PRINTING IDENTITIES: STUDIES IN SOCIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SOCIAL NETWORKS IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND'S PRINT CULTURE

by

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(Under the Direction of Fredric Dolezal)

ABSTRACT

Over the last century scholars have privileged the "author" or have privileged the text, when trying to interpret the meaning of a literary artifact. Even more historically minded scholars have tended to focus on the context or the cultural milieu surrounding the author or a text, but scholars rarely consider the semiotic value of the printers and the booksellers listed on a title page. My dissertation addresses this absence in literary scholarship by examining the relationships or social networks that connect the printed artifacts to the people involved in their production. My argument asserts that early modern English writers, printers, and booksellers often shared ideological beliefs and that these shared beliefs can tell us something about the text they produced. My method combines traditional archival research with the technology used in Social Network Analysis. By running large databases, such as *Early English Books Online*, *English Short Title Catalogue*, and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, through social network software, my research was able to visualize large and small social networks that might otherwise go unnoticed when using traditional methods. My dissertation avers that the printer of a text matters to our understanding of the literary work. For instance, I argue that Edmund Spenser employs Hugh Singleton, a known radical Protestant and Marian exile, to print the

Shepheardes Calender, because Spenser wants to align himself with the Protestant faction with whom Singleton is associated. Through an examination of Singleton's network, a much more politically radical poem begins to emerge. I conclude the dissertation with by turning towards Ben Jonson's ambivalent relationship to print. The Jonson chapter, like the other chapters, is guided by the sociological notion of homophily. Homophily explains the reasons people work, recreate, and collaborate. My dissertation demonstrates that early modern identities, at least those found on the title page of a text, are defined by their shared ideologies and their similarities, much more than by their differences, whether these are class, race, or gender.

INDEX WORDS: Book History, Print Culture, Bibliography, Digital Humanities, Edmund Spenser, Martin Marprelate, Ben Jonson, Social Network Analysis

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation, at its core, examines the relationships that connect the printed artifacts to the people involved in their production. Also, this dissertation argues that the publication of a text requires collaboration. This latter argument seems obvious, and anyone who has submitted a manuscript for publication knows that there is a remarkably complex cacophony of editorial voices revising, altering, and reshaping a manuscript in preparation for publication. The importance of textual collaboration in early modern England has been generally neglected by literary scholars. Over the last century scholars have privileged the "author" or have privileged the text, but we rarely consider the semiotic value of the printers and the booksellers listed on a title page.

The early modern English printer served as editor, compositor, and often publisher of a manuscript. The printer generally owned the license required to legally print the manuscript--a de facto copyright.[1] Nevertheless, modern scholarship has paid little attention to the role and contribution made by printers in the production from manuscript to printed text. Consequently,

[1] The history of copyright has its origins with the Stationers' Company, who administered the licenses allowing a printer or bookseller the exclusive right to print a particular manuscript. It will not be until 1709 that parliament and the Crown codify the rights and privileges of copyright into law. See Augustine Birrell, *Seven lectures on the law and history of copyright in books*. (South Hackensack, N.J., Rothman Reprints, 1971); Laura J. Rosenthal, *Playwrights and plagiarists in early modern England: gender, authorship, literary propert*y. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); Mark Rose, "The Public Sphere and the Emergence of Copyright: *Areopagitica*, the Stationers' Company, and the Statute of Anne." *Tulane Journal of Technology & Intellectual Property* 12, (September 2009): 123-144; Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the printers of London 1501-1557*, (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013);

little attention has been paid to the printer's role in the production of textual meaning. Certainly, no one denies that labor generally manufactures a text, but labor in book production has no ostensible face, no semiotic value. After all, printers are not writers, writing makes meaning, and in the case of printed matter, the type merely conveys the meaning. Meaning generates from somewhere else. Meaning can come from the surface of the language or the words' denotations; it can hide behind the surface of the language, in its connotations; it can come as the voice of the Author, even when we have decided that the Author is dead. Print labor in contemporary publishing houses has no face and has no name. In early modern book production, however, labor often comes with a name or names of the printers and sellers who produced the textual work. And these names offer us an aperture into the context from which the work was produced. It is no coincidence that a writer, like John Foxe, for instance, chooses John Day, a non-conformist printer, to print much of his early work.[2]

In early modern England, printers held identifiable reputations. I think it is safe to imagine that the reading public knew that Thomas Man published Presbyterian texts; non-conformist sermons and treatises were his bread and butter. Likewise, Edward Allde cultivated his reputation as a printer of literary works, as did John Wolfe, the printer of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.[3] My work explores a counter-intuitive notion that the printer and booksellers and others, who labored to produce a text, have something to tell about the meaning of the text they produced. In other

[2] The Day family are an important radical protestant printing family. In fact, it will be a great-nephew of John Day, who brings the first printing press to the colonies in North America.
[3] Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene Disposed into Twelue Books, Fashioning XII. Morall Vertues.* Early English Books Online. London: Printed by John Wolfe for William Ponsonbie, 1590.

words, the network that connects all the agents that produced a text has hermeneutic value, value beyond the surface of the title page.[4]

This present work asks what if the printer in early modern England was commissioned to print a text because the printer represented or shared in an ideology with the writer. What if, in a small city, at least by our current standards, a writer deliberately selected a printer because the printer held a place of reputation for printing in a particular genre; for instance, as a printer of religious tracts, or a literary printer, or a printer who risked life and limb to print seditious or controversial books? [5] My dissertation asserts that early modern English writers, printers, and booksellers often shared ideological beliefs and that these shared beliefs can tell us something about the text they produced. The printer is not an arbitrary instrument in book production; nor is the printer, at least not exclusively, a participant in a purely economic exchange. In fact, this dissertation argues that the printer is indeed a locus of semiotic value. I argue that meaning can come to us through a relation to relation networks—these relationships are networks of human agents collaborating to produce a text. Anthony Wilden asserted some years ago the following:

The whole structuralist movement has relied heavily on an appeal to the relation rather than the entity. After the phenomenologists' slogan: "To the things themselves," we heard: "Not the things, but the relations between things." However, since the bioenergetic epistemology of

[4] We will see, in fact, that a network, which tells us something about a text, can extend beyond the names on a title page.

[5] During Elizabeth's reign, London's population grew from 50,000 to 200,000 inhabitants. More to my point, however, is that the reading public in London would range, by liberal estimates, between 9,000 to 36,000. Furthermore, the center of the print trade flourished in and around St. Paul's Churchyard, which was the epicenter of shopping, worshipping, and socializing. A printer's shop was by design flamboyant and obvious, and printers themselves were often at the center of national and metropolitan controversy. In other words, printers were anything but anonymous to London's reading public. In a real sense, printers were the Bill Gates and Steve Jobs of the Sixteenth Century.

classical 'science', for all its evident atomism, is nevertheless (and necessarily) a theory of relations between things, such an appeal may be no more than an introduction to old wine in new wineskins (or to new wine in old wineskins, if you prefer). What we are really in search of, after all, is not a theory of the relations between things, but a theory far more radical: *a theory of the relations between relations* (my emphasis).[6]

Wilden's complex theory of social and semiotic feedback is beyond the scope of this present study, but I do want to take up the idea of a "relations between relations" network and pursue its possibilities.

The chapters in this dissertation search for a more animated way of reading; a type of reading that acknowledges and elucidates the agency of labor, the complexity and contradictions of social relationships, and the embodiment of collaborators as human networks that both represent and produce meaning. The term *social bibliography*, expressed in the title of this dissertation, attempts to register a relation to relation feedback loop. By identifying and exploring the networks that produce a given text or texts, a new method can be employed that illuminates the meaning of the texts themselves through a relation to relation network under examination.

Social Networks and Communication Circuits

Social bibliography combines archival research with the technology used in Social Network Analysis (SNA). For example, a project like *Six Degrees of Francis Bacon* (SDFB) extracts or mines data from the xml of a large database. In the case of the SDFB, the project mined data from *Oxford Dictionary of National Biograpohy* (ODNB). Once collected, the data are run through social network software, such as Gephi or ORA. The social network visualization

[6] Anthony Wilden, *System and structure: chapters in communication and exchange,* (London; New York: Tavistock, 1980), 329.

produced provides the scholar with connections that might not be ascertainable by more traditional or conventional means. That is to say, no one scholar can be expected to trace the relational networks of every entry in the *ODNB*, for instance. Large databases, like the *ODNB*, however, can be managed through SNA software. Such a procedure allows the scholar to view the global networks with a click of a button. Consequently, relationships that were previously unknown are made apparent through the use of the software. The following image comes from the SDFB open source website:[7]

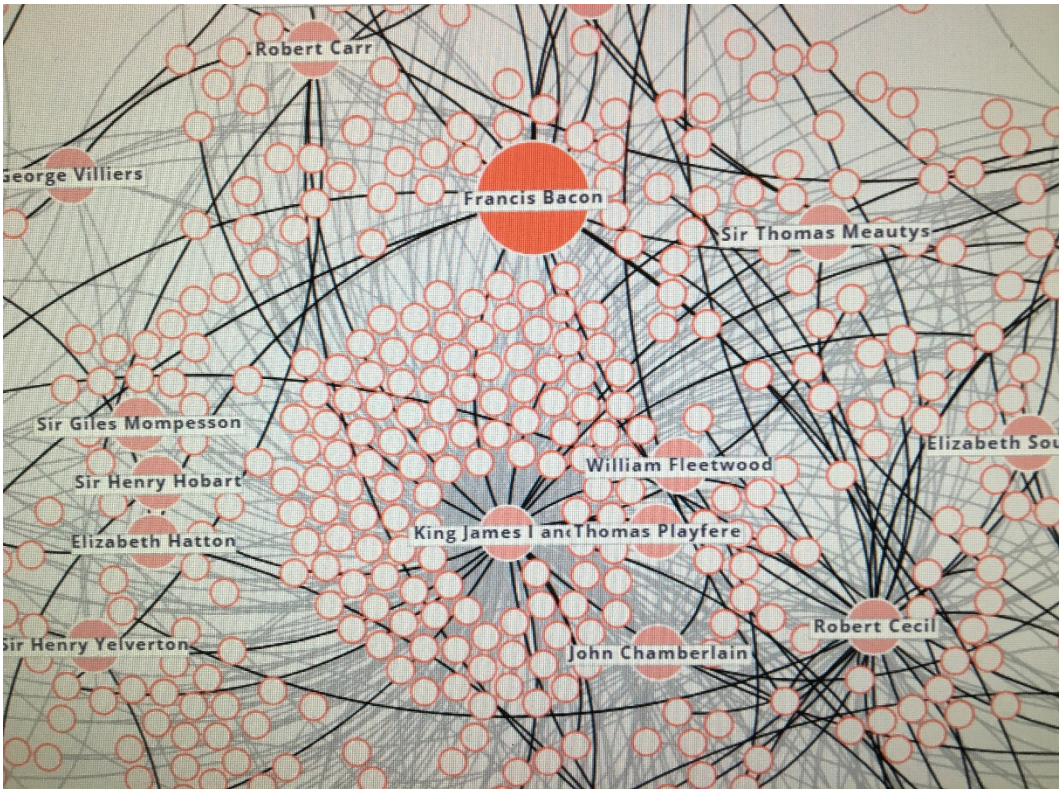

Figure 1 Six Degrees of Francis Bacon.

[7] http://www.sixdegreesoffrancisbacon.com/

The circles or nodes in the above visualization represent human agents. The lines or links that connect the nodes represent relation to relation connections. In this image we see a partial representation of the people with whom Francis Bacon had some sort of relationship.

In my own work, I have mined the open source data used by SDFB and have joined it with the English Short Title Catalogue (ETSC) database supplied to me by the University of California, Riverside Center for Bibliographical Studies and Research and the British Library. I have been able to create visualizations of early modern printers and booksellers (some of these visualizations are deliberately *not* labeled, as I want the reader to first see these networks as mere images):

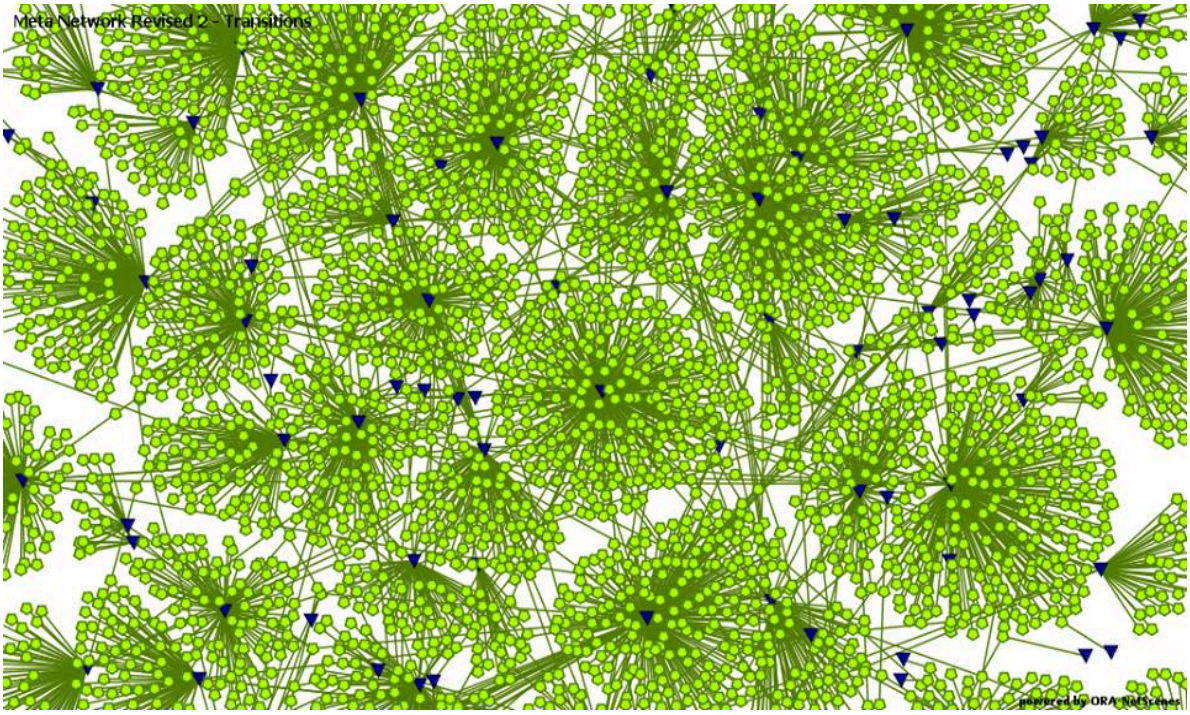

Figure 2 Elizabethan Print Network. Elizabethan printers and the texts they printed

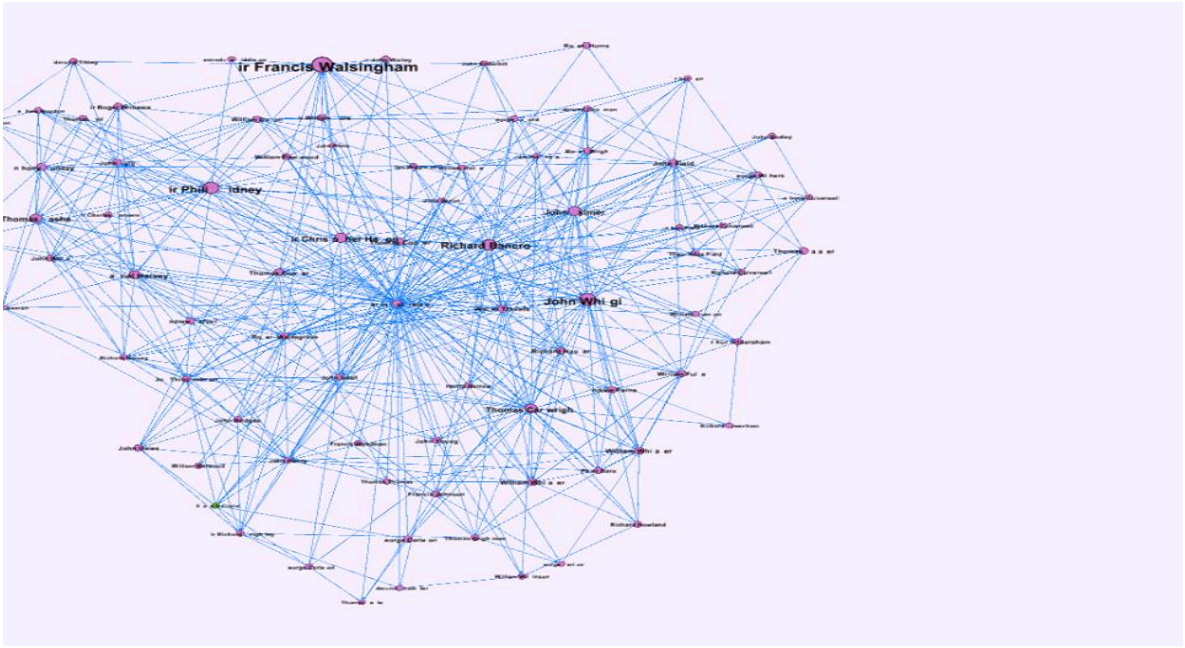

Figure 3 Martin Marprelate Network.

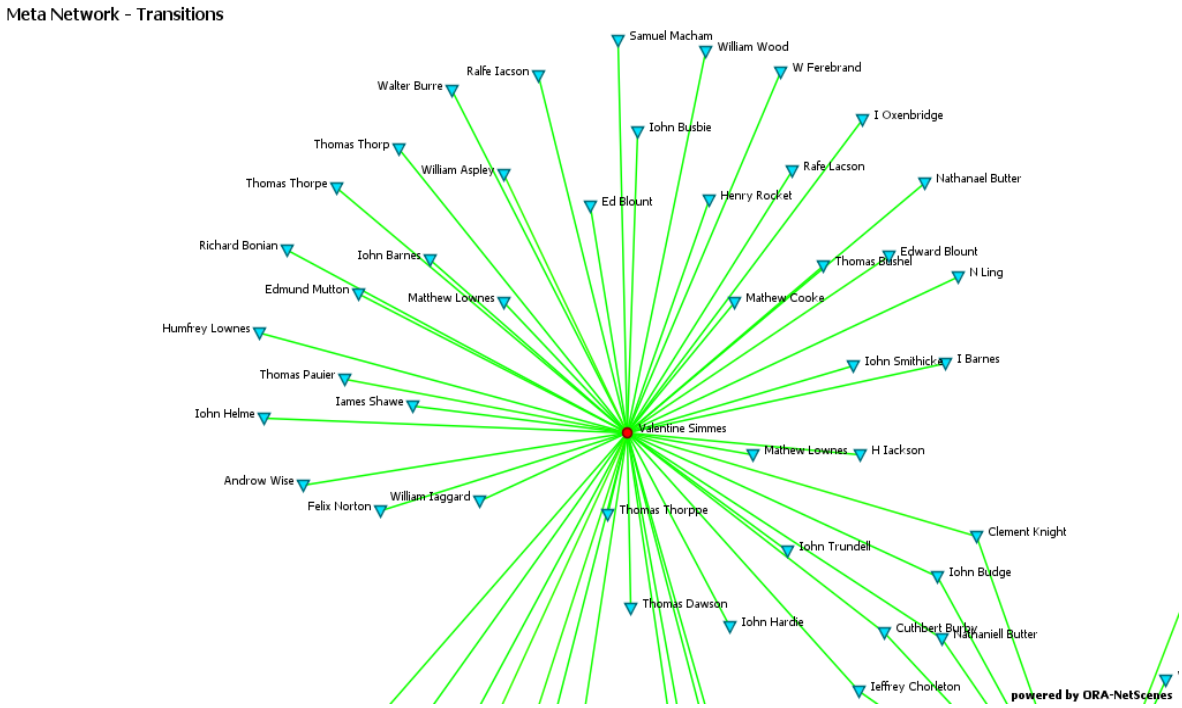

Figure 4 Valentine Simmes and his booksellers

The benefit to this type scholarship is that the scholar will see connections between people that might otherwise remain unknown. In my chapter on the printing of the Marprelate tracts, for example, through network visualization, we see that John Dod, a non-conformist preacher and philologist, holds a central position among the Marprelate network, yet, inexplicably, Dod has received no attention in any scholarship on the Marprelate pamphlets. Dod's position, however, is undeniable, once SNA is ran on the Marprelate network. SNA offers us another tool that helps make invisible connections visible. Research can then begin on what importance, if any, that connections might have on our understanding of the subject under examination. The limitations, however, are many and must be made salient.

First, as an example, the database of the *ODNB* depends upon individual articles written by a myriad of scholars. These ODNB articles do not presume to be comprehensive.. The scholar writing a particular entry might find the biographical connections between person A and person B to be unimportant or person B may lie outside the purview of the scholar's expertise. Consequently, person B is omitted from the *ODNB* article, and because of this omission the social bibliographer may never see the relationship between persons A and B. It is a case of what we put into the data determines what comes out, or to put it more crassly: garbage in, garbage out.

The second, and most important concern, is that we, as a society, tend to fetishize technology. The technology of SNA is merely a tool. SNA is not the end of our research. The visualizations are the beginning of the research. In fact, you will see very few illustrations of social network models in this dissertation, but the modeling has provided a starting point, a target, that informed my archival research.

One more thing needs to be mentioned. Visualization models are not new. The image below is from John Wilkins', the polymath and founder of the Royal Society, *An Essay towards a Real Character and a Universal Language* (1668):

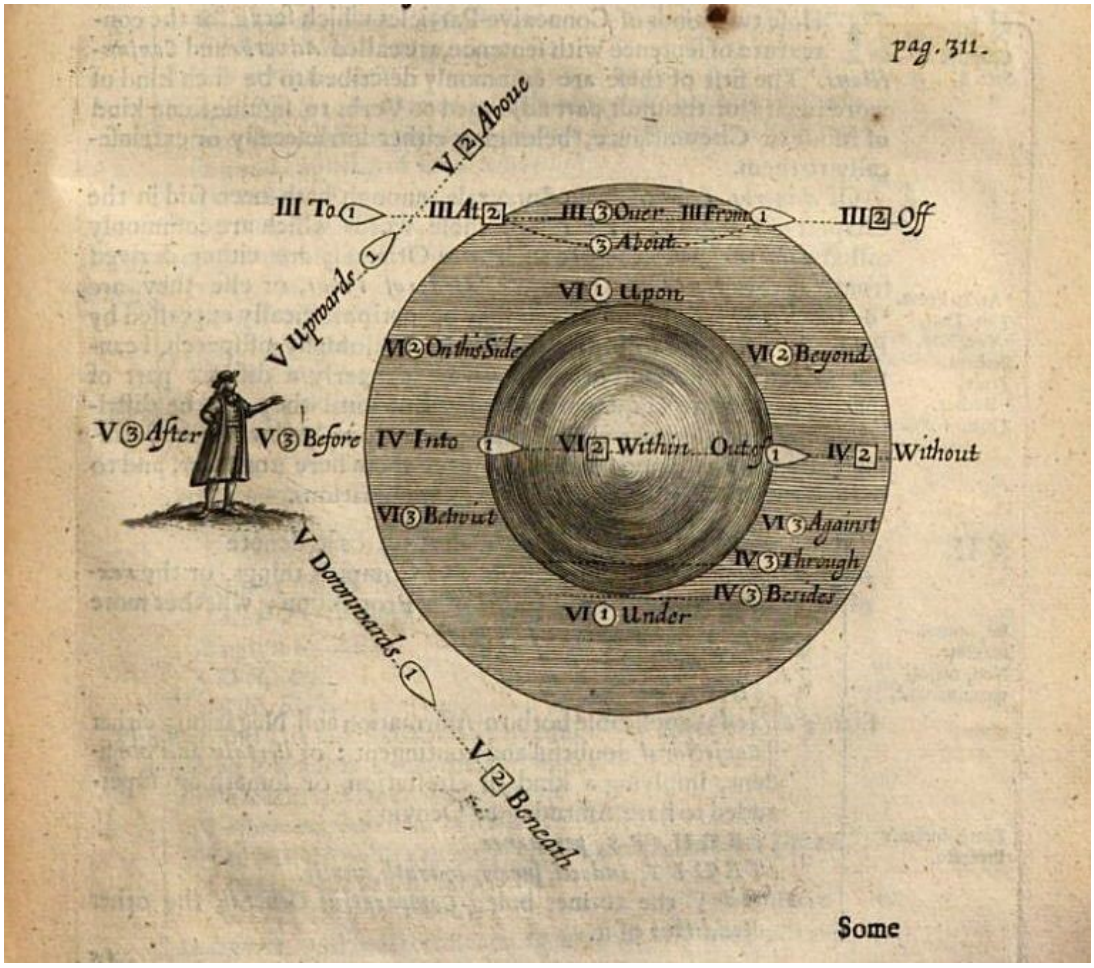

Figure 5 John Wilkins' prepositional visualization.[8]

This innovative and effective illustration demonstrates the pedagogical usefulness of diagrammatic modelling. The prepositional universe is shown in relationship to the human figure and the planetary or atomic circles just beyond the homunculus.

[8] John Wilkins, *An Essay towards a Real Character and a Universal Language* (1668), 311. https://books.google.com/books?id=BCCtZjBtiEYC&printsec=frontcover&dq=John+Wilkins+chapter&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiGrKia14DcAhVJoVMKHRJyBVIQ6AEIKTAA#v=onepage&q=John%20Wilkins%20chapter&f=false

More recently, and specific to bibliography, is the communication circuit model designed by Robert Darnton:

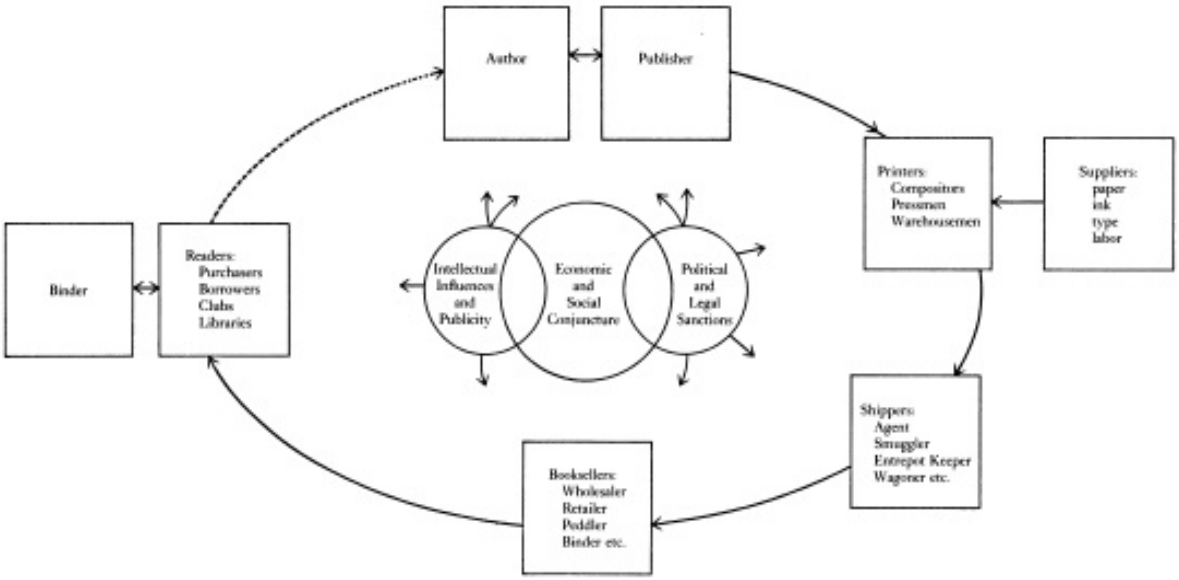

Figure 1. The Communications Circuit

Figure 6 Robert Darnton's Communication Circuit.[9]

Darntons' model offers a comprehensive guide to ostensibly every aspect related to the production and reception of a text. For my own work, however, I focus on the communication circuits related to the printer, the booksellers, and the writers. In my view no one person can, can speak to every component in Darnton's model—choices must be made, and some elements of his model must be left to the scholarship of others. There is, however, a critical caveat in Darnton's model. Importantly, Darnton reminds his readers that "Models have a way of freezing human beings out of history."[10] What Darnton means by this warning, is that models are by definition an

[9] Robert Darnton, What is the history of books? *Daedalus* 111(3) 1982: 68.

[10] *Ibid*., 69.

abstraction. They represent human agents through diagrams, bubbles, arrows, and lines. Humans are none of these things. The social network visualizations depicted in this dissertation are metaphors or representations of human agents. In and of themselves, these visualizations can "freeze" out the human agent. And it is this "freezing" of human beings out of history that the following dissertation tries to avoid.

Keywords

Several terms used in the following chapters require some explanation. The first of these terms is "social bibliography."[11] The first term in the collocation, "social," initially and most directly refers to social networks. Edward Said writes, "As it is practised in the American academy today, literary theory has for the most part isolated textuality from the circumstances, the events, the physical senses that made it possible and render it intelligible as the result of human work."[12] The "social" in social bibliography takes Said's criticisms as a mandate and tries to expand the text from isolation by exploring the networks of agents involved in producing a text. Also with Said's statement in mind, in 1986, D. F. McKenzie's published three lectures under the title, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*.[13] In these lectures, McKenzie argues for a more expansive definition of texts, a definition that includes music notation, maps, and even the mountains of New Zealand.[14] And although I want to agree with McKenzie and with Said, that

[11] Along with the short definition and justification of my use of the term, social bibliography, I would add that my realization of a method that has not been used before by literary scholars came out of a class on John Wilkins. The course was taught by Dr. Fredric Dolezal. Dr. Dolezal's approach to Wilkins is, among many other things, social network analysis. It was through him and because of him that I was able to see a new way of reading and a new way of understanding the importance of social networks.
[12] Edward Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), 4.
[13] McKenzie, D. F. *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge, U.K; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 28. Here, McKenzie references Said's text, see fn. 12.
[14] D. F. McKenzie, 31-33.

the text is broadly definable as anything upon which meaning can be inferred or extracted, I am unsure that oral myths pertaining to the constellations are the purview of the bibliographer, unless, of course, these myths are printed. With that being said, this dissertation does expand upon the restricted notion that only the names on the title page are of interest to the bibliographer. [15] This dissertation, while tethered to texts, casts a wider net in order to discover as many agents as possible, who are involved in the production of a text, and move beyond the names printed on the title page. By doing so, I hope to render intelligible the "results of human work."

The second term that requires definition is "social network." While I have already acquainted the reader with networks and have illustrated through description and images what networks look like, I would like to specify concretely just what the reader should expect when the collocation "social network" is used throughout the following chapters. The term denotes the human agents that are connected to the publication of a text. Generally, the agents will be the writer, the printer, and the bookseller. This triangle, however, seldom remains contained as the importance of other figures require inclusion into the network. In the on the printing of the Marprelate pamphlets, for instance, we will find that several key agents involved in the printing are neither writers, printers, or booksellers. Yet, there importance cannot be underestimated.

The third term that needs defining is the term, *Homophily*. Homophily is a term that describes the reasons people group together. Homophily, a concept summed up by the adage that birds of a feather flock together, assumes that people who collaborate together, or recreate

[15] I am being deliberately narrow in my argument, here. I am aware that there are many more interests for the bibliographer than just the names of the title page. There is the study of editions and their variants, the study of paper and of foundries, and the study of bookbinding, just to name a few.

together, or band together for one reason or another, do so because they share a governing similarity. A similarity or similarities might be foundational, that is based on gender, class, or race. Shared similarities can also be based on ideologies, such as political parties or religious convictions. Similarities could also be based on other, less consequential interests such as sports or music. Whatever the case may be, people often surround themselves with people who share their own important ways of looking at the world. In the following dissertation, we will find a variety of homophilic reasons why people collaborated. In the chapter on Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* and in the chapter on the Marprelate tracts, the governing similarity that forms the cohesive matter between people is theology. In both cases, a radical Protestantism brings writers, printers, and others together to produce works that promote a type of belief system nurtured and inculcated in exile during Mary's reign and at Cambridge under the tutelage of Laurence Chaderton and Thomas Cartwright.

The homophily examined in the chapter on Ben Jonson is a bit more slippery. It might have made more sense for my work on Jonson to have focused on his ambivalent relationship to patronage. Jonson had important patrons, Mary Wroth of the Sidney family and James I, himself. We know that he spent at least a year at Penshurst, the manor home of the Sidneys. Much work has already been done on this subject, and I would have had a lot of fodder to sustain an examination on homophily and patronage.[16] Arguably, Jonson, more than any other Jacobean

[16] Jonson has two important biographies that discuss in detail his relationship to his patrons. The first is David Riggs' *Ben Jonson: a life* (Harvard University Press, 1989), and the second is Ian Donaldson's *Ben Jonson a Life* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2011). More specific studies on Jonson and patronage include, Don Wayne's *Penshurst: The Semiotics of Place and the Poetics of History* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); Susanne Woods, "Aemilia Lanyer and Ben Jonson: Patronage, Authority, and Gender." *Ben Jonson Journal* 1, no. 1 (1994): 15-30; Robert C. Evans, *Ben Jonson and the Poetics of Patronage* (Bucknell University Press, 1989); Joseph Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and possessive authorship*. Vol. 43. (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

writer straddled the old system of patronage and the fledgling market that was just becoming available to writers. Jonson attitude about "commercial" publications, I felt, needed further investigation. I found that Jonson's relationship to his readers is as ambivalent as his relationship to his patrons. It is Jonson's ambivalence towards his readers that I explore in this chapter. I argue that Jonson negotiates, teaches, admonishes, and attempts to convince his readers that not all literature deserves praise. Jonson knows that when a customer walks into the stalls at a bookseller's shop at St. Paul's Churchyard, for instance, the title page to his Opus will hang next to or be surrounded by title pages of *corantos* or other ephemera.[17] The market flattened out the hierarchy of quality work purchasable in a bookshop. Jonson seems to tackle this problem by trying to convince his readers that they, like him can learn to discern "Truth"; moreover, Jonson's readers, like Jonson himself, can share great works of literature along the hillside of a new Parnassus.

[17] Corantos, made famous by Nathaniel Butter and Jonson's own printer, William Stansby, were the precursors to newspapers. The corantos often gossiped about notable figures from other countries or made sidelong remarks about well-known Londoners. Whatever they were, Jonson was certain they were not Art.

CHAPTER 2

"WHILES THE YRON IS HOTE, IT IS GOOD STRIKING": MATERIAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND PASTORAL POLITICS SURROUNDING THE PUBLICATION OF SPRENSER'S *THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER*

"*The outside bears with the inside a relationship that is, as usual, anything but simple exteriority.*" from *Of Grammatology*, Jacques Derrida

In 1579 Edmund Spenser published his first original poem.[18] The poem, *The Shepheardes Calender*, is pastoral poem comprised of twelve parts that synchronize with the calendar year. The poems themselves speak to conventional matters of the time, such as love or praise of Elizabeth I, but they also speak to issues of pastoral reform in the English church. To better understand the matters, the *Calender* offers the reader a variety of devices to help in reading the poem (see fig. 1), but despite providing an argument, and an emblem or motto, a gloss, and illustrative wood-cuts, scholars seldom agree on the poem's meaning. Often, even the most cogent readings of the *Calender* anthologize the poem within a literary history. Consequently, the *Calender* is read through its generic parallels. For instance, an influential kind of historical reading of the *Calender* generally concerns itself with the notion of Spenser's *cursus virgilianus*—the literary course taken by Virgil and followed by Spenser. Most recently, David

[18] In 1569, Spenser contributed a translation of a French poem in Jan van der Noodt's *A Theatre for Worldlings*, printed by Henry Bynneman.

Scott Wilson-Okamura insists that Spenser deliberately chose Virgil for his poetic model, and certainly, Spenser was proclaimed to be the English "Maro."[19] Wilson-Okamura reminds us that on Spenser's tombstone, erected in 1620, the inscription states that Spenser "was `the Prince of Poets in his tyme,' an echo of the ancient title, *princeps poetarum*, that critics awarded to Virgil."[20] Nevertheless, as Joseph Lowenstein remarks, to put such singular pressure on Spenser's presumed *cursus virgilianus* is to deplete the "mystery" of Spenser's process of writing, thus "making each succeeding work appear the inevitable, foreordained product of the *cursus*."[21] Or, as Richard Rambuss argues, "Spenser's career goals are far more various and never strictly Virgilian."[22] Whether or not Spenser deliberately set out to imitate the career of Virgil (and I think on some level he did) what remains true is that he publishes a pastoral, as did Virgil, for his poetic debut.[23] As provocative as it may be, the paralleling of poetic careers between Virgil and Spenser tells us more about the poet than the poetry. If we want to uncover what is at stake for Spenser and Spenser's poem when he publishes the *Calender* we have to step away from a broadly sweeping historical net of literary genealogy, and instead, look to the immediate environment in which the *Calender* is published. If we relocate the *Calender* within the milieu of the material conditions surrounding its publication, we will deepen our

[19] David Scott Wilson-Okamura, "Problems in the Virgilian Career," *Spenser Studies* XXVI (New York: AMS, 2011): 1-30.
[20] Wilson-Okamura, 3.
[21] Joseph Lowenstein, "Spenser's Retography: Two Episodes in Post-Petrachian Bibliography," in *Spenser's Life and the Subject of Biography*, ed. Judith Anderson, Donald Cheney, and David Richardson (Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 115.
[22] Richard Rambuss, *Spenser's Secret Career*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), 4.
[23] See M.L. Donnelly's persuasive article, "The Life of Vergil and the Aspirations of the `New Poet.'" *Spenser Studies* XVII (New York: AMS, 2003): 1-36. Donnelly convincingly demonstrates that Spenser would have been familiar with Donatus's *Life of Vergil*, and that the choice to enter a poetic career by way of pastoral must have been a conscious and deliberate decision.

understanding of how the *Calender* aligns itself with radical, and sometimes, seditious Protestant figures and ideas; moreover, by contextualizing the *Calender* within the milieu of its publication we will come to see the *Calender* as a radically Protestant text that is marked by several factional interests of its own historical moment. To argue these aspects are produced by the *Calender*, I shall explore the *Calender* as a nexus of social networks and as a material instrument that functions as political expression through its very publication. I shall suggest that the very act of printing the *Calender,* the circumstances surrounding its publication, and even the *Calender's* fonts are themselves an activity of Protestant political expression. That is to say, Spenser's choice of Hugh Singleton as the *Calender's* printer, and the deliberate timing of the *Calender's* publication, are all calculated choices made by Spenser or someone close to him to align Spenser to a particular Protestant English faction and ultimately to manufacture Spenser as England's poet.

Publishing Spenser Anonymously

Recently, scholars have questioned the primacy that print plays in the historian's understanding of how information circulates through early modern cultures. For instance, Alexandra Walsham eloquently proclaims that "print has been toppled from its pedestal as a major agent of religious change and reduced to a supporting role in the dissemination of Protestant ideas."[24] Walsham correctly points out that print is one of many transformative agents—"sermons, songs, plays, pictures and verbal conversations" all have a substantive role in transforming and disseminating ideas.[25] Certainly, Walsham's attempt to register a more

[24] Alexandra Walsham, "The Spider and the Bee: the perils of printing for refutation in Tudor England." In Tudor Books and Readers. John N. King ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010), 163-190.
[25] *Ibid.*

inclusive understanding of the various forms of communication does not occlude the fact that with print culture a new authority begins to be attached to the written word. Indeed, a new typographic language was constructed which according to H.J. Chaytor, gave to print a "semblance of authority and accuracy that seemed likely to remain forever."[26] Broadsides and proclamations replaced messengers; the voices of monarchial authority, of religious authority, and of poetic authority, were now mediated primarily through the medium of print.[27]

Printed material, whether functioning as the expression of the government or composing of a poet's work, seems to float freely, influenced and endangered by everything from the currents on which it is physically transported, to the prevailing attitudes of printers and readers. The printed text circulates unprotected, and the possibility of finding itself in unsympathetic or unappreciative hands generated an anxiety among many of those who wrote or authorized a writing. Nevertheless, for many, the desire to promote individual or collective interests outweighed the risks penalizing seditious publications.

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[26] H.J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1945): 7.

[27] Along with Eisenstein's iconic work, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1979 rpt. 2005); there is Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin's *The Coming of the Book, the Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (London:Verso, 1984); Jack Goody, *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society*. Studies in Literacy, the Family, Culture and the State (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986, rpt. 1996); Stephanie Jed, *Chaste Thinking: The Rape of Lucretia and the Birth of Humanism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1989). For a more specific study on the emergent systems surrounding print culture see Rudulf Hisrch's *Printing, Selling, and Reading 1450-1550* (Wiesbaden, 1967; rev.ed. 1974). For a study on the transmission of oral and written texts, on the dominate cultural perception of either text, and on the legitimacy granted to either text see Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*. 3e. (Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013). Clanchy's discussion concerns itself with the transition from an oral culture to a culture dominated by the written word. Although he concentrates on legal documents, his suggestions about literacy and textual authority apply to other types of writings, as well as to more general issues relating to these topics. For more recent perspectives, and arguably more expansive views see Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, eds. *The Uses of Script and Print 1300-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004); David McKittrick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order 1450-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003).

This anxiety was exhibited by Edmund Spenser. In the envoy to his debut work *The Shepheardes Calender,* Spenser sheepishly remarks, "Goe little booke: thy selfe present,/ As child whose parent is unkent:"[28] It is the printed text, the orphaned child, that shall travel through the streets of readers seeking out their responses to the words of its unknown and effectively anonymous parent. It is also the expectation or hope of Immeritio, one of Spenser's several pseudonyms, that the text alone will bear the cross of any ensuing jeopardy his words might provoke:

> But if that any aske thy name,
> Say thou wert base begot with blame:
> For thy thereof thou takest shame.
> And when thou art past jeopardee,
> Come tell me, what was sayd of mee:
> And I will send more after thee. (13-18)

The poet anticipates the hazards of publication, but he also expects a potentially ragged and worn poem to return with news, news that will result in subsequent publications. Spenser's entrance as a poet into Elizabethan society simultaneously displays the apprehension of introducing himself into publication and the confidence of ultimately receiving public acceptance. Indeed, little doubt remains concerning the boldness with which Spenser asserts his entrance into a career as a poet.[29]

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[28] All citations, unless otherwise noted, are taken from The Oxford Edition of *Spenser's Minor Poems*, ed. Ernest De Selincourt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 11.

[29] There have been many articles that focus on Spenser's poetic debut in the *Calender*. Four seminal articles, varying in degree of persuasiveness, stand-out: David L. Miller's "Authorship, Anonymity, and *The Shepheardes Calender*," *MLQ*,40 (1979): 219-236; Richard Helgerson's "The New Poet Presents Himself: Spenser and the Idea of a Literary Career," *PMLA*, 93 (1978): 893-911; See, also, Helgerson's book, *Self-Crownned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton, and the Literary System*, (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1983), particularly the introduction and parts 1 and 2; Annabel Patterson's "Re-opening the Green Cabinet: Clement Marot and Edmund Spenser," *ELR*, (1986): 44-70; Louis A. Montrose, "`The perfecte paterne of a Poet': The Poetics of Courtship in *The Shepheardes Calender*," *TSLL*, 21 (1979): 34-67.

Spenser decides to publish the text anonymously. Yet the *Calender*, although absent of an author's name (or because of this absence), is not without the supplementary devices that mark authorial identity.[30] Along with the dedications to Sidney and Harvey, the *Calender* reinforces itself with illustrations and extensive editorial apparatuses. It may be, as numerous readers have noted, one of the most bookish and self-conscious works published in the English language. Ruth Luborsky remarks that "the physical book [the *Calender*] does not look like any other single book of its day. It is a unique combination of many books and functions as an analogue to the literal work, directing its readers to the models and traditions of the text. What they saw makes fair claim to being the first printed book of English poetry whose presentation was planned deliberately to be allusive."[31]

I would also emphasize the text's equally illusive quality. The envoys, the prefatory letters, the woodcuts and arguments, the explanatory notes of E.K. all contribute to produce a text that pretends to be, among other things, pre-read or rehearsed; it pretends to be an established work having required and requiring the studious labor afforded to such texts as the Bible or the writings of Virgil. In effect, it proclaims to be a new classic.

If, however, Spenser's extravagant use of editorial and textual apparatuses confers onto the work an exalted, albeit anonymous, sense of authority, then it also functions to conceal, contain, and intercept the potentially jeopardizing political and religious criticisms produced by

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[30] See Jacques Derrida's familiar argument on the implications of the "supplement," in his work *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri C. Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1974, rpt. 1976) 141-156.

[31] Ruth S. Luborsky, "The Allusive Presentation of The Shepheardes Calender," *Spenser Studies* I, (1980): 29-67. See also, John N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982), 122-128. And more recently, King's article, "Reading the woodcuts in John Foxe's Book of Martyrs," in *Tudor Books and Readers* (see above citation.): 191-210.

these very same textual and rhetorical elements. In other words, the very language and the various apparatuses that enable the posture of assurance, also work to cloak Spenser's social criticisms by wrapping the poem in a polysemic veil of textuality. Tthe *Calender* points to this dual function of the apparatuses in the very term it uses: "glosse." "Gloss" simultaneously means to explain and to cover over. Furthermore, as the envoy provokes, as the epistle identifies, as the "generall argument" synthesizes, as woodcuts depict, as the arguments introduce, as the eclogues narrate, moralize, and criticize, as the emblems allude, and as E.K. explicates ambiguities, one's initial response is that the meanings of the text must not only be contained in and within the borders of the apparatuses, but that the meanings of the eclogues have already been explicated. The text appears to have interpreted itself, and all other possible interpretations, especially those readings dangerous to the author, are not supported by private textual exegesis. In this way, Spenser's religious and political criticisms can both reflect and refract the gaze of the royal throne.

If Spenser expected that the *Calender* would eventually be well received, then what prompted his diffidence? One of the plausible answers to this question has already been alluded to: Spenser's *Calender* cuts sharply at several volatile issues that directly concerned the State. First, there is Elizabeth's possible marriage to the French Duke of Anjou. Second, there are the contentious issues enveloping Elizabeth and her relationship with the various Puritans and radical Protestants. Thus, Spenser's anxiety must have been real, for to write, print, or sell seditious material evoked a severe and public retribution from the Crown. Consider Lewis Mumford's intriguing declaration, "To exist was to exist in print."[32] While this claim is very

[32] Lewis Mumford, Lewis. *Technics and Civilization* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and company, 1934), 136. I will revisit Mumford's intriguing declaration in more in chapter four.

suggestive, and to some extent both Richard Helgerson and David L. Miller make similar points in that each critic understands that Spenser's poetry both preceded and constituted his role as a poet, there remains much more at stake here.[33] By publishing the *Calender*, Spenser has published himself to the Elizabethan government and to the English readers. The poet has not only become inscribed in the body of his text, but his text has also become inscribed in the poet's own body. And it is this latter body that would bear the cross for any material deemed seditious.

Political Milieu and the printer, Hugh Singleton

Spenser's entrance into print was deliberate and calculated. And while the *Calender* served a variety of interests, interests that are contradictory, it does offer some insight into Spenser's political perspectives and alignments, as well as his attitudes concerning the active and public role a poet must assume. To reach an understanding of, and to be able to register the political investments of Spenser during the publication of the *Calender*, one must read the broader environment out of which these eclogues were produced. In his chapter on the *Calender*, David Norbrook remarks on what he perceives to be an increasing tendency of critics "to deny any connection between Spenser and Puritanism."[34] But for the critic to do so, to deny the complicated political relationships surrounding the poem, is to retreat, like Hobbinol and Diggon, the two pastoral figures in the *September* eclogue, into a recreative interpretation where activity gives way to consolation, reform is extinguished by the desire for the idyllic, and aesthetics is privileged over an historical materialism.

[33] Helgerson, "The New Poet Presents Himself," and Miller, "Authorship, Anonymity, and *The Shepheardes Calender*,"; for full citation of each article see above.
[34] David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (London:RKP, 1984), 61.

By situating the *Calender* in its immediate historical context, Norbrook is able to conclude that it is reasonable to view Spenser as a poet within the Protestant tradition, and in fact Spenser has "symbolically linked himself with the Protestant satiric tradition."[35] Although Norbrook grounds his reading in an historical context, it is, for the most part, a literary historical context. I want to suggest, however, that through the integration of the *Calender* into its political environment as well as the atmosphere blanketing its production as a printed text, Spenser can be seen not as merely linking himself symbolically to the a Protestant tradition, but rather literally aligning himself to a particular faction of Protestants associated with Leicester and Sidney. This distinction is both crucial and oblique.

Certainly, Norbrook's interest in categorizing the *Calender* as one work in a long tradition of Protestant or even proto-Protestant poetry is a legitimate one; Spenser constructs this representation, identifies himself as a certain type of poet through his choice of poetic genre: the didactic tradition of Protestant prophetic poetry. Or as John N. King states, "by selecting the pastoral eclogue for his debut as a professional public poet, Spenser, chose a form associated not only with the apprenticeship of epic poets but also with the cause of religious reform."[36] In his prefatory epistle to the *Calender*, E.K. delineates the various precursors on whom the *Calender* models itself.[37] These generic antecedents and influences range broadly enough to support the voluminous scholarship spent on positioning the *Calender* with in the various kinds of pastoral poetry. The generic grouping of the *Calender*, however, whether one places it in the reformist

[35] Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, 69.
[36] John N. King, "*Shepheardes Calender* and Protestant Pastoral Satire," in *Renaissance Genres: Chapters on Theory, History, and Interpretation*, ed. Barbara K. Lewalski, *Harvard English Studies*, 14 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1986): 370.
[37] I will examine E.K.'s epistle more closely towards the end of my argument, but for now, let it suffice to say that E.K. places Spenser among the tradition of Chaucer, Lidgate and Virgil.

tradition of Protestant poetry, or in the satiric tradition of poetry written by apprentice laureates earning the right to compose epic poetry, supplies only a partial glimpse at the text, and offers a view that is only partially historical. Consequently, those readings that emphasis the *Calender's* place in the history of pastoral poetry, or its relationship to specific antecedents, tend to abstract the text from its immediate cultural situation in order to isolate its literary correlatives. This abstraction, indicative of this kind of literary history, generates several problems: first, the topography of European cultures becomes merely a palimpsest, a reusable surface on which historical, cultural, linguistic, and geographical differences get rubbed out, while the similarities in formalistic properties, rhetorical elements, and conventionalized themes are made legible. Second, the privileging of the relationships between various "literary" texts constructs not only a specious genealogy but discourages the inclusion of more pertinent discursive and nondiscursive representations.

Symptomatic, in Spenserian studies specifically, of this kind of literary history, is the marginal interest scholars have evinced towards Spenser's connections to key Protestant reformers, such as Archbishop Grindal, the "Algrind" of the *Calender*, and Spenser's own printer for the *Calender*, Hugh Singleton. In addition to mutual friends among the Leicester network, each man evinced similar views on religious reform, and regarded print as a technology of political action And Spenser's association to them is neither arbitrary nor accidental. To represent this environment, one must consider both the political background and the varied attitudes towards print and the printed word.

Elizabethans and Print

Elizabethan attitudes toward print were, in general, ambivalent. They understood its political efficacy, its use as a tool to disseminate and re-produce the hegemonic ideologies. The

Elizabethans, however, also knew well that the mechanism offered itself as a tool that might be used to counter these ideologies with other competing ideologies. The printed served the state and other cultural hegemonies but offered a dangerous apparatus that could be used to challenge their very dominance. Given these productive and "counter"-productive aspects to print, the Elizabethan government employed the medium extensively, both in an attempt to distribute its own ideologies and to quell alternative and seditious ideas either through regular saturation of state endorsed texts, such as homilies, or through prohibitive restrictions on unauthorized publications.[38]

Likewise, the Protestant reformers had learned early on that printing served the minority factions equally, if not better than the dominant groups. The martyrologist John Foxe, viewed the invention of printing as no less than a miracle:

> The Lord began to work for His Church not with sword
> and target to subdue His exalted adversary, but with printing,
> writing and reading...[39]

While the ostensible target of the reformist presses was the Catholic Church, little doubt existed in the minds of the Tudor monarchs that antagonistic writings might easily be redirected towards the state. In fact, from Henry VIII to Elizabeth the Tudor sovereigns acted upon the notion that the peace of the realm demanded the suppression of all dissenting opinion. Montrose writes that the "Elizabethan social order is one in which the expression of personal opinions-- and in matters of policy, the very possession of personal opinions-- is no right at all but rather a privilege granted conditionally and tenuously to a very few."[40]

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[38] Chaytor, *From Script to Print*, 94.
[39] Reproduced in William Haller's *The Elect Nation: The Meaning and Relevance of Foxe's Book of Martyrs* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 110.
[40] Montrose, "The perfecte patterne of a Poete," 48.

Because the state granted the privilege of personal opinions, or at least the license to express them, the state could revoke it. In 1529, Henry issued his first proclamation censoring the obtaining, selling, receiving, and of course, the writing of opinions contrary to those of royal authority.[41] The execution of the proclamation was carried out. In three consecutive years, from 1530-1532, book sellers were convicted and burned at the stake for possessing books deemed as heretical.[42]

With Mary Tudor's accession to the throne further attempts were made to silence dissent by adopting a licensing system geared towards the suppression of "false and untrue reports and rumors." The proclamation, while offering "freedom of conscience," prohibits religious controversy, and the printing of any unlicensed materials.[43] Resistant to the Marian strictures, however, London printers continued to disseminate seditious materials. The historian A. G. Dickens, in what he terms the "Protestant Underground," explains that "London printers were widely involved in both political and religious pamphleteering, and several of them, including John Day and Hugh Singleton, who later printed the *Calender*, had to flee abroad."[44]

As Dickens points out, among the exiled Protestants was the *Calender's* printer Hugh Singleton. Singleton was associated with the Protestant movement in England from the very beginning of his career. And while there is speculation that he began printing as early as 1525, his first dated book, a small Protestant treatise, is from 1548.[45] Also in 1548, he published eight

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[41] *Tudor Royal Proclamations v.1*, Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, c.s.v., ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964) rpt. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1981), 181-182.
[42] See Frank S. Siebert's excellent study, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1952): 43-45.
[43] *Tudor Royal Proclamations v.2*, Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, c.s.v. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), 5-8.
[44] A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (New York: Schoken Books, 1964), 272.
[45] A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*. 272.

books, seven of which were Protestant writings, and five of these were books written by John Foxe.[46] The degree to which Singleton can be associated with radical Protestant groups cannot be underestimated. H. J. Byrom makes this point saying that " Singleton's work for Foxe can hardly be unconnected with the fact that shortly after this time [1548] he was employed by John Bale, Foxe's friend and benefactor, and by Miles Coverdale, another leader of the Protestants and a friend of Bale's."[47]

In 1579, a month before the *Calender* was published, Singleton was arrested for printing the notorious pamphlet, *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf*. Written by John Stubbe, this pamphlet attacks the rumored marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou. Stubbe, however, was not alone in his anger towards the possible coupling: Philip Sydney's famous letter to the Queen explained his opposition; and, of course, Spenser's *April* eclogue in the Calender also attempts to warn against the marriage.[48] Elizabeth's reaction to all this unsolicited advice was swift and cruel. Byrom describes how "steps were at once taken to discover the author, the printer, and the dispensers of the work [*Gaping Gulf*], and so well was the search organized that within a few days three of them, including Stubbe and Singleton, were under lock and key. The Queen's anger

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[46] See H.J. Byrom's "Edmund Spenser's First Printer, Hugh Singleton," *The Library*, v.14, n.2, (1933): 123. Virtually all my material on the biography and bibliography of Hugh Singleton, is taken from the seminal study of H.J. Byrom. To my knowledge, his work, some of which relied on notes by H.R. Plomer, stands as the only study done specifically on Singleton and his relationship to Protestantism, and to Spenser. In light of theoretical and interpretive changes there remains no question that new research needs to be done, not only to augment Byrom's work but to re-view Singleton's participation in England's socio-political and print histories.

[47] Byrom, "Edmund Spenser's First Printer," 123.

[48] Much has been written on the Alencon marriage, and accessible information so abundant that I shall not bother citing a list of studies. But I shall refer to two works directly related to the *Calender*: first, Hugh McLane's extensive, but overly conservative study, *Spenser's Shepheardes Calender: A Study in Elizabethan Allegory* (Notre Dame, IN, 1961; rpt. 1968). Second, the seminal article by Louis A. Montrose, "Eliza, Queene of the shepheardes, and the Pastoral of Power," *ELR* 10 (1980): 153-182.

was such that she wished to have them hanged, so they were first tried for felony; the jury, however, could not be induced to find a verdict, so the indictment was changed to one of conspiring to execute sedition."[49] Evident in this description is how efficiently the Elizabethan machine of policing its people functioned, but also evident, and possibly less obvious, is that despite her wishes Elizabeth was forced to compromise with the jury: Monarchial power was not absolute and could maintain policy, but not necessarily contain subversion.

In any case, except for Singleton, curiously enough, those involved with the *Gaping Gulf* were publicly punished. William Camden, the Elizabethan historiographer, who witnessed the castigation, provides this description:

> ...She [Elizabeth] also advertised the People, that the said Book was nothing else but a Fiction of some Traitours, to raise Envy abroad, and Sedition at home: and commanded it to be burnt before the magistrate's face.From this time forward she began to be a little more incensed against the Puritans, of Innovatours, from whom she easily believed these kind of things proceeded. And indeed within a few days after, John Stubbs of Lincolns-Inn, a fervant hot-headed Professour of Religion, (whose Sister Thomas Cartwright, a Ring-leader amonst the Puritans, had married,) the Author of this Book, William Page, who dispersed the Copies, and Hugh Singleton, the Printer, were apprehended. Against whom Sentence was given, that their Right hands should be cut off, according to an Act of Philip and Mary Against the Authors and Publishers of Seditious Writings....Hereupon Stubbs and Page had their Right hands cut off with a clever, driven through the Wrist by the force of a Mallet, upon a Scaffold in the Marketplace at Westminster. The Printer was pardoned. I remember (being present) that when Stubbs, after his Right hand was cut off, put off his Hat with his Left, and said with a loud voice, "God save the Queen";...[50]

[49] Byrom, "Edmund Spenser's First Printer," 140.
[50] William Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England*, Wallace T. MacCaffrey ed., (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1970), 138.

That Singleton avoided such violent punishment ignites the imagination. He was not unfamiliar with the precarious role of a political subversive, and he had once before, during the Jane Grey affair, "defied the authorities and dared to print the views of the popular party."[51] What might have motivated Singleton this time? Byrom offers these speculations, "whether Singleton acted thus a second time merely in the ordinary way of business or because he enjoyed the protection of someone powerful at court has not been discovered. But this latter view, which really implies that he was the more or less conscious instrument of the Leicester-Walsingham faction, is rendered more likely..."[52] Moreover, Hugh McLane is able to make further associations between the Leicester group and Singleton: "At Strasbourg and at Basle (Singleton's main residences on the continent while he was a Marian exile), Singleton would probably have had the opportunity to become acquainted with such roving Marian exiles (now prominent members of Leicester's circle) as Walsingham, the Earl of Bedford, Thomas Randolph, Sir Francis Knollys (father of Leicester's wife and Privy Councillor), and Daniel Rogers."[53] And to thicken the plot, McLane notes that in late 1579, Rogers is a close friend both to Singleton and to Spenser."[54] Whether or not all this intrigue indicates that Singleton deliberately functioned as a marionette for the Leicester faction, and for doing so, was rewarded by not having to part with his right hand, one can only speculate, but what is for certain is that Spenser's decision to have Singleton print the *Calender* was neither arbitrary nor apathetic.

The importance of Spenser's deliberate and conscious decision to have Singleton print the *Calender* is two-fold: first, Spenser's inauguration into print was self-determined; he opted for a

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[51] Byrom, "Edmund Spenser's First Printer," 142. See also McLane's *Spenser's Shepheardes Calender*, 19.
[52] Byrom, "Edmund Spenser's First Printer," 142.
[53] McLane, *Spenser's Shepheardes Calender*, 19-20.
[54] McLane, *Spenser's Shepheardes Calender*,.20.

printer whose political and religious affiliations represented both the views of the powerful and wealthy coterie centered around Leicester, and those of the populace in general.[55] Second, and more to the point of this paper, is Spenser's deliberate engagement and active interjection into the broad political and religious issues enveloping Elizabethan England. Spenser, unlike the pastors of his eclogues, takes matters of reform into the streets of London's reading public (but before I rewrite Spenser as an Elizabethan Puritan radical, let me temper my enthusiasm by reminding myself of Empson's dictum: "pastoral though `about' [the people] is not `by' or `for'[the people].”[56]

Arguably though, Spenser could have commissioned Henry Bynneman to print his text. He had used Bynneman for his translation of the *Theatre of Worldlings* ten years earlier in 1569, and Bynneman was currently employed by Spenser's friend, Gabriel Harvey. Furthermore, as Byrom makes clear, Singleton had no experience in printing "literary" texts, and adds that Singleton "was the last printer in London likely under any ordinary circumstances to have been recommended to Spenser as a fit publisher for *The Shepheardes Calender*."[57]

The circumstances, however, were not ordinary, and it is clear that Spenser's commission of Singleton was made on grounds that were political and religious. These issues with which the *Calender* concerned itself, however, were contemporary, as well as, temporary. In a letter written

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[55] Thus, to a great extent, the publication of the *Calender* targeted a specific consumer group; I am couching this point in our current economic jargon of advertising to amplify my interpretation that Spenser deliberately attempted to market the *Calender*, and, at the same time, to produce a market for it. This point implies that Spenser, like Gascoinge and in a different sense, Robert Greene, represents the emergence of a professional poet. The signs of the patronage system all seem to be in the *Calender*, but, apart from the publishing history of the text, there are ruptures: for instance, the overshadowing of Sydney's dedication by the dedication to Harvey, a literary friend not a person whose influence might gain a place at court.
[56] William Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral* (Norfolk, CT: New Directions Books, 1950), 6.
[57] Byrom, "Edmund Spenser's First Printer," 151-152.

to Harvey before the publication of the *Calender*, Spenser exclaims that "whiles the yron is hote, it is good striking, and minds of Nobles varie, as their Estates."[58] In this remark Spenser evinces a conspicuous concern not only with the precarious stability of the patronage system, but also with the timing of the *Calender's* publication. The "yron is hote," or in other words, the political and religious temperature surrounding London is ready to receive the work and any delay in its printing might lessen its interest or diffuse its impact. Neither the Alcenon marriage nor the controversies over specific religious conflicts, such as Archbishop Grindal's confrontation with the Queen, can remain places of pertinent social tension.

English Black-Letter

Prior to the *Calender*, Singleton printed a limited number of texts; all of which represent various catechisms and sermons.[59] Singleton was a printer of radical Protestant texts. Ronald B, McKerrow suggests that Singleton's use of the black-letter type for the *Calender* "was a bit of

[58] This letter to Harvey from Spenser was written before the *Calender's* publication but published subsequently with another letter. These were, by the way, printed by Henry Bynneman. See *The Works of Gabriel Harvey, v.1*, Alexander B. Grosart, LL.D., F.S.A., ed. (New York: AMS Press, 1966), 7. rpt. from a private circulation, 1884.

[59] The first extant printed text by Singleton of which I am aware is Heinrich Bullinger's, *The hope of the faithfull*, printed in 1574. STC (2nd ed.) / 25250. There exist five other books printed before 1579, all of which are Protestant tracts: *A moste fruitefull, pithie, and learned treatise, hovv a Christian man ought to behaue himselfe in the daunger of death* (1574), and *A spirituall, and most precious perle*, (1574). Both tracts are written by the preacher, Otto Werdmuller, STC (2nd ed.) / 25253 and STC (2nd ed.) / 25258.3, respectively. An anonymous treatise entitled, A *breefe catechisme so necessarie and easie to be learned euen of the symple sort*, (1576) STC (2nd ed.) / 4798. A translation of Martin Luther's *An exposition vpon the Cxxx. Psalme*, (1577) STC (2nd ed.) / 16979.3. The final tract is a by the Genevan minister, Theodorus Beza, entitled *A little catechisme, that is to say, a short instruction touching christian religion, set forth by Theodorus Beza Minister of the Church of God in Geneua* (1578) STC (2nd ed.) / 2022.

intentional antiquarianism."[60] And certainly, the *Calender* plays with time.[61] The *Calender* represents a single year and claims in the colophon page to present the reader with a calendar for "every year."[62] Furthermore, as I have already alluded, the glosses, woodcuts, arguments, and the emblems work to produce a text that announces itself to be an instant classic; a text that is simultaneously innovative and traditional, and a text deserving study while already having been studied. Let us return for a moment to McKerrow's suspicion that the black letter type served the poet's purpose to affect an atmosphere of antiquarianism. Evident in E.K.'s epistle is a self-conscious awareness that the archaic language in the *Calender*, "He (the poet) hath laboured to restore…good and naturall English words," serves to dilate time and to suggest that the *Calender* somehow precedes its historical antecedents. In other words, through the archaisms of Spenser's language, Spenser is somehow reversing the order of chronological history, that Chaucer or even Virgil become authorized by the *Calender* rather than the other way around. And if this is in fact one of the things Spenser is playing with, and I believe it is, then McKerrow could be correct McKerrow's reasoning, however, represents its own problem with time. Black-letter print may represent an antique style to a twentieth or twenty-first century reader, but to a contemporary reader in 1579 black letter print would have an altogether different effect.

In his seminal article "`English' Black-Letter Type and Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*," Steven K. Galbraith demonstrates the ubiquitousness of black letter print in England

[60] Ronald Brunlees McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford:Clarendon Press, 1967), 279n.
[61] As Sarah Elizabeth Mayo astutely pointed out in a recent conversation, the *Calender* presents us with a blurring of time; a single day transpires in every month, yet over the course of a year the figures in the *Calender* age a lifetime.
[62] Salincourt, *Spenser's Minor Poems*, 5.

in the 1579.[63] Galbraith's examination shows that 78% of all English books published in 1579 were printed in black letter type.[64] Subsequently, Galbraith suggests that black-letter type or English type, as it came to be called, parallels a sense of nationalism rather than antiquarianism: "simply put. Black-letter type or `English' type signified the English vernacular."[65] Using other examples from *literary* publications contemporary to the *Calender*, in particular, Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1571) and Wolfe's printing of Castiglione's, *Book of the Courtier* (1588) (fig. 1), Galbraith develops a strong case for his assertion that black-letter type meant English and indeed, it meant England.

Equally fruitful, and possibly more compelling examples of Englishness and black-letter type come from the early lexicons and dictionaries of the period. A fascinating example is John Withals, *Shorte Dictionarie* (fig. 2), which became "a standard school book, running to at least sixteen editions of which copies survive."[66] In Withal's dictionary the Latin words and phrases are in Roman-type while the English equivalences are stamped in black-letter type. Similarly, in the *Nomenclator or Remembrancer* written by Julius Hadrianus (fig. 3) the Latin, Greek, French and English each receive their own type; the English definitions are represented by the black-letter type. These examples evince a characteristic of a self-conscious attempt to develop and authorize an English language by demarcating an English typography. As Galbraith avers, "before an English poet could situate himself among his classical and Continental predecessors,

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[63] Steven K. Galbraith, "`English' Black-Letter Type and Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*," *Spenser Studies* XXIII (New York: AMS, 2008): 13-40.
[64] Galbraith, 23.
[65] Galbraith, 16.
[66] Lee, Sidney. "Withals, John (d. c.1555)." Rev. R. D. Smith. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison. Oxford: OUP, 2004. Online ed. Ed. Lawrence Goldman. May 2006. 29 Nov. 2013 <http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu/view/article/29800>.

the English language had to be accepted as a viable vehicle for English literature."[67] To take Galbraith's claim a step further, by establishing and defining an English typography, the English poets and their language could stand eye to eye with Virgil or Sannazaro or Latin or Italian.

Spenser as England's Poet

To be sure, the *Calendar* insists on its place as an English poem within an English tradition. E.K. begins his epistle with the reclamation of Chaucer and John Lydgate:

> Uncouthe, Unkiste, Sayde the olde famous Poete Chaucer:
> whom for his excellencie and wonderfull skil in making,
> his scholler Lidgate, a worthy scholler of so excellent a
> maister, calleth the Loadestarre of our language.[68]

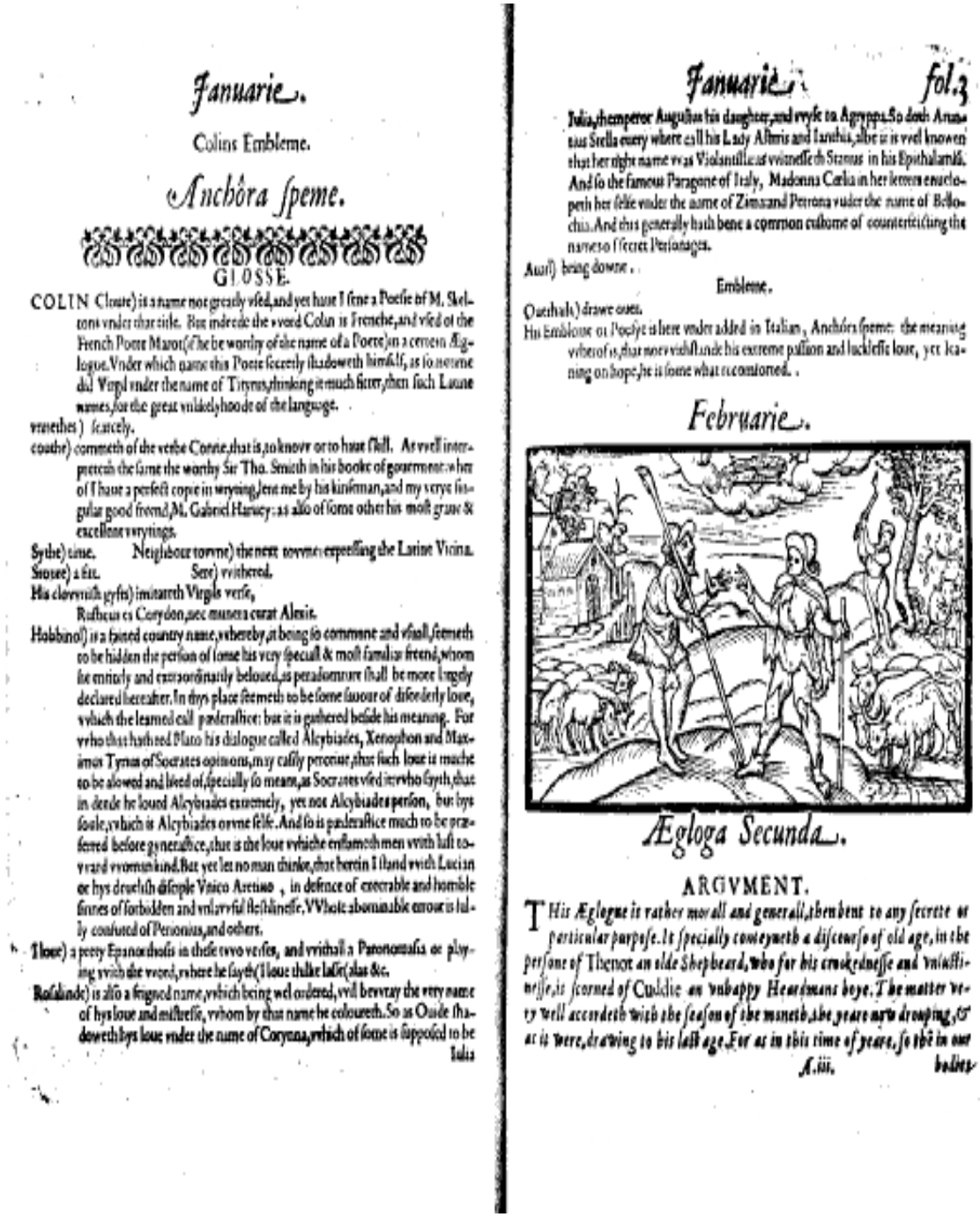
From the outset E.K. demonstrates two central concerns. First, that there is an established tradition of English poetry and that Spenser is ranked among its greatest poets, Second, and more to my point, the English language is a worthy vehicle for poetic expression. According to Catherine Nicholson, however, early English readers of Virgil would have found themselves confronted by the notion that England represents a landscape deserted of poetic sensibilities: "…in the poem (*Eclogues*) that inaugurates the career of Rome's greatest poet, Britain remains the sign of all that is antithetical to poetry."[69] Nicholson bases her assertion on her interpretation of Abraham Fleming's translation of Virgil's *Eclogues*, and although her assessment strikes us as hard as it might an early modern reader, she is not alone in concluding that early modern English readers were conspicuously aware that they lived in a backwater cultural outpost. Similarly, Sean Kielan avers that "vernacular writers were obliged to confront the radical alterity of England to the ancient world, and of English to the languages and aesthetic canons they wanted to

[67] Galbraith, 27.
[68] Salincourt, *Spenser's Minor Poems*, 3.
[69] Catherine Nicholson, "Pastoral in Exile: Spenser and the Poetics of English Alienation," *Spenser Studies* XXIII (New York: AMS, 2008): 44.

assimilate."[70] Each of these critics point to an anxiety that E.K. appears to address and to dismiss from the opening sentences of his epistle: England, to the contrary, represents a nation of poetic tradition and has a language worthy of poetry.

The *Shepheardes Calender* represents a poem that resists singular reductions of its intent or its meaning. The poem functions on a myriad of levels: it is at once reflexive, humorous, assertive, evasive, and playful. The poem is also contentious and political. Through his choice of the genre of pastoral, through his deliberate selection to have the radical Protestant printer, Hugh Singleton, print his inaugural poem, and his acute awareness of the currents relative to the poem's political and religious commentaries, Spenser announces himself to his English readers as their poet: English and Protestant. Mumford's dictum, "to exist is to exist in print" inspires life into the power of the medium, but for Spenser, print represents a deliberate step towards a political action; the life of the text, the orphaned little book "exists" because it marches with activity. And unlike the recreative pastors in the *Calender*, who disengage themselves from the politics of pastoral, Spenser injects himself into his cultural milieu and insists on being read as a national poet. Likewise, the very material letter used as a vehicle for Spenser's *Calender*, the black-letter type, establishes a definition of national typography for English readers, who would immediately recognize the *Calende*r as one of its own.

[70] Sean Keilan, *Vulgar Eloquence: On the Renaissance Invention of English Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 78.



Ianuarie.

Colins Embleme.

Anchôra Speme.

GLOSSE.

COLIN Clowte) is a name not greatly vsed, and yet haue I sene a Poesie of M. Skeltons vnder that title. But indeede the word Colin is Frenche, and vsed of the French Poete Marot (if he be worthy of the name of a Poete) in a certein Æglogue. Vnder which name this Poete secretly shadoweth himself, as so meneme did Virgil vnder the name of Tityrus, thinking it much fitter, then such Latine names, for the great vnlikelyhoode of the language.

vneathes) scarcely.

couthe) commeth of the verbe Connie, that is, to knowe or to haue skill. As well interpreteth the same the worthy Sir Tho. Smith in his booke of gouernement: whereof I haue a perfect copie in wryting, lent me by his kinsman, and my verye singular good friend, M. Gabriel Harvey: as also of some other his most graue & excellent wrytings.

Sythe) time. Neighboure towne) the next towne: expelling the Latine Vicina.

Swouse) a fire. Sere) withered.

His clowdish gyfts) imitateth Virgils verse,

Ruthenus ex Corydon, nec munera curat Alexis.

Hobbinol) is a fayned country name, whereby it being so common and vsuall, seemeth to be hidden the person of some his very speciall & most familiar friend, whom he entirely and extraordinarily beloued, as peradventure shall be more largely declared hereafter. In this place seemeth to be some fauour of disorderly loue, which the learned call paederastice: but it is gathered beside his meaning. For who that hath read Plato his dialogue called Alcybiades, Xenophon and Maximus Tyrius of Socrates opinions, may easily perceiue, that such loue is mache to be alowed and liked of, specially so meant, as Socrates vsed it: who sayth, that in deede he loued Alcybiades extremely, yet not Alcybiades person, but his soule, which is Alcybiades owne selfe. And so is paederastice much to be preferred before gynerastice, that is the loue whiche enflameth men with lust toward womenkind. But yet let no man thinke, that herein I stand with Lucian or his deerelyth disciple Vnico Aretino, in defence of execrable and horrible sinnes of forbidden and vnlawful fleshlinesse. Whose abominable errour is fully confuted of Perionius, and others.

Iloue) a peety Equanomasis in these two verses, and vnthrift a Paronomasis or playing with the word, where he sayth (I loue thilke lasse (alas &c.

Rosalinde) is also a fayned name, which being wel ordered, will bewray the very name of his loue and mistresse, whom by that name he coloureth. So as Ouide shadoweth his loue vnder the name of Corynna, which of some is supposed to be Iulia

Iulia, the emperor Augustus his daughter, and wyfe to Agrippa. So doth Arunsius Stella euery where call his Lady Aftrea and Sanchia, albe it is well knowen that her right name was Violantilla: as vnderstandeth Stanus in his Epithalamiõ. And so the famous Paragone of Italy, Madonna Corisia in her lerned encomion perh her felie vnder the name of Zima: and Petrona vnder the name of Bellochia. And thus generally hath bene a common custome of counterfeiting the names of secret Personages.

Awol) being downe.

Embleme.

Quethals) drawe ouer.

His Embleme or Poesye is here vnder added in Italian, Anchôra speme: the meaning whereof is, that notwithstande his extreme passion and luckelesse loue, yet leaning on hope, he is some what recomforted.

Februarie.

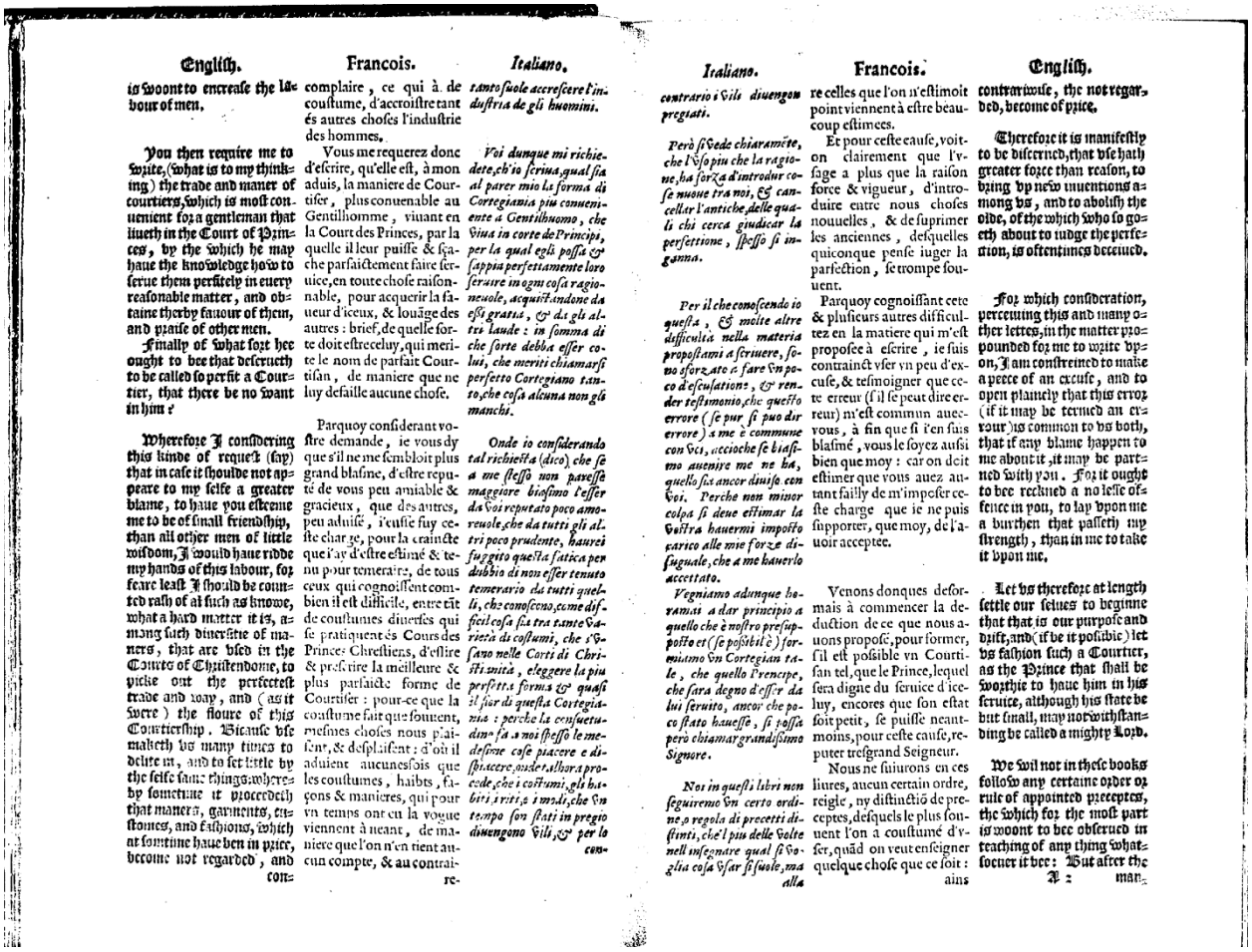
Ægloga Secunda.

ARGVMENT.

THis Æglogue is rather morall and generall, then bent to any secrete or particular purpose. It specially conteyneth a discourse of old age, in the persone of Thenot an olde Shepheard, who for his crookednesse and vnwildinesse, is scorned of Cuddie an vnhappy Heardmans boye. The matter very well accordeth with the season of the moneth, the yeare nowe drooping, & as it were, drawing to his laste age. For as in this time of yeare, so the in our

Figure 7. Spenser's The Shepheardes Calender.[71]

[71] Edmund Spenser. *The shepheardes calender conteyning tvvelue aeglogues proportionable to the twelue monethes. Entitled to the noble and vertuous gentleman most worthy of all titles both of learning and cheualrie M. Philip Sidney.* Printed by Hugh Singleton, 1579



English. Francois. Italiano.

is woont to encrease the labour of men.

You then require me to write, (what is to my thinking) the trade and maner of courtiers, which is most conuenient for a gentleman that liueth in the Court of Princes, by the which he may haue the knowledge how to serue them perfitely in euery reasonable matter, and obtaine therby fauour of them, and praise of other men.

Finally of what sort hee ought to bee that deserueth to be called so perfit a Courtier, that there be no want in him?

Wherefore I considering this kinde of request (say) that in case it shoulde not appeare to my selfe a greater blame, to haue you esteeme me to be of small friendship, than all other men of little wisdom, I would haue ridde my hands of this labour, for feare least I should be counted rash of all such as knowe, what a hard matter it is, among such diuersitie of maners, that are vsed in the Courts of Christendome, to picke out the perfectest trade and way, and (as it were) the floure of this Courtiership. Because vse maketh vs many times to delite in, and to set little by the selfe same things: whereby sometime it proceedeth that maners, garments, customes, and fashions, which at sometime haue ben in price, become not regarded, and con-

complaire, ce qui à de coustume, d'accroistre tant és autres choses l'industrie des hommes.

Vous me requerez donc d'escrire, qu'elle est, à mon aduis, la maniere de Courtiser, plus conuenable au Gentilhomme, viuant en la Court des Princes, par la quelle il leur puisse & sçache parfaictement faire seruice, en toute chose raisonnable, pour acquerir la faueur d'iceux, & louange des autres: brief, de quelle sorte doit estre celuy, qui merite le nom de parfait Courtisan, de maniere que ne luy defaille aucune chose.

Parquoy considerant vostre demande, ie vous dy que s'il ne me semboit plus grand blasme, d'estre reputé de vous peu amiable & gracieux, que des autres, peu aduisé, i'eusse fuy ceste charge, pour la crainde que i'ay d'estre estimé & tenu pour temeraire, de tous ceux qui cognoissent combien il est difficile, entre tãt de coustumes diuerses qui se pratiquent és Cours des Princes Chrestiens, d'eslire & prendre la meilleure & plus parfaicte forme de Courtiser: pour-ce que la coustume fait que souuent, mesmes choses nous plaisent, & desplaisent: d'où il aduient aucunesfois que les coustumes, habits, façons & manieres, qui pour vn temps ont eu la vogue viennent à neant, de maniere que l'on n'en tient aucun compte, & au contrai-re-

tanto suole accrescere l'industria de gli huomini.

Voi dunque mi richiedete, ch'io scriua, qual sia al parer mio la forma di Cortegiania piu conueniente a Gentilhuomo, che viua in corte de Principi, per la qual egli possa & sappia perfettamente loro seruire in ogni cosa ragioneuole, acquistandone da essi gratia, & da gli altri laude: in somma di che sorte debba esser colui, che meriti chiamarsi perfetto Cortegiano tanto, che cosa alcuna non gli manchi.

Onde io considerando tal richiesta (dico) che se a me stesso non paresse maggiore biasimo l'esser da Voi reputato poco amoreuole, che da tutti gli altri poco prudente, haurei fuggito questa fatica per dubbio di non esser tenuto temerario da tutti quelli, che conoscono, come difficil cosa sia tra tante varietà di costumi, che s'vsano nelle Corti di Christianità, eleggere la piu perfetta forma: & quasi il fior di questa Cortegiania: perche la consuetudine fa a noi spesso le medesime cose piacere e dispiacere, onde talhora procede, che i costumi, gli habiti, riti, e modi, che in tempo son stati in pregio diuengono vili, & per lo con-

Italiano. Francois. English.

contrario i vili diuengon pregiati.

Però si vede chiaramẽte, che l'vso piu che la ragione, ha forza d'introdur cose nuoue tra noi, & cancellar l'antiche, delle quali chi cerca giudicar la perfettione, spesso si inganna.

Per il che conoscendo io questa, & molte altre difficultà nella materia propostami a scriuere, sono sforzato a fare vn poco d'escusatione, & render testimonio, che questo errore (se pur si può dir errore) a me è commune con voi, accioche se biasimo auenire me ne ha, quello sia ancor diuiso con voi. Perche non minor colpa si deue estimar la vostra hauermi imposto carico alle mie forze disuguale, che a me hauerlo accettato.

Vegniamo adunque horamai a dar principio a quello che è nostro presupposto et (se possibil è) formiamo vn Cortegian tale, che quello Prencipe, che sarà degno d'esser da lui seruito, ancor che poco stato haueße, si possa però chiamar grandißimo Signore.

Noi in questi libri non seguiremo vn certo ordine o regola di precetti distinti, che'l piu delle volte nell insegnare qual si voglia cosa vsar si suole, ma alla

re celles que l'on n'estimoit point viennent à estre beaucoup estimees.

Et pour ceste cause, voit-on clairement que l'vsage a plus que la raison force & vigueur, d'introduire entre nous choses nouuelles, & de suprimer les anciennes, desquelles quiconque pense iuger la parfection, se trompe souuent.

Parquoy cognoissant cete & plusieurs autres difficultez en la matiere qui m'est proposee à escrire, ie suis contrainct vser vn peu d'excuse, & tesmoigner que cete erreur (s'il se peut dire erreur) m'est commun auecques vous, à fin que si i'en suis blasmé, vous le soyez aussi bien que moy: car on doit estimer que vous auez autant failly de m'impeser ceste charge que ie ne puis supporter, que moy, de l'auoir acceptee.

Venons donques desormais à commencer la deduction de ce que nous auons proposé, pour former, s'il est possible vn Courtisan tel, que le Prince, lequel sera digne du seruice d'iceluy, encores que son estat soit petit, se puisse neantmoins, pour ceste cause, reputer tresgrand Seigneur.

Nous ne suiurons en ces liures, aucun certain ordre, reigle, ny distinctiõ de preceptes, desquels le plus souuent l'on a coustumé d'vser, quãd on veut enseigner quelque chose que ce soit: ains

contrariwise, the not regarded, become of price.

Therefore it is manifestly to be discerned, that vse hath greater force than reason, to bring vp new inuentions among vs, and to abolish the olde, of the which who so goeth about to iudge the perfection, is oftentimes deceiued.

For which consideration, perceiuing this and many other lettres, in the matter propounded for me to write vpon, I am constreined to make a peece of an excuse, and to open plainely that this error (if it may be termed an error) is common to vs both, that if any blame happen to me about it, it may be partned with you. For it ought to bee reckned a no lesse offence in you, to lay vpon me a burthen that passeth my strength, than in me to take it vpon me.

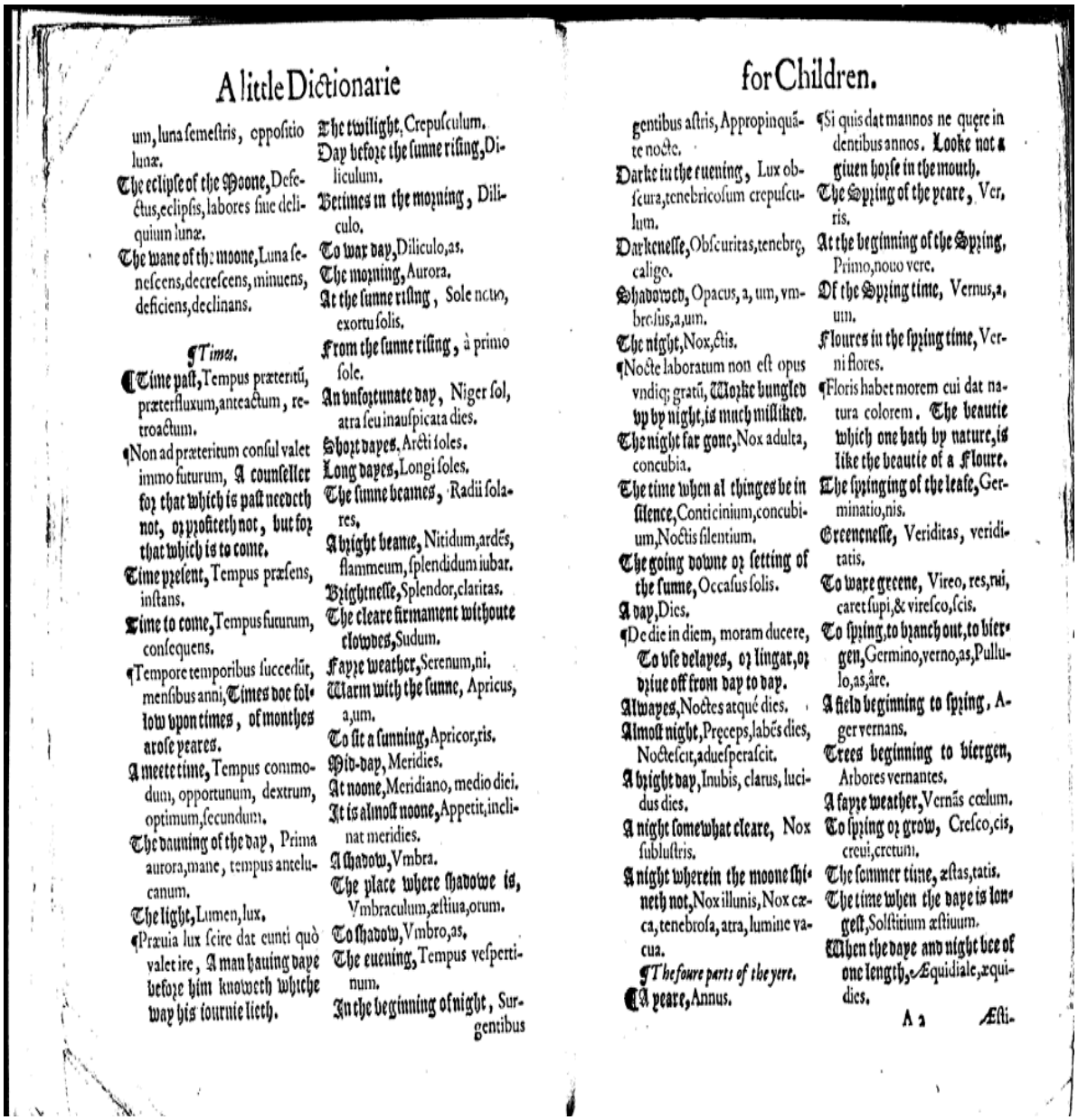
Let vs therefore at length settle our selues to beginne that that is our purpose and drift, and (if be it possible) let vs fashion such a Courtier, as the Prince that shall be worthie to haue him in his seruice, although his state be but small, may notwithstanding be called a mighty Lord.

We will not in these bookes follow any certaine order or rule of appointed precepts, the which for the most part is woont to bee obserued in teaching of any thing whatsoeuer it bee: But after the

A 2 man-

Figure 8 Castiglione's Book of the Courtier.[72]

[72] Castiglione, Baldassarre, Thomas Hoby, and Gabriel Chappuys. *The Courtier of Count Baldessar Castilio: Deuided Into Foure Bookes. Verie Necessarie and Profitable for Young Gentlemen and Gentlewomen Abiding in Court, Pallace, or Place, Done Into English By Thomas Hobby.* London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, 1588.



A little Dictionarie for Children.

um, luna semestris, oppositio lunæ.
The eclipse of the Moone, Defectus, eclipsis, labores siue deliquium lunæ.
The wane of the moone, Luna senescens, decrescens, minuens, deficiens, declinans.

¶ Times.

Time past, Tempus præteritũ, præterfluxum, anteactum, retroactum.
¶Non ad præteritum consul valet immo futurum, A counseller for that which is past needeth not, or profiteth not, but for that which is to come.
Time present, Tempus præsens, instans.
Time to come, Tempus futurum, consequens.
¶Tempore temporibus succedũt, mensibus anni, Times doe follow vpon times, of monthes arose yeares.
A meete time, Tempus commodum, opportunum, dextrum, optimum, secundum.
The dawning of the day, Prima aurora, mane, tempus anteluccanum.
The light, Lumen, lux.
¶Præuia lux scire dat eunti quò valet ire, A man hauing daye before him knoweth whiche way his iournie lieth.
The twilight, Crepusculum.
Day before the sunne rising, Diliculum.
Betimes in the morning, Diliculo.
To wax day, Diliculo, as.
The morning, Aurora.
At the sunne rising, Sole nctuo, exortu solis.
From the sunne rising, à primo sole.
An vnfortunate day, Niger sol, atra seu inauspicata dies.
Short dayes, Arĕti soles.
Long dayes, Longi soles.
The sunne beames, Radii solares.
A bright beame, Nitidum, ardẽs, flammeum, splendidum iubar.
Brightnesse, Splendor, claritas.
The cleare firmament without clowdes, Sudum.
Fayre weather, Serenum, ni.
Warm with the sunne, Apricus, a, um.
To sit a sunning, Apricor, ris.
Mid-day, Meridies.
At noone, Meridiano, medio diei.
It is almost noone, Appetit, inclinat meridies.
A shadow, Vmbra.
The place where shadowe is, Vmbraculum, ætiua, orum.
To shadow, Vmbro, as.
The euening, Tempus vespertinum.
In the beginning of night, Surgentibus astris, Appropinquãte nocte.
Darke in the euening, Lux obscura, tenebricosum crepusculum.
Darkenesse, Obscuritas, tenebrę, caligo.
Shadowed, Opacus, a, um, vmbrosus, a, um.
The night, Nox, ctis.
¶Nocte laboratum non est opus vndiq; gratũ, Worke bungled vp by night, is much misliked.
The night far gone, Nox adulta, concubia.
The time when al thinges be in silence, Conticinium, concubium, Noctis silentium.
The going downe or setting of the sunne, Occasus solis.
A day, Dies.
¶De die in diem, moram ducere, To vse delayes, or lingar, or driue off from day to day.
Alwayes, Noctes atqué dies.
Almost night, Præceps, labẽs dies, Noctescit, aduesperascit.
A bright day, Inubis, clarus, lucidus dies.
A night somewhat cleare, Nox sublustris.
A night wherein the moone shineth not, Nox illunis, Nox cæca, tenebrosa, atra, lumine vacua.

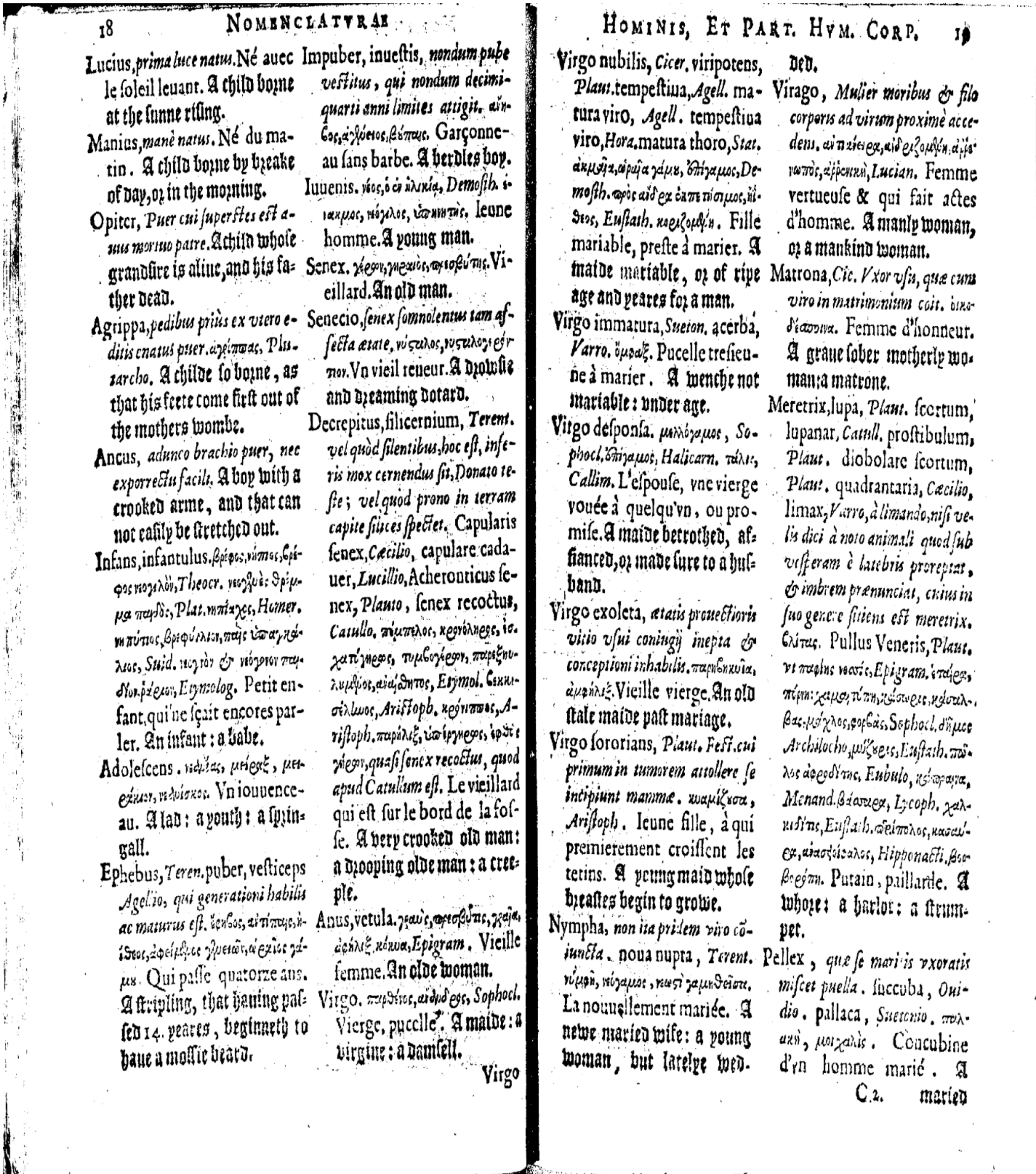
¶ The foure parts of the yere.

A yeare, Annus.
¶Si quis dat mannos ne quęre in dentibus annos. Looke not a giuen horse in the mouth.
The Spring of the yeare, Ver, ris.
At the beginning of the Spring, Primo, nouo vere.
Of the Spring time, Vernus, a, um.
Floures in the spring time, Verni flores.
¶Floris habet morem cui dat natura colorem. The beautie which one hath by nature, is like the beautie of a Floure.
The springing of the leafe, Germinatio, nis.
Greenenesse, Veriditas, veriditatis.
To waxe greene, Vireo, res, rui, caret supi, & viresco, scis.
To spring, to branch out, to biergen, Germino, verno, as, Pullulo, as, âre.
A field beginning to spring, Ager vernans.
Trees beginning to biergen, Arbores vernantes.
A fayre weather, Vernãs cœlum.
To spring or grow, Cresco, cis, creui, cretum.
The summer time, æstas, tatis.
The time when the daye is longest, Solstitium æstiuum.
When the daye and night bee of one length, Æquidiale, æquidies.

A 2 Æsti-

Figure 9 John Withal's A Short Dictionarie [73]

[73] Withals, John, Lewis Evans, and Abraham Fleming. *A Short Dictionarie in Latine and English: Verie Profitable for Yong Beginners. Compiled At the First By Iohn Withals: Afterwards Reuised and Increased With Phrases and Necessarie Additions By Lewis Euans. And Now Lastlie Augmented With More Than Six Hundred Rythmical Verses, Whereof Many Be Prouerbiall, Some Heretofore Found in Old Authors, and Othersome Affoorded; and a Dictional Index, Conteining Aboue Fourteene Hundred Principall Words With Their Numbers Directly Leading to Their Interpretations: Of Special Vse for All Scholars and Learners of the Same Languages. Imprinted at London: For Ralph Newberie, and Henrie Denham, 1585.*


18 NOMENCLATVRÆ

Lucius, *prima luce natus*. Né auec le soleil leuant. A child borne at the sunne rising.

Manius, *manè natus*. Né du matin. A child borne by breake of day, or in the morning.

Opiter, *Puer cui superstes est auus mortuo patre*. A child whose grandsire is aliue, and his father dead.

Agrippa, *pedibus priùs ex vtero editus enatus puer*. ἀγρίππας, *Plutarcho*. A childe so borne, as that his feete come first out of the mothers wombe.

Ancus, *adunco brachio puer, nec exporrectu facili*. A boy with a crooked arme, and that can not easily be stretched out.

Infans, infantulus. βρέφος, νήπιος, *Theocr.* *Plat.* *Homer.* *Suid.* *Etymolog.* Petit enfant, qui ne sçait encores parler. An infant: a babe.

Adolescens. μεῖραξ, Vn iouuenceau. A lad: a youth: a springall.

Ephebus, *Teren.* puber, vesticeps *Agellio, qui generationi habilis ac maturus est*. ἔφηβος. Qui passe quatorze ans. A stripling, that hauing passed 14. yeares, beginneth to haue a mossie beard.

Impuber, inuestis, *nondum pube vestitus, qui nondum decimi-quarti anni limites attigit*. ἄνηβος, ἀγένειος. Garçonneau sans barbe. A beardles boy.

Iuuenis. νέος, *Demosth.* νεανίας. Ieune homme. A young man.

Senex. γέρων, πρεσβύτης. Vieillard. An old man.

Senecio, *senex somnolentus tam affecta ætate*. Vn vieil reueur. A drowsie and dreaming dotard.

Decrepitus, silicernium, *Terent.* *vel quòd silentibus, hoc est, inferis mox cernendus sit, Donato teste; vel quod promo in terram capite silices spectet*. Capularis senex, *Cæcilio*, capulare cadauer, *Lucillio*, Acheronticus senex, *Plauto*, senex recoctus, *Catullo*. *Etymol.* *Aristoph.* *Aristoph.* *quasi senex recoctus, quod apud Catullum est*. Le vieillard qui est sur le bord de la fosse. A very crooked old man: a drooping olde man: a creeple.

Anus, vetula. γραῦς, πρεσβῦτις, *Epigram*. Vieille femme. An olde woman.

Virgo. παρθένος, *Sophocl.* Vierge, pucelle. A maide: a virgine: a damsell.

Virgo

HOMINIS, ET PART. HVM. CORP. 19

Virgo nubilis, *Cicer.* viripotens, *Plaut.* tempestiua, *Agell.* matura viro, *Agell.* tempestiua viro, *Hora.* matura thoro, *Stat.* *Demosth.* *Eustath.* Fille mariable, preste à marier. A maide mariable, or of ripe age and yeares for a man.

Virgo immatura, *Sueton.* acerba, *Varro.* ὄμφαξ. Pucelle tresieune à marier. A wenche not mariable: vnder age.

Virgo desponsa. μελλόγαμος, *Sophocl.* *Halicarn.* *Callim.* L'espouse, vne vierge vouée à quelqu'vn, ou promise. A maide betrothed, affianced, or made sure to a husband.

Virgo exoleta, *ætatis prouectioris vitio vsui coniugij inepta & conceptioni inhabilis*. Vieille vierge. An old stale maide past mariage.

Virgo sororians, *Plaut.* *Fest.* *cui primum in tumorem attollere se incipiunt mammæ*. *Aristoph.* Ieune fille, à qui premierement croissent les tetins. A yeung maid whose breastes begin to growe.

Nympha, *non ita pridem viro coniuncta*. noua nupta, *Terent.* νύμφη, νεόγαμος. La nouuellement mariée. A newe maried wife: a young woman, but latelye wedded.

Virago, *Mulier moribus & filo corporis ad virum proximè accedens*. *Lucian.* Femme vertueuse & qui fait actes d'homme. A manly woman, or a mankind woman.

Matrona, *Cic.* *Vxor vsu, quæ cum viro in matrimonium coit*. Femme d'honneur. A graue sober motherly woman: a matrone.

Meretrix, lupa, *Plaut.* scortum, lupanar, *Catull.* prostibulum, *Plaut.* diobolare scortum, *Plaut.* quadrantaria, *Cæcilio*, limax, *Varro, à limando, nisi velis dici à noto animali quod sub vesperam è latebris prorepiat, & imbrem prænunciat, cuius in suo genere sitiens est meretrix*. Pullus Veneris, *Plaut.* *Epigram.* *Sophocl.* *Archilocho*, *Eustath.* *Eubulo*, *Menand.* *Lycoph.* *Eustath.* *Hipponacti*. Putain, paillarde. A whore: a harlot: a strumpet.

Pellex, *quæ se maritis vxoratis miscet puella*. succuba, *Ouidio*. pallaca, *Suetonio*. παλλακή, μοιχαλίς. Concubine d'vn homme marié. A

C.2. maried

Figure 10 Jumius Hadrianus' Nomenclator or Remembrancer.[74]

[74] Junius, Hadrianus, Abraham Fleming, and John Higgins. *The Nomenclator, or Remembrancer of Adrianus Iunius Physician: Diuided in Two Tomes, Conteining Proper Names and Apt Termes for All Thinges Vnder Their Conuenient Titles, Which Within a Few Leaues Doe Follow: Vvritten By the Said Ad. Iu. in Latine, Greeke, French and Other Forrein Tongues: And Now in English, By Iohn Higins: Vvith a Full Supplie of All Such Vvords As the Last Inlarged Edition*

CHAPTER 3

MOVEABLE TYPE: MARTIN MARPRELATE, PRINTERS, AND WOMEN AS AGENTS OF THE SECRET PRESS

In the preceding chapter I argue, among other things, that Spenser contracted Hugh Singleton to print the *Calender* to demonstrate an allegiance to Leicester and to represent himself as an advocate of the primitive church. In this chapter, I will reconstruct the circumstances surrounding the Martin Marprelate tracts and examine why certain individuals banded together to form the clandestine press.

The Martin Marprelate tracts, composed of six pamphlets and a single broadsheet, attacked the institutional structure of the Anglican church. The pamphlets satirized, insulted, and antagonized individual bishops and the bishopric. The Martins never defined themselves through any denomination, but certainly, they wrote on behalf of some form of Presbyterianism. The pamphlets, although polemical, refuse to engage in the standard form of religious disputation, such as John Bridges' lengthy defense of the Anglican Church.[75] Instead, the Martins used a

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Affoorded; and a Dictional Index, Conteining Aboue Fourteene Hundred Principall Words With Their Numbers Directly Leading to Their Interpretations: Of Special Vse for All Scholars and Learners of the Same Languages. Imprinted at London: For Ralph Newberie, and Henrie Denham, 1585.

[75] *A Defence of the Government Established in the Church of England for Ecclesiastical Matters* (1587). Bridges lengthly tomb, the butt of several Matinists' jokes, nevertheless, represented the conventional form to express religious propositions or defenses. Bridges work is erudite deliberate, and thorough. That the Marprelate's refused to engage in a conventional debate using conventional formats illustrates an innovation in polemics and brilliant iconoclasm of the familiar form of disputation.

quick press and a sharp wit to take their arguments against the bishops onto the streets of London. The Martins were, arguably, the first guerilla printers in England, and the Marprelate controversy would raise such an alarm among the authorities that a print war soon ensued.[76] The Martins understood the fledgling power of print—the social network of Martins was completely integrated into the print culture that worked from the streets near and upon the yard at St. Paul's Church. As we will see the suspected authors of the pamphlets as well as the pamphlet's printers shared friendships prior to the first published pamphlet in 1588.

The Movement of the Printing Houses

The authorship, the printing, and the distribution of the Marprelate tracts remain an enigma. Scholars have pieced bits of the story together through the testimonies of those persons who the Privy Council detained, tortured, and interrogated. Most of these testimonies were offered up by men who served some minor role in the publication or distribution of the tracts or in service to the owners of the homes in which the printing took place. For instance, much of what we know about the initial printing comes from Nicholas Tomkins, a servant in the house of Elizabeth Crane, the location where the first tract, *The Epistle*, was printed. According to Tomkins, Crane provided her home in East Molesey, Surrey, for the location of the printing of the first tract, *The Epistle*. Tomkins claims the printer, Robert Waldegrave and his wife, Mary, and the Welsh polemicist, John Penry, set up a press in Crane's home. Tompkins is unclear as to how long the two Martinists were at Crane's home: "He doth not directly know how long,

[76] The Lord Chancellor, Christopher Hatton and Archbishop Whitgift hired several well-known writers to script responses to the Marprelate pamphlets. These anti-marprelates, including Thomas Nashe, John Lyly and Robert Greene, penned equally witty retorts to the Marinists' pamphlets.

whether a month, two months, or more."[77] Yet upon further examination, Tomkins remembered that the two Martinists spent three weeks in Crane's house:

> Nicolas Thomkyns: servaunt to Mistris Crane deposeth, that shortely after Waldegraves owne letters were defaced, which was the 13 of May 1588: he brought a case of letters to Mistris Cranes house in London. And the same being after taken from thense by Waldegraves wyfe, a loade of stuffe at the request of Penry was layed in Mistris Cranes house at Mowlsey in the parish of Kingston wherein this Examinate beleeveth the presse and letters were.[78]

In another deposition given by Tomkins taken at Aldermanbury, Tomkins claimed that Waldegrave's letters (the lead type) having first been brought to the house remained at East Mosely for three months until smuggled out (by this time, the Marprelate circle was being hunted by Archbishop Whitgift) by Mary Waldegrave with help from a Mistress Newman.[79]

From Crane's home, the press appears to have moved to Northamptonshire, and found itself at Fawsley Hall, the manor home of Sir Richard Knightly. In the briefs held by the Queen's Sargent, John Puckering, Knightly insists that John Penry requested a room at Fawsley so that he might print a his work concerning *unlerned Ministri of Wales.*[80] Knights' plea that he was an unwitting accomplice convinced no one and Knightly's culpability was never in doubt.[81] It was at Fawsley Manor that the second tract was printed. Henry Sharpe, a bookbinder from Northampton, provides the richest and most condemning information concerning the printing and the movement of the press. Sharpe contends that the press belonged to Penry and that Waldegrave printed the *Epistle* at East Mosely and that John Udall, himself, served as the text's

[77] Harley MS 7042, 13.
[78] Lambeth Palace Fairhurst Papers MS 3470, fols. 105-06.
[79] Arber, Edward. *An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controvery, 1588-1590* (London, 1879), 86.
[80] Harley MS 7042, 9.
[81] Black, Joseph. "Marprelate, Martin (fl. 1588–1589), pamphleteer." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

"correcter."[82] Whether Tomkins account is accurate or whether Sharpe is retelling the intricacies more accurately doesn't really matter. The authorities were all too happy to have evidence against Penry and Udall, both non-conformists who wrote intelligently and ferociously against the episcopate.[83] As for Waldegrave, he had recently been released from prison and had his stock burned and his type defaced, except the letters that Mary Waldegrave "stole" and smuggled to the home of Elizabeth Crane.[84] Thomas Cooper, the Bishop of Winchester, in his diatribe against the Marprelate circle offers the following description of Waldegrave:

> Waldegraue receiued iustly according to his deserts, hauing founde before that time, greater fauour then hee deserued, being a notorions disobedient & godlesse person, an vnthriftie spender, & consumer of the fruits of his owne labours, one that hath violated his faith to his best and dearest friends, and wittingly brought them into danger, to their vndoing. His wife & children haue cause to curse all wicked and vngodly Libellers.[85]

Cooper's vehement condemnation of Waldegrave is curious in and of itself. Cooper accuses Waldegrave of poor fiscal practices, a spendthrift who consumes his own profits. Waldegrave's prodigality serves as evidence for Cooper's judgment that Waldegrave "violated his faith." Cooper further decries the printer to be a "notorious disobedient"[86] and one of a group of

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[82] Arber, 94.
[83] See Penry's … and Udall's Diotrephes…
[84] Arber, 86. See also, William Pierce, *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts; a Chapter in the Evolution of Religious and Civil Liberty in England* (New York: New York, Burt Franklin, 1963). 153.
[85] Cooper, Thomas. *An admonition to the people of England*. [electronic resource] : vvherein are ansvvered, not onely the slaunderous vntruethes, reprochfully vttered by Martin the libeller, but also many other crimes by some of his broode, obiected generally against all bishops, and the chiefe of the cleargie, purposely to deface and discredite the present state of the Church. Detractor [et] lebens auditor, vterque diabolum portat in lingua. Seene and allowed by authoritie. n.p.: Imprinted at London: By the deputies of Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, 1589, 41.
[86] In his *Admonition*, Cooper uses the word "notorious" no less than four times to describe members of the Marprelate circle. Cooper's strategy to project onto Londoners the awareness of the infamy of the Marprelates' unglodliness functions as an effective, if specious, rhetorical device.

"ungodly Libellers." Cooper's condemnations will manifest themselves in the language of the legal charges brought against the Marprelates, ultimately growing into the severity of capital treason.

In any case, we are certain that Fawsely served as the location of the second tract, *The Epitome*. Relying on Sharpe's testimony, conspirators seemed aware of the dangers of their work. Sharpe recounts a conversation he had with Valentine Knightly, the son of Sir Richard Knightly, where Valentine Knightly laments, "he was very sorry that ever his Father suffered any such thing to come about his house."[87] Sir Richard Knightly, however, appears not to share his son's misgiving concerning his own role in housing the press. According to testimony, Sharpe asked Knightly "how he would answere the matter of printing this book," if the authorities had come to Fawsely to investigate, Knightly retorted: "Let me alone ye knaves durst not search my house, yf they had, I w[u]olde have curst [*chased*] them, they know well inough, but yt ys gone, and the danger is past."[88]

Indeed, the danger was not past, and the press continued to move; this time, the Maprelates hid the press in Norton, a house owned by Knightly. After two weeks of lying low, the press moved to the residence of John Hales. Hales' home in Coventry, known as White Friars. He is the nephew of Knightly and claims to have agreed to harbor the press only because of familial obligations to Knightly. In any case, Sharpe asserts that Waldegrave printed three texts at White Friars. Two of the three texts were Marprelate tracts: the broadsheet, *Certain Mineral and Metaphysical Schoolpoints* and *Hay any Work*. If the various testimonies are correct, and they seem to correlate, then Waldegrave also printed Penry's *Supplication to ye*

[87] Arber, 96.
[88] Ibid, 96.

parliament. Hales, himself, concurs that Penry's *Supplication* was printed at his home, but Hales refused to corroborate Sharpe's testimony that the *Certain Mineral* and *Hay any Work* were printed at the White Friars. Nevertheless, the authorities safely concluded that printing was being done at Hales' home and that Waldegrave was the printer of the initial four Marprelate tracts. The author, Martin Marprelate, however, remained anonymous, despite Sharpe's testimony that prior to the printing of *Certain Mineral*, Penry showed him the pamphlet in "written hand."[89] Sharpe also claimed that Newman, a courier, brought 700 copies of *Hay any Work* for Sharpe to bind. Sharpe offers the following details:

> The Examinate [Sharpe] bound up the said 700: Bookes, and Newman took them away with him, all but 100: which he left with this Examinates wife, and after his return did fetch the most of them again…

During the printing of *Hay any Work*, two important alterations occurred in the make-up of the Martinists' network. First, Robert Waldegrave withdrew from his role as printer for the group. Sharpe, staying with in-laws at Wolston, was joined there by Waldegrave. While walking in a field Sharpe recounted the following conversation he had with Waldegrave. Sharpe asked, "what news?" Waldegrave responded, "That now all was dispatched, and that the Milne (the covert term for the press) was not going," and "that he wolde no longer meddle or be a dealer in this course, partly because all the preachers that I conferred withall do mislike yt."[90] So Waldegrave was out. Printers John Hodgkins, Valentine Simmes, and Nicholas Tomkins were in. The second important alteration was the emergence of Job Throckmorton. Penry took lodging in Halsely with Job Throckmorton; it is at this point that Throckmorton appears to become engaged in the production of tracts. However, the testimony of the printer John Hodgkins is delightfully

[89] Ibid, 97.
[90] Ibid., 99.

ambiguous as to the role Throckmorton assumes. According to Hodgkins, Hodgkins was hired in London and sent to Throckmorton's home carrying a letter for Penry, who was residing with Throckmorton. Upon arrival the printer hands over the letter and enjoys a meal and a night's lodging with Throckmorton and Penry. The following day, Hodgkins and Penry begin walking to Mistress Wigston's house (the new home of the clandestine press), which was located "one birdebowe shot" from Throckmorton's house.[91] Along the way, the two conspirators come across a "Roll of paper wrapped up together" on the ground, near the side of the road.[92] The printer picks the rolled papers and discovers that the writing therein is a new Marprelate tract in manuscript: *Theses Martianae* or better known as *Martin Junior*.

The two Martinists proceeded to Mistress Wigston's home in Wolston to begin printing the tract. At Mistress Wigston's home are Valentine Simmes and Nicholas Tomkins, two more recruits hired to help Hodgkins print the tract. In fact, the three printers would print *Martin Junior* and *Martin Senior* at Mistress Wigston's home. Two conversations occurred at Wigston's house that I need to describe here but will pick up again in more detail later. First, there is the conversation between Sharpe and the printer. The second conversation, recounted below, is between Sharpe and Mistress Wigston. The testimony is again provided by Sharpe (who seems to have had intimate knowledge of all things Marprelate). Sharpe testified that

> When the last Booke MARTIN Senior was finished, Master Penry and Mistress Wigston were very earnest with Hoskins to stay there, and to print *more Worke for the Cooper*, which he refused to doe, because (as he sayd) he had promised his wife, to have bene home three weekes before that tyme. And another reason he gave to this Examinate,[93] for that he misliked Master Penrys Press.

[91] Ibid. 134. "Birdebowe" appears to be a hapex legomenon, but the collocation, birdebowe shot, rings proverbial. In any case, we know that the home of Throckmorton and the home of Mistress Wigston are within a day's walk of each other.
[92] Ibid., 134.
[93] Henry Sharpe, himself, is the Examinate.

> This Examinate further sayth, that Master WIGSTON was not of Counsell, with ye first beginning of the printing of these two Bookes, as Mistress WIGSTON told this Examinate, and further sayth, that the said Mistress WIGSTON told this Examinate, that she had desired of her husband leave to doe a piece of worke at his Howse, whereof he woulde be content to take no knowledge, and that she obteyned her desire.[94]

Some interesting aspects to Sharpe's testimony jump out at us, but suffice it say here, that the printers once again will be on the move. What Sharpe insinuates about the physical press, however, must be remarked on, here. First, Sharpe avers that the printing press belongs to Penry. In addition, Sharpe tells the Privy Council that Hodgkins owns his own press. In a time when all presses had to be licensed, there appears to be many, or at least two, that have gone to work hidden from the Stationers, the Bishop of London, and the Privy Council. Second, Sharpe informed the Council that Roger Wigston had no knowledge of the conspiracy and that Mistress Wigston took pains to insure her husband was not implicated.[95] In any case, the printers went north to print what will be the final tract of the Marprelate series.

Before leaving Wolston, Hodgkins is led to an empty room in the Priory where he finds the copy of *More Work for Cooper*. Throckmorton apparently dropped the manuscript for Hodgkins to find. As the Dean of Exeter, Matthew Sutcliffe, would write: "An unhappy drop for poor Hodgskin, who if her Majestie had not bene gracious to him, had dropped off the gibet for it."[96] Feeling the pressures caused by his illegal activities, Hodgkins decides to leave Wolston and print the piece near his home in Manchester, despite Mistress Wigston's insistence on his

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[94] Arber, 102.

[95] Archbishop Whitgift eventually determines that Roger Wigston was aware of the illegal press at his home (Arber, 133.) Whitgift quips that because Roger Wigston had been ruled by his wife, his punishment should be greater. In fact, Roger Wigston was ultimately fined 500 marks, whereas, Mistress Wigston was fined £1000. Both fines were remitted.

[96] Matthew Sutcliffe, *An ansvvere vnto a certaine calumnious letter published by M. Iob Throkmorton, and entituled, A defence of I. Throkmorton against the slaunders of M. Sutcliffe wherein the vanitie both of the defence of himselfe, and the accusation of others is manifestly declared, by Matthevv Sutcliffe* (London: 1595) Fol. 72[r.]

completing the work under her roof.[97] The three men's work at Wolston was appreciated and Mistress Wigston gave them each a half a crown, and even Mr. Wigston, although probably out of relief that the activities were moving on, gave the printers a couple extra schillings.[98]

The printers gathered the materials they had remaining and hid the press in Wolston (Hodgkins had his own press waiting for him in Lancashire). They hid their manufacturing contraband under some straw on a cart. According to testimony, they "stowed away press, `three payre of cases w$^{th}$ letters of three sorts' the remainder of ink, and about `twelve ream of paper.'"[99] The finish books went the opposite direction to London hidden in a crate marked as leather. Two servants of Knightly as well as Henry Sharpe testified that Humphrey Newman arranged the books to be brought to Banbury, and then onto London until they reached Friday Street at the *Sarazins Head*. From here, Newman paid a porter 5 shillings and 6 pence to carry the "leather" pack to a house near Tilted Yard.[100]

The company of printers headed north to Lancashire, near Manchester. It is near Manchester, in Warrington, that things fell apart for the printers. While unloading the contraband, a case of type fell and spilled out unto the ground. The villagers, not recognizing the purpose of the lead were told by the printers that the type was in fact, lead shot: "Diverse standing by and marvayling what they shold be Hodgskins answered they were shott."[101]Word of the incident, however, reached Henry Stanley, the Earl of Derby. Whether or not Stanley was shown a sample of the "shot" or merely heard enough description of the lead pieces is unknown, but Stanley proved himself intuitive enough to suspect that something illegal was taking place.

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[97] Pierce, 189.
[98] Pierce, 189.
[99] Harley MSS 7042, 23 (ii), 10; Pierce, 189; Arber, 103, 131.
[100] Arber, 131.
[101] Arber, 131.

He sent his agents to investigate and the printers were apprehended at a rented house on Newton Lane. The printers along with their printing materials and Hodgkins's press were seized. The printers were taken to London to be tortured, interrogated and ultimately convicted of illegal printing.

Figure 11 A map of the movement of the Marprelatel press[102].

[102] The press begins south of London but soon relocates to various destinations within England's Midlands. The final destination, at the time, was called Cheshire, but is presently called Greater Manchester. The image of the map of England comes from WikiCommons, the trail of the presses movement is my own.

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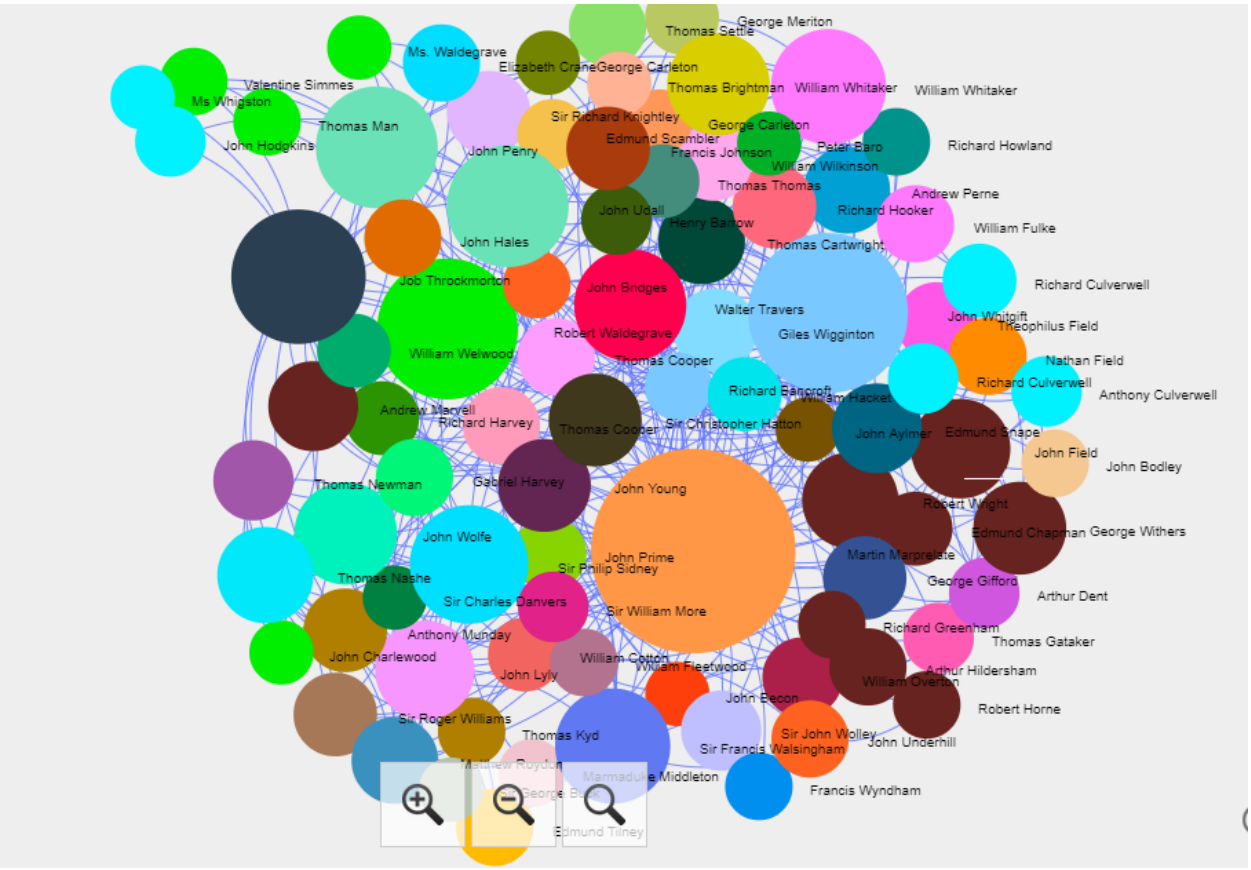

Figure 12 The Marprelate Network[103].

Homophily: The conceptual links connecting the Marprelate network

Regionalism

The movement of the Marprelate press reveals important clues in the homophilic practices of those involved with the illegal press. At first, those initially involved in the Marprelate press--Udall, Penry, Waldegrave, and Crane--seem to share little in common with each other outside of a reformative impulse and Presbyterianism. Udall and Penry, of course, were classmates at Cambridge; Udall comes from humble origins,[104] while Penry comes from

[103] Image from my interactive website, dreme.ga/Marprelate
[104] Cross, Claire. "Udall, John." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

Brecknockshire, in Wales.[105] Waldegrave is a London printer. Elizabeth Crane, newly married to George Carleton, lives in East Molesey, Surrey. Yet if one looks behind the social network, one finds that, including the Welshman, Penry, all the conspirators originate from or have deep connections to the English Midlands.

The Cambridge connection between Udall and Penry is an important one. Many of the young non-conformist preachers of the 1580s stem from Cambridge. Under the tutelage of Thomas Cartwright as well as other high-profile theologians, such as John Dod and Laurence Chaderton, these young radicals banded together to confront what they deemed as residual elements of popery within the Anglican church.

Dod remains a glaring absence in the scholarship on the Martinists. Moving between Fawsley Manor and Hanwell in Oxfordshire, Dod's close friendships to Sir Richard Knightly and Job Throckmorton require at least a note.[106] Throckmorton, suspected by scholars to be the author of all or most of the Marprelate tracts, had Dod as his closest friend, and the two often travelled and reposed together. Later known as "Decalogue Dod," for his influential study of the Ten Commandments, the absence of Dod's name in the Marprelate controversy is curious. With some certainty, Dod can be placed in Banbury and at Fawsley during the printing of the Marprelate tracts. To my knowledge, Dod is never mentioned in any State papers as a member of the Martinists; there is Waldegrave's statement, however, that Waldegrave quit the Marprelate project because "all the preachers that I conferred withall do mislike yt."[107] Waldegrave, as noted above, was staying in Fawsley when he heeded the preachers' advice to remove himself from the

[105] Cross, Claire. Penry, John. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.
[106] Dod would eventually accept a position as preacher at Fawsley from Knightley's son.
[107] See fn 14.

project. Although it is not certain that Dod was Waldegrave's advising minister, Dod was a central theologian in the circle of midland dissenters.

In fact, among the gentry in Northamptonshire and in Banbury, Dod found consistent employment, despite his non-conformist's position. Sir Richard Knightly, Erasmus Dryden, Job Throckmorton, and Sir Anthony Cope all patronized Dod in very meaningful ways. Of these patrons, two are directly involved in the Marprelate press, but all of them are related to each other through blood and marriage. Sir Anthony Cope, the person who arranged for Dod's employment in Hanwell, is the step-son of Elizabeth Crane.[108]

It is Udall, however, who introduces Penry to Waldegrave through the bookseller, Thomas Man. In documents collected during Udall's examination by the Star Chamber, Udall states: "hee vseth ordinarily every fortnight to resort to the house of Thomas Man to buy books, and to pay for such as hee hath had, because hee is a Stationer."[109] Robert Waldegrave printed almost exclusively for Thomas Man prior to 1587 (see Appendix III).[110] Along with the familiarity that Man would have had with Waldegrave professionally, Waldegrave, himself, like the other Martinists, comes from the west midland county of Worcestershire. Furthermore, Waldegrave had printed two volumes of Udall's work as well as works by John Fields, William Perkins, and Laurence Chaderton. One can also assume that Waldegrave identified with the non-conformist's theological positions of the books he printed. Katherine van Eerde remarks:

[108] Fielding, J. "Dod, John (1550–1645), Church of England clergyman." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
[109] Harley MS. 6849, fol.154; rpt in Aber, 93.
[110] Thomas Man, who was never implicated in the Marprelate controversy nevertheless made his career by publishing radical protestant books.

"Waldegrave's own religious predilections must…have matched with those of the Marprelate writers."[111]

The shared theological beliefs of the clandestine group served as collective motivation as they pushed forward to illegally print the Marprelate pamphlets, but as evidenced in the individual backgrounds of each agent rests the fact that these controversialists shared deep regional and familial bonds. As the press left Crane's home and headed to Fawsley Hall, the home of Sir Richard Knightly, one suspects that the group was hedging its risks by eliminating outside contact with others: servant and neighbors, for instance, who were not midlanders, and whose loyalty was possibly more mercenary or capricious.

The New Recruits: John Hodgkins and Valentine Simmes

Under what circumstances Hodgkins was hired in uncertain. Either Waldegrave or Penry must have recruited him. Futhermore, very little is known about him, but we do know that he recruited Simmes. What also seems to be true is that Hodgkins never went on to make a career of printing, despite owning an illegal press; the reasons for his disappearance from the printing profession are mere speculation, but it is possible that he was prohibited by the terms of his conviction for his role in the Marprelate controversy to print ever again, although no such prohibition is stated in the records, nor is there any evidence that the other Marprelate printers were denied livelihood in the trade. It is also possible that Hodgkins passed away soon after the conclusion of the Marprelate events. Valentine Simmes, however, rebounded from his Marprelate involvement to become one of London's most important printers.

Valentine Simmes

[111]Katherine S.Van Eerde, "Robert Waldegrave: The Printer as Agent and Link between Sixteenth-Century England and Scotland." *Renaissance Quarterly* 34, no. 1, 1981: 42.

Valentine Simmes (sometimes spelled Syms Sims, or Symmes), like most of the other Marprelates, comes from England's Midlands. Although not much is known about his origins, the Stationers' Register records that Simmes was apprenticed to Henry Sutton in 1577 and was the "sonne of Richard Symmes of Adderbury in the county of Oxford Sherman."[112] Sutton died before Simmes' apprenticeship ended, and Simmes was given his freedom by Sutton's widow, Johane.[113] Later Simmes worked under the well-established printer of literature, including Spenser, Henry Bynneman. Under Bynneman, Simmes trained as a compositor and worked alongside another apprentice Nicholas Ling, who would become an important printer and a central business associate of Simmes.[114]

After the Marpelate controversy, Simmes would become a printer of some note. He printed nine of Shakespeare's "bad" quartos in the 1590s. He printed the poetry of Michael Drayton, works by Thomas Nashe, *The Malcontent* by John Marston as well as the important collection of poems, *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611), by Aemilia Lanyer. [115] Of course, before these canonical publications, he accepted a role as printer or compositor of the Marprelate pamphlets.

By the time Simmes was hired to join the Marprelate press, the authorities were on the heels of the conspirators. In November of 1588, Lord Burghley entered a letter written by Archbishop Whitgift into the official state records. The letter need not be cited in full, here, but

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[112] Arber, E., A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640 A.D. (1950) II, 74. See also, Ferguson, W. Craig, and University of Virginia. Bibliographical Society. *Valentine Simmes : Printer to Drayton, Shakespeare, Chapman, Greene, Dekker, Middleton, Daniel, Jonson, Marlowe, Marston, Heywood, and Other Elizabethans*. Publications (University of Virginia. Bibliographical Society). Charlottesville, Va.: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1968.
[113] Ferguson, 5.
[114] Ferguson, 5, 14.
[115] See Appendix 1 for a complete list of Simmes' publications.

the ecclesiastical position concerning the Martinists' publications is summed up in the final lines of the letter: "To search for ye Authors and abettors of a Seditious book against ye Ecclesiastical Government of ye Church by Bishops."[116] The Bishops, in particular, John Aylmer, the Bishop of London, Archbishop Whitgift, and John Bridges, the Dean of Salisbury ardently sought prosecution for the Martinists' attacks on the legitimacy of the English episcopate. In fact, it was the publication of the very long defense of the English church (1440 pages) by John Bridges that arguably sparked the Martinists' into action. In any case, Bridges' and his published defense receive the brunt of Martin's first satirical pamphlet.

By 1589, the Queen has had enough of the Martinists. The Martinists had just published their second pamphlet, *The Epitome,* and the Crown takes this opportunity to denounce all critics of the episcopate. Elizabeth publishes a proclamation denouncing the Martinists at traitors and libellants. Although the proclamation is lengthy, it is worth reprinting in its entirety:

> By the Queene.
> Proclamation against certaine seditious and Schismatical Boohs and Libels &'c.
> The Queenes most excellent Maiestie, considering howe with in these few yeeres past, and now of [l]ate, certain seditious, and euill disposed persons towards her Maiestie and the Gouernment established for causes Ecclesiasticall within her Maiesties Dominions, haue deuised, written, printed, or caused to be seditiously and secretly published and dispersed, sundry schismatical and seditious bookes, diffamatorie Libels, and other fantasticall writings amongst her Maiesties Subiectes, containing in them doctrine very erronious, and other matters notoriously vntrue, and slaunderous to the State, and against the godly reformation of Religion and Gouerne- ment Ecclesiasticall established hy Lawe, and so quietly of long time continued, and also against the persons of the Bishoppes, and others placed in authoritie Ecclesiasticall vnder her Highnesse by her authoritie, in ray ling sorte, and beyond the boundes of all good humanitie: All which Bookes, Libels, and writings tend by their scope, to per- swade and bring in a monstrous and apparaunt da.ungerous Innouation within her dominions and Countries, of all manner Ecclesiasticall Gouernement now in vse, and fo the abridging, or rather to the ouerthrowe 'of her Highnesse lawfull Prerogatiue, allowed by Gods -lawe, and established by the Lawes of the Realme, and consequently to reuerse, dissolue, and set at Libertie the present Gouernment of the Church, and to make a daungerous change of the forme of doctrine, and vse of Diuine seruice of God, and the ministration of the Sacraments nowe

[116] Lansdowne MS. 103, fol. 102. Rpt. In Arber, 108.

also in vse, with a rashe and malicious purpose also to dissolue the Estate of the Prelacie, being one of the three auncient estates of this Realme vnder her Highnesse, whereof her.Maiestie mindeth to haue such a reuerend regard, as to their places in the Church and Common wealth appertaineth. All which saide lewde and seditious practises doe directly tend to the manifest wilfull breach of a great number of good Lawes and Statutes of this Realme, inconueniences nothing regarded by such Innouations.

In consideration whereof, her Highnesse graciously minding to prouide some good and speedy remedie. to withstand such notable daungerous and vngodly attempts, and for that purpose to haue such enormious malefactors discouered and condignely punished, doeth signifie this her Highnesse misliking and in¬dignation of such daungerous and wicked enterprises, and for that purpose doth hereby will, and also straightly charge and commaund, that all persons whatsoeuer, within any her Maiesties Realmes and Dominions, who haue, or hereafter shall haue any of the saide seditious Bookes, Pamphlets, Libels, or Writings, or any of like nature already published, or hereafter to be published, in his or their custodie," containing such matters as aboue are mentioned, against the present Order and Gouernment of the Church of England, or the lawfull Ministers thereof, or against the rites and cerfemonies vsed in the Church, and allowed by the Lawes of the Realme : That they, and euery of them doe presently after, with conuenient speede bring in, and deliuer vp the same vnto the Ordinarie of the Diocesse, or of the place where they inhabite: to the intent that they may he vtterly defaced by the saide Ordinarie, or otherwise vsed by them. And that from henceforth no person or persons wEatsoeuer, be so hardie, as to write, contriue, print or cause to be published or distributed, or to keepe any of the same, or any other Books, Lihels, or Writings of like nature and qualitie, contrary to the true meaning and intent of this her Maiesties Proclamation. And likewise, that no man hereafter, giue any instruction, direction, fauour, or assistance to the contriuing, writing, printing, publishing, or .dispersing of the same, or such like Bookes, Libelles, or Writings whatsoeuer, as they tender her Maiesties good fauour, will auoyde her high displeasure, and as they will answere for the contrary at their vttermost perils : andvpon such further paines and penalties, as by the Lawe • any way may be inflicted vpon tbe offenders, in any of these behalfes, as persons mainteining such, seditious Actions, which her Maiestie mindeth to haue seuerally executed. And if any person haue had knowledge of the Authors, Writers, Printers, or dispersers thereof that shall withfn one moneth after the publication hereof, .discouer the same to the Ordiharie of the place where he had such knowledge, or to any of her Maiesties priuie Counsell: the same person shall not for his former concealement be hereafter molested or troubled.

Giuen at her Maiesties Pallace of Westminster, the xiii. of Februarie, 1588 [i.e. 1589]." In ihe xxxi. yeere of her Highnesse reigne

God saue the Queene.

Imprinted; at London- by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer (to) the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. – 1588.

This fascinating document makes clear the position of the Crown—publicly attacking the episcopate is a direct attack upon the person of the Queen, on the stability of the English social

order, and on the ancient identity of England itself. Furthermore, the proclamation is careful to include all aspects of publication, including the harboring of illegal presses and even the possession of seditious materials. The proclamation also offers conspirators and those persons privy to information about any conspirators a grace period of thirty days to either turn themselves into the authorities or to provide pertinent information that authorities could use in the apprehension of seditious persons. In spite of the dangerous nature of the Marprelate press, and regardless of the severe consequences pronounced by the authorities, Simmes agrees to join the illegal activity.

Why would a fledging printer, who was apprenticed to the successful Henry Bynneman, agree to risk life and limb for the Martinists? Nothing in the succeeding years of his career would suggest that Simmes bore any zeal for the Presbyterian cause, nor did he, like Waldegrave or Thomas Man, eke out a living printing theological texts. In general, Simmes, like Bynneman, was primarily a printer of literary texts. The answer to why Simmes would risk his life to print the remaining Marprelate tracts was money, or at least, the promise of money. Simmes, it would seem, printed whatever would bring a profit. In fact, later in his career, Symmes was imprisoned for printing popish materials:

> "Most gracious Sovereign. Valentine Symmes who has now taken printing seditious books, has done the like seventimes before this; first he printed the things of Martin Marprelate, after has been meddling in Popish books, he by forebearing has become worse."[117]

Simmes seemed particularly concerned with his state in life, at least his financial state. If we take a look at one of Simmes' printing devices, Simmes' subtle comment on England's rigid class system and his own place in it becomes evident:

[117] The Hatfield Papers. Reprinted in Ferguson, 9.

Figure 13 A printing device used by Valentine Simmes

The figure is of a boy with wings on his right arm and a weight fastened to his left hand. The emblematic statement represents the concept that talent is kept from rising by the burden of poverty. For Simmes, England's lack of opportunity for upward mobility signifies a rejection of merit for the sake of birth. He certainly felt capable of better things. Indeed, Simmes, although it is doubtful that he had any education, acquired an editor's touch as a compositor. According to Elizabeth's attorney general Sir John Puckering's hand-written account, Simmes is said to have found the text of the final Marprelate tract poorly written and took it upon himself to revise the text (fig. 4).

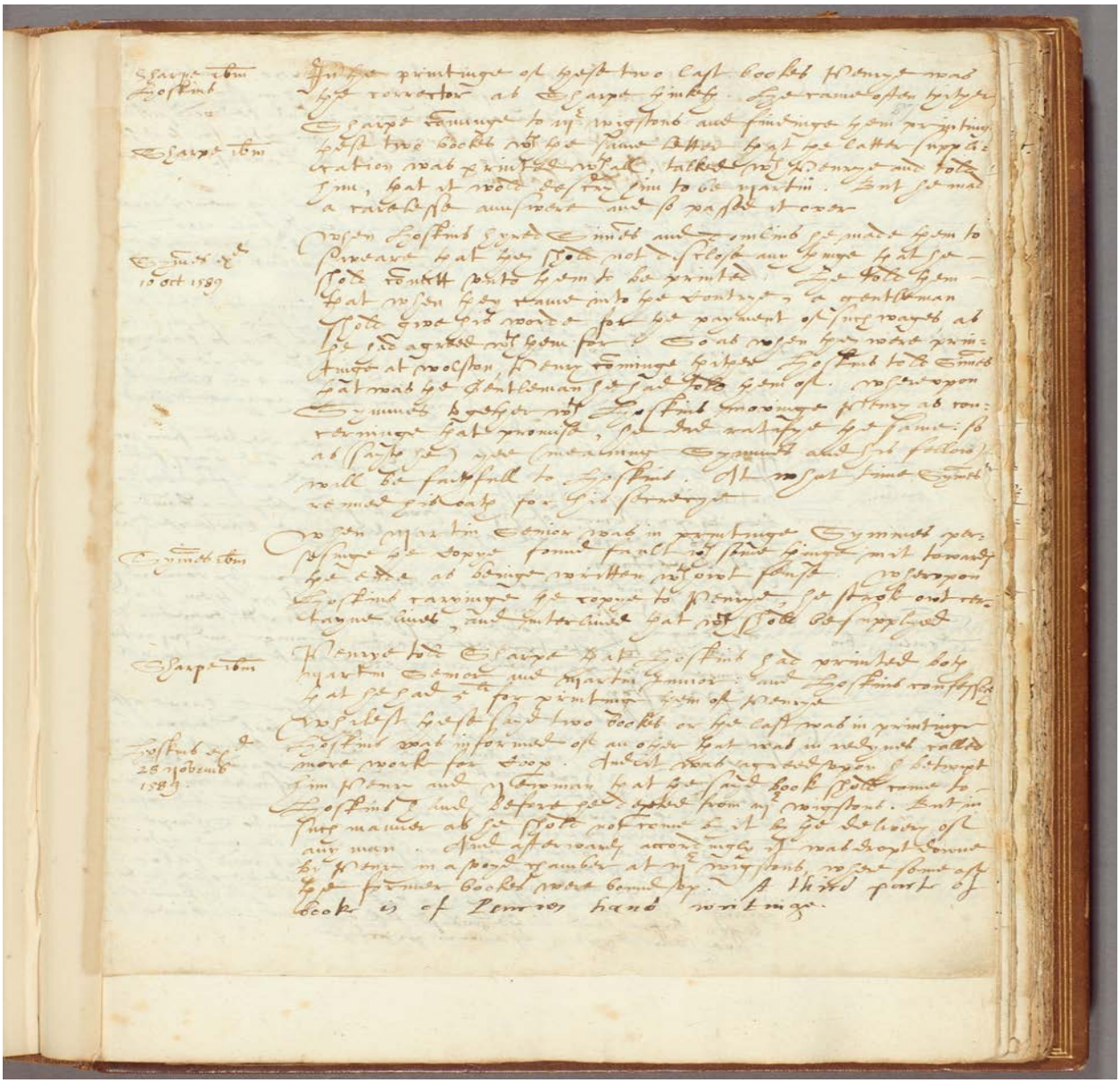

Figure 14 The Puckering Manuscript. Courtesy of the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

The Puckering papers, above, claim that Symmes, again, a trained compositor, corrected the manuscript as he prepared it for printing:

> "When Martin Senior was in printing Symmes pervsinge the copye found fault wth some thinge in it towardes the ende as beinge written wth owt sense. Whereupon Hoskins caryinge the copye to Penrye, he strok owt certayne lines, and interlined that wch shold be supplyed."

That Simmes edited on the fly has important implications for our understanding of the levels of editorial involvement assumed by early modern printers in general. Specific to the Marprelate tracts, themselves, however, the emendations made by Simmes were used as evidence by authorities to prove that John Penry, who gave Hodgkins and Simmes the manuscript to be printed, was indeed, Martin Marprelate, the author. Attribution of authorship aside, Simmes' ability to revise, compose, or even mimic the author's voice shows an intuitive sense of language.[118] It is no wonder, then, that Simmes envisioned England's lack of meritocracy by the lamentable device of a youth whose talent is denied because of inherited poverty.

Poverty provides the answer to the question of why Simmes would join the ill-fated conspiracy. If Hodgkins sought out Simmes because of a shared midlander's origin, then Simmes agreed because of an offer too good to pass up. According to the last examinations of Simmes by Walsingham and Lord Burghley, Hodgkins came to Simmes with an offer of employment:

> A. Abowt St James tyde John Hodgkins dealt with these examinates (Thomlins and Simmes) to goe wth them into the country to print accidences etc, promising to Simes xx l. (20 pounds) a yeare and meat and drink, and to the other viii l. (eight pounds) and meat and drink…[119]

When the average Elizabethan laborer made four pounds a year, twenty pounds represent a substantial amount of money.[120] Simmes found the reward worth the risk. Unfortunately, Simmes would never receive remuneration, but instead found himself stretched to the rack and

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[118] There are many studies that claim to identify the Marprelate author or authors. Most recently, Joseph Black's *The Martin Marprelate tracts: a modernized and annotated edition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) attributes authorship to Job Trockmorton, as does Leland H. Carlson in his book, *Martin Marprelate, gentleman: master job throkmorton laid open in his colors*. (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1981). Both Arber and Pierce aver that John Penry wrote most of the Martin pamphlets and add John Udall's name to the possible co-writer of the first pamphlet, *The Epistle*.

[119] Manchester Papers No. 123. Also, see Pierce, 339 and Josesh L. Black, liii.

[120] Ian Mortimer, *The time traveler's guide to Elizabethan England*, (New York, New York: Viking, 2012), n.p.

not heard from again until his next imprint in 1594, when he printed, along two other texts, Michael Drayton's *Mathilda*.[121]

Women as Agents to the Marprelate Press

While Valentine Simmes may not have shared in the religious fervor that sparked the fire that ignited the Marprelate tracts, the women involved with the pamphlets certainly did. There is no question that the success of the secret press rested on the shoulders of key women who risked everything for their non-conformist cause. Scholars have noted the role of Crane and Wigston, but the way scholars have remarked on the importance of these women seems insufficient and ancillary.

Early modern women found agency in exercising their religious convictions, and non-conformist women stood up against the threat of scandal and imprisonment to defend their beliefs. For example, Richard L. Greaves points out that "separatist Margaret Maynard, arrested for recusancy in 1587, proclaimed that she had not gone to her parish church in a decade because `there is no church in England.'"[122] Similarly, Mrs. John Traske who defiantly held Sabbath on Saturdays, received ten years in prison.[123]

Despite the threat of prison, non-conformist women spoke with biblical authority. In a marginal note to Deuteronomy 21:18, the Geneva Bible translators charged women with the obligation of instructing their children in religious matters: "it is the mothers dutie also to

[121] See Appendix I for a complete list of books printed by Simmes.
[122] Richard L. Greaves, "The Role of Women in Early English Nonconformity," *Church History*, 52(3): 309.
[123] Greenwood, John, Henry Barrow, and Leland H. Carlson. The Writings of John Greenwood, 1587-1590, (Halley Stewart Publications. London: Published for the Sir Halley Stewart Trust, G. Allen and Unwin, 1962), 466-67 See also Greaves, 309.

instruct her children."[124] Certainly, one could argue that the women's role in the catechism of their children is another restriction of what and where women could have agency, but I would argue that the Elizabethan world centered on religion, and as such, the result of education, religiously based or not, will have revolutionary consequences in mere generations after the 1580s.[125]

In any case, women, in fact, were not limited only to the role of domestic educators. What has gone unnoticed or at best, misjudged, is the role women played in the business of print and publication. While the numbers differ from bibliographer to bibliographer, there can no doubt that at least five percent of "approximately 383 publishers and patentees in Elizabethan England were female."[126] Five percent represents a substantial number of publications, particularly when one considers who these women were: Joan Kingston, Sarah Griffin, and Joan Aldee. These women printed many of the most important books of the period, and maintained their businesses successfully during a period that ran high with bankruptcies and failed enterprises. The women involved in the Marprelate press, however, were not, as far as we know, involved in the actual printing of the pamphlets, but their roles were instrumental to the press regardless.

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[124] Berry, Lloyd E., and William Whittingham. *The Geneva Bible: a facsimile of the 1560 edition*. (Madison; Milwaukee; London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).
[125] Further study on this subject is necessary. My research, although not presented here in its entirety, indicates that women, such as Anne Bacon, may be the key behind both the Puritan revolution as well as the scientific revolution. I realize this claim smacks of hyperbole, but the social network visualizations all point to key women, such as Anne Bacon and Margaret Clifford, as the focal points of influence. T.W. Balwin's *William Shakspere's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944) and Lynn Enterline's *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012) have done much to enrich our understanding of the Elizabethan schoolhouse, but more research is needed on the impact that domestic education had on Elizabethan society.
[126] Greaves, 306.

Elizabeth Crane

Elizabeth Crane supported the Martinists by allowing her home to be used as a print shop. Crane married Puritan parliamentarian, George Carlton. Carlton, another midlander, was friends with John Udall, John Penry and the printer, Robert Waldegrave. He was also the uncle of Sir Anthony Cope. It was Crane's servant, Nicholas Tompkins who provided state's evidence against the Martinists as well as his employer, Crane.

The State accused Crane of violating the law that disallowed printing outside the city of London, with the exception of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The Star Chamber charged that at "sundrye other tymes as well as before and after," Elizabeth Crane allowed John Penry, John Udall, and Robert Waldegrave to use her home for the printing of seditious materials. The State also charged that Crane "mayteined and comforted the said Sedicious psonnes, in and aboute the doinge of the same in great Contempte."[127] Crane was sentenced to the Fleet prison for two years and fined a £1000.

If we knew nothing else about Crane, it is critical that we acknowledge her will and integrity. Faced with execution and torture, Crane responded to her accusers thusly: [I am] a loyal subiect to her maiestie, and noe papiste, noe Annabaptiste, noe Browniste nor of the famylie of love."[128] Crane, unlike most of her fellow conspirators, refused to implicate anyone but herself in the crimes alleged by the State. Her refusal to identify the author of the first Marprelate tract represents a key reason why we, and the Star Chamber, for that matter, cannot identify the pamphlet's author.

[127] P.R.O., Star Chamber 5, A 30/22
[128] Julia Norton McCorkle, "A note concerning `Mistress Crane' and the Martin Marprelate Controversy," *The Library*, Volume s4-XII, Issue 3, 1 December 1931: 278-279.

Mary Waldegrave

Crane's fortitude and resilience in the face of execution is matched by the boldness of Mary Waldegrave. Mary Waldegrave's husband, Robert, received the ire of the authorities on more than one occasion. In 1585, Waldegrave was imprisoned and had his stock confiscated and marred beyond use by the authorities for printing non-conformist's books. During this particular seizure, Robert "quick wittedly[i]smuggled out a set of type under his cloak, and so preserved it."[129] In 1588, just prior to establishing the printing shop at Elizabeth Crane's East Moslesy home, the authorities set their sights on Waldegrave once again. This time, Mary Waldegrave "stole privately the day after the seizure of [Waldegrave's] press, bringing with her the box of rescued type, which Nicholas Tomkins, a servant of Mrs. Crane, took charge of."[130] Without the deliberate and courageous risks taken by Mary Waldegrave, Robert would have had to find more unlicensed and illegal type.

In the *Epistle*, the initial Marprelate pamphlet, the author rails against the treatment of Waldegrave's at the hands of Archbiship Whitgift and the London authorities:

> Waldegrave hath left house and home by reason of your [Canterbury's] unnaturall tyrannie, having left behind a poore wife and six orphanes, without anything to relieve them. (For the husband you have bereaved both of his trade and goods.) (*Epistle*, sig. [D][v])

The dramatic posturing of the text is only partly hyperbolic. Robert Waldegrave did have his stock of typed defaced, and he was imprisoned: "So they carried Waldegrave to prison with an

[129] Van Eerde, 48. I am inclined to believe that Mary actually smuggled out and rescued the type, because it seems clear that Robert was taken into custody at this moment.
[130] Pierce, 153.

hundred marks over his shoulders."[131] The author's emphatic declaration that Waldegrave's children were orphaned and that Mary Waldegrave was bereft of any means to support them is not entirely true. Mary Waldegrave managed to keep her print shop active, the presses churning, and the income flowing during Robert's imprisonment.[132]

As Robert Waldegrave discontinued his work for the Marprelate press, he, now a fugitive, hid himself, and presumably Mary and the children, at Sir Richard Knightley's manor home in Fawsley. From there, the couple found safe passage to Edinburgh, Scotland. In Edinburgh, and somewhat inexplicably, Waldegrave would find himself employed by James VI as the King's Printer. Waldegrave remained in Scotland, far from the reach of the Archbishop Whiftgift and the Stationer's Company. In fact, he notoriously pirated and printed Phillip Sydney's *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* in 1595 as well as lawfully printing the famous writings of James, himself.

Mistress Wigston

The court records and other available records do not provide Wigston's first name. She is known only as Mistress Wigston. Henry Sharpe, in his testimony to the council of the Star Chamber claims that John Penry approached Mistress Wigston with the request that she allow her home to be used, like Crane's home, as a print shop for the illegal press. Mistress Wigston, it would seem, agreed. The printers, Hodgkins, Simmes, and Tomlyn completed two Marprelate pamphlets, *Marin Junior* and *Martin Senior*, in Wolston at Wigston's home. Sharpe tells us that the Hodgkins, and presumably Simmes and Tomlyn as well, was "wrought there (Wigston's

[131] *Hay any worke for Cooper*, sig. [G]^{v}. See van Eede: "This reference to "an hundred marks" is usually taken to mean lashes." 47; see also Pierce, 42-43.
[132] van Eerde, 47.

home) very privately in a low Parlour, and was kept there under the name of an Imbroyderer, that the Servants might know nothing of the matter."[133]

According to testimonies, Mistress Wigston harbored the press without ever disclosing to Roger Wigston, her husband, the laborers' purpose in the parlor. Wigston told Sharpe that she "desired…of her husband leaue to doe a piece of worke at his Howse, wher he wolde be content to take no knowledge, and that she obteyned her desire."[134] Roger Wigston's ignorance of the seditious crimes taking place in his house would evoke a half-sarcastic, but completely patriarchal response from one of judges who thought Roger Wigston "worthie of the greater punishment for givinge such a foolishe aunswear as that he did yt at his wiffes desire."[135] Wigston "for obaying his wiffe" was fined 500 marks. Mistress Wigston received a fine of £1000.[136] For her part, Mistress Wigston never confessed that her husband had any knowledge of the crimes that she helped engineer. She, like Elizabeth Crane, stood willing to accept full responsibility for her actions as well as the actions of her fellow conspirators.

In any case, Roger Wigston knew of the printing being done in his house. Sharpe tells us that Roger Wigston "was very angry with his wife, but yet suffred them to finish that which they had begun."[137] Indeed, as the printers were leaving Wolston to go print up north, both Mistress and Roger Wigston gave a small remuneration to the printers.

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[133] Arber, 102.
[134] Arber, 102.
[135] Thomas Bayley Howell, ed., *Cobbett's Complete Collection of State Trials*, 34. Vols. (London, 1809-28) v.1, 1270-72. See also Black, liv.
[136] State Trials, 1272. Ultimately, the State remitted the fines for both Mistress and Roger Wigston.
[137] Arber, 102.

A Moveable Press

Hodgkins, according to Sharpe, disliked Penry's printing press and decided to move the operation to the north to Cheshire, where Hodgkins hid his own illegal printing press. From his home in Lancaster, the printers packed up Hodgkins' press in a cart under some straw and headed to Cheshire to print the final pamphlet. Early modern printing presses were large and difficult to move. We have very few representations of 16th century printing press, but the images we do have indicate that the presses were not portable in any efficient way. Albrecht Durer's famous drawing (fig #) shows the encumbering size of the machine. The frame of the press is

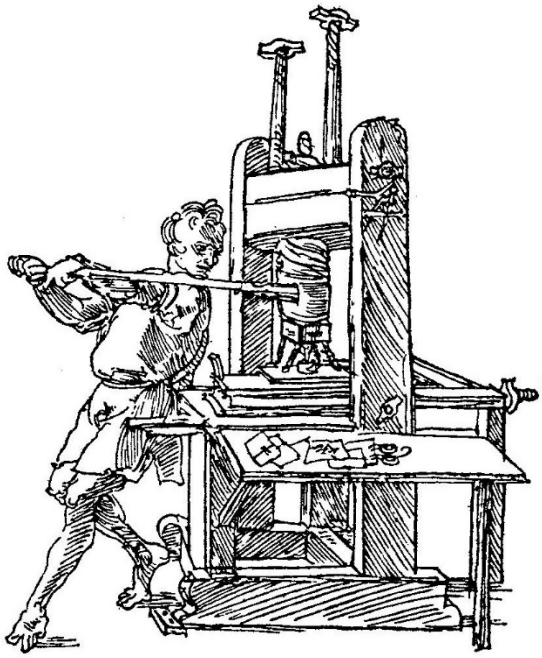

Figure 15 Drawing by Albrecht Durer (1511)

constructed from seven four by eight solid wood masts, and one single eight by eight piece to secure the large wine-press type Archimedean screw. In an engraving, this one by Abraham von Werdt, we receive a full view of the printing shop:

Figure 16 Abrahan von Werdt. Wood engraving (1676).

In von Werdt's engraving we obtain a clear view of what could only be considered the cleanest and most organized of all printing shops. The plain but sturdy press in Durer's engraving has been replaced with a highly ornate press with a large bronze griffin capping the frame and a decorative molding around the circumference the frame.

It is a safe bet that Hodgkins' illegal press shared more in common with the press from Durer's engraving than with the press depicted by von Werdt. In any case, the sixteenth century press required the efforts of no less than two to operate.[138] The presses were large and heavy, and

[138] Typically, a third person, usually an adolescent, called a "fly," would remove the printed paper from the tympan once the page was printed. As James Moran explains, "The word "fly"

in for Hodgkins and Simmes, the press required assembly once they reached their destination. As it turns out, it would be the final printing of from the Marprelate press.

The social network that connected all those involved in the Marprelate press found its adhesion through shared ideologies. Certainly, this commonality defines the early members of the Marprelate circle. Hodgkins and Simmes understood the risks involved and weighed the profit versus the punishment and chose the former. It is unclear that Crane or the other initial members of the group anticipated the violent and tenacious reaction that the pamphlets would ignite in the authorities. Crane, whether or not she was caught off-guard, matched the bishops' threats and punishments with dignity and self-sacrifice. In the end, the pamphlets give us snapshot into the polemics of the English Reformation, but the the Marprelate circle provides us with first glimpse of what will become the Puritan revolution in just two more generations.

persists to this day. When Robert Hoe in 1846 marketed an automatic device to convey printed sheets to a delivery table it was known as a "flyer", and men who take the printed newspapers off a rotary press are known as "fly-hands." James Moran, *Printing Presses: History and Development from the Fifteenth Century to Modern Times* (London: Faber, 1973), 36.

CHAPTER 4

PARNASSUS COMMODIFIED: BEN JONSON AND THE PRINTING OF VALUE

> ....It is the great Exchange of all discourse, &
> no business whatsoever but is here Stirring and
> a foot. It is the general Mint of all famous lies,
> which are here like the legends of Popery, first
> coyn'd and stampt in the Church...[Men] all turne
> Merchants here, and trafficke for Newes.
>
> John Earle, on Paul's Walk from *Lands Epitome*

> The price of many things is far above what
> are bought and sold for. Life and health,
> which are both inestimable, we have the physician;
> as learning and knowledge, the true tillage of
> the mind, from our schoolmasters. But the fees of
> the one or the salary of the other never answer
> the value of what we received, but serve to gratify
> their labours.
>
> Ben Jonson, from *Timber, or, Discoveries*

In 1932, T.S. Eliot's, *Selected Chapters 1917-1932*, arrived in print. The influence of these chapters upon subsequent critics and critical methods cannot be exaggerated, and even now, over eighty years since publication, their influence endures in the professional debates concerning aesthetics and literary methods of interpretation. Among Eliot's chapters is "Ben Jonson," a somewhat curious defense of Jonson's literary merit. For Eliot, Jonson's writings seek to appeal to the reader's mind, and so in order for a contemporary reader to appreciate the "artistic value" of any individual work one must labor through the corpus of Jonson's work as a

whole. In addition to this, Eliot describes another necessary component to the method of understanding Jonson's work:

> we mean that in order to enjoy him [Jonson] at all, we must get to the center of his work and his temperament, and that we must see him unbiased by time, as a contemporary. And to see him as a contemporary does not so much require the power of putting ourselves into seventeenth century London as it requires the power of setting Jonson in our London.[139]

This recommended practice of lifting Jonson's works out of historical context dominated Jonsonian scholarship until the relatively recent past. Even L.C. Knights' ostensibly materialist examination of drama and society in the "age of Jonson" presents a cultural context available to Jonson as a source for his satire but Jonson himself remains precariously beyond the implicating reach of his own historical moment.[140] In other words, for Knights, the age *is* of Jonson, Jonson *is not* of the age.

In the latter twentieth century, however, scholarly work on Jonson attempted to read his texts through the multiple cultural ideologies and practices that constituted his work, and which in turn he participated in constituting. In his article, "Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson: shifting grounds of authority and judgment in three major comedies," Don E. Wayne provides a reappraisal of L.C. Knights' book, and at the same time, offers a more expansive perspective through which critics may (re-)locate Jonson's roles as playwright, poet, and social critic.[141] As Wayne states, Knights correctly understood Jonson's criticism of his society's conspicuously

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[139] Jonas Barish, ed. *Ben Jonson: A Collection of Critical Chapters* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963) 15.
[140] L.C.Knights,*Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1937; rpt. 1968).
[141] Wayne's corrective article first appeared in the journal *Renaissance Drama* in 1982, and subsequently reprinted in the compilation edited by Mary Beth Rose, *Renaissance Drama as Cultural History* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1990) 3-29. All citations and corresponding pagination will refer to the latter publication edited by Rose.

acquisitive practices, but was unable to perceive Jonson's implicit participation in the very practices he sought to satirize. Wayne explains that "while they [Jacobean playwrights, and Jonson in particular] may be satirizing the acquisitiveness associated with an incipient mercantile capitalism, the dramatists are themselves caught in something of a double bind concerning the place of their own work in this new economic, political, and social context."[142]

It is in this "double bind," this contradictory space between the market and "Parnassus commodified," that Jonson found himself. Floating above the limen, or threshold, he aggressively worked to distinguish himself and his writings from the consumable stuffs fed to the "indiscriminate" palates of the growing literary public.[143] No play in Jonson's corpus dramatizes this double bind more saliently than *The Staple of News,* a satire on the newly formed business of manufacturing and distributing information for popular consumption. Along with various pointed attacks against particular persons and topical occurrences, the news-staple provides Jonson with the material for his critique on the commodification of writing in the marketplace. At the same time, the news-mongers function as touchstones against which Jonson measured his own work. Jonson, through his satiric jeers and various controlling rhetorical tropes attempts, on the one hand, to separate his own writing from the vulgar catering of poetasters, and on the other hand, to manipulate the reader's judgment and interpretation. In short, Jonson attempts to construct a literary hierarchy for the English Renaissance reader. This chapter will examine print culture and Jonson's relationship to it, and conclude with some observations on *The Staple of News.* Before I

[142] Wayne, 6.
[143] Jean- Christophe Agnew, *Worlds Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 24.

focus my discussion on the play itself, however, several, more general aspects regarding Jonson, the marketplace, and print require attention.

I
"loathe to prostitute their virgin strain."

An appointed laureate, Jonson, like Sidney before him, sought to reestablish the exalted role of the poet-philosopher, to assume the function of advising monarchs and training the English people to judge, and to discern *Truth*.[144] But Jonson, unlike Sidney, was a professional writer; Sidney offered his fruits of leisure to a select few, and only in manuscript, whereas Jonson's *Works*, laboriously edited and audaciously printed circulated through the open stalls of the market. Although he periodically took shelter under the waning system of patronage, his desire or need to write for public playhouses and halls demanded his participation in the literary marketplace. His work, whether open-faced on a book-seller's shelf or publicly performed on stage depended upon an audience of consumers. Consequently, his work, contingent upon the promiscuous tastes of this emergent literary public and susceptible to equivalent arbitration of monetary exchange, risked the possibility of being indiscriminately compared to the "generic" commodities produced by "parcel-poets," balladeers, and pamphleteers.

Jonson's later work self-consciously displays his anxiety concerning these market forces and his dependence upon them. Jonson was not alone in this double bind. His contemporary, the playwright and pamphleteer, Thomas Dekker, disconcertedly remarks:

> I verily beleeve that I am the Tower of Babell newly to be builded up, but presentlie despaire of ever beeing finished because there is in me such a confusion of languages.

[144] Helgerson, Richard, *Self-crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton, and the Literary System* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

> Thus am I like a common Mart where all Commodities (both the good and the bad) are to be bought and solde.[145]

Interestingly, Dekker anticipates an eventual wholeness, a centered subjectivity, but until then he remains alienated and definable only through the construction of a unified other, which he imagines as the homogenous and singular Tower of Babel.[146] It is not, I would argue, accidental that Dekker maps his interiority, his subjectivity, with the analogy of the marketplace. Nor is it an error in chronology that he reverses the sequence of the biblical tale. Dekker, like many of his contemporaries, including Jonson, viewed the incipient market economy as a de-centering and mystifying system of exchange. Nostalgically reviewed, the contractual exchanges in feudal marketplaces which required, among other things, that "goods be presented, not represented," and that the trader who enters the market(place), "make his ventures within it, not against it," may have appeared orderly, obvious, and univocal to the seventeenth-century society of Stuart England.[147] In stark contrast, many early seventeenth-century English, and evidently Dekker was among them, regarded their own market process with mistrust, as a theater of dissimulation, and as a babel of polyglot negotiators.

Equally mysterious was the alchemic transformation of money. Money, notes Jean-Christophe Agnew, seemed to become "increasingly disembodied, a means abstracted from its original intent, a sorcerer's apprentice."[148] The metamorphosis noted by Agnew actually represents a metaphorizing of money's function. Initially it functioned as a marker for exchange;

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[145] Thomas Dekker, quoted in Agnew's *Worlds Apart*, 86.
[146] Although overly imbued with Lacanian perspectives, Joel Fineman's work, *Shakespeare's Perjured Eye: The Invention of Poetic Subjectivity in the Sonnets* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), offers a suggestive analysis on the splintered interiority of the Elizabethan poetical subject.
[147] Agnew, *Worlds Apart*, 30; 38.
[148] Agnew, *Worlds Apart*, 71.

a note or coin whose free circulation was tethered to solid wealth. It was to be the "standard of value" and not the "thing of value." Thomas Wilson, in his *Discourse upon Usury* laments that "moneye was not first devised for this ende, to be merchaundize, but to bee a measure and a beame betwixte man and man, for the buyinge and sellinge of weares."[149] In any case, Dekker's alienated self-description, identified in the market, evinces the incipient phenomenon of reification that would eventually dominate definitions of social relations under capitalism.[150]

Jonson, however, represents through his texts a clearly unified authorial subject who "asserts its wholeness, its integrity, and its 'centered self'."[151] Unlike Dekker, Jonson seems to refract the alienating ideology of the market, to remark on it without being marked by it. This representation of the indivisible "author" in Jonson's texts allows Knights to neglect Jonson's own commercial relationship to the theater and the market. Certainly, Knights' reading supplies Jonson's texts with the alibi their language and rhetorical tactics solicit. Despite the controlling apparati--inductions, prologues, notes to the readers, and invectives against chremastic poetasters-- employed by Jonson, his proximity to the market extends beyond the merely contiguous position of the social critique. Although the Renaissance theater represents the most obvious social space on which to map Jonson's participation in the marketplace, the typically

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[149] Agnew, *Worlds Apart*, 71.

[150] On the phenomenon of reification in capitalist economies, Marx's *On Capital vol. 1*, Fredrick Engels ed., Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling trans. (New York: International Press, 1967) is, of course, the obvious locus classicus. In a chapter on reification and class consciousness, Georg Lukacs provides an excellent explication of Marx's use of the term: Georg Lukacs, Rodney Livingstone trans. *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics* (Berlin: Merlin Press, 1968).

[151] Don E. Wayne, "The `Exchange of Letters': Early Modern Contradictions and Postmodern Conumdrums'" Ann Bermingham, John Brewer eds. *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text* (New York: Routledge, 1997) 144.

overlooked nexus of the literary commodity and the abstracted exchange between Jonson and his readers furnish an equally fruitful index of his engagement.

II

"Reader, looke / Not unto his picture, but his booke."

"It is the printing of 'em makes 'em news to a great many, who will indeed believe nothing but what's in print," exclaims the Printer in Jonson's masque, "News from the New World Discovered in the Moon."[152] The credibility and the authority attributed to printed writings by this somewhat dubious printer signifies the transformation of cultural attitudes towards the legitimacy of the medium. The printer's claim is, of course, ironic, as he is a target of Jonson's satire. And the gullible readership provides Jonson with another satirical mark. The third, less conspicuous, target at which he aims his satire is the legitimating or authorizing characteristic that print provides written words. The printed work, not unlike the pecuniary metamorphosis described above, assumed a power previously denied to written words inscribed on manuscripts.[153] Again, effectively similar to money in England's pre-capitalist marketplace, the printed text's circulation as a commodity as well as its attributed authority level textual values

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[152] Stephen Orgel ed. *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969) 56-59. Unless otherwise noted, all subsequent citations of Jonson's masques will refer to this edition.

[153] In fact, the similarity between linguistic value and monetary value has been noted by many; see, Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels, *The German Ideology*, C.J. Arthur ed., W. Lough, C. Dutt and C. P. Magill trans. (New York: International Press, 1970); Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye eds., Wade Baskin trans. (New York: McGraw, 1966) 115., See also, Jacques Derrida's chapter "White Mythology: Metaphor in the Text of Philosophy," in his book *Margins of Philosophy*, Alan Bass trans. (Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 1982) 216.

to equivalences.[154] As exchange-value, printed objects represent commodities of different quantities of value. The market value of a given print object depends upon the expense of its production, i.e., the costs of materials (including the purchase of the manuscript), the determined value of the printer's labor, the consumer interest in the printed work, etc. Consequently, the purchase value of the printed work shares no necessary correlation to its quality or use-value. Thus, on the one hand, the qualities of the printed works are made equivalent by their status as commodities of equal, but different quantities. And on the other hand, the techniques established by craftsmen and writers produced an immediately discernible semiotic code that attempted to distinguish a work of "high art" from the more popular or vulgar publication. This attempt at constituting a hierarchy of literary value, a typically humanist project, remained, at least in Jonson's time, only partially successful because these techniques were applied to many kinds of writings of varying merits and not all texts served the humanist's intellectual biases. Hence, the poetic or intellectual value shared no necessary correlation to the market value of a given text. Jonson did however share a similar interest in constructing a hierarchy of literary value.[155] Jonson's *Works* (1616), boldly wore all the printing accoutrements worthy of an edition of a classical text. His boldness, his ambition to build and simultaneously to climb an English Parnassus was so evident that Dekker ridicules him for it in his play *Satiromastix*: "Mr. Horace [Jonson] is ambition and does conspire to be more high and tall as God a mighty made him."

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[154] Marx explains that "as use-values, commodities are, above all, of different qualities, but as exchange-values they are merely different quantities...." Karl Marx, *Capital, vol. 1*, Fredrick Engels ed., trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling (New York: International Press, 1967) 37-38.

[155] At the moment, at least, I do not distinguish between various literary and performance forms; for instance, I do not have the sense that Jonson privileges lyric over drama or epic over a masque—he includes various genres in his *Works*, and all seem to be treated equally valuable. In other words, Jonson, understands that the poetry of his lyrics is on par with the poetry performed in his public dramas or the epic spectacle of his masques.

Dekker's diminution of Jonson's aspirations indicates only an aspect of a more complex problem facing Jonson in his attempt to construct another Parnassus. Also obscuring the poetic and intellectual distinction Jonson sought for his printed (and performed) work was the very medium of print itself.

Regardless of efforts to promote the literary worth of a printed work, the general effect of the marketplace on writing was to quantify its value. In addition, the effectively equivalent currency of printed works as commodities for exchange, however, is further sustained by the effect of authority which printed works receive by virtue of the medium. In other words, the artifice, the poetic complexity and substance, and the literary merit of a printed text are aesthetic and intellectual properties not privileged *!* by an exclusive legitimacy authorized through its printing; the ballads of "poet-mongers," and the writings of Jonson may, for instance, represent potential differences in their commercial value, but the caliber of their "literary" or symbolic value is granted legitimacy equally (albeit contingently) through the common authority ascribed by readers to the medium of print.

The authority conferred upon printed texts, however, was not always the case. In a provocative moment during his book *Technics and Civilisation,* Lewis Mumford asserts that "more than any other device, the printed book released people from the domination of the immediate and the local. Doing so, it contributed further to the dissociation of medieval society: print made a greater impression than the actual events, and by centering attention on the printed word, people lost that balance between the sensuous and the intellectual, between image and sound, between the concrete and the abstract, which was to be achieved momentarily by the best minds of the fifteenth century-- Michelangelo, Leonardo, Alberti-- before it passed out, and was replaced by printed words alone. To exist was to exist in print: the rest of the world tended

gradually to become more shadowy."[156] Evident, here, is that Mumford regards the impact of print technology and the printed text as devices which liberated people from the "immediate," from some notion of presence, from the oral and physical medieval world.[157] The teleological perspective implicit in Mumford's narrative suggests a medieval world which was once harnessed and tethered to fields of local space and restricted to the "immediate," but, with the advent print technology, became de-naturalized, estranged, mediated, and inscribed into textual material. This alienation, this loss of balance, however, offered unrestricted boundaries with endless pastures of textuality on which, like nomads, Europeans could roam. With this license came a cost, and Mumford explains that the price was no less than the loss of some balanced unity with the natural world. Not merely nature, the phenomenal world of which humans are only a part, but also the European world bartered away its own unity of mind, its innate gift of perceiving and comprehending the precarious balance of both the "abstract and concrete," the "sensuous and the intellectual."

If one were to distill Mumford's edenic sentiments down into something more palpable, I think one might find that the less nostalgic implications in his suggestions prove more complicated and more useful. He understands that the technology of print altered the way in which people produced and received information, and that this alteration surely affected cultural attitudes; attitudes not limited to the procedures of producing and receiving information, but rather expanded to include the very way people structured social and political systems, and were

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[156] Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilisation*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, rpt.1962). 136.
[157] Mumford's notion that speech communicates immediate signs, that writing represents speech-in-absentia is a notion shared by many, Plato, J. L. Austin, Walter Ong, and John Searle to name a few. Jacques Derrida, however, has convincingly unmasked the flaws in this historically fundamental assumption about verbal and written texts. For a critical debate on the pertinent issue see Derrida's article "Signature Event Context," *Glyph* 2 (1977); see also John Searle's response to Derrida's article in the same volume.

in turn, constituted by these very systems. Thus, print contributed in reconstituting quotidian life, in producing new subjectivities.[158]

The printed text could be transferred more rapidly, more efficiently, and more frequently than in previous moments. It narrowed the distance between the local, the "national," and to some extent, the cultural bridges. Although I resist Mumford's claim that print fractured some essential unity or basic ontological experience shared by late medieval people, it unquestionably contributed in manufacturing a dramatically different way of reading the European world.

Just as print played a role in the construction of new forms of subjectivity, the status of the printed text underwent changes. The printed text began to administer an authority heretofore unattributed to textual material.[159] Subsequently, a new typographic language was constructed, which according to H.J. Chaytor, gave to print a "semblance of authority and accuracy that seemed likely to remain forever."[160] Broadsides and proclamations replaced messengers; the

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[158] For studies on print as an agent of change, see Elizabeth Eisenstein's two-volume work, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: CUP, 1979); Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book, the Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (London: Verso, 1984); Jack Goody, *The Logic of Writing and the Organization of Society* Studies in Literacy, the Family, Culture and the State (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986, rpt. 1996); Rudulf Hisrch, *Printing, Selling, and Reading 1450-1550* (Wiesbaden, 1967; rev.ed. 1974). For more recent perspectives, and arguably more expansive views see Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, eds. *The Uses of Script and Print 1300-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004); David McKittrick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order 1450-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003); Margaret J. M. Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, Md., 1999).

[159] For a study on the transmission of oral and written texts, on the dominant cultural perception of either text, and on the legitimacy granted to either text see Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* 3e. (Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013). Clanchy's discussion concerns itself with the transition from an oral culture to a culture dominated by the written word. Although he concentrates on legal documents, his suggestions about literacy and textual authority apply to other types of writings, as well as to more general issues relating to these topics.

[160] See H.J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1945) 7.

voices of monarchial authority, of religious authority, and of poetic authority, were now mediated primarily through the print.

This description of print's role as mediator is, however, insufficient. Mediation merely registers the vehicle of exchange between writers and readers. Likewise, print's status as a "semblance of authority" underestimates its constitutive function in the cultural process of constructing the author.[161] The writer's printed texts become the authoritative substance composing the writer's authorial subjectivity. Thus, the literary text through the dynamic relationship of writing and reading began to author-ize the public definitions of the writing subject. The most obvious early example of this is Jonson's note to the readers' of Shakespeare's First Folio: "...Reader, looke / Not on his Picture, but his Booke."[162] The true Shakespeare, Jonson claims, finds representation not in his portrait, but in the expressions of his written works.[163]

Jonson's concise and unambiguous instruction to the readers of the First Folio displays a confidence in their ability to discern the true Shakespeare. Arguably, the fact that Jonson felt it necessary to steer the reader away from the portrait and to emphasize Shakespeare's texts hints, if only ironically, at a confidence dubiously bestowed. Nevertheless, once the proviso has been amended, the reader is left to peruse Shakespeare's plays without interference. It is, however, this

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[161] My discussion takes for granted the Foucauldean definitions of the "author" as cultural construction, and the various social functions attributed to this designation. See Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" in Josue V. Harari ed. *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 141-160. The broad influence of Foucault's chapter and its arguments are familiar enough that they need only to be mentioned here.

[162] William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies, A facsimile edition*, ed. Helge Kokeritz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954; rpt. 1955).

[163] The most thorough study concerning the authorial construction of Shakespeare as "bard" is Leah Marcus's *Puzzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents* (Berkeley: University of California, 1988).

uncontrollable variable characteristic of printed texts--- this reading without authorial interference--- that plagued Jonson's own texts. Jonson clearly understood that printed texts problematized aspects of reception; they moved beyond the intended boundaries anticipated by the sender; texts seem to float freely, influenced and endangered by everything from the currents on which they are physically transported, to the prevailing aesthetic and consumer attitudes of printers and readers. The printed text circulates unrehearsed, and in a sense, did not speak for itself. Thomas Nashe, another of Jonson's contemporaries, prefaces one work with the statement

> ...There is nothing that if a man list he may not wrest or pervert. I cannot forbid any to think villainously, Sed caveat emptor, let the interpreter beware.[164]

Apparent in Nashe's admonition to would-be vilifiers is his anxiety concerning the pliability of his texts in the manipulative hands of readers. Despite himself Nashe "cannot forbid" readers their interpretation. He can only provide the warning "sed caveat emptor" or literally, let the buyer beware. Nashe, however, deliberately mistranslates the Latin proverb to read "let the interpreter beware." Along with this self-mocking distortion of the proverb, Nashe conflates the terms buyer and interpreter. This conflation points to the double bind imposed on writers by the commodification of their texts. The buyer through the purchase of a text (or the purchase of a seat at the theater) is granted license of interpretation. Let me return momentarily to Mumford's dictum, "to exist is to exist in print." I would restate this: to exist in print is to exist in the marketplace. And as such, a writer must contend with the necessary elements of exchange: the equivalency of value inherent to printed works as commodities of exchange-value, the equivalency of poetic and intellectual values produced by the arbitrary authority ascribed to the

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[164] Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devi*l in *The Unfortunate Traveller and other Works,* ed. J. B. Steane (London: Viking Press, 1972; rpt., 1985) 51.

medium of print, and lastly, a point I shall now discuss, the interpretive license purchased by the emerging power of the reader-as-consumer.

III

> It is also agreed that every man here
> exercise his own judgment,...

Nashe, like Dekker, embraced this predicament of the marketplace with self-mockery and by churning out consumable products. Conversely, Jonson attempted to negotiate with the emergent readership. In *The Alchemist*, Jonson provides suggestive information about his dilemma in the prefatory material to the play. In the dedicatory epistle to Lady Wroth, Jonson cloaks his language in images of the sacred:

> Madam,
> In the age of sacrifices the truth of religion
> was not in the greatness and fat of the
> off'rings, but in the devotion and the zeal of
> the sacrifices: else, what could a handful of
> gums have done in the sight of a hecatomb? Or,
> how might I appear at this altar, except with
> those affections that no less love the light
> and witness than they have the conscience of
> your virtue? If what I offer bear an acceptable
> odor and hold the first strength, it is your
> value of it which remembers where, when, and
> to whom it was kindled. Otherwise, as the times
> are, there comes rarely forth that thing so
> full of authority or example, but by assiduity
> and custom grows less and loses. This, yet safe
> in your judgment (which is a Sidney's), is
> forbidden to speak more, lest is talk or look
> like one of the ambitious faces of the time:
> who, the more they paint are the less themselves.
> Your La[dyship's] true honorer,

Ben Jonson[165]

The encomiastic quality of the epistle adheres to generic practices. Nevertheless, tensions concerning issues of exchange, value, judgment, and poetic truth emerge in this ostensibly typical dedication. First, the play is a gift, or more accurately, it is a sacramental offering from the poet. Here, the exchange remains untainted by hawkers and money; it is a religious donation. The virtues extolled in Mary Wroth are mirrored in the play; and the play's value is her valued acceptance of it. Second, lest she should forget, Jonson reminds Mary Wroth that she is the niece of Philip Sidney, an advocate for the reclamation of the priestly office of Poet.[166] With the insignificant turn of a page, this gracious and decorous world of patronage becomes muddled in the suspicious and jeering fair of the marketplace.

In Jonson's note to the reader the play no longer exudes fragrances suitable for the altar, nor is it "safe in the judgment" of a patron; instead it un-covers itself to the anonymous reader:

> If thou beest more, thou art an under-
> stander, and then I trust thee. If thou
> art one that take'st up, and but a pre-
> tender, beware at what hands thou re-
> ceiv'st thy commodity; for thou wert
> never more fair in the way to be cozened
> than in this age in poetry, especially in
> plays: wherein now the concupiscence of
> dances and antics so reigneth as to run
> away from Nature and be afraid of her is

[165] *Ben Jonson, The Alchemist,* ed. Alvin B. Kernan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974) 19.

[166] See Jonson's dedicatory epistle to *Volpone*: "For if men will impartially, and not asquint, look towards the offices and function of a poet, they will easily conclude to themselves the impossibility of any man's being the good poet, without first being a good man. He that is said to be able to inform young men to all good disciplines, inflame grown men to all great virtues, keep old men in their best and supreme state, or, as they decline to childhood, recover them to their first strength; that comes forth the interpreter and arbiter of nature, a teacher of things divine no less than human, a master in manners; and can alone (or with a few) effect the business of mankind;..." *Volpone,* in Ian Donaldson ed. *Ben Jonson,* ed. Ian Donaldson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985) 1-2.

> the only point of art that tickles the spectators.[167]

In a tone of direct antipathy to his letter to Mary Wroth, Jonson makes a preemptive strike on the reader. By defining the worst reader as ignorant, desiring only to be entertained, and as unnatural, he attempts to corner the reader into assuming the appropriate values necessary to "understand" his play. In a sense, Jonson is attempting to construct a "proper" readership by appealing to its sense of proper value. Also, unlike the sacred language used in the dedication, Jonson immediately introduces economic metaphors: "beware what hands thou receiv'st thy commodity." Or in other words, the reader must be heedful when negotiating literary loans with play-mongers or she or he might easily be required to accept a worthless text. Clearly, this language paints an entirely different picture of exchange than does the dedication. It is language marked with suspicion, suspicion concerning literary values and market exchange. Jonson's recourse is to make an appeal to the best aspects of his literary public.

In *Bartholomew Fair*, Jonson makes a more overt appeal to his audience. In the Induction to the play the Scriviner sets forth a contractual agreement between the poet and the audience delineating its terms:

> Imprimis, It is covenanted and agreed by and between the parties above-said and the said spectators and hearers, as well the curious and envious as the favoring and judicious, as also the grounded judgments and under-standings do for themselves severally covenant and agree, to remain in places their money or friends have put them...[168]

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[167] Kernan, *The Alchemist,* 20.
[168] *Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair,* ed. Eugene M. Waith (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963) 30.

Although imbued in irony, the language and the notion of a contractual agreement between writer and audience nevertheless register the anxiety with which Jonson presented his work and represented himself. And again, money finds its way into Jonson's language.

Farther on in the induction the contractual obligations set forth by Jonson via the Scrivener become more specific:

> It is further agreed that every person
> here have his or their freewill of cen-
> sure, to like or dislike at their own
> charge, the author having now departed
> with his right: it shall be lawful for
> any man to judge his six pen'orth, his
> twelve pen'orth, so to his eighteen
> pence, two shillings, half a crown, to
> the value of his place; provided always
> his place get not above his wit....[169]

As in the above passage, the irony of the contract should be noted. The irony, however, does not overshadow the predicament in which Jonson finds himself. Similar to Nashe's admonition in *Pierce Penniless*, Jonson understands that the audience has purchased the right to judge, interpret, and evaluate the play---a quid pro quo. Satirically, Jonson correlates one's quantity of judgment to the value of the admission price she or he paid. Unlike the dedicatory epistle to Mary Wroth from *The Alchemist*, which adheres to the traditional hierarchy of the patronage system, the patrons of *Bartholomew Fair* are designated not by birth-right, but by the varying degrees of admission prices; and, at least theoretically, anyone could purchase an elite position in the hall or theatre.[170] In any case, the notion of the contract between writer and audience points to the ambiguous and precarious situation of the writer and texts in the marketplace.

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[169] Waith, *Bartholomew Fair*, 31.

[170] The model Jonson offers in *Bartholomew Fair* is based on mutual self-interest, and contractual agreements; it is, at least in part, a democratizing system, and as Don E. Wayne has

IV

Pennyboy Canter. "...Dine in Apollo with Pecunia..."

What I have I attempted to demonstrate thus far is the precarious and contradictory condition of Jonson's work as a professional writer as well as the circumstances of the marketplace that surround his work. The marketplace offered an increasingly expansive arena in which a writer could circulate work. Corresponding with the opportunity for greater dissemination of one's writings is the emerging agency of the reader. To purchase the work is to situate oneself in a proprietary relationship to both the book as an object and to the potential interpretations which informs the reader's understanding of the work, an understanding of both the meaning and the value of the work. It is this contingency of textual meaning, and more importantly for Jonson, the contingency of textual value that concerns much of his work. Related to the contingency of textual value is the accruing authority given to printed material. Thus, the reader as consumer, and the implicit demands of the market disintegrated many inherited literary values and necessitated the formation of new ones.

I introduced this section of the paper with a quote from Pennyboy Canter, a figure in Jonson's 1626 play *The Staple of News*. Encapsulated within this single line are the key issues and criticisms which are at stake for Jonson: consumption, poetry, and poetry as commodity. Jonson did not seem to disdain the concept of consumption in and of itself, and he often made references about the similarity between poet and cook. Providing the audience with a substantial literary meal to dine on was in part the function of the poet. In the Prologue to *Epicoene or The*

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shown, it is a "model of a new ideology." For a fully articulated discussion of this model of a new ideology, see Wayne's "Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson," cited above.

Silent Woman, for instance, Jonson appropriates culinary terms to preface the substance and quality of the play to be audited:

> Nor is it only while you keep your seat
> Here that his feast will last, but you shall eat
> A week at ord'naries on his broken meat...[171]

By offering a play that the audience finds pleasure in consuming, the play achieves its goal. The play (as well as the audience), however, must have substance; the play must provide more than "relish," and the audience must reciprocate by being more than "city-wires" wanting only "far fet" goods. In *The Staple of News*, however, the gluttony of Jonson's English audience receives the scorn of his satire, as do the pandering "parcel-poets" and writers of news.[172] The images associating food to poetry, as well as to money are sustained throughout the play. At the Staple during Act 1 two office-holders apply images of eating to their description of both the process and the product of the Staple:

> Cymbal. As fain
> To keep so many politic pens
> Going to feed the press---
>
> Fitton. And dish out news,
> Were't true or false---
> (I,v,27-31)[173]

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[171] *Epicoene or The Silent Woman*, ed. L. A. Beaurline (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1966) n.ll.

[172] In *The Staple of News* Jonson supplies us with a more subdued critique of consumption than he does in *Bartholomew Fair*. The latter play represents a flow-blown satire on the perceived moral and ethical "lack" of Jonson's society as it manifests itself in the markets of the fair. The former concerns itself specifically with letters, their currency as commodities, and their consumption by Jonson's society.

[173] *The Staple of News*, ed. Devra Rowland Kifer (Regents Renaissance Drama Series) (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975.) All citations will be from this edition.

The utensil for writing becomes the food which feeds the printing press; in turn the printed material once processed is "dished" and presented to the dining readership. Later on in the play, after the prodigal Pennyboy Junior joins company with the Lady Pecunia, their entourage set themselves to dine at the quarters of Staple emissary Picklock:

> Pennyboy Junior. Come, gentlemen,
> let's breathe from healths awhile.
> This Lickfinger has made us a good dinner
> For our Pecunia....
> (IV,i,1-3)

The character Lickfinger stands as the literal embodiment of the culinary metaphors ascribed to poets by Jonson. In the play Lickfinger serves as both the cook and a parcel-poet. Unlike Jonson's own cooking, the suppers of Lickfinger serve as meals for jeerers and cozeners. Indeed, the name Lickfinger itself describes a cook with a vulgar habit of licking his own fingers while cooking the meals. And at the same time the name faintly resonates with an image of a parcel-poet who caters lappingly to his readership; or as Madrigal, another poet in the play, describes Lickfinger, "...He holds no man can be a poet/ That is not a good cook, to know the palates / And several tastes o'the time," (III,iii, 21-23).

Just as the poet-mongers of the play are defamed, Jonson also criticizes its readership. He depicts the readership as acquisitive and empty of higher aesthetic values. In an early moment in the play the indiscriminate tastes of the public are dramatized:

> Register.
> What would you have, good woman?
> Woman.
> I would have, sir
> A groatsworth of any news, I care not what,
> to carry down this Saturday to our vicar.

> Register.
> Oh, you are a butterwoman. Ask Nathaniel
> the clerk there. (I,iv,9-13)

Apart from the satirical jibes at the stationer Nathaniel Butter, two elements of this episode strike me as important. Firstly, that the woman appears completely indifferent to the kind or quality of information which she desires to purchase. She desires only to obtain printed information. Secondly, she has a groatsworth to spend. And it is the monetary amount which determines the quantity of material not the necessarily the quality. This indiscriminate palate for anything printed receives a concise admonishment from Jonson in his note to the reader:

> To consider the news here vented to be none
> of his [Jonson] news or any reasonable man's
> but news made like the time's news (a weakly
> cheat to draw money) and could not be fitter
> reprehended than in raising this ridiculous
> Office of the Staple, wherein the age may see
> her own folly or hunger and thirst after
> publish'd pamphlets of news,….

The woman at the Staple represents a reflection of Jonson's age. Similarly, the Office of the Staple mimics the news of the time. Writers have become money-mongers, and the audience feeds indiscriminately on printed materials.

The above few episodes from the play represent the aesthetic corruption that Jonson perceived to exist in his society. These same episodes are also symptomatic of cultural and political forces impacting the aesthetic attitudes. In order to remedy this lateral flattening out of aesthetic value and to re-establish a literary culture of "high art" and to do this despite market forces or the effects of print, Jonson took upon himself the onus of defining and distinguishing poets from poetasters and poetry from canting or ballad-mongering. In Act IV, after a ballad

sung by the boy Nicholas, the audience argues whether the boy writes like a scholar or a gentleman:

> Fitton. Oh, he's a dainty poet
> When he set to't.
>
> Pennyboy Junior. And a dainty scholar!
>
> Almanach. No, no great scholar, he writes like a
> gentleman. (IV,ii,150-152)

Following the classifications purposed by these characters Pennyboy Canter (in whose voice Jonson's own always seems to echo) makes an aside

> Pox o' your distinction!
> As if a scholar were no gentleman.
> With these, to write like a gentleman will in time
> Become all one as to write like an ass.
> (IV,ii,153-156)

What is pertinent here, is not that judgment and discrimination are in themselves without merit, in fact, just the opposite is true. The categories deployed by Pennyboy Junior and the others are not satisfactory categories. The value of the ballad, even if we assume Pennyboy Canter's appraisal of its worthlessness, is to be judged by its aesthetic merit, something the audience fails to apprehend. This failure to apprehend value is true also of the gossips in the play's Intermeans, who interpret each Act and offer comments on the play as well as the playwright. The gossips' misreading of the play is dramatic enough to warrant Jonson's curious interruption between the second and the third Acts with a note to the reader:

> To The Reader
> In this following Act, the Office is open'd and Show'n
> to the Prodigal and his Princess Pecunia, wherein the
> allegory and purpose of the author hath hitherto been

> wholly mistaken, and so sinister an interpretation
> been made as if the souls of most of the spectators
> had liv'd in the eyes and the ears of these ridiculous
> gossips that tattle between the Acts. But he prays
> you thus to mend it.

Jonson appeals to the reading public to amend the wrongful interpretations of the gossips. He also claims that the initial audience (the spectators) fails to distinguish between the erroneous readings of the gossips and the correct understanding of the play which he attempts to solicit. The failure of the gossips to interpret the play correctly is of course ironic. Their misreading represents Jonson's own rhetorical and theatrical design. Through the gossips, Jonson attempts to manipulate the audience's understanding of the play; he attempts to induce the truthful reading by defining within the internal structure of the play the fallacious reading. And the note to the reader functions as a controlling device as well. Here, however, unlike the seduction of the gossips, Jonson appeals to the best judgment of the reader. Nevertheless, he continues to perceive it necessary to direct, explain, and qualify the potential interpretive slippages which remain inherent in the language itself, which circulate the marketplace, and finally those slippages which extend beyond the margins of his own texts.

For the playwright in Jacobean society to exist in print, or for that matter on stage, the playwright must necessarily exist in the marketplace. And that venue represents a rather dubious and precarious location. Jonson’s relationship to the marketplace is complicated and even contradictory; success resides in the playwright’s commitment to produce quality work and in the audience’s ability to comprehend and appreciate the artistry presented to it. The double bind faced by playwright’s, and conspicuously engaged in by Jonson, required educating a populace to discern and judge poetry, and no poet assumed the mantle of educator/poet with more comedy

and truth, satire and compassion, and urbanity and idealism. To be sure, Jonson contributed to the construction of a new Parnassus commodified.

CHAPTER 5

AFTERWARD

In truth, any one of these chapters that make up this dissertation could have been, and possibly should have been, a dissertation project unto themselves. In the chapter on Spenser, I believe that a deeper examination into the printing of dictionaries needs to be done. I argue that Black Letter type carries semiotic value. This semiotic value comes to be identified, intentionally or conventionally, with Englishness. To understand how Englishness is represented by Black Letter, I think that a thorough study of British English dictionaries is required.[174]

The Marprelate tracts represent only have of the warring parties. Archbishop Whitgift fought back in print against the Marprelates by hiring university wits to write counter-pamphlets debasing and debunking the views of the Marprelates. This was England's first great pamphlet war. Thomas Nashe, John Lily, and Robert Greene, the anti-Marprelates, were hired guns and

[174] To begin this research, I would first consult the work of Werner Huellin, Fredric Dolezal, and Paul Luna.[174] Each of these scholars have dealt with the semiotic value of notational devices, the meaning of graphemes, and the meaning of non-alphabetic or diacritical marks. See, Werner Hüllen, *English dictionaries, 800-1700: the topical tradition* (Oxford University Press, 1999); Fredric T. Dolezal, "The lexicographical and lexicological procedures and methods of John Wilkins." PhD diss., (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1983); Fredric Dolezal, *Forgotten but important lexicographers: John Wilkins and William Lloyd: A modern approach to lexicography before Johnson*. Vol. 4. (Walter de Gruyter, 1985); Fredric Dolezal, "How abstract is the English dictionary." *Hartmann (arg.)* (1986): 47-55; Paul Luna, *Understanding type for desktop publishing* (Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1992); Paul Luna, "Not just a pretty face: The contribution of typography to lexicography." (2004): 847-858.

expected to out-satirize the satire of Martin Marprelate. A comprehensive understanding of the Marprelate controversy requires an examination of both aisles of wit.

If the Marprelate controversy was the first great pamphlet war, then the second was the War of the Theaters or the Poet's War. I confess I know little about the battle between Ben Jonson and his rivals, Thomas Dekker, John Marston, and Thomas Middleton. I have written on Middleton separately and Dekker as well, but I am convinced that there is valuable information about printing, the market, and the "professional" poet sitting and waiting to be discovered. My chapter on Jonson and the market would have benefitted by connecting these public and published battles between these poets. If I return to the Jonson chapter, then I will research the War of the Theaters and bring this battle to bear on my understanding of Jonson.

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APPENDIX

THE BOOKS PRINTED BY VALENTINE SIMMES

1594

Apollonius of Tyre. *The patterne of painefull aduentures*

Drayton, Michael. *Matilda*

Rich, Barnaby. *Rich his farewell to Militaire profession*

Smith, Sir Thomas. *The Common-wealth of England*

1595

Bible. *The Kings Psalmes*

The gentlemans academie, or the book of S. Albans

Bullein, William. *The gouernment of health*

Bunny, Francis. *A suruey of the popes supremacie*

Bunny, Francis. *Truth and falshood*

Du Jon, François, the Elder. *De peccato primo Adami*

A myrrour for English souldiers

Grafton, Richard. *A briefe treatise containing many proper tables*

Linaker, Robert. *A comfortable treatise*

Southwell, Robert. *Moeniae*

Southwell, Robert. *Moeniae* (another edition)

Southwell, Robert. *The triumphs over death*

Strigelius, Victorinus. *A third proceeding in the harmonie of King Davids harp*

1596

Aesop. *The fables of Esop in English*

Apuleius, Lucius. *The eleuen bookes of the golden asse*

B., M. *The triall of true friendship*

Bell, Thomas. *The speculation of usurie*

Bell, Thomas. *The suruey of popery*

Hester, John. *The first (second) part of the key of philosophie*

Joseph Ben Gorion, pseud. *A compendious historie of the Iewes common weale*

Latimer, Hugh, Bp. *Fruitfull sermons*

M., C. *The first part of the nature of a woman*

Paracelsus. *A hundred and foureteen experiments and cures*

Record, Robert. *The triumphs over death*

Strigelius, Victorinus. *A fourth proceeding in the harmony of King Davids harp*

A treatise shewing the possibilities of the reall presence

1597

Ariosto, Ludovico. *Two tales translated out of Ariosto by R. T.*

Bruno, Vincenzo. *A short treatise on the sacrament of penaunce*

Le Fèvre, Raoul. *The auncient historie of the destruction of Troy*

Margaret of Angouleme. *The queene of Nararres tales*

Middleton, Thomas. *The wisdome of Solomon paraphrased*

Shakespeare, William. *The tragedie of King Richard the second*

Shakespeare, William. *The tragedy of King Richard the third*

Tofte, Robert. *Laura. The toyes of a traueller*

1598

B., J. *A treatise with a Kalendar*

Bojardo, Matteo Maria. *Orlando inamorato. The three first books*

Breton, Nicholas. *A solemne passion of the soules loue*

Articles to be enquired of within the Dioces of London

Gosson, Stephen. *The trumpet of warre. A sermon*

Lodge, Thomas. *Rosalynde*

The meane in spending

Romei, Annibale, Count. *The courtiers academie*

Shakespeare, William. *The tragedie of King Richard the second*

Shakespeare, William. *The tragedie of King Richard the second* (another edition)

Tyro, T. *Tyros roring megge*

1599

Chapman, George. *A pleasant comedy entituled: A humerous dayes myrth*

Greene, Robert. *Menaphon*

Moffett, Thomas. *The silkwormes, and their flies*

Nash, Thomas. *Nashes Lenten stuffe*

Thomas, Lewis. *Seauen sermons*

A warning for faire women

Weever, John. *Epigrammes in the oldest cut, and newest fashion*

Wright, Edward. *Certaine errors in nauigation*

1600

Breton, Nicholas. *Pasquils mad-cap and his message*

Breton, Nicholas. *Pasquils passe, and passeth not*

Dekker, Thomas. *The shomakers holiday*

The lawes and statutes of the stannarie of Deuon

Gardiner, Samuel. *The pearle of price*

Middleton, Thomas. *The ghost of Lucrece*

The first part of Sir John Oldcastle

Powel, Gabriel. *The resolued Christian, exhorting to resolution*

Ruthven, John, Third Earl, Gowrie. *The Earle of Gowries conspiracie*

Shakespeare, William. *The second part of Henrie the fourth*

Shakespeare, William. *Much adoe about nothing*

Tournier, Cyril. *The transformed metamorphosis*

Weever, John. *Faunus and Melliflora*

The first part of the contention betwixt the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster

1601

Daniel, Samuel. *The works of Samuel Daniel newly augmented*

Newes from Ostend of the oppugnation

Further newes of Ostend

Parry, William. *A new and large discourse of the trauels of Sir Anthony Sherley*

Plutarch. *Inimicus amicus*

Powell, Thomas. *The passionate poet*

Smith, Henry. *Three sermons*

Weever, John. *The mirror or martyrs*

Wilmott, R. *Syrophaenissa, or the Cananitish womans conflicts*

Wright, Thomas. *The passions of the minde*

1602

Basse, William. *Three pastoral elegies*

The Song of Songs . . . expounded . . . by Henoch Clapham

Clapham, John. *The historie of England*

Davies, John, of Hereford. *Mirium in modum: a glimpse of Gods glorie and the soules shape*

Davidson, Francis. *A poetical rapsody*

Lodge, Thomas. *Paradoxes against common opinions*

Mason, Robert. *Reasons monarchie*

Powell, Gabriel. *The resolued Christian*

Thomas, Lewis. *Seauen sermons*

Wright, Leonard. *A display of dutie*

1603

Bilson, Thomas, Bp. *A sermon preached at Westminster befor the King and Queenes Maiesties, at their coronations*

Chettle, Henry. *Englands mourning garment . . . in memorie of their sacred mistresse, Elizabeth*

Daniel, Samuel. *A panegyrike congratulatorie to the kings maiestie; also certaine epistles*

Daniel, Samuel. [Another issue, with a new title-page and the addition of the '*Defence of ryme*.']

Dove, John. *A perswasion to the English recusants*

Egerton, Stephen. *A lectuur*

Holland, Hugh. *Pancharis: the first booke*

Hotman, Jean. *The ambassador*

James I, King. *A fruitfull meditation*

Leech, Andrew. *Iovis arbitrium*

Montaigne, Michel de. *The chapteres . . . done into English by . . . Iohn Florio*

Powell, Thomas. *A Welch bayte to spare prouender*

Ruthven, John, Third Earl Gowrie. *The Earle of Gowries conspiracie*

Shakespeare, William. *The tragicall historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke*

Weever, John. *An Agnus Dei*

1604

Acosta, Joseph de. *The naturall and morall historie of the East and West Indies*

Alexander, William, Earl of Stirling. *The monarchick tragedies*

Sacro-sanctum Novum Testamentum

Dekker. Thomas. *The honest whore*

Gordon, John. *England and Scotlands happinesse: in being reduced to unitie of religion*

Jonson, Benjamin. *B Jon: his part of King James his . . . entermainement*

Marlowe, Christopher. *The tragicall history of D. Faustus*

Marston, John. *The Malcontent*

Rennecherus, Herman. *The golden chayne of salvation*

Shakespeare, William. *The history of Henrie the fourth*

Wright, Thomas. *The passions of the minde in generall*

1605

Aphthonius, Sophista. *Aphthonii progymnasmata*

Barlow, William, Bp. of Lincoln. *The summe and substance of the conference*

Baxter, Nathaniel. *Praefactio in commentarios*

Bignon, Jerome. *A briefe but effectual treatise of the election of popes*

Crosse, Henry. *The schoole of pollicie*

Dedekind, Friedrich. *The schoole of slovenrie*

Dekker, Thomas. *The Honest whore*

Drayton, Michael. *Poems by Michaell Draiton Esquire*

The royal entertainement of the . . . Earle of Nottingham

Le Loyer, Pierre. *A treatise of specters or straunge sights*

M., H., of the Middle Temple.*The strange fortune of Alerane*

Two most unnaturall and bloodie murthers

The life and death of G. Ratsey

Ratseis ghost

Sandys, Sir Erwin. *A relation of the state of religion*

Smith, Henry. *Two sermons*

1606

Chapman, George. *The gentleman usher*

Clapham, John. *The histroie of Great Britannie*

Erasmus, Desiderius. *Seven dialogues both pithie and profitable*

Hind, John. *Eliosto libidinoso*

Jonson, Benjamin. *Hymenaei*

Rich, Barnaby. *Faultes, faults, and nothing else but faultes*

Weever, John. *An agnus Dei*

1607

Alexander, William, Earl of Stirling. *The Alexandrean tragedie*

Apollonius of Tyre. *The patterne of painful adventures*

Des Portes, Philippe. *Rodomonths infernall*

Dobson, George. *Dobsons Drie Bobbes*

Gibson, Thomas, Minister. *Meditations upon the hundred and sixteene Psalme*

Greene, Robert. *Greenes neuer too late*

Heywood, Thomas. *The fayre mayde of the Exchange*

Lever, Christopher. *A Crucifixe*

Lever, Christopher. *Queene Elizabeths teares*

Russell, William. *The reporte of a bloudie and terrible massacre in the citty of Mosco*

The taming of a shrew

1611

The first and second part of the troublesome raigne of John King of England

Lanyer, Aemilia, Mrs. *Salve Deus Rex Iudaeorum*

The most famous and renowned historie of that woorthie and illustrous knight Meruine