

**Anne Lock's anonymous friend:
*A meditation of a penitent sinner and the problem of ascription***

Christopher Goodman lived most of his adult life on the wrong side of prevailing orthodoxies. At the accession of Queen Mary, Goodman was the Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Oxford: finding himself out of sympathy with the state's reversion to Catholicism, he went into exile on the continent. He joined his English co-religionists at Frankfurt in 1554, but when the congregation quarrelled over the use of the 1552 Prayer Book, Goodman was one of the faction which could not be reconciled, and he left for Calvin's Geneva in 1555. In that more congenial atmosphere he wrote his 1558 treatise, *How superior powers ought to be obeyed*, which, like John Knox's notorious *First blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women* (1558), argued against the legitimacy of female monarchs. The books were primarily motivated by their opposition to the rule of Queen Mary, who was disqualified, they argued, for reasons of religion as well as gender. Their comments were ill-timed, coinciding as they did with Mary's death and the coronation of another queen. For all that Goodman had praised her – a 'Godlie Lady, a[n]d meke Lambe, voyde of all Spanishe pride, and strange bloude' (Mary, by contrast, was an 'vngodlie serpent') – Elizabeth took a dim view of both books.¹ Her religious views may have been more acceptable to the authors, but their attack on female monarchy appears to have gravely offended her: in June 1559, William Cecil, writing from the Court, reported that 'Of all others, Knoxees name, if it be not Goodmans, is most odiose here.'² Prudently, both men established themselves in Scotland on their return from Geneva; however, when the earl of Moray's rebellion in 1565 forced Goodman to seek office in territories controlled by Elizabeth, he was to find his advancement implacably blocked. He could not be said to have behaved in a conciliatory fashion: his theory of government verged on republicanism; he refused to subscribe to Whitgift's Articles in 1584; and throughout his career, he agitated for a more radical reformation of the church than Elizabeth was prepared to concede. These were reasons enough for his failure to achieve the queen's favour; however, it is for his views on female monarchy that she appears to have remembered, and resented, him.

In his latest brush with controversy, Goodman would seem to have trespassed once more against the interests of women. His name appears in a British Library manuscript, BL MUS Add. 33933, one of a series of part-books produced for the choir in St Andrews between 1562 and 1592. The books are the work of Thomas Wode, vicar of St Andrews, and they contain settings of the psalms and of various spiritual songs. Most of these texts draw on the Geneva Psalter (1562) but there is a selection of supplementary lyrics from other sources. Among these is the following:

Have mercy God for they great mercies sake for thy great mercies
sake
O God my God vnto my shame I say
Being fledd frome thee So as I dreed to take,
thy name in wretched mouth and feare to pray, and feare to pray,

¹ C. Goodman, *How superior powers ought to be obeyd of their subiects* (Geneva, 1558), sig. diiir; sig. gi^v.

² Cecil to Ralph Sadler, 31 October 1559. R. Sadler, *The state papers and letters of Sir Ralph Sadler*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1809), p. 532.

Or aske thee mercy that I haue abusde, y^t I haue abusde,
But god of mercy let mee come to thee,
Not for iustice that iustlye am accusd, that iustly am accusede,
Which selfe word iustice so amased mee, amased mee,
that skarce I dar thy mercies sound. (53^{r-v})

This is an unimpeachable, if much expanded, translation of verse 1 of Psalm 51, *Miserere Mei Deus*. It is introduced in a marginal note by Wode. Across the top of the facing page (52^v), above a preliminary effort to write a setting (subsequently scored out) he has written ‘The letter of this sang wes geuei[n] be maister gudman su[m]tyme ministre’; and sideways, along the margin, he started again: ‘maister gudman su[m]tyme minister of Sanctandrows / gaue this letter to Andrew Kempe, maistre of the sang scule to set it in four partes: It is verray hard till it be thryse or four tymis weill and rychly sung.’

That this collection should be associated with Goodman is unsurprising. In the interval between his return from Geneva in 1560 and the Moray rebellion of 1565, he had served as minister of Holy Trinity church in St Andrews, where he presumably took an interest in church music. The lyric in question, although it does not derive from Goodman’s published works, nonetheless has a Genevan pedigree. Despite some minor divergences, and the various repetitions, added to enhance the musical line, the text is recognisably the beginning of the sonnet, below:

Have mercy, God, for thy great mercies sake, □
O God: my God, unto my shame I say, □
Beynge fled from thee, so as I dred to take □
Thy name in wretched mouth, and feare to pray □
Or aske the mercy that I have abusde. □
But, God of mercy, let me come to thee: □
Not for justice, that justly am accusede: □
Which self word Justice so amaseth me, □
That scarce I dare thy mercy sound againe. □
But mercie, Lord, yet suffer me to crave. □
Mercie is thine: Let me not crye in vaine, □
Thy great mercie for my great fault to have. □
Have mercie, God, pitie my penitence □
With greater mercie than my great offence.

The poem appeared in print in 1560, two years before work began on the St Andrews Psalter. It is part of a sonnet sequence, *A Meditation of a penitent sinner: written in maner of a paraphrase upon the 51. Psalme of David* which appeared as an appendix to an English translation of four of Calvin’s Geneva sermons, in the *Sermons of John Calvin, upon the songe that Ezechias made after he had bene sicke* (London, 1560). The translator signed the sermons with the initials ‘A.L.’; the sonnets are anonymous. Previous attempts to identify their author have suggested that they might be the work of John Knox, but no evidence has been forthcoming.³ The

³ See L. Lupton, *The history of the Geneva Bible: Travail*, vol. 4 (London, 1972), p. 24, for a positive attribution of the poems to Knox; and P. Collinson, ‘The role of women in the English reformation illustrated by the life and friendships of Anne Locke’, in *Studies in church history*, ed. by G.J. Cumming (London, 1965), for a more cautious attempt to identify him as the author.

part-book's note seems to offer a solution to the enigma, and Jane Dawson's *ODNB* entry for Goodman now ascribes them to him.⁴

This attribution, however, unsettles another prevailing orthodoxy. For some years, the sonnets have been counted in the canon of early-modern women's writing. A.L., the translator of the sermons, has been firmly established as Anne Lock (1535–before 1602) since at least 1965, when Patrick Collinson discussed the work in the context of Lock's friendships with prominent reformers.⁵ More recently, scholars have invested heavily in the argument that she was also the author of the poems. The first attribution, so far as I am aware, came in 1989, when Thomas Roche discussed Lock among other authors of religious sonnets in *Petrarch and the English sonnet sequences*,⁶ but he was rapidly succeeded by two editions and a significant body of articles and chapters which argued for, or built on, Lock's claim to the *Meditation* as well as the *Sermons*.⁷ There is little doubt that the author's gender underlies much of the attention: the half-dozen religious sonnet cycles written by Tudor men have received only a fraction of this interest. The *Meditation* is the first sonnet sequence in English – to be able to add it to the small corpus of texts by early-modern women's texts would be a considerable coup.

The case for Lock's authorship of the sermon translations which form the main body of the book is strong. She had access, as relatively few people did, to the source-text. The sermons were preached in Geneva in November 1558, and were printed in the same city four years later, in 1562, which was two years after the English translation had been published.⁸ The translator must therefore have either heard the sermons, or read a manuscript copy. Denis Raguénier, Calvin's stenographer during this period, was paid by the deacons of the *Bourse française* to transcribe the sermons. He filed them at the *Bourse* until they were dispatched for printing. The intention was that the profits raised from sales of the published texts would support the poor of Geneva, so the transcripts were jealously guarded, and unlikely to have left the city.⁹ Anne Lock was in a position to have heard the sermons as they were preached. She had arrived in Geneva in May 1557, when her name was entered

⁴ J.E.A. Dawson, 'Goodman, Christopher (1521/2–1603)', in *Oxford dictionary of national biography*, ed. by H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford, 2004).

⁵ See note 3, above.

⁶ T. Roche, *Petrarch and the English sonnet sequences* (New York, 1989), p. 154.

⁷ Among the studies which have treated the *Meditation* as written by Lock are the following: B. Burton, "'The praise of that I yield for sacrifice': Anne Lock and the poetics of the eucharist", *Renaissance and Reformation*, 30 (2006), 89–118; S. Felch, 'Curing the soul: Anne Lock's authorial medicine', *Reformation*, 2 (1997), 7–38 and "'Noble gentlewomen famous for their learning": the London circle of Anne Vaughan Lock', *American Notes & Queries*, 16 (2003), 14–20; M.P. Hannay, "'Unlock my lipps": The *Miserere mei Deus* of Anne Vaughan Lok and Mary Sidney Herbert, Countess of Pembroke', in J.R. Brink, *Privileging gender in early modern England* (Kirkville, MO, 1993), pp. 19–36; K. Morin-Parsons, "'Thus crave I mercy": The preface of Anne Locke', in H. Ostovich et al, *Other voices, other views: expanding the canon in English renaissance studies*, (Newark, DE, 1999), pp. 271–89; J. Ottenhoff, 'Mediating Anne Locke's *Meditation* Sonnets', in the same, pp. 271–89; S. Woods, 'Anne Lock and Aemilia Lanyer: a tradition of protestant women speaking', in A. Boesky and M.T. Crane (eds), *Form and reform in renaissance England* (London, 2000), pp. 171–84.

⁸ See *Sermons de Jehan Calvin sur le cantique que fait le bon roy Ezechias...* (Geneva, 1562).

⁹ J. Olson, *Calvin and social welfare: deacons and the Bourse Française* (London, 1989), pp. 47–9.

into the *Livre des Anglois*.¹⁰ She travelled at the urging of her friend, John Knox, whose letters record his anxiety that she seek refuge from religious persecution in England by taking shelter in the ‘maist perfyte schoole of Chryst that ever was in the erth since the dayis of the Apostillis’.¹¹ This connection with Knox, Calvin’s staunch admirer, suggests that she was a likely member of the congregation which attended the series of regular sermons on the Old Testament, including those on Hezekiah. Lock is, moreover, the only member of the English-speaking church, as registered in the *Livre des Anglois*, to have the initials A.L. She had a reputation for religious learning: when he dedicated an edition of one of Knox’s sermons to her in 1583, John Field addressed her as a ‘scholler’ in God’s school.¹² She also had an interest in translation, and produced at least one other substantial work based on a French text. Finally, some tangible evidence for her authorship comes in the British Library copy of the book, which is inscribed on the fly-leaf to Henry Lock, the London merchant and her first husband. In a fine italic hand, it reads ‘Liber Henrici Lock, ex dono Annae, uxoris suae.’ It may be mere coincidence that Anne Lock chose this book for her husband, but it seems, in the light of the other evidence, to underscore her connection with the text.

The case for Lock’s authorship of the sonnets is more fragile. This is primarily because of the comment with which they are introduced:

I have added this meditation following unto the ende of this booke, not as parcell of maister Calvines worke, but for that it well agreeth with the same argument, and was delivered me by my frend with whom I knew I might be so bolde to use & publishe it as pleased me.¹³

Critics eager to preserve this text for Lock have argued that this disclaimer is ‘a conventional fiction’ or a ‘routine disclaimer of authorship ... that generates an understanding beyond what it actually says, an acknowledgment that “I wrote this book.”’¹⁴ It could be a modesty topos, but the most serious objection to Lock’s authorship of the sonnets is that she signed all of her other works. The *Sermons* are subscribed ‘A.L.’; during her marriage to Edward Dering, she put ‘Anna Dering’ to a Latin manuscript poem;¹⁵ and in 1590, married a third time to Richard Prowse of Exeter, she signed ‘Anne Prowse’ to her rendering of another French text, Jean Taffin’s *Of the markes of the children of God, and of their comforts in affliction*, a volume containing both her prose translation of Taffin and an appendix in verse.

The case for Goodman’s authorship of the poems, on the other hand, rests on the note in Wode’s manuscript, and on his relationship with Lock. He was, as the preface to the sonnets demands, Lock’s ‘frend’. He was one of two ministers to the English community in Geneva during Lock’s time in the city, and John Knox’s letters indicate that they were in

¹⁰ ‘8 of May 1557. Anne Locke, Harrie her Sonne, and Anne her daughter, and Katherine her maide.’ See the appendix for the Geneva church in J.S. Burn, *Registrum ecclesiae parochialis*: (London, 1862), p. 280.

¹¹ D. Laing (ed.), *Works of John Knox*, 6 vols (Edinburgh, 1846–64), 4, pp. 240–41.

¹² J. Knox, *A notable and comfortable exposition of M. John Knoxes, upon the fourth of Mathew, concerning the tentations of Christ in the wilderness* (London, 1583), sig. A3^r.

¹³ A. L., *Sermons of John Calvin, upon the songe that Ezechias made after he had bene sicke* (London, 1560), sig. Aa1^r.

¹⁴ S. Woods, ‘The Body Penitent: A 1560 Calvinist Sonnet Sequence’, *American Notes & Queries* 5 (1992), 137–9 at 138; R. Greene, ‘Anne Locke’s *Meditation*: invention versus dilation and the founding of puritan poetics’, in A. Boesky and M.T. Crane (eds), *Form and reform in renaissance England* (London, 2000), pp. 153–70, p. 165.

¹⁵ BL Add. MS 48096; for a discussion of Lock’s poem, see L. Schleiner, *Tudor and Stuart women writers* (Bloomington, IN, 1994), p. 256.

regular contact even after their return from the continent: in various letters to Lock, he asks her to pass messages to ‘Mr Gudman’ or notes that Goodman sent his regards.¹⁶ Nonetheless, the *ODNB* notwithstanding, Goodman does not seem to have been the friend of the preface after all. A second part-book from the set, Edinburgh University Library La.III 483.2, includes the same sonnet in more complete form, and associates it with Goodman via a less controversial locution. The poem, it states, was ‘set be Andro Kemp at the desyre of maister gudman’.¹⁷ The note in the British Library MS indicates Goodman’s ownership of the work, which might mean either the possession of a copy, or the author’s moral ownership of the words; the Edinburgh inscription indicates nothing stronger than a desire to hear a particular text set to music. Although Wode goes on to describe the multifarious virtues of Mr Goodman, he says nothing about his talents as a writer, and nor does he seek to establish the poem as his work. However, although Goodman might not be a serious contender in the authorship mystery, he has, as I will discuss below, a part to play in its solution.

Those scholars who have tried to establish Lock’s authorship of the *Meditation* have tended to admit the instability of their enterprise. Nonetheless, Margaret Hannay and Susan Felch have both carried out extensive stylistic analysis of the text, comparing it with Lock’s acknowledged texts, and their conclusions are persuasive. Felch in particular has shown how the medical imagery which dominates Lock’s dedicatory epistle is echoed in the sonnets, and she has also remarked on the distinctive lexical choices which link the same texts.¹⁸ There might also be a clue in Sonnet 11’s unusual enthusiasm for the verb ‘look’: ‘Loke on me, Lord’; ‘Loke on me, Lord, but loke not on my sinne’; ‘Looke not how I / Am foule by sinne’. Similar wordplay in other early-modern sequences has often been interpreted as a pun on the author’s name: the most famous, and excessive, instance is Shakespeare’s Sonnet 135, but other examples occur throughout the period in *Astrophil and Stella*, in lyrics by John Donne and in sequences like Tobie Matthew’s spiritual sonnets.¹⁹ Lock, whose name was variously rendered Lock, Locke, and Lok, might similarly be understood to be signalling her own presence through her puns.

It is also worth noting that Lock’s son, Henry Lok, went on to publish his own religious sonnets in the 1590s. His choice of genre is relatively unsurprising, given the intense vogue enjoyed by sonnet sequences throughout the decade; however, his writing often recalls the *Meditation*. In both cases, the writers draw heavily on scripture for their diction and imagery, but there are some striking resemblances for which biblical texts cannot account. The overlap between the *Meditation* and Lok’s Sonnet 4 is largely due to the fact that they both draw on Ps. 51, but there are certain images which do not occur in the psalm. The first five sonnets in the *Meditation* are not biblical: they form an original preface to the translation which follows. Throughout these five poems, the speaker claims to be so deep in sin that he or she cannot look to heaven for help: ‘And then not daring with presuming eye / Once to behold the angry heavens face’ (Prefatory Sonnet 5, ll. 1-2). This finds a parallel in Henry Lok’s sonnet rendering of Ps. 51, which interpolates a non-biblical phrase ‘As

¹⁶ See Laing, ed., *Works of John Knox*, 6, p. 101.

¹⁷ La.III 483.2, p. 137.

¹⁸ M.P. Hannay, “Unlock my lipps”; S. Felch (ed.), *The collected works of Anne Vaughan Lock* (Tempe, AZ, 1999), pp. liii–liv.

¹⁹ See Donne, ‘Hymn to God the Father’, for puns on question of his own salvation: ‘When thou hast done / Thou hast not done’; for Tobie Matthew, see A.G. Petti, ‘Unknown sonnets by Sir Toby Matthew’, *Recusant History*, 9 (1967–8), 123–58, 125–7.

presseth downe my eyes on earth so low, / As dares not search the heavens true helpe to finde.²⁰ The shared conceit is noteworthy. Lok's Sonnet 38 is also suggestive. The poem is based on John 9:1-12, in which Jesus cures the man blind from birth, but the description of blindness takes on allegorical significance. In this respect, it recalls the strongly allegorical prefatory sonnets of the *Meditation*, but the likeness transpires to be more specific than the mere sharing of a literary mode. Lok's speaker is '[b]orne blind' and finds it impossible to see his way to salvation: 'And never since could see with carnall eies: / Ne know I where or how for helpe to call / From out of sin to holie life to rise.' Instead, he remains 'gracelesse groveling in earths darkness'.²¹ The *Meditation* also uses blindness as a metaphor for spiritual lack, and the vocabulary and development of the image is similar:

So I blinde wretch, whome Gods enflamed ire
With pearcing stroke hath throwne unto the ground,
Amidde my sinnes still groveling in the myre,
Finde not the way that other oft have found,
Whome cherefull glimse of gods abounding grace
Hath oft releved and oft with shyning light

Hath brought to joy out of the ugglye place ... (Prefatory Sonnet 2)

These parallels can prove nothing more conclusive than that Henry Lok had read the *Meditation*, but taken in conjunction with the compelling stylistic evidence offered by Hannay and Felch, they suggest that claims for Anne Lock's authorship of the sonnets are not ill-founded. However, if the sonnets are hers, as they indeed seem to be, we are left with the question of why two works in a single volume should be treated differently with regards to claiming authorship. The remainder of this essay will examine the motivation behind the device of Lock's anonymous friend.

II

Anne Lock, then Anne Vaughan, was about eleven years old when Anne Askew was burnt at the stake in Smithfield in 1546. Askew had been arraigned for heresy; however, it seems unlikely that her refusal to accept the doctrine of transubstantiation would have been understood as heretical in the household in St Botolph's Bishopgate where Lock was growing up. Lock's family would have seen only their own orthodoxies being attacked in Askew's trial and death.

Askew's trial would go on to provide Lock with an illustration of the protean nature of sixteenth-century heresy. John Bale's editions of Askew's *Examinations* were published in the reign of Edward VI, by which time the doctrines for which she died had been rendered orthodox by a change of government.²² The book, indeed, was something of an embarrassment to William Paget, one of her inquisitors, who is caught in it castigating her

²⁰ H. Lok, *Sundry Christian passions contained in two hundred sonnets* (London, 1593), sig. Aii^r.

²¹ *Ibid.*, sig. Bii^v.

²² A. Askew, *The first examinacyon of Anne Askewe ... with the elucydacyon of Johan Bale* (Wesel, 1546) and *The lattre examinacyon of the worthy servant of God Mastres Anne Askewe* (Wesel, 1547).

for not believing in the Real Presence, a belief he had himself conveniently abandoned under the new dispensation. The text had to be censored to spare his blushes.²³

Lock grew up in a family where charges of heresy were always an imminent risk. Her step-mother, Margery Brinkelow, was silkwoman to Queen Katherine Parr, and shared her reformed religious beliefs: it is likely, in fact, that Brinkelow knew Anne Askew, who was supported by the queen during her imprisonment. The queen had also been of assistance to Lock's childhood tutor, Stephen Cob, who had come to the attention of the authorities for translating Lutheran tracts. Between 1543 and 1546, he appeared before the Privy Council and the Court of Aldermen, and had been questioned at Lambeth Palace.²⁴ Lock's father, Stephen Vaughan, had been interrogated by a suspicious Thomas More three times between 1529 and 1532, for bearing, as Henry VIII said of him, 'too much affection' for William Tyndale, soon to be martyred himself.²⁵ After his last examination, Vaughan wrote to his patron, Thomas Cromwell, 'I am no heretic, nor will be made one.'²⁶ But people were made heretics all the time, when regimes changed around them; and Lock would have realized this as she lived through the incompatible regimes of Henry, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth. She saw close at hand the extreme dangers of heresy (the pyre at Smithfield was half a mile from her home) and she was undoubtedly aware that her own brand of Protestantism was constantly in danger of being read as heretical. It is within this framework that her books belong, and I suggest that to read her work as engaging with the pressures of heresy will serve to illuminate the issues of anonymity which surround her writing.

Like Goodman, Lock lived almost all of her life beyond the bounds of official orthodoxy. The death of Queen Mary did not create a state godly enough to satisfy her, as her writing and friendships throughout the Elizabethan period testify. Lock's second husband, Edward Dering, was a successful preacher until he was invited to deliver a sermon in Elizabeth's presence in 1570. Once in the pulpit, he took the opportunity to unburden his conscience by criticising the queen's management of the English church, describing the ornaments of the royal chapel as idolatrous, and comparing Elizabeth to an 'untamed and unruly Heiffer'.²⁷ Her other associates were equally controversial. Knox had died in 1569, as unpopular with Mary Queen of Scots as with Elizabeth; Goodman, settled in Chester, was called before the ecclesiastical commission in 1571 and deprived of his benefice. In this context, scholars have been prepared to recognize the controversial nature of Lock's second book, *Of the markes of the children of God*. Taffin wrote a general text to comfort his congregation, but Lock's preface disproportionately emphasizes a single aspect of the book: the argument that worldly suffering, and particularly, persecution by authorities, was a sign of a community's status as elect. Readers have traced in Lock's self-alignment with the

²³ See the textual introduction in E.V. Beilin (ed.), *The Examinations of Anne Askew* (New York, 1996), for a discussion of censorship in the 1547 and successive editions.

²⁴ Felch (ed.), *The collected works of Anne Vaughan Lock*, pp. xxi–xxii.

²⁵ For accounts of Vaughan's encounters with More, see W.C. Richardson, *Stephen Vaughan, financial agent of Henry VIII: a study of financial relations with the Low Countries* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1953), pp. 27, 30 and D. Daniell, *William Tyndale: a biography* (London, 1994), pp. 209–217. Henry's comment about Vaughan's 'affection' for Tyndale is cited in a letter from Thomas Cromwell of April 1531, in J. Gardiner (ed.), *Calendar of state papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 5: 1531–32 (London, 1880) p. 113.

²⁶ Letter from Vaughan to Cromwell, 30 Dec 1531, in Gardiner (ed.), *Calendar of state papers ... of the reign of Henry VIII*, 5: 1531–32, p. 282.

²⁷ E. Dering, *A sermon preached before the Quenes Maiestie* (London, 1570). See sig. Biii^r.

increasingly-oppressed Genevan, or ‘Puritan’, party.²⁸ The restrictions on preaching in the wake of the Marprelate crisis; the enmity of influential clergy like Richard Bancroft and John Whitgift; and the sense that, thirty years into Elizabeth’s reign, their own vision of the English church was ever farther from realisation, all contributed to a sense that Lock’s religious community was beginning to separate from the main body of English Protestantism. *Of the markes of the children of God*, insofar as it asserts an independent identity for her community, is at least on the edges of religious controversy. The *Sermons of John Calvin*, on the other hand, has attracted overwhelmingly greater critical attention – but this has not tended to consider the question of the text’s orthodoxy. The sonnets, and the question of their authorship, have proven to have a greater claim on the reader’s attention. Nonetheless, issues of authorship and anonymity might be affected by the possibility that Lock, in 1560, believed herself to be publishing a dangerous book, a work which could be implicated in heresy.

It is only the accident of retrospect that makes the 1560 text look so innocuous now. The interest in Calvin and the translation of the psalms into English metre appear entirely in tune with popular Elizabethan religion. They may have looked rather different to Lock in the years of her Geneva exile, if her book was written before she could have any guarantee that the English authorities would conceive of it as the orthodox text she believed it to be.

Heresy in the sixteenth century was a question of timing, and it is precisely the timing of Lock’s work which has been overlooked among the other important concerns it raises. We cannot tell exactly when she began work on the text of the sonnets, but it is certain that she cannot have begun to translate the sermons before late in 1557. They were delivered on the 5th and 6th, and the 15th and 16th, of November, which was, crucially, almost a year to the day before Elizabeth’s accession to the throne on 17 November 1558. That means that when Lock heard the sermons, they were, by English law, heretical texts. A proclamation issued by Mary and Philip on 13 June 1555 had reinstated the heresy laws of Henry IV, threatening ‘great punyshment for the aucthors, makers, and wryters of books, conteynynge wycked doctryne, and erroneious and hereticall opinions, contrarye to the catholyque faith’. Among the works defined as heretical were ‘any bookes, wrytynges, or workes ... made or set forth by, or in the name of’ a list of writers. Martin Luther was first on the list, but ‘John Calwayne’ was fourth. As his translator, Lock was liable for the threatened ‘great punyshment’.

This did not necessarily change upon Mary’s death, as England waited to see what sort of religious regime would be initiated by the new queen. It seems that every creed had hopes of her, but that none had any guarantees. Intelligence reports sent to Rome reflect a state of uncertainty, reporting at Easter 1559 that Protestants in Cheapside had attacked St Mary-le-Bow, and destroyed its tabernacle, but that ‘many have communicated in the Catholic way, and Mass and the other Divine offices are performed in the churches.’²⁹ Among the Marian exiles, there was to be no confident rush home. In the same month, March 1559, Katherine Bertie – still abroad – wrote to William Cecil, a rather cagey letter which suggests the rumour and speculation prevalent among the English in exile, asking what the queen’s religious allegiances really were. It says that they hear that the saints’ statues are being covered up for Lent after the Catholic manner, and that the Queen is attending

²⁸ M. White, ‘Renaissance Englishwomen and religious translations: the case of Anne Lock’s *Of the markes of the children of God* (1590)’, *English Literary Renaissance*, 29 (1999), 375–400.

²⁹ R. Brown and G.C. Bentinck (eds), *Calendar of state papers relating to English affairs in the archives of Venice, 7: 1558-1580* (London, 1890), p. 57.

Mass. 'I pray god', Bertie told Cecil, 'that no part of the report war [*sic*] true' – although she is also careful to say that if attending Mass accords with the Queen's conscience, then she, Katherine Bertie, would not criticize her for it.³⁰ The uncertainty of the well-connected Bertie, with her correspondents at court, must have reflected the doubts of the wider community of exiles, who had less privileged access to information.

Lock delayed her own return to England. She had left Geneva by February 1559, but she travelled slowly, and did not return to London until May or June. The decision to translate the sermons must therefore have been taken either before Mary's death, or in the precarious months at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign: after Lock left Geneva, she could not have obtained a copy-text for her work, so if the work was not already complete, she must have made a transcript of the original.

By comparison with the official French edition, Lock's speed in producing the text argues for a great sense of urgency, such as is typical of polemical literature: when Elizabeth Cary, for instance, produced a translation of *The reply of the cardinal of Perron to the answere of the most excellent king of Great Britain* in 1630, she claimed to have completed it within a month, to have it ready while it could still affect debate. This swiftness is remarkable: in his study of religious translations in the sixteenth century, Francis Higman notes that 'translations were on the whole not very up-to-date ... More frequently there was a sizeable gap, sometimes of twenty or thirty years, between the original and the translation.'³¹ Lock's project may well have been conceived as an attempt to influence Elizabeth's religious policy, in the wake of the Mass-going rumours. The Hezekiah text, describing the iconoclast Old Testament king who dragged down the brazen serpent and destroyed the temple of the heretics, was often applied to Elizabeth by optimistic reformers in the early years of her reign – as, for instance, in the dedication of the 1560 Geneva Bible. Lock's preface, which proffers Calvinist theology as a purgative medicine, suggests thereby a parallel to Hezekiah's cleansing of the temple, and sets out, implicitly, an agenda for religious reform.

Whether it was framed under Mary, or early in Elizabeth's reign, the risks must have seemed considerable. Anxiety about Elizabeth's stability, both in terms of her hold on the monarchy, and her religious affiliations, took some time to settle. Lock's book was entered in the Stationer's Register on 15 January 1560 but only the previous day the Venetian ambassador had written from Vienna to report rumours that the English queen was prepared to agree to a Catholic marriage with Archduke Charles of Austria.³² Even Lock's dedicatee, Katherine Bertie, dowager duchess of Suffolk, would have represented a daring choice in these circumstances. When Richard Rich was racking Anne Askew in 1546, it was not in an effort to have her recant her doctrinal errors, but to uncover a network of her co-religionists – and one of the names he plied her with was that of Katherine Bertie. There was nothing to say that Calvin would shortly be enshrined as the great religious authority of the reign – his popularity with the Queen was never great, and his reputation with the public grew during the reign, but was not well established before it – and psalm translation could have become illegal again. The invocation of Hezekiah was meant to provide Elizabeth with a model, but it could not guarantee that she would follow its lead.

³⁰ R. Lemon (ed.), *Calendar of state papers, domestic series, of the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, 1547-1580*. (London, 1856) / State Papers Online, Gale, Cengage Learning, 2011.

³¹ F. Higman, 'Ideas for Export: Translations in the Early Reformation', in J.R. Brink and W.F. Gentrup (eds), *Renaissance Culture in Context: Theory and Practice* (Aldershot, 1993), pp. 100–13, p. 111.

³² R. Brown and G.C. Bentinck (eds), *Calendar of state papers relating to English affairs in the archives of Venice, 7: 1558-1580* (London, 1890), p. 659.

In this unstable climate, Lock's evasive 'A.L.' might well be seen as a *nom-de-guerre*. She had good precedent for the practice within her own family. Her stepmother's first husband, Harry Brinklow, had attacked the sacramental nature of the Mass in a series of tracts, but did so prudently, under the pseudonym Roderick Mors: he died in bed, even when the penalty for his particular beliefs was to burn. Lock's father told Cromwell in 1532 that he had almost finished his own book and was now at pains to disguise his authorship.³³ He did so very effectively: we still do not know what it was that he wrote. Further afield, other religious controversialists – John Brerely, John Sancer, Henry Constable – also merely initialled their works: just because they were Catholics does not mean that they could not avail of the same disguises as their Protestant counterparts. They all shared a sense of their own orthodoxy; and they were all equally at risk from charges of heresy.

So much for 'A. L.'. The device of the friend of the sonnets is at a still greater remove from Lock, and suggests a separate explanation – but one which, nonetheless, touches on another aspect of heresy, this time, internalized.

III

Studies of early-modern women's writing have often interpreted translation as a compromise between enforced feminine silence and the woman author's hypothesized desire to write something entirely original. Lock's work indicates that she felt certain constrictions in respect of her gender. In the preface to *Of the markes of the children of God*, she said that 'great things, by reason of my sex, I may not doo', but added, 'that which I may, I ought.'³⁴ Susan Wabuda epitomized the general trend in Lock scholarship when she glossed the 'great things' as 'preaching and ministry', which were forbidden to women: she cited the Act for the Advancement of True Religion of 1543, which prevented women even from reading aloud from the Bible in a public place.³⁵ Those things which Lock might do, Wabuda suggested, include assisting the men who could preach, and translating their texts. This approach is useful in respect of the Calvin and Taffin translations. Lock clearly felt a responsibility to her readers in communicating what she understood to be a vital text, and one to which they would otherwise not have access. In the preface to the *Sermons*, she stated that her intention was to 'rendre' Calvin's sermons, 'so nere as I possibly might, to the very wordes of his text.'³⁶ That Lock seems to have perceived her translation as a political intervention might appease the modern reader who wishes to see feminine authority being exerted; nonetheless, this word-for-word rendering was also a mode which did not offend against received early-modern standards of propriety, since the woman did not intervene in the text itself.

The sonnets, on the other had, cannot be accommodated within this understanding of translation. Immediately after the 'Friend' disclaimer, Lock gave the title of her sequence, *A Meditation of a penitent sinner: written in maner of a paraphrase upon the 51. Psalm of David*. 'Paraphrase' is a word with very precise application, especially within a religious context.

³³ J. Gardiner (ed.), *Calendar of state papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 5: 1531-32 (London, 1880), p. 353

³⁴ J. Taffin, *Of the markes of the children of God*, trans. A. Lock (London, 1590), sigs. A3^v–A4^r.

³⁵ S. Wabuda, 'The woman with the rock: the controversy of women and bible reading', in S. Wabuda and C. Litzenger (eds), *Belief and practice in reformation England* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 40–59, p. 40.

³⁶ A. L[ock], *Sermons of John Calvin*, sig. A8^r.

While direct translation was a suitable job for a woman (since she did not tamper with the words in her copy), *paraphrasis* (literally, ‘speaking alongside’) allowed the writer to introduce his own words – for instance, to draw on learned commentaries or incorporate explanatory notes into the text itself, just as a preacher would do. The 1547 Royal Injunctions required that a copy of Erasmus’ *Paraphrases of the New Testament* be made available in every parish church. In this work, Erasmus freely admitted to altering his text for the sake of ‘bridging gaps, smoothing rough passages, bringing order out of confusion and simplicity out of complication, untying knots, throwing light on dark places’.³⁷ His version is not an exact rendering, but it was intended to elucidate the original by incorporating other authorities – in his case, Augustine, Nicholas of Lyra, and Origen, among others. Erasmus’ text stabilized the meaning of religious paraphrase. The fact that it was presented interleaved with the New Testament in English must have reinforced paraphrase’s connotations of authority, while its connections with preaching were strengthened by the fact that the work was strongly associated with the *Book of homilies*, which had been coupled with it in the Injunctions. Stephen Gardiner wrote to Protector Somerset to complain about what he perceived as the inconsistencies of the pairing: ‘The Injunctions in this last Visitation contain a commandment to se taught, and learned two books. One of Homilies, that must be taught; another of *Erasmus Paraphrasis*, that the Priests must learn.’³⁸ Although he considered their teachings to be incompatible, he nonetheless conflated the function of sermon and paraphrase: ‘The Book of Homilies in another place openeth the Gospel one way. The Paraphrase openeth it clean contrary.’³⁹ ‘Opening’, or elucidating, was perceived as a function of both types of text. In writing a paraphrase, Lock was also adopting a public role, asserting her authority as an interpreter, and crucially, announcing her intention to teach.

Even the format of the printed sequence emphasizes the space Lock was giving to her own words. A direct prose translation of the psalm, apparently by Lock, was printed verse-by-verse in the margin, roughly one to each of the sonnet paraphrases which have taken their place in the body of the text. She is explicit in her willingness to contradict scripture in order to bring it into line with her own interpretation. Verse 19 of the psalm imagines the faithful giving praise to God: ‘Then shalt thou accept the sacrifice of righteousnesse ... Then shall they offre yonge bullockes upon thine altare.’ Lock’s rendering of this line chooses to ignore the bullocks entirely, insisting that ‘the pleasing sacrifice’ would rather be ‘Many a yelden host of humbled hart.’ (Sonnet 21) Similarly, when the psalmist implores: ‘Sprinkle me, Lord, with hisope and I shalbe clene’, she is anxious to correct this example of Old Testament practice, now superseded by the New:

Not such hysope, nor so besprinkle me
As law unperfect shade of perfect light
Did use as an apointed signe to be. (Sonnet 9, ll. 2-4)

Lock allows herself to ignore conventional interpretations of the text when it suits her purposes. Her translation of verse 14 reads ‘Deliver me from bloud, o God, God of my helth & my tong shall joyfullye talke of thy justice.’ King David was traditionally understood as the author of the Psalms, and Ps. 51 was seen as his own confession of guilt at the death of Uriah, contrived so that David might marry Uriah’s wife. The Geneva Bible conforms to this reading, and includes a note which glosses ‘blood’ as a reference by David

³⁷ R.D. Sider (ed.), *Complete works of Erasmus*, 42: *New Testament scholarship: paraphrases on Romans and Galatians*, trans J.B. Payne et al (Toronto, 1984), p. 67.

³⁸ J. Strype, *Memorials of the most reverend father in God, Thomas Cranmer* (1694), p. 77.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

to ‘the murder of Vriah, and the others that were slain with him, 2.Sam.11.17’. This cue was taken by other writers of the period (Wyatt’s *Penitential psalms* (published 1549) and George Peele’s *The love of King David and fair Bersabe* (1599) dramatize this reading) but Lock mines the verse for very different significance. She dwells on the idea of blood. The word appears four times in her sonnet, and never to indicate the figurative blood stains on the murderer’s hand. Her ‘giltlesse blod’ refers not to Uriah, but to Christ; and she plays this against a second ‘blood’, a synecdochial ‘blood’ which stands for humanity, and all of the guilt and sin implicit in the mortal body:

Asoile me, God, from gilt of giltlesse blod
And eke from sinne that I ingrowing have
By fleshe and bloud and by corrupted kinde. (Sonnet 16, ll. 3-5)

This resistance to identifying the speaker of the psalm with the historical David makes her paraphrase of verse 13 more striking. The psalm reads ‘I shal teach thy waies unto the wicked, and sinners shall be tourned unto thee.’ Lock’s sonnet expands on that theme, to declare ‘Loe, I shall preach the justice of thy law’ (Sonnet 15). Women were not allowed to preach: the Pauline admonition (1 Corinthians 14:34) that women remain silent in church was interpreted to prohibit any sort of biblical teaching, inside or outside the church edifice. Lock’s effort to distance the psalm-text from the figure of David therefore renders her statement more unstable and provocative, since it allows the possibility that the preacher might be someone other than the biblical king. The emphasis on preaching within the text, and the generic associations of paraphrase with sermons, serve to align the *Meditation* with the male domain of religious authority.

Preaching had been one of the charges levelled against Anne Askew, so Lock was aware of the potential seriousness of the issue, but had the prevailing religious law been her only disincentive, Lock would surely have attributed the sonnets as well as the sermons to ‘A.L.’ However, she was also opposed in this matter by members of her own circle. Lock identified herself with the Geneva exiles throughout her life. Field’s dedicatory letter in the 1583 volume of Knox’s sermons recognizes that she has preserved some of Knox’s papers for some twenty-five years, and that, in addition, she will know who is keeping other letters and documents: she is clearly perceived as being an active part of the surviving Geneva community.⁴⁰ It was a community with characteristic, and notorious, views on the role of women. We have already seen that Goodman produced *How superior powers ought to be obeyed* while staying in Geneva, and presumably it was discussed with Knox, whose *First blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women* appeared the same year. William Whittingham, the biblical scholar and Senior of the Geneva church, wrote a commendatory preface for Goodman’s text, which means that three leading figures of the English-speaking church were united in their support of the arguments contained in the two books. Their aim was to attack female monarchy; by way of proof, they also established that women’s preaching was heretical. In the *Monstrous regiment of women* Knox cited St Ambrose’s commentary on the epistle of Paul to the Romans to argue that ‘it is plaine that the administration of the grace of God is denied to all woman [*sic*]’ – and the administration of God’s grace included, specifically, ‘the preaching of the worde’.⁴¹ He denied women any sort of religious authority:

a woman promoted to sit in the seate of God, that is, to teache, to iudge or to reigne aboue man, is a monstre in nature, contumelie to God, and a thing most repugna[n]t to his will a[n]d ordina[n]ce. For he hath deprived them as

⁴⁰ Knox, *A notable and comfortable exposition*, sig. A2^v.

⁴¹ J. Knox, *The first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women* (Geneva, 1558), sig. C6^v.

before is proued, of speakinge in the congregation, and hath expreslie forbidden them to vsurpe any kinde of authoritie aboue man.⁴²

Goodman, similarly, invoked the same Pauline teaching in his effort to prove that women could not rule. He argued that they were disqualified from civil office for the same reason as they were disbarred from any church office: they were commanded to keep silence in church.⁴³

It seems likely that Lock would have been pained to act against her friends' beliefs; however, she may also have been perplexed by them. There was a biblical precedent for women's preaching and spiritual instruction, and she would have known that some early Protestant writers had taken this to mean that women could preach, if only in times of need. Her father's connection with Tyndale suggests that she would probably have known Tyndale's writings, where she could have found his comments on the subject:

If stories are true / wemen haue preached sens the openyng of the new testament ... Do not oure wemen nowe christen and ministre the sacrament of baptism in tyme of neade? Might they not by as good reason preach also / if necessite required? If a woman were dreuen into some Iland / where Christ was never preached / might she there not preach him / if she had the gyfte thereto?⁴⁴

There were other Protestants of her acquaintance who disagreed with Knox and Goodman's views. Richard Bertie, husband of Lock's dedicatee, produced a short manuscript in 1558 while preparing for his return to England.⁴⁵ His work is described as 'answers made by Mr. Richard Bertie, husband to the lady Catherine Duchess of Suffolk against the book of John Knox, 1558'. Bertie had good reason to uphold the authority of women: he had married above his station, having previously been the gentleman usher or steward to the widowed duchess. His status, and that of their children, depended on his wife. Nonetheless, his treatise is a rare Protestant rejoinder to contemporary attacks on female monarchs, and one which is, significantly, associated with the Marian exiles. Bertie stated that he was asked to write his response to Knox by an unnamed individual who brought him a copy of the *Monstrous regiment* while he was still on the continent.⁴⁶ If it is tempting to see in this second mysterious friend the figure of Lock herself, on her way back to London with a copy of Knox's book, that must probably remain mere speculation; however, if Lock and the Berties did indeed meet as they travelled to England in the early summer of 1559, she might have been a witness to this encounter. It seems likely, however, that she was aware of the text, given her decision to dedicate her own book to Richard Bertie's wife. Their future careers suggest a sympathy existed between them: Katherine Bertie was a supporter of dissident clergy throughout her life, and their respective sons Peregrine Bertie and Henry Lok were educated together in the household of William Cecil.⁴⁷ Lock's choice of Katherine Bertie as dedicatee could reflect her status as a prominent woman among the Marian exiles, or her links with the circle around Katherine Parr, to which Lock's own family had belonged; but it

⁴² Ibid., sig. Ci^{r-v}.

⁴³ Goodman, *Superior powers*, sig. dii^v.

⁴⁴ W. Tyndale, *An answere vnto Sir Thomas Mores dialoge* ([Antwerp], 1531), fol. 9^r.

⁴⁵ BL Add. MS 48043. For a discussion of the dating of the manuscript, see A. Shephard, *Gender and authority in sixteenth-century England: the Knox debate* (Keele, 1994), pp. 27–9.

⁴⁶ BL Add. MS 48143, fol. 1^r.

⁴⁷ Felch (ed.), *The collected works of Anne Vaughan Lock*, p. xxxvii.

might also indicate her sense that the Berties symbolized an alternative position on the role of women in the church.

It is impossible at this distance to judge what Lock's thoughts on the Pauline injunction against women's preaching might have been. Nonetheless, she must have been aware that the Genevan interpretation was not the only one available to her. In deciding on her course of action, she may have reflected that Knox had typically advised her to rely on her own judgment in theological matters. He had written to Lock and her sister-in-law Rose Hickman in 1554 to suggest that they might leave England for Geneva, despite, as he implies in a subsequent letter, the opposition of their husbands. The final decision, it appears, must rest with the women themselves, who are first to consider the situation, then to pray for enlightenment, and only then to speak with their spouses.

Lay befor your eyis the horribill plagues that hath fallin upon idolateris, of whome nane sail entir into the kingdome of God; and call first for grace by Jesus to follow that whilk is acceptabill in his syght, and thairefter communicat with your faithfull husbandis, and than sail God, I dout not, conduct your futsteppis, and drect your consallis to his glorie: So be it.⁴⁸

It may be significant in this respect that, while Hickman eventually travelled with her husband, Lock came to Geneva alone. Knox had repeated his sense of Lock's good judgment in subsequent letters, so it may be that she felt she could legitimately ignore the Genevan ban on women's preaching in the face of a stronger imperative. The uncertainty of the times meant that her writings were potentially dangerous, but also, potentially influential.

Even if Lock preferred to follow other Protestant authorities on the matter of preaching, she still wished to serve her immediate circle with her poems. That she thought of her writing in terms of a duty to her community is made clear in her dedicatory epistles, where she introduces her work in those terms. 'I have according to my duetie, brought my poore basket of stones to the strengthening of the walles of that Ierusalem, whereof (by grace) wee are all both Citizens and members.'⁴⁹ The image of building Jerusalem has been shown by Margaret Hannay to be a shared code for the cause of Genevan Protestantism, and Lock saw her sonnets as a contribution to that cause.⁵⁰ However, the poems risked being unpalatable if they were presented as being by a woman.

The invisibility afforded by print offered a solution to the problem. Other women had relied in a similar fashion on technicalities when they had been charged with preaching. Anne Askew, for instance, had insisted that it was impossible to preach outside the pulpit.

I asked hym, how manye women he had seane, go into the pulpett and preache. He sayde, he never sawe non. Then I sayd, he ought to fynde no faute in poore women, except they had offended the lawe.⁵¹

This was a convenient fiction: Askew had preached with determination in person, in print and on the pyre. However, she had never appeared in a pulpit; and Lock, similarly, would not appear in the *Meditation*. If her concern had been merely her own safety, she would have signed both sections of the text – sermons and poems – the same way: the sermons were unquestionably a greater risk in terms of heresy charges. Her initials were adequate protection against charges of immodesty. Only her own community would be likely to know

⁴⁸ Laing, ed., *Works of John Knox*, 4, p. 219.

⁴⁹ Lock, *Of the markes of the children of God*, sig. A4r.

⁵⁰ M.P. Hannay, 'Strengthening the walles of ... Ierusalem': Anne Vaughan Lok's dedication to the countess of Warwick', *American Notes & Queries*, 5 (1992), 71-75.

⁵¹ Beilin, ed., *The Examinations of Anne Askew*, p. 30.

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her for A.L., and it was this community which she did not wish to recognise in her the author of the psalm paraphrase. Whether Knox or Goodman knew the identity of the poet is perhaps unlikely to be established; however, the device allowed her, and her circle, to avoid the heresy of female preaching. The anonymous and ungendered text did not violate any Genevan or Pauline orthodoxies, so Christopher Goodman could safely encourage its use in his church. When he left Scotland in the train of Henry Sidney to evangelise Ireland, he must surely have carried with him a poem set to music at his request, to aid him in his ministry. It was the fiction of the anonymous friend which allowed Lock's sonnets to appear, not only in the 1560 printed edition of the *Sermons*, but also in the Wode Psalter, and ultimately beyond it, in the choir-stalls of St Andrews and the cathedrals of Dublin.

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