2 Emerging Publics of Religious Reform in the 1530s

The Affair of the Placards and the Publication of Antoine de Marcourt's *Livre des marchans*

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AFFAIR OF THE PLACARDS

One of the most dramatic and influential events of the early stages of Reformation in France—the notorious "Affair of the Placards"—occurred during the night of October 17, 1534. In the city of Paris as well as in other principal centers—including Orleans, Blois, Tours, and Rouen—placards proclaiming *"Articles veritables sur les horribles, grandz et importables abuz de la Messe papalle"* were posted in highly visible public venues, including the door of the king's own bedchamber at the Château d'Amboise.[1] The putative author of the placard, Antoine de Marcourt, was a member of the French evangelical-humanist avant-garde in the circle of Guillaume Briçonnet, otherwise known as the "cercle" or "groupe de Meaux."[2] Members of the circle had lately come to view Martin Luther's proposals for reform of the church and its teachings with considerable favor. Marcourt's placard served to focus the reformers' mounting criticism of traditional religion on the ritual central to the church's own practice and self-understanding in the form of a direct appeal to popular judgment. In a classic early instance of challenge to the reigning paradigm of "representative publicity," Marcourt's appeal to public opinion in his attack on the doctrine of the Mass was interpreted by both the religious and civil establishment not only as a challenge to received church dogma, but also, owing to the provocative manner of its publication, as a direct assault on the authority of the monarchy itself.[3] King Francis, the Archbishop of Paris, the doctors of the Sorbonne, and other leading clergy of the realm closed ranks and together mounted a swift and ferocious response aimed at quelling this upstart attempt to sway public opinion over the heads of the establishment. Many of the religious reformers associated with criticism of the church and the traditional teachings were either executed for sedition or driven into exile. Marcourt himself fled France along with other leading members of the circle of reformers, including Jean Calvin. In a dramatic and equally public response to the placards, Francis and his court processed solemnly

through the streets of the capital, the ritual purpose of which was to purify the capital from the "pollution" of the placards. Francis himself processed beneath a canopy carried by peers of the realm in the place where onlookers would normally expect to view the Host in a Corpus Christi procession; thereby the establishment underscored the intimate association of monarchical and sacramental "presence" and linked in dramatic fashion the definition of representative publicity with fundamental ontological claims.[4]

The posting of Marcourt's placard and the official response to it both provide theatrical manifestations of prominent sixteenth-century impulses to define religious identity through direct popular appeal. Marcourt evidently hoped that by publicizing his evangelical objections to the doctrine and practice of the Mass he would win over his fellow subjects to the cause of religious reform. Through this attempt to bring about a popular reform of French religious identity on the basis of argumentation and interpretation in public space unconstrained by the official imprimatur of crown, church, and university, the posting of the placards exemplifies an early expression of what has been called the early modern "culture of persuasion"—namely, the endeavor to address the "public" through an appeal to "public reason" in aid of achieving a manifestly "public good."[5] Indeed, in the context of the explosive political dimension of the ensuing confrontation with the political and religious establishment of France, the "Affair of the Placards" neatly illustrates an early instance of direct challenge to what Habermas has identified as "representative publicity" (here embodied in the authority of crown and church) by an emerging "public sphere" grounded in a rhetoric of popular persuasion developed by a particular group of religious activists.[6]

Prior to the posting of the placards, Francis I had shown considerable favor toward *les évangéliques* and the reforming humanists of the *groupe de Meaux*; both he and his sister Marguerite of Navarre had shown marked support for Erasmus, Lefèvre d'Étaples, and Gérard Roussel and their followers, while Francis had even exiled the conservative Noël Béda to Mont-St-Michel in May of 1533. After the infamous placards, a veritable sea change in the climate of religious reform can be discerned. Sharper lines of distinction emerge between the moderate humanism of the Erasmian reformers and more radical "sacramentarian" Protestants. By calling for radical religious reform through an open appeal to popular judgment, Marcourt played a key role in precipitating a controversy that was to alter decisively (and perhaps irrevocably) the course of the Reformation in France. The posting of Marcourt's placard in 1534 is without doubt a key dramatic episode in the unfolding of the Reformation in France, and serves to highlight the emergence in the early modern period of a new and popular sense of "public" over against a much older and hieratic sense embodied in the institutions of monarch and church.

MEANWHILE, ACROSS THE ENGLISH CHANNEL . . .

Forty years ago in his magisterial study *English Humanists and Reformation Politics*, James McConica observed that the English reform movement under Henry VIII and Edward VI is closely bound to the complexities of pan-European currents of religious reform: "The closer the examination," claims McConica, "the more apparent is the difficulty of separating English developments from those on the Continent."[7] Particular support for this claim can be discerned in the history of the publication in English translation of tracts by Marcourt. The first wave of French radical evangelical propaganda swept across *La Manche* and up the Thames estuary in the summer of 1534—in the same year as the Affair of the Placards. On August 24 an anonymous English translation of Marcourt's rollicking Rabelaisian spoof on ecclesiastical abuses was published in London by Thomas Godfray under the title *The Boke of Marchauntes*.[8] This was almost twelve months to the day from the publication of the original French text of *Le livre des marchans* by Pierre de Vingle in Neuchâtel.[9] In her landmark study *Antoine Marcourt: reformateur et pamphlétaire*, Gabrielle Berthoud observes that *Le livre des marchans* is Marcourt's most popular and best-known work.[10] In his assumed Rabelaisian identity—namely, "the lorde Pantapole, right expert in suche busynesse, nere neyghbour vnto the lorde Pantagrule"—Marcourt sets himself up as the one who sells all—*celui qui "vend de tout"*[11]—the wholesaler, as it were, who seeks to undercut the ecclesiastical "middleman." In this allusion Marcourt's satirical form and the evangelical intent are fused together. According to the central thrust of the satire, the entrepreneurial role of the priestly "merchant" was that of a retailer, whose task is to distribute the spiritual "goods" of divine grace incrementally.

In the early 1530s England was in the throes of radical constitutional transformation. Henry's chief minister, Chancellor Thomas Cromwell, simultaneously managed both the intricacies of the legislative program and a highly sophisticated propaganda campaign through the press in support of the reformist constitutional agenda then before Parliament.[12] Cromwell's use of the printing press obviously targets growth of a public favorable to reform through maximum possible exposure of an argument. Such a religious public may have as its goal the creation of a new, reformed religious establishment—which was in fact attained in England under Edward VI (1547–1553), but not so in France under Edward's contemporary, Henri II (1547–1559). In the case of England the emergent public sympathetic to religious reform comes to be situated, at least temporarily, within the field of royal power, in large part owing to the political success of the reform; it is an arrangement that suggests well the social mobility and organizational flexibility of public making. On the other hand, lack of political success may arguably have had the effect of the institutionalizing a dissenting

public of like-minded people in France—that is, the Huguenots—whose self-organizing field of discourse might aspire to grow but would remain forever under the threat of the dominant political power. Comparison of the radically differing receptions of Marcourt in France and England can therefore offer instruction on the question of the effects of growth and respectability on an emerging public. Over time, a public formed out of religious dissent may (or may not, as the case may be) find itself absorbed into the established forms of institutional life.

A PUBLIC OF PUBLISHERS ON THE FRINGES OF THE COURT

Close linkage of the publishing trade to the corridors of power was intrinsic to the success of Henry VIII's constitutional revolution. It has been argued that many of the pamphlets of the early 1530s epitomize the substance of the constitutional legislation passed by the Reformation Parliament.[13] Thomas Godfray's list of published titles suggests that he was evidently an important player in Thomas Cromwell's circle, a group that also included printers Robert Redman, John Mychell, and Thomas Berthelet.[14] Godfray published numerous books that contributed directly to the advancement of Cromwell's propaganda campaign and were associated with some of the principal prophets and propagandists of the Tudor revolution, including William Tyndale, John Frith, Christopher St. German, and William Marshall.[15]

The printers, authors, and certain members of the Privy Council associated within this tightly knit circle of friendship, patronage, and personal connection in a gray area at the edges of the court effectively comprised a public of like-minded members united by the common purpose of promoting religious change.[16] In England of the 1530s, the promotion of radical religious reform on continental models was definitely on the cultural fringe. In contrast to members of publics described in several other chapters in this volume (see Chapters 5 and 8, for example), many of the evangelical avant-garde could hardly be described as disinterested players, especially when they were prepared to go to the stake for their religious persuasion (Simon Fish, William Tyndale, and others). Yet from the standpoint of the established institutions of the Tudor commonwealth, their voluntary association for the purpose of publishing political and religious tracts manifests a certain degree of ambivalence when compared with the situation in France. King Henry simultaneously approved *and* disapproved of these religious radicals and their newfangled doctrines. Approval stemmed from their willingness to promote Henry's cause of Caesaro-Papism, while disapproval arose from their tendency to undermine core Catholic teachings. In short, Henry quite liked evangelical politics, but had his doubts about their sacramental radicalism. Unlike France, the continued toleration of religious radicals is largely owing to an emerging distinction in England between the political and religious elements of the controversy. In short, the

ambivalence of the king's religious orientation—he was against the papacy yet, at the same time, in favor of Catholic teaching—had the noteworthy yet unintended effect of defining Cromwell's stable of propagandists as simultaneously both inside and outside the establishment. This is clearly a case of a public emerging as a "dynamic system of discourse" on the fringes of the circles of power—in a manner analogous to François Rouget's salons "au marge de la Cour."[17]

The publisher Thomas Godfray contributed to the advancement of Thomas Cromwell's simultaneous campaign of constitutional and religious reform in the mid- to late 1530s, but at arm's length from the Crown. While Thomas Berthelet was officially the king's printer, Godfray's press published numerous books that contributed directly to the advancement of Cromwell's propaganda campaign and was associated with some of the more radical evangelical prophets and propagandists of the Tudor revolution, including works by William Tyndale, John Frith, Christopher St. German, William Marshall, and Clement Armstrong, most of whom embraced theological opinions anathema to the king. This circle of authors, translators, and their common publisher, Godfray, composed a voluntary association—a public—consisting of what we might call the 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. Cromwell's circle faced the problem of Henry's ready acceptance of the former goal but his reluctance to proceed with the latter.

The radical reformers whose works and translations were published by Godfray could hardly be said to be involved in the enterprise principally for money or even preferment. Indeed the evidence suggests that King Henry looked askance at the more radical literary productions of the evangelical radicals, and some of the group were actually hounded to their deaths by official government policy. The tension between Cromwell's own more advanced Protestant position and the king's religious conservatism helps to explain the chancellor's employment of a semiofficial press attached to Cromwell's interest but not having the direct imprimatur of the royal printer. Nonetheless, in a letter to Cromwell, William Marshall indicates that he is relying on Cromwell's promise of a subsidy of twenty pounds for printing his translation of Marsilius of Padua's treatise on constitutional theory in support of royal supremacy.[18] While Marshall was well known for his advanced Protestant opinions, there was certainly a cash nexus here for a "grubstreet" translator promoting the Crown's interest.

Godfray published twenty titles sporadically between the years 1530 and 1536. Among those that link him in diverse ways to the reforming interest are two important works by William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christian Man* and *Pathway into the Holy Scripture*, both unequivocally evangelical pieces by the great translator of the Bible.[19] Tyndale's treatise on obedience draws an explicit connection between evangelical teaching

concerning justification by faith alone and divinely derived authority exercised by the godly prince over both church and commonwealth. Richard Rex has shown that Tyndale had a critical influence on the chief propagandists of the Henrician regime, especially through his demonstration of the theological ground of the royal supremacy.[20] Rex maintains that "Tyndale's primary motive in writing *Obedience* was to defend the new learning against the charge that 'it causeth insurrection and teacheth people to disobey their heads and governors, and moveth them to rise against their prince.'"[21] In a vein of argument closely analogous to Tyndale's political theology, the *Boke of Marchauntes* launches an impassioned appeal to the secular rulers to correct the abuses of the clergy. Marcourt urges that the care of religion be taken under the direct control of the civil power as the corrective for long-standing ecclesiastical abuses.

Common lawyer and political theorist of the Tudor state Christopher St. German was another key player in Cromwell's circle of religious and constitutional reformers. St. German's sustained literary attack on the papacy resulted in a series of pamphlets with an increasingly sharp edge. While several of St. German's contributions to the propaganda campaign were published by the king's printer, Thomas Berthelet,[22] one of the common lawyer's more strident pieces, *An Answer to a Letter*, was farmed out for publication in 1535 by Thomas Godfray.[23] In *An Answer to a Letter*, St. German sets out to redefine the nature of the church in a manner consistent with the king's claim to the *plenitudo potestatis*. Not only do kings exercise the "cure of souls" but they are also the final arbiters of both doctrine and the interpretation of the scriptures.

In his appeal to the model of the virtuous Old Testament kings whose care was for both the honor of God and the good governance of the people, Marcourt's polemic is in accord with the approach taken by Tyndale, St. German, and other leading Tudor propagandists of the royal supremacy. In the case of another propagandist of Cromwell's circle, Clement Armstrong, Ethan Shagan has suggested that religious radicalism is by no means necessarily opposed to authoritarian political theology as has been frequently asserted.[24] Like Marcourt a full-blown sacramentarian opponent of the Mass—an extremely radical position to hold in England in the 1530s, and anathema to King Henry himself—Armstrong nonetheless defined the church as "the congregation of all men in a realm congregated as in the body of one man, which one man is the king's body wherein all people his subjects are as his bodily members . . . like as the king is the Church, so the Church is the king."[25] In the case of Clement Armstrong, Shagan has shown how Henry VIII's antipapal maneuvers of the early 1530s were received and embraced by London's radical Protestant public. Far from eroding the authority of princes, the assertion of a radical evangelical agenda could go hand in hand with a revolutionary extension of royal powers. For Marcourt as for Armstrong and others in the circle of Thomas Cromwell, the royal supremacy served to promote radical doctrinal reform. That Marcourt's

satire on such key questions of religious and political reform should be in basic accord with the English avant-garde comprising Tyndale, St. German, and Armstrong—not to mention Martin Bucer and Marsilius of Padua, whose writings were also published by Godfray—challenges deeply rooted historiographical assumptions about the Reformation in both England and France.

In view of the variety of genres yet common underlying polemical thrust of books published by Thomas Godfray in the period 1533–1536, the appearance among them of the Rabelaisian anticlerical satire of a radical evangelical of Marcourt's stripe appears wholly in keeping with the constitutional aims of Cromwell's literary campaign if not wholly consistent with the more conservative doctrinal policies of the king. Marcourt, like Tyndale and Armstrong, is associated with extreme theological radicalism. The *Articles veritables* published as the placard of October 1534 confirm his radical Sacramentarian leaning which, like Armstrong's, could not have been reconciled under any circumstances with the official position on the Mass and the real presence countenanced by King Henry. It is nonetheless plain that the *Boke of Marchauntes* lends solid support to the new ideology of secular and secularizing authority unfolding in the agenda of the Reformation Parliament and its accompanying propaganda.

The open publication of Marcourt's book by Thomas Godfray contrasts sharply with the attempt at concealment of the publisher's identity and the place of publication in Pierre de Vingle's two French editions of 1533 and 1534.[26] One small but revealing piece of evidence of this discrepancy in the reception of Marcourt's satire on the two sides of the Channel is discernible in a rhetorical modification in translation of the use of the personal pronoun. In the peroration of the appeal to the Princes in the original French edition of 1533, Marcourt writes "O, si ainsi promptz et vigilans *vous* estiez à procurer l'honneur de Dieu comme sont promptz et diligentz ces convoiteux marchans de estre apres leur cas pour bien garder que rien ne leur eschappe, las que la chose iroit bien."[27] The rhetorical effect is admonitory, perhaps even reproving—a voice of protest addressing the powers that be. In the English translation of Godfray's 1534 edition, the pronoun is shifted from the second person to the first: "O lorde / if *we* were so prompt and wakinge for to procure the honour of god / as these covetouse marchantes be prompte and diligent / for to be about theyr maters / and to be well ware that nothinge escape theym: Helas all wolde goo well."[28] The shift from "vous" to "nous" (from "you" to "we") suggests an assumed element of common purpose between author and the intended audience of the apology. This subtle discrepancy of translation points to a whole world of difference between the public receptions of Marcourt's pamphlet in England and France. In England, at least during the mid-1530s, the "representative publicity" of the monarchy does *not* regard itself as under threat by the voice of public religious protest, whereas the very opposite condition prevails in France. The consequence is the flourishing of Cromwell's public of

pamphleteers and publishers at the margin of the English Court, while in France the voice of religious protest is compelled to flee the realm for the safety of foreign parts.

A generation later in *Actes and Monuments*,[29] John Foxe mentions the *Boke of Marchauntes* as having been included in a list of books prohibited by Henry VIII in a Proclamation issued in 1546 two years after the theology faculty of Paris had issued France's first index of prohibited books.[30] Accompanied by a list of other avant-garde evangelical writings by such reformers as Miles Coverdale, George Joye, William Tyndale, John Frith, William Turner, and Robert Barnes, among others, *The Boke of Marchauntes* was publicly consigned to a bonfire at Paul's Cross.[31] The Proclamation classifies the books into order according to author and includes *The Boke of Marchauntes* within a subsection of titles attributed to William Turner including his notorious satire *The huntyng & fyndyng out of the Romishe fox* and his translation of *A comparison betwene the olde learnynge and the newe*,[32] a French edition of the latter having been published also by Pierre de Vingle in Neuchâtel in 1534.[33] This Proclamation in Bonner's Register may well be our best contemporary clue to the identity of the translator. It is interesting to note that the item immediately preceding *The Boke of Marchauntes* in the list of prohibited books attached to the Royal Injunction is *The Summe of the holye Scripture*,[34] an English translation of *De Summa der Godeliker Scrifturen*. Originally composed in Dutch and published in Leiden in 1523, this work has been attributed to Henricus Bomelius (or Hendrik von Bommel), an evangelical preacher in the region of the Lower Rhine and pastor of the Brethren of the Common Life.[35] An English translation is attributed to another evangelical firebrand, Simon Fish, author of the popular evangelical satire *Supplicacyon for the beggars*, first circulated in the spring of 1529 and a copy of which Anne Boleyn is said to have presented to Henry VIII.[36] Both Simon Fish and John Frith were engaged in polemics with Sir Thomas More concerning the doctrine of purgatory, and thus serve to highlight the developing rift between Erasmian humanist and radical evangelical approaches to religious reform. And, as Isabelle Crevier-Denommé has shown, the French translation, published by Vingle under the title *Summe de l'escripture saincte*, provides yet another instance of links between England and Marcourt's publisher in Neuchâtel.[37] Here again we witness the impossibility of separating developments in the course of the Reformation in England from events on the continent, and the existence of an engaged public that transcends national and linguistic boundaries.

McConica's claim in *English Humanists and Reformation Politics* that the humanist evangelicals of Henry's reign "declined the general heterodoxy of the Protestant reformers" and embraced the middle way of Erasmian moderation as "the very formula of the Henrician Church" does seem now a rather unlikely reading of the rough-and-tumble polemical environment that witnessed the making public of Marcourt's satire.[38] Thomas Godfray's

press played a key role in Cromwell's antipapal campaign from 1533 onward, and the *Boke of Marchauntes* was one among numerous publications by French evangelical radicals enlisted in support of Thomas Cromwell's strategy for constitutional and religious reform. England's reformist humanism had its "evangelical moment" in the 1530s and then reverted to a more consciously conservative mode in the decade following. From the fall of Thomas Cromwell in 1540 until the death of Henry in January 1547, the Church of England came to be dominated by the spirit of a conservative Erasmian humanism such as it had known prior to 1533,[39] while during the same period of the middle 1540s France witnessed a severe repression of heresy and rigorous enforcement of Catholic orthodoxy.[40] With the accession of Edward VI, "the young Josiah," the climate shifted once again, and the *Boke of Marchauntes* was resurrected phoenixlike from the ashes in its second English edition only months after perishing in the flames at Paul's Cross. Within a year continental evangelical theologians Martin Bucer from Strasbourg and the Florentine Peter Martyr Vermigli would be installed in Cambridge and Oxford respectively as the king's professors of divinity. Those in France who longed for a ruler who would emulate the idol-smashing boy-king of ancient Judah would have to wait until the accession of Francis II in 1559 and then Charles IX in 1560 only to have their hopes of a thorough reform of church and doctrine dashed in the wake of the Colloquy of Poissy (1561).[41]

THE POPULAR VOICE OF RELIGIOUS REFORM

The tide of religious reform was far from attaining equilibrium on either side of the Channel. There was a virtual flood of evangelical propaganda in England in the 1530s. Unlike France where, after the Day of the Placards in October 1534, every attempt is made by government to squelch the voice of reform, the Tudor regime is willing to allow this voice a hearing, though at a respectable distance from the Crown. The evangelical circle around Thomas Cromwell acquires a voice through various presses, those of a more moderate tone through the royal printer and those of a more radical bent through presses with only quasi-official sanction, as with the press of Thomas Godfray, publisher of Marcourt's satire. In the case of the French printer Pierre de Vingle, on the other hand, while forced expulsion from the realm of France creates a more negative delimitation of the actual site of production, the pamphlets are nonetheless distributed to an eager French-reading public wherever they may be found. Indeed it is especially interesting to observe the broadly international dimension of mid-sixteenth-century religious propaganda. Tracts appearing in Germany, Holland, and France are translated and appear in England in very short order. The public in search of religious transformation transcends national, political, and linguistic boundaries, and thus presses *beyond* the limits

imposed by individual states. The virtual public space of popular religious reform becomes increasingly international in scope as the sixteenth century unfolds.

What then are the leading characteristics of the nascent public of avant-garde evangelicals at the periphery of King Henry VIII's court in the 1530s, the public that has its center in the group of propagandists associated with the circle of Thomas Cromwell? The avant-garde circle around Thomas Cromwell seeks a reform of both the church and the civil constitution, but does so from outside the established institutions themselves by means of persuasion in the popular press. The English press of the 1530s arguably denotes an emergent civil society with competing ideologies, a situation owing in large part to the fluctuating state of official religious policy at the time in Parliament and at court. The fall of Cromwell in 1540 is accompanied by a spectacular drop in the volume of polemical books published. It is not until after the accession of the Protestant Edward VI in 1547 that the volume of publication regains the level attained in the mid-1530s. In this we have a rough indicator of the Crown's power to permit or to suppress an incipient public discourse founded upon religious dissent.

Their common interest is in the promotion of radical constitutional and religious agenda of reform through the agency of semiofficial printers, including Thomas Godfray. The political dimension of the propaganda machine in Cromwell's circle of religious radicals is fairly self-evident. It might be argued that the overtly political purpose of religious persuasion is so explicit as to disqualify the web of friendship, patronage, and personal connection to which a printer like Thomas Godfray is attached from identification as a disinterested public, although it would certainly be difficult to label this phenomenon without appealing to some analogous category. It would certainly be a mistake to exclude an explicit political dimension to all species of early modern publics when some clearly appear either in the process of the dissolution of one establishment or in the inauguration of another—such as is the case of England in the mid-1530s and later throughout the reign of Edward VI.

The evangelical radicals in both England and France are unquestionably engaged, to borrow a key idea from Charles Taylor, in a very elaborate exercise of social imagining.[42] Marcourt, moreover, imagines the benefits of religion taken under the care of the civil power. The *Boke of Marchaunts* proposes such radical constitutional revision based on evangelical religious institutional structures. The preferred mode of revolution is through the printed word—the tracts, the placards, the subversive religious songs. The aim is to achieve constitutional revolution through persuasion—a frequent epigraph on books published by Vingle, Marcourt's original publisher in Neuchâtel, is "lisez et puis jugez."

As we have seen, one of Godfray's notable publications was the English translation of Antoine de Marcourt's Rabelaisian spoof on ecclesiastical

hierarchy, first secretly published in French by Pierre de Vingle at Neuchâtel in October 1533. The characteristic medium of the evangelical avant-garde is print. However, this allows diverse modes of expression including theological tracts (e.g., Marcourt's *Declaration of the Masse*), satire (*Boke of Marchaunts*, Tyndale's *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*), sermons, carols and hymns (*Noelz nouveaux*), and "picture books" with wood-cut images (*Les faictz du Jesus Christ et du pape*).

The press of Thomas Godfray thus constitutes a "semiofficial" public functioning in fairly close proximity to the court through its association with the circle of Chancellor Thomas Cromwell, but does not possess the official status of "king's printer." The point of publishing radical evangelical and political tracts by those close to the seat of power was to influence the constitutional course of events through what Michael Warner characterizes as a self-organized field of discourse.[43] The field is open in principle to strangers on the condition that they subscribe to the tenets promoted by the public in question. It may well be ephemeral in view of its ultimate prospects for success—those who find themselves at the fringes of political power (such as the evangelical radicals of Cromwell's circle in the 1530s) may find themselves forming a new Establishment over time (such as in fact was accomplished by them at the accession of Edward VI). To become the establishment in no way detracts from its erstwhile status as a public at an earlier stage. This exemplifies the diachronic nature of publics: they are not static entities, but come into being and can evolve into something that may no longer be a public in a formal sense.[44]

CONCLUSION

Throughout England's radical religious and constitutional transformation of the 1530s, Henry's chief minister Thomas Cromwell simultaneously managed both the intricacies of the legislative program and a highly sophisticated propaganda campaign through pulpit and press in support of the constitutional agenda before Parliament. The substance of the pamphlets of the early 1530s in many respects epitomizes the legislation passed by the Reformation Parliament.[46] What, then, is the significance of Cromwell's resorting to private presses in order to justify a new definition of religious identity? The older order defined by monarchical and ecclesiastical "representative publicity" is no longer assumed as simply hegemonic, but must give an account of itself by reasoned argument; there is a revolutionary break with long-held assumptions concerning the nature of the church and its relation to political power, of the relation between religion and the primary social structures, and also of the relation between the conscience of the individual subject and constituted political authority. The crucial element in this new relation is especially evident in the perceived need for the encouragement of a public campaign of persuasion. As with Marcourt's ill-fated placard,

such a campaign assumes that the moral force of religious identity rests not upon its intrinsic given-ness, but rather upon active recognition, assent, and embrace by its adherents. The importance of subjective appropriation of the new framework—namely through persuasion—and the consequent definition of the communal identity have become intrinsic to the subsistence of that framework. This is the sense of the importance attached to a "culture of persuasion" and to Cromwell's avant-garde "public" of propagandist, printers, and publishers who largely brought it into existence.

NOTES

1. The placard was formally titled *Articles veritables sur les horribles, grandz et importables abuz de la messe papalle, inventee directement contre la saincte cene de Jesus Christ* (Neuchâtel: Pierre de Vingle, 1534). Marcourt's sharp polemic against the Catholic doctrine of the Mass was posted throughout Paris as well as at the château of Amboise where King François I was then residing. See Francis Higman, "De l'affaire des Placards aux nicodémites: le movement évangélique français sous François Ier," in *Lire et découvrir: la circulation des idées au temps de la Réforme* (Geneva: Droz, 1998), 619–25.

2. On the groupe de Meaux, see Arlette Jouanna, *La France de la renaissance, histoire et dictionnaire* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 2001), 300ff.

3. For a full account of Marcourt's career, see Gabrielle Berthoud, *Antoine Marcourt: Réformateur et pamphlétaire du "livre des marchans" aux placards de 1534* (Geneva: Droz, 1973).

4. Christopher Elwood, *The Body Broken: The Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 27–55.

5. See Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

6. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Polity, 1989), 7, 8.

7. James Kelsey McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 6.

8. Antoine de Marcourt, *The Boke of Marchauntes, right necessarye vnto all folkes. Newly made by the lorde Pantapole, right expert in suche busynesse, nere neyghbour vnto the lorde Pantagrul* (London: Thomas Godfraye, *cum priuilegio Regali*, 1534).

9. The original text was published by Vingle on August 22, 1533, under the title *Le livre des marchans, fort utile a toutes gens nouvellement composé par le sire Pantapole, bien expert en tel affaire, prochain voysin du seigneur Pantagruel*. According to Gabrielle Berthoud, "le *Livre des Marchans* est l'œuvre la plus poplaire et, apparemment, la mieux connue de l'auteur des Placards." See Berthoud, *Antoine Marcourt*, 111.

10. Ibid.,111, 149ff.

11. See ibid.,111. Berthoud, however, does not provide the precise Greek etymology of this Rabelaisian name. The Greek πάντα (panta) is "all" and πωλης (poles) is "dealer," "seller," or "purveyor." According to Anne Lake Prescott, Marcourt's assumed identity is the first printed allusion to Rabelais in English. See Anne Lake Prescott, *Imagining Rabelais in Renaissance England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 17.

12. See Robert Hutchinson, *Thomas Cromwell: The Rise and Fall of Henry VIII's Most Notorious Minister* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2007); G. R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England 1509–1558* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 157: "Cromwell obtained a grip on the press in latter part of 1533. Under his patronage a very different body of writers and writings took over the task of discussing the issues of the day; production turned from controversy to constructive thought."

13. According to Franklin Le Van Baumer, Henry VIII and Cromwell devoted almost as much attention to the printing press as to the parliamentary session. See Franklin Le Van Baumer, *The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1966), 35–84. See p. 39: "Henry VIII exercised a dictatorship of the press which, judged by its results, was just about as effective as any western Europe has ever seen. The opposition, denied the use of the English printing press, was either driven abroad to publish, or else forced to circulate its views in manuscript."

14. See J. Christopher Warner, *Henry VIII's Divorce: Literature and the Politics of the Printing Press* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1998).

15. An anonymous *Panegyric of King Henry VIII as the abolisher of papist abuses* (London: Thomas Godfray, 1537) is identified in the Short Title Catalogue (2nd ed.) 13089a as published by Thomas Godfray; see also Bodleian Library, Douce Fragm. fol. 51 (10). This short piece of just three leaves may be consulted at Early English Books Online.

16. Andrew Pettegree, "Printing and the Reformation: The English Exception," in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, ed. Peter Marshall and Alex Ryrie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 173. See also Warner, *Henry VIII's Divorce*.

17. See François Rouget, "Academies, Circles, 'Salons,' and the Emergence of the Premodern 'Literary Public Sphere' in Sixteenth-Century France," Chapter 3, this text.

18. In a letter to Cromwell, Marshall indicates that he is relying on Cromwell's promise of a subsidy for the printing of his translation of Marsilius's work. See J. S. Brewer, R. H. Brodie, and J. Gairdner, eds., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509–1547* (London, 1862–1932), 7:423.

19. William Tyndale, *The obedyence of a Chrysten man: and howe Chrysten rulers ought to gouerne, wherin also (yf thou marke dilygently) thou shalte fynde eyes to perceyue the craftye conueyaunce of all iugglers* (London: Thomas Godfray?, 1536); William Tyndale, *A Pathway i[n]to the Holy Scripture* (London: Thomas Godfray, 1536?); and a modern edition of the latter, P. E. Satterthwaite and D. F. Wright, eds., *A Pathway into the Holy Scripture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994).

20. Richard Rex, "Crisis of Obedience: God's Word and Henry's Reformation," *The Historical Journal* 39, no. 4 (1996): 863–67.

21. Ibid., 866.

22. Christopher St. German, *A treatise concernynge the diuision betwene the spiritualtie and temporaltie* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1532); Christopher St. German, *Salem and Bizance* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1533).

23. Christopher St. German, *An answere to a letter* (London: Thomas Godfray *cum priuilegio*, 1535); see also Christopher St. German, *A treatyse concernynge the poure of the clergye and the lawes of the realme* (London: Thomas Godfray, 1535?).

24. Ethan Shagan, "Clement Armstrong and the Godly Commonwealth: Radical Religion in Early Tudor England," in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, 61. Shagan argues that "it is a commonplace of scholarly analyses of the

'radical Reformation' that radical theology required churches to be organised 'on the principle of voluntary association' [quoting George Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, xxviii] and that radicals 'disdained a settled relationship with secular society' ... yet in Armstrong's case we have what seems to be an authoritarian and hyper-institutionalist concoction mixed from many of the same elements found in the Anabaptist theological brew. In the English Reformation 'radical' and 'magisterial' cannot function as simple antonyms.... In England of the early 1530s ... the hopes of a small evangelical minority lay in the policies of a mercurial king who had begun making dark threats against the pope and the clergy." See p. 78.

25. Public Record Office, State Papers, Theological Tracts 6/11, 199v. Cited in Shagan, "Clement Armstrong," 74.

26. See Berthoud, *Antoine Marcourt*, 141: "Godfray, on l'a vu, n'a dissimulé ni son nom, ni son adresse, mais n'a pas renonce totalement pour autant aux indications fictives de Pierre de Vingle.... D'autre part, 'l'Imprimé à Corinthe' est devenu 'Written at Corinthe, by your frende and lover (out of frenche) Thorny, wyld, wedy, harlety.' Le traducteur ne s'est malheureusement pas trahi advantage par ces mots énigmatiques."

27. Marcourt, *Livre des marchans* (1533), ci v (my italics). I am grateful to Isabelle Crevier-Denommé for drawing this critical discrepancy in the translation to my attention.

28. My emphasis; Marcourt, *Boke of Marchauntes*, ciii r.

29. John Foxe, *Actes and monuments of these latter and perillous dayes, touching matters of the Church, wherein ar comprehended and described the great persecutions [and] horrible troubles, that haue bene wrought and practised by the Romishe prelates, speciallye in this realme of England and Scotlande....* (London: John Day, *cum privilegio Regiae Maiestatis*, 1563).

30. The Royal Proclamation, issued on 8 July 1546, is included in the Bonner Register, followed by Edmund Bonner's own certificate to the Privy Council confirming execution of the order together with a list of prohibited books, Guildhall MS 9531/12, pt1, fol. 91r: "The king's most excellent majesty—understanding how, under pretence of expounding and declaring the truth of God's Scripture, divers lewd and evil-disposed persons have taken upon them to utter and sow abroad, by books imprinted in the English tongue, sundry pernicious and detestable errors and heresies, not only contrary to the laws of this realm, but also repugnant to the true sense of God's law and his word ... His majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from the day of this proclamation, presume to bring any manner of English book, concerning any manner of Christian religion, printed in the parts beyond the seas, into this realm." See P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964), 1:373–76. The catalog of prohibited books is recorded only in the first edition of Foxe, *Actes and monuments* (1563), 573–74. On the Paris index see Philip Benedict and Virginia Reinburg, "Religion and the Sacred," in *Renaissance and Reformation France, 1500–1648*, ed. Mack P. Holt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 139.

31. See Edmund Bonner, *Certificatorium factum dominis de privato consilio regio super concrematione quorundam librorum prohibitorum*, Guildhall MS 9531/12, fol. 91v; repr. *Actes and Monuments* (London: Adam and Company, 1873), appendix to vol. 5, no. xviii.

32. William Turner, *The huntyng & fyndyng out of the Romishe fox whiche more then seuen yeares hath bene hyd among the bisshoppes of Englong [sic] after that the Kynges hyghnes had comma[n]ded hym to be dryuen out

of hys realme* (Imprynted at Basyl [i.e., Bonn: L. Mylius], 1543). Rhegius, *A co[m]parison betuene the olde learnynge [and] the newe, translated out of latin in Englysh by Wyliam Turner* (Southward: James Nicolson, 1537).

33. William Turner, *Doctrine nouvelle et ancienne* (Neuchâtel: Pierre de Vingle, 1534), a translation of Urbanus Rhegius, *Nova doctrina et veterem collatio* (Augsburg: Simprecht Ruff, 1526).

34. Henricus Bomelius, *The summe of the holye scripture: and ordinarye of the Christen teachyng, the true Christen faithe* (Antwerp?: s.n., 1529). Reprinted again after the accession of Edward VI under the title *The summe of the holy Scripture, and ordinarye of the Chrystian teaching* (n.p., 1548). See modern facsimile version edited by Robert Peters, *The Sum of the Holy Scripture and a Supplication for the Beggars 1529* (Menston: Scolar Press, 1973).

35. Henricus Bomelius, *De Summa der Godliker Scrifturen* (1523), ed. Johannes Trapman (Leiden: Elve/Labor Vincit, 1978). Published anonymously in 1523, the *Summa* was a free translation by Bomelius of his Latin work *Oeconomica christiana*, which was not published until 1527.

36. Simon Fish, *The summe of the holye scripture: and ordinarye of the Christian teachyng* (Antwerp: s.n., 1529). See John N. King, "John Day: Master Printer of the English Reformation," in *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, 184. See also Robert Peters's introductory note to the Scolar Press facsimile edition of *The sum of the holy Scripture*, n. 34 in this chapter. Simon Fish, *A supplication of the poore commons. Wherunto is added the Supplicacyon for the beggers* (London: John Day and William Seres?, 1546). Sir Thomas More engaged Fish in defense of the doctrine of Purgatory as he did John Frith. See Thomas More, *The supplycacyon of soulys made by syr Thomas More knight.... Agaynst the supplycacyon of beggars* (London: William Rastell, 1529). Another of Thomas Godfray's publications resonates to some extent with the social satire of Fish's *Supplication*. See William Marshall's translation of the Spanish Erasmian Juan Luis Vives's *Forma subventionis pauperum* (1526); *The forme and maner of subue[n]tion or helping for pore people, devysed and practysed i[n] the cytie of Hypres in Flaunders, whiche forme is auctorised by the Emperour, [and] approued by the facultie of diuinitie in Paris. Cu[m] priuilegio regali* (London: Thomas Godfray, 1535). Juan Luis Vives, *De subventione pauperum sive de humanis necessitatibus, libri II*, ed. C. Matheeussen and C. Fantazzi (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002).

37. Isabelle Crevier-Denommé, "Les changements doctrinaux dans les versions de la *Summe de l'escripture saincte* (1529–1539)." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, Cambridge, UK.

38. McConica, *English Humanists*, 10, 11.

39. For a penetrating analysis of the situation of Reform in the years immediately preceding the accession of Edward VI, see Alec Ryrie, "The Strange Death of Lutheran England," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 53, no. 1 (2002): 83–92. As Ryrie sums it up, there is a significant division of opinion in the interpretation of this period. Richard Rex sees it as an almost fully-fledged Counter-Reformation while Eamon Duffy regards the Reforming party as biding their time in anticipation of the succession. (Nothing succeeds like succession?) See Rex, *Henry VIII*, 144; and Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 424–47. On this historiographical divergence, see Ryrie, "Strange Death," 83.

40. Benedict and Reinburg, "Religion and the Sacred," 139.

41. Philip Benedict, "The Wars of Religion, 1562–1598," in *Renaissance and Reformation France, 1500–1648*, 150.

42. See Charles Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).

43. For this view of publics, see Michael Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002), 67–74.

44. My thanks to Angela Vanhaelen for this observation.

45. G. R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England 1509–1558* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), 157: "Cromwell obtained a grip on the press in latter part of 1533. Under his patronage a very different body of writers and writings took over the task of discussing the issues of the day; production turned from controversy to constructive thought."

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