AVANT LA LETTRE: PHILIP PERRY, RECONVERSIONIST AESTHETICS, AND THE MEDIEVAL LITERARY

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1. THE BACKGROUND

"Medievalism," in the words of Tom Shippey, is "the study of responses to the Middle Ages at all periods since a sense of the mediaeval began to develop."[1] Although a relatively recent area of study, it nevertheless has long roots, and over time many practitioners, some better known than others. Philip Mark Perry (d. 1774), the subject of this essay, came early to the field, only to leave it before his efforts could see print. Nevertheless, his exploration of medieval writings and writers deserves greater recognition. Here we hope to establish that Perry's largely unedited manuscripts, now in Spain and Scotland, offer evidence of an exceptional contribution to the early narrative of medievalism. Perry's endeavor was twofold. His zeal to recover the wealth of medieval letters through a meticulous examination of primary historiographical materials was genuine; no less so was his desire to reclaim a written heritage lost and concealed by the established Anglican literary canon. Our main focus will be on one of his unfinished manuscripts, *The Schools of Medieval British Authors*, currently in the archives of the Royal English College of St. Alban, in Valladolid, Spain, where Perry served as the first secular—that is to say, non-Jesuit—rector between 1767 and his death seven years later.[2] The manuscript, as yet unedited, contains some eight hundred fifty-odd entries, of which this on Langland—to which we shall return—is representative:

> John Malvern, a benedictine monk of worcester, or according to others,

Robert *Langland*, a saecular priest of mortimers Cleobury in Shropshire, a. 1369, showed himself an enemy to the clergy in a Satyr called the *Vision of Pierce Plowman*, alias, *the Vision of William of Piers Plowman*, composed in English rhythms, and beginning thus: "in a somer seson, whan softe was the sonne"; it consists of 20 steps, or strides, *passus 20*: the 13 step mentions the mayorality of John Chichester Lord mayor of London in 1369: this book was published at London in 1550, 4to by Robert Crowley, who attributes it to Langland; it was published again at London in 1561; at the end of some is a piece called *Pierce the Plowmans crede* beginning "Gross [*sic*], and Curteis Christe the beginning"; the MS wherof, in Trin. Coll. Cambridge C: iii: 8, hath on the front leaf two old men, one holding the plough, the other with a goad (pertica) pricking two oxen with this inscription in red letters:
God spede the ploug
And sende us korne ynou.

Under K. Henry, when the 6 article act was established there appeared an octavo edition of a prose work, called *Pierce plowman*, with these verses however on the title page:
I playne Pierce which cannot flatter, a plowman men me call
my speche is fowl, yet mark the matter how things may hap to fall.
the beginning of the book is: "I Piers Plowman followynge plough on felde" and at the ende with these verses:
God save the King and spede the plough And sende the prelates care enough
Inough; inough; inough: — but this work seems rather
an imitation of the Vision of Pierce Plowman; tho both are written by the same Evil & detracting spirit of Lollardism whose grand virtue consisted in lampooning & speaking evil of dignities; the author of *Pierce's* Vision was living in 1376.[3]

Perry's presentation of Langland is notable in several ways. Its recognition of literary aspects, from the genre to verse-type, is both perceptive and erudite; its biographical detail, including the identification of the author in his historical context, no less so. Perry's editorial history of *Piers Plowman* pays special attention to bibliographical detail, and cites passages by way of identifying manuscripts, adopting practices pioneered by foremost

antiquarians and literary biographers of the time, such as the Anglican Thomas Tanner. At the same time, his vilification of *Piers the Plowman* as a poem connected to Lollardy—a position altogether at odds with Tanner's, George Ballard's, or Thomas Warton's—echoes the views of Catholic interpreters generally. These two poles distinguish Perry's contribution to the rediscovery of medieval English literature: while on one level his enlightened view of the history of letters allowed him to acknowledge Langland's place among the canon of important medieval writers, on another his committed Catholicism very often angled his substantial learning toward confessional ends.

The quality of Perry's medievalism, evident in this treatment of Langland and his work (which we scrutinize more closely below), can be helpfully approached first against a backdrop of St. Alban's College history. Founded by the recusant English Jesuit Robert Persons in 1589, St. Alban's was the earliest and ultimately the most successful of Person's three collegiate foundations.[4] Along with Colleges at Seville (1592) and Madrid (1610), St. Alban's in Valladolid was an integral part of the English "mission," a multifaceted endeavor to reconvert England to Catholic worship, and until that time provide covert ministry to the spiritual needs of English recusants forced to hide their faith during the oppressive reign of Elizabeth I.[5] Barred from study at domestic universities, English Catholics desiring ordination were forced to go abroad for their necessary education. Prior to 1589, seminary colleges at Rome and in France at Douai, modeled on Oxford and Cambridge, strove to supply the "mission" with priests, a great many of whom upon their return were eventually arrested, tortured, and executed by the Protestant state. The three Spanish Colleges were intended to augment the number of "missioners" active in England, and thereby hasten the much-anticipated restoration of the true, pre-Reformation faith—a confessional "medievalizing" project in and of itself. These Colleges differed from Douai, however, in that, as instituted by Persons, their administrations and faculties at first were drawn almost exclusively from the Jesuit order. This reliance on Jesuit agency became a liability in 1767 when King Carlos III expelled the Company of Jesus from Spain. Initially seized by the crown, after several months of intense negotiation the Colleges at Valladolid, Seville, and Madrid were placed under the control of the English Vicars Apostolic, who were then faced with the question of what to do with them.[6]

The matter was not a simple one. Whether to keep the Colleges open, or to liquidate their assets and apply the proceeds to succor the poor at home, was an issue of significant pertinence. It had been, in fact, a question facing the English bishops for some time which the Jesuits' institutional presence had allowed them to put off. At its heart was the continued relevance of a "mission," founded to address conditions under Elizabeth, to Catholics in later Hanoverian England, when their circumstances were in important ways much improved. In the event, with the support of the Spanish monarch Carlos, the Vicars Apostolic determined to close the Madrid and Seville Colleges and to consolidate their assets at Valladolid, in the hope of revitalizing education there and of augmenting the contribution of its missionary graduates in England. The fraught question of whether the required new rector and teaching staff would be secular or regular was ultimately answered, not without some contention, in favor of the former. The English bishops turned to Philip Perry to fill the position of rector. It is in this context, then, that he stands out as a significant if unrecognized example of a specifically literary medievalism which emerged in the eighteenth century. As we will argue here, his analysis proceeds partly in reaction to Protestant co-option of the historical literary canon, but more importantly as a result of his uniquely critical approach to the textual categorization of authors and writers, including the prominent women of the literary-devotional tradition of late medieval England.

2. A MAN OF IDEAS

Who, then, was Philip Perry? Born in 1720 into a humble line of Catholics long resident in Staffordshire, by 1740 Perry was a student first at the English College at Douai, then advancing in 1742 to study theology at the Sorbonne.[7] Apart from two years' convalescence in England between 1744 and 1746 to recover his health, Perry was a student in Paris, receiving his MA in 1748, ordination in 1751, and his doctorate in theology in 1754.[8] He had thus been at least twelve years in France, intellectually formative years spent for the most part in the French capital which was, in the mid-eighteenth century, the intellectual center of the European Enlightenment. No less importantly, Paris was also home to a nascent movement of French medievalists led by Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye. Perry's subsequent endeavors strongly suggest his engagement with the

contemporary Parisian milieu, which fundamentally influenced the nature and quality of his subsequent medievalism and his selection for the Valladolid rectorship. It is therefore helpful to sketch out a likely profile of Perry's thought when he returned to England from France in 1754.

Easiest, perhaps, is to consider at first what he was *not*. He was not a "Douai man," although his two years spent there provided the essential gateway to his doctoral study and connected him to a network responsible for all his eventual posts, including to the English College in Valladolid. But apart from his evident religious zeal, Perry seems not to have shared the most prominent characteristic of Douai alumni of the preceding generation: a sense that the "mission," if no longer requiring martyrdom of a corporeal kind, should instead be carried out in self-sacrificial service to the sick and the poor.

What does seem to have inspired Perry was the medieval past. Here it is essential to be precise about where he acquired his interest and what "the past" meant for him. Again, it is helpful to consider what he was not: neither an antiquarian moved by "curiosity" (in the sense that the term was understood at the time) nor a *Lumière*, he nonetheless appears to have been influenced by concerns common to both.[9] In respect to the latter, Perry's medievalism seems a product partially of Enlightenment positions as passed through the filter of the groundbreaking paleographical medievalism of La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, some of whose early efforts he could have encountered in Paris during his doctoral studies.[10] In Perry's own work the influence is discernible of "those who, at the Académie des Inscriptions and elsewhere, put forward the case for the study of the Middle Ages, [and] used the language and the arguments of the early Enlighteners."[11] Thus, Perry's interests developed in synchrony with those of better-known English medievalists of his generation, the likes of Thomas Percy, the younger Thomas Warton, and Richard Hurd.[12] All three freely acknowledged debts to Sainte-Palaye and the Académie des Inscriptions.

Strictly speaking, Perry's medieval studies bear closer resemblance to the work of these men than to the traditions of antiquarianism as they were generally practiced in France and England through the first half of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, for him as for Percy, Warton, and Hurd, much was owed to the collectors of coins and medals,

and to the compilers of county histories. In contrast to contemporary historians of grand narrative such as Gibbon, Hume, and, to an extent, Voltaire, Perry drew upon what might be termed "antiquarian theory," the belief of its practitioners in what Ruth Mack has deemed "the availability of the past": that it could be "unearthed" and recovered, ultimately to the benefit of everyday contemporary lives.[13] In Perry's case, as a doctor of theology and a recusant Catholic, it was spiritual lives in particular that focused his work. Thus, while he borrowed methodology from antiquarian practice—its accuracy of observation, the rationality of established order, and the "fidelity to the original" characteristic of a Thomas Hearne—Perry had no materialist interests.[14] Old ruins were not for him. His digging site, like that of Sainte-Palaye, was books and manuscripts.

On his return to England in 1754, Perry's scholarly curiosity about the literary Middle Ages seems to have guided his steps. He became chaplain to the family of Rowland Eyre of Hassop Hall in Derbyshire, a position he held for eight years. Here he found time and occasion to pursue multiple projects, including an ambitious biography of Robert Grosseteste (d. 1253), and very likely began his *Schools of Medieval British Authors*. Nevertheless, for a scholar of Perry's commitment, accustomed to the resources available in France, rural Derbyshire could only have left something to be desired. Thus, when in 1762 Perry left the Eyres to accept the chaplaincy in the household of George Talbot, fourteenth earl of Shrewsbury, at Heythrop Park in Oxfordshire, its proximity to libraries in Oxford and London may have been a strong influence underlying this decision.[15] He stayed only for three years, leaving in 1765 to join Bishop John Hornyold, Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, at his residence at Longbirch, in Staffordshire. His parting from Shrewsbury was fraught, Perry having informed the earl that "Your Lordship is master of your own house, but not of my understanding."[16] While such disagreements between aristocratic families and their chaplains seem to have been common occurrences in the period, Perry's expressed reason—a wish to have and pursue his own intellectual interests—was unusual.[17]

Longbirch may have been a refuge for Perry to continue his medieval research and writing undistracted. He seems to have had no specific position at Longbirch, neither as chaplain nor as secretary to the Bishop. Rather, over his two-plus years in residence he apparently read and wrote in earnest. An annotated list of the books and papers Perry

compiled ahead of his departure for Valladolid permits a glimpse of both his working conditions at Longbirch, and of the scope of his efforts.[18] On what he called "the open shelves" (numbering eight) were 426 volumes, comprising 283 separate titles; also "in the case with the glass windows . . . fill[ing] all the shelves but the uppermost, which belongs to the room," were ninety-two volumes (seventy-three titles) of Church history, 140 others on miscellaneous subjects, thirty-nine bound collections of controversialist pamphlets, and forty-nine others still unbound. He also lists manuscripts of his own, in progress, among them "English schools, collective and distributive"—undoubtedly our text.[19]

Also among Perry's papers in 1767 was the manuscript of an "Essay on the Life and Manners of the Venerable Robert Grossetête, [*sic*] Bishop of Lincoln." This biography of Grosseteste is a good instance of the critical approach to medieval history and his fidelity to the literary record that characterize his writings. Richard Challoner, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, on receiving a copy of Perry's manuscript, was appreciative, albeit with strong reservations, concerned that English Catholics would be "shocked" by Perry's frank presentation of "his [Grosseteste's] contentions with the Pope" and his "notions of the Pope's power in temporals."[20] In what seems to be a second preface to the copy of the "Life of Grossetête" now in the English College archives at Valladolid, Perry asserts the integrity of his methods, the validity of his medievalist enterprise, and the compelling moral responsibility of the honest historian to reveal abuses.[21]

This observation seems relevant in light of Challoner's subsequent appointment of Perry to the Valladolid rectorship less than two years later, in November 1767. By then Perry had been at Longbirch nearly three years with neither an official position with Bishop Hornyold nor a parish assignment. His research continued on medieval topics, however, as did his writing. It must have been clear to Hornyold no less than to Challoner by this time that Perry was not a "missioner," as they themselves were, but a "compleat scholar" by inclination, and unsuited to ordinary ministry in England. A needful appointment, then, out of the country in Spain, where Perry could fulfill his "missioner's oath" taken at Douai and also pursue his research at a safe distance from events in England could have seemed serendipitous to the two Vicars Apostolic.[22]

Perry, however, did not immediately agree to accept the Spanish post. What apparently convinced him finally to go to Spain is also telling: a recognition that he might unearth archival material important to his medievalist projects—in particular, documents related to Catherine of Aragon for a life of Bishop John Fisher he was writing.[23] In essence, then, it may be said that Perry owed his rectorship of the English College at Valladolid to his medievalist interests. His scholarly zeal is evident from correspondence now in the English College library showing that, almost immediately after arriving in Valladolid, he sought access to royal and private collections to continue his research.[24]

This portrait of Perry, and the related investigation of how he came to Valladolid, have been necessary the better to measure his written work, most of which remained incomplete when he died, while in Madrid on College business in 1774. Clearly, Perry's ambitious expectations to research and write in Spain were forced aside by the overwhelming demands of institutional revivification he encountered upon arrival at the English College. What advancement he made with his projects in Valladolid seems to have been primarily revision, and certain isolated additions. Nonetheless, viewing his body of work as a whole, it is our contention that Perry's contributions to English letters—and to the conceptual narrative of eighteenth-century literary medievalism—would have been impactful, had they seen print. The disagreement with Bishop Challoner over Perry's biography of Robert Grosseteste suggests why.[25] For Challoner, the stakes affecting publication were not literary but entirely religious and political: Perry's work, in the bishop's eyes, might result in greater persecution of resident English Catholics. Perry, however, understood his work's purpose and its influence very differently. As his revised preface shows, for him, accurately fixing Grosseteste in the context of his times was no less important than establishing the bishop's presence in the world of letters. Perry also clearly wanted to defend the methodology he followed to achieve both—a significant historiographical issue, from the viewpoint of early medievalism. He read chronicle accounts and he read—and interpreted—Grosseteste's letters.[26] In short, Perry's approach to biography is at once historical in a modern sense (dig the facts out of original sources) and otherwise entirely literary: taking letters *as texts*, he subjected them to verbal analysis to draw conclusions about character and motive.

His treatment of Grosseteste's last and most famous letter to Pope Innocent IV in 1253

is a case in point. The letter, number 128 in Luard's edition, objects violently to papal insistence that Grosseteste appoint Innocent's nephew to a lucrative benefice in his diocese, despite his lack of English or intention to leave Rome, an example of gross nepotism that Grosseteste found morally corrupt.[27] The letter had wide independent circulation and was often cited by Lollards and later by Protestants as irrefutable proof of their claims of papal corruption.[28] Where Challoner saw only risk in opening an old wound, Perry found an aperture through which to perceive more accurately Grosseteste's umbrage, and thence— reading *through* the letter-text—a lens to assess the man:

> To comply with duty where there are no obsticles [*sic*] is a degree of virtue commendable indeed, yet nothing wonderfull [*sic*]. But to pursue the narrow and difficult track of duty in the midst of continual opposition, and those from the highest powers upon Earth. This was the true character of the Bishop of Lincoln and this God demonstrated his approving [of] him by miracles after death."[29]

No less confessionally committed than Challoner, Perry notwithstanding pursued broader questions; the answers he offered anticipate goals and methodologies of a truly critical nascent medievalism.

3. RE-CONVERSIONIST MEDIEVALISM AND PERRY'S *SCHOOLS*

Perry's *Schools of Medieval British Authors* presents a rich example of this critical and historical orientation, and it is to this main text we can now turn. Reconstructed from quires scattered among three boxes of his loose papers in the archive of the College of St. Alban in Valladolid, the *Schools* was apparently in progress in England between 1765 and 1767, and transported to Spain.[30] Had he finished it, its publication likely would have preceded Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry* (1774–81), usually considered the first literary history of England, to which the *Schools* bears some resemblance.[31] In its present form, the *Schools* consists of two parts: first, a "schema"—a group of eight tables, each with four columns identifying the authors in each "school," or class of knowledge, by author's name, "dignity" (e.g., "Bishop of Rochester"), works or "compositions," and date of death [fig. 1];[32] second, brief prose biographies in two versions of British "authors," the

term being understood broadly, to include writers' work of many sorts [fig. 2].[33] There are eight "schools," arranged in what Perry states was an ascending order of sublimity: Grammar (including what might be called Linguistics), Poetry, Rhetoric, History, Philosophy, Law, "Physic" (i.e., Medicine), and Theology. For these divisions, Perry would seem to have looked backward rather than toward contemporary Enlightenment models, to the classification of subjects in medieval and Early Modern libraries, expanded to include mathematics, philosophy, and poetry.[34] Pointedly, his organization has less in common with the three-branched structure of the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert ("memory-history," "reason-philosophy," "imagination-poetry"), whose first volume appeared in 1751 while Perry was still in Paris, than with Sidney's divisions in the *Defense of Poesy*, viz.:

> The natural *Philosopher* thereon hath his name, and the moral *Philosopher* standeth upon the natural virtues, vices, or passions of man: "and follow nature saith he therein, and thou shalt not erre." The *Lawyer* saith what men have determined, the *Historian*, what men have done. The *Grammarian* speaketh only of the rules of speech, and the *Rhetorician* and *Logician*, considering what in nature will soonest prove, and persuade thereon, give artificial rules, which still are compassed within the circle of a question, according to the proposed matter. The *Physician* weighteth the nature of man's body, and the nature of things helpful or hurtful unto it. And the *Metaphysic* . . .doth he indeed build upon the depth of nature.[35]

While Perry's direct engagement with the *Defense* is difficult to establish (it does not appear in any known list of his books), the similarity is nonetheless suggestive. Like Sidney's categories, those of the *Schools* are essentially medieval in inspiration. Perry's endeavor, however, eschews Sidney's prominently humanist tweaks to focus more concentratedly on the medieval period: the chronological span of the *Schools* authors ranges from the seventh century to 1535, the successional year to the Act of Supremacy.[36]

Although they are clear enough in large purpose, plotting the exact relationship of the biographies to the "schema" nonetheless poses certain textual challenges, given the overall state of the manuscript. Various attempts through the years to reorganize the

holdings in Valladolid have resulted in the biographies' separation from the "schema" and their redistribution in separate boxes, with the apparent loss of some text. Despite this, two series of biographies are discernible. One follows the arrangement of the "schema"—that is, short lives arranged chronologically and according to discipline within each "school" group; the other combines all the biographies chronologically, with the appropriate "school" cited in the margin, beginning at AD 1120 and ending in 1535 [fig. 2]. Missing from this second series are biographies prior to 1120 and those between 1190–1209, 1244–1343, and 1418–36.[37] However, it is obvious amidst the disarray that the "schema" and the biographies mirror each other, and that they were conceived as integral parts of an extensive history of medieval British *belles lettres* to which the "schema" may have been intended as an index. Any history of such literature, of course, could only underscore the Catholic argument of unbroken, continuous presence in the British Isles, and to that extent it would have served Perry's missionary purpose. Thus, for all its literariness, the *Schools* would also have seemed a partisan stake in the sand—something the individual biographies make clear.

The biography of Langland with which we began readily illustrates both the literary and controversialist elements of Perry's medievalism in the *Schools*. He relies for much of his basic information about Langland on Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, supplemented infrequently by Anthony Wood's *History and antiquities of the University of Oxford*, John Pits' *Relationum historicarum de rebus Anglicis*, and his own observations.[38] Perry does not copy, however, but borrows selectively, modifying as he goes. These sources include more material than he chooses to use. Manuscripts (and their locations) always interested him, as did the printing history of early editions; he will follow such leads assiduously. He sought firm dates— for authors' lives, their compositions, posthumous publications—going beyond Tanner and Woods to cite manuscripts and printed sources, and printed accounts of both. He recognized the value of identifying medieval works by their first lines, subsequent printed editions by their printers, and by visual devices in both. The Langland biography is particularly illustrative because it shows Perry struggling, first to give a proper name to the author of the "Vision of Pierce Plowman," and second, to sort out the interrelations and authorship of the several works incorporating versions of

"Pierce Plowman." When he differs from Tanner, Wood, and Pits, he does so in revealing ways. Always shadowing Perry's approach to the authorial Langland and to the other writers is his reconversionist "mission." *Piers Plowman* appears in the *Schools* because Perry appreciated its poetic qualities (he recognizes it formally as a "Satyr") but also, no less importantly, because that satire critiqued the Church. Important as well was Langland's centrality to what Perry has shrewdly perceived to be a group of Lollard-inspired texts: "Pierce the Plowmans crede" and "an octavo edition of a prose work, *called Pierce Plowman*—i.e., *I Playne Piers which can not flatter; A godly dialogue and dysputacion between Pyers plowman and a popish preest.*"[39] The significant effort he applies sorting through Tanner's tangle of "Pierce" titles is expended to ascertain which of them truly proceeded from Langland's hand—a significant writer who in Perry's view had nonetheless "showed himself an enemy to the [Catholic] clergy." From a literary-historical perspective, however, what may be of greater interest is Perry's acuity in, first, associating Langland's poem with *I Playne Piers*—the latter being, as he says, "an imitation of the 'Vision of Pierce Plowman'"—and second, in suspecting a connection between the Act of Six Articles (1539) and the later Lollard tract. Hence he asserts that both *I Playne Piers* and the *Vision* "are written by the same Evil & detracting spirit of Lollardism whose grand virtue consisted in lampooning and speaking evil of dignities."[40]

Blending his intellectual and religious commitments to the Middle Ages and to his "mission" in this way allowed Perry to pursue both simultaneously while shorting neither. Often the fulcrum of this balance is Lollardy. As in the case of Langland, however, Perry's medievalism notably seems sufficiently sophisticated to distinguish between later Lollard positions and those of Wyclif himself. Thus, only rarely does he appear to use "Lollard" and "Wycliffite" interchangeably. His care in this regard is evident in his judgment that the "Vision of Pierce Plowman" is "a Satyr [satire]," however much it may share the "spirit of Lollardism" with the later *I Playne Piers*, a work Perry clearly recognized as a heretical text. What the example of Langland points toward, then, is a feel on his part for the palpable "literariness" of medieval texts—for their unique importance as literature *qua* literature— notwithstanding in whatever different ways they might also engage with religious controversy.

Perry's biography of Chaucer is equally illustrative. He defends Chaucer and Langland on

similar grounds—that is, as fellow satirists—noting that Chaucer's "freedom in lashing church men and religious hath made some look on him as half a Wycliffite, but scarce doth he spare the abuses, from the Cook to the Knight, neither Sheriff, Squire, Lawyer, Doctor, merchant, husband or wife?"[41] Notably implicit here are, first, Perry's thoughtful reading of the *Canterbury Tales*, and second, his understanding of how the mechanisms of literary fictiveness set Chaucer's writing apart from religiosocial topicality and circumstantiality. Nevertheless, both Lollardy and "Wyclifism" furnish Perry with important sorting points when winnowing his sources for material to incorporate into the biographies. Consider his treatment of Strode:

> Ralph Strode, sometimes called Nicholas Strode, fellow of merton College, Oxford, who had travelled into france & Italy, united two Sciences, which seldom take up their residence in one & the same breast, viz the severest rules of aristotelick [*sic*] reasoning, and the charms & graces of the muses; Strode so excelled in both, that Chaucer placed his younger son Lewis under his tuition in the University, and what is perhaps a greater proof of Strodes abilities, the same Prince of English poets of his time, submitted the children of his brain, his poetical works, to Strode's correction, as well as to his master, old John Gower Esq, as Chaucer himself informs us at the end of his Troilus and Criseis:
>
> > O morall Gower, this boke I directe
> >
> > to the and to the Philosophical Strode
> >
> > to vouchsafe, ther nede is, to correcte
> >
> > of your benignities and zeales godde.
>
> Strode is the author of a beautifull [*sic*] elegy called the *Phantasma*, or apparition, & other Philosophical and Theological works among which are eighteen positions against Wycliff.[42]

Unlike Langland and Chaucer, whom Perry treats only in the "school" of Poets, Strode also appears as a Philosopher[43] and as a Theologian.[44] While many of these details appear in Tanner, not everything there is carried over to the *Schools*, nor does Perry apply what he borrows to the same purpose. One of Perry's organizing centers for selection may be Strode's counterarguments to Wyclif, but another—seemingly no less

important for him — is Strode's value in his own right as poet ("author of a beautifull elegy called the *Phantasma*") and — signally — as literary critic of Chaucer's work ("his poetical works, to Strode's correction"). In the eighteenth century, for a man of letters to acknowledge literary criticism as fundamentally valuable is hardly surprising; to detect its medieval presence, as Perry seems able to do (no less than Warton), is, on the other hand, quite noteworthy.

> His biography of Gower proceeds similarly, here under the Poets' "school":
>
> he was Chaucers master, guide and censor; but his poetry was of a more serious turn, than his Disciple's, whence Chaucer calls him the *moral Gower*; among many other works one of which is on the illusions of the Devil in the case of the Lollards. Gower is author of 3 peculiar books, wrote [*sic*]in three different languages, ye 1st in french, on the dignity of marriage in ten books, and called "Speculum meditantis: un tractee selonc les auctours pour ensampler les amants marièts, au fin qu'ils la foye de leur Seints esponsailles pourront par fine loyalté guarder, et a l'honneur de Dieu salvement tenir;"— the 2d in English in 8 books, called *Confessio amantis*, or a dialogue betwixt a lover, & his confessor, called here the lover's genius, or guide, first printed by Caxton in 1493, folio,— the 3d in Latin, styled *Vox clamantis* in 7 books, which was written in his old age and when he was blind, as he signifieth in his epistle to the most Reverend father in God Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canterbury[45]

Gower is also cited in three other "schools." Under Historians: "Sir John Gower, poet and master of Chaucer, is also an historian, having wrote [*sic*] a Chronicle of K.R.II's reign, in three books; also a book on *the temporal and ecclesiastick state* written by order of K.R.II, wherein he illustrates his subject by examples from history."[46] Under Lawyers: "Sir John *Gower*, Poet and historian, was an eminent Practitioner of the Common Law but his works are chiefly poetical or moral, except one which bereth relation to his profession, viz. *of the temporal and ecclesiastic state*. written at the command of K.R.II and printed at London an. 1532, et 1544."[47] Under Theologians: "Sir John Gower, Knight, Lawyer, & Poet added thereto the *Theologian*, in which quality he wrote among other works *on the illusions of the Devil in the case of the Lollards* and a book on the *plague of vices*, & another *on the remedies against the vices of his time*."[48]

It is clear from all that Perry got wrong about Gower that he had read neither the *Speculum Meditantis* (*Mirour de l'Omme*) nor the *Confessio Amantis*. There is, however, the intriguing possibility that he had firsthand knowledge of the *Vox Clamantis* and the poem now titled *Carmen super multiplici viciorum pestilencia* ("A Poem on the Manifold Plague of Vices").[49] A copy of the latter poem is contained in Oxford, All Souls College MS 98, the bulk of which manuscript is the *Vox Clamantis*.[50] MS All Souls 98 also has the sole copy now known of the "Epistle to Arundel" in which, as Perry mentions, Gower cites his blindness.[51] All of these details, including the location of the manuscript, are noted by Tanner, albeit buried deep in a two-column footnote in small print that occupies most of a page, where Perry could have found them.[52] In assessing his medieval scholarship, then, a question might be, did he follow up to examine MS All Souls 98 on a research visit to Oxford? While the initial portion of that question may not be answerable definitively, some evidence exists that Perry spent time at least in the Bodleian Library where he took note of Chaucer's "original picture or rather an exact and faithfull copy is shewn in the picture gallery of the Bodleian Library, where Chaucer is represented in a plain grey russet coat, with a pair of Beads in his hand, in a decent and penitential situation."[53] Again, all of these details are mentioned by Tanner—except the color of the coat.[54] Among many Chaucer portraits Perry potentially could have seen, the Bodley portrait is one of three now known wearing "grey russet."[55] Placing Perry in the Bodleian before that picture does not, of course, also put him in All Souls College. Nevertheless, Tanner's allusion to the letter to Arundel, whose opposition to Lollardy Perry well knew, might have drawn him. *À propos*, and again intriguing—though no sounder proof—are the three titles of "other works" by Gower cited in the "school" of Theologians: "*On the illusions of the Devil in the case of the Lollards*," "a book *on the Plague of Vices* and another *On the remedies against the vices of his Time*." In fact, all three refer to parts of *Carmen super multiplici viciorum pestilencia*. In the manuscript the poem is divided into sections, each with an individual title. Viewing that, it would be easy to consider them separate poems.

As much as he drew from Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica-Hibernia*, however, Perry is always his own man, and he was demonstrably engaged in research exterior to Tanner. His treatment of Hoccleve offers a good example, illustrating both his independence of

mind and the breadth of his reading—in this case, Walsingham's *Chronicle*:

> Tanner citing Walsingham makes Occleve a wycleffite, but confesses at the same
> time, that his Book of *Consolation offered by an old man* seems to acquit him of the
> charge; we may add that the charge has no grounds even in Walsingham, who
> speaks of an Occleve whose opinion against transubstantiation, he saith was
> revived by Wycliff, consequently of an Occleve anterior to our Poet, whose
> connexions with his anti-Lollardist master Gower, and his very Catholick patron D.
> Humphrey, are a confirmation of his orthodoxy, as well as his book above cited by
> Tanner.[56] Thynne places this author to the year 1454, not without
> probability.[57]

Given his fierce pursuit of Wycliffian influences in the lives and work of Ricardian and
Lancastrian authors, one would expect no less from Perry's biography of Wyclif himself. It is
initially surprising, therefore, to encounter comparatively mild treatment afforded him in
the "school" of Theologians. A closer read, however, shows Perry with diverse purposes,
which in turn cast further light on both his medievalism and strategic scholarship. For basic
factual details, he relies on a concatenation of sources: Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-
Hibernia*, supplemented by Henry Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, Jeremy Collier's *Ecclesiastical
History*, and possibly Thomas Gascoigne's *Liber Veritatum*, correcting one with another as
he sees fit.[58] Moreover, when he deems them wrong, he is sufficiently confident in his own
researches to contradict the lot. Instances of this are illuminating in several ways. For
example, after using Wharton to amend Tanner on the reason for Wyclif's dismissal as
master of Canterbury College—the monks, he says, "who could not bear . . . to see a secular
Dr. at their head" contrived to replace him—Perry then notes "but this could not be the true
reason, for it's evident by the foundation that this was not a monastick [*sic*] but a secular
college."[59] Similarly: he questions claims by "Dr. Cave and Wharton" that "Wyclif's books
were read in the Schools & Colleges of Oxford" until 1415, because "in 1410 the university
censored 200 more of Wyclifs conclusions and burnt his books."[60] Importantly, he links
this correction of Anglicans Cave and Wharton to an issue touching him closer:

> But those two very learned authors, so quicksighted in discovering monkish forgeries,
> sometimes where they are not, had not light enough to descry the wycliffite forgery of

> Peter Payne, in his pretended testimonial letters of the university of Oxford in favour of Wycliff, now acknowledged by Wood & Collier, to be imposture contrary to the whole tenor of the university's conduct, consigned in the authentick [*sic*] acts and publick [*sic*] monuments of the nation.[61]

Perry's multivalent direction here is understated, but not difficult to perceive. In finding fault with two Anglican experts, he affirms his own expertise, as he did when correcting Tanner. More important, however, are the grounds of his critique: in their ignorance of medieval realities, not only have Cave and Wharton charged monks with nonexistent "forgeries," but they have overlooked Peter Payne's blatant misuse of the University seal on "pretended testimonial letters" asserting Oxford's full support of Wyclif. These "testimonials," having found their way into acceptance and publication in Czechoslovakia by the followers of Jan Hus, had remained a thorn to Protestants, requiring repeated denials into the seventeenth century.[62]

Perry's three interventions opposing false claims of his Anglican sources are, thus, the corrections of a meticulous medievalist accustomed to close reading of literary texts. Taken together they amount to a subtle but calculatedly interlocking defense of Catholicism at Oxford: 1) it could not have been monkish "contrivance" that ousted Wyclif from Canterbury College (the College was not monastic); 2) Catholic authorities in Oxford had not been fooled by Wyclif's books but condemned them as heretical and burned them in 1410, rather than ignorantly maintaining them in the university curriculum for five years longer, as Anglican historians would have it; 3) the Payne letters, while good enough to fool Hus, were patently forged—which, in the absence of bias, should have been obvious to perspicacious English medievalists worth their salt. This is controversialism come in on little cat feet—typical of Perry's style—but here it supports two further, more significant challenges to the popular Protestant historical narrative. Having cast doubt on how the "morning star of the Reformation" was represented by five foremost Anglican scholars, Perry then leverages that doubt to conclude his biography of Wyclif by taking up two issues of seminal importance, one confessional, the other political.

That his methodology derives from a literary reading praxis is readily evident. After pouring scorn on "very learned authors, so quicksighted in discovering monkish forgeries

(sometimes where they are not)," Perry, in the next sentence following, notes: "Wycliff *is said* [our italics] to be the author of an English version of the old and new testaments made from S Jeromes vulgar Latin translation, in 1383, as if this had been the work of only one year!"[63] No careful eighteenth-century reader was likely to miss in the styling of "as if this had been the work of one year!" a pointed echo of Anglican theological rationalism given lasting voice by Edward Stillingfleet in 1664.[64] Nor could such a reader mistake the recursive criticism of "is said," the weight of which extends well past its proximate context. Given the inseparability of Wyclif's Bible translation from the Protestant narrative since Bale and Foxe, Perry's critique, downplayed though it is, nonetheless constitutes a confessional thrust, delivered from a position well-grounded in medieval scholarship by a reader alert to linguistic nuance and the power of allusion.

À propos, two further observations may be made briefly before putting Wyclif aside. First and perhaps more significant for establishing Perry as an informed critic of medieval literary practice is Perry's surprisingly mild handling of Wyclif, which seems to arise from his awareness that Wyclif died uncondemned by the Church after a reported recantation. Perry goes to some length to prove this, quoting what he took to be Wyclif's exact words: "Ego tanquam humilis et obedientialis filius Romanae ecclesiae protestans me nihil velle afferere, quod sonaret injuriam dictae ecclesiae, vel rationabiliter offendere pias aures" (I, as humble and obedient a son of the Church of Rome, declare that I do not want to bring forward anything that might resound to the harm of the said church, or reasonably offend pious ears).[65] The unstated value for Perry in Wyclif's recantation is obviously his supposed consequent conformity to the Roman, not the Anglican, church. While ostensibly correcting the medieval record, this move effectively denies the Protestants a fundamental forebear. And no less notably, Perry leverages it to validate the specifically literary judgments he renders in his careful treatment of *Piers Plowman*, the separate categorization of it as satire and polemic. Perry's biography of Wyclif, then, accurately reflects his general method in the *Schools*, as well as the depth, tenor, and purposes underlying his combination of the medieval literary and his reconversionist recusant apologetics.

4. RECONVERSIONIST CANON-MAKING: LYDGATE, MARIAN MODELS, AND ACCOMPLISHED WOMEN

Not all the biographies in the *Schools* focus on Wycliffian theology, however. Indeed, the majority do not: all those in the eight "schools" who flourished prior to 1376, obviously, and the many, coming after, whose work either distinguished them in fields tangential to questions surrounding belief, such as music—and so do not also invoke literary judgment—or could be presented as uncontroversially expressing Catholic orthodoxy. We will close by focusing on three examples of the latter, who also illuminate Perry's careful parsing of medieval texts: the Benedictine monk John Lydgate and the female mystics Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich. Perry lists Lydgate in two "schools," Poets and Grammarians, portraying him as much the one as the other, and in Perry's telling as largely indifferent to matters other than pedagogical, memorious, or spiritually poetical. He labors to contain what he calls Lydgate's "inexhaustible vein of English poetry . . . in a vast number of poems on all sorts of subjects, which form three volumes in folio Mss in Trin. Coll. Cambridge, Class. Austin. ser. 2 Cod. 12: 13: 14."[66] Faced with such Lydgatean voluminosity, "We shall," Perry says, "only instance some few historical relative [*sic*] to the history of the times." He groups them into four classes, or literary types: "the historical, the fabulous, the moral, and the sacred."[67] Throughout all of them, his choice of poems prioritizes an especially "medieval" Lydgate. It includes poems one would expect to find—"The *Serpent of Division*," "*The Pygrimage of the world*, by the commaundment of the Earl of Salisbury in 1426," and "Reason and Sensuality"—as well as a large number of mummings and "disgysings," which apparently for Perry were a representative medieval genre. Others center on the reign of Henry VI, such as "Several pageants (or plays) and verses . . . on the reception of Margarite Queen Consort to K. Henry 6 in April 1445," a "Complaint for departing Thos: Chaucer unto France ambassador," "A Prayer for K. Henry 6 before his coronation," "The royal receiving of K. Henry 6 into his noble City of London, after his return out of France," and "*Epitaph* on the same Duke Humphrey (who died 1447)."[68] There are also a few whimsicalities, such as "Ragmans-Roll" and "Of Jack Wat, that could pull the lining out of a black boll," both classified as "fables," a category that for Perry meant "fictions."[69] The greatest

number of titles accrue, however, under "Sacred," and focus on poems related to the Virgin, and lives of saints.

It is difficult to say how much of Lydgate Perry had read. There were certainly printed copies to be found. Alternatively, he could have encountered every title he mentions in Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, or indeed in John Bale's *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytannie*, which may also have served him as a source.[70] In either case, his dual concentration on the medieval and his "mission" clearly guided his highly selective choice of works to cite. From a contemporary viewpoint, the most striking omissions, however, are also revealing: all of Lydgate's major poems with anything like a classical "humanist" title— *Troy Book*, *Siege of Thebes*, *Temple of Glass*, even *Fall of Princes*—are excluded. On balance this neglect seems entirely deliberate, in order to portray a Lydgate "relative to the history of the times"—and by this, of course, Perry meant the Catholic Middle Ages.[71] The Lydgate that emerges from Perry's list of works in the *Schools* is thus wholly antithetical to the humanist poet fabricated by Bale in his *Scriptorum illustrium*, who took Lydgate (in Perry's words) "travelling into France & Italy" for studies, coming back a skilled grammarian and "artium omnium scientissimus" (most knowledgeable in all the arts).[72] The Protestant Bale barely mentions that Lydgate was a monk, the vocation, in contrast, that Perry chose to highlight in his entry on Lydgate as a Grammarian.[73] Clearly, so identifying Lydgate here—as it were at the nexus of Bale's humanizing sketch—seems carefully aimed to counter the Protestant appropriation of a poet whose Catholicism Perry seeks to emphasize. But it also should be recognized as an informed assertion of how, and by whom, writing was accomplished in the Middle Ages. Judging from the length and complexity of the entry for the Benedictine poet, Lydgate epitomized the medieval literary habitus for Perry more than did either Chaucer or Gower, as his works encompassed all four of Perry's acknowledged generic categories: "historical . . . fabulous . . . moral . . . sacred."

The extent of Perry's embrace of a specifically medieval Lydgate can be sensed from a closer look at a representative few of the eighteen poems he lists in the class "Sacred." Alongside versified lives of saints Ann, Alban, "Dennis" ("translated out of the french into English, at the request of Charles the french King"), Margaret, and George ("for the sword-cutters of London"), there are also, in contrast to Anglican practice, direct prayers to

"S. Edmund, S. Robert, & S. Thomas a: Cantr."[74] Another work, "A procession of 40 pageants, or plays from the Creation to the Descent of the Holy ghost, taking up 212 pages in folio, which Mr. James takes to be Ludus C: C: C: or the *play of Coventry*," clearly embodies what for Perry represented medieval performative spirituality: such plays were disfavored as popish superstition under Elizabeth.[75] Notable for similar reasons, although classed under "Moral," is the entry: "The *Daunce of Powlys*, alias *Makabre*; this dance otherwise called the Dance of Death, and the Dance of Pauls, because anciently painted in Pauls Church or Charnel-house, Lydgate translated from the french verses, written on the same subject, in the cloister of the church of hh. Innocents in Paris."[76] Perry may indeed have visited the Church of Holy Innocents while studying in Paris, to view the mural in its original. But in any case, the fate of the side-chapel that housed Lydgate's poem and the associated images was semilegendary, having been notoriously demolished by the Duke of Somerset in 1549 in search of building stone for his mansion, Somerset House, a London landmark.[77] Yet another choice seemingly obscure, but upon examination enlightening about the reach and depth of Perry's medieval scholarship, is what he lists as "on the *gloriosa dicta sunt de te*, to the Bp of exeter" — in this case, Edmund Lacy (1370–1455), whom Perry includes under Theologians.[78] The *Gloriosa* is an antiphon set from Psalm 86 (87) "Sion, omnium populorum mater," with additions from Revelation 21:19 "in celebration of Mary as the Holy City."[79] In the Roman missal, it centers the Mass associated with the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, established as an obligatory by Clement XI in 1708.[80] Lydgate's "gloriosa dicta" is thus the first of five poems Perry selected that venerate the Virgin, the others being "the Life of the B: Virgin in 82 chapters, by the commaundment of Henry V," "the 15 Joys of our B: Lady, clep'd the 15 Oes, translated out of french into English," "the 15 dolours of the Virgin," and "the *ave Maria* in English metre."[81]

While it is difficult to find a Marian poem which does not in some way contribute to the affective tradition in English poetry, Perry's decision to include such a number—and precisely these poems—has special application for understanding the nature and importance of literary production by women to his *Schools* project: a clear emphasis on the significance of women's writings.[82] Excluding the *Life of Our Lady*, none of these poems

is exceptional poetry. Situating them at essentially the constitutive core of his catalogue of Lydgate's poetry, however, coupled with the prominence Perry affords Lydgate among the Poets, exteriorizes the high value Perry placed on lay female piety, of which the Virgin Mary is the model. Not that Lydgate responds to the Virgin in these poems in humble terms: their common style is aureation by way of exultation. But in celebrating Mary as the Mother who bore and fed the infant Christ through her own body, as in the *Life of Our Lady*, and who dropped her girdle behind her to confirm her ascension, Lydgate affirmed a wholly medieval Virgin, at once both celestial and human, with representations in both realms.[83] Thus Perry's singling out of these particular poems from among Lydgate's vast corpus should be seen as a form of critical assessment, evincing his view of the characteristically medieval: aureate style in this case, as well as the image of the Virgin they present, especially to and for women readers.

Two aspects of the Virgin's complexities reappear in the lives of the women Perry selected to feature in his *Schools*.[84] Both are familiar to medievalists as the active and contemplative lives, expounded theologically from Augustine on, often with reference to the scriptural Martha and Mary.[85] Representing this duality likely governed Perry's choice of women to include in the *Schools*. There are seven: three in the "school" of Grammarians and Linguists (Catherine Barkley, Thomasina Percival, and Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond); two in Historians (Beatrix, second abbess of Lacock and Juliana Barnes, prioress of Sopwell); and three in Theologians (Julian of Norwich, Margery Kempe, and, again, Margaret Beaufort). The incomplete state of the *Schools* manuscripts is especially (and unfortunately) exemplified by Catherine Barkley, represented only in an interlineated note in the "schema": "D. widow to Thos. Barkley a Grammar sch. at Wooton under Edge. 1385."[86] The shorthand allusion to a school, however, sufficiently links her to Thomasina Percival and Margaret Beaufort, both of whom Perry also credits—correctly—with active involvement in their communities by endowing schools.[87]

"Historians" Abbess Beatrix and Prioress Juliana fall more distinctly within Perry's expressed intent to identify authors. Both cloistered women, their inclusion in the "active" group alongside Barkley, Percival, and Beaufort consequently seems determined by what they wrote about—in Beatrix's case, the remarkable Countess Ela, foundress of two

religious houses and a county sheriff;[88] in Juliana's, a handbook "concerning hawking, hunting, fyshing and armory."[89] These texts affirm women's potential to achieve. They underscore Perry's recognition of female fecundity of a particular kind, capable no less than men of the active life of beneficent independent action—in the foundation of places of learning, of houses of veneration, in public service, even perhaps as a participant (or at least sufficiently *savante*) in the most vigorous sports. These sketches thus strongly suggest that Perry's fuller, finished biographies would have placed his *Schools* in clear contrast to George Ballard's *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain* (1752), whose biographies emphasized "the domestic, the melancholic, and the impulse for self-sacrifice over the public, the witty, or the defiant."[90] Ballard's book, immediately popular and widely influential, would have been difficult to avoid; it was much celebrated, especially among Protestants.[91]

The three women Perry profiles in the "school" of Theologians carry the contrast with Ballard's "ladies" even further, by supplying models of the counterpart contemplative life. The qualities Perry observes of Margaret Beaufort, who uniquely appears twice, as both Grammarian and Theologian, exemplify his differences with Ballard. Although Beaufort's citation in Theologians is just a single line ("Ven. Margaret Countess of Richmond, mother to H 7 tr: out of french the 4th book of the Imitation of Xt. 1509"),[92] Perry describes her elsewhere, in his unfinished "Life of Bishop John Fisher," as "of singular wisdom . . . good in remembrance and of holding memory: a ready wit she had also to conceive all things, albeit they were right dark: right studious she was in books, which she had in great number both in English and French."[93] How her biography might have fitted into Perry's larger direction, had he written it, is nonetheless suggested by the specificity of his reference to her translation.[94] The fourth book of Thomas à Kempis' *Imitatio Christi* is concerned with excluding the world through a complete surrender to Christ.[95] It thus places Beaufort as a very medieval "Theologian" in the company of the two remaining women Perry includes in the *Schools*: Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe.

The *Schools* entry on Julian is succinct, but significant: "A female authoress, the Blessed mother Juliana, an *anchoress of norwich*, who wrote a book entitled *Sixteen revelations of Divine love manifested to her*, published in 1670 by Hugh Cressy, from an ancient copy, &

dedicated to the Lady Mary Blount of Sodington."[96] As if scripted in shorthand, every detail opens outward into a major subject. As an "authoress," the "blessed" Julian can lay legitimate, personal claim to the writing of her book, and to the divine origin of the revelations recorded in it. The existence of "an ancient copy" and the designation "anchoress" establish her medieval milieu. That the printed edition of her work was dedicated to Mary Blount, "widowed matriarch of an aristocratic Catholic family" and patron of devotional *belles lettres*, provides Julian with a readership at once discriminating, and more contemporary.[97] Finally, naming Hugh Cressy as the "publisher," and the date 1670, conjure a profound confessional controversy that situates Perry's biography of Julian solidly within the dual frames of his medievalism and his "mission."[98] Cressy's edition of Julian, and his valuation of her as a visionary and contemplative, incited vehement refutation from Edward Stillingfleet, in a four-year exchange that ended only with Cressy's death in 1674. Julian epitomized for Stillingfleet the full range of Catholic error: blind acceptance of imaginary images, relics, and miracles; the rejection of (Protestant) reason in favor of "revelation," and in consequence an emotional expression of faith. On top of this, she was a woman, and her book, according to Stillingfleet, "the blasphemous and senseless tittle tattle of [an] Hysterical Gossip," the stuff of "unlearned persons and women."[99]

Perry was fully aware of the so-called "Stillingfleet crisis."[100] His books in Valladolid include most of the pamphlets issued during the exchange with Cressy, in whose elevation of contemplation and meditation toward the mystical Perry would have been able to identify a fellow medievalist of sorts, and pick out influences of Bernard of Clairvaux, Theresa of Ávila, and Catherine of Siena in his writings.[101] Almost definitely Perry had also read, or at least seen, Cressy's edition of Julian. His reference to its dedication to Mary Blount—a detail unmentioned by any of his *Schools* sources—makes this plain.[102]

That Perry should, then, recognize Margery Kempe as Julian's fellow-traveler, to include her also as a Theologian, is hardly surprising but nonetheless revelatory. His biography of Margery directly follows that of Julian in the *Schools*:

There's another female writer of the same country, & nearly of the same subject whose chronology not being known may be conveniently added to the former; this second authoress is *Margery Kempe of Lynn*, whose book was printed in 4to in

London by Winkin de Worde under this title, a *short treatise of contemplations taught by our Lord Jesus Christe, or taken out of a book of Margery Kempe of Lynn*: this book, which is to be seen in biblioth: *Norwicea: More*, & in that of Trin: Coll. Cambridge, contains various colloquies, betwixt Christ & his holy women and treats the love of God & perfection, & is written, saith Tanner, in the style of the modern *Quietists* & Quakers, but I suppose not on their principles, otherwise the Doctor would have probably said so.[103]

Perry's comments are of particular bibliographical interest. All that was known of Margery's book until the discovery of the manuscript in 1934 was a 1501 printing by Wynkyn de Worde of seven pages of text and an eighth with a woodblock crucifixion.[104] It contains nineteen excerpts that unequivocally present Margery as a mystic and a contemplative. No mention is made of her life or travels. Moreover, "of her mystical experiences only those of quiet communion with Our Lord and the Virgin are represented in the selections."[105] Together with Julian, Margery, as Perry could have known her from de Worde's limited version, stands in opposition to Stillingfleet's brand of Anglican rationalism, and equally, with the other women in the *Schools*, to that misogyny evident in writings of Stillingfleet and other Protestant controversialists who feminized Catholicism as a strategy of denigration.[106]

More pointedly, no less than Julian's "showings," Margery's inner apprehension of the voice of Christ affirms other striae of Perry's commitment to the Middle Ages. The value he placed upon the early contemplative experience is reflected in his subtle defense of it against the charge of Quakerish "Quietism" leveled at Margery by Tanner in Latin, and repeated in English translation by Ballard. Both Quakerism and Quietism were fraught issues for Perry. The manner of contemplation that became known as Quietism had been condemned by the Roman church in 1689; in England, Quietists' inward "listening" for the voice of God appeared indistinguishable from the "inner light" of the dissenting Quakers, a group that—shades of Lollardy!—also accepted women as preachers.[107] Thomas Tanner, one of Perry's primary sources for the *Schools*, was one such critic, remarking:

liber hic continet varios sermones Christi (*ut praetenditur*) ad sanctas suas foeminas; et stylo modernorum Quietistarum et Quakerorum conscriptus *de*

interno amore Dei, perfectione, etc. loquitur.[108]

(This book contains various sayings of Christ [as it is pretended] to the holy women who followed him; and is written in the style of our modern Quietists and Quakers, concerning the internal love of God, perfection, etc.)[109]

Obviously troubled, Perry revised Tanner's account in a manner typifying both his commitment to medieval experience and his beliefs, and to the positive presentation of religious women writers. Margery's book, as he puts it in the *Schools*, "is written, saith Tanner, in the style of the modern Quietists and Quakers, but I suppose not on their principles, otherwise the Doctor would have probably said so."[110] But of course the Doctor *did* say so. Perry has reworked Tanner to valorize the medieval Margery. He has dropped "as is pretended" (*ut praetentitur*) from his translation, thus affirming the medieval "other" in Margery's experience, and by repositioning "concerning the internal love of God, perfection" (*de interno amore Dei, perfectione*) from after the verb to before it, he has also blunted Tanner's judgment, limiting it to style, and not "principles"—which, we are safe in assuming, in Perry's reading of Margery meant the premodern, not those of his contemporaries, the "Quietists and Quakers."

5. CODA: PERRY AMONG THE MEDIEVALISTS

Captured in his approach to these seven women writers, then, and in his approach to Lydgate all the more, we have a clear view *in parvo* of Philip Perry's engagement with the medieval literary. It may be unnecessary, if not somewhat counterproductive, to attempt to situate his work beside that of modern medievalists, or to place it too firmly along the arc of contemporary medievalism(s).[111] The incomplete state of most of the projects he initiated relegates any such judgment to guesswork, a task better based on a fully realized corpus. Nevertheless, what the more than eight hundred *Schools* biographies show us, through their range and ambition to restore verity to—in Perry's view—misapprehended texts and lives, is his commitment to the medieval past, and, in his effort to revivify it, to enlighten his immediate present as well. In no small degree, his engagement with medieval literary history can certainly be traced to his recusancy and

understood as part of his "mission" to return England to the confessional authority of an earlier time. But to leave matters there, to see him as one more among myriad controversialists grinding an historical axe, would be to underserve the literary-critical acumen of the *Schools* as a medievalist study. Perry's perceptivity, for example, in distinguishing Chaucer's critique of church figures as stylistic and generic—as satire, not heterodoxy—evinces broad-minded and thoughtful reading.[112] His recognition that the writing and public benefactions of women should have weight in the world of letters, or that the original *Piers Plowman* of Langland was poetry of a different order from later Lollard exploitations, register a similar—and for his time altogether unusual—awareness of the subtleties available to the authors of medieval English literature.[113] Through insights such as these, no less than in the earlier date of his work, he challenges Thomas Warton for close attention to the aesthetic and the social importance of texts. His time in the Paris of La Curne de Sainte-Palaye taught him to be conscious of manuscripts as primary evidence, and to cite original sources wherever possible, a category he extended independently to include blackletter printed editions. Not altogether ahead of his time, but not altogether of it either, Philip Perry's critical engagement with medieval literary production was industrious and reflective. If he has a legacy—as we believe he should—it doubtless lies measurably close to claims for Medieval Studies' pioneers.

Figure 1. Philip Perry. *Schools*, Schema, 36, fol. 1r. Reproduced by permission of the Royal English College of St. Alban.

Figure 2. Philip Perry, *Schools*, 2d series, 41, fol. 2v. Reproduced by permission of the Royal English College of St. Alban.

Notes

1.   Quoted from David Matthews, *Medievalism: A Critical History* (Cambridge, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2015), p. 1. Matthews' introduction (pp. 1–10) handily distinguishes medievalism—which he sees as "a feature of post-medieval cultures from the moment of their emergence from the Middle Ages" (p. ix)—

and Medieval Studies, as each developed over time. For Philip Perry, working at the earliest moment of both, the crossover was very close.

2.   This title is adopted from Perry's notebooks, in the absence of any formal expression of his. Except where otherwise indicated, transcriptions of Perry's work replicate as much as possible his orthography, abbreviations, diacritics, and mise-en-page. Underlinings are his. For a full description of this manuscript, see Ana Sáez-Hidalgo and R.F. Yeager, "Philip Perry's *Schools* Manuscript and the Invention of the Recusant Middle Ages," *Viator*, 45 (2014), 373–97.

3.   Perry, *Schools of Medieval British Authors*, 1st series, quire 27, [fol. 2r-3r]. See n. 39, below, for the sections of the work and citation system used here respectively.

4.   See, for the history of the College, Michael E. Williams, *St. Alban's College Valladolid: Four Centuries of English Catholic Presence in Spain* (London: Hurst & Co., 1986). On Persons himself, see variously Michael L. Carrafielo, *Robert Parsons and English Catholicism, 1580–1610* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna Univ. Press, 1998); Victor Houliston, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Persons's Jesuit Polemic, 1580–1610* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

5.   For a general overview of recusancy and the "Mission," see David Lunn, *The Catholic Elizabethans* (Bath: Downside Abbey, 1998); Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1589–1597: Building the Faith of St. Peter upon the King of Spain's Monarchy* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 15–93.

6.   On the expulsion of the Jesuits and its effect on the English Colleges see especially Michael E. Williams, "St Alban's College, Valladolid, and the Events of 1767," *British Catholic History*, 20 (1990), 223–38.

7.   Perrys appear in the recusant lists for Staffordshire in 1641 and 1705; see Marie B. Rowlands, "Catholics in Staffordshire: From the Revolution to the Relief Acts, 1688-1791," (MA thesis, Univ. of Birmingham, 1965); also Michael E. Williams, "Perry, Philip Mark (1720–1774)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com ; and Williams, "Philip Perry, Rector of the English College, Valladolid (1768–1774)," *Recusant History*, 17 (1984), 48–66.

8.   John Kirk, *Biographies of English Catholics in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. John Hungerford Pollen and Edwin Burton (London: Burnes & Oates, 1909), p. 180; see further Williams, "Perry," *ODNB*.

9.   Cf. William Camden, who describes the "back-looking curiositie" of the likes of Robert Cotton: see *Britain, or A Chorographicall Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1637), "Letter to the Reader" (n.p.); Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2001), esp. pp. 27–29; and Megan L. Cook, *The Poet and the Antiquaries: Chaucerian Scholarship and the Rise of Literary History, 1532–1635* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), pp. 39-43. Antiquarian "curiositas" inspired Enlightenment mythographic studies too: see Colin Kidd, *The World of Mr. Casaubon: Britain's Wars of Mythography, 1700–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2016), pp. 29–78.

10.   Most of Sainte-Palaye's work prior to 1752 appeared as papers in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, which would have been available to the determined. Certainly, word of his projects and those of his circle were subjects of current discussion. See Lionel Gossman, *Medievalism and the Ideologies of the Enlightenment: The World and Work of La Curne de Sainte-Palaye* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1968), esp. pp. 359–61.

11.   Gossman, *La Curne*, p. 163.

12.   On the spread of Sainte-Palaye's influence in England and Germany, see Grossman, *La Curne*, pp. 331–35; Matthews, *Medievalism*, p. 47.

13.   Ruth Mack, *Literary Historiography: Literature and Historical Experience in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2009), p. 5.

14.   As Hearne remarked, "it [is] a principle with me not to alter MSS even where better and more proper Readings are very plain and obvious." Quote from Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), p. 15. But see further her discussion of "Antiquarian Societies," pp. 81–118, citing members' disagreements precisely over issues of scholarly rigor; and further Stuart Piggot, *Ruins in a Landscape: Essays in Antiquarianism* (Edinburgh: Univ. Press, 1976). Perry's selectivity among antiquarian practices is notable.

15.   His transfer, in any case, must have come with the blessing of the Church hierarchy.

16.   Quoted, apparently from correspondence, by Kirk, *Biographies*, p. 180. See also Joseph Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical History, or Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics, from the Breach with Rome, in 1534, to the Present Time*, 5 vols. (London: Burns & Oates, n.d.), IV, 270.

17.   As Leo Gooch notes, "The relationship between a patron and his chaplain was far from amicable in an embarrassingly large number of cases in the eighteenth century"; see "Priests and Patrons in the Eighteenth Century," *British Catholic History*, 20 (1990), 207–22, quote at p. 207.

18.   "Catalogues of books left at Longbirch by M. Ph. Perry," currently being edited for publication by Ana Saéz-Hidalgo.

19.   Perry's Longbirch list also included a "Catalogue of Mr Perry's books left at Heythrope" containing fifty-nine titles of works in English, French, and Latin.

20.   The letter is attached (along with Challoner's) to the inside cover of the copy of Perry's *Life . . . of Grossetête* now in the library of the College of St. Alban at Valladolid. Williams, "Philip Perry, Rector," p. 64, prints it also.

21.   The Valladolid *Life of Grossetête* appears to be the later of two known copies, the earlier being now in the Scottish Catholic Archives (SCA) at the University of Aberdeen (details below in n. 25). The earlier introduction contains none of these justifying claims.

22.   Hornyold's recommendation supporting Perry's appointment, dated 28 November 1767, is conventionally laudatory, hitting all the appropriate notes: his chaplaincies "best at winning souls" (summo con animarum lucro), his faith, moral integrity, learning, and "zeal for souls" (zelo animarum) render him ideal for Spain (excerpted by Kirk, *Biographies*, p. 180).

23.   As in fact he did, on at least one occasion: *De Causa Matrimonii Serenissimi Regis Angliae Liber, Joanne Roffensi Episcopo auctore, compluti apud Michaelem de Eguia* (Alcalá de Henares: 1530) a work of Fisher's previously unknown to Perry, discovered in the library of the Duke of Medinaceli and copied by Perry and John Geddes, rector of the Scottish College in Valladolid "transcribed in part by myself, D.D. Philip Perry, in part by my dear friend D.D. John Geddis" (transcriptum est, partim a meipso D.D. Philippo Perry, partim ab amicissimo mihi D.D. Joanne Geddis) in 1770. Perry's transcription is in the Valladolid archives (box 127).

24.   Even before, on his way to Valladolid from Madrid, Perry contrived to tour El Escorial, which housed the impressive library of Philip II.

25.   Space precludes thorough discussion here of Perry's Grosseteste biography, "Essay on the Life and Manners of the Venerable Robert Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, from his own Works and from Contemporary Writers." Two copies exist, one at the University of Aberdeen (SCA, MS P/5/10), the other at the College of St. Alban in Valladolid (MS Henson Legajo 18.1). A full, scholarly edition is forthcoming from the Catholic Record Society, edited by Jack P. Cunningham.

26.   *Roberti Grosseteste episcopi quondam Lincolniensis epistolae*, ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1861).

27.   On Letter 128, and controversies surrounding it, see esp. Leonard E. Boyle, "Robert Grosseteste and the Pastoral Care," in Leonard E. Boyle, *Pastoral Care, Clerical Education and Canon Law, 1200–1400: Collected Studies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), pp. 3–51.

28.   Matthew Paris included the letter in his *Chronica Majora*, 5:393, whence it circulated. Reliance on Grosseteste as a prescient forerunner began with Wyclif. See Anne Hudson, "Wyclif and the Grosseteste Legacy at Oxford Greyfriars," in *Robert Grosseteste: His Thought and Its Impact*, ed. Jack P. Cunningham, Papers in Mediaeval Studies, 21 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009), pp. 201–16; and John Flood and James McEvoy, "Romanorum et contemptor: Confessional Identity and the Early-Modern Reputation of Robert Grosseteste," in *Robert Grosseteste and His Intellectual Milieu*, ed. James Flood, J.R. Ginther, and Joseph W. Goering, Papers in Mediaeval Studies, 24 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2013), pp. 319–90, on Reformation adoptions of Grosseteste.

29.   Perry, *Life of Grossetête*, IV, chap. 6.

30.   These are boxes 19, 22, and 27. For a full discussion of the material, including watermark evidence supporting the dating, see Saéz-Hidalgo and Yeager, "Philip Perry's *Schools* Manuscript," pp. 373–97.

31.   In David Fairer's words, Warton is "the earliest attempt to organize English literary history in narrative form," while Perry favors narratives of individual authors or, for a comprehensive view, a visual presentation in tables or "schemas." David Fairer, "The Origins of Warton's *History of English Poetry*," *Review of English Studies*, 32 (1981), 37–63.

32.   The structure of the "schema" seems a deliberate imitation of charts in the *Certamen utriusque ecclesiae; or, a list of all the eminent writers of controversy, catholicks and protestants, since the Reformation* (London, 1724) by the Catholic Hugh Tootell, alias Charles Dodd, a manuscript copy of which shared a box in Valladolid with Perry's "schema." See Saéz-Hidalgo and Yeager, "Philip Perry's *Schools* Manuscript," pp. 384–85.

33.   "Schema" here is borrowed from usage in Valladolid by early College cataloguers; "biographies" will refer to the second section of the whole work, *Schools of Medieval British Authors*, or simply *Schools*.

34.   On this organization in early libraries, see P.S. Morrish, "Baroque Librarianship," *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume 2: 1640–1850*, ed. Giles Mandelbrote and K.A. Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2006), pp. 212–37, esp. pp. 219–23

35.   Quoted here from *Sidney's 'The Defence of Poesy' and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism*, ed. Gavin Alexander (London: Penguin, 2004), p. 8. Today no copy of the *Defense* remains in the Valladolid library. On Diderot and d'Alembert, see usefully Robert Darnton, "Epistemological Angst: From Encyclopedism to Advertising," in *The Structure of Knowledge: Classifications of Science and Learning Since the Renaissance*, ed. Tore Frängsmyr (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2001), pp. 53–76. Perry's design may also have been influenced by the modified Oxford curriculum of study followed at Douai: Figures or Rudiments, Grammar, Syntax, Poetry and Rhetoric, followed by (for those intending to enter the priesthood) Philosophy and Theology. On the medieval basis of the Douai system, see A.C.F. Beales, *Education Under Penalty: English Catholic Education from the Reformation to the Fall of James II, 1547–1689* (London: Univ. of London Press, 1963), especially pp. 1–16, 39–43.

36.   There are three exceptions: St. Patrick (fifth century) and St. Gildas (sixth century), included for obvious reasons, and the lawyer Anthony Fitzherbert, who died in 1538. However, his main work, *Natura brevium*, Perry lists as written in 1534.

37.   Saéz-Hidalgo and Yeager collate this information graphically: see "Perry's *Schools* Manuscript," p. 397, "Appendix."

38.   Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (London, 1748). On the *Bibliotheca* see in particular Richard Sharpe, "Thomas Tanner (1674–1735), the 1697 Catalogue, and *Bibliotheca Britannica*," *The Library*, 7th ser., 6 (2005), 381–421. Anthony Wood, *The history and antiquities of the University of Oxford*, ed. John Gutch, 2 vols. in 3 pts. (Oxford, 1792–96). John Pits, *Relationum historicarum de rebus Anglicis*, better known by its running title, *De illustribus Angliae scriptoribus* (Paris, 1619). There are copies of all three works in St. Alban's library, some of which belonged to Perry.

39.   Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., quire 27, [fol. 2r-3r]. The citations of Perry's text indicate the section (schema/first/second series) and then the quire number (the only numbering Perry kept); we've added foliation to facilitate location of the text in the quires. *I plaine Piers which can not flatter*, [London, 1550?] STC, 2d ed., 19903a. All STC references are to the second edition.

40.   The Act of Six Articles affirmed as Church of England doctrine essentially Catholic positions on transubstantiation, withholding wine at communion, clerical celibacy, chastity vows, private masses, and auricular confession. Perry interpreted Tanner's mention of the Act as implying *I Playne Piers* was in reaction. On the prose tract, see Andrew W. 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), 174–92; and Sarah A. Kelen, *Langland's Early Modern Identities*, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), esp. pp. 61–76.

41.   Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 27, [fol. 4v]. Likely Perry is here responding to John Foxe's assertion in the second edition (1570) of his *Acts and Martyrs* that Chaucer was a "right Wiclevian." See the edition of George Townsend, 4 vols., II (1842), 965. Leland and Bale, two other of Perry's sources, suggest the same, however.

42.   Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 27, [fol. 3r-v].

43.   "Ralph or Nicolas Strode, fellow of Merton Coll, oxon, a celebrated poet & more celebrated Philosopher called by Chaucer the Philosophical Strode; among other works, he's author of formulae consequentiarum printed at Venice an. 1517 with comments of Alexander Simonetta &c." Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 41, [fol. 4v].

44. "Ralph Strode . . . was also a good divine, & author of an Itinerary to the holy Land and of eighteen positions against Wycliff," Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 58, [fol. 2r].

45. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 28, [fol. 1r].

46. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 37, [fol. 1r].

47. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 44, [fol. 4v].

48. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 58, [fol. 2v-3r].

49. For the Latin text of *Carmen super multiplici viciorum pestilencia*, see *The Complete Works of John Gower*, ed. G.C. Macaulay, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1899–1902), vol. 4, pp. 346–54; for an English translation, see *John Gower: The Minor Latin Works*, ed. and trans. R.F. Yeager (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005).

50. The manuscript has been at All Souls at least since 1490; see Malcolm Parkes, "Patterns of Scribal Activity and Revisions of the Text in Early Copies of Works by John Gower," in *New Science Out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A.I. Doyle*, ed. Richard Beadle and A.J. Piper (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), pp. 81–121, esp. p. 102, n. 63.

51. On the "Epistle" see R.F. Yeager, "Gower's 'Epistle to Archbishop Arundel': The Evidence of Oxford, All Souls College MS 98," in *Manuscript and Print in Late Medieval and Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Professor Julia Boffey*, ed. Tamara Atkin and Jaclyn Rajsic (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2019), pp. 12–34.

52. Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.*, p. 336, fn. d.

53. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 27 [fol. 4v]. This portrait no longer exists, the manuscript having burned in the Ashburnham House fire in 1731. See George B. Pace, "Otho A. XVIII," *Speculum*, 26 (1951), 306–16. London, British Library MS Additional 5141, however, is likely a copy, ca. 1598–1602: See George L. Lam and Warren H. Smith, "George Vertue's Contributions to Chaucerian Iconography," *Modern Language Quarterly*, 5 (1944): 303–22, esp. pp. 320–21. Derek Pearsall has suggested the portrait in the singleton BL MS Add. 5141 is the MS Cotton Otho portrait, "somehow removed before the fire." See *The Life of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992), p. 295. In any case, the gown in MS Add. 5141 is blue-black.

54. Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.*, p. 167, fn. l: "where a likeness is similar to the picture of Chaucer in the Bodleian Library. Such a picture of him also appears in Ms. Cotton Otho A. 18" (ubi effigies similis est Chauceri picturae in bibl. Bodl. Talis etiam apparet pictura ejus ad sinem Ms. Cotton Otho A. 18.)

55. See descriptions in M.H. Spielmann, *The Portraits of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Chaucer Society, 2d ser., 31 (London: Adlard and Son, 1900); and further Martha W. Driver, "Mapping Chaucer: John Speed and the Later Portraits," *Chaucer Review*, 36 (2002), 228–49.

56. It is interesting to consider how Perry came by his knowledge of Walsingham's *Chronica Maiora*. Perry owned, and brought to Valladolid, the *Historia vitae et regni Ricardi secundi*, edited by Thomas Hearne (Oxford, 1729), which relies heavily on Walsingham, and also a copy of the so-called "short chronicle" *Historia brevis ab Edwardo primo ad Henricum Quintum* (London, 1574, STC [2d ed.], 25004), an abridgement of the *Chronica Maiora* of which the first part at least is by Walsingham. Also, MS Bodley 462, of the *Chronica*, covers the years 1393–1420, and was in the collection by 1750.

57. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 28, [fol. 3r]. Although Perry mentions the *Regiment of Princes* ("Book of Consolation offered by an old man"), he apparently did not know the "Address to Sir John Oldcastle," with the strongest proof of Hoccleve's anti-Lollard views.

58. On Tanner, Wilkins, and the *Bibliotheca*, see particularly Sharpe, "Thomas Tanner." Henry Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, 2 vols. (London, 1691). On Wharton see further Douglas, *English Scholars*, pp. 175–96, and Laird Okie, "Wharton, Henry (1664–1695)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com. Jeremy Collier, *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, chiefly of England*, 2 vols. (London, 1712–14). On Collier, see Eric Salmon, "Collier, Jeremy (1650–1726)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, https://www.oxforddnb.com; and further R.D. Cornwall, *Visible and Apostolic: The Constitution of the Church Anglican and Non-Juror Thought* (Newark, DE: Univ. of Delaware Press, 1993). Perry's well-marked copies of all three books are in the St. Alban's library. Thomas Gascoigne, *Veritates collectae ex. s. scriptura et aliorum sanctorum scriptis in modum tabulae alphabeticae* (short title: *Liber Veritatum*). It is difficult to be certain if Perry consulted Gascoigne directly, given how few copies existed. See R.M. Ball, *Thomas Gascoigne, Libraries and Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Library, 2006). On the other hand, his reference to Gascoigne in the "Schema" correctly identifies "Theological Dictionary in 2 vols"—and in Gascoigne Perry would have found much to approve. See Winifred A. Pronger, "Thomas Gascoigne," *English Historical Review*, 53 (1938), 606–26; Mishtooni Bose, "After the Wycliffite Controversies: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Thomas Gascoigne's *Liber*

Veritatum," *Cultural and Social History*, 6 (2009), 171–86.

59. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 56, [fol. 1v].

60. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 57, [fol. 1r]. William Cave, *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria, a Christo nato usque ad saeculum XIV*, 2 vols. (London, 1688; rev. 1698); Wharton contributed all entries after 1300. Not in the Library at St. Alban's.

61. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 57, [fol. 1r-v]. Anthony Wood, *Historia et Antiquitates universitatis Oxoniensis*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1674).

62. On the misuse of the seal and Payne in Bohemia, see Michael Van Dussen, "Conveying Heresy: 'A certayne student' and the Lollard-Hussite Fellowship," *Viator*, 38 (2007), 217–34; and further Van Dussen, *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2012), pp. 69–75.

63. Perry, *Schools*, 2nd ser., 39, [fol. 1v].

64. Stillingfleet, *A Rational account of the grounds of Protestant religion* (London, 1664). On the Protestant adoption of reason as the measure of true religion, see Richard H. Popkin, "The Philosophy of Bishop Stillingfleet," *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 9 (1971), 303–19; 251–67; Raymond D. Tumbleson, "Reason and Religion: The Science of Anglicanism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 57 (1996), 131–56.

65. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 56 [fol. 4r]. Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.*, p. 772, fn.

66. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 28 [fol. 4r].

67. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 28 [fol. 4r].

68. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 28 [fol. 4r], where these poems are named, not in this order.

69. "Jack Wat" may have had some currency, as such: Warton picks out an allusion to it in Stephen Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*. See *History of English Poetry from the Twelfth to the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, 4 vols., ed. W. Carew Hazlitt (London, 1871), III, 179.

70. Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.*, pp. 489–93. Bale, *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytannie, quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam uocant: Catalogus*, 2 vols. (Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1557–59), STC (2d ed.) 1296 Variant.

71. The absence of these poems is the more surprising in light both of their extensive history in print, and Perry's frequent citation of early printed texts. *Troy Book* had two early editions, Richard Pynson in 1513 (STC 5579) and Thomas Marshe in 1555 (STC 5580); *Siege of Thebes*, one by Wynkyn de Worde before 1500 (STC 17031), Stow included it in 1561 in his Chaucer (STC 5075–76), and Speght in his editions of 1598 (STC 5077), 1602 (STC 5030), and 1687 (STC C3776); *Temple of Glass*, Caxton 1477 (STC 17032), De Worde 1495 (STC 17032a) and 1506 (STC 17033.7), Pynson 1503 (STC 17033.3), and Berthelette 1529 (STC 17034). It is possible Perry thought the *Siege* to be Chaucer's work, if he came across it in Stow's or Speght's editions—although he does not cite it in his Chaucer biography. Tanner listed the *Fall of Princes* in his article on Lydgate in the *Bibliotheca Britannica*.

72. Bale, *Scriptorium illustrium maioris*, p. 586.

73. "Don John Lidgate, monk of S. Edmundsbury, was one of those curious scholars who travelled abroad . . . he was a student of Oxford, received minor orders an. 1388, & ordained subdeacon an. 1389, Deacon in 1393 & priest in 1397, after which he travelled into france & Italy and brought away notes of those two polite languages, to enrich his own, of which he's generally esteemed the next Refiner after Chaucer . . . his chief talent being Poetry, we shall have occasion to say more of him in that article; only adding here, that he's author or translator of a book of Instructions for youth, or the Doctrine of courtesy, clepyded in Latin Stans puer ad mensam domini," Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 23, [fol. 3v-4r].

74. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 29, [fol. 1v-2r]. Article XXII of the Thirty-nine Articles (1571) labelled invocation of saints "Romish" and without scriptural basis.

75. On the discontinuation of the cycle plays, see Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages 1300–1660*, 3 vols. (London: Routledge, 1959), vol. 1, pp. 112–18; but further the important caveats of Lawrence Clopper, "English Drama: From Ungodly *Ludi* to Sacred Play," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), esp. pp. 763–66.

76. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 29, [fol. 1r]. For Lydgate's probable authorial involvement, see Gail McMurray Gibson, "Bury St. Edmunds, Lydgate, and the *N-Town Cycle*," *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 56–90.

77. On Somerset's rampant destruction of churches for building materials, see esp. James Simpson, *The Oxford English Literary History, 2: 1350–1547: Reform and Cultural Revolution*, (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002), pp. 34–37.

78. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 29, [fol. 1r]. Perry credits Lacy with "A book on 4-fold sense of Holy Scripture: Office of S. Rafael the Archangel." The first is *De quadriplici sensus sacre scripture*, no copy of which is

extant. Lacy is best known as a composer of antiphons. See Nicholas Orme, "Lacy, Edmund (c. 1370–1455)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004; https://www.oxforddnb.com.

79. Derek Pearsall, *John Lydgate* (Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1970), p. 275.

80. On the poem, see Walter F. Schirmer, *John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1952), p. 195, n. 1; on the Feast, see the bull *Commissi nobis Divinitus* (1708).

81. Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 29, [fol. 1v].

82. On the affective in medieval writing see esp. Sarah McNamer, *Affective Meditation and the Invention of Medieval Compassion* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), esp. pp. 1–21. Also useful is Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

83. As Miri Rubin remarks, from the thirteenth century on the Virgin "was embedded in the lives of individuals and communities as a human mother who was also a mother of God"; *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2009), p. 227.

84. On differing post-Reformation views of the Virgin among Catholics and English Protestants, see Gary Waller, *The Virgin Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern English Literature and Popular Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2011), esp. pp. 181–209; Patricia Crawford, *Women and Religion in England 1500–1720* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 38–52, esp. p. 47.

85. Lk 10:38–42.

86. Perry, *Schools*, Schema, 35, [fol. 2v]. It is difficult to tell whether Perry intended a full biography of Catherine Barkley, though her importance (see following note) would imply that he did.

87. Catherine Barkely (d. 1385)—or Berkeley, wife of Thomas, third Baron Berkeley, founded a grammar school at Wooton-under-Edge that became a model—see Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Schools from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2006), pp. 227–29. On Thomasina Percival, see Matthew Davis, "Dame Thomasine Percyvale, 'The Maid of the Week' (d. 1512)," in *Medieval London Widows, 1300–1500*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1994), pp. 182–207. In the chart of Grammarians, Margaret Beaufort also receives a single line: "Margaret Countess of Richmond f. a Gram. Sch. at Wynburn, Dorset. 1509" (Perry, *Schools*, Schema, 35, [fol. 3v]). She founded, in addition, Christ's College and St. John's College at Cambridge.

88. Beatrix "wrote the historical Elogium of the gallant & incomparable Ela Countess of Warwick & Salisbury, foundress & first abbess of Lacock, & of the Carthusians of Hinton in Somersetshire, . . . who before her entrance into Religion was wife to William of Lonspee Earl of Salisbury . . . herself remarkable for having during her widdowhood performed the office of sheriff"; Perry, *Schools*, 1st ser., 35, [fol. 4r].

89. Prioress Juliana "Barnes or Berners, daughter of James Barnes or Berners of Roding in Essex, and Prioress of Sopwell . . . is authoress, or translatress on a subject little treated of by ladies, much less by such as have left the world, viz. a book called the Gentlemans academy, or the book of S. Albans concerning hawking, hunting, fishing, & armory; so called because first printed at St Albans, anno 1486 folio; it was printed against [sic] at Westminster an. 1496, 4to; & a third time at London an. 1595, 4to." Perry, *Schools*, 2nd ser., 48, [fol. 2r]. Note his emphasis on "a subject little treated of by ladies, much less by such as have left the world."

90. *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain, who have been Celebrated for their Writings or Skill in the Learned Languages Arts and Sciences* (Oxford: W. Jackson, for the Author, 1752). While no evidence exists that Perry knew Ballard's work—no copy is among his books in Valladolid, for example—it seems unlikely he wouldn't have encountered it while in Oxford 1762–65. Its influence was profound: see Margaret J.M. Ezell, *Writing Women's Literary History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1993), pp. 78–89; quote at p. 88.

91. On Ballard's Protestant bias, note his dedication of the volume to "Mrs. Talbot of Kineton," wife of "Talbot of Kineton," an evangelical Protestant preacher of renown, and see further Begoña Lasa Álvarez, "Constructing a Portrait of the Early Modern Woman Writer for Eighteenth-Century Female Readers: George Ballard's *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain* (1752)," *Sederi*, 25 (2015), 105–27.

92. Perry, *Schools*, Schema, 40, [fol. 5r].

93. The unedited manuscript of Perry's unfinished "Life of Bishop John Fisher" is preserved in the Library of the University of Aberdeen (SCA, MS 5.8). The full description, at quire 5, fol. 2r, also includes: "'She had in a manner, saith Bp Fisher, all that was praisable in a woman, either in soul or body: first she was of singular wisdom, far surpassing the common rate of women . . . and for her exercise, and for profit of others, she did translate divers matters of devotion from the French into English. Full often she complained

that in her youth she had not given her to the understanding of Latin, wherein she had a little perceiving, specially of the rubrick of the ordinal, for the saying of her service, which she did well understand, hereunto in favour, in words, in gesture, in every demeanour of herself, so great nobleness did appear that what she spoke or did, it mervailously became her.'" Fisher's emphasis on Beaufort's mental powers, coupled with piety, as "all that was praisable in a woman" seem to reflect Perry's own views.

94. Beaufort's translation of Kempis has, according to Patricia Demers, a devotional tone, combined with practical instruction ("'God may open more than man maye vnderstande': Lady Margaret Beaufort's Translation of the *De Imitatione Christi*," *Renaissance and Reformation*, 35 [2012], 45–61). Beaufort also translated from French *The Mirror of Gold for the Sinful Soul*.

95. For context see in particular David Crane, "English Translations of the *Imitatio Christi* in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Recusant History*, 13 (1976), 79–100.

96. Perry, *Schools*, 2nd ser., 36, [fol. 3r].

97. Quotation from Jennifer Summit, "From Anchorhold to Closet: Julian of Norwich in 1670 and the Immanence of the Past," in *Julian of Norwich's Legacy: Medieval Mysticism and Post-Medieval Reception*, ed. Sarah Salih and Denise N. Baker, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 32. Summit identifies several Catholic authors who dedicated work to Lady Mary. The inclusion of Mary Blount is Perry's addition to Tanner— one that not incidentally contrasts directly with Ballard's "Mrs. Talbot" (see n. 90, above).

98. *XVI Revelations of Divine Love Shewed to a Devout Servant of our Lord Called Mother Juliana, an Anchorete of Norwich, Who Lived in the Dayes of King Edward the Third / Published by R.F.S. Cressy* (London: s.n., 1670).

99. Stillingfleet, *A Discourse Concerning the Idolatry Practised in the Church of Rome . . . wherein a particular account is given of the fanaticism and divisions of that church* (London, 1671), pp. 261, 332. On the "Stillingfleet controversy," see esp. Liam Temple, "'Have we any mother Juliana's among us?': The Multiple Identities of Julian of Norwich in Restoration England," *British Catholic History*, 33 (2017), 383–400; and further, Summit, "Anchorhold to Closet," pp. 37–41.

100. As was Ballard, who closes his own account of Julian, quoted almost entirely from Hugh Cressy, with: "These are Mr. Cressy's thoughts of Juliana and her writings; but this author was a Priest of her own communion: how far the Divines of the Church of England will correspond with him in his sentiments, I leave to others to determine"; *Memoirs of Several Ladies*, p. 4.

101. On Cressy's sources, see Placid Spearritt, O.S.B., "The Survival of Medieval Spirituality among the Exiled Black Monks," *American Benedictine Review*, 25 (1974), 287–316.

102. On Baker's promotion of Julian as a spiritual model for the Benedictine nuns at Cambrai and Paris, see in particular J. T. Rhodes, "Dom Augustine Baker's Reading Lists," *Downside Review*, 111 (1993), 157–73; and more recently *Book List of the English Benedictine Nuns of Cambrai, c. 1739*, ed. J. T. Rhodes (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik Universität Salzburg, 2013). Also useful is Nancy Bradley Warren, *The Embodied Word: Female Spiritualities, Contested Orthodoxies, and English Religious Cultures, 1350–1700* (South Bend: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 2010), esp. pp. 64–76.

103. Perry, *Schools*, 2nd ser., 36, [fol. 3r].

104. *Here Begynneth a Shorte Treatyse of Contemplacyon Taught by our Lorde Jhesu Cryste, Or Taken Out of the Boke of Margerie Kempe of Lyn[n]* (London: Wynkyn de worde, 1501) (STC [2d ed.], 14924). De Worde's eight-page "book" was reprinted, with slight modifications, by Henry Pepwell in 1521 (STC [2d ed.], 6834); for a collated edition of both, see *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Sanford Brown Meech and Hope Emily Allen, EETS, o.s. 212 (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1940, for 1939), Appendix II. The manuscript (now London, British Library MS Add. 61823) was identified in a private library by Hope Emily Allen in 1934. See, for the story of the discovery and edition, David Wallace, *Strong Women: Life, Text, and Territory 1347–1645* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2011), esp. pp. 61–66.

105. *Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. Meech and Allen, p. xlvi.

106. See especially Crawford, *Women and Religion*, pp. 15–17.

107. Pope Innocent XI rejected Quietism in the bull *Coelestis Pastor* (1687). On the relation of the two in France and England, see Elaine Pryce, "'Upon the Quakers and the Quietists': Quietism, Power and Authority in Late Seventeenth-Century France and Its Relation to Quaker History and Theology," *Quaker Studies*, 14 (2010), 212–23; and John Seed, *Dissenting Histories: Religious Division and the Politics of Memory in Eighteenth-Century England* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 2008).

108. Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.*, p. 452.

109. The translation is Ballard's, included in *Memoirs of Several Ladies*, p. 8.

110. Perry, *Schools*, 2nd ser., 36, [fol. 3r].

111. See Matthews, "How Many Middle Ages?" in *Medievalism*, pp. 13–41.

112. Particularly noteworthy, given the contemporary view of Chaucer as a proto-Protestant: on which see n. 41 above, and further Cook, *The Poet and the Antiquaries*, chap. 3, esp. pp. 86–94.

113. Compare, by contrast, Stephen Batman's more polemical approach with Perry's: see Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 116–18; Ryan McDermott, *Tropologies: Ethics and Invention in England, c. 1350–1600* (Notre Dame, IN: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 2016), pp. 83–85.