

## **Selling Forbidden Books: Profit and Ideology in Thomas Godfray's printing**

**Abstract:** Reformation scholars have tended to take for granted English demand for evangelical books without considering how writers and printers persuaded readers steeped in traditional religion to engage with verboten and challenging material. This article explores the commercial difficulties they faced in selling forbidden books and some of the tactics they adopted to nurture illicit demand. Thomas Godfray is presented as an example of a printer who combined ideological commitment to evangelical belief with an astute ability to negotiate censorship and manipulate the market.

There is a long-standing narrative about the earliest English printers of the Reformation that tells us they were as happy to print evangelical as conservative material, providing their risk (legal and financial) was minimized and a good return likely. As Charles Butterworth argued in 1947, 'as soon as one such [controversial] volume had been issued with impunity, the other... printers stood ready to join in this most welcome and profitable market, offering such material as they had at hand'.<sup>1</sup> Or as David Loades put it a few decades later, 'the appetite of Londoners for controversial ephemera was enormous, and...most printers were men of trade first, and proselytisers second (if at all)'.<sup>2</sup> A variation on this narrative attributed the earliest English evangelical printing to the combined effect of printers' mercantile interests and either humanists or the influence of Cromwell. In the words of James McConica, '...the years immediately after Wolsey's fall from office witnessed a remarkable publication enterprise which truly deserves the name "Erasmian". It is sponsored by humanists committed to reform in Church and State.'<sup>3</sup> Although this introduced an ideological motive for publication, it attributed it to sponsors 'committed to reform' and made printers the means by which they achieved their ends. Indeed, in Andrew Pettegree's version of this tale printers are erased entirely becoming simply the purveyors of a medium of production, 'one means by which the core messages of the reformers were brought to the reading public' and not even doing as much as that in England until the mid-

1530s for fear of jeopardising prosperity.<sup>4</sup> Conversely, when scholars do argue that ‘the printers who issued [controversial material] may have been motivated by a reforming religious agenda’ they give little attention to how they went about pursuing this agenda in commercially viable manner, from finding texts to negotiating censorship to enticing readers.<sup>5</sup>

What all these narratives have in common is that they take for granted the hunger of the laity for evangelical material, which writers like Tyndale repeatedly emphasised in their prefaces and envoys. As William Roy put it, ‘lett the vngodly roare and barcke never so lowde...the fyre which Christ cam to kyndle on erth / can nott butt burne.’<sup>6</sup> Such claims of burning demand seem truthful to the modern reader because we know that over a single decade Tyndale’s *New Testament* alone went through 15 editions and increasing numbers of evangelical texts were printed in English, first abroad and then within England itself. But in taking these rhetorical claims at face value, there is a tendency to see this growth in printing and reading as merely reflective of a pre-existent market just waiting to be exploited and to make the printers into curiously naive figures, either functioning as mere market agents responding mechanically to demand or as mouthpieces of God with no care for their bottom line. This is the trap that Michael Saenger suggests modern critics fall into too easily: ‘because paratexts are (often implicitly) read in non-literary terms’ their assertions ‘are often read as transparent reflections of...truth’ but ‘marketability not honesty, is the constant’ in front matter.<sup>7</sup> Statements like Roy’s expressed hope and belief in the laity’s desire for reformation, but they were also meant to encourage new readers by presenting the tracts as desirable.

An approach that sees printers of evangelical material in English as merely responding to burning demand gives too much sway to Thomas More’s claim that

evangelical books were 'for no lucre, caste...abrode by nyght' in order to spread the word.<sup>8</sup> Some texts were certainly given away, such as Simon Fish's pamphlet *Supplication of Beggars* which Fox claimed was 'throwen and scattered at the procession in Westminster vpon Candemas day' in February 1529.<sup>9</sup> However, this distribution method would have been unsustainable for every book, especially the longer works, and the evangelicals do not seem to have had a limitless supply of funds from their supporters. The possibly apocryphal tale in *Hall's Chronicle*, published in 1548, depicts William Tyndale as grateful that Cuthbert Tunstall, the bishop of London, bought up 'a heap of New Testaments and books' which he had 'beggared' himself to print even though they were going to be burnt. He apparently replied to the go-between:

I am the gladder...[for] I shall get money of him for these books, to bring myself out of debt, (and the whole world shall cry out upon the burning of God's word). And the overplus of the money, that shall remain to me, shall make me more studious, to correct the said new Testament, and so newly to imprint the same once again...<sup>10</sup>

Like any other type of printing, to produce an evangelical book abroad required money to cover the costs of the initial printing, as well as some hope of recovering those costs through sales.

Thomas More was keenly aware of this despite his comment that evangelical books were given away for 'no lucre'. He marveled in *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* that though 'they neyther can be...prented [outside of the realm] without great coste, nor here solde wythout aduenture & perell: yet ceace they not with mony sent from hense, to prente them there & sende them hyther by y\e/ whole fattes full at ones.'<sup>11</sup> Similarly in the *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* he emphasised the vital role groups of sponsors had in defraying the costs of printing:

...they let not to lay theyr money togyder and make a purse amonge them for the prynting of an euyll made or euyll translated boke / which thoughe it hadde to be forboden and burned yet some be solde ere they be spyed / and eche of them lese but theyr parte / yet I thynke there wyll no prynter lyghtly be so hote to put any byble in prynt at his owne charge / wherof the losse sholde lye hole in his owne necke...<sup>12</sup>

More had a clear vision of early Reformation printing as both physically *and* financially perilous, dependent on the making of a joint ‘purse’ to spread the costs and risks across a number of backers.

The financial risk remained even after the break with Rome heralded a period in which evangelical printing was tolerated within England even if it was not officially legal. A letter from John Rastell to Cromwell in August 1534 reveals the ways in which printers might risk financial ruin by publishing controversial material. Asking for financial support, Rastell observed:

I have spend my tyme 7 gyffyn my bysynes principally this iiij or v yers in compylyng dyuers bokes concernyng the furtherance of the kynges causis 7 opposing of the vsurpyd auctorite 7 therby gretly hyndered myn own bysynes that as I shall answer afore god I am the wors by it by a C l. 7 aboue / and beside that I haue decayd the trade of my lyffynge for where before yat I gote by the law in pledyng...xl m\ a/ rks a yere that was xx nobles a terme at the lest and printyd euery yere ij or iij C reams of papyr which was mor yerely profet to me than y\ e/ gaynys yat I gate by y\ e/ law / I assure you I get not now xls a yere by y\ e/ . law nor I printyd not a C. reams of papyr this ij yere...<sup>13</sup>

Having foregrounded the financial cost of his commitment to the King’s causes and opposing the Pope, Rastell went on to explain why he had *lost* rather than made money on books modern critics assume were in hot demand. He explained that he had attempted to make such material attractive to readers by devising ‘certeyn prayers \in/ englissh to be put in primers of dyuers sortes of small prise’ and had already produced a ‘lytyl primer’ to ‘bryng

y\e/ people...from the beleue of y\e/ popes noughty doctrine' (f.114r). However, he lamented that – far from there being great custom - 'y\e/ most part of the people be loth to bye any such bokes and yet yf they \be/ gyffyn to them skantly rede them' (f.114r). He thought that one solution would be to put the 'matter in englyssh...in *primers* which they vse to bryng *with* them to the church [so] they shal be in a maner compellyd to rede them' (fol.114r), but was also keenly aware of the price barrier, recommending that the King print 4,000 or 5,000 and 'gyff them among y\e/ people'. He thought that this would bring them to the right belief 'and do as much good as y\e/ *prechyng* do'.

A similar picture emerges from the correspondence between another publisher with Lutheran leanings, William Marshall, and Cromwell. Marshall appealed to Cromwell to lend him money since his printer, Thomas Godfray, was trying to avoid making the kinds of losses that Rastell incurred by refusing to allow Marshall 'to fett...bokes from the prynters for lacke of money.'<sup>14</sup> In response, Cromwell loaned Marshall £20 for which he and his brother, Thomas Marshall, stood surety with the hope that sales of *The Defence of Peace* (STC 17817) which Wyer printed for Marshall the following year, would allow the loan to be repaid. However, even though Marshall described this as 'the best book in English against the usurped...bishop of Rome' it did not sell and Cromwell forgave the debt late in 1535.<sup>15</sup>

The experiences of Rastell and Marshall bring into doubt the assumption that English printers had only to take advantage of 'enormous' pre-existing demand for material that broke with traditional doctrine and that they did not have to continue to encourage this new market after 1534. This assumption has caused Reformation scholars to ignore the question of how the market for vernacular, evangelical writing was initially fostered and expanded. For instance, in his excellent chapter on 'Reading' in *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain*, Alec Ryrie discusses the importance of reading to Protestantism and

the ways in which members of this 'book-religion' were trained to see reading as a fundamental part of their spiritual lives.<sup>16</sup> However, Ryrie takes the existence of a 'Protestant reader' or would-be reader for granted and does not address how such a reader was created in the earliest years of the Reformation, despite the book covering 1530-1640. Focusing on how literacy was acquired, he avoids the question of how a reader steeped in traditional religion became a reader open to engaging with evangelical texts in the first place, especially in a period when the reading of such material was still forbidden *de jure* if not always *de facto*. This tendency, like the narratives I've mentioned, obscures the ways in which writers, printers and publishers in the 1520s and 1530s independently and deliberately encouraged a nascent - not preexisting - market through their choice of material and the manner of its presentation.

Julia Boffey, however, has offered an alternative approach in her study of John Mychell, a Canterbury printer active from the 1530s. Arguing that his 'commercial shrewdness, as well as his conscience, may have prompted...[his] overt engagement with the printing of less traditional material during a period of religious change', she has explored the ways in which he exploited the potential of 'older Middle English writings in a new polemical context'.<sup>17</sup> In a similar vein, this article will focus on Thomas Godfray, who printed at least 36 editions between the late 1520s and 1530s, and show the ways in which he deliberately nurtured an emerging evangelical readership, balancing his commitment to the new thinking with commercial sensitivity. A few scholars, such as Andrew Wawn (1973), have previously suggested that Godfray was an 'integral part of the Henrician propagandist organization', but in doing so they have shifted the focus away from the printer and focused overmuch on the shaping force of Cromwell.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, Torrance Kirby's suggestion that Godfray's publications were part of an attempt to persuade the government erased the

majority of likely readers.<sup>19</sup> This article will argue instead that the texts that Godfray printed after 1534 were primarily aimed at assuaging the anxieties of curious readers and encouraging their demand for evangelical material; at conversion rather than political persuasion.

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Godfray was 'probably a Stationer' whose printing career ran 'between the end of 1530 and the beginning of 1537'.<sup>20</sup> During his career, he printed thirty-six texts, and seems to have operated from two separate locations, though there are only three colophons that give a more detailed address than 'London': John Stanbridge's *Sum es fui* which was 'Printed at London: in the Olde bayly' and the *Exonoratorium curatorum* and *The Folowyng of Christ* which were 'Prynted at London at Temple barre', 'though whether inside it or outside is unknown.'<sup>21</sup> To add to the obscurity of Godfray's career, only three of the texts Godfray printed are dated: *The workes of Geffray Chaucer* (1532); *The Forme and maner of...helpyng for pore people* (June 1535); and Tyndale's *New Testament* (1536).<sup>22</sup> A further three can be fairly closely dated as a result of internal references: *A primer in Englysshe*, which begins with the almanac for 1535<sup>23</sup>; *The boke of marchauntes*, which says it was translated in August 1534; and *A panegyric of Henry VIII*, which mentions Henry VIII's 'most lawfull wyfe quene Jane' as if she were alive so must have been written between her succession on 30 May 1536 and death on 24 October 1537<sup>24</sup>. Another work, *A treatyse of the donation...by Constantyne*, can probably be dated to early 1534 based on the letter (mentioned above) by William Marshall to Cromwell in April of that year asking for a loan to help bring 'the book of Constantine...from the printers'<sup>25</sup>, and Godfray's edition of the *Exonoratorium curatorum* must have been completed before November 1534 when the Act of Supremacy was passed since it made mention of 'thy gostly father...the pope'.<sup>26</sup>

Two more works can be dated fairly closely based on typographical evidence since Godfray used a 73 textura with a rotated 4 in its fount for these and three other editions that can be dated (for the reasons outlined above) between 1534-1537: *A treatyse of the donation...by Constantyne* and *A panegyric of Henry VIII* and *A primer in Englysshe*. According to Blayney, Godfray 'ordered some correctly oriented examples, but...added them to his typecase without discarding the rotated ones' and these can be seen alongside the erroneous 4s in *The fountayne or well of lyfe* (STC 11211, 1534?) and *A treatise declaryng...that pyctures [and] other ymages...ar in no wise to be suffred* (STC 24239, 1535?).<sup>27</sup> This suggests that these two works postdated the other three and should be dated 1535 or 1536. For most of the other twenty-six texts' chronological order, the STC offers ranges that cover 'up to three years on either side' of a central date.

Nevertheless, the approximate timeline of Godfray's career that emerges from a combination of the dated texts and approximate ranges falls into two parts. The first part, from approximately 1530-1534, shows little cohesiveness, encompassing *The Works of Geffray Chaucer*, the encyclopedic *History of kyng Boccus*<sup>28</sup>, the conventional *Folowyng of Christ*<sup>29</sup> and *Golden Epistle*,<sup>30</sup> and *An Introductorie for to lerne...Frenche*<sup>31</sup>. The second part seems to begin around 1534 and runs to the end of his printing career, during which texts of an evangelical or controversial nature dominate. On the controversial side are texts concerned with the relationship between Crown and Church such as the two tracts by Christopher Saint German on the limitations of the powers of the Church, *A treatise concernynge impropriations of benefices* and *A treatise of the donation or gyfte...by Constantyne*. There is also Marcourt's *The boke of marchauntes* which uses mercantile satire to explore questions of ecclesiastical power.<sup>32</sup> On the more explicitly evangelical side are translations by Joy and Tyndale of *The Psalter of David*, *The Prouerbes of Solomon*, and *The*



*New Testament*, Tyndale's *A pathway into the holy scripture* and Patrick Hamilton's *Dyuers frutefull gatherynges*. Only four texts - 15% of the output - printed by Godfray in this second period are concerned with other matters: two grammatical works by John Stanbridge, a third edition of the *Golden Epistle*, and a pamphlet celebrating the battle of Agincourt.

Godfray's concentration on printing evangelical material becomes more apparent when we consider what other printers were doing at this time. In the period 1530-1537, only two other London printers put their names to works by Tyndale. James Nycolson in 1536, who printed *The parable of the wicked mammon*<sup>33</sup> and Robert Redman who printed three editions of *An exposycyon vpon...Mathewe* between approximately 1533 and 1539<sup>34</sup>. Two other unidentified printers published *The Prophet Jonas* and *The obedyence of a Chrysten man*, but neither dated them nor added an imprint, while two more unidentified printers were more cautious still and used false imprints, claiming they were produced in 'Nornburg' or 'Malborowe, in the lande of Hesse'.<sup>35</sup> When other evangelical writers are taken into account, only Redman comes close to the range of material that Godfray printed. Indeed, Redman and Godfray seem to have been unusually willing to explore whether previously forbidden works by Tyndale might be printed as Henry VIII led the Church in England away from Rome. And yet, Redman's experiments were against a backdrop of much higher production: of the 99 works he printed between 1530-37, less than 14% might be considered evangelical and they are balanced out by religious material of a more traditional or explicitly sanctioned nature. Godfray stands out not only for the risks he took in exploring the boundaries of acceptability, but for his near exclusive concentration on controversial and evangelical material.

A further striking feature of this period of productivity in Godfray's career is the way in which all the evangelical texts are pitched at a readership only just becoming acquainted

with the idea of justification by faith alone. There are texts that introduce readers to the fundamental ideas of Lutheran-inflected belief, such as Tyndale's *A pathway into the holy scripture* and Patrick Hamilton's *Dyuers frutefull gatherynges*; that make scripture more accessible by offering the reader a florilegium of quotations, such as *The Prouerbes of Solomon*; and texts that combine both translations and expansions of biblical texts, like *The Psalter of David*. The edition of Tyndale's *New Testament* attributed to Godfray by the STC is in many ways anomalous in its relatively unmediated presentation of scripture. Although the introductory nature of these texts in part reflects the foci of the English evangelicals, Godfray seems to have done more than simply print what he 'had to hand'. Judging from extant editions - admittedly an imperfect guide - he avoided competing with other printers by eschewing further editions of Tyndale's most popular works, such as *The parable of the wicked mammon* and *The obedyence of a Chrysten man*. Instead he printed the only English editions of Tyndale's *A pathway into the holy scripture* and was the first English printer to print Tyndale's *New Testament*. He also avoided lengthier texts, such as Tyndale's *An answeare vnto Sir Thomas More*, printing almost entirely in octavo format with between 24 and 68 folios, making his texts both less expensive to produce and more easily purchasable. (In this practice perhaps he learnt from William Marshall's experience of failing to sell the folio *Defence of the Peace* with its 140 leaves despite being the 'best book' against Rome.) Reading Godfray's entire print run also reveals a repetitiveness and simplicity in the messages conveyed.

It is the cheapness and basic nature of these works that brings into question Torrance Kirby's assertion that Godfray was a member of a 'Tudor evangelical avant-garde whose main object was to prod the government to move toward a radical political break with the Roman hierarchy and to a theological break with the old religion.'<sup>36</sup> Godfray's publications

seem more directed at the common reader than the more informed members of the king's circle. Though I have argued elsewhere that Godfray was one of the first printers to test where the new boundaries of acceptable publication lay after 1534 by repositioning evangelical texts 'as part of the royally sanctioned criticism of traditional Church power and practice', I am now beginning to think that the ways in which Godfray chose, presented and adapted his earliest evangelical texts was as much about fostering a market for this material as it was about negotiating censorship.<sup>37</sup> It seems likely that by propagating the anticlerical discussions of people like St German which fitted a home grown and royal led opposition to papal and clerical power he helped to make common readers receptive to departures from traditional doctrine, while – as we shall see - combining this kind of material with evangelical material made the latter further familiar and acceptable.

Two letters sent to Cromwell in 1535 illustrate how necessary it was to slowly warm readers to evangelical doctrines in the early years of the English reformation and the risks of imprudent printing. These letters were sent following Thomas Godfray's anonymous printing for William Marshall of *A Treatise declaryng and shewing dyuers causes...that pyctures and other ymages...ar in no wise to be suffred* (STC 24238, 1535).<sup>38</sup> On 11 September 1535, Thomas Broke reported that 'the people gretly murmureth' about the book 'for that it enveith gretly ageynst worshipping of images...but most specially ageynst the masse wheryn the sacrament of the awter is consecrate'. He specifically drew attention to the way this topic was presented 'playnely' '*within iiij or v. leues of the latter ende*', the point at which the marginalia states 'The supper of our lord was comen to mani men celebrated at his table / 7 nat a priuate eatyng and drinkinge of one alone at the auter'.<sup>39</sup> Lord Chancellor Audeley again marked the book's disruptive potential two days later:

...in the parts where he [Marshall] has been there has been some discord and

diversity of opinion touching worshipping of saints and images, creeping at cross, and such ceremonies, which discord it were well to put to silence. This book will make much business if it should go forth. Intends to send for the printer to stop them. It were good that preachers and people abstained from opinions of such things until the King has put a final order by the report of those appointed for searching and ordering the laws of the Church. A proclamation to abstain until that time would do much good.<sup>40</sup>

Both Broke and Audeley saw the political consequences of not persuading readers and it is perhaps suggestive of Godfray's cautious approach and ability to anticipate trouble that he took the unusual step of omitting his name as printer from both the first and second edition, choosing instead to clearly state that they were 'Printed for W. Marshall'.<sup>41</sup> William Marshall, by contrast, was far from careful in either anticipating or responding to such murmurs, putting into print a second edition with a truculent note at the bottom of the title-page anticipating that 'some popish doctor or peuish proctor' would 'grunt at this treatise' but admonishing the reader to 'fyrst rede and then iuge.' He followed this with final envoy 'to the indyfferent reder' (G1r), described as a defensive 'buckler' (G3r), objecting that he had been 'mystaken and mysreported' (G2r) as having 'dispysed the masse or the supper of the lorde' rather than having spoken 'agaynst the abuses therof...by the byshopps of Rome / their popyshe complycles and counsellours' (G3r). William Underwood suspects that Cromwell's protection allowed Marshall to not only continue with the issuing of the first edition but to follow it with a second edition.<sup>42</sup> Yet this protection eventually ran out and in Underwood's view this book may well have supplied evidence for the act of attainder against Cromwell in 1540 which argued that he had 'secretly set forth and dispersed into all shires...great number of false erroneous books' including one that 'hath expressly been against the said most blessed and holy sacrament.'<sup>43</sup> Imprudent printing that failed to persuade readers and caused 'public discord' by stirring up a 'diversity of opinions' could

have disastrous consequences. The commercial decisions that Godfray took were shaped by that awareness.

In this, Godfray's printing practices were in line with the careful tactics of evangelical writers, printers and publishers abroad who had begun to foster the market he sought to enter. Before More's fall from power and Cromwell's ascendancy made it possible for printers to experiment with printing evangelical texts in England, the Crown and Church had made it clear to printers, booksellers and readers alike that books which strayed from accepted faith were forbidden.<sup>44</sup> In March 1529 a royal proclamation enforced general statutes against heresy and prohibited unlicensed and heretical books, providing a list of fifteen forbidden works. A second proclamation, issued three months later, focused more directly on the book trade, and added six more books to the prohibited list. These royal proclamations were supported and strengthened by William Warham's 'Public Instrument', published in May that year, which included the judgments of university scholars on such works as *The Wicked Mammon*, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, and *The Supplication of Beggars*. It also provided a sermon to be read by all parish priests, reassuring the laity that these named works were full of 'detestable and abominable heresies'.<sup>45</sup> Nor were these idle words. In the persecution of heretics, ownership of banned books was used as significant evidence of heresy.

Under these circumstances, obtaining texts by writers like Tyndale or Fish before 1534 was not only difficult, but dangerous, so writers and printers of evangelical texts had to find ways to persuade potential readers to take the risk of purchasing their smuggled work. These books were designed to not only bolster the faith of believers but to reach and convert new, tentative readers within a hostile environment. Andrew Pettegree has observed that, published under similar circumstances, 'the evangelical book in France and

the Netherlands eschewed the confident, self-advertising quarto format of the *Flugschriften* and tended to have title-pages containing 'virtually no visual embellishments...made up almost wholly of text' and 'very often concealed their content behind an uncontroversial anodyne title'.<sup>46</sup> In like fashion, the title-pages of English evangelical texts seem remarkably bland to a modern reader used to thinking of writers like Tyndale as subversive firebrands. The vast majority avoided the unbridled heretical tones of the title page to Tyndale's 'An exposicion vpon...Mathew'<sup>47</sup> which placed in opposition those who aim to restore 'Moses lawe' and the 'Scribes and Pharises', who were explicitly described as 'papistes'. Instead, Biblical translations and cribs were presented without fanfare and without any initial acknowledgment of the debate over vernacular translation, relying on the potential reader's desire for access to these texts and avoiding emphasising the forbidden nature of that desire. Thus, there are title-pages which carry no more than the titles such as *The Newe Testamente*, *The fyrst boke of Moses called Genesis*, *A compendious introduccion...vnto the pistle off Paul to the Romayns*, *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon with a Prologge before it*.<sup>48</sup> Of Tyndale's works, only *The prophete Jonas* has a more fullsome title-page and even then it is a title-page that frames the text within more acceptable humanist approaches to the scriptures. The title-pages of these imported and forbidden works also emphasised the interest of the text to all Christian readers, denying any sectarian specificity. In this way, Simon Fish's *The Summe of the Holy Scripture* is described as 'the true Christen faithe / by the which we be *all* iustified...with an informacyon howe *all* estates shulde lyve'.<sup>49</sup> Likewise, John Frith's *The souper of the Lorde* recommends the text to the reader in the intimate – but non-specific - third person: 'that thou mayst be the better prepared and suerlyer enstructed'.<sup>50</sup>

But if these texts needed to appeal to new, tentative readers, they also needed to

signal to more radical readers that they would find the tract satisfyingly challenging of the old order. Often they achieved this through using marked or loaded vocabulary. We can see this particularly clearly in two of Tyndale's earliest and most influential tracts: *The Obedience of a Christian Man* and *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*. The sparse title-page of *The Obedience of a Christen Man and how Christen Rulers Ought to Governe*<sup>51</sup> advertises the book as being about both the duties of Christian men and their rulers, but also promises rather mysteriously that if the reader 'marke diligently' they shall also 'fynde eyes to perceave the crafty conveyance of all iugglers.' Since the late fourteenth century, the term 'iuggler' could mean 'a parasite, deceiver, rascal' and in Lollard tracts had begun to be used as a derogatory term for religious. In *Piers the Ploughman's Creed*, for instance, the narrator called the Carmelites 'jugulers and iapers', who deceive 'the folke with gestes of Rome', marking the kinship between Carmelite preacher and wandering minstrel.<sup>52</sup> On this title-page then the word functions as a code for those familiar with the idiom of radical religious critique signalling the likely evangelical nature of the tract. For less informed readers there is simply the promise of an additional bonus: learning the tricks of would-be deceivers, not necessarily religious ones.

The title-page of the tract now known as *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*<sup>53</sup> is much more verbose, but makes similar manoeuvres. It has an unusual title-page that presents not only the title of the text but gives a precis through a homely analogy:

That fayth the mother of all workes iustifieth vs / before we can bring forth anye good worke: as the husbonde maryeth his wife before he can have any lawefull chylderne by her.

The way this title-page functions is suggested in the next extant edition when this material

is left to the final pages and renamed 'A shorte rehearsall or summe of thys present treatyse of iustification by fayth'.<sup>54</sup> The first three lines of the title-page are laden with words that had become heavily freighted by this point - 'fayth', 'iustifieth', 'good worke' - and would appeal to sympathetic readers while piquing the curiosity of others only vaguely aware of the debate. However, the argument presented in brief does much to present the text not as an evangelical diatribe against, and wholesale rejection of, good works but as a careful explanation of how faith and good works interrelate, making the work seem less a matter of controversy and more a matter of commonsense.

Like later Renaissance texts that, in Roger Pooley's words, use 'apparently contradictory gestures'<sup>55</sup> to attract different types of reader, it seems that the function of most early evangelical title-pages was to appeal to multiple readers. An aim that is sometimes developed in accompanying tabula and notes. Just as other types of book might be 'demonstrably multifaceted [and] aimed at several social classes simultaneously'<sup>56</sup>, these early evangelical title-pages are deliberately pitched at a spectrum of readers from those who were already committed to heterodox ideas to those who were as yet still committed to the practices and beliefs of the Catholic church but who might, with care, be encouraged to engage with a different type of thinking. There is not space here to illuminate the ways in which other paratextual elements of these evangelical tracts were exploited to simultaneously encourage tentative readers and catch the eye of the converted. However, even this brief discussion places Godfray's printing in context and reveals the extent to which he had absorbed the lessons of these earlier tracts.

This is immediately apparent in the type of evangelical material Godfray printed and the ways in which he presented it. With three exceptions, which will be discussed shortly, he focused primarily on publishing translations which revealed their evangelical nature through



the translator's linguistic choices rather than outright engagement with doctrinal debate. Moreover, Godfray's editions tended to downplay their controversial nature. For instance, the only text that the STC attributes to Godfray which named a heretical author and was explicitly listed among forbidden books by state and ecclesiastical proclamation was *The New Testament* and it is notable that - like the edition of *A Treatise on Pyctures and Ymages* - Godfray omitted his name from its colophon. More often, he chose to omit the name of the author, as with his edition of *Diuerse Fruitfuall Gatherings* discussed below, or to further obscure it, as with his edition of Joye's *The Psalter of Dauid*. The first edition of this text had been printed in 1530 by Martin de Keyser, who had already taken steps with Joye to anonymise its production. It was originally presented as a faithful translation 'aftir the texte of Feline' (STC 2370), a pseudonym for Martin Bucer, with a prologue by Johan Aleph, a pseudonym for George Joye and the false imprint attributing its production to 'Francis foxe' in 'Argentine' rather than to de Keyser.<sup>57</sup> When Godfray printed his edition he kept the reference to 'Felyne', clearly trusting in its pretence, but omitted the greeting by Johan Aleph, that marked the translation as the product of a foreign pen greeting 'the Englishe nacion' and explicitly placed it within the freighted environment of exiled writers and translators.

Another way in which Godfray tailored his evangelical printing to the uncertain reception of the mid 1530s was to chose his material carefully so that its nature was not immediately obvious. *The Psalter* is characteristic of such a choice. Although it offered vernacular scriptural translation, which was technically forbidden, the 'interest in possessing such [texts] extended far beyond the circles of those who fully endorsed the Protestant agenda.'<sup>58</sup> Moreover, in writing *The Psalter* Joye had emphasised the importance of obedience to the crown - exhorting that 'no man resyste his kinge' in his gloss of Psalm 75 -

and had only intermittently ventured onto controversial matters. For instance, the argument for Psalm 16 ventured into the debate on faith and works in arguing that ‘god hath no nede of...goodes’, that all ‘goodes oughte to serue...poore neighbours’ and ‘they that bestowe their goodes of any other thyng than profyteth these sayntes [i.e. poore neighbours] / make Idols with them.’ This critique was then extended in the argument for Psalm 50 which stated the importance of the gospel and faith over good works:

Asaph declareth howe mightely god wolde call vnto him / all natyons of the worlde by the gspell / delyuerynge by his mightye power his chosen: also howe that he wolde than requyre of his / rather faythe 7 knowlege and declaringe of his goodnesse / than sacrifices or workes / and howe greuously he wyll curse 7 entreat them that boste them of his relygyon without the pure study of his true worship.

However, these Lutheran notes were not the focus of the volume. Instead, the principle effect of *The Psalter* was to encourage the reader to trust in God through the example of David. As the argument for Psalm 27 put it, David ‘remembringe the promyse of god / dyd animate himself strongly agaynst so presente 7 stormy tempestes...[and] excyteth humselfe to truste strongly in god.’ Joye’s *Psalter* was designed to appeal to a potential reader’s desire for scriptural translation and, having taken advantage of that desire, to begin to teach them to value faith over works through the explanations of the Psalms. For those already committed to the principle of *sola fide* but aware of the continued risk of persecution it also subtly offered consolation. It was not, however, an overtly evangelical volume.

Godfray’s edition of the anonymous *The Fountayne or Well of Lyfe* - a translation of the biblical compilation *Fons vitae* published by Martin de Keyser in 1533 - would have appeared similarly conservative and acceptable to adherents of traditional religion at first reading.<sup>59</sup> Although it expressed the hope that the reader ‘parauenture...mightest seke’ the quotations ‘after in the Bible’, it did not offer a full biblical translation. It also presented the quotations

as ‘consolation or comfort’ not in opposition to what the traditional Church offered but to the physical help given by ‘parentes 7 frendes’ that could only provide ‘bodyly helth / 7...hope of lenger lyfe’ (A2r). The prefatory letter ‘to the christen reder’ even seemed to suggest it was a conservative text, one aligned against those the traditional Church labelled heretics, which would help the reader leave ‘all contagions 7 pudels / that may infecte thy minde with errour / heresye / and sedycion’ (A3v).

Yet, the title, the metaphor of contagious puddles and the prominent use of Jeremiah 2:13 to conclude the preface – ‘My people have committed two euyls / they haue forsaken me / that am wel of the water of life / and haue dygged out broken cisterns that can hold no water’ (A3r) – connected it to recently published humanist and evangelical tracts that presented the traditional Church, not evangelicals, as having poisoned the waters of God’s teachings. For instance, in the translation of the *Enchiridion militis christiani* printed by Wykyn de Worde for John Byddell in 1533, Erasmus lamented that ‘we haue phylistians whiche do preferre y\e/ naughty erthe to the lyuely fountaynes’ and ‘caste in naughty erthe / and with a corrupte interpretacyon they stop vp the vaune / and driue away y\e/ dygger: or at the leste they make it so muddy with claye 7 fylthynesse / that who so euer drinketh therof shall drawe vnto hym more slyme 7 naughtynesse than he shall good lycour’.<sup>60</sup>

Similarly, Tyndale promised in the *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* to ‘bringe the scripture vnto the right sense 7 to digge agayne y\e/ welles of Abraham 7 to purge 7 clense them of the erth of wordly wisdome / where with these philistenes have stopped them’.<sup>61</sup> He also described Christ in the *Exposition vnto the v, vi, and vii Chapters of Matthew* as ‘oure spiritual Isaac’, who ‘diggeth agayne the welles of Abraham: whiche welles the scribes and pharases...had stopped and filled vp with the erth of their false exposicions’.<sup>62</sup>

It is, however, the final 'orysons / prayers / 7 exhortacyons' added at the end of the boke that shifts the tone of the volume subtly. In Merten de Keyser's version, these prayers were added 'ne charta maneret uacua' (H4v) and were used as a practical and meaningful means of filling the last four folios of an eight leaf quire. However, in Godfray's version there was no need to do this since the text proper concluded on the penultimate page of an eight leaf quire so the decision to include the prayers and the addition of a four leaf quire to accommodate them suggests their significance in the conception of this English translation. They are explicitly martial in tone and seem chosen to bolster the faith of the persecuted with headings such as 'A blame of them that mistrust in batayle' (G8r), 'The exortation of Asarye son to Obed in warre 7 tyme of vexatyon' (H1r), 'The prayer of Josaphat against his enemyes' (H2r) and 'The prayer of Judas redy to fight with his enemys' (H3r). Indeed, the final page of print is taken up with 'The prayer of Judas to the people' set in eye-catching hourglass fashion which exhorts 'although our tyme draw nere yet let vs dye with ma[n]hode / for the loue of our brethren / and let vs nat brynge our honour to rebuke' (H4r). The effect of these prayers is to cast *The Fountayne* subtly as a text of consolation in a period of spiritual persecution. As Susan Felch puts it, '*The Fountayne's* conservative rhetoric...is pressed into a reformist narrative that highlights the moral responsibilities of the Christian life, set within a context of spiritual warfare.'<sup>63</sup> In this context, the explanation that they were added 'to the entent that the boke shuld be replenished' (G8r) suggests not the filling of blank space but the encouragement of resistance to spiritual persecution and the continued pursuit of biblical truth to bring about the replenishment of the wells of Abraham. In this way, readers already open to evangelical thought might be encouraged to buy the volume, recognising its place within a larger discourse, while others of a more

neutral bent might be brought to greater scriptural understanding without being frightened away.

In addition to carefully selecting the material he printed, Godfray adapted other volumes to make them more politic. One example of this is his edition of *Dyuers frutefull gatherynges*, also known as *Patrick's Places*, which was first printed by S. Cock in Antwerp, between 1528 and 1532, and originally consisted of a set of theses by the evangelical Patrick Hamilton (1504?-1528), translated into English and prefaced by John Frith, who would later be burned for his heterodoxy.<sup>64</sup> In his preface to the first edition, Frith referred explicitly to Hamilton's execution for heresy in February 1528: 'because he wolde not denye his savioure christ at their instance they burnte him to ashes' (1r). It was Frith's outrage at this that prompted him 'to pub[l]ish vnto the hole worlde / what a man the monsters haue murthered' through the printing of this 'litle treatise'. Not only were the author and translator known evangelicals, the text itself was markedly unorthodox in the distinction it drew between the law and the gospel – 'The lawe sayeth / paye the dette | The gospell sayeth Christ hath payed it' (3r) – and the emphasis on justification through faith alone – 'No man is iustefyed by the dedes of the lawe / but by the faith of Iesu Christ[...]' (6v). The combination of this text's author, translator, theology and place of publication can have left a contemporary English reader in little doubt about its controversial nature.

Indeed, the first English printer, Robert Redman seems to have simultaneously acknowledged this and tried to play it down.<sup>65</sup> On the one hand, he entitled his edition (1534?, STC 12731.8) 'Dyuers frutful gatherynges of scripture and declarynge of fayth and workes' rather than 'Patrikes Places'<sup>66</sup>. By doing so, he alerted the reader to the tract's relevance to contemporary religious debate and where they could find additional copies. On the other hand, he carefully removed the preface by the infamous John Frith, with its

identification of the author as the condemned Patrick Hamilton. It seems that Redman wanted to take commercial advantage of the interest in this topic but was ambivalent about whether it was safe to do so. When Godfray printed the next edition (c.1532), he too seems to have been persuaded of the commercial potential of printing the text, retaining the title and adding his own imprint. However, he also added three folios of criticism – in the St. German stamp – focused on ecclesiastical corruption and late medieval devotional practice. The text that followed shifted the emphasis away from a complete denial of the efficacy of good works to a rejection of particular late medieval practices such as ‘fastyng / keping of holy dayes / watchyng / prayeng / 7 syngyng longe prayers / dayly / 7 all day heryng of masses / setting vp of candels / ronnyng on pylgrymages’ (B8r). This material was taken, without acknowledgement, from chapter twelve from *The Summe of the Holye Scripture*, translated by the evangelical Simon Fish and first printed in Antwerp in 1529.

One way of interpreting this addition is to see it as evidence that Godfray was unconvinced that Redman had done enough to alleviate risk and so presented the text as part of the royally sanctioned criticism of traditional Church power and practice, obscuring its doctrinal focus. The fact that Godfray repositioned *Patrick's Places* by selecting a section from another banned evangelical tract suggests his familiarity with such material, as well as a finely attuned – and somewhat wry – sense of what was and what was not considered acceptable. However, these changes also seem designed to entice resistant readers steeped in traditional religion into reading material that was both still forbidden and, probably, uncomfortably challenging. Godfray's edition of *Patrick's Places* surrounds evangelical ideas with innocuous material, beginning with an unremarkable discussion of the ten commandments and ending with the increasingly familiar critique of the excesses of religious works. It turns a clearly heretical work into one that, like Joye's *Psalter of David*, any

reader might comfortably pick up as a basic work of catechetical instruction and be gently introduced into the fundamentals of evangelical teaching.

Godfray's two editions of *A pathway* - published around the same time as *Patrick's Places*<sup>67</sup> - adopt a similar tactic for enticing a reader by broadening the text's appeal through adaptation. The majority of each edition is taken up by Tyndale's reworking of the preface to his 1525 Cologne *New Testament* which he probably composed around 1530<sup>68</sup>. Godfray's editions, however, append two further texts to Tyndale's *Pathway*: 'A letter sent vnto a certayn frende / to enstructe him in the vnderstandynge of the scripture / translated out of French into Englysshe' (D5r-G6r) and 'Of gouernours / as Iudges / baylyfes / 7 other lyke / An information after the gospell' (G6r-H4v). (Michael Whiting does not believe either to be 'Tyndale originals' though there are echoes of his language throughout.)<sup>69</sup> While *A Pathway* offered the reader an introduction to key terms so that they could understand the *New Testament* according to evangelical belief, the letter suggested how the reader might build biblical reading into their life. The writer encouraged the reader to continually bear the remembrance of scriptural quotation with them with such admonitions as 'studye in that daye 7 nyght / and in all places goynge and commynge / let that neuer slyde out of your hert nor mynd all your studye to rede 7 vnderstande these holy wordes in all humylytie of hert' (G4r). The tract 'Of gouernours' complemented this by further demonstrating the relevance of the bible to everyday life, stating at its outset that 'the gospell is written for all persones / 7 for all estates of the worlde. And there is none estate in the worlde / but that he may fynde in the gospell howe that he shuld lyue if that he wyll folowe it' (G6r0v). It then went on to suggest better ways in which the commonwealth might be secured, including provision for the poor, and concluded with biblical quotations relevant to the good living of 'husbandes', 'wyues', 'fathers 7 moders', 'chyl dren', 'maisters', 'seruauntes' and 'wydowes'.

For instance, 'fathers 7 moders' are advised according to Ephesians 6: 'Ye fathers / moue nat your chyldren to wrath / but bringe them vp *with* the nurter 7 information of the lord'.

In this way, Godfray's editions of *A pathway* widened the appeal of Tyndale's tract, helping the potential reader to see how such a knowledge of scriptural basics might inform their way of living. It gave a practical slant to a text otherwise concerned solely with the theology and salvation of the reader. We might think of this as analogous to adaptations of more conservative religious tracts such as Richard Whitford's *A Work for Householders* which had the economic guide *A Policy for Householders* appended to it in order to extend its appeal to the perhaps less religiously-concerned, more pragmatic layman.<sup>70</sup> Since the first continental editions do not survive, we cannot be certain that the addition of these two texts to *A Pathway* was Godfray's innovation. Nevertheless, it is in keeping with his adaptation of *Patrick's Places* and - even if not his innovation - shows a continuing interest in printing texts with a wider appeal.

The kinds of texts that Godfray printed, the formats he preferred, and adaptations he made highlight the need to think about the ways in which early printers sought to sell previously forbidden material and the ways in which they whetted, what Loades called, the enormous 'appetite of Londoners for controversial ephemera.' The 'contradictory gestures' of Godfray's evangelical editions seem prompted by a keen consciousness that religious identity was fluid in this period. As Alec Ryrie and Peter Marshall remind us, 'in earlier decades [of the Reformation], there was no agreed terminology at all. Reformers spoke of themselves as brethren, as gospellers or evangelicals, or simply as true Christians. They were also unwilling to let go of the term "Catholic".'<sup>71</sup> In a world where even Luther saw himself as a loyal son of the Church marketing a forbidden book to readers meant appealing to a range of religious sensibilities from the radical to the wavering or curious traditionalist.



Godfray seems to have recognised that an ideological commitment to spreading the good news could be furthered better by a canny negotiation of censorship and readers' anxieties than by intransigent printing.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles C Butterworth, "How Early Could English Scripture Be Printed in England?," *University of Pennsylvania Library Chronicle* 14 (1947): 10.

<sup>2</sup> David M Loades, "Illicit Presses and Clandestine Printing in England, 1520-1580," in *Too Mighty to Be Free: Censorship and the Press in Britain and the Netherlands*, ed. A C Duke and C A Tamse (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1988).

<sup>3</sup> James Kelsey McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 124. See also, for example, David Loades's argument that 'the main driving force behind this campaign was probably Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, but it was also consistent with Thomas Cromwell's plans for the promotion of the religious settlement which he had helped to engineer.' David Loades, "Books and the English Reformation Prior to 1558," in *The Reformation and the Book*, ed. Karin Maag and Jean-Francois Gilmont (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 280.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Pettegree, "Printing and the Reformation: the English Exception" in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie, eds., *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 157.

<sup>5</sup> Brad C. Pardue, "Printing, Power, and Piety : Appeals to the Public During the Early Years of the English Reformation," (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 85.

<sup>6</sup> William Roy, *Rede me and be nott wrothe* (STC 1462.7, 1528), a4v.

<sup>7</sup> Michael Saenger, "The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance," (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 31, 21.

<sup>8</sup> Louis A Schuster et al., eds., *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More: The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*, vol. 8 (1973), 12.

<sup>9</sup> John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online or TAMO* (1576 edition) (HRI Online Publications, Sheffield, 2011), accessed 1 May, 2016, <http://www.johnfoxe.org>, 3.497.

<sup>10</sup> Edward Hall, *Hall's Chronicle : Containing the History of England* (1809), 762-3.

<sup>11</sup> Schuster et al., *The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*, 12.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas M C Lawler, Germain Marc'hadour, and Richard C Marius, eds., *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More: A Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, vol. 6 (London: Yale University Press, 1981), 331.

<sup>13</sup> PRO SP 1/85, f.113v. Summary in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 7, 1509-1514*, ed. J S Brewer (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office 1920), accessed April 23, 2016, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol7>, 1073. All other references to *Letters and Papers* (LP) are to this online edition.

<sup>14</sup> LP VII, 423, PRO SP 1/83, fol.52r.

<sup>15</sup> LP XI, 1355.

<sup>16</sup> Alec Ryrie, *Being Protestant in Reformation Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 259.

<sup>17</sup> Julia Boffey, "John Mychell and the Printing of Lydgate in the 1530s," *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 67 (2004): 258.

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<sup>18</sup> Andrew N Wawn, "Chaucer, the Plowman's Tale and Reformation Propaganda: The Testimonies of Thomas Godfray and *I Playne Piers*," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 56 (1973): 177.

<sup>19</sup> Torrance Kirby, "Emerging Publics of Religious Reform in the 1530s: The Affair of the Placards and the Publication of Antoine De Marcourt's *Livre Des Marchans*," in *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge*, ed. Bronwen Wilson and Paul Yachnin (2010).

<sup>20</sup> Peter W M Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501-1557*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 277. He offers no explanation for these precise dates.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 278. *STC* 23163.2, 1534?; *STC* 10634, pre-1534; *STC* 23963, 1531?

<sup>22</sup> *STC* 5068, *STC* 26119, *STC* 2831.

<sup>23</sup> Charles C Butterworth, *The English Primers (1529-1545): Their Publication and Connection with the English Bible and the Reformation in England* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971), 74.

<sup>24</sup> *STC* 15988a, *STC* 17313.3, *STC* 13089a.

<sup>25</sup> *STC* 5641. William A Clebsch, *England's Earliest Protestants 1520-1535* (London: Yale University Press, 1964), 255. *LP* VII, 422-423.

<sup>26</sup> Wawn also offers some help in dating a fourth text, *The Prayer and Complaynt of the Plowman* (*STC* 20036), but only to a 'date of c.1536' based on 'clear indications that a curious anti-monastic poem called the *Pilgrim's Tale*, written almost certainly between late 1536 and 1538, borrowed lines from [it].' Wawn, "Chaucer, the Plowman's Tale and Reformation Propaganda," 175.

<sup>27</sup> Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London 1501-1557*, 1, 356.

<sup>28</sup> *STC* 3187, 1530?

<sup>29</sup> *STC* 23963, 1531?

<sup>30</sup> *STC* 1915, 1531?

<sup>31</sup> *STC* 7377, 1533?

<sup>32</sup> For a full discussion of *The boke of marchauntes* see Kirby, "Emerging Publics of Religious Reform."

<sup>33</sup> *STC* 24455

<sup>34</sup> *STC* 24441, 24441.3, 24441.7

<sup>35</sup> *STC* 2788.5, 1537? and *STC* 24455.5, 1537?; *STC* 24468, 1533 and *STC* 24455.5, 1537?.

<sup>36</sup> Kirby, "Emerging Publics of Religious Reform," 41.

<sup>37</sup> Alex da Costa, "'Functional Ambiguity': Negotiating Censorship in the 1530s," *The Library*, 7th ser. 15 (2014): 420.

<sup>38</sup> Neither the first nor second edition of this work names Godfray as printer, both colophons simply stating it was 'Printed for W. Marshall'. However, as Rhodes observed, the type and ornaments used betray his involvement. (Dennis Rhodes, "William Marshall and His Books, 1533-1537," *PBSA* 58 (1964): 227.) Hereafter referred to as *Treatise on Pyctures and Other Ymages*.

<sup>39</sup> *LP* IX, 345. PRO SP 1/96 fo.134r. Also partially quoted by William Underwood, "Thomas Cromwell and William Marshall's Protestant Books," *The Historical Journal* 47 (2004): 528.

<sup>40</sup> *LP* IX, 358.

<sup>41</sup> The only other volumes attributed to Godfray by the *STC* without his name in the imprint are *The Newe testament* (*STC* 2831) and *Collyn Clout* (*STC* 22600.5). Two other texts exist

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only in fragmentary condition and may or may not have had imprints naming Godfray: *The History of Kyng Boccus and Sydracke* (STC 3187) and *A Panegyric of Henry VIII* (STC 13089a).

<sup>42</sup> Underwood, "Thomas Cromwell and William Marshall's Protestant Books," 528.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 537.

<sup>44</sup> For a more extensive analysis of censorship's effect during the early English Reformation see da Costa, "'Functional Ambiguity': Negotiating Censorship in the 1530s.". Other comprehensive surveys of early print censorship in England are: John B Gleason, "The Earliest Evidence for Ecclesiastical Censorship of Printed Books in England," *The Library*, 6th ser. 4 (1982). Rudolf Hirsch, "Pre-Reformation Censorship of Printed Books," *Library Chronicle* 21 (1955). Loades, "Books and the English Reformation Prior to 1558." Loades, "Illicit Presses and Clandestine Printing in England, 1520-1580."; Arthur W Pollard, "The Regulation of the Book Trade in the Sixteenth Century," *The Library*, 3rd ser. 7 (1916); A W Reed, "The Regulation of the Book Trade before the Proclamation of 1538," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 15 (1917-19). Fredrick Seaton Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1952).

<sup>45</sup> David Wilkins, ed. *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, a Synodo Verolamiensi, A.D. 446 Ad Londinensem, A.D. 1717.*, vol. 3 (London: 1737), 727-37.

<sup>46</sup> Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 173.

<sup>47</sup> J. Grapheus, STC 24440, 1533?

<sup>48</sup> *The Newe Testamente* (STC 2823, 1526, P. Schöffner), *The fyrst boke of Moses called Genesis* (STC 2350, 1530, J. Hoochstraten), *A compendious introduccion / prologe or preface vnto the pistle off Paul to the Romayns* (STC 24438, 1526, P. Shoeffner), *The exposition of the fyrste Epistle of seynt Ihon with a Prologge before it: by W.T.* (STC 24443, 1531).

<sup>49</sup> STC 3036, 1529.

<sup>50</sup> STC 24468, 1533.

<sup>51</sup> J. Hoochstraten, STC 24446, 1528.

<sup>52</sup> *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. "jogelour", accessed May 9, 2016, <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED23872>

<sup>53</sup> J. Hoochstraten, STC 24454, 1528.

<sup>54</sup> James Nycolson, STC 24455, 1536.

<sup>55</sup> quoted by Saenger, "The Commodification of Textual Engagements in the English Renaissance," 37.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>57</sup> Bucer himself had adopted the pseudonym of Aretius Felinus in 1529 for his Latin commentary on the psalms so that French and Lower German booksellers might buy it without fear since, as he explained to Zwingli, 'it is a capital crime to import into these countries books which bear our names.' Constantin Hopf, *Martin Bucer and the English Reformation* (New York: Macmillan, 1946), 208.

<sup>58</sup> Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 174.

<sup>59</sup> STC 11211, 1534?; USTC 437659.

<sup>60</sup> STC 10479, a8v.

<sup>61</sup> STC 24454, 1528, fol.1v.

<sup>62</sup> STC 24440, 1533, fol.2r.

<sup>63</sup> Susan Felch, *Elizabeth Tyrwhit's Morning and Evening Prayers* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 44-45.

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<sup>64</sup> Since Frith refers to Hamilton's death, it can only have been printed after February 1528, and as he returned to England in October 1532, he most likely gave the manuscript to Cook before this and certainly before July 1533 when he was also burned for heresy. There is no evidence of other continental editions.

<sup>65</sup> Full collation of the three editions suggests that Cook's was the first edition of *Patrick's Places* to be printed anywhere and that Redman's edition was the first surviving edition to be printed in England.

<sup>66</sup> Cook's edition has no title-page and uses the alternative title 'Patrikes Places' only once, in the running title on fol.1v.

<sup>67</sup> *STC* 24462, 24463. The *STC* gives a date of '1536?' for Godfray's two editions of *A Pathway unto scripture*, which translates to a range of 'up to three years on either side' of 1536, so between 1533-1539.

<sup>68</sup> The *Pathway* was in circulation by 1532, since More refers to the text in a *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*, complaining that 'after the Psalter...children were wont to go to their Donate and their accidence but now they go straight to Scripture. And thereto have we as a Donate the book of the Pathway to Scripture.' Quoted by J W Adamson, "The Extent of Literacy in England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Notes and Conjectures," *Library*, 4th ser. 10 (1929-30): 180.

<sup>69</sup> Michael S Whiting, *Luther in English: The Influence of His Theology of Law and Gospel on the Early English Evangelicals (1525-35)* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2010), 239.

<sup>70</sup> *STC* 25422, 1530.

<sup>71</sup> Peter Marshall, "(Re)Defining the English Reformation," *Journal of British Studies* 48 (2009): 574.

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