaign initiated by the Church of England.[56]

In Gregory's opinion, the Church did not merely strengthen its position on religious images at the end of the seventeenth century; rather, it hoped to draw support away from both Catholics and Dissenters through the use of religious art. The belief that art work might instruct the laity in Anglican piety and the value of Christian charity was championed by the clergy.[57] In this way, Gregory believes that religious images would announce their ability to prevent idolatry, thus gaining the support of those possessing Nonconformist sympathies. Likewise, Catholic sympathies might be drawn towards the Anglican focus on external forms of worship. Gregory encourages scholars to look for evidence of Anglican propaganda in more modest forms of culture. He discusses paintings such as "The Good Samaritan" and "St. Paul Before Felix," of 1748, by William Hogarth, as well as the numerous illustrations of devout Christians in prayer in *The Meditations of St. Augustine,* published in 1701.[58] This research on popular paintings and book illustrations produced for Anglican worshipers directs attention away from elite culture towards the middle- and lower-class religious experience.[59]

Jonathan Barry also documents the clergy's growing reliance upon religious imagery for promotional and educational purposes. Like Gregory, Barry highlights the increasing popularity of both illustrated devotional books and religious prints and pictures at the end of the seventeenth century.[60] This, he feels, went hand in hand with the flourishing of church building and decoration in the early eighteenth century. In 1711, The Commission for Building Fifty New Churches in London was established by Parliament. In response to London's population increase, many of these churches were built in the quickly developing suburbs.[61] The elaborate painting and sculptural

decoration of these new churches, however, suggests that there were more than demographic considerations which fueled the building project.

Barry suggests that the Church of England's wish to assert power played a key role in the design of the new churches. The building project can be viewed as part of the Church of England's effort to articulate a clear position on the use of religious imagery in response to the ongoing conflict with Dissent.[62] More specifically, Barry believes that through the building project, the Church of England wished to express the uniqueness of Anglicanism in relation to both Catholic and Dissenting religions.[63] Household devotional aids such as paintings, prints, and books also embodied this unique Anglican culture by highlighting the importance of religious imagery in Christian worship.

Seventeenth-century evidence supports the perspective promoted by both Gregory and Barry. By the end of the century, Nonconformists were still criticizing Anglicans for their use of religious imagery, in both the church and the home. In *A Discourse of the Use of Images: In Relation to the Church of England and the Church of Rome* published in 1687, the Dissenter, John Gother, chides Anglicans for their adoption of what he considers to be Catholic practices regarding imagery. We learn that "The Church of *England* likewise agrees with her [the Church of Rome] in the same *Doctrin* and *Practice*; allowing of *Images*, as helps to Piety, and for affecting the minds of the Beholders with Pious Cognitions, and encouraging them to a Vertuous and Exemplary Life." [64] Furthermore, he asserts that both religions endorse the use of religious images for historical and commemorative purposes in the church, as well as in the home.[65] Indeed, he states: "As to the Historical Use of Images, 'tis the Profess'd Docrin and Practice of the Church of Rome, to have the Pictures both in *Houses* and *Churches*, for

the instruction of the Ignorant."[66] We learn that Anglicans hold the same practices, for Gother writes: "This same *Historical Use of Holy Images* is conform likewise to the Doctrin and Practice of the Church of England."[67] The household use of religious images by Anglicans is reiterated a few pages later where Gother cites an unnamed author who also claims that "The Pictures of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and the Saints may be made, and had in Houses, set up in Churches—The Protestants do it, and use them for Helps of Piety."[68]

Certainly, the Dissenting perspective of this author must be considered when examining such evidence. His efforts to paint Anglicans and Catholics with the same brush is clearly his tactic of condemning the Anglican position. Exaggerating or even fabricating the evidence for the household use of religious imagery among Anglicans would have served the author's desire to condemn Anglicans for idolatry. However, such a claim would not have been credible or believable had these patterns of usage of religious art not existed. Thus, it is likely that his statements are well founded to some degree. Indeed, Abraham Woodhead, in his *Concerning Images and Idolatry* of 1689, makes similar statements. His defense of external forms of worship in the Church of England against the accusations of idolatry includes a list of appropriate practices.[69] The practices of uncovering one's head upon entering a church and bowing toward the altar or communion table sometimes involved burning frankincense, which he considers "a thing as lawful, I suppose, as it is in our own house."[70] It seems that Anglicans practiced many forms of external worship in their homes, including those that involved religious images.

The claim that religious imagery formed a significant aspect of household worship is supported by the surge of interest in book illustrations at the beginning of the seventeenth

century. The enthusiasm for decorated frontispieces and other book illustrations was relatively new to the seventeenth century. Throughout the sixteenth century, illustrations had been uncommon in English book publishing.[71] When woodcuts were used, they were often imported from the Netherlands. Contemporary writing, however, reveals that book illustrations had become popular by the early seventeenth century. In 1638, John Hooper criticized this new trend:

> Books, gaudy, like themselves, most do now buy,
> Fine, trim, adorned Bookes, where they may spy
> More of the Carvers than th'Authors skill,
> And more admire the Pencill, than the Quill:
> Pamphlets, whose Outsides promise, they may finde
> What may their Eyes feed, rather than their minde:
> Nay nowadays who almost doth behold,
> One booke without a gaudy Liv'ry sold?[72]

Even devotional literature it seems, was affected by this trend. In fact, frontispieces featuring biblical and hagiographical imagery can be found in Church of England catechisms, psalters, prayer books, and family devotional manuals from the Civil War period through to the end of the century. Undeterred by the iconophobic atmosphere of the 1640s, the clergyman Daniel Featley chose to feature six pictorial vignettes, each illustrating a different New Testament story, on the frontispiece to his prayer manual, *Ancilla Pietatis: Or the Hand-Maid to Private Devotion,* of 1648 (fig. 1). Highlighted beneath each small composition is a corresponding scriptural reference. The owner of the manual is thus encouraged to consult the Bible when viewing the depictions of the Nativity, Christ's Ascension and Resurrection into heaven, the Apostles speaking in tongues, and John's account of Moses raising a serpent in the desert. Perhaps this style of representation was chosen to assist the viewer in imagining him/herself in the particular New Testament scene. Such a practice would, undoubtedly, facilitate the viewer's ability to empathize with New Testament figures.[73]

Illustrations of biblical figures and stories appear to have been a common addition to devotional guides in the seventeenth century. Clergyman Richard Allestree opted for Old Testament scenes in several of his prayer manuals. His frontispiece to *The Gentlemans Calling,* of 1664 (fig. 2), features an image of King Zedekiah from the Old Testament's Book of Jeremiah. King Zedekiah was punished for valuing worldly status over God's Word. In this image, he is represented in shackles, thereby teaching viewers a lesson in piety.[74] Illustrating the Old Testament story of Isaiah's vision of a seraphim, the frontispiece to Allestree's *The Lively Oracles Given To Us*, published in 1678 (fig. 3), is instrumental in emphasizing the value of Bible study to the devout Christian. Indeed, the careful depiction of a scriptural tablet in Isaiah's hand underscores the caption which states: "The Christian's birthright and duty in the custody and use of the holy scripture." In his most popular devotional manual, *The Whole Duty of Man* of 1692 (fig. 4), Allestree chose to feature the story of Moses and the Ten Commandments, thereby emphasizing the Christian duty of self examination according to God's Word.

Religious imagery in the home was not confined to book illustration. Woodcut pictures on ballads and broadsides produced throughout the century reveal a consistent interest in biblical and hagiographical imagery. Depicting such religious subjects as the Holy Family of 1630 (fig. 5), the Resurrection of 1634 (fig. 6), and the Nativity of 1631 (fig. 7), these popular prints force us to reevaluate the modern perception of seventeenth-century England as hostile to religious imagery. Furthermore, contemporary evidence suggests that the texts of ballads commonly served to decorate the homes of modest Londoners and rural cottagers. A ballad entitled "The Prodigal Son Sifted", first published in 1677 (fig. 8), depicts a contemporary version of the biblical story of the Prodigal Son. Here, parents are shown "sieving out" the sins of their son.[75] Most

important, a heading to the illustration suggests that the ballad was designed for household display: "Being a Useful Table to be set up in All Families." Similarly, the ballad entitled, "The Young Man's Conquest Over the Powers of Darkness" published in 1684 (fig. 9), announces its particular use in the home: "Necessary to be Set up in all Houses." Representing the figure's choice between the roads to heaven and hell, this ballad could be a pious reminder to Christians if displayed openly in the home.

The catechism *Milke For Babes,* written by the clergyman William Dickenson in 1628, suggests that the display of religious ballads in the home was not only a common practice, but a practice endorsed by the Church of England. Dickenson refers to this practice when he recommends that readers "Fix and fasten me to some convenient place in your Houses . . . that you may looke upon it and remember all the commandments of the Lord."[76] Dickenson's reference to the general practice of pinning or pasting up ballads to cottage or tavern walls here may indicate that popular prints illuminating Christian subjects were used as pious reminders. Thus, the display of ballads and broadsides, as well as book illustrations, seem to have complemented the reading of scripture and devotional literature in what appears to be a complex practice of household worship in seventeenth-century England.

Considering the nature of seventeenth-century devotional practice, the popularity of religious pictures at auction sales is logical. As our study of devotional literature from the period indicates, Anglicans utilized both literature and imagery in their pursuit of religious education and piety. That pictures sold at auction sales may not have included the textual components seen in much devotional imagery of the time does not decrease the possibility that such images often functioned as devotional aids. Indeed, as

contemporary evidence reveals, popular religious images were frequently displayed on the walls of private homes as pious reminders. This practice acknowledges the importance placed upon imagery itself as an integral aspect of household worship. Biblical and hagiographical imagery must have adorned the homes of middle-class Anglicans in much the same way as ballads and broadsides were displayed in more modest households. Serving as both a pious reminder and an instructional tool, religious imagery was clearly an acceptable part of private devotion and household decoration in seventeenth-century England.

The evidence presented in this chapter strongly suggests that many biblical and hagiographical pictures purchased at auction sales were used in a household devotional setting that was promoted and sanctioned by the Church of England. As we have seen, publishers often chose to illustrate religious instructional literature with biblical scenes that could enhance the textual information provided. Given the scriptural emphasis of Protestantism, biblical imagery was acceptable to most Protestants for its ability to instruct and serve as a pious reminder. The large number of Old and New Testament pictures listed for sale at auction houses would therefore have been approved by the Church of England and its congregation. Furthermore, the consistency between devotional book illustrations, popular religious prints and religious pictures sold at auction sales in terms of subject matter suggests a common function in the household devotional setting.

The illustrations discussed above reveal an aspect of Anglican worship that both involved religious imagery and was structured around instructional and devotional practices. Interestingly, the Anglicans managed to acknowledge the preeminence of scripture even in the

realm of the visual arts. Representing biblical stories and figures, and incorporating scriptural references and quotations, these Anglican images communicate a reverence for scripture above all. Often, a close relationship between text and image emphasizes the didactic role of these religious depictions. Most importantly, this role is underscored by the educational context of seventeenth-century household worship, comprised of catechisms, Bible readings, private prayer, and other devotional exercises. For these reasons, religious illustrations and pictures can be regarded as educational tools rather than religious icons, allowing them to have acquired legitimacy among an Anglican audience.

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[1]Anthony Walker, *The Holy Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Walker* (London: Printed by John Leake for the Author, 1690), 34.
[2] Ibid., pp. 40-41.
[3] Ibid., p. 18.
[4] Ibid., p. 6.
[5] Ian Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 43.
[6] David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 50.
[7] Ian Green, "'For Children in Yeeres and Children in Understanding': The Emergence of the English Catechism under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 37, no. 3, (1986), p.411.
[8] Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 194.
[9] Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England, 1530-1740* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 207.
[10] Cynthia Garrett, "The Rhetoric of Supplication: Prayer Theory in Seventeenth Century England," *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 46, (1993), p. 328-9.
[11] Garrett, p. 329.
[12] Ian Green, "'For Children in Yeeres and Children in Understanding': The Emergence of the English Catechism under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts,"pp. 403-403.
[13] Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 31-32.
[14] Ibid., p. 204.
[15] Green, "'For Children in Yeeres and Children in Understanding': The Emergence of the English Catechism under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts," pp. 408-409.
[16] Green, *Print and Protestantism*, p. 209.
[17] Ibid., p. 194.
[18] Ibid., pp. 209-210.
[19] Ibid., pp. 219-220.
[20] Ibid., p. 224.
[21] Garrett, p. 330.
[22] Ibid., p.329.
[23] Green, *Print and Protestantism*, pp. 239-240.
[24] Ibid., p. 26.
[25] Ibid., pp. 25-26.

[26] C.J. Stranks, *Anglican Devotion: Studies in the Spiritual life of the Church of England between the Reformation and the Oxford Movement* (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1961), p 45.
[27] Lewis Bayly, *The Practice of Piety, Directing a Christian How to Walk That He May Please God* (London: n. p., 1654), p. 149.
[28] Ibid., p. 145..
[29] Stranks, p. 46.
[30] Bayly, pp. 191-192.
[31] Stranks, p. 46.
[32] Ibid., p. 55.
[33] Bayly, p. 271.
[34] Ibid., pp. 49-50.
[35] Ibid., p. 51.
[36] Jeremy Taylor, *Holy Living* (London: Printed for Francis Ash, 1650), cover page.
[37] Stranks, p. 85.
[38] Taylor, p. 7.
[39] Stranks, p. 80.
[40] Stranks, pp. 124-125.
[41] Richard Allestree, *The Whole Duty of Man: Necessary for all Families* (London: Printed by J. Leake for E. Pawlett, 1657), p. A3.
[42] Green, Print and Protestantism, p. 353.
[43] Sarah Heller Mendelson, "Stuart Women's Diaries and Occasional Memoirs," pp. 181-209 in Mary Prior, ed., *Women In English Society, 1500-1800* (London: Metheun, 1985), p.189.
[44] Samuel Bury, *An Account of the Life and Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Bury* (Bristol: Printed by and for the Widow Penn, and sold by J. Sprint and E. M. Matthews booksellers in London, 1720), pp. 42-43.
[45] Bury, p. 39.
[46] Bury, p. 105.
[47] Mendelson, p. 187.
[48] Ibid., p. 189.
[49] Ibid., pp. 182-183.
[50] Ibid., 185.
[51] Samuel Pepys, *The Shorter Pepys*. Ed. Robert Lathan (London: Bell and Hyman, 1985), p. 343.
[52] Ibid., p. 135. (19 May 1661)
[53] Ibid., p. 966. (20 Nov)
[54] Stranks, p. 274.
[55] Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England, 1530-1740*, p. 13.
[56] Jeremy Gregory, "Anglicanism and the Arts: Religion, Culture and Politics in the Eighteenth Century," pp. 82-109 in Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory, eds., *Culture, Politics, and Society in Britain, 1660-1800*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp.85-87.
[57] Ibid., p.87.
[58] Ibid., pp. 84-89.
[59] Ibid., p.89.
[60] Jonathan Barry, "Cultural Patronage and the Anglican Crisis: Bristol, 1689-1775," pp. 191-208 in John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor, eds., *The Church of England c. 1689-1833* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.195.
[61] W.M. Jacob, *Lay People and Religion in the Early Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.200-201.
[62] Judith Hook, *The Baroque Age in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), p.146.
[63] Barry, p.203.
[64]John Gother, *A Discourse of the Use of Images: In Relation to the Church of England and the Church of Rome* (London: Printed by Henry Hills, 1687), p.7.
[65] Ibid., p.4.
[66] Ibid., p.4.
[67] Ibid., p.5.
[68] Ibid., p.8.

No surviving religious pictures can be identified with those advertised for sale in late seventeenth-century London auction sales. These images were often unsigned and were not particularly prized by their owners; for this reason no record of their existence survives. However, prints and paintings produced around the time the London art market began to flourish can provide excellent examples of the types of religious imagery available to middle-class buyers in the late seventeenth century. In fact, many of these mezzotint prints and paintings feature the most frequently listed subject matter in auction catalogs, revealing a high demand for certain religious subjects among a fairly broad spectrum of the middle class. While inexpensive mezzotints may have appealed to modest householders, paintings from the collection of the London actor William Cartwright (1607-1686) indicate the taste and affluence of the upper middle class. Such evidence reveals both the type of subject matter and range of quality accessible to consumers of religious art in seventeenth-century London. That both modest and affluent consumers chose to purchase biblical and hagiographical pictures for household decoration and devotion reveals the value of religious imagery to early modern English society.

Images of the Crucifixion and the Virgin Mary are numerous among surviving prints, as they are in the auction catalogs of 1690. The Hunterian Art Gallery in Glasgow houses three large volumes of mezzotint prints by the prominent seventeenth-century mezzotint artist John Smith (1652-1742). Images of Jesus and the Virgin Mary appear frequently in this set of popular prints, suggesting that many early modern consumers retained an attachment to the medieval Christian artistic tradition. In fact Smith, along with other unnamed seventeenth-century artists, produced prints of many of the most

popular Christian subjects listed in the late seventeenth-century auction catalogs.[1] These religious prints, in addition to those featuring non-religious subjects, became fashionable as interior decoration for middle-class households from the mid-seventeenth century onwards.[2] As we have seen, woodcuts and engravings had been used as household decoration long before the mid-seventeenth century. Smith, however, was instrumental in raising the status of mezzotint prints in his lifetime, making them particularly fashionable, although still affordable. Being the first mezzotinter in England to publish his own work, Smith was able to rework his plates as they became worn. In doing so, he could consistently produce high quality prints.[3] Admired for its fine detail, his work became collectible. Eventually, Smith compiled complete volumes of his mezzotints, like those at the Hunterian Art Gallery in Glasgow.[4]

The print of Mary Magdalen (fig. 10) by Smith provides an example of one of the most popular New Testament figures in the auction catalogs of 1690, as does his depiction of Jesus in Gethsemene (fig. 11). Often referred to as "Christ in the Garden" in auction catalogs, the subject of Jesus's arrest and betrayal was also a common theme for representation. While Old Testament themes seem to have been slightly less popular, based on our study of the auction catalogs, the mezzotints of Daniel in the Lions' Den (fig. 12) by John Smith, Judah and Tamar (fig. 13) by artist John Simon (1675-1755), and Judith with the Head of Holofernes (fig. 14) by an unknown artist may indicate the type of Old Testament imagery that appealed to middle-class buyers at the time.

In all five of these pictures, figures are identified through a narrative context. Props, such as the skull in the image of Mary Magdalen or the sword in the depiction of Judith with the Head of Holofernes, are included to announce the particular attributes of

each figure. Interestingly, four of the five prints also feature textual captions indicating the story represented. In these cases, the artist was certain to leave no mystery regarding his subject matter. Beyond their aesthetic value, these images were clearly important for their ability to illustrate key biblical stories. As instructional tools rather than religious icons, these images could serve to educate and inspire devotion, thereby preventing an idolatrous response in the viewer. Surviving religious mezzotints, therefore, seem particularly suited to the household devotional context of seventeenth-century Anglican worship.

Featuring biblical subject matter in an affordable format, these mezzotints possess some of the qualities most appealing to the middle-class buyers who frequented auction sales at the end of the century. While such prints may or may not have been sold at auction sales, they may have been modeled after the paintings sold at auction sales, or even copied from auction-house pictures directly. Perhaps even more closely connected to seventeenth-century auction sales, however, is William Cartwright's collection of two hundred and thirty-nine paintings, now housed at the Dulwich Picture Gallery in London. None of Cartwright's pictures are considered to have been masterpieces. In fact, some were copies of famous European paintings, as were many of the paintings sold at auction sales. Originally purchased at an average price of two to three pounds, these modestly priced paintings may represent some of the items for sale at early London auction sales.[5]

When Cartwright drew up his inventory some time in the 1680s, he owned twenty-seven religious pictures. [6] Though only a handful survive, it is interesting to note an obvious interest in New Testament stories, particularly those including Jesus. Besides one image of Susannah and the Elders (fig. 15), six surviving religious paintings depict

well known New Testament stories. Paintings of The Flight into Egypt (fig. 16), The Holy Family (figs. 17 and 18), The Infants Christ and St. John the Baptist (fig. 19), Christ and the Soldiers (fig. 20), and Ecce Homo, or the deposition (fig. 21), all highlight figures and themes frequently listed in auction catalogs of 1690. While Cartwright obviously obtained these pictures well before the year 1690, some of his purchases may have been made at London's earlier auction sales. Regardless of the exact connection between Cartwright's collection and the paintings sold at auction houses, the importance of these modest pictures cannot be overstated. Cartwright's collection, unlike those paintings listed in the auction catalogs, is documented and still in existence. From this evidence, we are provided with concrete examples of the modest pictures that were purchased and displayed in the home of a middle-class Londoner. As we can see, biblical and hagiographical images were items of choice.

These inexpensive prints and modestly priced paintings indicate the type of religious imagery popular among a broad spectrum of the middle class in seventeenth-century London. Thus, they can enhance our ability to understand the social role of religious art in seventeenth-century England, which is the focus of this thesis. However, an analysis of surviving religious pictures from the period can also provide a foundation for an in-depth analysis of religious painting itself in early modern England. In conjunction with evidence from the auction catalogs, these pictures suggest that biblical stories formed the major source of inspiration for painters of religious imagery. Although current scholars, such as Tessa Watt, have asserted a rise in the popularity of Old Testament scenes in seventeenth-century England, our evidence reveals that New Testament themes were equally desirable, if not more so.[7] For what reasons did both

painters and consumers tend to gravitate toward New Testament stories and figures? Perhaps prominent biblical figures such as the Virgin Mary and Jesus were obvious subjects for visual representation in a Christian culture. More unclear, however, are reasons for the popularity of less prominent biblical figures, like Mary Magdalen. When Old Testament stories were depicted, which were most popular and why? Here, research into the significance of these themes and figures to the Protestant faith, and specifically to Anglicanism, must be conducted in order to more fully understand early modern tastes.

As mentioned, religious paintings on the open market in early modern England often featured figures and themes that were also prominent in the Catholic artistic tradition. Did the similarities go beyond subject matter? Analyzing the formal qualities of surviving religious paintings and prints from the period, such as compositional style, painting technique, and color treatment may indicate the degree to which Catholic painting conventions influenced the development of Protestant religious painting in England. Did the colorful, emotionally charged depictions of biblical and hagiographical figures that were produced in the Catholic tradition either appear on the open market in London, or serve as models for painters working in England? Alternatively, did an English Protestant style of depicting religious subjects develop among a body of painters located in England?

An analysis of religious painting in seventeenth-century England would be further enhanced by research into the artists themselves. Considering the Anglican interest in religious imagery that has become apparent in this study, Pears's certainty that most pictures sold at London auction sales were produced by European Catholics should be challenged. As mentioned in chapter one, Gibson-Wood has countered Pears's opinion on

[69] Abraham Woodhead, *Concerning Images and Idolatry* (London: n. p., 1689), p.77.
[70] Ibid., p.77.
[71] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 147.
[72] John Hooper, in Robert Farlie, *Lychnocausia,* cited in Watt, pp. 147-148.
[73] Jesuit prayer typically involved the use of imagination in this way. It is possible that such a practice may have been embraced by other religions, like Anglicanism, for its ability to promote empathy in the viewer. See Clara Bargellini, "Jesuit Devotions and Retablos in New Spain," pp.681-698 in John W. O'Malley, S.J. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy, S.J., eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), pp. 690-691.
[74] Jeremiah 38:20 to Jeremiah 39:8.
[75] Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England, 1550-1850* (London: The British Museum Press, 1999), p. 72.
[76] William Dickenson, *Milke For Babes*, in Ian Green, *The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England, 1530-1740.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p.207.

the issue of authorship by suggesting that a large number of pictures on the open market were created in England by native born painters. Indeed, artists John Smith and John Simon were producing mezzotints of biblical subject matter in the seventeenth century, suggesting that religious art had become a specialty for some English artists.

If Anglican consumers sought out biblical and hagiographical imagery at auction sales, it seems logical to assume that Anglican, or at least Protestant, painters were involved in creating these religious pictures, at least to some degree. Perhaps some of these artists worked both for the Church of England and as private painters. If so, how did these different audiences affect their work? Did painters adjust their style and choice of subject matter to suit secular and sacred contexts? Researching the mode of production of religious imagery in seventeenth-century England would enhance our understanding not only of the religious painting industry in general, but also of both public and private worship in early modern Anglican society.

Those painters living in England who were not in fact English were more likely to have been Dutch Protestants than European Catholics, as Pears suggests. When artists' names are included in the auction catalogs, a significant number prove to be of Dutch origin. In fact, Dutch artists had been welcomed to England under the reign of Charles II. Many had already acquired solid reputations by the time William ascended the throne in 1688. Throughout his reign, Dutch artists continued to thrive in England.[8]

During the sixteenth century, the Netherlands had established a strong Protestant tradition of religious painting, much like that which began to develop in England after the Civil War. With the decline of church art in the Netherlands as a result of the Reformation, the private market for painting grew quickly.[9] Bourgeois consumers

purchased historical, landscape, animal, portrait, still life, and religious paintings on the open market for household decoration. As the sixteenth century progressed, biblical imagery grew more popular, even in the form of book and Bible illustration.[10] These artistic trends gradually became absorbed into English culture as Dutch artists began to pursue their careers in England in the seventeenth century.[11] Further research into the Netherlands as an artistic model for seventeenth-century England, therefore, may provide answers to some of the questions regarding religious painting on the open market in seventeenth-century London.

An in-depth analysis of religious painting in England would be enriched by a closer look at the household as a setting for such imagery. This study has demonstrated the household use of religious imagery; however, the actual placement and positioning of religious pictures in the home have not been established. Our study of household devotion suggests that religious pictures may have been placed in the closets, or bedrooms, of devout Anglicans where private prayer and devotion was often conducted. In this case, biblical and hagiographical imagery may have served as an inspiration to meditation and prayer. On the other hand, our analysis of popular broadsides and ballads suggests that some religious pictures may have functioned as more prominent pious reminders for the whole family, rather than for the occupant or occupants of one bedroom. As we have seen, broadsides often instructed buyers in proper usage through the use of such captions as "Being a Useful Table to be set up in All Families," suggesting that an entire household could benefit from the display of religious imagery. These prints may have been more prominently positioned in living and/or dining areas.

Did religious pictures purchased on the open market therefore occupy both private and prominent places in seventeenth-century households?

This study has attempted to demonstrate the importance of biblical and hagiographical imagery to religious practice and identity in early modern England. Research into current art historical and historical literature, as well as contemporary popular and theological publications, has provided us with a convincing picture of the role that religious images, like those found at London auction sales, occupied in seventeenth-century English society. Gibson-Wood's assertion that the middle class represented a majority at London auction sales sheds light on the type of consumer audience that attended these popular London events. Moreover, both seventeenth-century evidence and current scholarship has emphasized the development of an Anglican tradition of household worship that involved religious imagery. Thus, we may assume a particularly middle-class Anglican interest in the biblical and hagiographical pictures found at auction sales for both decorative and devotional purposes. Beyond their practical role in the household, religious imagery functioned as a means of defining social and religious identities. Both the acts of purchasing and displaying religious pictures communicated a strong sense of Anglican identity in the face of ongoing iconophobic Dissent. Religious pictures therefore, like those at auction sales, may have been instrumental in forging strong barriers between Anglicans and Dissenters during a period of intense religious debate.

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[1] The Hunterian Art Gallery houses a collection of seventeenth-century religious prints by anonymous artists. Old and New Testament subjects are featured, with a focus on the figures of Jesus, Madonna, and Mary Magdalen.

[2] Timothy Clayton, *The English Print: 1688-1802* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. xi-xii.

[3] Antony Griffiths, "Early Mezzotint Publishing in England- I John Smith, 1652-1743," *Print Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 3 (1989), pp. 251-254.

[4] Griffiths, p. 250.
[5] Nicola Kalinsky and Giles Waterfield, *Mr. Cartwright's Pictures: A Seventeenth Century Collection* (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1988), p. 9.
[6] Ibid., p. 9.
[7] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 160-161.
[8] Martha Hamilton-Phillips, "Painting and Art Patronage in England," pp. 244-258 in Robert P. Maccobbin and Martha Hamilton-Phillips, eds. *The Age of William III and Mary II: Power, Politics, and Patronage, 1688-1702* (Williamsburg: College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1989), p. 251.
[9] Christian Tumpel, "Religious History Painting," pp. 45-54 in Dewey F. Mosby, ed. *Gods, Saints, and Heroes: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1980), pp. 45-46.
[10] Tumpel, pp. 49-50.
[11] Hamilton-Phillips, p. 251.

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Watch yee
and Pray.
I saw another Angel. Rev. 14.
in Faith and Hope.
Ancilla Pietatis:
OR, THE
HAND-MAID
to Private
DEVOTION:
Presenting a Manuell to her Mistresse furnished with Instructions Hymnes and PRAYERS.
fitted to the { Daies of the Weeke, Feasts, Fasts } of the Church.
By Daniel Featly. D. in Divin.
The fifth Edition Carefully Corrected and Enlarged
At London printed for Nicholas Bourne, and are to be sold at the south entrance of ye R. Exchange.
As ye serpent was lifted. Joh. 3. 14.
There apeared cloven to. Act. 2. 3.
ye Starre wch they saw Matt. 2. 9.
Why stand ye gazing up Act. 1. 11.
yo is borne this day. Luk 2. 11.
He is not here but is risen. Matt. 28. 6.
Anno Domini 16
Devotion
Handmaid

Figure 1


ZEDEKIAH – Ier. 39.
-The Anointed of the Lord was taken in their Nets under
whose shadow we said we should live in peace &c - Lament. 4.20
Vat. A3 f. 451

Figure 2


The lively Oracles given to us
or
The Christians birthright & duty in the
custody & use of the holy Scripture

Figure 3


The whole duty of man
We preach not our selves, but Christ Iesus ỹ Lord

Figure 4

Figure 5 (top)
Figure 6 (bottom)

CHRISTVS NATVS EST;

CHRIST is Borne.

Angels clap Hands; Let men forbeare to Mourne:
Their sauing-Health is come; For CHRIST *is Borne.*

The History of Christ his Life and Death.

Christ was borne in Bethlehem a little Village in Iury, not farre from Ierusalem: Mary (a Virgin) was his Mother, and Ioseph (a Carpenter) his reputed Father. He liued in the raigne of Augustus Cæsar, Emperor of Rome, and was put to death in the time of Tiberius. At twelue yeares of age he disputed in the Temple, and put downe the Doctors. He was the best Master that euer was, for he gaue (and to this day still giues) Heauen to his followers, yet had but bad Seruants, for Iudas betrayed him, Peter denyed him, all forsooke him. He was the best Sea-man that euer was, for he walked vpon the Waters, and at his bidding the Windes lay still. No man euer did such Cures as he did, for he raised the dead to life, gaue light to the Blind, made the Lame to walke, and cast out Diuels. No man euer made such Feasts as he, his last Supper being one, where he and his twelue Disciples sate together: At which time, rising from Table, he tyed a Towell about his middle, and then washing all their feet, he wiped them with that Towell: Another Feast was, which he fed fiue thousands with fiue Barly Loaues and two Fishes: At another time (being at a wedding) he turned Water into Wine.

His whole life was spent in labor, in Preaching, in Fasting, praying, healing sicke People, and doing miracles, yet for all this the Iewes hated him; Herod despised him, Annas, Caiphas, Pilate, the Scribes & Pharisees, with all the Doctors of the Law sate in consultation together, how to intrap him, and put him to death, and for that cause hired many false witnesses, who came in against him, but they agreed not in their testimonies: yet he was betrayed by his owne Seruant Iudas, who for thirty Roman Pence sold his Master, came to him, cryed, All hayle, and with a kisse deliuered him into the hands of such, as with Bils and Staues in the night came to apprehend him as a Theefe; He was thus haled to Prison. Then the custome of the Iewes, being (at euery Easter) to haue a Prisoner deliuered to them to be put to death; and Pilate asked the people if they would haue out Barrabas (a malefactor) or Christ: they cryed out to haue Christ crucified, and Barrabas to be made free. Hereupon, Christ with strong Cords was tyed to a Pillar, and with Cords & Whips scourged. At his Arraignment, he was spet vpon, and strucke ouer the face: At his comming from the Hall of Iudgment, he was whooped at, reuiled, mocked, and miserably abused. That day then which we call good Friday, being set downe for his day of Death, he was forced on his sore shoulders to carry his [illegible] heauy Crosse, on which he was to suffer, & to carry it through Ierusalem, to Mount Caluarie, his place of Execution: But before this, in the open Hall, the Iewes set a Crowne of sharpe pricking Thornes vpon his head, strucke him with a Reed, and Ieered at him: To that Crosse he was nayl'd with his Thorny Crowne on; his Hands and Feet bored through, hung betweene two common Theeues: His side pierced with a Speare; Vinegar and Gall giuen him to drinke as he hung: Close to the Crosse stood his mother, her Sister, and Mary Magdalen: Christ said to his Mother, Woman behold thy Sonne. In the end giuing vp the Ghost, the Body was taken downe; He was buried, yet rose againe, and was amongst his Disciples vntill he went vp into Heauen.

The Explanation o[f] this *Picture.*

A Religious Man inuentin[g] the Conceits both f[or] the Birdes and Beasts drawn[e] in this picture of our Sau[i]ours Birth, doth thus expres[se] them.

viz.

The Cocke croweth,
Christus Natus est.
Christ is borne.

The Rauen asked,
Quando?
When?

The Crow replyed,
Hac Nocte.
This Night.

The Oxe cryed out,
Vbi? Vbi?
Where? Where?

The Sheepe bleated out,
Bethlem.
Bethlem.

A voyce from Heauen sounded,
Gloria in Excelsis.
Glory be on high.

Whilst Armies of Ang[els] sung,
Halleluiah,
Saluation, and Glory, and [Hon]our, and power be to the L[ord] our God. Apoc. 19. 1.

O See! Mans Sauiour is in *Bethlem* borne,
His lodging base, he himselfe held in scorne,
The Cribbe at which the Oxe and Asse were fedde,
Mary (Christs Mother) makes her young Sonnes bed;
Yet see how Shepherds fall downe flat before him,
And how the Wise-men doe with guifts adore him,
Harke, what a heauenly Quire of Angells sing
Sweet Carrols, at the birth of this new King;
O happy man! when thus, (thy Soule to saue,)
Christ comes from Heauen, and makes himselfe a Slaue.

SEe else that Piller, where being naked bound,
Thy *Christ* had his flesh tore with many a wound;
When a Cocke crowes, let it this griefe afford,
To thinke how *Peter* (thrice) denyed his Lord;
See *Iudas* Lanthorne, and see *Iudas* Pence,
See the Dice throwne, to vncloath Innocence;
See Pincers, Nailes, and Hammers, how they meete,
To naile to th' Crosse, Christs blessed Hands and Feet:
O Wretched Man! where Christ for thee thus dyed,
Let him not still by thee be Crucified.

An Epitaph vpon Christ, who was Buried in a new Tombe, cut out of a Rocke, in which no Man but he was euer inclosed.

VVIthin this Rocke the Rocke *himselfe is layd,*
Who both the Tombe, and the Tombe-maker mad[e]
A Man he was, was no such man beside,
None liu'd so iust, none so vniustly dyed:
He was in debt for nothing, yet did pay
The debts of all the World at a set day.
Neuer of Woman could so much be said,
When he was borne his Mother was a Mayd.
He many wonders wrought, and this a chiefe,
A very bad Man, made he a Good Theife.
It happened well, he so by Iewes was Cross'd,
For all the Soules i'th World had els bin lost.
Thirty three yeares he liu'd: Had not he beene,
No Christian vpon Earth had ere bin seene.
He dyed a King, yet was a Begger borne,
And wore (which no Kings doe) a Crowne of Thorne.
First went he to his Graue, from thence, to Hell,
Then vp to Heauen: And there this King doth dwell.

FINIS.

London, Printed for IOHN STAFFORD, 1631.

Figure 7


THE PRODIGALL SIFTED
Or The Leud Life and Lamentable End of Idle profuse and Extravagant Persons, Emblamatically set forth and Described, Cheifly designed for a Warning to Unexperienced Youth.
But Necessary to be taken Notice of by all people in this vain and Debauched Age,
Being a usefull Table to be set up in All Families

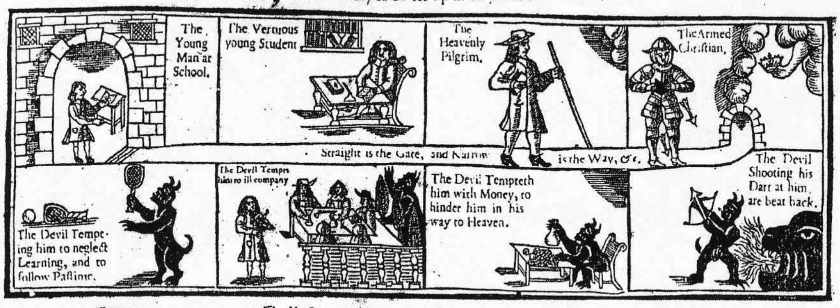
Figure 8

The YOUNG-MANS Conquest Over the POWERS of DARKNESS.

In a DIALOGUE, Between a Virtuous Young-Man, and the Subtile Insinuating Tempter; Discovering the Baits of *SATAN*, and the Strength of TEMPTATION: With the Christians Fortitude, and only means of Overcoming, which is by Faith in Christ, and unwearied Perseverance.

Eph. 6. chap. 11, *Put on the whole Armour of God, that you may withstand the wiles of the Devil.*

5. March. 168½ . Necessary to be set up in all Houses.



Tempter,

YOungman, well met, but whither in such hast,
Do's fear surprise thee that thou mov'st so fast,
Whither art Running Youth, come prethee tell,

Youngman,

To shun those Crooked Paths that Leads to Hell.

Tempter,

Pish, talk no more of that, but tell me whither
Thou do'st intend, and wee'l go both together.

Youngman,

A pretty motion, when I want a Guide
I'le send for thee, till then thou art deny'd.
T. Slight not the Courtesie which I have shown,
Such oft mistake the way who go alone,
Thy Feet may slide, shouldst thou my care neglect,
But I will Guide thee, and from harm protect.
Y. If Heaven will guide my Soul, I shall not stray,
Or fear the danger of a Slipp'ry way.
As for thy offers, I must borrow Leave
To say, such friendship's only to deceive.
T. Thy serious mind advise, and thou wilt see
My ways are best, be principl'd by me,
'Tis I mistaken Soul, 'tis I alone
That can Conduct thee to the Sublime Throne.
Believe not those that tell thee Bibling Stories,
Of Endless, Boundless, unconceived Glories,
Believe me Youth, 'tis I that can Display
The Gospel Colours, better far then They.
I can do more, it lies within my Power
To make thee Poor, or Rich, in half an hour.
I'le make the swell with Riches, thou shalt have
All that thy Heart can wish, or Tongue can crave,
Come Gentle Soul, into my twining Arm's
I'le hugg thee, I'le delight thee with my Charms.
Y. Tempter with-draw thy Bates and Snares, and stay
The Progress of thy Tongue, and give me way
That I may vent my thoughts, you having spoke
At large already, and is this the Stroke
Which you intend shall wound me, be Assur'd,
The Blows but small, and may be well Endur'd.
T. What dost thou think I am perfidious, Fye,
'Tis folly to condemn before you Try.
Alas! alas! what profit can Accrue
To me, by wronging such a Youth as you,
I doubt these Weak, these Empty thoughts presage
A Tempest Guarded with a storm of Rage.
Well then Storm on, and when thy Storm is spent,
Sit down and Meditate, and then Repent.
Y. *Repent*, O happy word, although Exprest
[illegible] a foul Mouth. Those that repent are blest.
[illegible] fallacious wretch, I cannot brook
[illegible] Golden baits, I have descry'd thy Hook,
[illegible] thou believe that I can Entertain
Belief from thee, or dost thou think to Reign
Within my Breast, no, no, thy Clowdy Powers
Are at the best but falsifying Showers;
Thou bidst me try, thy ways are so unjust,
That I resolve neither to try nor Trust.
T. Not try nor Trust, art thou resolv'd to cross
My real motions, do, and see whose loss
Will prove most Weighty, if I lose the heat
Of thy weak Love, my loss will not be great.
Take my instructions Soul, 'tis I must bring
Content unto thee, 'tis a Glorious thing
To be Immortal, prethee Soul decline
Thy former ways, say, shall I call thee mine.
My Gates are always open, those that venture
To come to me, shall with a we'come Enter.
Y. 'Tis not thy charming tempting Tongue can turn
The Biass of my Soul, or make me spurn
At Holy Writ, 'tis not thy fond conceit
Of being good, shall make me to Retreat
From Heavens Commands, 'tis not thy promis'd joys
Can make me chearful, or thy painted Toys
Can Lure me to thy Fist, 'tis not the Dart
Of thy vain Love can penetrate my Heart
'Tis not thy greatness that shall make me yield
To thy desires, Religion is my Shield.
I am advis'd to shun the broad path'd ways,
But to believe what Holy Scripture says.
The paths are Strait in which I ought to Run
The Course of Grace, until my days are done.
And those that change a Vertue for a Vice,
Deserve no Fruit from Heavens blest Paradice.
T. Urge not the Scriptures, for I dare maintain
My paths are best, all other ways are vain,
Know that my real breast contrives no End
But what may profit thee, be thy own Friend,
Observe my Actions, pry into my parts,
Lets know each other by Exchange of Hearts,
I'le give the mine, and for my sake restore
Thine unto me, grant this I'le ask no more.
Y. Thou saist thou'rt great and good, if this be true
I needs must call the Scripture false, or you,
Truth bids me tell thee boldly, when thou cry'st
Thou'rt great, and good, and rich, and rare, thou ly'st,
If thou art great and good, then tell me why
Thou wilt behold so vile a Wretch as I,
How can it be that thou wilt condescend
To feed my wants that am so mean a Friend;
Strange is that Charity which seems to shine,
From such a Diabolick breast as thine,
I will implore Heav'ns aid, to keep me still,
From this most Vile Progenitor of Ill;
Lord let him not insould me in his Arms,
Or overcome me with his wanton Charmes,
Be thou my Fort, and then I shall endure,
His furious onsets, and repose secure,
Give me thy Grace, then shall I be Content,
Make me as strong as he is Impudent.
T. What still refuse to do as I desire,
I'le make my Bellows to Advance the Fire
Of thy distress, and thy perpetual grief
Shall find a Voyce, but ramble from Relief.
I'le gripe thee till I make thee understand
The Fiery Language of my furious hand.
Y. Do, let the Spring-Tyde of thy fierce desires
Flow to the height, thou shalt not Quench my Fires,
Know, *Tempter* know, my Heart reserves no place
For thy Abode, I scorn thee to thy Face.
The well dy'd Colours of my Soul declares
Defiance to thee, and my breast prepares
To give the Battel, strike, I fear thee not,
Who's Arm'd with Faith, needs fear no Cannon-shot.
T. What Infamous Tongue is that which dares deny
My Power, with so much boldness -- Y. Wretch 'tis I.
'Tis I infernal Traytor, that will spend
My strength to prove thou art a Flatt'ring friend.
T. Move me to Anger, do, and thou shalt find
A Courteous Friend at last may prove unkind,
Have I not wo'd thee almost night and day
To go to Heaven, Youngman, The quite contrary way.
T. Have I not proffered all that can be given
To a sick Soul -- Young. To draw my Soul from Heaven.
T. Did I not promise to be true and Just,
Y. Did I not say I'de neither try nor Trust,
T. Did I not promise I would make thee wise,
Y. Did I not say thou wert compos'd of Lies,
T. Did I not promise to Encrease thy store,
Y. Did I not say such wealth would make me poor.
T. Did I not promise thee Eternal Glory,
Y. Did I not say that promise was a Story,
T. Did I not tell thee I was great and good,
Y. Did I not Answer, 'twas in Shedding blood,
T. *Thus by fair Terms I Laboured to obtain,*
Y. *Thus in foul Terms I told thee 'twas in vain,*
T. *Then I began to Threaten thee with Grief,*
Y. *And then I fled to Heav'n and found Relief.*
T. Then here I'le leave thee to the Lawless power
Of thy own passion, cursed be the hour
That brought thee forth, if all this will not do,
May all Men curse thee, and I'le curse thee too.
Y. Begon, begon, but stay, hark *Satan*, hark,
Boast, thou hast shot, though thou didst miss thy mark.
T. Why dost thou bid me go, I hope thy words
Are such as mine, which only Jests affords.
Smile on me then, and chearfully Impart,
The loving Childings of a tender Heart.
Y. Thou great Corrupter of Diviner parts,
Thou watchful Thief that steals into the Hearts
Of silly Mortals, think not to devour
My Armed heart, with thy pursuing power.
T. Will nothing move thee, wilt thou still mistrust,
If fair means will not move thee, foul means must.
Y. I fear thee not, because I know thy power
Is Limited, and thou canst not devour
Without Commission, therefore do thy worst,
And let thy Envy swell until it burst.
If words could kill, I had been e're this time
Worded to Death, but now I hope to Clime
Above the Reach of Words, in thy despite,
Where thou maist Grumble at me, but not bite;
If thou art God, as thou pretends to be,
Why dost thou suffer such a thing as me
T'expostulate so long, and dost not show
Thy Judgments in my speedy overthrow.
T. It is my goodness, and not thy desert
That breeds forbearance in my tender Heart;
Alas! alas! What Honour would Accrue
To me in Conquering such a thing as you.
Y. Thy Threats nor feign'd expressions cannot move
My Heart from God, nor nothing make me Love,
Thy wretched self, then be content and cease
To Urge my mind, or interrupt my peace.
Now Glorious God, be pleased to Inflame
My Heart with Raptures, to Extol thy Name.
Lord, I am weak, and if thou shouldst deny
To give me Strength, how weak a thing am I.
Wean me, O wean me, from this Nursing Earth,
Make it my Sorrow, and thy Throne my Mirth;
When I am Tempted, make me understand,
Thou hast a Storming and a Calming Hand;
Then shall my Ready Lips Express, and show
I know no more then thou wouldst have me know;
My unty'd Tongue shall evermore Proclaim
Exalted Praises to thy Holy Name.

22. 9. 10

FINIS.

LONDON, Printed for *J. Coniers* at the *Black-Raven* in *Duck-Lane*,

Figure 9

Figure 10

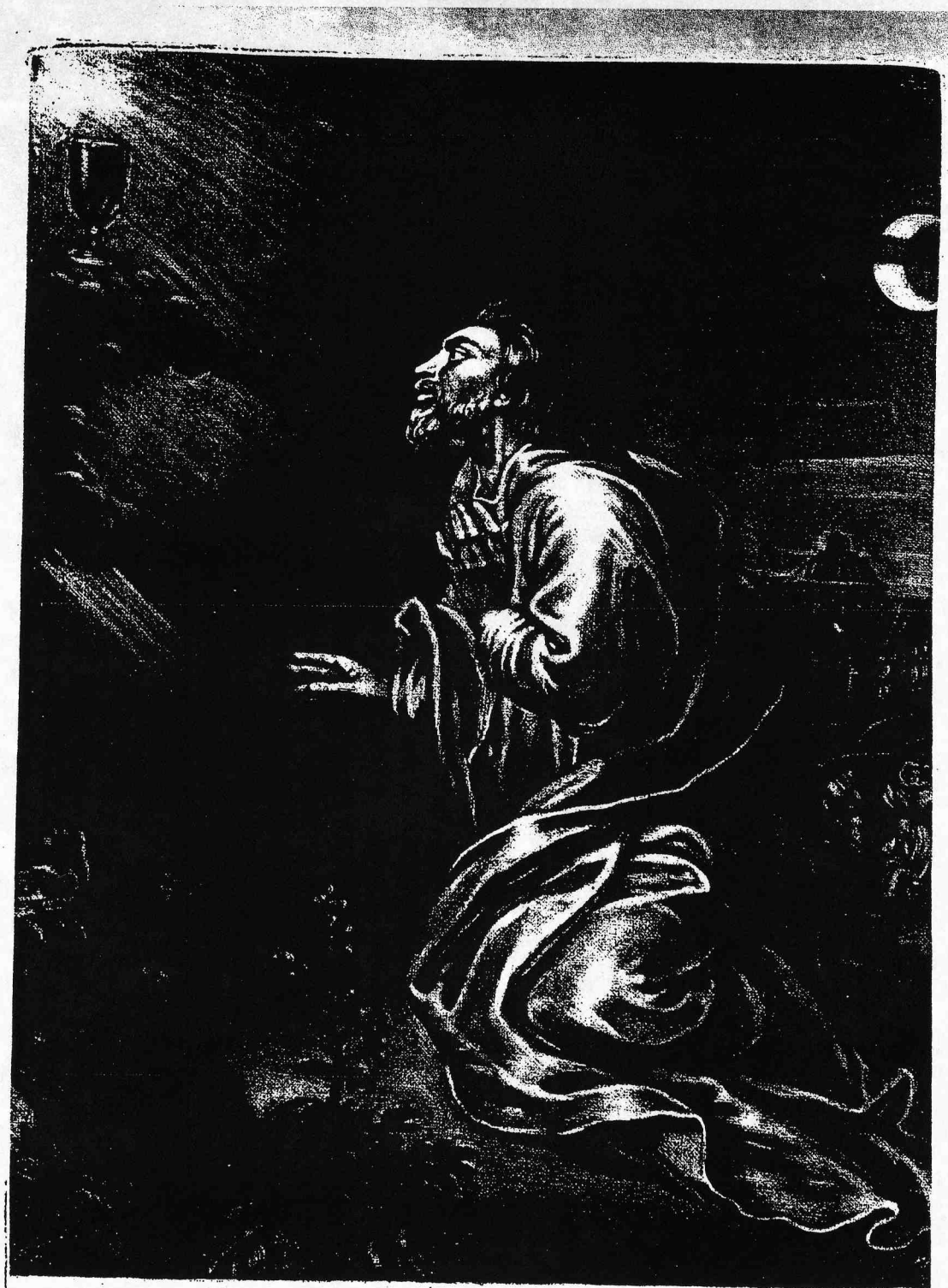


Figure 11

Daniel in the Lyons Denn. *I. Smith ex.*

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14

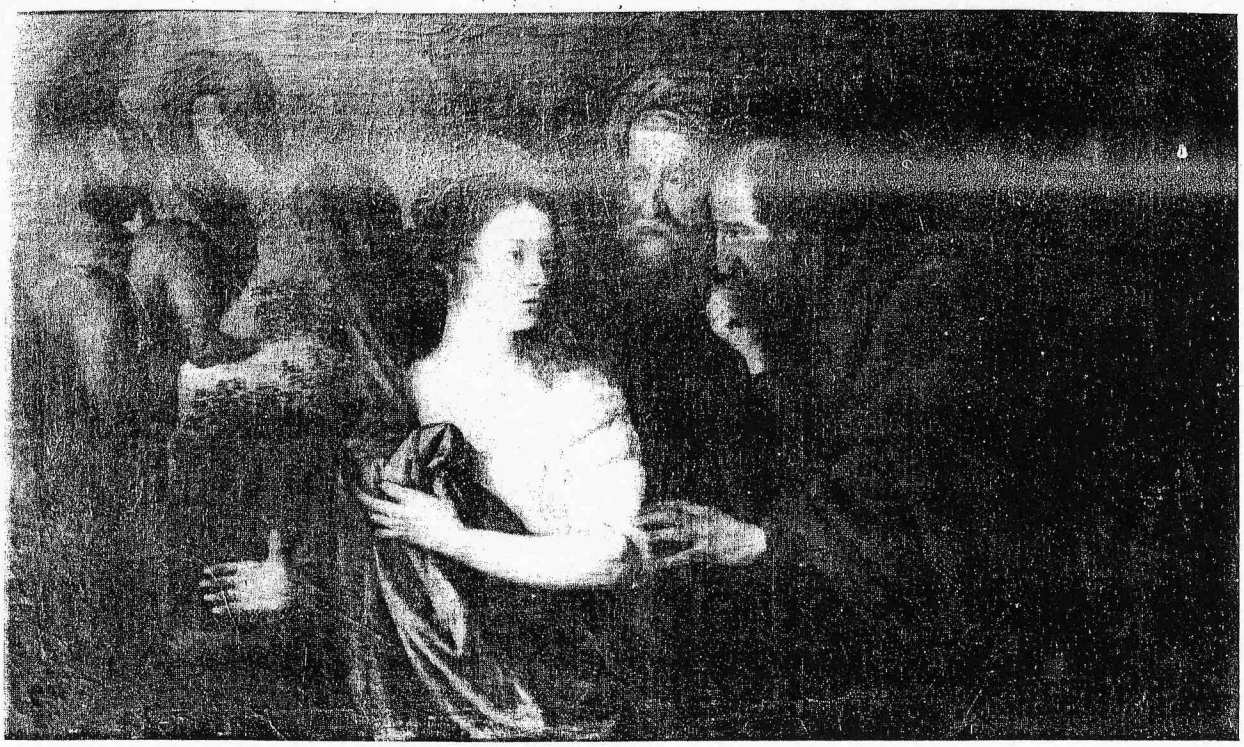


Figure 15

Figure 16

Clockwise from top: Figure 17, Figure 18, Figure 19, Figure 20

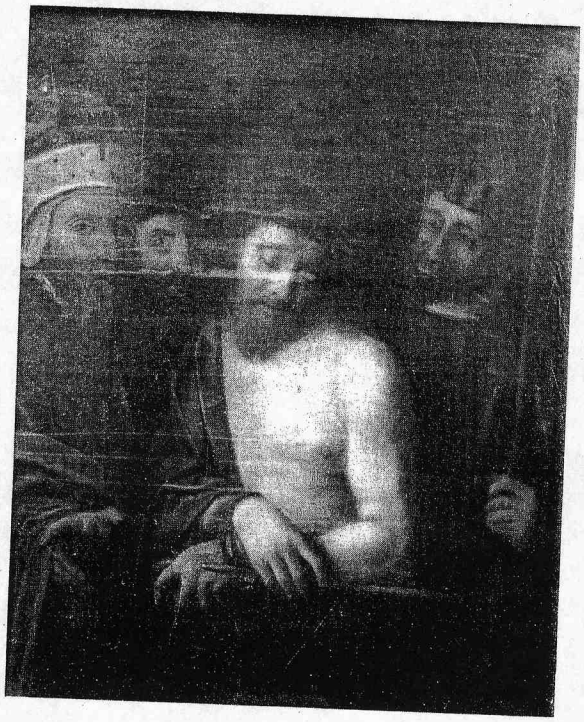


Figure 21