"Rags of Popery":

Dressing and Addressing the Material Culture of Disrupted Faith in Early Modern England*

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Introduction

In the early 1640s, the material culture of worship in England was, yet again, extraordinarily politically sensitive. Archbishop Laud (1573–1645), head of the English church, was under arrest, charged with seeking "papal and tyrannical power" and making physical his devotion to "Popish practices" by the installation of "superstitious Pictures, Images and Crucifixes […] in many Churches, and in the Kings Chappell".[1] The Commons had passed the Protestation Oath against popery, received a bill for the abolition of the episcopacy and supported a resolution reversing Laud's attempt to re-order English churches. Leveller and pamphleteer Richard Overton (fl.1640–1664) published his satirical poems attacking the Bishops through their regalia.[2] In both *Lambeth Faire wherein you have all the Bishops Trinkets set to Sale* (1641) and its extended sequel *New Lambeth Fayre newly consecrated wherein all Romes Reliques are set at Sale* (1642), the location of the imaginary Lambeth Fair draws attention to Overton's critique of Laud, often derided as "the Pope of Lambeth". Overton describes English Bishops attempting to sell off their "Romish" gear before fleeing to Rome:

"Another comes as if his back would breake,

Burthen'd with Vestures, and gan thus to speake,

Trinckets I have good store, within my packe, […]

Wherein are Miters, Caps rotund and square,

The rar'st Episcopalls, that ere you see,

Are in my pack, come pray you buy of me; […]

Buy this brave Rochet, buy this curious Cope,

The tippet, Scarfe, they all came from the Pope [...]."[3]

Why were these "rags of popery" such a concern, both for those who revered them and those who reviled them?[4] The centrality and acceptability of material expressions of belief varied sharply across the faith spectrum. Closely associated with the person of the priest and the celebration of the mass, vestments were a flash point for the expression of difference. Contrasting views of their material and immaterial importance led to dissension within the evolving—and conflicted—strands of the Church of England and distinctly different attitudes in repressed but resilient Roman Catholic communities. Anti-Catholic legislation in England, starting about 1530 and continuing until the early nineteenth century, made the practice of the Roman Catholic faith political treason and religious apostasy. Those practised the 'old religion' did so in the knowledge they risked financial penalties, imprisonment and, at certain points, death.

This paper unpicks such a spectrum of attitudes, taking a thematic rather than chronological approach, examining how these highly formalised garments became disruptive signifiers of religious and political (dis)connections. Such ritual garb, I argue, became a material expression of a minority "social articulation of difference" which Bhabha positions as "a complex, on-going negotiation that seeks to authorize cultural hybridities that emerge in moments of historical transformation".[5] Freighted with conflicted values, vestments physically

"fix[ed] cultural difference in a containable, visible object" at a time of religious flux.[6] Their very cultural fluidity and ability to carry alternative meanings made vestments simultaneously a threat or a comfort, seen as emblems of deceit or continuity as they were rejected by reformers and claimed by believers who embraced their distinct and different allegiance to 'the old faith' and refused to forget what they considered to be the vestments' original and ongoing function and significance.

"See what Thy Soul doth Wear"[7]

Vestments were (and remain) richly ambiguous. Like much religious material culture, they were important for their tangible and intangible qualities but were also highly atypical garments. Most people who were able, through social, cultural and economic circumstances, to select their own clothes made choices which reinforced, communicated and interpreted their identity, gender, sexuality and, sometimes, religious and national allegiances. Defined by their performative liturgical functions, vestments were ceremonial clothing whose function was not to reinforce individual identity but rather to subdue it. Vestments "were not made to enhance the priest, but rather to humiliate him […]. [O]nce vested in the raiment of the church he ceases to be himself, he 'puts on Christ', speaking not in his own name but in that of the church".[8] From this perspective, vestments were transformative garments which functioned as metonyms for particular expressions of faith and liturgical practice. The Puritan Anthony Gilby (c.1510–1585), vehemently against all vestments, summed up this identifying fusion of faith and dress: "Garmente giueth men great occasion to gesse what hee is".[9]

A priest's choice of vestments was often predetermined and governed by external circumstances. Many medieval parish churches possessed vestments so priests did not

necessarily have to have their own.[10] Donors paying a handsome sum might specify the materials and iconography for vestments destined for a specific church or chantry chapel, reflecting personal preferences for certain biblical stories or holy figures while sometimes recording their identity through an embroidered rebus or coat of arms. Fabric choices, too, reflected contemporary textile fashions as well as the donor's desire to honour the church by selecting the most lavish materials available or bequeathing cherished personal clothing for re-use in the church. Luxurious materials were preferred, so velvets and satins with rich silk and metal thread embroidery dominated, although more austere fabrics such as linen were also used occasionally.[11]

The material could thus accrue both spiritual and social values, commending a donor's soul to God while also embodying their status although vestments seem to have been set outside the scope of sumptuary legislation aimed at articulating social difference through fabric choices.[12] Richer ecclesiastics evidently owned personal vestments. Geoffrey le Scrope (d. January 1882/3), canon at Lincoln and York, possessed some expensive ones: "[…] I bequeath to the church of the Blessed Mary of Oxford my best whole vestment of gold with orphrays of red velvet embroidered with golden lilies [...]".[13] The question of ownership brings up the issue of fit. Vestments cover but do not conform to the body so may be easily transferred from one body type to another, with adjustments for height. Although not fashionable garments in the usual understanding of the concept, there are clearly trends in the cut of vestments. Facilitated by the ease with which fabric can be cut and adapted, numerous medieval chasubles, once generous bell-shapes, have been narrowed into more functional 'U' shapes or reshaped into the 'fiddle' form fashionable in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Unexpected effects could result when material form triumphed over iconographic meaning. Reshaping of the Chichester-Constable chasuble (1330–50) resulted in two embroidered saints losing their heads but the 'off-cuts' were used to create new liturgical accessories—a stole and maniple.[14]

Vestments were worn for a reason. Consequently, the material takes on further immaterial resonances. Vestments were seen in movement in specific places and in specific ways during the performance of the liturgy, part of a multi-sensory experience fusing together sound (bells), smell (incense) and sight (the priest elevating the chalice when the congregation could glimpse the embroidery on the chasuble's back). Specific prayers intensified the transformative ritual of putting on vestments, freighting them with spiritual significance through Christological equivalences. For example, the maniple was considered analogous to the ropes which bound Christ's hands while he was scourged so the vesting prayer links it with weeping and sorrow and hence the burden of priestly office.[15] Christ's trial is fused with the life of the priest through the vestment.[16] Unsurprisingly, such approaches were not endorsed by reformists; worship without vestments does not require vesting prayers.

As anomalous garments, consecrated vestments experienced a different life trajectory to that of secular clothing. Specific principles governed the care of vestments and altar linens and—even more significantly—their disposal, at least in theory. Stains made by consecrated wine were not a defilement but added sanctity to the material. Such areas were to be excised, burnt and the ashes placed in the sacristy, giving them the same status as relics.[17] Worn-out altar linens were also to be burnt and their ashes flushed through the piscina, the same disposal route used for consecrated wine.[18] Similarly, burning rather than secular re-use was the appropriate end for old vestments. The requirement to bury these ashes in the baptistry or elsewhere in the church where no one could walk over them highlights their metonymic function.[19] Fusing the transforming garment and the body, priests could be buried in their vestments rather than shrouds. These might be the vestments worn when a Catholic priest was consecrated, as in the case of Thomas Beckett (1119/1120–1170), Archbishop of Canterbury, or those which demonstrated his status, as in the case of Godfrey de Ludham (1258–1265), Archbishop of York, who was buried with his pallium and mitre.[20] Secular practices of

adaptation and re-use were evidently followed in parallel with these canonical 'end of life' scenarios. Such valuable textiles were found new uses in domestic or theatrical contexts.[21] More prosaically, embroidery might be unpicked to recover the gold threads.

Contesting Vestments

Divisions between reformers, influenced by Continental Protestant thought and practices, and traditionalists in the evolving Church of England took a material turn, making conflicting beliefs visible in alternative practices.[22] Any belief in sacred qualities ascribed to vestments was firmly suppressed in the *Elizabethan Royal Articles and Injunctions* (1559) which specified the "seemly habits, garments, and […] square caps" to be worn by all clergy: "not there by meaning to attribute any holiness or special worthiness to the said garments, but as St. Paul writeth: *Omnia decenter et secundem* […]".[23] Vestments previously used for celebrating mass were expressly forbidden:

> "the minister at the tyme of the Communion […] shall use neither albe, vestment, nor cope: but being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet; and being a preest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice onely."[24]

For most Elizabethan clergy, colour and iconography were proscribed and plain white linen preferred although even this was too rich a diet for some reforming English clerics whose reluctance was gleefully seized on by catholic polemists.[25]

Two moments when men are dressed in clerical garments to make liturgical/political points are selected here as indicators of how vestments functioned as signifiers. First, the examination of Thomas Cramer (1489–1556), one of the architects of the Reformation, under the Marian Roman Catholic regime.[26] On 14 February 1556, Cranmer was ritually degraded, a process deeply informed by the sacred symbolism of vestments as it enacts a ritualistic reversal of their function in the making of a priest.[27] Arriving at Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, Cranmer wore academic dress, appropriate as he was no longer Archbishop of Canterbury: "a faire blacke gowne, with his hoode on both shoulders, suche as Doctors of divinity in the University use to weare".[28] He was forcibly redressed in parody vestments made of inferior coarse fabric, probably plain weave linen or hemp, rather than silk brocades or velvets: actual "rags of popery". John Foxe (1516/17–1587), evidently not a disinterested commentator, describes how Cranmer was vested first as a priest and then as Archbishop:

> "[…] they proceeding thereupon, to his degradation, first clothed and disguised him: putting on hym a surplis, and then an Aulbe: […] as a Priest ready to Masse […]. Then they inuested him in all manner of Robes of a Bishop and Archbishop, as he is at his installing, sauyng that as euery thing then is most riche and costly, so euerye thing in this was of Canvas and olde cloutes, with a Miter and a Pall of the same sute downe vppon hym in in mockery."[29]

Cranmer was then reclothed in low status secular garments, a "pore yeoman Bedles gowne, ful bare and nearely worne, and as euil fauouredly made […] and a townes mans cap on hys head".[30] This would have been doubly insulting, given Cranmer's attitude to vestments. His understanding of the complex ironies in this redressing/dressing down ritual is clear in his reported comment: "I had my selfe done wyth this geare long ago".[31] In one sense, this ritual devesting was irrelevant. Cranmer had long moved away from seeing vestments as possessing

transformative spiritual power but function of vestments as metonyms for the embodied church in the person of the priest was the entire point of the process as far as the presiding Bishops were concerned.

Immaterial beliefs took material forms in the vestarian conflicts of the Elizabethan Protestant regime, highlighting different attitudes to theological positions, church authority and liturgical practices. The second moment is thus the day in 1566 when Archbishops Matthew Parker (1504–1575) and Edmund Grindal (c.1519–1583) staged a display of preferred vestments at Lambeth Palace. Working out how to deal with vestments in practice had proved difficult. Disagreements had resulted in ambiguous messages, giving Roman Catholics cause for misguided hope while infuriating reformers. Robert Cole (1527?–1577), minister at St. Mary-le-Bow, found himself paraded in front of London clerics assembled at Lambeth Palace clad in Parker's approved clerical garb: "a square cap, a scholar's gown priestlike, a tippet […], and in the church a linen surplice", not dissimilar to the academic clothes Cranmer wore arriving at Christ Church.[32] The archetypal mass vestment—the chasuble—was nowhere to be seen. This was a double-edged episcopal strategy: Cole was being rebuked in front of his peers for his resistance to reformist clerical dress while those who refused to alter their habits—in both senses of the word—were threatened with deprivation. The implications of this clerical fashion parade were bitter and long-lasting.[33] Gilby expresses almost visceral horror at the implications of these "dregges & remnants of transformid popery":

> "[…] they can not thinke the worde of God safelye ynoughe preachid, & honorably inough handlyd, without cap, cope, surplus […]. God will vysit the werears of this Idolatours garmentes or strange aparell, […] rvuerence to the sacrame[n]t is wrought by doctrine and discipline, and not by popisshe & Idolatours garments [...]."[34]

Suspicion of vestments as, literally, agents of deceit is acted out to tragi-comic effect through the transforming effect of a "gown and beard" in *Twelfth Night*. Thus equipped by Maria, Feste can make Malvolio believe he is "Sir Topas the curate". Feste himself, ever alive to disguise and transgression, reflects: "Well, I'll put it on, and I will dissemble myself in't, and I would I were the first that ever dissembled in such a gown".[35] To be effective, however, Feste's mocking imitation of the curate depends on double vision: Malvolio believes Feste's 'dissembling' but the audience knows it to be 'untrue'. Out of this donning of physical and verbal disguise comes the slippage, excess and, above all, ambivalent difference which Bhabha argues is essential for mimicry.[36]

Material Resistance

Such wildly divergent attitudes to vestments illuminate both the eventual retreat of the Church of England into black and white clerical garb and the devotion shown by English Roman Catholics to sustaining their repressed faith through traditional mass accoutrements. Those whose beliefs led them to refuse to attend Church of England services did so in the knowledge that this, and the possession of the material culture of the mass, could result in financial penalties, imprisonment and death. Application of the law varied over time, influenced by class, locale and gender. A spectrum of refusal strategies emerged, from "church papists" to clandestine networks.[37] For the latter, worship was relocated, taking place in covert chapels in gentry homes, in barns or even outdoors.[38]

Massing equipment became an intense focus of interest for clandestine communities of faith and for those seeking to enforce legal conformity. Vestments were literally the material fabric of resistance and could become potent signifiers of Catholicism. As recusants sought to

worship correctly in unfamiliar contexts, it became vital to know what was necessary and then obtain and retain appropriate massing gear. Tricky questions emerged. Was it, for example, a mortal sin for a priest to celebrate mass without vestments? Must those vestments be consecrated? William Allen (1532–1594) and Robert Parsons (aka Persons, 1546–1610), who trained priests for the English mission in continental seminaries, provided guidance which was a judicious balance of realism and optimism. Celebrating mass without appropriate vestments would be a mortal sin but, given the lack of Bishops to perform such blessings, unconsecrated vestments could be used:

> "[…] [I]t is hardly very difficult to obtain such clothes. Provided therefore that the priest is wearing sacerdotal vestments—that is, the alb, amice, stole, maniple and chasuble—even if they are not blessed, then I think that he does not sin in England where there are such great problems."[39]

In fact, obtaining such vestments was a problem which required considerable ingenuity, commitment and no small degree of courage. One obvious source was older vestments which had survived the Reformation or changed hands during the sales under Edward VI's (1537–1553) Commissioners. These had the advantage of having been consecrated appropriately as well as being a physical assertion of the continuity of the Catholic faith. "Two crimson copes left by the ancestors of the house, worth £100" were confiscated from the Catholic Vaux family in 1612.[40] Sir John Towneley (1473–1541) acquired some fifteenth-century mass vestments from Whalley Abbey, possibly the set listed in the inventory taken at the Abbey's dissolution (Fig. 1).[41] The replacement seventeenth-century lining suggests the vestments were refurbished for use by 'missioner' priests sent from Europe when celebrating Mass in Townley Hall's illegal chapel.[42] Alternatively, priests might smuggle their massing equipment into England and take with them on their travels. Thomas Trollopp (dates unknown[43]), accompanying the

seminary priest Bernard Pattenson (dates unknown[44]), is reported to have "carried in a cloke bagge on his horse behind him the priests massing vestments books &c."[45] As Catholic networks became more organised, gentry houses were able to provide—and hide—the necessary vestments. Yet again, priests were wearing liturgical garments which they did not own. Although used in covert chapels in secluded safe houses—always with a listening ear for the arrival of state's searchers—these vestments could be remarkably elaborate. The Jesuit John Gerard (1564–1637) described the chapel at Harrowden Hall, an important safe house during his mission which belonged to the Vaux family:

> "a beautifully furnished altar with Mass vestments laid out beside it […] both plentiful and costly. We had two sets for each colour which the Church uses; one for ordinary use, the other for feast days: some of these latter were embroidered with gold and pearls, and figured by well-skilled hands."[46]

An inventory of the vestments owned by Eleanor Brooksby (née Vaux, c.1560–1625) and Anne Vaux (c.1562–c.1637) includes expensive cloth of gold cope and chasubles, an embroidered silver chasuble and other purple vestments.[47] Were these imported vestments or were the "well-skilled hands" who made them English? Gerard had a track record of encouraging the women of the families with whom he stayed to make vestments. Those which Jane Wiseman (d.1610) made were so much admired that more were requested: "Mr. Metham and Father Edmonds would buy as much satin as would make a vestment for the accomplishment of a suit for principal feasts".[48] Another devout Catholic woman made "severall whole suits [of vestments] ech of severall colours, to comply with the Rubrickes" with the specific goal of equipping an English Jesuit seminary.[49] Helena Wintour (c.1600–1671) is renowned for her intricately embroidered vestments, rich with explicit Catholic and personal iconography.[50] In marked contrast to these elaborate vestments, a number of austere chasubles survive, in unusually plain

fabrics and ornamented only with outline or solid crosses, usually with strong recusant associations.[51] These typically reverse to a dark colour, making them multi-functional. One such rose-pink/dark brown-black set was found in the priest hole of a building owned by the Catholic Duke of Norfolk (Fig. 2).[52] Unusually, the pink face is polished wool rather than silk. Some medieval vestments were made from wool worsted but the fabric of this chasuble might have been chosen for its hardwearing properties or simply because it was the only cloth available. Dress fabrics, used for the flowered damask chasuble found in the Stamlesbury Hall chest, and non-traditional techniques, such as the quilted vestments now at Traquair, Peeblesshire, were used.[53] Vestments made from commonplace fabrics served the essential transformative purpose and might also be more readily concealed amongst everyday clothing and domestic textiles. Lively and varied expressions of materialised faith with distinct and inventive aesthetics evolved in response to the oppression of the penal period.

"Garments of the Balamites"[54]

These vestments also need to be understood from the opposite perspective—the contempt and suspicion which they aroused in the pursuivants searching for clandestine Roman Catholics and their massing gear. Vestments are threaded through their accounts of arrested priests and recusant houses. They are glimpsed in trunks, recovered from bundles under beds, pulled out of packs, reviled but rarely described in any detail as if this would be too strong and too risky an engagement. Perversely, the opprobrium poured at vestments by those who professed to loathe them serves to underline their significance. If vestments were meaningless, they would hardly generate such profound distaste and emotion. Margaret Aston notes "the currency of dismissive words" used in descriptions of church goods for sale.[55] James Kearney and David

Kaula analysed similar language used in describing the material culture of the mass.[56] As in Overton's *New Lambeth Fayre*, reductive terms such as "knacks" and "trumpery" abound. Hugh Hilarie's satirical *The Resurrection of the Masse: The Masse Speaketh* (1554) derides "copes, vestements, albes" as "trynckettes" and "ragges […] brought out of their popish poke".[57] This language is mild in comparison to that of *A View of Popish Abuses yet remaining in English Churches* (1572) which attacks not just "ministers […] attired in pretious and Bishoppelike, yea, and Emperourelike garments" but even the more sober "cap, gowne, tippets" as "popish and Antichristian apparel", the "garments of the Balamites, popish priestes, […] enemies to God and all Christians".[58] Such vestments possessed an evil and corrupting agency as "they worke discorde […] hinder the preachyng of the Gospel […] bring the ministreie into contempt […] offend the weake" and "encourage the obstinate".[59] Rejecting vestments indicated more than a difference of opinion over ceremony or aesthetics; it signalled a profound difference in faith expressed through the materiality of the practice of worship.

"The Defacing of All Papistrie"[60]

The treatment of these suspect vestments is significant. In Stowe, Lincolnshire, in 1566, the churchwardens reported on the movement of a set of vestments under the switchback of changes between the Edwardian, Marian and Elizabethan churches:

> "Itm one cope one albe and one vestment wch was lent to or churche by Johnne hirst of the same pishe [parish] of Stav in queen maries daies and at the defacing of all papistrie he had yt againe and haith defaced the same. *Let the churchwardes see yt defaced.*"[61]

Whatever form this defacement took—removing the head of sacred figure, unpicking the whole motif or cutting off pictorial embroidered orphreys—it is clear that reporting alone was not enough; the churchwardens needed to see the required physical changes had been made to the material with their own eyes. Hirst owned these vestments and was willing to lend them to the church under the Marian regime and then retrieve them, suggesting he may have been a covert Roman Catholic. Other churchwardens secreted their vestments, possibly against another switch in the liturgical whirligig. In 1570, churchwardens at Steep, Hampshire, were ordered to cut up the "papistical vestments" they had concealed and re-use the material in the church.[62]

Changed attitudes to the English cult of the Virgin could be expressed through defacement of her image. It was no accident that John Clotworthy (d. 1665) destroyed the faces of Christ and Mary first when attacking Ruben's *Crucifixion* in Queen Henrietta-Maria's "papist" chapel in 1643.[63] Destroying heads and hands ensures the "death" of a representation.[64] Some embroidered images were similarly defaced. Removal of an overlying repair fabric revealed defacement of the Virgin's head on the Sadler's Company's funeral pall (c.1508): "rather than destroy a valuable textile by ripping out part of the fabric, compliance was achieved by ruining the image itself".[65] X-radiography of the Auckland frontal, itself constructed from cut-up vestments, revealed a missing motif of Mary with an apparently deliberate jagged cut through the underlying fabric.[66] A green velvet fragment bearing the outline of a Virgin and Child appliqué also survives along with the detached motif itself; this was remounted on a medieval orphrey in the twentieth century (Fig. 3). The preservation of such fragments suggests that Diarmaid MacCulloch's observation that defacement gave rise to "a new genre of Roman Catholic Marian devotion […] cults of battered Marys' could also be applied to textile images; as Joseph Koerner notes "image breakers become image makers".[67]

Conclusions

Dressing the clergy was not—and still is not—a matter of aesthetics or convenience: it was—and remains—a fundamental expression of belief. This places the material artefact at the centre of experiences of faith practice, both overt and covert. Concealment, alterations and defacement demonstrate the fusion of belief and resistance embedded in the material artefact. Vestments could be charged and recharged with theological, political and liturgical agency. Such shared material culture sustained the spiritual identity of covert faith communities but also excited the attention of opposing forces and the opprobrium of reformers. Preserving or destroying vestments defines, includes and excludes but, above all, demonstrates the force of their agency in negotiating the politics of identity and difference in the religiously contested landscape of early modern England.

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[1] John Rushworth, “The Trial of William Laud,” in *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State*, ed. D. Browne (London: Browne, 1721), vol. 3, 1365–81; Lawrence Blaiklock et al., *A Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages in Parliament*, ed. Samuel Pecke ([London]: Coles and Blaikelock, 1643–49), 339.

[2] *Lambeth Faire* is anonymous while Richard Overton is named as the author of *New Lambeth Fayre*; Don M. Wolfe, “Unsigned Pamphlets of Richard Overton 1641–1649,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (1958): 168.

[3] Richard Overton, *New Lambeth Fayre newly consecrated […]* (London: O. and D., 1642), n. p.

[4] The phrase comes from a published “letter” written by the cleric Edmund Elys (c.1633–1708), known for his tendency towards religious toleration, where he is summarising attacks by anti-papists such as William Prynne (1600–1669): “Being agitated with such furious Conceits, what Hellish Contempt have they shewn of our Sacred Liturgie! Away, they cry, with those Rags of Popery, those Scraps of Prayer!” Edmund Elys, *The Second Epistle to the truly Religious and Loyal Gentry of the Church of England* (London: Printed for the Author, 1687), 11.

[5] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994), 11.

[6] Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 59; for the power of transformative materiality in medieval devotion, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011).

[7] George Herbert, *The Temple* (Cambridge: Buck and Daniel, 1633), 6.

[8] Jerome Bertram, "Foreword," in *High Fashion in the Church*, ed. Pauline Johnstone (Leeds: Maney, 2002), n. p.

[9] Anonymous [Anthony Gilby], *A pleasant Dialogue, betweene a Souldior of Barwicke, and an English Chaplaine […]* ([Middelburg?: R. Schilders?], 1581), n. p. Priests also came under suspicion for their use of various secular disguises; see Sarah Johanesen "'That silken Priest': Catholic disguise and anti-popery on the English Mission (1569-1640)," *Historical Research* 93, no. 259 (2020): 38-52.

Johanesen, Sarah, "'That silken Priest': Catholic Disguise and Anti-popery on the English Mission (1569-1640)," *Historical Research* 93, no. 259 (2020): 38-52.

[10] Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 270.

[11] For example, the majority of copes listed in the 1552 inventories of Kent churches were silk woven with gold or silver threads or silk damasks, satins, taffetas or velvets with only a few made of linen or linen blends. The Rev. Mackenzie et al., "Inventories of Parish Church Goods in Kent, A.D. 1552,".*Archaeologia Cantiana* 8, (1872): 74–163.

[12] Henry VIII's 1509 *Act against Wearing of Costly Apparel* (1 Henry VIII c 14) expressly excludes vestments: "Provided always that this Act be not prejudicial nor hurtful to any spiritual or temporal man in wearing any ornaments of the church in executing divine service." Alexander Luders, ed., *The Statutes of the Realm* (London: Dawson, 1817, 1963 reprint), Vol 3, 9. By the time of Elizabeth I's sumptuary legislation, the circumstances of the English church were, of course, very different.

[13] C. W. Foster, ed., "The Testament of Geoffrey Le Scrope," in *Lincoln Wills*, ed. C. W. Foster (London: British Record Society, 1914), vol. 1, 1–19; Kate Heard, "'Such Stuff as Dreams are made on': Textiles and the Medieval Chantry," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 164, no. 1 (2011): 163–64.

[14] The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MET), 27.162.1–3, chasuble (Opus Anglicanum), stole with saints and maniple, British, fourteenth century; Glyn Davies, "The Chichester-Constable Chasuble, Stole and Maniple," in *English Medieval Embroidery: Opus Anglicanum*, eds. Clare Browne, Glyn Davies, and Michael A. Michael (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 2016), 218.

[15] Dyan Elliott, "Dressing and Undressing the Clergy: Rites of Ordination and Degradation," in *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings*, ed. E. Jane Burns (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 59.

[16] Stephen M. Holmes, *Sacred Signs in Reformation Scotland: Interpreting Worship, 1488–1590* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 34–35.

[17] Thomas M. Izbicki, "*Linteamenta altaria*: The Care of Altar Linens in the Medieval Church," in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, eds. Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016), vol. 12, 51–52.

[18] Roberta Gilchrist, *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), 180; Izbicki, "*Linteamenta altaria*," 43, 47.

[19] Izbicki, "*Linteamenta altaria*," 47, 49, 57.

[20] Roberta Gilchrist, "Transforming Medieval Beliefs: The Significance of Bodily Resurrection to Medieval Burial Rituals," in *Death and Changing Rituals*, eds. J. Rasmus Brandt, Håkon Ingvaldsen, and Marina Prusac (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 388; Kay B. Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 76; Donald King, "The Textiles," in H. G. Ramm, "The Tombs of Archbishops Walter de Gray (1216–55) and Godfrey de Ludham (1258–65) in York Minster, and their Contents," *Archaeologia* 103 (1971): 136.

[21] Peter Heylyn, "To The Reader", in *Ecclesia Restaurata*, ed. James Craigie Robertson (Cambridge: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1849 [1661]), 1, viii; Su-kyung Hwang, "From Priests' to Actors' Wardrobe: Controversial, Commercial, and Costumized Vestments," *Studies in Philology* 113, no. 2 (2016): 290–96.

[22] Calvin Lane, "Before Hooker: The Material Context of Elizabethan Prayer Book Worship," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 74, no. 3 (2005), 326–31, 335–41.

[23] Henry Gee and William J. Hardy, eds., *Documents Illustrative of the English Church History* (London: Macmillan, 1914 [1896]), 432.

[24] The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, *Book of Common Prayer* (London: Richard Grafton, 1552), n. p.

[25] Karl Gunther, *Reformation Unbound: Protestant Visions of Reform in England, 1525–1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 189–217. It should be noted that not all Protestants were of the same mind. Others including German Anabaptists and, indeed, Luther himself favoured coloured vestments. See Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 81–124.

[26] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 590–93.

[27] Elliott, *Dressing and Undressing*, 64–66. For metaphor and metonymy in Cranmer's degradation see Judith H. Anderson, *Translating Investments: Metaphor and the Dynamic of Cultural Change in Tudor-Stuart England* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2005), 78–111.

[28] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments […]* (London: Day, 1583), 1872.

[29] Foxe, *Actes*, 1881.

[30] Foxe, *Actes*, 1883.

[31] Foxe, *Actes*, 1883.

[32] John Strype, *History of the Life and Acts of Edmund Grindal […]* (London: Hartley, 1710), 98.

[33] Anglican aversion to "popish" vestments persisted and persists. Simon Goldhill, "When Things Matter: Religion and the Physical World," in Simon Goldhill, *The Buried Life of Things* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 51–63.

[34] Anthony Gilby, *To my lovynge Brethren that is troublyd abowt the Popishe Aparrell […]* ([Emden: van der Erve, 1566]), n. p.

[35] William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, IV, I, 1-6, *The New Shakespeare*, eds, Arthur Quiller-Couch & John Dover Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 68. In a paper exploring ideas of transformation in *Twelfth Night* Dean argues that the Feste/Topas figure may be "a dig at Cranmer"; Paul Dean, "Nothing that is so is so: Twelfth Night and Transubstantiation," *Literature and Theology* 17, no. 3 (2003): 287.

[36] Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 86.

[37] Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993).

[38] Lisa McClain, "Without Church, Cathedral, or Shrine: The Search for Religious Space among Catholics in England, 1559–1625," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, no. 2 (2002): 381–99.

[39] The Allen-Persons Cases in P. J. Holmes, *Elizabethan Casuistry* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1981), 81–82.

[40] Godfrey Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden, a Recusant Family* (Newport, Mons: Johns, 1553), 460.

[41] Lisa Monnas, "*Opus Anglicanum* and Renaissance Velvet: The Whalley Abbey Vestments," *Textile History* 25, no. 1 (1994): 3. These vestments are now at Towneley Hall Museum and Art Gallery, Burnley, T141.1974; T142.1974; and the Burrell Collection, Glasgow, 29.2.

[42] Clare Browne and Michaela Zöschg, "Chasuble and Two Dalmatics (the Whalley Abbey Vestments)", in Browne et al., *English Medieval Embroidery*, 253.

[43] Presumably a member of the Trollope family of Kelloe, Country, Durham who were well-known recusants. Thomas Trollope was arrested in 1586 for the offence of "conveying a priest called Bernard Pattyson" but, most unusually, twice pardoned. Pattison escaped from York Castle but Trollope was still in Durham jail in 1579; see John Morris, ed. *The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers Related by Themselves*. Third Series (London: Burns and Oates, 1877), 188 and Barbara Nowelle Wilson, *The Changes of the Reformation Period in Durham and Northumberland*, Durham University PhD thesis, (1939), 538.

[44] This may be the priest Bernard Pattison who was arrested with Trollope apparently having travelled from Rheims to Newcastle. In 1593, he was listed as 'one of the priests in the north' and in 1698 is recorded as having said mass for Lady Katherine Grey, daughter of the Earl of Westmorland; see Rosamund Oates, "Catholicism, Conformity and the Community in the Elizabethan Diocese of Durham," *Northern History*, 43, no 1 (2006), 62..

[45] John H. Pollen, ed., *Unpublished Documents relating to the English Martyrs* (London: Catholic Record Society, 1908), 1, 219–20.

[46] John Gerard, *Autobiography of an Elizabethan*, ed. Philip Caraman (London: Longmans and Green, 1956), 383.

[47] Anstruther, *Vaux of Harrowden*, 386.

[48] John Morris, *The Life of Father John Gerard* (London: Burns and Oates, 1881), 86.

[49] Stonyhurst College, MSS A. I-22, no. I, letter from Father George Grey to his Provincial, 17 November 1668.

[50] Wintour's vestments are at Stonyhurst College and Douai Abbey. Janet Graffius, *Plots and Spangles: The Embroidered Vestments of Helena Wintour* (Stonyhurst: St Omer's Press, 2015).

[51] Examples linked to the Jesuit priest Edmund Arrowsmith (1585–1628) survive from Upholland, Brindle, and Stamlesbury Hall in Lancashire. Maurice Whitehead, *Held in Trust*: *2008 Years of Sacred Culture* (Stonyhurst: St Omers Press, 2008), 70.

[52] Mary Brooks and Claire Marsland, "A Hidden Faith: Recusant Liturgical Objects", in James Kelly, ed., *Treasures of Ushaw College* (London: Scala Arts, 2015), 90, 92–93.

[53] Whitehead, *Held in Trust*, 70; Margaret Swain, "Vestments at Traquair," *Bulletin du CIETA*, 72 (1994): 48–59.

[54] The extreme Puritan clergyman, John Fielde (aka Field, 1545–1588) published this critique anonymously together with Thomas Wilcox's (1549? –1608) equally vehement "Admonition to Parliament", under the overall title of the latter work but edited, also anonymously, by Fielde; following publication, both clergymen were

imprisoned; Anonymous [John Fielde], "A View of Popishe Abuses yet remayning in the Englishe Church," in *An Admonition to the Parliament* ([Hemel Hempstead?: J. Stroud?], 1572), n. p.

[55] Margaret Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 230.

[56] James Kearney, "Trinket, Idol, Fetish: Some Notes on Iconoclasm and the Language of Material in Reformation England," *Shakespeare Studies* 28 (2000): 257–61; David Kaula, "Autolycus' Trumpery," *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 16, no. 2 (1976): 287–303.

[57] Hugh Hilarie [?], *The Resurreccion of the Masse: The Masse Speaketh* (Strasburgh: [J. Lambrecht? for H. Singleton], 1554), n. p.

[58] Fielde, "Popishe Abuses".

[59] Fielde, "Popishe Abuses".

[60] Edward Peacock, ed., *English Church Furniture, Ornaments and Decorations [...]* (London: Hotten, 1866), 147.

[61] Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, 147, italics in the original.

[62] ~~PROVIDE FULL NAME OF ARCHIVE, L. A. 1570, fol. 56~~; THE DOCUMENT PAUL CITES MUST BE FROM THE WINCHESTER DIOCESAN REGISTRY ,NOW PROBABLY IN THE HAMPSHIRE RECORD. OFFICE. PAUL'S REFERENCE IS SKETCHY AND IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO IDENTIFY THE EXACT RECORD WITHOUT VISITING – SO I THINK IT IS BETTER TO TAKE OUT THE MS CALL NUMBER AND JUST REFERENCE PAUL'S ARTICLEJohn E. Paul, "Hampshire Recusants in the Time of Elizabeth I," *Proceedings of The Hampshire Field Club* 21, Pt. 2 (1959): 68.

[63] Albert J. Loomie, "The Destruction of Rubens's 'Crucifixion' in the Queen's Chapel, Somerset House," *Burlington Magazine* 140, no. 1147 (1998): 680.

[64] C. Pamela Graves, "From an Archaeology of Iconoclasm to an Anthropology of the Body," *Current Anthropology* 49, no.1 (2008): 37–39.

[65] Beryl Dean, *Embroidery in Religion and Ceremonial* (London: Batsford, 1985), 21.

[66] Mary M. Brooks et al., "Fragments of Faith: Unpicking Archbishop John Morton's Vestments," *The Antiquaries Journal*, 293–95.

[67] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *All Things Made New* ([London]: Allen Lane, 2016), 39; Joseph Koerner, "Icon as Iconoclash," in *Iconoclash*, eds. Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel (Karlsruhe: ZKM, 2002), 164.