

BOOKS AND READERS, 1591

A Survey and Analysis of all
Books Printed in England
or in English Abroad
during the year 1591

by



Donald Edward Lake

Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts

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February, 1979

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PLATE I
(OVERLEAF)

For

Frank Dixon

"He was a man, take him
for all in all."



ABSTRACT

The thesis is a survey and analysis of all extant publications printed in England, or in English abroad, during the year 1591. In addition to a descriptive catalogue, which appears as Appendix I, the thesis contains six chapters in which the 255 extant items are examined with a view to discovering what they reveal or imply about the concerns, attitudes, and interests of Elizabethan readers during 1591. The thesis also attempts to define the role played by the book trade during the year. Chapter I, which deals with the subject category of Theology and Religion, examines one hundred publications, or 39.2 per cent of the total printed output from the year. Popular interest in sermon literature and works of theological controversy is noted; and it is suggested that interest in theological controversy during the year was probably out of proportion to the practical significance of the points at issue. Chapter II, on News Publications, which accounts for thirty-three items, or 12.9 per cent of all publications, suggests that there was considerable interest during 1591 in foreign events, especially as these concerned current wars in which English troops were involved. While the press at this time was not entirely reliable as a source of news,

and was occasionally criticized for its shortcomings, the government recognized the usefulness of the press as a medium for propaganda. Chapter III, on Education and Scholarship discusses current interest in areas such as political theory, history, geography, and language learning. The chapter deals with thirty-two publications, or 12.5 per cent of all publications from the year. Chapter IV deals with twenty-seven items, or 10.6 per cent of all publications, which are deemed to show the nature and extent of contemporary interest in the sciences and in practical skills and information. Chapter V, on the subject category of Government and Law, discusses the royal proclamations from the year which, with several legal text-books, account for twenty-one items or 8.2 per cent of all publications from the year. The final category, Literature and the Arts, deals with forty-two publications, or 16.5 per cent of the total number of publications from 1591. The chapter demonstrates that Elizabethan tastes and expectations in literature were consistent with general cultural trends during the latter part of the sixteenth century, especially as regards preferences in poetry and prose works.

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PREFACE

Some years ago, the Shakespeare Institute of the University of Birmingham, under the direction of the late Professor Allardyce Nicoll and the late Professor T. J. B. Spencer, began to encourage graduate work in the area of "Books and Readers" with the aim of eventually building up a large collection of theses and dissertations involving special studies of extant publications printed in England, or in English abroad, within specified periods of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One graduate of the Institute, Dr. George J. Merrill, has helped to carry the enterprise further forward by encouraging this kind of graduate work at Lakehead University. The present study of publications from the year 1591 is thus one of a number of "Books and Readers" projects completed at the University of Birmingham and Lakehead University since 1954.

The nature of the study has been twofold, involving both bibliographical research and critical reading of the materials published during 1591. In the area of bibliographical research, the task has been to identify all extant items properly belonging to the study and to prepare a

descriptive catalogue of these items which might be of use to other researchers. With regard to the reading of the publications, the aim of the study has been to classify the materials into subject areas and to examine the materials in each subject area in order to gain some insight into the intellectual and emotional climate of the year as far as they appear to be reflected in its published works. In keeping with a convention established by previous "Books and Readers" studies, the approach taken in defining the character of the year has been largely inductive; that is to say that, generally speaking, the dominant impressions conveyed by the publications from the year, singly and by categories, have been taken as reliable indicators of the attitudes, interests, and concerns of Elizabethan readers during 1591.

Notwithstanding the inductive character of the study, a number of specialized books about the Elizabethan period by modern scholars have been useful sources of background information, while certain other source-books have been indispensable in carrying out the project. For example, a number of catalogues and bibliographical reference works, in manuscript or published form, were required in order to identify the works published during 1591. Two source-books, the Short-Title Catalogue of Pollard and Redgrave and A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640, edited by Edward Arber, have been cited frequently throughout the thesis, and for this reason abbreviations have

been devised for these books. The Short-Title Catalogue is referred to as STC or STC², the latter abbreviation being used to cite the MS copy of the revision of STC at the British Library, or, in the case of items in the alphabetical listing I-Z, the second volume of the revised and enlarged edition of STC published by the Bibliographical Society in 1976. Arber's transcript of the Register of the Stationers' Company has been abbreviated variously as Stationers' Register, SR, or "Arber." Two additional reference works, The Dictionary of National Biography and The Oxford English Dictionary have been abbreviated to DNB and OED, respectively.

In the course of preparing this thesis the writer has incurred numerous debts of gratitude which are here gratefully acknowledged. One of the pleasant discoveries made during the work has been the high degree of professionalism exhibited by the personnel of the libraries consulted for help and information from time to time. In this respect, the personnel at the Lakehead University Library are second to none. Thanks are also extended to Dr. Fayek M. Ishak, Professor of English and Chairman of the Department at Lakehead University for his encouragement and co-operation as the work progressed. The debt of gratitude owed to Dr. George Merrill would be difficult to reckon up in full. His help and encouragement, to say nothing of his courteous patience, at every stage of the project, will be remembered.

The thesis was typed by Arline A. Hubbs. Her personal commitment to the project in its final stages went far beyond the call of duty; and it is a pleasure to record here the thanks which are due this kind and generous friend.

Kapuskasing, Ontario

February, 1979

INTRODUCTION

On the basis of all available information, 255 publications printed in England, or in English abroad, are extant from the year 1591. Taken individually, these works convey a bewildering, often fascinating, variety of impressions about Elizabethan society during that year. One of the main objectives of this thesis has been to organize these impressions and thereby provide a reasonably coherent survey of the events, attitudes, concerns, and interests characteristic of the year.

The initial step taken towards accomplishing the foregoing objective has been to classify the publications from the year into subject areas. After the initial survey of the material, it was decided that each publication from 1591 could be placed conveniently, and in some cases somewhat arbitrarily, into one of six categories, namely, Theology and Religion; News Publications; Education and Scholarship; Science and Information; Government and Law; and Literature and the Arts. A handlist placed at the beginning of the discussion of each subject area identifies the extant publications included within the category and provides, in addition, a listing of all

items entered in the Stationers' Register which appear to belong to the subject area but which are apparently no longer extant. The entries in the handlists are arranged in a loose chronological fashion on the basis of dates of entry in the Stationers' Register or on the basis of other datable evidence associated with the publication or its history. Publications for which no dates can be assigned are arranged at the end of each handlist in order by STC number.

Not surprisingly, the subject area of Theology and Religion accounts for a large proportion of the books from the year. A total of one hundred items, or 39.2 per cent of all extant publications, attests to the continuing prevalence during 1591 of the characteristic Elizabethan interest in religious matters. Most of the religious works published during the year are typical of the output of the presses in this subject area during the sixteenth century; however, in addition to familiar publications such as Bibles, metrical versions of the Psalms, and scholarly presentations of religious doctrine and Biblical exegesis, there remain in this category a number of publications which are of more than passing interest. In a significant number of works, for example, there is an obvious attempt to present religious teaching in a simplified fashion that will appeal to the less learned reader. This popularization of religious literature may be characteristic of other years during the Elizabethan period; but during 1591 it was apparently a matter of some consequence

for the book trade. The printed works of several theologians and preachers, notably William Perkins and Henry Smith, attest to the popularity of religious books which attempted to explain the rudiments of Calvinist belief and relate religious doctrine to the affairs of ordinary people. Certainly, the most outstanding publishing phenomenon of the year was the sudden popularity of Henry Smith, whose sermons are represented in twenty-nine different issues and editions. The popularization of theology and religion is evident as well in such books as unofficial catechisms, handbooks of prayer and meditation, and, not least, books of theological controversy.

In the area of theological controversy, the uncompromising policies of the Whitgift party and the straightforwardness of their implementation were beginning to diminish the consequences of the points at issue between the Church of England and its opponents within the Catholic, Presbyterian, and Separatist camps. During 1591, a few matters in dispute, such as the debate between the establishment and the Presbyterians over the prerogatives of the ecclesiastical courts, called forth one or two more or less scholarly works from certain apologists for the Church of England; but, generally speaking, the year 1591 was not distinguished by the quality of its contributions to theological debate. Works against the Catholic Church in particular are notable for their scurrility. Next to Catholicism, the group that aroused the deepest passions during the year was the tiny Separatist organiza-

tion of Henry Barrow and his followers. Barrow was attacked rather frequently in religious books, especially sermons, as well as in such unlikely places as a prose satire on contemporary mores which has been classified as a work of literature in this thesis. With the exception of a few books published secretly by the Separatist party, nothing of consequence appeared in print to challenge the established Church, and, with few exceptions, the apologists for the Church of England appear to have been aiming primarily at encouraging popular outrage and prejudice against their opponents.

In the area of News Publications, where thirty-three items account for 12.9 per cent of the publications from the year, the most fundamental observation to be made is that here, as in the case of theological publications, the book trade recognized and catered to an increasing demand for printed information. Domestic news was not published to any extent during 1591, and on the evidence of the topical literature from the year, the public imagination was chiefly appealed to by current wars on the Continent, where English contingents in several places were assisting the enemies of the Catholic League and the Kingdom of Spain. Foreign news of any significance was apparently not easy to obtain, however, and there is some evidence that certain readers and publishers were becoming more critical of the shortcomings of the general run of news pamphlets. Notwithstanding these problems, the printing of news seems to have been regarded as a worthwhile venture;

and it is apparent that the government itself took advantage of public enthusiasm for topical literature by lending official documents and correspondence to certain publishers, and by actively encouraging the printing of government propaganda in other ways. Regardless of their sponsors, most news pamphlets were replete with propaganda and invective against England's enemies, especially King Philip of Spain and the Spanish nation. At such a brief remove from the wonderful year of 1588 it is not surprising that anti-Spanish feeling continued to run high; and attacks upon Spain appear consistently not only in news pamphlets but in almost every other subject area as well.

The English reader's interest in foreign affairs is reflected as well during 1591 within the category of Education and Scholarship, where several commentaries upon important contemporary political questions are featured. There was evidently a market for books which discussed the political implications of the possible conversion of Henry IV of France to the Catholic faith, for example, while the ongoing dispute over the legitimacy of Henry as the rightful king also prompted works dealing with kingship in general as well as with the political realities of France at this time. In addition to rudimentary political commentary, the category of Education and Scholarship includes a wide variety of works, ranging from several grammar school text-books to works of history and philosophy, geography and travel, language tutors, and various

other handbooks to self-improvement. The publications in the category amount to thirty-two items, or 12.5 per cent of the total output from the year, and all of them are interesting to varying degrees for the evidence they provide about the curiosity of contemporary readers and the wide variety of their interests.

Like the subject area of Education and Scholarship, the category of Science and Information includes a variety of publications, ranging from mathematics text-books and works on obscure subjects like alchemy and geomancy to almanacs, cookbooks, and manuals upon useful arts such as surgery, animal husbandry, and warfare. The development of science during the Elizabethan period as a whole was not at all remarkable, so that it is not surprising to discover a certain unevenness of quality and sophistication among the scientific books from the year. The presses still relied to a large extent upon translations of foreign mathematical and scientific treatises to meet the needs of readers in these areas; but there is some evidence that certain Englishmen, especially mathematicians, were beginning to take a patriotic interest in the advancement of science and the publication of science and mathematics books in the vernacular. Except for a pamphlet of questionable use on the subject of navigation, most mathematics and science books were concerned with the practical application of scientific knowledge with special regard to such matters as fortification, artillery, and so on. This may have had something to do with

the fact that, to all intents and purposes, 1591 was a war year for England; and the publication of certain other books on the subjects of warfare and military surgery were almost certainly motivated by current interest in military matters. Taken as a whole, the twenty-seven items in this subject area represent 10.6 per cent of the printed output during 1591, and each of them bears witness to some aspect of Elizabethan interest in the physical world, or provides useful information about some of the skills and knowledge which were regarded as being worthwhile by readers during the year.

Publications concerned with Government and Law were not numerous during 1591. Only seven legal books were printed, but if the official proclamations and briefs from the year are added to this figure a total of twenty-one items, or 8.2 per cent of all extant works from the year, can be identified within this subject area. Most of the legal books printed during the year were standard publications for use by such people as lawyers and justices of the peace; and the only publication in this category which might have reached a wider audience was a book on the subject of wills. The proclamations from the year are of some interest since they indicate to some degree the matters which were of concern to the government. Among the more significant proclamations from the year are several which address themselves to contemporary problems such as widespread vagrancy, the dangers to the realm represented by Catholic priests and the need to regulate trade and commerce

with England's enemies.

The final subject area, Literature and the Arts, accounts for forty-two items, or 16.5 per cent of all publications from 1591. The most popular literary genre during the year was poetry, which accounts for almost half the publications in the category. While Latin continued to be a legitimate medium for poetic expression during the year, and there continued to be a fair amount of interest in foreign poetry and poets, the poetic output from the year is distinguished by the appearance of several important poetic works in the vernacular. The year 1591 fell within a period of rapid development in the literary arts, and this fact must account for such things as the experimental character of some of the verse from the year, as poets were continuing to explore the possibilities of the English language as a medium of poetic expression. In the area of prose literature, as well, the reader discerns the attempts of several writers to create novel prose forms within the conventions imposed by public expectations. The cony-catching books of Robert Greene, for example, represented an innovation in approach to the writing of prose while still providing the necessary combination of literary amusement and moral instruction. Drama and music were not published in significant quantities during 1591, but printed drama was evidently a recognized form of literary recreation, and the year was distinguished by the publication of several older plays, including three comedies by John Lyly.

A statistical summary of the distribution of all extant publications from 1591, arranged by subject categories, is provided in Table 1.

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS BY SUBJECT CATEGORIES

Subject Category	Items	% of 1591 items
<u>Theology and Religion</u>		
Bibles and Ancillary Books (40)		
Theological Controversy (19)		
Sermons (38)		
Church Regulation and Administration (3)	100	39.2
<u>News Publications</u>		
Foreign News (24)		
Domestic News (9)	33	12.9
<u>Education and Scholarship</u>		
Formal Education (6)		
Informal Education (26)	32	12.5

TABLE 1--Continued

Subject Category	Items	% of 1591 items
<u>Science and Information</u>		
Science (6)		
Information and Useful Arts (21)	27	10.6
<u>Government and Law</u>		
Proclamations and Briefs (14)		
Legal Books (7)	21	8.2
<u>Literature and the Arts</u>		
Poetry (20)		
Prose Literature (10)		
Drama and Entertainments (7)		
Music (5)	42	16.5
Totals	255	99.9

THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

CHRONOLOGICAL HANDLIST: THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

Part One: Bibles and Ancillary Books¹

19956, J. Piscator, Analysis logica epistolarum Pauli
[Eliot's Court Press,] G. Bishop. Biblical exegesis;
Latin; 3 parts; ent. to Bishop 19 ja. 1590; probably
early 1591. 2/4, 1590-1608.

20588, R. R[awlyns]., A consort of the creatures T.
Orwin f. W. Young a. R. Jackson (SR 11 ja., Orwin).
Religious treatise.

26032, L. Wright, The pilgrimage to paradise. J. Wolfe (SR
23 ja., Wolfe). Homiletic treatise. 1/2, 1591-1608.

SR 25 fb., "A Booke entytuled, a pathe waye to penitence" (ent.
to John Wolfe).

SR 10 ap., "A booke entituled Amandi Polani a Polansdorf.
partitiones theologicae iuxta naturalis methodi Leges con-
formatae duobus libris, quorum primus est 'de fide': alter
'de bonis operibus'. &c" (ent. to Edmund Bollifant).

6328, J. Davies, O vtinam. R. Yardley a. P. Short f. J. Penny
(SR 12 ap., Penny). Homiletic treatise.

19657, W. Perkins, A golden chaine E. Allde, sold by
E. White. Doctrinal treatise; tr. of STC 19655a by
R. Hill; with tract by T. Beza on predestination; ent.
to T. Newman and T. Gubbin 1 se., 1590; preface dated
18 ap. 3/13, 1590-1621.

¹Because of the large number of items involved, publica-
tions in the category of Theology and Religion are grouped in
the handlist according to sub-categories.

19658 [Anr. ed.] J. Legate [sold by A. Kitson]. 4/13, 1590-1621.

23359, V. Strigelius, A Proceeding in the harmonie of King Dauids harpe. J. Wolfe [a. J. Charlewood] (SR 8 mr., Wolfe). Biblical exegesis; tr. from Latin by R. Robinson; ded. dated 22 ap.

25626, T. Wilcox, A . . . learned exposition, vpon the whole Booke of Psalmes. T. Orwin f. T. Man. Biblical exegesis; revised edition; ded. dated 27 ap. 2/2, 1586-1591.

SR 3 my., "The Vineyard of Devotion or garden of heavenly Devocon" (ent. to Edward White).

19655a, W. Perkins, Armilla aurea . . . J. Legate, sold by A. Kitson. Doctrinal treatise; Latin; includes Beza's tract on predestination; British Library copy purchased 10 ma. 2/13, 1590-1621.

19953, J. Piscator, Analysis logica . . . secundum Johannem . . . [Eliot's Court Press,] G. Bishop (SR 27 my., E. Bollifant a. partners). Biblical exegesis; Latin; ded. dated 16 mr. 1/2, 1591-1595.

SR 5 jn., "a prayer booke Intituled the shipp of salvacon" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 5 jn., "The comforter or a comfortable treatise wherein are contained many Reasons taken out of the woord to assure the forgyuenes of synnes to the Conscience that is troubled with the feling thereof together with the temptacon of Sathan to the contrary taken from experience wrytten by John Ffreman somtyme minister of the woord in Lewes in Sussex beinge auuthorised vnder the hand of the Bishop of London" (ent. to John Wolfe).

3890, H. Broughton, A treatise of Melchisedek . . . [R. Watkins] f. G. Simpson a. W. White. Biblical chronology cited in STC 3888; repr. in STC 3887 [1594?].

3888, H. Broughton, Textes of scripture [R. Watkins]
f. G. Simpson a. W. White (SR 10 jn., Simpson a. White).
Biblical chronology; cites STC 3890. 1/2, 1591-[n.d.].

23381, P. Stubbes, A christal glasse for Christian women. R.
Jones (SR 15 jn., Jones). Religious treatise. 1/24,
1591-1637.

SR 3 jy., "xxvij^{tie} Christian Discourses touchinge the estate
of the world, and of the Church of God" (ent. to Edward Aggas).

SR 5 jy., "The poore mans pater noster with a preparatiue to
praier, with Diuerse psalmes and meditacions collected out of
the scriptures by Thomas Tymne minister" (ent. to Richard
Yardley and Peter Short).

SR 3 au., "Godlye prayers made by Anthonie Anderson" (ent. to
John Wolfe).

SR 30 au., "a book intituled the progresse of pietie: or the
harbor of heavenly hearts ease" (ent. to John Oxenbridge).

SR 14 se., "A memoriall fyt to obserue in mans life" (ent. to
John Wolfe).

SR 29 se., "The Christians Combat wherein is set downe the
dangerous fight wherevnto all the faithfull and elect children
of God are called written in French by P. M. and Englished by
G. C." (ent. to Robert Dexter).

21280, R. Rollock, In librum Danielis prophetae R.
Waldegrave. Biblical exegesis; Latin; ded. dated
1 oc.

SR 29 oc., "a book . . . entitled. Comforted in affliction by
[J. de L']Espine" (ent. to Thomas Man).

5840, S. Cottesford, A treatise against traitors. E. A[lldel].
f. W. Holme. On Jeremiah 40:13-16 and 41:1-4; ded.
dated 6 no.

- 24598, E. Vaughan, Nine obseruations, howe to reade . . . the holy Bible. [J. Charlewood] f. T. Gosson (SR 8 no., Gosson). General Biblical information and helps to study.
- 939, St. Augustine, S. Augustines manuel. R. Yardley a. P. Short. Prayers and meditations; tr. from Lat., a. ed. by T. Rogers. 2/4, 1581-1604.
- 951, St. Augustine, A right Christian treatise R. Yardley a. P. Short. Prayers; tr. from Lat. a. ed. by T. Rogers; with St. Augustine's psalter. 2/4, 1581-1604.
- 1562, J. Bastingius, A catechisme of Christian religion . . R. Waldegrave. Authorized for Scotland; tr. from Lat. 1/2, 1591-1617.
- 2053, T. Beza, Propositions and principles of diuinity R. Waldegrave. Student essays, U. of Geneva; tr. from Lat. by J. Penry. 1/2, 1591-1595.
- 2155, Bible, The Bible J. Legate. Geneva version; numerous editions.
- 2156, Bible, The Holy Bible Deputies of C. Barker. Bishops' version; numerous editions.
- 2478, Bible, Sternhold a. Hopkins, The whole booke of psalmes J. Wolfe f. assignes of R. Day. Numerous editions.
- 2479, [Anr. ed.] J. Windet f. assignes of R. Day.
- 2890, Bible, The new test. . . . Deputies of C. Barker. Geneva, Tomson; numerous editions.
- 4167, W. Burton, Certaine questions and answeres J. Windet f. T. Cooke. Catechism.

- 4562, J. Cancellor, The alphabet of praiera [R. Yardley a. P. Short] f. the assignes of W. Seres. Prayers; ed. A. Fleming; acrostics on R. Dudley, etc. 5/6, 1565-1626.
- 5192, Christian Soul, The sacrifice of a Christian soule . R. Waldegrave. Prayers and meditations.
- 7301, F. du Jon, the elder, Sacrorum parallelorum G. Bishop. Exegetical handbook; Latin.
- 10748, I. Feguernekinus, Enchiridii locorum communium theologicorum G. Bishop. Biblical thesaurus; Latin; revised edition. 2/2, 1588-1591.
- 13023, Heidelberg Catechism. Catechisis religionis Christianae. R. Waldegrave. Catechism, in Latin. 1/5, 1591-1637.
- 15644, R. Linaker, A short and plaine instruction T. Orwin f. T. Woodcock. Catechism.
- 19381, R. Parsons, The second part of . . . Christian exercise J. Charlewood f. S. Waterson. Doctrinal treatise; ed. E. Bunny. 2/13, 1590-1633.
- 19710, W. Perkins, The foundation of Christian religion T. Orwin f. J. Porter. Catechism. 2/19, 1590-1638.
- 19753, W. Perkins, A treatise tending vnto a declaration T. Orwin f. J. Porter a. T. Gubbin. Doctrinal treatise; with section on spiritual desertions; newly corrected and augmented. 3/10, [1590?]-1619.
- 20853, U. Regius, The solace of Sion [J. Charlewood f.] R. Jones. Biblical exegesis. 2/3, 1587-1594.
- 22703, H. Smith, Three prayers [J. Charlewood?] f. T. Man. Reprinted in various collections. 1/3, 1591-1592.

22703.5 [Anr. ed.] [T. Orwin] f. T. Man.

24275, F. Trigge, Analysis . . . secundum Matthaeum .
J. Barnes. Biblical exegesis; Latin.

24534, Z. Ursinus, The summe of Christian religion
J. Barnes [sold by T. Cooke]. Catechism, based upon
Heidelberg Catechism; tr. from Lat. by H. Parry. 3/8,
1587-1633.

Part Two: Theological Controversy

1517, H. Barrow, A brief discoverie of the false church.
Separatist writings; in part by John Greenwood; dated
1590 but probably pr. at Dort early in 1591.

SR 25 fb., "An aunswere to certen of Master Barrowes ascer-
tions and his adherentes" (ent. to John Wolfe).

25613, J. Wigand, De neutralibus & mediis. T. Dawson f. E.
White (SR 12 ap., J. Sheldrake). Against neutrality
or accommodation in religious matters; anti-Catholic;
tr. from Lat. copy. 3/4, 1562-1626.

24274, Trial, The trial of trueth [J. Windet] f. R.
Dexter (SR 5 jn., Dexter). Anti-Catholic treatise;
tr. from Lat. by R. Smith.

SR 3 jy., "a Remonstrance to the 'Demonstration of Discipline'"
(ent. to George Bishop and Ralph Newbery).

23471, M. Sutcliffe, A treatise of ecclesiasticall discipline.
G. Bishop a. R. Newbery (SR 3 jy., Bishop a. Newbery).
Defence of episcopacy. 1/2, both 1591.

23472 [Anr. ed.] [Eliot's Court Press f.] G. Bishop. 2/2, both
1591.

- 23458, M. Sutcliffe, De presbyterio G. Bishop a. R. Newbery (SR 3 jy., Bishop a. Newbery). Defence of episcopacy; ded. dated 1 ja. 1590.
- 24913, R. W[ilson]., Martine Mar-Sixtus. T. Orwin f. T. Woodcock (SR 8 no., Woodcock). Anti-Catholic treatise; tr. in part from Lat. 1/2 issues, 1591-1592.
- 4868, J. de Caumont, The firme foundation of Catholike religion Antwerp, A. Coninx. Defense of Catholic Church; tr. from Fr. by J. Pauncefoot; printer's licence dated 15 no.
- 11868, G. Gifford, A short reply vnto . . . Henry Barrow T. Orwin f. T. Cooke (SR 6 de., Cooke). Anti-Separatist.
- 1521, H. Barrow, A petition directed to her most excellent maiestie Separatist writings; in part by John Greenwood; undated, but cites STC 23471, 1591 (SR 3 jy), and is cited in STC 23450, 1591; pr. abroad at Middleburg by R. Schilders, or at Dort. 1/2, both 1591.
- 1522a [Anr. ed.] 2/2, both 1591.
- 1523, H. Barrow, A plaine refutation of . . . Giffardes booke Separatist writings; in part by John Greenwood; pr. abroad at Middleburg by R. Schilders, or at Dort by Hanse. 1/2, 1591-1605?
- 5820, R. Cosin, An apologie . . . for sundrie proceedings . . [Deputies of C. Barker.] Defence of proceedings ex officio; two parts; forty copies printed. 1/2, 1591-1593.
- 14584, J. Jewel, Apologia ecclesiae anglicanae. [R. Robinson] f. T. Chard. Issued with STC 24750. 4/9, 1562-1639.
- 15061, J. Knox, An answere to . . . an anabaptist [R. Field] f. T. Chard. Defense of Calvinism. 2/2, 1560-1591.

- 17752, J. Mayo, The popes parliament R. Field. Two parts; the second a "history" of Pope Joan; pt. 2 repr. 1624 (STC 17754).
- 21749, H. Saravia, D. Sarauia of the diuers degrees of the ministers J. Wolfe, sold by J. Perrin. Defense of episcopacy; tr. of Lat. ed., STC 21746, 1590. 1/2, 1591-1592.
- 23019, T. Sparke, An answere to Master Iohn de Albines, notable discourse J. Barnes. Reply to a Catholic treatise, which is itself reproduced.
- 24750, St. Vincent of Lerins, Vincentii Lirinensis Galli pro catholicae fidea [R. Robinson.] Issued with STC 14584; in Latin.

Part Three: Sermons

- 3924, R. Bruce, Sermons vpon the sacrament R. Waldegrave. Five sermons preached on successive Sundays, 1 fb.-2 mr. 1589; ded. dated 9 de. 1590; probably early 1591.
- 4952, B. Chamberlaine, A sermon preached at Farington in Barkeshire J. Wolfe. Funeral sermon, 17 fb., 1587; ent. to Wolfe 9 de. 1590; probably early 1591.
- SR 4 ja., "A Sermon preached by Henrie Peacham vppon the 3. laste verses of the ffirst chapter of Jobe" (ent. to Richard Jones).
- 22660, H. Smith, The examination of vsury. R. Field f. T. Man (SR 4 fb., Man). Two sermons on Psalm 15:1-5; taken by charactery; repr. in various collections.
- 22685, H. Smith, A prepatatiue to mariage. T. Orwin f. T. Man (SR 4 fb., Man). Also, two sermons on the Lord's Supper and two on usury; repr. in various collections; pt. 3, on usury formerly also STC 22661. 1/4, all 1591.

22685.5 [Anr. ed.] R. Field f. T. Man. Pt. 2 also iss. sep. as STC 22705; pt. 3 also iss. sep. as STC 22660. 2/4, all 1591.

22686 [Anr. ed.] R. Field f. T. Man. Newly corrected, and augmented with a new section, Three prayers. 3/4, all 1591.

22687 [Anr. ed.] J. Charlewood [a.] (T. Orwin) f. T. Man. 4/4, all 1591.

12589, R. Hacket, A sermon needfull for theese times
J. Barnes. Sermon on 1 Samuel 11:4-6; Paul's Cross,
14 fb., 1590; ded. dated 27 mr. [1591?].

24339, R. Turnbull, An exposition vpon . . . Saint Iames . . .
J. Windet (SR 12 ja., Windet). Sermons, exegesis of
St. James; ded. dated 10 my. 1/3, 1591-1606.

1094, G. Babington, A sermon preached at the court at Greene-
wich R. Field f. T. Chard. Sermon on 2 Kings
5:13-16; preached 24 my.

SR 31 my., "A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse the xvijth of
Nouember 1590 the first Daie of the xxxiiijth yere of her
maiesties reigne by John Duport Doctor of Dyvinitie" (ent. to
Edward Aggas).

1464+, T. Barne, A sermon preached at Pauls Crosse the thir-
teenth of Iune, J. Barnes.

SR 3 jy., "master Dyos his sermonns" (ent. to George Bishop and
Ralph Newbery).

22662, H. Smith, The fall of King Nabuchadnezzar. T. Scarlet
(SR 19 jy., Scarlet). Sermon on Daniel 4:28-30;
repr. in various collections. 1/2, both 1591.

22662.5 [Anr. ed.] T. Scarlet (sold by W. Wright). 2/2, both 1591.

22688, H. Smith, The pride of King Nabuchadnezzar. T. Scarlet (SR 19 jy., Scarlet). Sermon on Daniel 4:26-27; repr. in various collections. 1/2, both 1591.

22689 [Anr. ed.] T. Scarlet, sold by W. Wright. 2/2, both 1591.

22690, H. Smith, The restitution of King Nabuchadnezzar. T. Scarlet (sold by W. Wright) (SR 19 jy., Scarlet). Sermon on Daniel 4:31-34; repr. in various collections. 1/2, both 1591.

22691 [Anr. ed.] T. Scarlet (sold by W. Wright). 2/2, both 1591.

22684, H. Smith, The preachers proclamacion. [E. Allde? f.] W. Kearney (SR 26 jy., Man). Sermon on Eccles. 1:2; repr. in various collections as "The trial of vanity."

22664, H. Smith, A fruitfull sermon (W. Hoskins, H. Chettle, a. J. Danter) f. N. Ling (SR 18 au., Ling). Sermon on 1 Thess. 5:19-22; taken by charactery; repr. in various collections as "The true trial." 1/2, both 1591.

22665 [Anr. ed.] [W. Hoskins, H. Chettle, a. J. Danter] f. J. Broome. 2/2, both 1591.

1092, G. Babington, A sermon preached at Paules Crosse T. Este (SR 23 au., Este). Sermon on John 6:37; preached during oc. 1590; tp. dated 23 au. 1/2, 1591-1599.

22656, H. Smith, The affinitie of the faithfull W. Hoskins [J. Danter] a. H. Chettle f. N. Ling a. J. Busby (SR 12 se., Ling). Sermon on Luke 8:19-21; repr. in various collections. 1/2, both 1591.

- 22656.5 [A variant] W. Hoskins a. J. Danter f. N. Ling a. J. Busby.
- 22657 [Anr. ed.] Nowe the second time imprinted. [T. Scarlet] f. N. Ling a. J. Busbie. 2/2, both 1591.
- 22716, H. Smith, Seuen godly and learned sermons R. Field f. T. Man (SR 26 jy., 4 oc., Man). "Perused by the author before his death."
- 22681, H. Smith, The magistrates scripture [R. Field f.] W. Kearney. Sermon on Psalm 82:6-7; variant of STC 22680, 1590; ent. to T. Man 29 oc. 1591; repr. in various collections.
- SR 22 no., "Beza his sermons vppon the historie of the passion and buriall of our lord Jesus Christ wrytten by the iiij Euangelists" (ent. to Edward Aggas).
- 3923, R. Bruce, Sermons preached in the kirk of Edinburgh R. Waldegrave. Eleven sermons preached in and around 1589; ded. dated 6 de.
- SR 6 de., "a sermon preched at Paules Crosse the 30 Maie 1591, by master Gifford" (ent. to Toby Cooke).
- 19916.7, O. Pigge, Sermons vpon the 101. psalme T. Orwin f. T. Man.
- 22659, H. Smith, The Christians sacrifice. [J. Charlewood] f. T. Man. Sermon on Proverbs 23:26; repr. in various collections; ent. to Man 3 oc. 1589. 2/2, 1589-1591.
- 22663, H. Smith, The first sermon of Noahs drunkennes. [E. Alde? f.] W. Kearney. Sermon on Genesis 9:20-21; ent. to C. Burby 28 ap. 1592; repr. in various collections.
- 22696, H. Smith, A sermon of the benefite of contentation. A. Jeffes. Sermon on 1 Timothy 6:6; taken by charity; examined and corrected by Smith. 6/7, 1590-1591.

22696.5 [Anr. ed.] A. Jeffes. 7/7, 1590-1591.

22705, H. Smith, A treatise of the Lords supper R. Field f. T. Man. Two sermons; diff. setting from STC 22686; also iss. as pt. 2, STC 22685.5.

22706, H. Smith, The trumpet of the soule [E. Allde] f. J. Perrin. Reprinted in various collections. 1/10, 1591-1640.

22714.5, H. Smith, The wedding garment. [A. Jeffes?] Sermon on Romans 13:14; repr. in various collections. 4/6, 1590-1591.

22715 [Anr. ed.] [A. Jeffes?] 5/6, 1590-1591.

22715.5 [Anr. ed.] [A. Jeffes?] 6/6, 1590-1591.

22783.3, H. Smith, Certain sermons, preached by H. Smyth. R. Waldegrave. Waldegrave piracy of STC 22693, 22713, 22660, 22658, 22703.

Part Four: Church Regulation and Administration

SR 30 mr., "A table for the paiement of tithes and oblacons accordinge to the Queenes maiesties Ecclesiasticall lawes, and ordinaunces established in the church of England" (ent. to Thomas Purfoote, the elder; and Thomas Purfoote, the younger).

10105, Church of England, Iniunctions giuen by the queenes maiestie [Deputies of C. Barker.] 11/16, 1559?-1600?.

10130, Church of England, Articles to be enquired in the visitation Deputies of C. Barker. General visitation articles; reprint of 1559 edition. 13/16, 1559-1600.

10233, Church of England, Articles to be enquired of . . . within . . . Lincolne T. Orwin. Local visitation articles.

CHAPTER I

THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

One hundred separate items, or 39.2 per cent of the total output in all subjects during 1591, have been classified under the category of Theology and Religion. Publications in this category consist, essentially, of Bibles and ancillary books, books contributing to or arising from theological dispute, sermons, and items concerned with church regulation and administration. The distribution of publications in this category is listed in Table 2.

The line heading "USR entries" in Table 2 and succeeding tables on the distribution of books in other categories refers to entries in the Stationers' Register for which no publication is known to be extant, at least not in an edition published in or around 1591. The entry of a book in the Stationers' Register is not a sure indication that the book did, in fact, go to press, but entries which remain "unconnected" to an extant item are noted in this and other categories in order to indicate as fully as possible the number of publications which could, in theory, have been included within

a particular grouping. USSR entries have not been considered in compiling the statistical information about each category. Inevitably, a degree of conjecture has sometimes been involved in deciding, on the basis of an entry in the Stationers' Register, the category or sub-category to which certain USSR entries should be assigned.

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS: THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

Type of Book	Items	% of 1591 items	USSR entries
<u>Bibles and Ancillary Books</u>			
Bibles			
Geneva (1)			
Bishop's (1)			
N. T. (Geneva, Tomson) (1)			
Psalms (Metrical Versions, Sternhold and Hopkins) (2)			
Catechisms (6)			
Treatises			
Doctrinal (6)			
Biblical Exegesis (8)			
Biblical Thesaurus (1)			
Biblical Chronology (2)			
Others (6)			
Prayers and/or Meditations (6)	40	15.7	12

TABLE 2 --Continued

Type of Book	Items	% of 1591 items	USR entries
<u>Theological Controversy</u>			
Anti-Presbyterian (5)			
Separatist Movement (4)			
Anti-Separatist (1)			
Catholic Publications (1)			
Anti-Catholic (7)			
Others (1)			
	19	7.5	2
<u>Sermons</u>			
Henry Smith (29)			
Gervase Babington (2)			
Robert Bruce (2)			
Others (5)			
	38	14.9	5
<u>Church Regulation and Administration</u>			
	3	1.1	1
Totals	100	39.2	20

Bibles and Ancillary Books

Al our books are but entrances to the book of books, vnto the sacred Bible, & book of God: which were it indeed deeply imprinted in the harts of al men, I could easily haue spared this simple labor, and could and would haue wished euen Luthers wish, vppon the same verie condition that he did: That al bookes els were in a faire light fiar.¹

The foregoing observation would have met with general favour at any time during the Elizabethan era, at least among committed Protestants, who believed that Holy Scripture led men to salvation and schooled them in every aspect of conduct and belief. In a preface written originally for the Great Bible of 1539 and later prefixed to editions of the Bishops' Bible, Thomas Cranmer had put the matter plainly for generations of readers:

Here al maner of persons, men, women, yong, olde, learned, vnlearned, rich, poore, priestes, lay men, lords, ladies, officers, tenants, and meane men, virgins, wiues, widowes, lawyers, marchants, artificers, husbandmen, and all maner of persons, of what estate or condition soeuer they be, may in this booke learne al things what they ought to beleue, what they ought to do, and what they should not do, aswell concerning Almightye God, as also concerning themselues and all other.²

English Protestants might wrangle bitterly about the efficacy of the religious settlement of 1559 and such derivative matters as the relative importance of preaching and the sacraments; but

¹STC 20369, John Prime, An exposition, and obseruations vpon Saint Paul to the Galathians, 1587, sig. A2.

²STC 2156, The Holy Bible (Bishops'), sig. A3.

on the question of the fundamental importance of the Scriptures there was unanimity. One important consequence of Protestant belief about the Scriptures was a great enthusiasm for the printing and dissemination of Bibles; and one of the consistent preoccupations of Protestant leaders and teachers was that the people should be firmly grounded in the basic tenets of the faith as revealed in God's Word. Not surprisingly, the publication of Bibles and "entrances to the book of books" accounted for a large proportion of the output of the press at all times during the Elizabethan period.

By 1591, sixty-six years after William Tyndale's pioneering work as a Biblical translator, no less than seven different versions of the English Bible had been prepared for Protestant readers. The earlier versions had fallen from prominence by mid-century, however, and for most readers of 1591 Holy Scripture would have been represented by one edition or another of the Geneva Bible of 1560, the Bishops' Bible of 1568, and, perhaps, the Great Bible of 1539, the version produced under Henry VIII.¹ Of these translations the most popular was the Geneva Bible, followed by the Bishops' version. Editions of both versions were published in 1591, as well as an edition of the so-called Tomson version of the New Testament.

¹Most Protestant readers would have been unfamiliar with the only other important contemporary translation of the Scriptures, the Rheims New Testament, a translation completed by English Catholic exiles at Douai and Rheims in 1568.

The Geneva Bible was the product of two years of intense work at Geneva by a group of Marian exiles, notably John Knox, Miles Coverdale, and William Whittingham, working under the guidance of John Calvin and Theodore Beza. The new Bible, which appeared propitiously during the second year of Elizabeth's reign, was not really a translation from the original tongues, but a revision of the Old Testament of the Great Bible conjoined with William Whittingham's 1557 translation of the New Testament. These sources were collated carefully with the original Greek and Hebrew, and close reference was made to the work of scholars writing in Latin, French, and German, many of whom were living at Geneva during the time the revision was going on. The Geneva Bible became popular in England almost immediately, and, in fulfilment of the hopes of its compilers, it soon eclipsed the Great Bible, which was not printed any more after 1569.¹ In spite of immediate opposition to it from Elizabeth and the leaders of the established church the Geneva Bible continued to be published throughout the reign. The 1591 edition was just one of over one hundred and sixty editions from 1560 to the Civil War, sixty of which were published during the Elizabethan period.²

The second version of the Scriptures published in 1591,

¹H. W. Hoare, The Evolution of the English Bible (London: John Murray, 1902), p. 220.

²Hoare, p. 212.

the Bishops' Bible (STC 2156), had been presented to the English people by the leaders of the established church in the hope that it would, in turn, eclipse the Geneva Bible. An important advantage of the new version, in the eyes of the Queen and her supporters, was its freedom from certain tainted notions advocated by the Genevans. Thus, while the compilers of the Bishops' Bible borrowed liberally from the marginal commentary in the Geneva Bible they were at pains to exclude all notes in support of the Genevan side in certain matters in dispute, such as the question of ecclesiastical polity. However, despite the fact that after 1571 the Bishops' Bible was the only version authorized to be used in churches, it never achieved the popularity of the Geneva version, which continued to be the Bible of the English people, to all intents and purposes.

The failure of the Bishops' Bible to make a greater impact than it did was due in part, no doubt, to the fact that, for reasons of her own, Elizabeth chose not to lend it any form of public support or recognition. In addition, however, there were a number of other factors which operated in favour of the Genevan version. The Geneva Bible had made its initial impact at a time when Protestant fortunes in England were running high and when Geneva was regarded warmly as a bastion of the true faith. Added to these advantages of time and association were the vigorous, terse style of the Geneva Bible, the superior scholarship of its text, and the copiousness of its

notes, which amounted to a running commentary upon the Scriptures.¹ In addition, the Geneva Bible pioneered a number of features which were adopted in later versions of the English Bible. These included the use of roman type rather than black letter for the main text and the division of the text into verses, a feature which had been introduced earlier in the New Testament of William Whittingham. Another advantage of the Geneva version was that it was usually issued in a small format such as quarto, or, as with the 1591 edition, octavo, an arrangement which would have made the book reasonably cheap and easy to handle. The Bishops' version, on the other hand, was usually issued as a folio; and while editions like the 1591 publication were elaborate and sumptuous examples of the printer's art, they were cumbersome and expensive in comparison with the Geneva Bible.

In addition to complete versions of the Scriptures, Elizabethan readers could usually choose from among a variety of books containing selected portions of the Bible. Editions of the New Testament seem to have been popular, for example; and readers could also buy books in which certain sections of Scripture were accompanied by notes and commentary. A popular

¹Side-notes were evidently open to some variation. The 1591 edition gives a brief commentary before each book, but, unlike other editions which provide exegetical material in the margins, it limits side-notes to recognition of acceptable variant translations and notices of places where the original Hebrew has been translated freely.

version of the New Testament was the Tomson version, an edition of which appeared in 1591 (STC 2890). This version was named after Laurence Tomson, who had translated the notes prepared by Theodore Beza for a Latin version of the New Testament and transferred them to the Geneva text. Scriptural materials of the second sort, that is, annotated selections, were not published to any extent in 1591, the only example of this type being a translation of an exposition of thirteen of the Psalms written originally in Latin by Victor Strigelius, a German theologian.¹ Other books of Biblical exegesis, most of them in Latin, were published during 1591, but only one other item, an exposition of the Psalms by Thomas Wilcox, transcribed the Biblical text systematically, and in this case no attempt was made to render any but the most significant verses in each Psalm.²

The most familiar ancillary book to the Bible was undoubtedly The whole Booke of Psalmes (STC 2748), a collection of metrical renditions of the Psalms by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins. This notable book went through many editions during the Elizabethan period and beyond, and in 1591 it appeared in two editions. The work had begun during the time of Henry VIII when Thomas Sternhold, a Groom of the Robes in the royal

¹STC 23359, A proceeding in the harmonie of King Dauids harpe.

²STC 25626, A very godly and learned exposition, vpon the whole Booke of Psalmes.

court, began to render the Psalms into English verse and to compose music for them in order to provide a godly alternative to the lewd songs popular at court. Sternhold's work proved to be so popular that after his death in 1549 the work was carried on by John Hopkins and others (DNB, XVIII, 1110). During the Elizabethan period the Psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins were authorized to be sung in churches as a regular part of the service, and it was the work of these two men and their collaborators which did much to establish the popularity of a number of the favourite Psalms with the English people.

Next to Holy Scripture itself, the publications most generally esteemed by the Elizabethans were books of various kinds which supplemented the Scriptures in one way or another. Such godly books abounded, and readers could select printed materials to instruct them in the basic tenets of their faith, lead them on to a deeper understanding of more obscure matters, and help them to achieve the greatest benefit from their own private study and devotional exercises. Naturally, the emphasis of the Protestant faith upon the heavy responsibility of the individual in the matter of achieving salvation made all the more welcome the availability of books that might help the reader attain this happy state. The religious handbooks and treatises published during 1591 are fairly typical of the kinds of godly books resorted to by readers of the time, and several of them are interesting for the observations they make upon contemporary belief and practice.

The most basic book of religious instruction was the catechism. This was usually a brief work in which the main elements of Protestant belief were arranged according to some plan in the form of questions and responses. Johann Wigand, a Continental writer whose work appeared in translation in 1591, had called the catechism "a moste sure perfect rule to examine, to trie, and to iudge all Religions and all doctrines by." Moreover, he wrote,

it is certayne that the Catechisme is a short handsome summe of all the whole Bible, and conteineth all that is required of necessitie vnto faith and vnto our saluation, as no christian will denie.¹

The importance attached to the catechism by the Church is suggested by one of the items included in the visitation articles issued in connection with the visitation of the diocese of Lincoln in 1591. The item charges the bishop's deputies to enquire

whether all superiors, as parents, masters, &c. doe as much as in them lyeth, to bring their youth being aboue seuen yeres and vnder twenty to the Church to be catechized on holy dayes, and Sundayes, in the after noone, and who they bee which neglect so to doe, and who betwixt the sayed ages cannot say the Catechisme.²

The catechism referred to in the articles would have been the "little" catechism contained in the Book of Common Prayer, which, with the "middle" catechism, was the main catechism of

¹STC 25613, De neutralibus & mediis, sig. G1-G1b.

²STC 10233, Articles to be enquired of by the churchwardens and swornmen within the Diocesse of Lincoln, sig. B2b.

the time;¹ but "unofficial" catechisms were also produced in abundance, and the catechetical literature printed in 1591 belongs to the latter group.

On the evidence of the six titles issued during 1591, it would seem that catechisms were open to some variation in such matters as length and method of approach to their subject; but certain conventions can be discerned which were fairly common. For example, a typical catechism was a small, inexpensive book which the reader could use as a true handbook, carrying it easily in his hand or upon his person. The most popular format was octavo, although one catechism, by Robert Linaker, was a very small book printed in duodecimo.² In every catechism the text presented the same general appearance, with the most essential points of doctrine, at least, being set down in question and answer form, duplicating the conversation that might go on between the learner and the teacher. Answers to the questions were normally documented with marginal references to passages from the Scriptures which would support the answer. Another convention which may have been of some help to the student was the use of contrasting founts to differentiate between

¹Alexander Nowell (1507?-1602), Dean of Saint Paul's, published the "large" catechism chiefly to demonstrate to critics of the Protestant faith the firm principles upon which Protestantism was based. He later abridged it to make it more suitable for the young, and the resulting "middle" catechism became the ordinary version for the instruction of the young (DNB, XIV, 693).

²STC 15644, A short and plaine instruction.

questions and answers.

The amount of material in a catechism and the way the material was arranged tended to vary, depending upon whether the writer had followed a standard model or devised an arrangement of his own and whether the material was designed for the ignorant or for more knowledgeable readers. An important catechism on the Continent, for example, was the so-called Heidelberg Catechism, in which the essential doctrines of Protestantism were arranged in three parts following the pattern of the Epistle to the Romans. Thus, the reader was led in turn through the doctrines relating to man's sin and misery, his deliverance from sin, and his thankfulness for his new life following his redemption. The catechisms produced by English writers followed different schemes, each writer devising his own arrangement of material.

The Heidelberg Catechism was the official catechism in several areas on the Continent, and it was also popular in Scotland, where it appeared in the Latin version in 1591.¹ This catechism had been authorized by James VI for use in Scotland, and besides the Latin version, a translation, with copious notes and additional exegetical material, by Jeremias Bastingius, was also published in Edinburgh in 1591.² Another publication containing the Heidelberg Catechism was The summe

¹STC 13023, Catechesis religionis Christianae.

²STC 1562, A catechism of Christian religion.

of Christian religion (STC 24534), a translation prepared by Henry Parry and published at Oxford. Besides the Heidelberg Catechism, "with correction of sundry faults, & imperfections, which are as yet remaining in the best corrected Latine" (sig. ¶1), Parry's translation included a lengthy summary of a series of lectures upon the catechism delivered by Zacharius Ursinus, a Continental theologian who had assisted in preparing the Heidelberg Catechism. The foregoing editions of the Heidelberg Catechism were evidently intended for "the learned sort," or, at least, for circumstances involving formal instruction, as in schools and churches. The Bastingius translation was specifically intended for formal instruction, and the unlearned reader would have found the Parry translation, running to almost one thousand pages of advanced exegesis, almost as much beyond his capabilities as the Latin edition.

Readers seeking catechisms pitched nearer to the capabilities of the less learned would probably have deliberated upon works like the three remaining catechisms printed during 1591, which had been prepared chiefly with them in mind. The compilers of shorter catechisms were evidently concerned that their skill and ingenuity result in as brief and simple a work as possible; and Robert Linaker, for example, called A short and plaine instruction (STC 15644) "a little fardell" of "the chief and principall groundes of Christian Religion," so arranged as to "best fit the capacitie and cariage of olde and young, committed to my charge" (sig. A2). Linaker's guide

included fifty-eight pages of text, with "a shorter Instruction" (sig. E1) of a dozen or so questions for first communicants, and a short prayer in which the compiler had ingeniously conveyed "the substance of the Catechisme" (sig. E2b-E3). As advertised on the title-page, each question and answer in the text was supported by "the places of Scripture, which serue to prooue the points of doctrine," as well as "certaine profitable notes set downe in the margent, to make euery prooffe more plaine" (sig. A1). The usual arrangement of a simple catechism is typified by the first page of Linaker's text, which proceeds in the following manner:

Question.
 Who hath giuen you your life: that is, your bodie and soule?
 Answer. That God in whome all creatures liue, mooue, and haue all their being.
 The Answer is prooued from the word of God.
 God made the worlde and all things that are therein &c. Act.17.24.
 In him we liue, mooue, and haue our being. Act.17.28.
 Q. To what ende hath God giuen you your life?
 A. To seeke his glory.
 Prooued from the word of God.
 Whether you eate or drinke, or whatsoeuer ye doe, doe all to the glory of God. I Cor.10.31 (sig. A4).

In the preface, Linaker had observed that his catechism was organized so that the book "for the most part, both in the points of doctrine and proofes, . . . traced a fruitfull & well knowen Catechisme" (sig. A3). The value of the book, consequently, must have derived from the brevity and simplicity of its exposition rather than Linaker's organizational plan, which was to lead readers through such familiar passages as the Ten

Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, in the same order that a standard catechism might follow. A somewhat longer catechism by William Burton entitled Certaine questions and answeres, concerning the knowledge of God (STC 4167) explained the fundamental points of Protestant doctrine by discovering every aspect of desirable belief and practice by means of a lengthy colloquy concerning the nature of God. Another catechist, William Perkins, also departed from the usual arrangement of doctrine by reducing the fundamentals of Protestantism to six "principles" which he then presented in the form of questions and responses. This catechism, The foundation of Christian religion (STC 19710), questioned the reader in turn upon the nature of God; the sinful condition of mankind; salvation through Christ; justification by faith; the importance of preaching, sacraments, and prayer; and the final judgment, which is handled in the following manner:

Q. What is the estate of all men after death?

VI. All men ^a shall rise againe	a Ioh.19.25
with their own bodies to the last	
biudgement, which being ended	b Eccle.12.14.
^c the godly ^d shall possesse the king-	matt.12.36.
dome of Heauen: but vnbeleee-	c 2.Pet.2.7.
uers and reprobates shal be ^e in hel	ezech.9.4.
tormented with the diuel and his	d Matt.25.32.
Angels, for euer.	e Matt.25.41.
	(sig. A5b).

Following his initial exposition of the above principles, which he supported by numerous references to Scripture in the margin, Perkins turned his attention to an "exposition of the principles," in which the six points were examined in somewhat

greater detail.

Perkins's catechism was distinguished by a most interesting preface in which the writer bespoke the need for such a book as his and instructed readers in the way to derive the most profit from the work. Addressing himself "to all ignorant people that desire to bee instructed," Perkins observes, first of all, that people generally deceive themselves into thinking they are "in a most happy estate" and that "if the matter come to a iust triall, it will fall out farr otherwise" (sig. A2). And the writer goes on to enumerate twenty-nine false opinions which he alleges are commonly held. The errors listed by Perkins cover a wide range of belief and practice, from mistaken doctrine, such as the belief that faith is "a man's good meaning & his good seruing of God" to unscriptural false beliefs such as the belief that "if anie be strangely visited, hee is either taken with a Planet, or bewitched" (sig. A2). Other false beliefs that appear to have distressed the writer concerned the efficacy of death-bed repentances, the value of "the rehearsing of the ten commandements, the Lords praier, and the Creede," the harmlessness of swearing "by nothing but that which is good, as by his faith or troth," and such propositions as that "a man eats his maker in the Sacra.," and that "if a man be no adulterer, no theef, nor murderer, and do no man harme, he is a right honest man" (sig. A2-A3). Much popular misconception about religion appears to have stemmed from confused thinking about

the new Protestant doctrines and forms of worship, and the lingering influence of Catholic beliefs and attitudes; and a number of items in Perkins's list betray his concern that preaching be more properly regarded, for example, and that vestiges of Catholic practice be eradicated.¹ In the following extract from the list, Perkins alludes to the foregoing problems several times in the course of admonishing readers against such false beliefs as the following:

13 That it is the safest, to doo in Religion as most doo.

14 That merry ballads & bookes, as Scoggin, Beuis of Southampton, &c. are good to driue away time, & to remoue hart quames.

15 That yee can serue God with all your hearts: and that yee would be sorie else.

16 That a man neede not heare so many Sermons, except he could follow them better.

17 That a man which commeth at no Sermons, may as wel beleue, as he which heares all the sermons in the world.

18 That yee know al the Preacher can tell you: For he can say nothing, but that euery man is a sinner, that we must loue our neighbours as our selues, that euery man must bee saued by Christ: and all this ye can tell as well as he.

19 That it was a good world when the old Religion was, because all things were cheap.

¹The terms "Catholic Church" and "Catholic" are used in this thesis to name the Church of Rome, that is, the Roman Catholic Church, and members of that church. Derivatives of "Catholic," such as "Catholicism" and the term "Catholic" used in an adjectival sense, also have to do with the Roman Catholic Church.

20 That drinking and bezeling in the alehouse or tauerne is good fellowship, & shews a good kinde nature.

21 That a man may sweare by the Masse, because it is nothing now: and byr Ladie, because she is gone out of the country (sig. A2b-A3).

False beliefs such as the foregoing, argues Perkins, betray gross ignorance, sin, and the rule of the devil; "and where he rules men are in a damnable case" (sig. A3). In such a circumstance, says the writer, it is not enough to be able to repeat passages from memory "vnlesse ye can vnderstand the meaning of the words, and bee able to make a right vse of the Commaundements, of the Creede, of the Lords prayer, by applying them inwardly to your hearts and consciences, and outwardly to your liues & conuersations" (sig. A3b). By applying Perkins's "sixe plaine & easie rules, euen such as the simplest may easily learne," the writer says, the ignorant will be brought to "true knowledge, vnfained faith and sound repentance" (sig. A3b). The book will serve best, Perkins continues, if it is used according to the following suggestions regarding reading and study of the two parts:

In reading of it first learne the six principles, & when ye haue them without booke, & the meaning of them withall, then learne the exposition also: which being well conceaued, & in some measure felt in the heart, ye shall be able to profite by Sermons, whereas now ye cannot: and the ordinarie parts of the Catechisme, namely the ten Commandements, the Creede, the Lords praier, and the institutions of the two Sacraments, shall more easily be vnderstoode (sig. A3b).

Besides catechetical literature a variety of other expository works on religious topics appeared regularly during

the Elizabethan period. The year 1591 witnessed the publication of several editions of Perkins's own discussions of Protestant doctrine, for example, and there were in addition a number of works by other writers which schooled believers in matters of doctrine and practice, or guided them through close readings of selected Scripture. While a number of these religious treatises were printed in Latin, and were intended chiefly for schoolmen, the remainder, except for several on somewhat esoteric topics, would have been welcomed by ordinary readers as useful adjuncts to Scripture reading and attendance at sermons.

One of the circumstances which evidently influenced public enthusiasm for religious treatises was the relative newness of some Protestant teachings. Popular confusion about such matters as the efficacy of preaching and, most especially, the significance of predestinarian doctrine sent readers to learned authors who offered to explain Protestant beliefs and demonstrate their practical application to life. During 1591, readers could choose from among several books which contained all the essential points of Calvinist theology and resolved the more vexing cases of conscience which afflicted true believers. One such work, by William Perkins, was a popular handbook called A golden chaine, or the description of theologie (STC 19657) which traced in detail, with the aid of charts and tables, the course that a human soul might follow to heaven or to hell. Published originally in Latin in 1590, the book eventually went

through many editions, including, in 1591, the second Latin edition¹ and the first two editions of the English translation.

Readers of A golden chaine were led through fifty-seven chapters on such topics as the nature of God, the punishment of sin, the Ten Commandments, the sacraments, and so on, each topic being related to the doctrine of predestination whenever practicable. The central purpose of the book, according to Perkins's introductory remarks, was to defend the Calvinist opinion about predestination--that it has no cause but God's will and pleasure--against the views of "the old and newe Pelagians," the Lutherans, and the "Semipelagian Papists" (sig. A2). Like most Protestant theological writers of the time, Perkins appears to have been very sensitive to Catholic error, and a whole chapter is devoted to fifteen basic errors of the Catholic Church, including the alleged Catholic teaching that all men are predestined to salvation, and that free will and good works are the causes of salvation (sig. I3). Perkins's exposition of Protestant doctrines was illustrated, where relevant, with advice and examples regarding appropriate practices in such matters as usury and other daily concerns such as dress, amusement and Sabbath observance.

The continuing demand for further editions of A golden chaine throughout the Elizabethan period was due in no small

¹STC 19655a, Armilla aurea, id est theologiae descriptio.

measure to Perkins's talents as a popularizer. A respected and renowned scholar of Cambridge, Perkins had the ability to simplify complex theological ideas and explain them in a language and style easily grasped by the most simple reader.¹ Besides his talent for devising practical lessons in resolving cases of conscience, he appears to have been a source of comfort and encouragement for Protestants who sought assurance about their election. In one book on this subject, entitled A treatise tending vnto a declaration whether a man be in the estate of damnation, or in the estate of grace, Perkins offered to show the reader whether he was in the state of the damned or of the elect, and, "if he be in the first, how he may in time come out of it: if in the second, how he may discern it, and perseuer in the same to the end."² From the articles and dialogues comprising the book, readers would have discovered that those who were part of the covenant of grace were a little flock indeed. In the first article, explaining "How farre a man may goe in the profession of the Gospel, and

¹Louis B. Wright, "William Perkins: Elizabethan Apostle of 'Practical Divinity,'" Huntington Library Quarterly, III (January, 1940), p. 173.

²STC 19753, sig. A2. The book does not make it clear by what means a person in the former state might "come out of it." Patrick McGrath has noted that, with Perkins, "as with most of the godly preachers, there seems to have been an implicit assumption that all pious hearers of the word were elect." (Papists and Puritans Under Elizabeth I, London: Blandford Press, 1967, p. 330.) And yet, a main thesis of A treatise tending is that even the most pious seeker after Christ may be numbered among the reprobates.

yet be a wicked man and a reprobate" (sig. B1), readers learned that a man might seem to himself and the church to be a true professor of the Gospel and yet actually be in a state of damnation. The reprobate, Perkins declares, has a certain knowledge of God and accepts true doctrines concerning his duty to serve God and save his own soul, but his knowledge is imperfect, and his piety ineffectual, since he is damned despite outward appearances of God's favour and mercy. Even preachers of God's word may be among the reprobates, says Perkins, and he draws a simple analogy to remind his readers that even those who seem to be most closely associated with divine grace may profit by it the least:

We know, that Cookes commonlie, which are occupied in preparing of banquets, haue as much feeling and seeing of the meate, as any other: and yet there is none that eateth lesse of it, than they: for their stomacks are cloyed with the smell and taste of it: So, in like manner it may come to passe, that the Minister, which dresseth and prouideth the spirituall foode, may eat the least of it himselve: and so, labouring to saue others, he may be a reprobate (sig. C1).

Having demonstrated the pitiful state of the reprobate, Perkins moved in the second part of the treatise to depict the condition of the Elect, "they whom God of the good pleasure of his will hath decreed in himselfe to choose to eternall life" (sig. C5b). Citizens of the Kingdom of Heaven, readers learned, were those whom the Holy Spirit had imbued with true saving faith, "a wonderfull gift peculiar to the Elect" (sig. C6). Readers then went on to learn how such faith was imparted, what benefits, such as justification, derived from it, and so

forth. Finally, Perkins appealed at length to "worldlings, and to loose professors of the Gospell," to "vse all meanes to become true Christians" (sig. H1); and he alleged a number of reasons why they should be concerned to achieve this objective:

My first reason is this; the man that liueth in this world not being a true christian, is farre more vile than the basest creature of all, euen the Dogge, or Toade: For first he is nothing els but a filthie dunghill of all abhomination and vncleannes, the stinke whereof hath infected heauen and earth, and no perfumes could euer delay it in the nostrils of God, but onely the suffering of Christ being a sacrifice of a sweete smelling sauour to God. We make it very daintie to come neere a lazar man that is full of botches, blaines and sores; but much more are those men to bee abhorred, which haue lien many yeares starke dead in sinnes and trespasses: and therefore now doo nothing els but rot and stinke in them like vgly lothsome carrions (sig. H1-H1b).

Succeeding sections of A treatise tending provided readers with such comforts as "A Dialogue of the state of a Christian man," between a strong Christian and a weaker brother (sig. H7 ff.); an article asserting that a reprobate might be a partaker "of all that is contained in the Religion of the Church of Rome," and that "a Papist by his Religion cannot go beyond a Reprobate" (sig. M8 ff.); a dialogue between Satan and a Christian (sig. P3 ff.); and a dialogue between a sinner and a minister tendering "consolations for the troubled consciences of repentant Sinners" (sig. Q6b). Except, perhaps, for the first two sections of the work, there was no necessary sequence among the remaining articles, so that A treatise tending was not unlike a collection of religious tracts among which believ-

PLATE II
(OVERLEAF)



VERI
TAS.



PROPOSITIONS
AND PRINCIPLES
*of Diuinitie, propounded and
disputed in the vniuersitie of
Geneua, by certaine students of Di-
uinitie there, vnder M. THEOD.
BEZA, and M. ANTHONIS
FAIVS, professors of
Diuinitie.*

WHEREIN IS CON-
tained a Methodicall sum-
*marie, or Epitome of the common
places of Diuinitie.*

TRANSLATED OUT OF
*Latine into English, to the end that
the causes, both of the present dangers
of that Church, and also of the troubles
of those that are hardlie dealt
with els-where, may appeare in the
English tongue.*

AT EDINBURGE
Printed by Robert Walde-
graue, printer to the Kings
Maestie,
Anno Dom. 1591.
Cum Priuilegio Regali.

CASTI
TAS.



Handwritten note in the right margin:
This book is sold to me by the
author in anno 1600 = 5
Edinburgh for 10 s. in 1600

Handwritten note at the bottom:
and in 1600 also 26 = 5
30 = 10 Brit 12. 100

ers could choose for help in resolving particular concerns as they arose. In this respect, the book was unlike A golden chaine and the other doctrinal treatises from 1591, which were quite highly structured. One of these works, a book called Propositions and principles of diuinitie (STC 2053), contained a recommendation in the readers' preface that the book be read through at the rate of an hour a day, following which, says the writer, "thou maiest well read it ouer once euery moneth":

The which course if thou shalt take, I doubt not but in one yeare, thou shalt so benefite thy selfe, as there shall be no point of waight in religion; whereof thou shalt not be able to resolue thine owne conscience, and also to edifie others according vnto thy calling in verye good measure (sig. B2b).

Readers of the foregoing book would have found eighty-one brief essays on various aspects of Calvinistic doctrine which had been "propounded and disputed in the vniuersitie of Geneua, by certaine students of Diuinitie there," the whole collection together comprising "a Methodicall summarie, or Epitome of the common places of Diuinitie" (sig. [A]1). According to John Penry, who had translated the essays from the students' Latin, one of his chief purposes had been to present true doctrine that might "beare testimonie against the moderation and discreet wisdom of this age in defending the trueth, that the Lorde hath made knowne vnto it, and that by many witnesses" (sig. B2). Although he does not declare it directly, Penry believed that the established Church of England was not sufficiently zealous in its support of Calvin's teachings, and

his outspoken opposition to the "moderation and discreet wisdom" of the Church led eventually to his execution in 1593.¹ The book was printed at Edinburgh by Robert Waldegrave, who, like Penry, had fled to Scotland in 1589 following the famous Marprelate affair in which both men had been actively involved.² Theological controversy was never far from the thoughts of Elizabethan divines of whatever doctrinal persuasion, and another popular treatise which appeared during 1591 was just as much a result of conflict as Penry's translation. This treatise was The second part of the booke of Christian exercise (STC 19381), a remarkable book whose history had begun in 1582 when the notable English Jesuit, Robert Parsons, had prepared a treatise outlining Christian doctrine for the comfort of Catholic believers in England. Parsons's book became immensely popular among Catholics and Protestants alike, and in 1584 a Protestant divine named Edmund Bunny edited and altered the book in order to correct "errors" in doctrine and remove taints of Catholicism so that the book might be made fit for Protestants to read. Parsons had altered the title of his treatise to A Christian Directory in 1585, and it was from an edition of the second part of this work that the Protestant revision was published in 1590 under the title The seconde parte of the booke of Christian exercise (STC 19830). A second edition of

¹McGrath, pp. 309-10.

²McGrath, pp. 248-49.

the book appeared in 1591 printed by John Charlewood, who had printed the 1590 edition, and by 1610 there were at least fifteen Protestant editions of the work as opposed to four Catholic editions.¹

While the works of Perkins, Bunny, and other popularizers of the time must have been adequate handbooks of Protestant doctrine for ordinary believers, there was also an audience for more or less detailed exegesis of Scripture and for specialized books for the use of Biblical scholars. During 1591, a number of works of Biblical exegesis, most of them in Latin, made their appearance, including one entitled Sacrorum parallelorum (STC 7301) by François du Jon, the Elder, which isolated and commented upon places in Scripture which were "parallel" to one another in language, expression, or intention. In addition to the foregoing book, and other works of Biblical exegesis, there appeared three somewhat specialized publications consisting of a Biblical thesaurus in Latin by Isaacus Feguernekinus² and two books by Hugh Broughton on the subject of Biblical chronology. In one of Broughton's books, A treatise of Melchisedek (STC 3890), the noted divine and rabbinical

¹McGrath, p. 188.

²STC 10748, Enchiridii locorum communium theologiarum, rerum, exemplorum, atque phrasium sacrarum. According to the title-page, the various grounds of agreement to be shown between texts from the Old Testament and texts from the New Testament will confound atheists, Arians, Jews, Mohammedans, and others (sig. A1).

scholar demonstrated that the Biblical character, Melchisedek, was actually Sem, "the father of all the sonnes of Heber" (sig. ¶1). Broughton's approach to the question of Melchisedek's real identity involved the examination of a number of points of view on the subject which he refuted by making reference to numerous authorities, including Hebrew and Greek versions of the Scriptures and his own complicated system of Biblical chronology. Broughton was evidently a formidable scholar, since at the end of the book he names twenty-two "Hebrew Rab- bines, or Rabbine workes cited in this booke for Sem or Mel- chisedek: whose whole workes, from Venice, or Francfurt, Studentes may haue" (sig. I4b). Broughton's interest in Bib- lical chronology also found expression in a second book pub- lished during 1591 entitled Textes of scripture (STC 3888) in which he demonstrated the number of years between certain key Biblical events from the Creation to the Resurrection. Start- ing from four key dates or "knots" such as the fact that Abra- ham received his promise at the age of seventy-five, Broughton demonstrated, for example, that from the first promise of Christ to "restore life vpon death, brought in by the Serpent" until "the Temple of our Lord his body arose the thyrde day" a total of exactly 3960 years elapsed (sig. A3b).

Setting aside the foregoing titles there remain seven books from 1591 which are concerned with the exegesis of spe- cific passages of Scripture. Works in Latin, which account for four of the seven, include treatises by Johann Piscator

on the second Book of John and the Epistles of Paul,¹ and books by Francis Trigge and Robert Rollock on Matthew and Daniel, respectively.² The three treatises remaining consist of translations of the Latin of Victorinus Strigelius and Urbanus Regius, and an English work by Thomas Wilcox, all of which deal with the Book of Psalms. Wilcox's work, A very godly and learned exposition, vpon the whole Booke of Psalmes (STC 25626), was advertised on the title-page to contain "the Diuision and Sense of euery Psalme: as also manifold, necessary and sound doctrines, gathered out of the same, all seruing for the great furtherance and instruction of euery Christian Reader" (sig. A1), while the others, A proceeding in the harmonie of King Dauids harpe (STC 23359), by Strigelius and The solace of Sion and ioy of Ierusalem (STC 20853), by Regius, provided expositions of selected materials from the Book of Psalms. Much of the commentary of the writers was devoted to doctrinal exposition and close readings of individual phrases, but readers were also given glimpses of the wide learning of their guides, as, for example, in the following opinion about the physiology of death which follows the words, "My tongue cleaueth to my Gummes," in the exposition of the twenty-second Psalm. The writer, Strigelius,

¹STC 19953, Analysis logica euangelii secundum Johannem; STC 19956, Analysis logica epistolarum Pauli.

²STC 24275, Analysis capitis vicesimi quarti euangelii secundum Matthaeum; STC 21280, In librum Danielis prophetae . . . commentarius.

quotes the verse, and observes that

all men when they see that death approcheth neere,
doo feele a drinesse of theyr tongue, and desire
drincke greedilie, the better to moisten and refresh
theyr dryed mouthes: For when the blood hath recourse
in great feares vnto the fountaine, that is, the hart,
it must needes be, that the outward members are desti-
tute of moysture, and so doo require the steepeture
(sig. C3b).

In addition to presentations of doctrine and Biblical exegesis, the Elizabethan era witnessed any number of other religious treatises which present problems of classification under general headings. During 1591, for example, six treatises were published having as their object such various aims as encouraging Christian conduct by teaching and example, revealing the harmony of the universe, teaching the right way to read the Scriptures, and uttering warnings against traitors and the sinful. What these miscellaneous treatises had in common was their writers' conviction that their several aims, being grounded in good doctrine, might make their readers stronger and more knowledgeable Christians. In subject matter, such treatises ranged from somewhat philosophical works like a book by one "R. R.," probably Robert Rawlyns, a member of Lincoln's Inn, on the notion of harmony and order in creation,¹ to a handbook by Edward Vaughan called Nine obseruations, howe to reade the Bible (STC 24598) consisting mainly of summaries of the Scriptures and various historical and thematic notes about the Bible. Another book, The pilgrimage to paradise (STC 26032), by Leonard

¹STC 20588, A consort of the creatures, with the Creator.

Wright, contained sixteen miscellaneous essays on such topics as humility, "the lothsome deformity of nature through Adams fall" (sig. B1), the vanity of the world, fasting, and several prayers and meditations, all "compiled for the direction, comfort, and resolution of Gods poore distressed children, in passing through this irkesome wilderness of temptation and tryall" (sig. A2).

The remaining miscellaneous religious treatises from 1591 include two more or less homiletic discussions of contemporary affairs and mores by Samuel Cottesford¹ and John Davies² and a work by Philip Stubbes entitled A christal glasse for Christian women (STC 23381), based upon the exemplary life and death of the writer's wife. The books of Cottesford and Davies are of particular interest because both men are concerned to relate desirable habits of conduct and belief to what Davies calls "the perillous times wherein we liue, and the vncertain-
tie of life" (sig. B1b). In the dedication of A priuate mans potion, Davies addresses himself to "the most noble, famous, renowned, inuincible and victorious Realme of England," offering his nation the gift of his book or potion "compounded of gentle persuasions and charitable exhortations" (sig. A3) against the dangerous extremities the writer perceives the nation to be in. The treatise examines the conduct of various

¹STC 5840, A treatise against traitors.

²STC 6328, A priuate mans potion.

groups, but some of the more interesting admonitions are the ones directed to the great or near great in the land. "Ladies of honour and others," for example, are exhorted to be obedient and reverent, and charged to refrain from backbiting (sig. C1b). Among other groups addressed are "noble Lords," who are told to shun ambition and jealousy (sig. C1b-C2); "Lordes spirituall," who are told to maintain the ministry properly and to exclude the unworthy from their ranks (sig. C2); judges, who are charged not to pervert the law for personal gain; and "knights, Squires, and Gentlemen," who are told to cease fighting among themselves (sig. C3b-C4). Other admonitions are given to landlords, to be fair in rents; to lawyers, to conclude the cases of poor clients speedily, and to refrain from misleading clients that a poor case holds promise (sig. C4b); to "Marchants, trades-men, and Citizens of London," to refrain from usury and cheating (sig. C5b); and to youth, to avoid acts of indecency (sig. C6b). One of Davies's chief concerns in the book is the health and safety of the Queen, a matter which he deals with in several places. Urging the Queen to beware of those who would do her harm, the writer advises Elizabeth

to mind thee of that, whiche (in respect of earthly welfare) is our summum bonum: namely, thy safetie whereon dependeth the safetie, liues, and liuinges of so manie thousandes. If then the head cannot perish, but the members must needes come to naught, and that the losse of thy dear life, is the catastrophe of ours (sig. B8-B8b).

The danger represented to the Queen's safety by the Catholic Church is, of course, not neglected; and among Davies's remarks

to Papists are the following:

Surcease your treacheries & touch not the Lordes annointed, for Christ Iesus will suffer no violence, (as we to our great comfort haue seen and perceiued) to be done vnto his deare spowse our Queene and gouernesse, but will manifest your conspiracies be they neuer so secret to your confusion and ignomies (sig. D8).

John Davies's concerns for Elizabeth's safety were echoed during 1591 by a preacher named Samuel Cottesford, who prepared a treatise based upon part of the Book of Jeremiah and entitled A treatise against traitors (STC 5840). From the story of Gedeliah's tragic refusal to believe the warning of Johanan about Ishmael's plot against his life, Cottesford draws a number of lessons "meete for all faithfull Subiects in these dangerous dayes" (sig. ¶2), especially with regard to the crime of treason. The author stresses how great a crime it is to conceal a plot against a prince's life, and exhorts princes to choose wise and trustworthy advisers. He stresses the necessity for obedience to the prince's advisers, especially in view of the present danger to the state from Papists and others. In this connection he writes:

So that you see the point to be obserued, wherein those especially to whom especiall trust is committed in regarde of their honourable places, in the name of God are to be remembred in all humble and submissiue duetye, that they for the preseruacion of the prince, are to watche ouer the knowne enemies to the state, Church, and countrie: such as vsually haue opposed themselues to Kings and princes through all Christendom, being specially sworn Papists for the Popes own side, such as haue made it a special point of their faith, the ground of which their heresie rests vpon that cursed counsell of Trent, which is, that they may lawfully depose and any way ouerthrow by secret and open prac-

tises, the state of any Christian prince professing the Gospel (sig. B4b-B5).

Besides Papists, Anabaptists are cited as special enemies to the commonwealth. The author remarks that Anabaptists are on the increase, especially in the more populous centres where the gospel is most diligently preached, an odd circumstance on the face of it, but one which he maintains is not to be wondered at, since Satan fights hardest where he finds himself most endangered (sig. B5-B5b).

Elsewhere in the treatise, Cottesford reminds princes that because they are the indispensable fathers and shepherds of their subjects they should, therefore, feel an obligation to be continually wary for their own safety; and he reminds subjects that they have a reciprocal obligation to obey their rulers and to submit cheerfully to taxation and other measures. Attempts at regicide more recent than that perpetrated by Ishmael are recalled, such as the poisoning of King John by a monk, and the assassination of Henry III of France by a friar, as well as a recent attempt on the life of the Prince of Orange, and the treason of the Earl of Bothwell against the Scottish king (sig. H1). Besides exhortations to prince and subject to recall their duties in the matter of treason, the author exposes some of the methods of traitors, such as the fact that like Ishmael, who plotted with ten other men, traitors like to work in groups, and the fact that, like all traitors, Ishmael protested friendship to the man whom he hoped to assassinate.

In the final treatise to be considered, an example is given of the sort of Christian life which writers of religious books hoped to foster among their readers. The subject of the book, Mistress Katherine Stubbes, died at Burton-upon-Trent on 14 December 1590 shortly after giving birth to a son; and, following this, one "P. S. Gent.," set down an account of her life entitled A christal glasse for Christian women (STC 23381). The writer, who could have been none other than Philip Stubbes, the husband, relates how Katherine was given by her widowed mother in marriage at the age of fifteen, and how, until her death four and a half years later, she showed herself to be "a myrrour of womanhoode" (sig. A2) both as a dutiful wife and as a practicing Christian. Above all, says Stubbes, she was known for "her feruent zeale which she bare to the truth," which was apparently quite remarkable:

Insomuch as if she chanced at any time to be in [a] place where either Papists, or Atheists were, and heard them talke of Religion, of what countenance or credite soeuer they seemed to be, she would not yeeld a iote, nor giue place vnto them at all, but would mightilie iustifie the truth of God, against their blasphemous vntruthes, and conuince them: yea, and confound them by the testimonies of the worde of God. Which thing how could it be otherwise? for her whole heart was bent to seeke the Lorde, her whole delight was to bee conuersant in the Scriptures, and to meditate vpon them day and night: insomuch that you could seldome or neuer haue found her without a Bible, or some other good booke in her hands (sig. A2-A2b).

As a wife, Mistress Stubbes brought her husband extreme contentment in everything that she did. When she was not reading she would spend her time "conferring, talking and reasoning

with her husband of the worde of God," thus obeying the commandment of Paul, "who biddeth women to be silent, and to learne of their husbands at home" (sig. A2b). She would allow "no disorder or abuse in her house, to be either vnreproued, or vnreformed" (sig. A2b); she was unfailingly gentle and courteous; and "so solitarie was she giuen, that shee woulde verie sel-dome, or neuer, . . . go abroad with any, either to banquet or feast, to gossip or to make merie (as they tearme it)" (sig. A2b). Moreover,

when her husbände was abroade in London, or elsewhere, there was not the dearest friend she had in the world that coulde get her abroade to dinner or supper, or to any other exercise whatsoever: neither was she giuen to pamper her bodie with delicate meates, wines, or strong drinke, but refrained them altogether. And as she excelled in the gift of sobrietie: so she surpassed in the vertue of humilitie. For it is well knowne to diuerse yet liuing, that she vtterly abhorred all kinde of pride, both in apparell, and otherwise (sig. A2b-A3).

The Christian example set by Mistress Stubbes as a wife was excelled only by her conduct on her deathbed, which was extraordinary indeed. She had predicted many times that her first child "woulde bee her death," and about eight weeks after delivering a healthy son, "according to her prophecie, so it came to passe" (sig. A3b). Although she was delivered easily and able to sit up in bed after five days, "and within a fortnight, to goe abroade in the house" she came down with "an extreame hote and burning quotidian Ague" (sig. A3b) from which she never recovered. The illness was remarkable in that the woman was not seen to sleep night or day, and yet her mental

faculties remained alert. Throughout her sickness she remained content, patient and trusting in the Lord, to whom she constantly prayed to be taken. Stubbes describes how she took Christian leave of her husband and infant son, and all worldly objects, including "a little Puppie or Bitch" which she had loved well. Spying the bitch on her bed, she "beate her away," and

calling her husband to her, said: Good husband, you and I haue offended God grieuously in receyuing this Bitch many a time into our bed: the Lord giue vs grace to repent for it and al other vanities (sig. A4b).

At this point the woman fell into "a traunce or swounde" (sig. A4b), and it seemed that she was dead. But she awoke shortly and spoke to those present, declaring that she felt moved to make a confession of her faith. The treatise then goes on to record this "most heauenly confession of the Christian faith" (sig. A5) in its entirety, the confession apparently having been copied down "worde for worde as she spoke it, as neere as could be gathered" by her husband (sig. A1). Running to ten and a half pages of text, the confession amounts to a complete summary of Calvinist doctrine, with the addition of attacks on such Catholic beliefs as purgatory and other "Popish trash of vnwritten verities, or rather vnwritten very lies" (sig. B3b-B4). Following her confession there occurred, according to the text, a "most wonderfull conflict betwixt Satan and her soule" (sig. C2b) and the woman's speech to Satan in defense of her beliefs is also recorded. At length the woman began to see visions of the angels appointed to

carry her soul to heaven, and then she "sang the diuers Psalmes most sweetly, and with a chearefull voice: which done, she desired her husband that the 103.Psalme might bee sung before her to the Church" (sig. C3b). Then, after admonishing her husband against mourning for her, she commended her soul to her maker.

Notwithstanding Stubbe's extravagant claims for his wife's virtues, to say nothing of the extraordinary nature of her final speech, it is evident from numerous small details such as the reference to the family pet that Stubbes meant his treatise to be a sincere tribute to his wife and a commendable example to other women. One of Katherine Stubbes's good habits, that of carrying "a Bible, or some other good booke in her hands" (sig. A2b) was a practice that seems to have been emulated by many believers of the day. Small volumes of prayers and meditations were evidently favoured for use by Christians who felt a desire to review God's mercies and establish more firmly a sense of religious fervour. During 1591, several such handbooks were published to meet the demand for private devotional books.

Books of private devotion had been a feature of Christian religious experience for many years before the Protestant Reformation, and some favourite authors such as St. Augustine and Thomas à Kempis continued to be read by English Protestants during the sixteenth century. However, it was a common practice to "correct" the texts of these authors so that anything tending towards Catholic doctrine might be expunged. One zeal-

ous editor of Catholic handbooks was Thomas Rogers, whose versions of S. Augustine's Manuel (STC 939) and A right Christian treatise entitled S. Augustine's praiers (STC 951), subject to Rogers's revisions and deletions, appeared in later editions during 1591. In the preface to S. Augustine's manuel, Rogers notes, for example, that a chapter to be found in the original Latin copy but missing from his translation was omitted

neither of negligence vnwittinglie, nor heddilie of presumption, but with good aduisement, that thy zeale might not bee cooled by the reading thereof. For it containeth strange, that I say not erroneious doctrine (sig. A4b).

Rogers also notes that his translation has two chapters which never appeared in English versions before, and that another chapter is

though not cleane left out, yet applied from an il, vnto a good purpose, as the eleuenth Chapter, wher that which was spoken either of the sacrifice of the altar, is applied vnto our Sacrament of thankesgiuing, or of the real and carnall presence of Christ, vnto his spirituall beeing at the Communion (sig. A4b-A5).

The text of the book, which follows a translation of St. Augustine's prefatory remarks, consists of thirty-five items of which sixteen are prayers and nineteen are meditations. Marginal notes are included which direct the reader to the sources of Scripture alluded to within each prayer or meditation. The prayers are concerned with such matters as "the wonderful essence, or being which God hath" (sig. A8), God's knowledge (sig. A8b), a prayer "for grace to loue God" (sig. B1), and so on. Among

the meditations are remarks about "the kingdome of heauen, and how it may be attained" (sig. C4), about "the boldness of the soule that loueth God" (sig. C9), and about the "refuge of a Christian in the time of tentation" (sig. C4). All these materials, Rogers insisted, should be kept close at hand so that believers might have easy access to them for use at all times. In this connection, he implies that he has given a certain amount of thought to naming the book:

I do cal this booke, as also the Author doth, a Manuel, because my wish is, that Christians woulde vse, and haue it in their hands, not onelie when they are at home in theyr chambers, and studies priuatelie, but also when they are abroade in the fieldes, gardens, and elsewhere idelie: and that not to dandle and to handle onelie, but diligentlie and zealouslie, as the part of Christians is, to read the same for their spiritual exercise (sig. A2b).

In keeping with the supposed practicality of devotional literature, certain writers appear to have taken care to include materials which might be helpful in practical circumstances. One such book, The sacrifice of a Christian soule (STC 5192), for example, contains forty-two prayers on various topics, including a prayer for the assistance of the Holy Spirit, "that we may pray with a feeling" (sig. B1), a prayer for the remission of sins (sig. B4b), four prayers each for the morning and evening, and prayers for repentance and thanksgiving. A number of prayers are appeals for help in connection with specific earthly problems, such as the plague. The prayer to be used in time of plague or sickness reads, in part, as follows:

O Lord, righteousnes belongeth vnto thee, but vnto vs,

open shame and confusion, as it is come to passe this day; by the plague and sickness raining among vs, and among all the dwellers of this Land, because of the sinnes which wee haue done against thee Therefore the curse and other which is written in the Lawe of Moses thy Seruant, is powred vpon vs, and wee through the plague and the corrupt aires, with burning Feuers, and grieuous sicknes, are lamentable consumed euerie day, yea, in our Knees, and Leggs are wee smitten with most lothsome botches, and those incurable from the soale of the foote vnto the top of the head (sig. L8b-L9).

The prayer continues in this vein, noting the just punishment of God, and imploring His forgiveness and renewed health.

Other prayers of interest include a prayer for good weather, and one to be delivered on behalf of women with child. The latter prayer refers to God's wonderful work, in that he forms the infant within the mother's womb and "nourishest the same congealed in blood, that the fleshe within the time of Ten Monethes may take shape" (sig. M1-M1b). The prayer also beseeches God to allay

the furiousnes of all wicked spirits that they shew not their tyrannie vpon young infants. Keep all with childe, that no way being terrefied, or troubled extremelie, they be vntimelie deliuered (sig. M2).

The remaining devotional books from the year consist of a volume by James Cancellar called The alphabet of prayers (STC 4562) and a brief work by the noted London preacher, Henry Smith, called Three prayers (STC 22703). Smith's book includes a prayer for the morning, one for the evening, and one for a sick man. Included with the three prayers are a letter sent to a sick friend advising him of his obligations and privileges as a Christian and a speech purportedly delivered by a minister

as he lay on his death bed. Smith's little collection of prayers was evidently a very popular work since it was published several times during the year; but perhaps the most interesting prayer book is Cancellor's The alphabet of prayers, in which the writer exercised much ingenuity in demonstrating his ability to make acrostics. The text of the work begins, for example, with an acrostic in which the first letters of the lines, taken in order, form the name of the dedicatee, Robert Dudley. This acrostic, headed by the lines "It is good for euerie estate,/These few lines to imitate," consists of twelve pieces of advice, the first two of which read "Remember thy calling," and "Obey thy Prince" (sig. A4). Following the address to the reader, on the use and importance of prayer, the author gives a further precursor of the ingenuity he plans to display by setting down twenty sentences in which the first letters of the lines are in alphabetical order (sig. B2). Like those of the acrostic, these sentences set forth advice for Christian conduct. Throughout the book there appear seven different "psalmes alphabeticall" in which the first letters of succeeding sentences are in alphabetical order. Another ingenious device employed by the writer is that of setting down, in two places within the book, twelve "briefe praiers vpon the right Honorable the Erle of Leicester his noble name. R. D." (sig. B8). In each of these sets of prayers, the first letters of the prayers, taken in order, spell the name "Robert Dudley." Not all the prayers were distinguished by wordplay, and the

more straightforward offerings included prayers to be said before communion and following communion (sig. G3b), a prayer for the remission of sins (sig. H6b), and a prayer for Elizabeth (sig. H7b). One of the prayers, for "raine if the time require," asking for "moderate raine & showers" (sig. I2b) is followed immediately by a prayer to be used when the rainfall is somewhat more than moderate. In this event, supplicants are advised to pray by saying:

O Lord God, which for the sin of man didst once drowne all the worlde, except eight persons, Gen, 7. 11 & c. and afterward of thy great mercie diddest promise neuer to destroie it so again: Gen, 9, 9, [sic] 10, 11, 12. & c. We humblie beseech thee, that although we, for our iniquities, haue worthilie deserued this plague of raine and waters: yet vppon our true repentance thou wilt send vs suche weather, wherby we may receiue the fruits of the earth in due season, & learne both by thy punnishment to amend our liues, and for thy clemencie to giue thee praise and glorie, through Iesus Christ our Lord, Amen (sig. I3-I3b).

Cancellor's prayer book, with its overtones of verbal cleverness, serves as a useful reminder of the extent to which the popularization of religion was seen in the publications of the day. In the end, the most important observation to be made of "entrances to the book of books" and other guides to godliness printed during 1591 is that the greatest number of them were prepared to accord with the abilities, and to some degree, the tastes of the citizenry at large. As Louis B. Wright has observed, this trend towards the popularization of religious literature was a matter of great significance, since it led eventually to historically important changes in attitude towards

religion and ecclesiastical authority:

Unaware of what they were doing, the authors of popular devotions were undermining the future authority of the church. The London citizen who had learned to hold worship in his own household, whose prayer was as sonorous and as eloquent as the curate's, who had studied God's promises and had learned that faith combined with prudent morality might bring him riches in this world and certainly a haven of bliss in the next, gradually came to depend upon his own dealings with the Master. . . . No longer was a bishop nearer the throne of God than a baker; no longer was it necessary for the parson to serve as a spokesman for his parishioners at the Court of Heaven. Thanks to countless manuals, the private citizen had become articulate in the presence of the Deity.¹

Theological Controversy

The times were neuer so daungerous, as they be now. . . . The Pope neuer bestirred himselfe more then he doth: the Cardinals, priests, monkes, friers, and all the rabblement of them, did neuer intend more mischief against vs, then they do now.²

Writing of bookes in such manner as is nowe vsed, is endlesse: wearinesse to the fleshe: matter of further contention, by reason of impertinent and personall discourses.³

The Elizabethan religious settlement of 1559 marked the beginning of a period of religious unrest lasting throughout Queen Elizabeth's reign and beyond. In that year, seeking

¹Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Ithica, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958), pp. 240-41.

²STC 17752, John Mayo, The popes parliament, sig. A4.

³STC 1521, Henry Barrow, A petition directed to her most excellent maiestie, sig. A2.

an appropriate response to current religious and political circumstances, the government had created a national church which, in general, modelled its organization and much of its ceremonial after the Church of Rome but looked to Geneva for its theology. Devout Catholics were unalterably opposed to this compromise religion, and even among Protestants there was significant antagonism towards the settlement. Catholics rejected the new Church of England principally for its belief in false doctrines, especially the denial of papal authority and the efficacy of the Mass. Protestant believers, particularly those who had passed the Marian period in exile in Geneva and other Protestant centres on the Continent, were generally in agreement with the doctrines of the church, but bitterly opposed to the retention of certain traditions and practices associated with the Church of Rome. Zealous Protestants quickly attacked such "popish remnants" as the wearing of the surplice, the sign of the cross, and so forth; and in due time the energies of certain Protestants were directed against the episcopal organization of the church, challenging in this way the basic structure of the institution. In the end, events were to prove the political wisdom of the religious settlement of 1559, but the Church of England did not vanquish its critics without a struggle; and the history of the Elizabethan era, to a great degree, is the record of how the vexed question of religion was resolved by the society.

One of the favourite tactics of disputants in matters

of religion was to carry on wars of words from the pulpits and in print. Each year of Elizabeth's reign was distinguished by verbal attacks of one kind or another, ranging in quality from reasoned argument to intimidation and downright scurrility. The year 1591 also witnessed the publication of books and the delivery of sermons (some of which were later published) upon various matters in dispute. In all, nineteen publications from the year can be classified conveniently as controversial theological literature, since their purpose, expressed or implied, was to defend the established church against opposition, to discredit religious adversaries, or to support the cause of the Catholics or one of the dissident Protestant groups. Most of these publications would surely have been weariness to the flesh of most contemporary readers; and in view of the political and religious circumstances prevailing in 1591, their usefulness and importance were limited in any case.

The years just before 1591 had witnessed a marked change in attitude among the leaders of the Church of England with regard to both the state religion itself and the opponents of the new church. During the early years of the church, the episcopacy had often felt itself at a disadvantage in the debate with militant Puritans who argued that the new church would require many changes before it would be entirely fit for Protestant believers. Moreover, the fact that many of the early bishops themselves had Puritan inclinations did not make them effective champions of existing conditions. The result was that until

1583 religious life in England was characterized by bickering and antagonism between Protestants who supported the church as constituted, and dissident Protestants, or Puritans, who stood for further purification of the national church from popish taint. But with the installation of John Whitgift as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583 the fortunes of the Puritans began to go into a steep decline, and by 1591 the Puritan party was well along the road to complete disarray.

The attitude which Whitgift brought to his episcopacy was that the Church of England as established in 1559 was a truly ordered Christian church and, consequently, that loyalty to the state religion as constituted was obligatory upon all Englishmen. The episcopacy set its face like flint against all opposition, from Protestants and Catholics alike; and political means were introduced to enforce religious obedience. When it came to political means the Church of England had always enjoyed considerable advantages over its opponents, despite the considerable political strength of the Puritans, and when the Whitgift party began to use its power effectively the defeat of its adversaries was simply a matter of time.

The episcopal offensive against the Puritans began not a moment too soon; and, in fact, when Whitgift assumed his archbishopric, forces were already arrayed against the church which threatened to alter it radically from within. Until the 1580's the English Puritans had not constituted an organized body, so that the term "Puritan," properly applied, signified anyone

whose zealousness for Protestantism and abhorrence of Catholicism exceeded the standards set by those around him. In a sense, "Puritanism" was a relative term, to be applied with greater accuracy the more the subject's religious tendencies leaned to Geneva. Many Puritans, especially preachers, studiously ignored parts of the Church of England ceremony, or agitated publicly for purification of the church in the expectation that the good reforms carried out in 1559 would be extended. By the 1580's, however, the impatience of certain Puritans caused them to band together and use their organized strength in an effort to improve the church according to their views. Certain Puritan scholars and organizers such as John Field and Thomas Cartwright were instrumental in creating a party devoted to the reorganization of the church government from an episcopal to a Presbyterian system modelled upon Genevan lines. These Puritans, who are properly referred to as the Presbyterian party, used their considerable political influence to good effect, so that the 1580's witnessed a dramatic struggle between the episcopacy and the Presbyterians. At one point, the Presbyterian party had ready a new prayer book to replace the appointed prayer book, and there is some evidence that they had even arranged to set up a system of church government by ministers and elders, who would share power with the existing ecclesiastical hierarchy.¹ Many Puritans, not all of whom were

¹McGrath, p. 220.

connected to the Presbyterian party, began to form loose associations called "classes" in different parts of the country to consider appropriate action in the face of Whitgift's evident intention to root out all nonconformity, be it by dissident individuals or organized groups. Whitgift reacted ruthlessly to the problem of Puritanism and spared no energy in his pursuit of Puritans, especially those of the Presbyterian variety. Offenders were sought zealously and were halled into the courts where they were examined and dealt with appropriately, either by being made to subscribe formally to Whitgift's articles of uniformity or by being subjected to punishment under the law.

The most notorious legal action undertaken by the Whitgift party against the Presbyterians occurred when Thomas Cartwright, the Presbyterian leader, and several of his lieutenants, were arrested and brought to trial in 1590 on charges of conspiring against the established church. The case eventually reached the Court of Star Chamber in May, 1591 where one of the main points at issue between the contending parties became the legality of the ex officio oath, one of the instruments used by the ecclesiastical courts to examine alleged offenders. Defendants were required to take this oath whereby they swore at the outset of their hearing to answer truthfully whatever questions were put to them by the judge, who in this way also became the prosecutor. Refusal to take the oath was regarded as evidence of guilt; and since the courts enjoyed certain advantages, such as the right to make accusations without present-

ing witnesses or an accuser, most defendants had already satisfied the law concerning their guilt before the formal trial in the civil courts ever took place.

The Cartwright trial resulted, to all intents and purposes, in a legal stalemate, since the courts were unable to prove the charges in law; and the defendants were released without being judged either guilty or innocent. However, the furor which had been generated over the question of the ex officio oath evidently caused the establishment considerable embarrassment, especially since certain talented civil lawyers had been vocal in their support of Cartwright's side of the argument. At length, however, in 1591, a defence of the ex officio oath was published by Richard Cosin, a member of the ecclesiastical commission court and civil lawyer who had been tutored by Whitgift at Cambridge. The publication, An apologie: of, and for sundrie proceedings by iurisdiction ecclesiasticall (STC 5820), presented a lengthy and erudite response to critics of the Church courts, and while it went into only one further edition in 1593, it was regarded at the time as a highly significant book (DNB, IV, 1196).

Cosin begins the book with the observation that the Presbyterians, whom he calls "the chiefest staies of a further propagation of the Gospell, and the onely staines of her Maies-ties happie reformation" (sig. A2), have recently begun to pursue "a more politike course" in their efforts to discredit the Church. Whereas formerly they tried to damage the Church by

"discrediting the present gouernment Ecclesiasticall, by their speeches and writings," Cosin observes, "sundry of them" have recently begun to challenge "diuerse receiued proceedings in Courts Ecclesiasticall" (sig. A2). Their strategy, says Cosin, is to pretend that their grievance is no longer against the episcopal government of the Church, but against the Church courts, "for that they are dealt with and oppressed contrarie to lawe, euen as if they did carry a principall and zealous care to haue all her Maiesties lawes duely observed" (sig. A2). The most unfortunate aspect of this latest ploy, Cosin complains, is that "some very graue, wise and learned [men] (no way affected to their other fansies)" (sig. A2), have begun to commiserate with the Presbyterians out of ignorance of the real truth of the points at issue. Thus, an important purpose of the book, Cosin implies, is to reassure men of good will that the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts are not contrary to the laws of the realm.

The text of the Apology consists of two parts in which Cosin examines the functions of the ecclesiastical courts, historically and currently, by tracing the relationship between the common law and the Church courts, recording the history and meaning of oaths, and examining the circumstances in which various kinds of oaths may be used. One of his main purposes in the first part is to set down the matters and areas over which ecclesiastical courts have jurisdiction, and in this regard Cosin lists many legal powers of the Church courts.

The second part of the book is concerned with various legal points surrounding the taking of oaths, and with the legality of other procedures and principles of ecclesiastical courts. Among the matters discussed is the ex officio proceeding in ecclesiastical courts. In arguing for the legality of a hearing without an accuser the author makes one of his numerous appeals to Scriptural precedent which appear throughout the book:

For proceeding against crimes by Enquiry, and of Officio sometimes vpon the denuntiation of one, sometimes vpon the very notoriousnesse of the fact, and sometimes vpon a suspicion onely conceiued: but still without partie to accuse and prosecute, we find diuers not obscure traces in Scripture it selfe. Vnder the law of nature, when one told Iudah prince or head of his familie (and therefore a magistrate) that Thamar his daughter in law in her widowhood was begot with child, at that mans only relation of the fact, of Office he gaue sentence that shee should be burned. When Ioseph had caused his siluer cup to be put in Beniamins sacke, and his stewarde was sent from him to search them, who charged them with this theft, and vpon their pretended suspicion onely, did enter to an enquiry, & to make further search: yet there was none of them that called for an accuser, but ioyned as it were issue with him, and flatly denied the matter (sig. O3b).

Cosin's scholarly defense of the ecclesiastical courts was a timely and necessary piece of work in 1591, when the Cartwright party had succeeded in creating some uncertainty about the prerogatives of these institutions. However, a more urgent task facing the apologists of the established Church was the necessity of justifying the organization and government of the Church and demonstrating the errors of the Presbyterians. The judicious Richard Hooker would publish the definitive apology for the Church of England in his great work Of the lawes of

ecclesiasticall polity (STC 13712) in 1593, but until that time lesser minds ~~had to~~ continue the aggressive browbeating that characterized theological debate during the period. One such champion of the establishment was Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, whose Latin work, De presbyterio (STC 23458) and a popular version of the same book called A treatise of ecclesiasticall discipline (STC 23471) appeared during 1591. To Sutcliffe, a system of Church government which abolished the office of archbishop, diminished the authority of bishops, and enhanced the powers of ministers and congregations was contrary to both Scriptural authority and the traditions of the Church; and it was his purpose to make these points at the expense of the Presbyterian position.

The vehemence of Sutcliffe's attack upon the Presbyterian movement is prefigured in the dedication of A treatise of ecclesiasticall discipline, where the writer declares that the Church presently finds itself wracked like a ship in a storm and in imminent danger of destruction "not onely by the disagreement of the pilots and sailers, but also of the passengers themselues" (sig. A2). As long as the passengers, the members of the Church, are content to lament or to "gape and woonder" at the situation, nothing constructive can be done. In the end, says Sutcliffe, there is but one point at issue, and that is the question of Scriptural authority for the Presbyterian discipline:

Let them therefore leaue their declamations and exclama-

tions against the gouernment: let them also leaue their models and libels, for they are to no purpose, and do but hold men in suspence, that do continually looke for prooffe out of Gods word, of their promised and future discipline: but on the other side, if their presbyteries and the parts of their presbyteries, and their presbyteriall gouernment, their conferences, and their synods, and the souereigntie of the people, and their deuises of doctors, elders, deacons, and widowes, together with diuers nouelties and quirks in the Pastors office, be nothing but a masse of distempered fancies, proceeding from melancholike brains, and blowen out with mightie words without authoritie of Gods word, or antiquitie, as I trust, I haue shewed in this discourse, and with the grace of God shall alwaies be able to maintaine: then I would desire them to settle themselues, and to brag no more of their glorious discipline, for beside that it is destitute of authoritie, the same is most confused, absurd, imperfect, yea, almost vaine and ridiculous. At the first it was deuised by men ignorant of state and gouernment; now it is maintained by men deuoid of iudgement (sig. A2-A2b).

In the treatise which follows, Sutcliffe demonstrates at some length that the reformers are vague and divided amongst themselves on the question of correct Church discipline and that Scripture and tradition are against them. His book goes on to examine various offices in the Church of England and to demonstrate that the traditions and functions of these offices are based on Scriptural teaching and the practices of the Church fathers.

Another contemporary champion of the episcopacy as the Scriptural and primitive form of Church government was the Dutch theologian Hadrian à Saravia, whose work, De diuersis ministrorum Euangelii gradibus (STC 21746, 1590) was released in translation in 1591 under the title Of the diuerse degrees of the ministers of the gospell (STC 21749). The purpose of

Saravia's discourse was to show how erroneous it would be to abolish completely all forms of ecclesiastical hierarchy in the Protestant Churches; and like Sutcliffe he examines Scripture to determine the nature of the hierarchy ordained of God and discovers the Biblical foundation of the privileges and functions of the various ecclesiastical offices. In the course of demonstrating his exegetical skills, Saravia very cleverly implicates the Catholic Church in the religious controversy in England by maintaining that the opposition to such offices as that of bishop is an over-reaction to the tyrannies perpetrated by the Church of Rome before the Protestant Reformation:

The Romish Antichrist, with his Bishops, Archbishops, Patriarches, and Metropolitanes, hath so troubled and intangled the Church of Christ, that tyranny it selfe, is thought to bee masked vnder those honest and honorable titles. It is most true: He that is once stong of a Serpent, suspecteth euery stone: and once bitten of a dog, is affraid of euery cur. Some therefore, that they might apply some remedy to this maladie, haue reuersed those names, and yet retained the same things; and for Bishops, haue anoynted Superintendents, and for Archbishops, generall or prouinciall Superintendents: as if the controuersie were not for the thing it selfe, but for names sake (sig. D3).

Saravia's book, like those of Sutcliffe and Cosin, was published at a time when the Presbyterians were at a considerable disadvantage, and, in the event, Thomas Cartwright and his supporters did not cause the established Church any more trouble following their release from custody in 1591. As far as the publishing activities of the Presbyterians were concerned, their heyday had come during the Marprelate period of the 1580's. The declining fortunes of their leaders evidently stayed their

hands from writing, and during 1591, at any rate, they were not heard from in print. But if harsh treatment at the hands of the establishment silenced Cartwright and his party, there were other Protestant dissidents in the land who were made of sterner stuff. During 1591 a small group of radicals known as Brownists, Barrowists, or Separatists succeeded, in the face of extreme difficulty, in publishing their own radical views on the subject of religion.

Separatist organizations, basically, were groups which refused to be part of the state religion and which set up religious fellowships independent of the established church. In England, these groups had existed before 1591 for brief periods in different places, but none of them had survived for long in the face of official outrage at religious nonconformity. One notable group of Separatists had arisen in the 1580's under the leadership of Robert Browne, but the members of the group had been banished with all convenient speed. However, the basic theological position of these Brownists, that the Church of England was corrupt beyond reformation, was later adopted by a man named Henry Barrow, who became the leader of a group of Separatists styled variously by the authorities as Brownists or Barrowists. Barrow and his party refused communion with the state church because in their view the Church of England was totally profane and wicked. A true church, they declared, would be made up of none but the godly, whereas the Church of England acknowledged all Englishmen, the wicked and

the godly alike, as members. Moreover, they asserted, the Church was 'condemned for harbouring an anti-Christian ministry, worshipping idols, and following a Romish form of church government.'¹ At length, in 1586, Barrow was taken into custody as he visited the jail where John Greenwood, one of his fellow believers, was already imprisoned. The two men remained in prison until 1593, when they were speedily executed without trial along with John Penry, a Presbyterian who had joined the Separatist movement. While they were in jail these men prepared manuscripts which were smuggled piecemeal to the Continent for publication and later were brought secretly back to England for distribution. During 1591, the Barrowist party managed to see several publications through the press, some of which, evidently, escaped detection and destruction by the authorities.

The Barrowist position regarding the Church of England was expressed in detail in one of the publications dating from 1591, A brief discoverie of the false church (STC 1517), in which almost every conceivable aspect of the Church is seen as a manifestation of Catholic practices. Barrow, evidently, understood well that the Church would utterly reject all possibilities of redemption, and his remarks in the preface concerning the attitude of the Church leaders are quite prescient when he observes that

¹STC 1523, Henry Barrow, A plaine refutation of M. G. Giffordes reprochful booke, intituled a short treatise against the Donatists of England (sig. B3-B3b).

the shipmaisters, the marriners, mercantmen, and all the people that reigne, row, & are caried in this false Church, they will neuer indure to see fire cast into her, they wil neuer indure to suffer losse of their daintie & pretious merchandise; but rather will raise vp no small tumultes and stirres against the seruantes of God, seeking their blood by all subtill & violent meanes, as we reade in the scriptures their predecissors haue alwaies donne, accusing them of treason, troubling the state, schisme, heresie, and what not (sig. A3b).

Certainly, Barrow's examination of the Church must have made many eager for his blood, as he makes it clear in the text that, in his opinion, both the adherents and the clergy of the Church are completely ungodly, including as they do

al the prophane and wicked of the land, Atheistes, Papistes, Anabaptistes & heretikes of al sortes, gluttons, riotours, blasphemers, periures, cōuetous, extortioners, thieues, whores, witches, coniuers &c. and who not, that dwelleth within this Iland, or is within the Queenes dominion.

.
All this people, with all these manners, were in one daye, with the blast of Q. Elizabeths trumpet, of ignorant papistes and grosse idolaters, made faithfull Christianes, & true professors: vpon whome, these hungrie priestes, like rauening wolues and greedy foxes flew to diuide the pray; some getting them the roomthes of Arch-bishops, others caught Deaneries, Arch-Deaconries, fat parsonages, some more, some fewer, as their estimation and frendes were (sig. C1-C1b).

Thus, says Barrow, the Protestant Reformation succeeded only in transferring supremacy from the See of Rome to the See of Canterbury: nothing changed but the identity of the exploiters of the people (sig. C1b).

In A petition directed to her most excellent maiestie (STC 1521), Barrow argues in favour of a plan for ending the strife within the Protestant church, and attempts to show that

those who advocate reformation in the Church of England do not contravene any statutes, and should, therefore, be regarded more leniently. He remarks that all true subjects of Elizabeth bewail the present turmoil over the question of Church reform, and proposes, as a solution to the problem, the establishment of a national council composed of disinterested persons to consider the views of both sides in the dispute. Barrow asserts that he and his friends are not alone in seeking reformation of the Church of England, and he lists briefly a number of points by virtue of which the need for reformation is shown to be recognized by the Church itself:

- 1 By the lawes established, which expect a better and further reformation in Church causes.
- 2 By the writings of our Diuines in the common cause against the papistes.
- 3 By the confession of the Bp. themselues, and such as write in their defence.
- 4 By their suspicious and doubtfull handlinge of the matters in question.
- 5 By the testimonie of learned men, and christian Churches who seeme to speake against the gouernement [sic] by Bp. and for the gouernement by assisting Elders (sig. A2b).

In his elaboration upon his chief points Barrow points out among other things that Elizabeth's father appointed Bishop Cranmer and others to suggest necessary changes in the practices of the Church but that Cranmer's suggestions, many of which involved opposition to the practice of modern bishops, never received the king's confirmation and thus Church law continued to be corrupt (sig. A2b). Barrow also hearkens back to the provision in the prayer book issued during the reign of Edward VI for an annual re-examination of the Church in order that its

practices might be altered progressively until "an order of Discipline practised in the primitiue Church" (sig. A3) could be restored. In his remarks about the practices and attitudes of bishops, Barrow produces documented evidence to show that even bishops detest non-residency (sig. A3b), and that the Bishop of London himself admitted to making his porter a minister (sig. A3b), thereby weakening the Church by introducing ignorant men into the clergy.

The petition to Elizabeth concludes with a section in which Barrow puts down the notion that "whosoeuer writeth to work a discontentment in the mindes of the subiects, doe intend a rebellion" (sig. E4). He contends that such a thesis is "a most vntrewe assertion, & sophisticall paralogisme" (sig. E4) used against reformers, and points out that discontentment need not necessarily result in rebellion and, even if it did, the writer should not be held guilty of inciting rebellion if his writing was not directed specifically towards that end. Turning to a defence of various books written by reformers, Barrow argues in each case that no rebellion is proposed in any of them. For example, a reference in one of the Marprelate tracts to "twentie fistes" should not be construed as a threat of armed rebellion, says Barrow, but as a prediction that many hands would be employed in writing against the Church of England (sig. F2b).

The petition is followed by three further essays, the first of which lists twenty-one opinions held by those who seek

reformation of the Church. Barrow notes that the reformers acknowledge themselves to be no Puritans, but sinful men subject to infirmity (sig. G3), and that they accept all those articles of faith and doctrine professed by the Church which are maintained as the law of the land (sig. G3). They accept willingly the supremacy of Elizabeth and, not being Anabaptists, they submit to and obey the Privy Council and other civil magistrates (sig. G3b). In addition, Barrow maintains that the reformers accept the legality of oath taking (sig. G3b), and the legality of all courts save ecclesiastical courts, the Church having no business to be involved in legal affairs (sig. G3b). These and other opinions of the reformers, Barrow suggests, demonstrate that the slanders of bishops and others against reformers are entirely unjust. The second essay alleges that bishops and their subordinates are guilty of neglecting a total of sixty-four "Ecclisiasticall Statutes, Lawes, and Ordinances Royall and Episcopall published for the gouernement of the Church of England" (sig. H2b). Barrow's accusations, some of which appear to be rather trivial, include the neglect of reading prescribed texts at prescribed times (sig. H3b), neglect of singing lessons in a plain tune (sig. H4), failure to bar "ill liuers" from the Lord's Supper (sig. H4), and irregularities in such matters as tolling the bell:

15 The Curate must toll a bell to seruice, that is, he must eyther doe it him selfe, or appoint an other: yet this is deputed to the Sexten or Clarke who is founde by the Parish, and not by the Curate (sig. H3b).

A substantial part of the writings of Barrow and Greenwood was concerned with replying to accusations made against them by the Church of England divine, George Gifford. By 1591, Gifford had already produced two books, A plaine declaration that our Brownists be full Donatists (STC 11862, 1590), and A short treatise against the Donatists of England (STC 11869, 1590), in which Barrow and Greenwood were viciously attacked. In reply to Gifford, Barrow, in collaboration with Greenwood, wrote A plaine refutation of M. G. Giffardes reprochful booke, intituled a short treatise against the Donatists of England,¹ which came out in 1591. An important section of this work consists of a "debate" between Barrow and Gifford on the subject of four principal transgressions of the Church of England, which are listed as follows:

1 They worship the true God after a false maner, their worship being made of the inuention of man, euen of that man of sinne, erronious and imposed vpon them.

2 For that the prophane vngodly multitudes, without exception of anie one person, are with them receiued into, and reteined in the bozome of the Church.

3 For that they haue a false & Antichristian Ministerie imposed vpon them, reteined with them, and maintained by them.

4 For that these Churches are ruled by, and remain in subiection vnto an Antichristian and vngodly gouernment, cleane contrarie to the institution of our Sauour Christ (sig. B3-B3b).

In the course of the debate, Gifford is made to defend the

¹STC 1523. Gifford's position was that Barrow and his followers were behaving like the Donatists, a sect which had arisen in North Africa in 311 A. D. Like Barrow's group, the Donatists claimed that they alone constituted a true church.

Church against the accusations of the Barrowists, but, not surprisingly, the Barrowists always have the last word. At one point, for example, Gifford is made to declare that many godly ministers remain within the Church of England although they know the institution is in need of further purification. Gifford observes, for instance, that many ministers "haue not approued the booke of common praier further, then they are perswaded it is consonant to Gods word, nor vsed anie thing therin which they iudge corrupt" (sig. C2b). In answer to this defence, Barrow replies:

See if you can finde in the new Testament your Romish Feastes, your Ember dayes, Sainctes Eaues, Lent, or your Idoll Feastes, your Alhallowes, Candlemasse, your seuerall Lady dayes, Sainctes dayes, the dedicating of your Churches to Sainctes, your Comminations, Rogations, Purifications, Tithes, Offerings, Mortuaries, your maner of visiting the sick & houlling them with the Sacrament, your absolution, your blasphemous Diriges and funerall sermons ouer and for the dead, your corrupt maner of administring the Sacraments, your Font, crossing in baptisme, your Baptising by women, Gossippings, the blasphemous Collects you vse in this Sacrament, your Bishoppings, with all your hereticall Collects in that Booke, which is a wearines to vs to repeate, though not in you to vse, tollerate, and defend (sig. C2b-C3).

In the second part of the book, the four principal trangressions of the Church of England again figure prominently in a lengthy harangue against the Church. Besides attacks on the doctrines and practices of the Church, the writer, John Greenwood, attempts to refute the accusation that he and Barrow are Donatists. The book concludes with a discussion of the place of read prayers and liturgy, showing that the practice of reading prayers is popish and contrary to Scripture.

In reply to A plaine refutation, Gifford again in turn wrote A short reply vnto the last printed books of Henry Barrow and Iohn Greenwood (STC 11868). In his prefatory remarks to the reader reviewing the nature and purpose of his writings, Gifford makes an interesting reference to the difficulty experienced by the Barrowists in circulating their books. He writes:

There were (good Christian Reader) foure haynous accusations, laid against the Church of England, for which the accusers haue condemned her, & all her publique assemblies, as most wicked Antichristian Idolatrous synagogues of Sathan. I shewed how falsely they doo accuse, and howe presumptuously agaynst God they doo condemne: And that indeede they are the very same with the auncient Donatists. They haue replyed and published in print their defence, but their bookes are intercepted: yet some few haue escaped, and are dispersed among theyr fellowes. Wherefore I hold it needfull to publish some answere, not dealing with euery error and absurditie, (for that would aske the trauaile of some yeares) but onely with the chiefe grounds of their Schisme (sig. A2).

Throughout his book, Gifford reiterates the charges made in his previous works. Initially, he makes a number of remarks on heresy in general, and decries the obstinacy of Barrow and his friends for refusing to admit what seems to Gifford to be obvious proof that his opponents are heretics. Besides referring to his own writings, Gifford frequently cites page references to Barrow's books, especially A plaine refutation. After a lengthy discourse upon Barrow's opinions, in which such matters as forms of worship, the use of the prayer book, and questions surrounding baptism are examined, Gifford turns to his former accusation that Barrow and his associates are Donatists.

Recalling that Barrow denied the accusation by listing a number of dissimilarities between himself and the ancient Donatists, Gifford replies:

Ye might perhaps by diligence finde out some other things in which ye are not like them: as it may be they did weare blewraps, or greene cloaks, which ye doe not. The truth is you do agree with them in the sum & substance of all the fowlest things, which ye cannot denie: at least if ye come behinde them in any one poynt, ye are before them in two other for it (sig. N3b).

Fortunately for the establishment, the Barrowist movement was as short-lived as earlier Separatist groups. And while Barrow and his followers must have caused the authorities no end of trouble and embarrassment, at least the leaders of the group were in jail, where their activities could surely be checked to some degree. In the case of the remaining opposing group, the Roman Catholics, circumstances were entirely different. Despite the zealotry of the establishment in discouraging Catholicism, believers in the old religion continued to exist in significant numbers into the 1590's and beyond. The presence of Catholic clergy in England was of particular concern to the authorities, since it was chiefly through the efforts of English Jesuits and priests from English seminaries on the Continent that the faith was kept alive as well as it was. In 1591, accordingly, harsh measures were invoked in a renewed effort to apprehend and punish Catholic priests who entered the country secretly and performed their office in defiance of the law. A royal proclamation released in October

of this year declared, in part, that the priests and Jesuits now in the country had been sent by England's enemies "to work great Treason vnder a false pretence of Religion."¹ In effect, it now became government policy that Catholic priests and their associates should be executed as traitors, without any regard for their religious motivation.

Having defined a new policy towards Catholics, the government proceeded at once to demonstrate the seriousness of its intentions towards Catholic priests and laymen. During 1591 alone, for example, seven priests and nine lay people were executed, more than in any year during the rest of Elizabeth's reign.² In the end, harassed by the state and disadvantaged by a leadership in exile, the Catholic Church in England had to submit reluctantly to a Pyrrhic victory by the established order. Inevitably, the struggle resulted in a rash of books, most of which betray the bitterness and frustration which attended religious controversy during the sixteenth century. Nor is it surprising, in view of the circumstances that prevailed in 1591 and beyond, that the tone adopted by most Protestant writers on the subject of Catholicism was particularly abusive.

During 1591, disappointment would have awaited readers searching for new titles that might offer relatively dispas-

¹STC 8207, A declaration of great troubles pretended against the realme by a number of Seminarie Priests and Iesuists. This publication is discussed at greater length in the chapter on Government and Law.

²McGrath, p. 256.

sionate expositions of the points at issue between Catholics and Protestants. On this subject, the only publication with any pretence of objectivity was a late edition of the work Apologia ecclesiae anglicanae (STC 14584) by John Jewel, which had appeared originally in 1562.¹ Nor did the remaining titles, all of which were published for the first and only time during 1591, address themselves to current issues at all. For example, Thomas Sparke, a preacher at Blechley, in Buckinghamshire, published a reply to a book written against John Calvin in 1575,² while another writer, Richard Smith, prepared a translation of a work published originally in Latin, evidently during Luther's time, "by a certaine Hungarian," defending the Reformed Church, or the "Gospellers," against the papacy.³ The unnamed Hungarian was particularly virulent in his attacks upon the person of the pope, but in this respect he fell somewhat short of the performances of the remaining two anti-Catholic writers from 1591, whose considerations of the papacy are absolute rag-bags of scurrility.

¹Far less objective than Jewel's work, and certainly quite dated, was another reprint from 1562, a translation of John Wigand's De neutralibus & mediis (STC 25613) containing criticisms of Catholic doctrine and practice disguised as a treatise against dissimulation and indifference in matters of religion.

²STC 23019, An answere to Master Iohn de Albines, notable discourse against heresies.

³STC 24274, The trial of trueth, or a treatise wherein is declared who should be iudge betwene the Reformed Churches, and the Romish.

Except for the reprint of Jewel's Apologie, the entire collection of anti-Catholic books from 1591 contrasts markedly with the books concerned with quarrels between Protestant groups. By comparison, the language of the Protestant disputants tended to be much more subdued on the whole; and, by and large, the matters addressed in their books were of current importance. Anti-Catholic books from the year, on the other hand, are entirely concerned with stirring up old quarrels and using them as a warrant for fresh invective. As a rule, any logical argument presented by these books is simply a restatement of positions taken by Jewel in the Apologie, which for some years had embodied the definitive justification for the beliefs of the Church of England.¹ In the dedication to his book against John de Albines (STC 23019), Thomas Sparke observed that the Catholic writer's treatise against Calvin consisted throughout of "a most bitter inuective & salacious declamation, written onely of purpose to deface & disgrace amongst the simple, both our religion, & the ministers, & professors thereof" (sig. A2). This accusation could have been applied with equal justification

¹Jewel's argument was that the beliefs and practices of the church were consistent with the Scriptures and the traditions of the primitive church. To support and emphasize the association of the Church of England with the primitive church, the 1591 edition of the Apologie had issued with it an edition of a work by St. Vincent of Lerins, a father of the church, entitled Vincenti Lirinensis Galli pro Catholicae fidei antiquitate & veritate (STC 24750). This book has been classified as an anti-Catholic work, despite the fact that it could just as easily have been invoked to support the Catholic Church.

to most of the anti-Catholic books of the year.

One of the interesting admissions made by Thomas Sparke in his book is to the effect that controversialists understood the tediousness involved in perusing their works. Sparke notes, at any rate, that the preface to his opponent's book which Sparke has been obliged to reproduce is "long, tedious, and bragging," and he goes on to admit that his own preface presents a challenge as well, but urges readers to work through it anyway:

And though it seeme vnto thee of an extraordinary length, & so somewhat discourages thee, yet the length of his considered likewise, I pray thee beare with me and vouchsafe the reading of it thorow, before thou proceed anie further (sig. B6).

Sparke's point is well taken by the modern reader, for whom the obscurity and lack of topicality of anti-Catholic writers is as tedious as their prolixity. A typical example of the sort of performance put on by these controversialists is afforded by The trial of trueth (STC 24274), in which the writer compares the positions of the Catholic and Reformed churches under twenty-seven points of disagreement such as the relative importance of Scripture and tradition, the proper attitude to be taken towards the law of God, and the problems surrounding such matters as sin, free will, justification, and so forth.

The bulk of the treatise does not elaborate upon the opposing positions of the two faiths, but, rather, presents a detailed case against the propriety of having the pope act as judge in the dispute. Eight major accusations are offered

against the Pope including alleged impiety, tyranny, and corruption of doctrine. Inconsistencies in the pronouncements of various popes are noted, such as the fact that "Leo the first, Gregorie the second, & third, & many others allowed worshipping of Images: But Iohn 22. did mortallie hate Images & Pictures" (sig. D2b). The final reason for the unwillingness of the Reformed Church to accept papal judgement is that popes are victims of "a heap of eight detestable vices" (sig. I3). For instance,

eightlye and lastlye, the Gospellers will not admit the Popes for Iudges, as being whoremongers, tyrants, sorcerers, Atheists, Murtherers, Traitors, Poisoners and Bastards, & that they prooue euen out of those papish writers, whose woorkes, long before our time, being published at that very present when the things themselues were doone, are now extant in all Countries (sig. E3).

The allegation "that most Popes haue been Baudes, whorehunters, incestuous persons, & Buggerers" (sig. E3), is discussed in detail along with other accusations against them, and proofs alleged to be based upon historical record are brought forward. Among the popes accused of sexual sins is Pope "Joan," a personage about whose life a complete book was printed in 1591 (STC 17752). Of this female pope, the writer alleges that

Ioan the 8. who was called before Gilbert, being begot with childe by a certain Cardinall, in going to the Church of Laterane, betweene the great Pillar, & Saint Clements Church, was deliuered of a man-childe before all the people, and there dyed of her trauaile: Wherevpon Baptist Mantuan hath these verses.

There hang'd the woman which did faine, her selfe a man to be:
Who was both whore and Pope at once, set vp in Romish See (sig. E3b).

The book continues with further horrors alleged against the Popes, following which are examinations of the councils of the Church, which the author attempts to prove have always contradicted one another. In addition, certain testimonies of St. Augustine and other Church fathers are noted which contradict teachings of the Catholic Church. The traditions and miracles of the Catholic faith are examined and refuted in like manner and found to be wanting as bases for judging the correct foundation for religious faith. The treatise concludes with a defence of the Protestant faith and asserts the necessity of appealing to Scripture in an attempt to judge the controversy.

The popes parliament (STC 17752), by John Mayo, might well have been classified in some category other than that of theological controversy, were it not for the fact that its chief aim is to discredit and heap abuse upon the papacy. The title-page advertises the work as a

pleasant and delightful historie, wherin are throughly deliuered and brightly blazed out, the paltry trash and trumperies of him [the pope] and his pelting Prelats, their mutinies, discord, and dissentions, their stomacke and malice at Pope Ioane, their . . . foisting of matters for defence of her, and their Antichristian practises, for maintainance of their pompe and auarice (sig. A1).

In his dedicatory epistle, the author points out that although his work is fictitious he hopes through it to be able to confound the papacy. He recalls that in the work of the Catholic writer Platina "(though a shamefull parasite for the Popes, yet

in manie places truly painting and publishing their filthiness and abominations)" (sig. A2b), he

lighted vpon Pope Ioane, of whom he writeth and craftily cloaketh, in the life of Iohn the eight. Noting the historie, and perceiuing what a miraculous token it was sent of the Lord, to the subuersion of poperie, and to the vtter confusion of that purple whore: I framed thereupon a Parliament, though but a fiction, yet plainly declaring the great choler and indignation that the Pope and his Prelats haue at thē name of Pope Ioane, their palpable blindnesse, and malcontent stomackes, their greedie and insaciabie hunger for money, their mutinous dissensions and antichristian practises that be among them, and their spitefull enuie and enimitie against the true professours of the Gospel: whereunto I annexed an anatomie of Pope Ioane, more . . . apparently reuealing her whole life and storie (sig. A2b-A3).

The fictitious "parliament," it is revealed, was summoned by Pope Gregory XIV following an incident in which he ran in terror from a statue depicting Pope Joan in labour. The English cardinal, William Allen, had proposed that the pope follow an unaccustomed route in procession which took him past the statue; and in the story the "parliament" of cardinals is called to discuss what measures ought to be taken against English Catholics in Rome. The cardinals decide, among other things, to destroy the statue of Pope Joan, and to expel all the English Catholics from Rome, both because of Allen's complicity in the Pope's embarrassment and because Joan is alleged to have been English. Before being summoned to a "feast" in the papal palace, Cardinal Allen communes with himself and delivers himself of a number of clichés and condemnations against the Catholic Church, almost convincing himself of his error;

but he halts himself in his condemnation and reassures himself of the truth of the Catholic position by uttering an equal number of slogans in favour of his present position.

Much of the interest of the book lies in the ironical statements made by the author, and in the utterances which appear from time to time as marginal notes. Gregory, for example, is introduced as "Gregorie the fourteenth, now Pope of Rome, no meere naturall man, but Lord of Lords, and king of kings, and more then God, as his adherents are blindly perswaded" (sig. B2). Following the description of Gregory's strange reaction upon seeing the statue, the writer remarks in the margin: "A straunge thing, in such an earthly god, surely" (sig. B2). "If you had bene good subiects, you might haue liued at home" (sig. D3b) is the marginal comment opposite the plea of Allen that the English be allowed to remain in Rome; and when the English bribe Gregory with money and are received again in Rome, a marginal note reads: "The English returne to their vomite and to their wallowing in the myre" (sig. G1). The second section of the book, the "anatomy" of Pope Joan, is almost as vituperative as the first. The writer argues that although Catholics deny Joan or maintain that she was a hermaphrodite, nonetheless Pope Joan should be included in the calendar of the church, since she was indeed a Pope for two years, one month, and four days beginning in 853 A. D. (sig. G1). The author maintains that despite claims that Joan was English by birth she was really born in Metz, from which city she went to

Athens to study, disguised as a male:

From Athens shee came to Rome, and there professed learning openly, and had great Doctors to her Schollers, and for opinion of learning and good life by one consent of all, was made Pope: being in this high and glorious seate, she behaued her selfe so orderly, and discharged that supernall office so absolutely, that she was with child, and as she went in Procession deliuered thereof, and so dyed. Thus was the Pope of Rome, who is such a parls fellowe that he can not erre, a woman with child, deliuered in procession, dead openly in the streets, and buried without any honour or solemnitie (sig. G2).

The book ends with the writer's wish that his history may show that Rome and Babylon are one, and that it may confirm Protestants more strongly in the true faith.

Martine Mar-Sixtus (STC 24913), by one "R. W.," is a reply against an oration allegedly delivered by Pope Sixtus V on 2 September 1589 following the assassination of Henry III of France. The oration, in which Sixtus expresses his delight and complete approval of the assassination, is reproduced before the reply, with various pithy comments by "R. W." in the margins. In his "reply" the writer professes his shock at the slaying of Henry by a monk, but protests that he is much more horrified by the reaction of Sixtus. He writes:

The King of France is done to death by the hands of a Monke; a deede prophane and irreligious: but yet I speake of a sinne exceeding that, the deede is remitted, excused, defended, commended, extolled, and that by the mouth of the Pope; heare O heauens, and hearken O inhabitants of the earth, whether such a thing hath bin in your daies, or yet in the daies of your fathers: When I call to minde the fact of the Monk, I detest and abhorre him; but when I heare the voyce of the Pope, as one that had seene a monster I stand in maze and wonder at him: and surely good cause there is to wonder. I thought it had been incident to man onely to commit sinne, but to commend sinne I iudged it proper only to

the diuell: therefore Satan auaunt: but these are the latter dayes, & iniquitie must needes abound (sig. C1-C1b).

From this point, the writer proceeds with a discussion of the blasphemies and other sins of Sixtus, alleging against the Pope such things as his involvement in recent political developments.

A final matter of interest in connection with the literature of religious controversy concerns the response of the Catholic party to works such as the foregoing. Not surprisingly, English Catholics were at a distinct disadvantage when it came to publishing and distributing books of their own; but numerous entries in the Short-title Catalogue bear witness to the zeal with which English Catholics struggled to distribute service books and propaganda as widely as possible. During 1591, the Catholic party evidently managed to distribute only one publication within the country, a book against Calvinism called The firm foundation of Catholike religion (STC 4868) by John Caumont, which had been translated from French by John Pouncefoot "in the tyme of his banishment" (sig. *1) and printed at Antwerp. Much of the book is devoted to an examination of the twelve marks of the true church, including such signs as the name "catholic," uninterrupted existence, apostolic succession, and so forth.

Like their Protestant counterparts, Catholic apologists were eager to demonstrate the error of their opponents, and thus the writer of The firm foundation took the Calvinists to task over such things as their attitudes to the apostolic succession,

about which, the writer alleges, Calvin and his followers are extremely embarrassed:

Your Caluin seing him selfe by this argument so intangled that he could not slip away, he striueth, he wringeth him selfe, he tourneth and tosseth, he broyleth with so great rage, as he speiueth out a whole flud of iniures against Popes, priests, and Bishops. Oh the madde dogge, seing cleerlie that succession is a verie certain signe of the true Church, to which he coulde not answer, whereby he is proued to be a deceiuer sent of the deuill: he casteth from the poysonful pit of his harte, iniureis sufficient to darken the heauen. O ye Lutherans, and Caluinists, if you be capable of reason; if you may be taught by the holie Ghost, if you be touched with the desire of your saluation: then examin you without passion this argument: hearken to that which your own consciences shal teache you, and be ye not enemies to your own saluation (sig. D1-D1b).

Among other ways in which the Calvinists have fallen short of constituting the true church, the writer alleges, are their failure to convert any infidels, as contrasted to the success of the Catholics in the New World (sig. E8), and their failure to perform miracles (sig. E8). Noting that one mark of the true church is its vast geographical extent, and contrasting the presence of the Catholic Church in two hemispheres with the limited spread of Protestantism, the author remarks: "All heresie is as a serpent. It neuer departeth farre of from his denne" (sig. D5). Regarding miracles, the writer points to various miracles performed by the Catholic Church in the New World, and contrasts these to certain miserable attempts by Calvinists:

Manie haue written that Caluin & other new heretikes haue suborned poore people for to counterfait them selues to be deade, to the end that they might raise them again in the assemble of people, for to authorise

their impietie: the which counterfaiting to be dead, haue dyed indeed in the act of their seyming, to the confusion of the deceiuers. In conclusion, the marke of the true miracles is not found in any place in the world, but in the Catholike Church (sig. E8).

It is ironic that The firme foundation and the other works of the religious polemicists represented during 1591 are now simply literary curiosities, for the most part. Certainly, the emotions and energies involved in writing these books represented the deepest feelings and the most conscientious labour of which their creators were capable. The fact that much of this emotion and energy was destructive in its expression is rather sad. However, in view of the obvious intensity of religious rivalry during the period, perhaps it is encouraging to observe that such a deep hatred could exhaust itself at length and finally pass away.

Sermons

The onely ordinarie meanes to attaine faith by, is the word preached: which must be heard, remembered, practised, & continually hid in the heart.¹

But in anie case take heede, that thy knowledge gotten by reading, rather encrease, then diminish thy care in the hearing of the word preached.²

The enthusiasm for godly books so characteristic of

¹STC 19753, William Perkins, A treatise tending vnto a declaration, sig. C8.

²STC 2053, Theodore Beza, Propositions and principles of diuinitie, sig. B2b.

the Elizabethan Age was nowhere more evident than in the popular demand for printed sermons. During the year 1591 alone, thirty-eight sermon publications were made available to interested readers, most of them containing sermons that had never been printed before that year. As a proportion of the total output of the presses during 1591, these publications represent 14.9 per cent of the extant books in all categories from the year, a figure which does not take into account five additional sermon titles which are no longer extant, although they were entered in the Stationers' Register. On the basis of the number of items published, sermons were more popular than books of science and information or news publications, and there were almost as many sermon publications during 1591 as there were books in the area of literature and the arts. The high proportion of sermon literature during 1591 was due in large measure to public enthusiasm for the printed sermons of Henry Smith, the preacher at St. Clement Danes, in London. Copies of Smith's sermons had appeared as early as 1589, but the year 1591 witnessed a deluge of his books, as twenty-nine printings of single works or collections of Smith's sermons, most of which had not been published before, appeared on the bookstalls.

Setting aside the impact of Henry Smith's sermons upon the public imagination, the popularity of sermon literature during 1591, to say nothing of the period as a whole, is best seen largely as a manifestation of the importance with which preaching was invested by many Protestants at this time. To

believers who were steeped in the teachings of Geneva, for example, preaching was necessary for salvation, or, as William Perkins put it, hearing the word preached was "the onely ordinarie means to attaine faith by" (STC 19753, sig. C8). And while other Protestants were not persuaded that the efficacy of the sacraments depended upon preaching being included as part of the service, many of them attached great importance to preaching, and saw the eventual disappearance of less learned non-preaching ministers, or "dumbe dogges" as a highly desirable ideal.¹ In view of the general interest in preaching and sermons it was inevitable that pulpit and press would collaborate in order to disseminate sermons more widely.

Notwithstanding the considerable output of sermon literature during 1591, there is some reason to believe that the partnership between preacher and publisher tended to be an

¹The relative importance of preaching and the sacraments was one of the main points at issue between the Puritans and supporters of existing conditions. A corollary of the Genevan position was that every parish church must have a preacher who could compose sermons and preach during the service. Elizabeth's position, however, was that several licenced preachers, supplemented by a number of unlicenced clergy who could read homilies, were sufficient for the needs of a county (McGrath, pp. 38-39). This was not a popular stand by any means, and one of Elizabeth's own advisers took issue with her over the matter of preaching in 1576. In that year, Archbishop Grindal, refusing a direct order to put a stop to the "propheyinges" of the Puritans, justified his stand to Elizabeth in the following words: "Alas, Madam, is the Scripture more plain in any one thing, than that the Gospel of Christ should be plentifully preached? . . . Public and continual preaching of God's word is the ordinary mean and instrument of the salvation of mankind." (Quoted in A. L. Rowse, The England of Elizabeth: The Structure of Society, London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1964, p. 471.)

uneasy one. Several writers of the year apparently regarded the printing, or at least the reading of sermons with a jaundiced eye; and in view of this it seems useful to examine the motives that might make a preacher publish or perhaps refrain from appearing in print. Undoubtedly, the most fundamental objection to the printing of sermons was the view that the mystical operations of the Holy Spirit necessary for salvation occurred only during the actual delivery of a sermon. Theodore Beza, for example, was concerned that the reading of religious literature "rather encrease, then diminish thy care in the hearing of the word preached" (STC 2053, sig. B2b), while Robert Bruce, a Scottish divine, made the same point in a more forceful way:

Here I bad zou [i.e. you] in my exhortation be diligent hearers of the word, be not deceived with zour foolish conceits: I will read als good at hame and better: I say, the Lord will not work by thy reading, when thou contemnest the ordinair moyen, he hath bound him to his instruments [i.e. preachers] that be hearing, faith shall come, he will not worke be his Spirit, except thou hear. Heare the word thairfore, als long as the Lord giueth thee grace, and continueth it. He hath bound himselfe to grant faith be hearing, & not reading in contempt of hearing.¹

At a more practical level, the sheer labour involved in preparing the manuscript of a sermon for the press must have given many preachers reason to pause. A typical sermon at this time was a long and complicated discourse, usually not prepared beforehand but preached from notes and schemes or even sponta-

¹STC 3923, Sermons preached in the kirk of Edinburgh, sig. E5b-E6.

neously. The labour involved in recalling what had been said and writing it down made some preachers declare that they would rather preach ten sermons than write one.¹

In view of the private misgivings and inconvenience that might attend the publication of his sermons, it would seem that significant personal motives must have influenced the preacher who prepared sermons for the press. The dedications and prefaces to a number of sermons released during 1591 suggest that reluctance and modesty might be overruled by a number of considerations, such as a sense of duty and obligation to a friend or patron and the hope that a sermon in print would extend its good influence more widely, and for a longer time, than would have been possible as a result of oral delivery on a single occasion. Gervase Babington, for example, in the dedication to the Privy Council of a work entitled A sermon preached at the court at Greenewich (STC 1094) indicates that all the foregoing reasons motivated him to prepare the sermon for publication:

¹H. S. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1558 to 1603 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 150. By 1591 the science of "characterie," an early form of shorthand, was frequently employed to take down a preacher's words as they were uttered. One 1591 edition of Robert Bruce's sermons, for example, set down the sermons "as they wer receiued from his mouth" (STC 3923, sig. [A]3), while Bruce himself remarks in the dedication to Sermons vpon the sacrament (STC 3924) that the material is "rudely set out, in sensible and hamelie tearmes, as it was receued of my mouth, and as it pleased God for the time to giue me it" (sig. [A]4). The sermons of Henry Smith were frequently taken down in charactery, sometimes without his consent, but at other times, as in the case of The examination of vsurie (STC 22687, pt. 3) his words were "taken by Characterie, and after examined" or edited by Smith (sig. H2).

What it pleased God (right Honorable) to inable me to speak of late before your Lordships in her Maiesties Court at Greenwich, I haue, as neare as I could remember, layd downe here now in writing, to the ende, that what then both pleased and profited some, may in the blessing of like mercie, do the same againe, and what misliked anie, may be further considered, whether it so deserue in deed, or was but only [by] them mistaken. Which litle labor I am bold to present vnto your Honors, who with most holy and religious attention heard the same, that vnder the like fauour of your Honorable countenance, being found without cause of iust dislike, it may both passe to the view of others also that heard it not, and remaine a poore testimony of my dutifull heart and true affection towards your Lordships euer to my death (sig. A3-A3b).

In the end, the main impression left by the preachers is that, like Babington, a sense of duty towards their fellow men made them venture into print. And while one preacher, Bartholomew Chamberlaine, dedicated A sermon preached at Farington in Barkeshire (STC 4952) to his patroness, most preachers who spoke about the matter at all agreed substantially with Richard Turnbull, who prefaced a collection of sermons with the following observation:

I thinke with my selfe, & am perswaded in minde, that it is my bounden dutie in like maner; (and the dutie of all the learned brethren) according to the measure of grace, and gift of knowledge giuen, and receiued from God, to bend al my studie, to employ al my labour, to giue all my diligence, and do al my endeouour, not only with liuely voice through preaching, but also by writing, to profite the Saints, and benefite (wherein I may) the Church of God, and the holie congregation of Iesus Christ.¹

Aside from the unselfish motives of preachers to spread the Gospel, there were probably other considerations which had

¹STC 24339, An exposition vpon . . . Saint Iames, sig. A2b.

some bearing upon the publication of sermon literature. Unusual circumstances attending a certain lecture, such as the identity of the preacher, the occasion upon which it was given, and the audience, must have appealed to publishers or other interested persons. And there can be no doubt, surely, that special interest groups such as the government, the established Church, or the Puritans, might have encouraged the release of sermons that espoused appropriate points of view. In any case, a significant number of published sermons from 1591 are noteworthy from the standpoint of their special associations or the positions they adopt on controversial matters. Both of Gervase Babington's published sermons during 1591, for example, had been delivered under very important circumstances, one having been given before the Privy Council at Greenwich on 24 May, and the other, A sermon preached at Paules Crosse (STC 1092) having been delivered from the most important pulpit in the land during the previous year. Babington, who was a protégé of Mary Sidney, was apparently marked for success, as he was appointed Bishop of Llandaff in 1591 (DNB, I, 785-86); and the publication of his sermons could have been arranged, in part, either to create or respond to popular interest in his work. As Richard Wilkinson, who penned the dedication to the Paul's Cross sermon, put it, Babington, "being of the best generally liked, so [was] of many earnestly desired" (sig. A2b-A3). Another preacher who was well liked was the Scottish preacher Robert Bruce, who was represented in 1591 by two collections

of his sermons printed in Edinburgh.¹ The sermons in both collections had been preached from the pulpit of the Kirk in Edinburgh, and James VI himself had been in attendance at several of them, on which occasions Bruce had addressed the king directly during his discourses. Similarly, Bartholomew Chamberlaine's sermon at the funeral of the Countess of Warwick (STC 4952) may have been popular because of its association with the great, although the address had been delivered as long ago as 1587. Sermons preached at Paul's were perennial favourites, of course, and in addition to Babington's 1590 sermon there, another sermon preached at Paul's by Roger Hacket in the same year appeared in 1591 as A sermon needfull for theese times (STC 12589). A London pulpit which doubtless rivalled Paul's as a popular place to hear sermons was St. Clement Danes, where "Silver-tongued" Henry Smith, the "prime preacher of the nation," held the lectureship.² In his printed

¹STC 3923, Sermons preached in the Kirk of Edinburgh; STC 3924, Sermons ypon the sacrament of the Lords Supper.

²Smith's Puritan scruples had prevented him from subscribing to the Articles of the Church of England, and so he could not perform the office of a minister. Instead he had resolved to enter the ministry as a "lecturer" or preacher only. The lecturer, or "reader" was elected and paid by the congregation solely to preach, and the pastoral duties were carried out by the rector. Smith had attained the lectureship through the influence of Burghley, to whom he was related through marriage, but Burghley's help was wanting in 1588 when Smith was suspended for a time by Bishop Aylmer for speaking against the Book of Common Prayer. Later he was restored to his position; and he continued to preach until 1590, when ill-health forced him to retire and spend the last few months of his life editing his sermons for publication. Some of Smith's sermons had already

sermons, Smith is revealed as a sincere and earnest man whose approach to preaching was to identify issues of concern to common people and to deal with them in direct and simple language using an unaffected, colloquial, yet arresting prose style. An excellent teacher, Smith must surely have been much sought after, and certainly the list of his sermons bears witness to his popularity among Elizabethan readers.

All the sermons printed during 1591, those of Henry Smith included, are expressions of such things as the theological preoccupations, scholarship, and temperaments of their authors. Consequently, the body of sermon literature from the year presents an interesting variety of outlooks upon contemporary life. Notwithstanding this, however, most sermons from 1591 exhibit certain common tendencies which suggest a consensus among preachers about the important issues of the day. Most preachers also shared a common approach to such matters as the organization of material, a favourite practice being to announce the text, offer a brief exordium, often including an outline of the headings to be observed, and finally, to proceed through the body of the sermon itself. Within every sermon, readers could expect to find references to a variety of matters, as the preacher made apparent digressions from his subject. Indeed, some preachers seem to have exercised a certain amount of ingenuity in making the text of a sermon the

appeared without his consent; but he died before his own manuscripts reached the press (DNB, XVIII, 456-57).

point of departure for discussions about various seemingly unrelated matters. Useful illustrations of some of the common concerns of contemporary preachers and the approach followed in giving them expression are provided by the two sermons of Gervase Babington released during 1591 on the themes of divine election and obedience.

In the course of his presentation and defense of the doctrine of divine election,¹ based upon John 6:37, Babington's fundamental objective was to establish the truth of the doctrine and to confound those who avoided thinking about it or who denied the truth of it. Remarking that a list of those who write and speak against the doctrine, especially the Papists, would be too tedious to recite, Babington invokes divine punishment for those who would try "to suppress and alwaies to auoyd any truth reueled in the booke of God" (sig. B4b). Doctrinal controversy, however, does not occupy the whole of the preacher's attention. After a refutation of arguments against the doctrine of election, Babington turns his attention to the problem of determining one's own state of grace, and concludes that pride, especially pride in apparel, is adequate proof of damnation. (Gaudy dress and other signs of pride in apparel were abhorred by preachers of the time, and most of them managed to say something against it at one time or another.) Babington recalls a story concerning a woman whose hands withered and who soon died

¹STC 1092, A sermon preached at Paules Crosse.

after decking a young girl in jewels, and he subsequently relates an anecdote concerning Philip of Macedon, who, upon learning that one of his judges dyed his hair and beard,

straight way displaced him, with this speach, that he which was not faithful in his haire, but vsed forgerie and falsehood in it, to change it from his truth, was no way to be iudged as a man that would be trustie in greater matters. A most notable hatred in a heathen man of that which Christians dote in, and will not be perswaded of. If this argument should be vrged in our dayes, howsoeuer men escape, many women would be concluded worthy little trust. God worke with vs and so I leaue it (sig. D3b).

It was not uncommon for preachers to invoke the name of the Queen; and in the present sermon Babington interjects a number of remarks against traitors, followed by a prayer on behalf of the queen, asking that

the Soule of our Souereigne may still be bound in the bundell of life with thee her gracious God, and her & our enemies for thy gospells sake be euermore cast out, as out of the middle of a sling. Amen. Amen (sig. D6).

Reference to traitors leads Babington again into the area of religious controversy, and this time he attacks those who would divide the Church of England. He writes:

May that most fearefull diuision, bitternesse and gaule both in word & writing yt hath now too long so spotted this famous Church of England, and so many worthy men in it, prooue vnto any guiltie causer of the same, his comming to Christ? Surely it doth not, Surely it cannot. And the God of might and power persuade it to vs (sig. D6).

To emphasize his point, Babington recalls how Solomon maintained that there were six things that the Lord hated and a seventh that he abhorred. He continues:

What is that seuenth? euen he that rayseth vp contention amongst brethren. This man or woman, this person rich or poore, the Lord hateth, the Lord loatheth, and the very soule of the Lord abhorreth. A fearefull speach (sig. D8).

Protestant theological controversy was blamed by a number of preachers for what they discerned as a growing lack of respect for the Church. Babington speaks against what he terms "hollow obedience" to the clergy. He points out that titles used in addressing ministers and others should be religious titles, and not such terms as "your Reuerence, your wisdom, your Prudence, your Iustice, denying his authoritie" (sig. E1b). And he predicts that offenders in this regard will be punished:

If we grudge other men what is due to their places, some shall rise vp and requite vs in our places, for God is iust, and God is true, who hath vowed that as we measure to others we shall receiue againe good and bad (sig. E2b).

Further along in the sermon, Babington concerns himself with a number of sins such as whoredom, the practitioners of which do not stand well with regard to their election. He attacks Church robbers who seek to take over the Church's wealth, thereby depriving students and ultimately impoverishing learning. Towards the end of the sermon he returns again to the area of theological controversy, attacking Papists and others who deny the doctrine of election. He writes:

But O presumption, presumption, cry some yt neuer knew or else would not haue the people of God to know what true pietie meaneth. Papists I meane who in no case can abide this doctrine being a cutthroate to their purgatorie, masses and satisfactorie works all flowing from

a fearefull vncertaintie what shall become of vs, & deuised by them to comfort this feareful thought with all. Alas beloued, is this presumption to giue credit to God when he promiseth, yet againe and againe and twentie times promiseth? (sig. F2)

And he continues:

I might note a true comfort in this constancie of our Sauior against the blustering threats and thundering excommunications of Popé and papists, sectaries, and Anabaptists, who shal neuer be able to hurt such as haue the true comfort of their comming to Christ by a liuely faith in their consciences (sig. F4-F4b).

It is interesting to note that in the above condemnation of the Catholic Church Babington includes Protestant groups as well. One of the most noteworthy features of the sermons of 1591 is that dissenting Protestants received almost as many attacks as the Catholic Church. And in this connection it is also significant that Protestant schismatists were blamed consistently for a breakdown in religious fervour and respect for the Protestant clergy.

In Babington's second sermon from 1591,¹ the preacher uses the story of Naaman the leper to illustrate his remarks about the nature of true service and the obligations of both masters and servants. Noting the respect with which Naaman's servants exhorted him to comply with the instructions of the prophet, Elisha, Babington bemoans the lack of reverence which, by contrast, mars the relationship in his own day between the church and the people, so that now, he complains, "we rime in verse, raile in prose, and sinne in both, against God and his

¹STC 1094, A sermon preached at the court at Greenwich.

chosen instruments here on earth, most fearefully" (sig. A8b).

In contrast to Naaman's thankfulness to God, the preacher notes the lack of gratitude of Englishmen to the clergy, and complains that ingratitude extends even to the civil authority:

But do we deale thus onely with the ministers? No, euen the ciuill Magistrate, whose cares and toyles, no loue, no life, no death can euer requite, drinketh of the same cup, and receiue the same measure at our hande as the ministers do: for we raile, we rime, we gird, we glance, we tel old wiues tales of them also (sig. C2).

The gratitude of the Greeks upon receiving their freedom from Flaminius after he had overcome Philip is contrasted with the ungratefulness of schismatics^s who fail to appreciate the value of an established order under a Christian queen. In an impassioned harangue against schismatics Babington writes:

God doth know, and our soules and consciences testifie vnto vs this day, how farre we exceede these Grecians in freedome and mercies bestowed vpon vs, not by a Romaine or Heathen, but by a most Christian Queene and gracious gouernour ouer vs (his hand and power that hitherto hath done it, long mercifully preserue her to vs.) Where be our cries with these Grecians . . . Sauour, Sauour? (Wo is me to speak it) some of vs crie, and too manie of vs crie in steede of this, No church, no sacraments, no ministers, no discipline at all, and therefore we must leaue all open assemblies in this land, and combine our selues together to erect a forme according to our wils, in woods, in fields, in holes and corners where we can: Yea with more wo I speake it, some feare not to write, Pharao of Egypt gaue the Israelites leaue to worship God truely, but our Magistrates, If they should giue vs leaue yet could we not be suffered for such and such. Making an If, after these infinite mercies powred vpon vs by God, in the gracious gouernment we liue vnder, and casting downe the gouernours in merit towards vs, beneath Pharao of Egypt. O sinfull If, O damnable and vnduetifull If. If this be our thankfulness towards men, from whom we haue receiued health, and health not of bodie as here Naman did, but of soule and bodie infinite and vnkowne wayes,

without doubt we be no Namans

But from whence might this great vnthankfulnes both to Magistrate & Minister arise & flow in these men? Surely the veri fountaine is this (as I thinke) that they may not be suffered by either of them to alter and chaunge the lawes they like not of at their pleasures, not considering, or regarding, as may be thought, with that stayednesse of head and trembling of heart that were to be wished, what either the wisdom of God hath set downe in his word, in conscience to be followed, or what wisdom of men in gouernment and pollicie expert, haue deliuered, in discretion to be regarded (sig. C2b-C3).

On the evidence of the surviving sermon literature from 1591, readers generally preferred more informal sermons than those of Gervase Babington, which, with their rather formal constructions, generous references to classical history, and so forth, were typical of the more "learned" sort of oratory. Nevertheless, Babington's sermons did perform quite a workmanlike job of identifying and considering several larger issues which were the common concern of many preachers. His warning concerning "hollow obedience," for example, echoed a fear expressed by others that all was not well with the Church. Looking about them, preachers claimed to discern neglect of religion, indifference towards preachers, and spoliation of Church wealth; and a considerable proportion of sermon literature was concerned with identifying these problems and suggesting causes and solutions. Babington's zealousness in attacking the beliefs and practices of Catholics as well as Protestant dissidents of the Presbyterian and Separatist varieties was typical of most pulpit oratory, there being scarcely a sermon in which matters of religious controversy did not receive

treatment at some point. Preachers were particularly virulent in their attacks upon the Catholic Church, but except for a series of lectures by Richard Turnbull expressly intended to resolve the position of St. James upon good works,¹ the subject of Catholicism was typically dealt with in the course of digressions of varying length and scurrility. Finally, preachers during the year were concerned as always to condemn various human weaknesses, and Babington's abhorrence of pride in apparel was just one of a number of sins which received attention during the year.

Babington's view that the ministry was not sufficiently respected received strong support from several preachers during 1591, especially Henry Smith, for whom disrespect towards preaching was a matter of great concern. In a work called A fruitfull sermon (STC 22664), for example, Smith is at pains to discover the reasons why preaching is not highly regarded. Taking as his text I Thessalonians 5:19-22, in which St. Paul admonishes his readers to respect prophesying, among other things, Smith observes that England's case is like that of some Thessalonians who forsook religion because preachers could not reach agreement (sig. A6). Things have reached such a pass in England, Smith declares, that religion itself is in danger of perishing:

¹STC 24339, An exposition vpon . . . Saint Iames. The book contains twenty-eight "lectures or sermons" originally preached as a series of sermons and later edited for publication.

Hath not this despising of the preachers, made the Preachers almost despise preaching? The peoples neglect of the Prophets, hath made the prophets neglect Prophecyng. The Diuell stirres vp this carelesnes in mens hearts, to the intent our ingratitude may mooue the Lord to take from vs as from the Iewes both our Prophetes and our Prophecyng, and so leaue vs to a senselesse securitie that most comonly forrunneth destruction.

What mooueth so manie that would put their hands to the plough, and studie diuinitie, looke backe to lawe or phisicke, or trades, or anie other thing, rather than they will enter into this contemptible calling, but onely the consideration of our contempt and beggerie? And is not the Arke then readie to depart from Israel? (sig. B5b-B6).

Next to the beggarly condition in which preachers are kept, Smith continues, preaching is despised because many lay people are served by unlearned and negligent ministers who slough off unworthy discourses upon the people in the name of preaching:

There is a kinde of Preachers risen vp but of late, which shroud and couer euerie rusticall and vnsauerie, and childish and absurde Sermon, vnder the name of the simple kinde of teaching, like the Papists Priests, which make Ignorance the Mother of Deuotion: but indeede to preach simply, is not to preach rudely, nor vnlearnedly, nor confusedly, but to preach plainly and perspicuously, that the simplest that dooth heare may vnderstand what is taught, as if he did heare his name (sig. B6b-B7).

Responsibility for negligence in the pulpit, Smith implies, must be shared by hearers who are content to tolerate this spiritual neglect, and who are indeed so indifferent to the words of the preacher that they can not discriminate between good preaching and bad:

But if you will knowe what makes manie Preachers preach so barely & loosely and simply? It is your owne simplicitie which makes them thinke, that if they goe on, & say something, all is one, and no fault will be found, because you are not to iudge in nor out: and

[this is] so, because wee giue no attendance to doctrine as Paul teacheth vs. Yea, it is almost come to passe, that in a whole Sermon the hearer can not picke out one note more than he could gather himselfe: In the 48. of Ieremie, there is a curse vpon them which doo the business of the Lord negligently: truely I can not tell whom the Prophet meaneth. These woulde not haue Prophetes and Propheying despised, and yet they are a meanes to make both despised themselues (sig. B7).

In addition to the foregoing reasons for the poor state of religion and preaching, Smith identifies contention among Protestants as yet another factor underlying the present state of affairs. Religious controversy, he says, makes some people put religion out of their minds altogether, refusing to have anything to do with the church until both parties agree, very much as if "a patient should pine himselfe and eate no meate at all, because one Phisitian saith, that this meate will hurt him, and another saith that that meate will hurt him" (sig. B7b). During 1591, several preachers touched upon the problem posed by Separatists, who evidently were sufficiently feared to call forth condemnation from the pulpit in the strongest terms. In A fruitfull sermon, Smith appears to have Separatists in mind from time to time, and at the end of the sermon he goes over a number of signs of error in the Separatist position, including the following:

Hath it not the shewe of errour, to broach a Religion which was neuer hearde of before these late yeares?
Hath it not the shewe of errour to retaine an errour which the Author himselfe [Robert Browne] voluntarily hath recanted; euen as ye would suck vp with greedines the dogges vomite?

Hath it not the shewe of errour, to affirme that those preachers may in no wise be heard, which (by their owne confessions) haue first conuerted and

painfully brought them to the knowledge of God, and daily conuerteth others.

Hath it not the shewe of errorr, to affirme: that the Lordes Prayer may not be vsed as a lawfull Prayer, which for the excellencie of Christian petition, and without any controuersie (for any thing that wee or they can read) was so vsed from the beginning? (sig. C4b-C5).

Another group which came under attack within the sermon literature of 1591 was, understandably, the Catholics. As in the case of the Separatists, however, preachers appear to have been content to limit themselves to scurrilous digressions and asides as they were moved by the Spirit. The days of intellectual debate from the pulpit beginning with John Jewel's famous "Challenge Sermon" in 1559 appear to have been long past by 1591; and with the possible exception of Richard Turnbull's reading of St. James on the topic of good works, the reader looks in vain for intellectually stimulating remarks on the subject of Catholicism in the sermon literature of the year. Topically significant references to Catholicism are also surprisingly rare in the sermons of 1591; and Henry Smith's indignation against dissembling Catholics is unusual because it alludes to a specific current problem. In The Christians sacrifice (STC 22659), Smith remarks concerning the giving of one's heart to God that

God dooth not require the hart, as though hee required no more but the hart, like the Pope, which saith, giue me thy hart, and it sufficeth. To maintaine his Papists pendant and crouchant, which liue among Christians; hee requireth nothing of such but their hart, they may worship God with theyr lips, & dissemble their religion, and forswear their opinion, and come to Sermons, and subscribe to other lawes, and seeme Protes-

tants, as the deuill licenceth witches to seeme Christians, so they giue him their hart, hee dispenseth with them to dissemble, & giue the rest as they list (sig. A5b-A6).

Since Smith himself was as enthusiastic as anyone in his denunciation of Catholics, a brief accumulation of some of his remarks should illustrate well enough the usual treatment accorded the Catholic religion in the sermon literature of the year:

[Magistrates who assume undeserved authority are] so combred & mingled, as one saith of the Pope, he is neither God nor man: so may it be said of both him and his Cardinals, that they are neither good ministers, nor good magistrates, but linsie wolsie, a mingle mangle betweene both, and like neither. Seeking a superfluous title, they haue forgotten all necessarye studies: for they neuer preach nor write, but to maintaine their kingdome, which fals like the towre of Babel, faster then they build (STC 22681, The magistrates scripture, sig. B5b-B6).

[Paul recommended marriage] not for auoiding of adultery, but for auoiding of fornication, shewing, that fornication is vnlawfull too, which the Papists make lawfull, in mainteining their Stewes, as a stage for fornicators to play vpon, and a Sanctuary to defende them, like Absoloms Tent, which was spread vpon the top of the house, that all Israel might see how he defiled his fathers concubines (STC 22685, A preparative to mariage, sig. B6-B6b).

[Concerning celibacy,] the doctrine of Papists, is the doctrine of Deuils, for Paule calleth the forbidding of mariage, the doctrine of Deuils, a fit title for all their bookes (sig. C1b).

[Marriage to Catholics is not recommended because] miserable is that man which is fettered with a woman that liketh not his religion, for she will be nibling at his prayer, and at his studie, and at his meditations, till she haue tyred his deuotions, and turned the edge of his soule (sig. E1).

We are not taught to put on Angels, nor Saints, nor the Virgin Mary, nor Paule himselfe, to couer our sinnes

with their righteousnesse, as the Papists doo, but wee are commaunded to put on Christ, & couer our sinnes with his righteousnesse (STC 22715, The wedding garment, sig. A8b).

[Like the soldiers who cast lots for the robe of Christ] so do the papists deale with this Garment, they say it is not fit for them, & therefore they breake it and mangle it, and peece it with rags of their owne inuentions: they say it is too light, & not able to beare off the stormes of death, and heate of hell, and therefore choose rather to make themselues Garments of their merites, and their Masses, and their penance, and their pardons, and their pilgrimages (sig. B1-B1b).

[Concerning the interpretation of Scripture,] if you marke, you shall see thoroughout, that all the testimonies which the Papists aledge for their heresies, are eyther tropes, or figures, or allegories, or parables, or allusions, or darke speeches; which when they presume to expound allegorically, or literally, without conference of other scriptures, then they wander, and stray from the marke, or else it is impossible, that the trueth should mainteyne error, that is, that the scripture should speake for heresie, if it were not peruerted: therefore we see that Eue neuer erred, vntill she corrupted the text (STC 22685, pt. 2, A treatise of the Lords Supper, sig. B1-B1b).

[Regarding transubstantiation,] Christ saith not, this wine, but this cup, and therefore by their conclusion, not onely the wine should be turned into bloud, but the cup too (sig. B5).

Aside from matters of religious practise and theological controversy, the sermon literature from 1591 examines a number of human shortcomings and social problems caused by weaknesses of the flesh. In the case of Henry Smith, whole sermons and series of sermons are given over to such themes as covetousness, usury, pride, and drunkenness. Sins related to greed and money appear to have been especially rife in the view of certain preachers, since much effort was expended against them. Henry

Smith preached an entire sermon¹ on the subject of covetousness, a sin which he felt was so widespread that he called it "the Londoners sinne" (sig. A3). A man who would have contentment, Smith writes, "must leaue his couetousnesse in pawne for it" (sig. B1); and he goes on to explain how serious a matter it is to be covetous:

For what hath brought vsury, and simonie, and briberie, and cruelty, and subiltie, and enuy, and strife, and deceit into this Cittie, and made euery house an Inne, and euery shoppe a market of othes and lies and fraud, but the superfluous loue of money? Name couetousnes, and thou hast named the mother of all these mischeefes: other sinnes are but hirelings vnto this sin: Vsurie, and briberie, and simonie, and extortion, and deceit, and lies, and othes, are factors to couetousnes, and serue for Porters to fetch and bring her liuing in (sig. B1-B1b).

Of all the sins caused by greed, none was so distasteful to contemporary preachers as usury, and Smith, writing upon the subject, declared that if he "could take but this one evil out of the Londoners Garden [he] were answered for [his] health and strength spent amongst them."²

Smith's two sermons on the subject of usury, which went through several editions during 1591, indicate that the preacher had expended considerable time and effort in his study of the practice. The sermons offer a detailed examination of usury in both an historical and contemporary context; and Smith displays a rather extensive knowledge of both the pronouncements of

¹STC 22696.5, The benefite of contentation.

²STC 22660, An examination of usury, sig. A2b.

Scripture on the subject and the legal niceties appealed to by the usurers of the day. The first sermon, which covers all aspects of usury except the punishment of its practitioners, argues against the practice because it is against the law of charity, the laws of nations throughout history, and the law of natural compassion. Speaking of the reward awaiting usurers, Smith recalls Solomon's promise of punishment for usurers and suggests that the fortunes of certain rich Londoners seem to bear out the warning of Solomon. He writes:

I know not how many in this Citie do increase by vsurie; but this prophesie seemeth to be verified of many: For it is noted, that the riches and lands of Aldermen and Merchants, and other in London, do not last so long, nor indure so well, as the riches and lands of others in the countrey, & that their children do not proue so well as others, nor come to that place in the Common weale, which for their wealth their parents looked that they should come to, I can giue no reason for it, but the reason of Salomon, He which increaseth by Vsurie, gathereth for them which will be mercifull to the poore (sig. C4).

He concludes that God will smite usurers "not with the palme of his hand, but with his fist, which giueth a greater blow" (sig. C4b), and recommends that repentant usurers return their ill-gotten gains, if not to the man they wronged, then to his heirs or to the poor. Smith reproves people who borrow at high rates but admits that there may be circumstances where a borrower might be justified in submitting to usury if in his conscience he knows his reasons are just.

One of Henry Smith's most remarkable qualities was his ability to relate the actions of Scriptural personages to the

PLATE III

(OVERLEAF)



THE
PRIDE

of King Nabu-
chadnezzar.

Dan. 4. 26. 27.

By Henrie Smith.



*Printed by Thomas Scarlet, and are to
be sold by Williams Wright. 1595.*

Lb 388 Wt. p. 116A

simple experiences and concerns of his hearers. In the downfall of King Nebuchadnezzar, for example, who sought his own glory before the glory of God, Smith observes that there is a lesson for women who take pride in their appearance:

This would pull away manie toies from womens backes, if they did well weigh and consider with themselues, how God makes them ridiculous by that, which they do weare to make themselues amiable. If they did thinke that the superfluitie of apparel, which they clogge on to please the world, by the secrete iudgement of God, did not please but displease, they would bee as much ashamed of their attire, as Eue was of her nakednesse. Would they weare such gardes [i.e. garb] like a Pedlers shoppe vpon their backes, but to please. See nowe howe God doth mocke them: for they are not liked, but disliked, and worse thought of for it, then they that goe in Russet, and seeke no prayse at all. They thinke, am I not braue: others thinke is she not proude: they thinke, am I not sweete: others thinke, is she not light: yet they dreame that euerie one prayseth them: as Nabuchadnezzar thought that euerie one would honor him for his pallace.¹

In a similar fashion, Smith relates the story of Noah's drunkenness to the evil of drink:

Because there is such warning before vs, nowe we haue the drunkard in schooling, I will spend the time that is left to shewe you the deformity of this sinne, if any heare me which haue ben ouer taken with it, let them not maruell why he cannot loue his enemies, which loueth such an enemy as this: which leadeth till he reeleth: dulles him till he be a foole, & stealeth away his sence, his wit, his memorie, his health, his credit, his freends: and when she hath stripped him as bare as Noah, then shee exposeth him like Noah to Cham, and all that see him do mocke him: it is a wonder almost that anye man should be drunke that hath seene a drunkard before, swelling and puffing, and foming, and spuing, and groueling like a beast: for who would be like a beast for all the world? Looke vpon the drunkard when his eyes stares, his mouth

¹STC 22688, The pride of King Nabuchadnezzar, sig. B5-B5b.

driuels, his toung falters, his face flames, his hands tremble, his feet reele: how vglye, how monstrous, how loathsom dooth he seeme to thee? so loathsom doest thou seeme to others when thou art in the like taking. And how loathsom then doost thou seeme to God?¹

Henry Smith's sermon on Noah's drunkenness serves well enough as the basis for a final observation about the sermon literature of 1591; that is, that several preachers, notably Smith himself, frequently offered their hearers astute social commentary upon matters other than person^a' weaknesses. The fact that Noah became a husbandman, for instance, prompts Smith to turn his attention briefly to the plight of farmers in England; and at this point in the sermon the preacher has some very enlightening comments to make about the structure of society, and the regard in which farmers are held:

There was no arte nor science which was so much set by in former times, & is now profitable to the Commonwealth, bringing lesse profite vnto it selfe, that may so iustly complain of her fall without cause, and her despite from them which liue by her, as this painefull science of husbandry: that it is maruell that any man wil take paine for the rest to be contemned for his labor, and be a scorne for the rest, which might hunger and starue, if he did not labor for them more then they do themselues. No maruell then though many in the poore Countries, [i.e. counties] murmure and complaine that other cannot liue by them, and they cannot liue themselues: but it is maruell if their complainte do not growe in time to rebellion, and pull other as lowe as themselues: for why should the greatest paine yeelde the least profite? yet this is their case, for if you marke, you shall see that the husbandman dooth bate the prise of his frutes

¹STC 22663, The first sermon of Noah's drunkennes, sig. B3b-B4.

so soone as the dearth is past, though he raiseth it a little while the dearth lasteth: but they which raise the price of their wares with him, seldome fall againe, but make men paye as deere when the dearth is past, as if it were a dearth still. Thus a plentifull yeer doth damage him, and a hard yeer doth vantage them. So this painefull man, is faine to liue poorely, fare meanely, goe barely, house homely, rise early, labour dayly, sell cheape and buye deere, that I may truely say, that no man deserueth his liuing better, no man fulfilleth the lawe neerer: that is, thou shalt get thy liuing in the sweat of thy browes: Then this poore sonne of Adam, which picks his crummes out of the earth, therefore he should not be mocked for his labor, which hath vexation inough though all men spake well of him I can not think vpon their miserie, but my thought tells me, that it is a greate parte of our vnthankfulnes, that we neuer consider what an easie life and liuing God hath giuen vnto vs in respect of them (sig. A3b-A4b).

Smith's comments on farmers are typical of the richness and variety of thought that sometimes brightened common pulpit oratory during 1591. No doubt it was the preachers' concern with such contemporary things that helped to make printed sermons so appealing. In any case, as A. L. Rowse has implied, the sermon was at least as much a force for education and enlargement of social consciousness as it was a motivation to godliness. The Elizabethan preacher's curiosity, and his concern to relate the eternal to the contemporary, resulted in a fusion of ideas which had incalculable benefits for Elizabethan society. As Rowse remarks, the sermon

marked a mental advance; it gave the mind something to feed on, it stimulated thinking, it gave an impulse to action, it helped to educate the raw illiterate masses, many of whom cried out for such: it was a great force in the change from the sixteenth century to the more self-conscious, aware, awakened seventeenth century (p. 434).

Church Regulation and Administration

Printed matter pertaining to the regulation and administration of the Church of England with which certain readers of 1591 might have been familiar consisted of such items as advertisements, articles, constitutions and canons, injunctions, and visitation articles applying to the Church at large or to specific geographical areas of dioceses. However, only three such items exist from 1591. They consist of the injunctions printed in 1591,¹ the general visitation articles,² and the local visitation articles for the diocese of Lincoln.³

The injunctions had been printed originally in 1559, the first year of Elizabeth's reign, and were reprinted in 1591 in the eleventh of the sixteen issues produced through 1600. By 1591, presumably, a number of the matters dealt with in the injunctions would have become irrelevant, but the 1591 edition duplicated all the items in the original edition of 1559 in any case. Most of the fifty-three injunctions are addressed to the clergy, but in some instances other people such as schoolmasters and ordinary parishioners are included. Since one of the main purposes of the injunctions was to effect

¹STC 10105, Iniunctions giuen by the queenes maiestie.

²STC 10130, Articles to be enquired in the visitation.

³STC 10233, Articles to be enquired of by the churchwardens and swornmen within the diocese of Lincoln.

"the suppression of Superstition thorowe all her Highnesse Realmes and Dominions, and to plant true religion, to the extirpation of all Hypocrisie, enormities, and abuses" (sig. A1b), it is not surprising to find that a large number of the injunctions are aimed at rooting out of the Church any vestige of sympathy for the Catholic Church and its practices. To this end, the clergy are enjoined to inculcate in their parishioners an enthusiastic acceptance of all the laws effecting a restoration of supreme ecclesiastical power to the monarch. At least four sermons annually are to be preached reminding the people that the Queen is the highest religious power next to God in the realm, and that no fealty whatsoever is due any foreign power or institution (sig. A2).

Besides seeking to bring about an intellectual acceptance of the termination of Catholic authority in England, the injunctions also sought to end various practices and attitudes regarded as sinful remnants of Catholicism. To this end, preachers are ordered to speak against the efficacy of such things as relics, images, and miracles, and to exhort people to works of faith, teaching that

the workes devised by mans fantasies besides scripture (as wandring of pilgrimages, setting vp of candels praying vpon beades, or such like superstition) haue not only no promise of reward in scripture for doing of them: but contrariwise great threatnings and maledictions of God, for that they be thinges tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offences, God almightie doth most detest and abhorre, for that the same deminish most his honour and glorie (sig. A2b).

Another injunction provides for the recital in English of the

Pater Noster, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments so that parishioners may memorize them and teach them to their children and servants. In order that the use of the vernacular in religious expression may be encouraged, each church is ordered to provide a Bible of the largest size and a copy of the paraphrases of Erasmus, both in English, so that people may read them (sig. A3). The reading by the people of the Scriptures, whether in Latin or English, is to be encouraged as well (sig. A3). Other injunctions aimed against Catholic practices include orders to report to the authorities the presence of any opponent of the injunctions within the parish (sig. A4), and to destroy shrines in churches and homes (sig. B3b).

The injunctions include many items in which both the official duties and the personal lives of ministers are touched upon. Ministers are forbidden to frequent taverns and alehouses "for any other cause then for their honest necessities" (sig. A3b), and are to refrain from gambling and other activities, choosing instead to read or study as an example to the people. Another injunction states that no minister may marry unless approval of the marriage is forthcoming from the bishop of the diocese and two justices of the peace who have lived near the woman's dwelling place before marriage, as well as from the parents of the woman or some other persons responsible for her (sig. C1b). Still another injunction provides instructions about garments to be worn by ministers (sig. C2). In certain

circumstances ministers were also subject to orders providing for part of their benefices to be turned over to the support of the poor and for the education of scholars (sig. B1).

Besides instructions to the minister concerning the topics and frequency of certain sermons he must preach, are orders concerning other official duties, such as keeping the parish register (sig. A4), and comforting the sick (sig. B2). Every minister holding the degree of Master of Arts is required to study the New Testament in Latin and English, and to submit himself to an examination on his reading by his bishop or some other suitable official (sig. B1b).

Other officials besides ministers are given instructions in the injunctions. Curates, for example, are ordered to ring a bell to summon people to service on Wednesdays and Fridays (sig. C1); and schoolmasters are required to teach from the grammar text first approved by Henry VIII, to teach their charges the true religion, and to make them learn "such sentences of scriptures, as shall bee most expedient to induce them to all godlinesse" (sig. C3).

Ordinary parishioners are dealt with in a number of injunctions. They are prohibited the use of "charmes, sorceries, inchauntments, witchcraft, soothsaying, or any such diuelish deuce," for example, and are charged to keep their homes free of such things as religious images, pictures and paintings, "and other monuments of faigned miracles, Pilgrimages, Idolatrie and superstition" (sig. C2b). Other injunc-

tions prohibit the people from disturbing services, mocking ministers, maintaining false doctrines, and reasoning rashly or contentiously about the Scriptures (sig. C1).

Two rather interesting articles pertain to special cases within the ministry. The people are ordered to cease abusing unlearned and simple priests who "haue of long time fauoured fond fantasies, rather then Gods truth" (sig. C1); and another injunction reads as follows:

Item, forasmuch as in these latter dayes, many haue beene made Priestes, being children, and otherwise vtterly vnlearned, so that they coulde reade to say Mattens and Masse: the Ordinaries shall not admit anysuch to any cure or spirituall function (sig. C3).

The fifty-first injunction is designed to correct abuses in the printing of books. Because of covetous and profit-seeking printers, a number of "vnfruitfull, vaine, and infamous bookes" (sig. C4b-D1), have appeared in the past. It is ordered, therefore, that henceforth all books must be licenced by the queen

by express woordes in writing, or by six of her priuie Councill: or be perused & licenced by the Archbishops of Canterburie and Yorke, the Bishop of London, the Chauncelors of both Vniuersities, the Bishop being Ordinarie, and the Archdeacon also of the place where any such shall be printed, or by two of them, whereof the Ordinarie of the place to be alwayes one (sig. D1).

Following the last injunction there appears an "admonition to simple men, deceiued by malicious" which attempts to persuade those entering the ministry that the oath of allegiance to the queen is not contrived to make the swearer acknowledge Elizabeth's right to challenge ecclesiastical authority (sig. D3). Two additional appendices to the injunction articles pertain to

the removal of altars, the proper use of communion tables, the description of sacramental bread, and the persons and entities for whom prayers are to be said (sig. D3-D4b).

The general visitation articles printed in 1591 were, like the injunctions printed in that year, another edition of the articles originally printed in the first year of Elizabeth's reign. The main purpose of the general visitation articles appears to have been to ascertain whether the injunctions were faithfully obeyed, and thus the matters touched upon by each are similar in many cases. The persons examining the affairs of a diocese are required to ask fifty-six questions pertaining to such matters as the conduct of the minister, the prevalence of Catholic practises and beliefs, the behaviour of the parishioners, and so on. A number of questions hearken back to the days of religious strife during the time of Queen Mary. Information is required pertaining to bribes received from those imprisoned for religious causes, to persons who died for religious causes, and to property taken away from people opposed to Catholicism during Mary's reign (STC 10130, sig. B2). Another question to be resolved is whether anyone is known to attend private Masses held in secret (sig. B2b). Other items pertain to such matters as the condition of Church property (sig. A3), the proper disposal of books of Scripture no longer serviceable (sig. B1b-B2), and whether

any Minstrelles, or any other persons doe vse to sing
or say any songs, or Ditties that be vile or vncleane,

and specially in derision of any godly order now set forth and established (sig. B2b).

The visitation articles for the diocese of Lincoln conclude with a passage setting down the oath to be taken by the churchwardens and swornmen. These investigators are enjoined to complete objectivity in their examination of persons within the diocese so that their friends will not be excused of offences and their enemies will not be unjustly accused (STC 10233, sig. B4). The fifty-nine matters to be enquired after are divided under headings which note to whom certain matters are applicable. Twenty-eight matters, for example, are to be enquired after concerning the minister. In connection with the minister the investigators are required to ascertain whether he is properly licensed, whether he obtained his post legally, whether he keeps the register properly, and whether he reads homilies at prescribed times (sig. A3). In accordance with the injunctions, investigators are also required to ascertain whether the minister spends his free time in such approved study "as may keepe him from sluggishnes and idlenesse" (sig. A3).

Other sections of the articles concern the conduct of such people as patrons, schoolmasters, churchwardens and swornmen, and laity. One of the articles addressed to churchwardens and swornmen includes a list of the objects necessary for properly equipping the Church. These include

the booke of Common Prayer with the new Kalender, two Psalters, the great English Bible, the two volumes of

Homelies, the Paraphrase of Erasmus in English, the Table of the ten commaundements whole and vntorne, a conuenient Pulpit, a decent Communion Table on a frame, a linnen cloth to couer the same, with some other couering of silke or such like, a Communion Cup and couer of siluer, a decent Surplesse with sleeues, a sure Coffe with two lockes for the Register booke, a strong chest for the almes boxe with three lockes thereto, and all other things requisite (sig. B1b).

An article addressed to ministers and churchwardens alike recalls a number of activities, such as the performance of morality plays, in which the Church had formerly participated. The investigators are required to ask whether

any Lords of Misrule, Dauncers, Players, or any other disguised persons do daunce or play any vnseemly partes in the Church or Churchyard, or whether there are any Playes, or common drinking kept in Church or Churchyard, who maintaine and accompany such (sig. B2b).

NEWS PUBLICATIONS

CHRONOLOGICAL HANDLIST: NEWS PUBLICATIONS

- 18450, Netherlands, The answere of the states generall
J. Wolfe. Diplomatic exchanges with Germany, se.-oc.
1590; tr. from Germ. copy; probably early 1591.
- 18451, Netherlands, Copie de la responce J. Wolfe.
Diplomatic exchanges; tr. of STC 18450 from Germ.
to Fr. by P. Verheile; ent. to Wolfe 17 de. 1590;
probably early 1591.
- 25735, T. Williams, The . . . cruell martyrdome of an English
man [T. Williams] in . . . Dunckerke [W. Kearney?]
f. W. Wright (SR 21 ja., Wright). Events in France
to 13 ja.
- 332, A. [Farnese], P. of Parma, A breefe description of the
battailes [E. Alldē] f. E. White (SR 23 ja.,
White). Events in France to no. 1590; tr. from Fr.
copy by E. A[ggas].
- 5813, A. Cosby, The araignment . . . and iudgement of Arnold
Cosbye [E. Alldē] f. E. White (SR 25 ja.,
White). Murder case; events of 14-27 ja.
- 5814, A. Cosby, The . . . execution of Arnold Cosbie
[E. Alldē] f. W. Wright. With verse allegedly by
Cosby; after 5813.
- 20593, W. R., The . . . murther of . . . Iohn Lord Bourgh . .
R. R[obinson]. (SR 26 ja., Robinson). Events of
14-27 ja.; with memorial verses for Burke, the only
part of the work attributable to W. R.

SR 6 fb., "A mournfull Dyttye shewinge the cruelty of Arnalt
Cosby in murderinge the lord Burgh the 14 Januarij 1590 [i.e.
1591] (ent. to Edward White).

11283, France, Newes lately come on the last day of Februarie 1591 . . . J. Wolfe (SR 2 mr., Wolfe). Events in France, Savoy, and Tripoli; tr. from Fr. and Ital. copies.

SR 5 mr., "A wonderfull and true reporte of strange Birdes seene in Fflaunders neere vnot the Cittie of Gaunt [i.e. Ghent] &c" (ent. to William Wright).

15704, Lisbon, Two . . . examples, shewed at Lyshborne [A. Jeffes]. f. W. Barley (SR 29 ap., Jeffes). Events of ja. 1590.

11921, E. Glemham, The honourable actions of . . . Edward Glemham A. J[effes] f. W. Barley (SR 29 ap., Jeffes). Events at sea from au. 1590.

12359, Grenoble, Articles concerning the yeelding of . . . Grenoble J. Wolfe (SR 2 my., Wolfe). Events in France, incl. Grenoble (de. 1590), Chartres (19 ap.), Provence, etc.; includes documents; tr. from Fr. copy by E. A[ggas].

SR 2 my., "two ballettes, the one of the besieginge . . . of Shartres [i.e. Chartres]" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 2 my., "two ballettes, . . . the other of the yeilding of Shartres [i.e. Chartres]" (ent. to John Wolfe).

13116, Henry IV, K. of France, Ordinances set foorth by the king J. Wolfe (SR 8 my., Wolfe). Official document dated 30 mr. [n.s.?]; tr. from Fr. copy by E. A[ggas].

SR 12 my., "A ballad entituled declaringe the noble late done actes and deedes of Master Edward Glemham a Suffolk gent vppon the Seas and at Saincte Georges Ilons [i.e. Islands] &c" (ent. to John Kid).

- 19965, J. Pitcher, A fearefull example, shewed vpon [John Pitcher] a periured person. [E. Alldē] f. T. Nelson. Event of 14 ma., in Court of Star Chamber.
- 12941, J. Hawes, The . . . fight performed . . . by the Centurion of London . . . [f. A. White] (SR 15 my., White). Events at sea, no. 1590 to my. 1591.
- SR 15 my., "a ballad of the same vycторыe" [of the "Centurion"] (ent. to Andrew White).
- 18655, Sir J. Norris, The true reporte of the seruice . . . [of] Sir Iohn Norreys . . . J. Wolfe. Events in Brittany, 3-22 ma., incl. capture of Guingamp, 21-22 ma., with surrender document; private letter; probably before STC 18654.3.
- 26134, Zutphen, A particuler, of the yeelding vppe of Zutphen . . . J. Charlewood, sold by W. Wright (SR 2 jn., Charlewood). Events in LC to 18 ma., including capture of Zutphen; with news of Sir R. Williams's victory near Dieppe, 20 ma. 1/2 issues in 1591.
- 26134.5 [Anr. issue, W. quire A reprinted, w. title:] The politique takinge of Zutphen. 2/2 issues in 1591.
- 18654.3, Sir J. Norris, Newes sent out of Britayn . . . J. Wolfe (SR 5 jn., Wolfe). Events in Brittany; capture of Guingamp, 21-22 ma.; with news from France; private letter dated 3 jn.
- 24652, Sir F. Vere, True newes from one of Sir Fraunces Veres companie. [E. Alldē] f. T. Nelson. Events in LC to 20 jn., by private letter and translated document; with account of a trial by Inquisition in Spain tr. from Dutch.
- 11290, France, A true discourse of an ouerthrow . . . in Prouince . . . T. Purfoot (SR 23 jn., Purfoot). Events in France, espec. 15 ap.; tr. from Fr. copy.

13156, Henry, P. de Dombes, A iournall, or briefe report of the late seruice . . . by the Prince de Dombes . . . J. Wolfe (SR 5 jy., Wolfe). Events in Brittany, 10-16 jn., with diplomatic correspondence of 20 and 21 jn.; after STC 18654.3.

SR 19 jy., "a ballad shewing the treasons of George Bysley alias Parsey and Mountford Semynarie prestes whoe suffered in ffiletestreet the ffirste of Julye 1591" (ent. to Abel Jeffes).

781, Arnheim, The true coppie of a letter . . . f. A. White (SR 20 jy., White). Events in LC to 27 jy. [n.s., i.e. 17 jy.].

SR 22 jy., "A ballad entytuled the happie ouerthrowe of the Prince of Parma his powers, before Knodtsen burghe sconnce the xxijth of Julie 1591" (ent. to Andrew White).

SR 23 jy., "a ballad of the noble departinge of the right honorable the Earle of Essex lieutenant generall of her maiesties forces in Ffraunce and all his gallant companie" (ent. to Edward White).

13115, Henry IV, K. of France, The kings declaration . . . f. E. White. Three official documents; tr. from Fr. copy; latest date 7 au. [n.s.?=28 jy.].

SR 28 jy., "The life, araynement. Judgement and Execution of William Hackett &c" (ent. to Robert Bourne).

334, A. [Farnese], P. of Parma, The ouerthrow of . . . Parma . . . T. S[carlet]. Events in LC to 16 jy.; apparently based on STC 781; after 1 au.

1030.6, G. B., Newes out of France . . . f. J. Kid. Events in France to 6 au.

SR 19 au., "Arrest De la Court De Parlement" (ent. to John Wolfe).

- 13142.5, Henry IV, K. of France, A true declaration of the honorable victorie T. Scarlet f. T. Nelson. Events at Noyon, 8-17 au., and other news 17-20 au.; tr. from Fr. copy for Fr. ambassador; promises Williams's letter in STC 25734.
- 25734, Sir R. Williams, Newes from Sir Roger Williams. J. Wolfe, sold by A. White. Events in France, with a letter sent by Williams to the League, a document dated 18 au. [n.s.?=8 au.], and other items; tr., in part, from Fr. copies; after STC 13142.5.
- SR 6 se., "A letter sent from a gentleman of accoumpte concerninge the true estate of the Englishe forces nowe in Ffraunce vnder the conduct of the righte honorable the Earle of Essex. &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).
- 11795.5, Germany, A true recitall of the armie leuied by the princes of Germanie [J. Wolfe] f. T. Nelson (SR 8 se., Wolfe). Events in France and Germany; tr. from Germ. copy.
- SR 15 se., "the lamentacon of the Prince of Parma. &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).
- SR 16 se., "A placat, of the generall States of the Lowe Cuntries, contayninge a straight charge not to transporte anye munition for warre nor anye grayne or victuall, to the leagers Rebelles against the kinge of Ffraunce and Nauarre" (ent. to Adam Islip).
- SR 25 se., "Late aduertisementes out of Brytanie in September 1591" (ent. to John Wolfe).
- 7583, Queen Elizabeth, The honorable entertainment . . . at Eluetham in Hampshire J. Wolfe (SR 1 oc., Wolfe). Royal progress, 20-23 se.; by N. Breton? or J. Lyly?
- 11280, France, Newes from France. T. Scarlet f. W. Wright (SR 2 oc., Wright). Events in France to 18 se., with notes from LC; private letter.

SR 23 oc., "A booke intituled. By letters out of the Lowe Cuntries of the 16 of October 1591" (ent. to John Wolfe).

6878, M. de Diguieres, A most excellent exploit performed by . . . Diguieres . . . J. Wolfe (SR 21 no., Wolfe). Events in France to 18 se., tr. from Fr. copy.

20651, Sir W. Raleigh, A report of the truth of the fight about the Iles of Açores . . . [J. Windet] f. W. Ponsonby (SR 23 no., Ponsonby). Events at sea; the Revenge, 31 au.; with notes on Spanish ships lost to date.

18286.5, Murders, Sundrye . . . murthers, lately committed. T. Scarlet. Events in Ashford in Kent, Plymouth, etc.

CHAPTER II

NEWS PUBLICATIONS

Although the history of periodical journalism in England does not properly begin until the seventeenth century,¹ printed news pamphlets were familiar to Elizabethan readers, and the dissemination of public information was evidently regarded as an important function of the book trade. Thus, during 1591, a variety of occasional news items in prose and verse dealing with recent happenings in England and abroad was made available to the general reader. In all, thirty-three extant titles from 1591 can be classified conveniently as news or news-related items; and publications of this kind account for 12.9 per cent of the surviving titles in all subjects from the year.

More, perhaps, than for any other type of publication, statistics about sixteenth-century topical literature must be regarded with special reservations. The fragility and transitory interest of most news publications must have resulted in the loss of a great many of these items, including,

¹M. A. Shaaber, Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England, 1476-1622 (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), p. 3.

presumably, sixteen unconnected Stationers' Register items from 1591 which were printed, in all likelihood, but which are apparently no longer extant. Publishers seem to have been inconsistent in their use of the Stationers' Register, and while most extant news publications from 1591 were entered, several were not; and it is altogether likely that there were other cases in which publishers turned out news items without recording them at all, so that any number of such items may have vanished without trace. This qualification would imply that the statistics in Table 3 regarding the distribution of news publications may not reflect the full extent of this kind of activity during 1591.

Judging from the few relevant statistics available, the year 1591 fell within a period of considerable activity among publishers of news. During 1588-90, for example, a period encompassing the defeat of the great Spanish Armada and a spell of good fortune for anti-Spanish factions on the Continent, news items accounted for twenty-five per cent of the total output in all subjects.¹ Again, figures from the Stationers' Register for the period 1591-94 reveal that of some 546 new books entered, 129 items, that is to say roughly twenty-five per cent of the total, were devoted to news.²

¹Elizabeth Chandler Hunt, "Books and Readers, 1588-90" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1964), p. 11.

²G. B. Harrison, "Books and Readers, 1591-4," The Library, VIII, No. 3, 4th Ser. (December, 1927), 285.

While it evidently witnessed proportionately fewer news publications than the period 1588-94 as a whole, it seems, nonetheless, that the year 1591 was a reasonably well reported year, at least by contemporary standards.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS PUBLICATIONS

Type of Book	Items	% of 1591 items	USR entries
<u>Foreign News</u>			
War News			
France (10)			
Brittany (3)			
Low Countries (5)			
Other Subjects (2)			
Documents (4)	24	9.4	10
<u>Domestic News</u>			
Maritime Events (3)			
Murders (4)			
Pageants and Entertainments (1)			
Other Subjects (1)	9	3.5	6
Totals	33	12.9	16

Foreign News

I know you in England expect news with euerie happie winde: and happie be that wind which bringes you good newes.¹

Information from abroad was an important part of the sixteenth-century news publisher's stock-in-trade, and few Englishmen could have greeted foreign news, especially good news, with greater eagerness. Hindered by regulation and convention from dealing with significant domestic issues, such publishers relied heavily upon a supply of foreign news and commentary of a sort that would attract readers and earn, if not the approval, at least the tacit consent of authority. It follows that when events abroad met the necessary conditions, the publishing of foreign news must have been a lucrative enterprise for publishers who made news items one of their interests. During 1591, twenty-four items, or roughly two-thirds of the number of extant news publications, were devoted to foreign affairs.

The preponderance of foreign news over domestic news was apparently due in some measure to widespread interest in current fighting in Europe, which was the subject of all but two of the extant news publications from the year dealing with foreign events. At this time, war news was concerned mostly with the situation in France and the estates of Brittany, where

¹STC 11280, Newes from France, sig. A2.

the War of the League, the last of the great French civil-religious wars of the sixteenth century, was in its final stages. Fighting was also in progress in the Low Countries, where the Netherlands estates were waging the Dutch war for independence from Spain; and this conflict as well was the subject of several news pamphlets.

In both wars, contingents of English troops were committed to the support of Protestant, anti-Spanish contenders, and thus popular interest in events of some importance was intensified by overtones of patriotism, religious bias, and popular fear and hatred of the Spanish nation. The English alliance in each war was an expression of Elizabethan foreign policy regarding Spain, so it seems reasonable to assume that the government might welcome, perhaps even encourage, any reports tending to show the wisdom of the policy and demonstrating its success in practice. Finally, the conflicts were apparently viewed as a religious crusade, or a great confrontation between the forces of good and evil, an enemy defeat in France being regarded as "the effects of Gods iustice" (STC 332, sig. C2), and the success of an allied leader like the Dutch general, Maurice of Nassau, as proof that the Lord of Hosts had "preserved him, as the apple of his eie, euen as hee did defend Dauid from the handes of the mightie Captaine of the Philistines" (STC 334, sig. A3b-A4). With so many facets to English interest in European fighting, it is not surprising that certain publishers were willing to

undertake the work of gathering and disseminating this kind of news.

In view of the inherent attractiveness of war news for readers and publishers alike, it seems somewhat paradoxical that the actual number of military items published or entered during 1591 was not particularly great, at least by modern standards. On the evidence of extant publications and entries for lost items, it would appear that the progress of ongoing European wars during 1591 was the subject of thirty-one news items, of which six were reprints of documents issued by various contenders, leaving an average of about two items a month reporting directly upon military events. News from France, the most heavily reported theatre of war, was represented by approximately a dozen items, some of rather indifferent use as news; and reports about the Brittany campaign were limited to four publications including a lost item, most of which concerned part of the period from May to June.¹ However, this dearth of war news would appear to have been due in part to circumstances beyond the control of the book trade, such as the nature and progress of the fighting in

¹STC 13156, A iournall, or briefe report of the late seruice in Britaigne, by the Prince de Dombes; STC 18654.3, Newes sent out of Britayn; STC 18655, The true reporte of the seruice in Britanie. According to STC, The true reporte of the seruice in Britanie was entered on 25 September as Late aduertisements out of Brytanie in September 1591 (Arber, II, 595). This error in STC is corrected in STC², so that Late aduertisements is now considered to be a lost news item.

different places, and the ways in which news was gathered and made available for publication.

Any shortage of war news during 1591 can probably be ascribed in part to the discretion used by publishers in deciding upon which events to report in print. Shaaber, who finds that the Elizabethan period as a whole was lacking in news of military events, argues that no other obvious explanation appears as plausible:

News of this kind, coming from a distant source, was relatively hard to obtain, but on the other hand letters from soldiers at the front must have come to London every week and some of them, we know, found their way into the publishers' hands. Neither can we blame the scarcity entirely on the censorship, for surely there could be no objection to making known the successes of English commanders and their allies or to celebrating the valor of English fighting men. But perhaps, while it was possible to print news of English successes, it was dangerous to print news of English checks and reverses. . . . It must have been axiomatic that, as far as matters touching the credit of the state were concerned, the only kind of news fit to print was good news.¹

In keeping with convention, foreign military news publications during 1591 were uniformly optimistic, but judging from the probable unimportance of many of the events described in them, to say nothing of the relatively small number of such publications that were forthcoming during the year, the impression is conveyed that publishers must have been desperate at times for even the most insignificant morsel of printable news.

The chief bane of the publisher of military news dur-

¹Shaaber, p. 123.

ing 1591 was not a series of military setbacks, although these were not entirely lacking, but the closely related phenomenon of military inactivity which prevailed throughout most theatres of war for the greater part of the year. In France, where the most recent major event in the War of the League had been the interruption, late in 1590, of the Protestant siege of Paris, the first six months of 1591 were characterized by desultory skirmishes and manoeuvres which yielded no great advantage to either side.¹ Such a confused state of affairs could hardly have been productive of important news, and, except for a fairly lengthy propagandistic account of Parma's relief of Paris in 1590,² the only military news items from France during the period from January to June, 1591, were contained within three brief news miscellanies and three additional news items.³ These publications included reports upon several

¹Francois Pierre Guillaume Guizot, The History of France, trans. by Robert Black (8 Vols.; New York: Kelmscott Society, 1869), III, 381-82.

²STC 332, A breefe description of the battailes, victories and triumphes, atchiued by the D. of Parma, and the Spanish armye.

³STC 11283, Newes lately come on the last day of Februarie 1591 from diuers partes of France, Sauoy, and Tripoli in Soria; STC 12359, Articles concerning the yeelding of the cittie of Grenoble into the kings obedience; STC 11290, A true discourse of an ouerthrow giuen to the armie of the Leaguers in Prouince. In addition, there was a fairly detailed account of a victory achieved in May near Dieppe by Sir Roger Williams. This account was appended to a report concerning the taking of the sconce at Zutphen in the Low Countries (STC 26134). There were also two ballads entered by John Wolfe dealing with the capture of Chartres in April (Arber, II, 581).

recent military episodes, such as the capture of Chartres by Henry IV in April and the success of the king's forces in a number of skirmishes against the Duke of Savoy in the south-eastern provinces. An important development during the second half of the year was the arrival of English and German expeditions to assist the French king, but these troops, especially the English, were also caught up in the routine of plodding manoeuvres, delays, and confusion which prevailed in northern France during the months leading up to the commencement of the siege of Rouen late in the year.¹ Military news from France during this period consisted of seven titles entered or published,² but here again several of these pamphlets consisted of brief miscellaneous reports upon relatively inconsequential events; and it seems strange, on the face of it, that references to the English expedition are very few indeed.

In the estates of Brittany, which had become a theatre of the War of the League in 1590, the story was much the same

¹Edward P. Cheyney, A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth (2 Vols.; New York: P. Smith, 1948), I, 267.

²STC 25734, Newes from Sir Roger Williams; STC 11280, Newes from France; STC 6878, A most excellent exploit performed by Monsieur de Diguieres, the French kinges lieutenant; STC 13142.5, A true declaration of the honorable victorie obtained by the French king in winning of Noyan; STC 1030.6, Newes out of France for the gentlemen of England; STC 11795.5, A true recitall of the armie leuied by the princes of Germanie, for the aide of the French king; "A letter sent from a gentleman of accompte concerninge the true estate of the Englishe forces nowe in Ffraunce vnder the conduct of the righte honorable the E[ar]le of Essex, &c" (Arber, II, 594).

as in France. Here, an English expedition under Sir John Norris had joined the royalist forces in the spring of 1591, and, after a brief period of success, royalists and English alike saw very little action as they moved about the countryside in a constant series of encampments, marches, and dislodgements.¹ The capture of the town of Guingamp early in May was the subject of two news pamphlets (STC 18655 and STC 13156), and the adventures of the English contingent in Brittany from the victory at Guingamp until the end of June were given in some detail in a third item (STC 18654.3); but, taken as a whole, the Brittany campaign of 1591 was an extreme disappointment. Sir John Norris's failure to accomplish anything of military importance was due in part to lack of cooperation from his French allies; but, in any case, the Brittany campaign aroused great bitterness and dissatisfaction on the part of the English authorities.² Norris remained in Brittany throughout 1591, but concerning his perambulations about the countryside, evidently little, if anything, was issued from the public press.

In terms of military success, the most productive theatre of war during 1591 was in the Low Countries, where the Dutch, assisted by their English allies, enjoyed fairly consistent progress against the Spanish, especially after the

¹Cheyney, I, 249-50.

²Cheyney, I, 251.

capture of Zutphen in May. Success in warfare at this time seems to have been measured largely in terms of the ability of a force to capture and control fortified towns; and the expulsion of the Spanish from such important centres as Zutphen, Deventer, and Nijmegen was evidently exploited to the limit by the English press. In all, there were eight titles entered or published about Dutch military affairs during 1591,¹ several of which offer detailed and interesting accounts of Dutch and English victories.

Even from a cursory survey like the foregoing, it seems evident that, taken as a whole, printed information about military events during 1591 was selective to the point of ignoring, if not obscuring, the main tendencies of the fighting in some regions. No doubt, in some cases, it may have been the conscious decision of a publisher to decide against printing an item of news; and the reasoning behind such a decision is, of course, obvious. The publisher's understanding of public expectations and his hope of profit and, perhaps, his concern

¹STC 26134, A particuler, of the yeelding vppe of the towne of Zutphen, and the beleagering of Deuenter; STC 26134.5 [another edition of STC 26134], The politike takinge of Zutphen skonce, the winning of the towne, and beleagering of Deuenter; STC 334, The ouerthrow of the most part of the Prince of Parma his forces, both horse and foote; STC 781, The true coppie of a letter, written from the Leager by Arnham; STC 24652, True newes from one of Sir Fraunces Veres companie; "A balladd entytuled the happie ouerthrowe of the Prince of Parma his powers, before Knodtsen burghe sconce the xxiith of Julie 1591" (Arber, II, 591); "the lamentacon of the Prince of Parma, &c" (Arber, II, 595); "By letters out of the Lowe Cuntries of the 16 of October 1591" (Arber, II, 597).

for his own life and property might have led him to select only the kind of news calculated to delight and entertain as well as to inform. The idea of what constituted "news" was but rudely developed at this time,¹ and a report of a successful ambush in some obscure French province, tricked out as a homily upon God's hatred of the Spanish, was likely to conform more closely to public expectations than an unencouraging report that the Earl of Essex's expedition continued to sit idly in camp. Even if he had learned that Essex's brother, Walter Devereux, had been slain in the course of an impetuous "bravado" before Rouen, or that malaria was rampant in the English camp,² the publisher surely would have ignored these intelligences and would have strained instead to gather enough snippets of "good" news to fill up a small, saleable, miscellany.

Another potentially limiting factor in the publication of military news was the almost total dependence of the publisher upon either foreign publications or the benevolence of private sources for such information as a publisher was able to obtain. While it is true that an enterprising publisher could have ferreted out much information by attending carefully to the gossip current at gathering places such as Paul's,³

¹Shaaber, p. 7.

²Cheyney, I, 263.

³H. S. Bennett, English Books and Readers, 1558 to 1603 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 221.

the evidence of foreign news publications from 1591 suggests that for most major items of foreign news, publishers had to rely chiefly upon foreign language publications or the private correspondence of some "gentleman of account" or other. French or Dutch pamphlets, translations of which made up a good third of all foreign news items entered or published during 1591, were prepared in their respective countries under conditions of wartime censorship, and the kind and amount of news in them was clearly subject to the most severe restrictions. Moreover, while they were normally easy to obtain in England in a variety of ways,¹ they do not seem to have been imported in large numbers during 1591. Such publications as were put forth under the auspices of French or Dutch authorities would surely have been disseminated as widely as possible, especially to an allied country like England; and few such pamphlets reaching England could have escaped the attention of the translator. Assuming all this, it is likely that Protestant factions in France and Holland were highly selective during 1591 concerning the events which would form the bases for printed news and propaganda. In any case, translated news during 1591 is like foreign military news in general in being poorly indicative of the nature of the military situation at the time.

Next to translated material, private correspondence appears to have been the main source of information for a publisher of military news. But this news material, like the

¹Shaaber, p. 168.

foreign language news pamphlets, appears to have gone through a form of censorship before it reached the news publisher. For example, it is certain that letters from soldiers and others associated with events in Europe must have reached England at frequent intervals where they would have been shared within private circles,¹ but of all these, only a fraction appear to have been shared with publishers. During 1591, no more than seven military news items appear to have been engendered by private correspondence,² and unless it is assumed that witnesses were reluctant to write about anything except stirring events, it seems evident that private letters offered or selected for publication were chosen with a discriminating eye for the "suitability" of the news they contained. It is evident as well that for a few favoured publishers the government itself might from time to time provide a limited supply of "private" material for publication. The title-pages of several news pamphlets from 1591 indicate that official and diplomatic correspondence circulating at government levels, as well as translations of foreign-language publications prepared for persons in government, might be passed on to a pub-

¹Shaaber, p. 2.

²STC 334, 11280, 18654.3; 18655 (in part) and 24652 (in part); also "A letter sent from a gentleman of accoumpte concerninge the true estate of the Englishe forces now in Ffraunce vnder the conduct of the righte honorable the E[a]rle of Essex, &c" (Arber, II, 594) and "By letters out of the Lowe Cuntries of the 16 of October 1591" (Arber, II, 597).

lisher if it was deemed that publication might be advantageous to the government. John Wolfe, for example, seems to have been especially favoured in this respect.

In summary, it appears that, generally speaking, lack of information was a problem among publishers of military news during 1591, and to find alternative news sources to supplement foreign language publications and private correspondence must have required a certain amount of ingenuity. An interesting statement from a publisher's point of view about the difficulties involved in preparing military news, especially in locating proper sources, appears in the "epilogue" to a news miscellany about events in France entered by the publisher John Kid on 27 July. The compiler of the pamphlet, one "G. B.," writes:

Gentlemen Readers, thus though rudelie, and vntimelie, yet truly and sufficientlie, yee haue heard the tenour of this newes, or at the least so much, as I could well fish out, for it is a thing altogether impossible, and may passe for a paradox, to reach vnto euerie particular accident. For the newes being not inacted in our own Countrey, comming from farre, as also wee our selues not present, or oculati testes, but relying on letters, bare reportes, and heresay, like testes auriti, wee must needs misse of much of the matter, & sometimes happily, (or rather vnhappily) either in too much or too little commit an absurditie; But (as I said before) assure your selues, wee swarue not wittingly one tittle from truth, but haue inquired diligently thereafter, & offred vnto your view nothing but that we haue seen in the letters of credible persons, or been instructed at the hands of men of account, or that commonly passeth for trueth at the Exchange, or hath been preached to the French congregation, or is tossed vp & down at the Ambassadors house in the mouthes of the best; which al in my opinion may serue for a certificate autentique. But leauing these ambages, and cleauing to your curtesie,

I beseech you in courtesie be not too curious, but more willing to lep ouer a block, than wilful to stumble at a straw, considering the finest Veluet hath his brack, and no thing is so currantly written, but admits some crabbed imperfection, & may captiously bee misconstred.¹

Part of the interest deriving from the foregoing remarks lies in the writer's evident concern that the reader should regard his news pamphlet as the product of a scrupulous search for the truth, so far as it was obtainable under inconvenient circumstances. The writer's defence of his aims and methods conveys a tone of sincerity and earnestness which is the more remarkable for having been penned at a time when many writers apparently placed far less emphasis upon factual reporting. It was, of course, a common device of sixteenth-century publishers to affix the adjective "true" to the titles of news reports of all kinds, especially the more incredible ones; and if there were skeptics who could not believe accounts of monsters, supernatural occurrences, or similar phenomena, they doubtless took it in good part. By 1591, however, there is evidence, of which the statement by "G. B." is a part, that in the matter of news touching upon important issues the reading public was beginning to analyze current news pamphlets somewhat more critically than perhaps they had done in the past.

An interesting clue to what appears to have been

¹STC 1030.6, Newes out of France for the gentlemen of England, sig. C2-C2b.

popular cynicism about the usefulness of foreign news from various sources appears in the conversation manual, Florios second frutes (STC 11097), where John Florio devotes part of a dialogue to an exchange between Caesar and Tiberio, who decide that it is impossible for ordinary people to be properly informed about events abroad:

C[aesar]. What doo they say abroad? What newes haue you master Tiberio?

T[iberio]. Nothing that I know, can you tell whether the post be come?

C. No sir, they saie in the exchange, that the great Turke makes great preparation to warre with the Persian.

T. 'Tis but a deuise. These be newes cast abroad to feede the common sorte. I doo not beleeeue them.

C. There are credible letters that reporte it.

T. To set in windlace, they may be fained.

C. The hand and seales agree.

T. So much the rather doo I thinke they bee fraudulent, because that they which professe this trade, doo not want anie craft.

C. Yea, but they are written to verie worshipfull marchants.

T. By so much the less doo I beleeeue them, doo you not know, that euerie yeare such newes are spread abroad?

C. I am almost of your minde, for I seldome see these written reports proue true.

T. Prognostications, newes, deuices, & letters from forraine countries (good master Caesar) are but vsed as confections, to feed the common people withall.

C. A man must giue no more credite to Exchange, and Powles newes, than to fugitiues promises, and plaiers fables (sig. T2-T3).

Another critic, allegedly the writer of a letter which appeared as a news pamphlet entitled Newes from France (STC 11280), prefaced his news with a passage accusing some publishers of printing wilful lies about the situation in France. He writes:

I know you in England expect news with euerie happie winde: and happie be that wind which bringes you good newes. But I heare, and it is common with vs here, that many idle heads with you, hearing the vnhappie state of Fraunce, and coniecturing by their strong imaginations what is likely, or may indeed chaunce, set pen to paper, and men to the presse, and publish that for truth, which if it were so, were well, but being not so, proues so contemptible, that the verie trueth it selfe carries small credite (sig. A2).

Similarly, the epilogue to a pamphlet entitled A true declaration of the honorable victorie obtained by the French king in winning of Noyan (STC 13142.5) contrasts the truth of the news contained in the pamphlet, and the reliability of its sources, with the liberties taken by other newsmongers:

This former discourse (gentle reader) is not forged or fained, as some perhaps for malice will peeuishly report: neither is it fetched from flying and fabulous letters, ordinarie reports on the Exchange, or published vppon rash warrant, as some, I know, will not stick to vtter: but the same is set forth for such credit as cannot be disproued, being agreeable to the Ambassador for Fraunce. And although the same bee not published with such eloquent phrases as some newes which hath lately beene published, yet will I assure you (if both were examined by the wisest) that this is of more trueth, and without error, notwithstanding that much trueth was promised, and little found but vntrueth. For reformation wherof, be assured there is sufficient order taken, that no newes whatsoever, shall hereafter passe in print, but that which is certain, and knowen to be true (sig. B3b).

From the foregoing examples it seems evident that there was, in some quarters at least, a certain amount of dissatisfaction with the offerings of news publishers. Naturally, only limited responsibility can fairly be assessed against news publishers for the fact that many events and circumstances appear to have gone unreported altogether; but, on the other

hand, it is fair to say that the quality of reporting in the case of such events as were dealt with in print was open to wide variation. Certainly, a closer examination of representative foreign news pamphlets from 1591 show that, while a number of them were examples of useful and objective reporting by writers of obvious knowledge and insight, others were compounded largely of propaganda, bias, and rumour.

One of the more interesting examples of biased and distorted reporting of military news during 1591 was an account of the ~~ID~~ Duke of Parma's operations in France late in 1590, when the Spanish general marched across the border between France and the Low Countries and proceeded to Paris, where in August he raised the Protestant siege of the city, subsequently making a successful strategic withdrawal back to the Low Countries in November of the same year. Early in 1591, English readers were presented with an account of these operations in the form of a lengthy, albeit badly distorted, report translated from French sources bearing the doubly ironic title A breefe description of the battailes, victories and triumphes, atchiued by the D. of Parma, and the Spanish armye (STC 332). This pamphlet must have been printed originally as a piece of government propaganda, since some references within it suggest that the writer had access to intimate facts about the enemy which could hardly have been common knowledge and which must have been provided by informants sympathetic to Henry IV. Whatever its origin, however, the pamphlet is a heavy-handed piece

of propaganda in which the Duke of Parma is depicted as a vainglorious, ambitious blunderer and his march into France as a useless exercise marked chiefly by Parma's senseless cruelty and his phenomenal luck, by which he managed to survive several confrontations with Henry IV and escape from France alive.

At the beginning of the report the writer presents his thesis that Philip's real motive in dispatching Parma to France at the head of his loyal troops and noblemen was to remove the personally ambitious Parma and his supporters from the Low Countries long enough to permit Philip to replace him as governor, "which is the matter whereat the King of Spaine hath most shot for these fiue or six yeers" (sig. A2b). Parma, the writer alleges, perceived that "the drift was as much or rather more against himselfe, then against those that he was sent against, and that his maisters purpose was grounded rather vpon the remoue of his footing out of the Low Cuntries, then vpon any opinion that he could atchiue any thing in Fraunce" (sig. A2). It is a matter of historical record that Philip II and the Duke of Parma were at odds at this time, as Philip doubted Parma's loyalty, and Parma opposed Philip's scheme of invading France from the Low Countries;¹ but the writer's contention that the invasion was inspired by Philip's wish to replace Parma as governor of the

¹Cheyney, I, 211-12.

Low Countries during his absence in France (sig. A2b) is probably pure propaganda. Another piece of information which the writer used to his own purpose was the fact that Parma was ill at the time of the invasion,¹ a circumstance which the writer alleges was caused by a "languishing poison" which Philip had been causing to be administered to Parma for some time past. It was Philip's secret hope, the pamphlet goes on, that the poison might take effect during Parma's sojourn in France, so that the French might be blamed for his death (sig. A3). Unfortunately for this scheme of Philip's, the writer observes, the Italians are masters in "matter of poison," and the Duke has developed good counterpoisons against Philip's ministrations (sig. A3).

Having determined that his own private ambitions would be best served by submitting to Philip's order (sig. A2b), the writer continues, Parma then "played the Spaniard in earnest" (sig. A3), pretending to hesitate in his purpose in order to humiliate the leader of the Leaguers, the Duke of Mayenne, by forcing him to beg for help. Mayenne was eventually driven to approach Parma in Brussels, where Parma suffered himself to be courted and solicited; but Mayenne was treated with disdain, says the writer, and returned to France, "vtterly ignorant in all matters except of Spanish reuerences and ceremonies which he was forced to learn while he staid at the Court" (sig. A3b). The desperate Mayenne decided at length to sue for

¹Cheyney, I, 211.

peace with the besiegers of Paris, whereupon the vainglorious Parma, who was not in favour of peace, began at last to march, sending before him highly exaggerated accounts of his forces,

wherein were named more Princes, Dukes, Marquises, and Earles then are in all the States of Spaine, and that his power was some 18. or 20000. footmen, and 3000. horse, but such as he painted forth for so many Alexanders or Caesars, able to conquer a whole new worlde if any were discovered: he gaue his troopes also proud titles, yea euen the Terses [camp followers?] of his Spaniards, some hee named Amutinados, others Mansseridos, and others such lofty names, as might suffice to make the Mares cast their foles: neither did he forget also to publish the state of his furniture, of his great stable, of his Pages, sumpters, and the couers of his fourescore Moyles [i.e. mules] and Cofers, the noise of whose bells he thought sufficient to make all the townes that held for the King to yeelde also his great quantity of great locked carriages full of vnknown engines, which at one only discharging should carry away a whole armye (sig. A4).

Coming at length to a discussion of the operation itself, the writer asserts that when Parma entered France in August 1590 his main concern was that Henry IV would flee to Bordeaux and there meet defeat, taking away from Parma "the honor of this ouerthrowe which he accompted most certaine" (sig. A4). However, upon learning of the French king's advance to meet the Spanish army, Parma, it is alleged, fell into a state of abject terror, and, according to the account,

this poore Prince was so daunted and in such a rage, that as it is said he swore & blasphemed God in three or foure languages, least he should not vnderstand him: and complained vnto the said L. of Mayne that he had brought him to the slaughter, neither doo wee read in the fables of any so sodaine metemorphosis as was there presently made, for from furious Lyons as yt first they were, they were presently transfourmed into Foxes: who thought no longer of assailing, but of defending themselues: and in lieuve of appearing

any further, each of them fell to making his denne in the earth, which by great good hap was in a Marsh, well ditched of it selfe and of a strong seate (sig. B1).

Notwithstanding the writer's contempt for Parma's alleged cowardice, the Spaniard's tactic of entrenching his troops frustrated Henry IV, and, more importantly, made it possible for Parma to capture Lagny, a victory which opened the way to Paris by way of the Marne and made it possible to ship supplies to the besieged city. The significance of the fall of Lagny was probably not lost upon the writer, but he remarks, nonetheless, that the Spaniard's heat "was all wasted" in taking the town (sig. B1), and turns the reader's attention towards the atrocities which he says the Spaniards perpetrated in the place:

Neuer did madde dogs so teare in peces any carrion, as did these Spaniards all that they found in the said town, without exception of age or sexe, either of Churches, which they reserued for the scaffoldes and theaters of their most horrible cruelties and infamous abominations: which notwithstanding, yet grew they no whit the more couragious or desirous of the battel that they had so often bruted, for their appetites and lusts therto were gluttet with seeing it so often offered (sig. B1b).

After the capture of Lagny, numerous events fell out to Parma's advantage, but those which are noted at all by the writer are either glossed over or wilfully misinterpreted. First, Henry IV made a lengthy retreat from Lagny to Clermont, "perceiuing that there was no meanes to force them to the fight" (sig. B1b). Henry's retreat is offered as "an other point of brauerie" (sig. B1b) and an exercise in military

discretion although it opened the way for Parma's capture of Corbeil, a "small" town "of no strong scituation" (sig. B2), "which among vs was of no fame, but onlye in respect of the number of Peach trees that growe among the Vynes thereabout" (sig. B2b). Nevertheless, the capture of Corbeil made possible the opening of Paris to the Duke of Parma, an event which is glossed over in the following manner:

After this seidge [of Corbeil], Paris which by this small beginning gathered assurance of much better, for the ful furnishing of their bonfiers, did almost make an end of burning that small store of wood that yet remained, wherof now they haue greater want than euer. The Duke of Parma was inuited thether to sporte him, the banquets were prouided, his lodging was furnished with the best of the Kings moueables, the Princesses and Ladyes had decked and made themselues readye. . . . And . . . he stayed there yet three weekes . . . (sig. B2b).

The concluding sections of the pamphlet, which trace the events that followed Parma's relief of Paris, consist of yet more examples of Parma's deceitful nature and his alleged bad luck. The Spaniard is depicted as plotting to usurp Mayenne's generalship and so lead the entire League force, but in this aim he is shown to be thwarted because the viciousness of the Spanish troops had turned all Frenchmen, Catholics and Huguenots alike, against him. Deciding that his only recourse is to return to the Low Countries, Parma becomes the chief villain in what is depicted, not as a planned withdrawal, but as a shameful rout in which a frightened and sorrowful Parma resolves never to return to France (sig. B4b). History records that Parma's expedition of 1590

was a useful and necessary operation, frustrating Protestant attempts to capture Paris and ending with a deliberate, albeit somewhat hectic, withdrawal;¹ but for the English common reader of 1591, ignorant of the real implications of the events described, the following passage must have brought great comfort and delight:

This is the true discriptions of the battailes, victories and triumphes of the D. of Parma throughout his whole voiage, these be the crownes and pillers whose inscriptions were ready prouided: he came to plant a Colony of Spaniards in Fraunce, but he did but sowe it abroad in the fieldes, which haue lyne couered with their dead, out of whose ashes they shall not spring againe as dooth the Phenix, for out of such carrions can proceed nothing but serpents and other such venemous beastes (sig. C1).

The vehemence and ingenuity with which the author of the foregoing pamphlet argues his case against the Duke of Parma may be a measure of how badly the French Protestants had been shaken by the Spaniard's venture into France. In any case, no other translations from French sources during 1591 dealt in such length and detail with military events in that country. Each of the remaining news pamphlets translated from French sources is a miscellany of more or less brief items which, while they frequently fall short of complete objectivity, do appear, nonetheless, to have careful reference to a core of truth. Needless to say, no Protestant setbacks or reverses are touched upon, and, since most months of 1591 witnessed little significant military action, the main offerings

¹Guizot, III, 381.

of these French sources consisted largely of accounts of isolated skirmishes in various parts of France in which the League forces suffered minor defeats.

The most varied collection of translated news items during 1591 was contained within a brief pamphlet of Newes lately come on the last day of Februarie 1591 from diuers partes of France, Sauoy, and Tripoli in Soria (STC 11283), consisting of eleven different items which, according to the title-page, had been translated from "French and Italian Copies, as they were sent to right Honourable persons" (sig. A1). In just five pages of text consisting, perhaps, of items culled from several foreign language publications, the pamphlet offers brief summaries of such occurrences as a successful ruse by Henry IV before Chartres in February (sig. A2-A2b), several military incidents in Savoy (sig. A2b-A3), a mutiny against the Duke of Savoy at Aix (sig. A3), and interesting bits of gossip such as the alleged fact that "the Duke of Sauoye is of late fallen into a consumption, and lieth very sicke at Nizza, so that his Phisitions doe despaire of his recouery" (sig. A3b-A4).

Brief news items, such as the report about the Duke of Savoy quoted above, were commonly affixed to longer reports, or, as in the case of the foregoing pamphlet, were gathered together in small miscellanies. Other collections of foreign news often contained longer, fairly detailed items; but all too frequently these reports offer few advantages, at least for the modern reader, as their meticulous summaries of inconclusive

manoeuvring and opportunity-seeking do tend to become somewhat tedious. One such collection, entitled A most excellent exploit perfourmed by Monsieur de Diguieres, the French kinges lieutenant (STC 6878), includes a lengthy summary of the activities of Henry IV during the first week of October, but much of the account dwells upon the manoeuvres incident to an encounter with the League, which is itself dealt with quite summarily. This particular pamphlet was not entered in the Stationers' Register until the end of November; so it probably must have been assumed that readers were eager to get their hands on any foreign news, regardless of how old it was or how little useful information it might contain. The kind of information commonly found within the briefer news reports is exemplified by the following account of the defeat of an army sent to invade France by the Pope, "that vsurper of Ecclesiasticall power, abuser of Kinges, and misleader of souls" (sig. A1b), which also typifies, incidentally, the style and tone adopted by some reports. According to the report, the Pope's nephew proceeded "into that massacred countrey of Fraunce, with great purpose of most wonderfull conclusions,"

but Mounsieur de Diguieres being there for the king, gathered a head of expert souldiers by disgarisoning the neyghbour Townes, and welcommed these gallants of Italy with so hote an encounter, that in lesse then two hours, two thousand & fiue hundred of them were ouerthrowen, and almost as many taken prisoners, eight hundred of which were slain in the fury, and foure hundred kept prisoners, the rest (more to qualify the pride of their hawty natures) were first solemnly sworne by Mounsieur de Diguieres neuer more to bear Armes against the French king, and then shamefully sent

home disarmed, sauing onely white wandes in theyr handes in scorne of theyr weapons.

The Generall and his company were well apaide of this seruice: for whereas before they lay in Garrison and lackt money, now these braue Romanists brought them a necessary exercise, an honorable victory and rich spoils, for amongst them they found in chaines of golde, rings, iewels, and armour, as much as was valued at more then two hundred thousand French crowns, besides three hundred great horse for seruice, God send him and all his friends, many more such banquets (sig. A2).

A final observation which should be made about military news derived from French publications is that this material appears to contain a rather high proportion of rumor compared with news materials provided by English eyewitnesses. Several of the brief items sprinkled liberally throughout these translated miscellanies contain references to such alleged events as a mutiny at Paris where it is "knowen for certainty" that "so much haue the people preuailed that they haue hanged vp their chiefe Gouvernour" (STC 6878, sig. A2). One of the most interesting published rumors appears in a pamphlet containing A true discourse of an ouerthrow giuen to the armie of the Leaguers in Prouince (STC 11290), where it is stated in several places that Philip of Spain is dead. At one point the writer goes so far as to reveal the Leaguers' plans for a convention "to consult of the affairs of the league, which are in a pittifull taking vpon the vnexpected death of the king of Spaine, which is so preiudiciall to their rebellious faction" (sig. A3b). Moreover, the author notes that the death of Philip has caused the Duke of Savoy to abandon his plans to

capture Marseilles, and to proceed instead to Spain (sig. A2). It is only in rare instances that such apparent rumors are substantiated by another publication, as in the case of a report in one publication that the people of Aix have risen against the Duke of Savoy, "forasmuch as he went about to build a Cittadel in Aix, which they by no meanes will suffer" (STC 11283, sig. A3). In a later pamphlet, entered in the Stationers' Register two months after the publication noted above, a brief reference to Aix mentions that

the duke of Sauoy buildeth a Citadell in the towne of Aix in Prouance, whereupon all the nobilitie of the Countrie haue forsaken him, and no other of the townes will receiue any garrison to his behoofe.¹

Notwithstanding the fact that foreign publications were regarded by the trade as legitimate sources of news, it seems that publishers may not have valued them as highly as they did private correspondence from the Continent. Despite the cynicism of Florio's characters, Caesar and Tiberio, on the subject of letters from abroad, a certain authority must have been attached to any piece of writing that purported to come from the pen of someone closely associated with an event, perhaps even as an eyewitness. One interesting illustration of the special regard attached to letters is the pamphlet entitled Newes from France (STC 11280), which may or may not be a piece of private

¹STC 12359, Articles concerning the yeelding of the cittie of Grenoble into the kings obedience, sig. A4b. The publication was entered on 2 May, exactly two months after the entry of STC 11283, which itself contains news dating from February 1591.

NEVVES
from France.

18
5

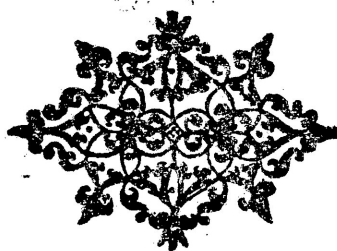
Where Monsieur de Signiers in
the Kings behalfe, most brauely discomited the Ar-
mie of the King of *Spaine* and the Pope, con-
sisting of ten thousand strong, being
*Neapolitans, Spaniards, Sauoi-
ans and Burgonians.*

*With the taking of fifteene Ensignes, the number that were
slaine, and how many were taken prisoners, which Armie
was sent to surprize Languedock and Grenoble.
This happened the 18. of September.*

I 5 9 I.

With some notes and newes from Dernerne
in Holland.

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LONDON
Printed by Thomas Scarlet for William Wright.

PLATE IV
(OVERLEAF)

correspondence. Addressed to an unidentified person, "my very good kinsman," the letter begins with a platitude about the present state of France as compared to England and then bemoans the fact that so much false news is offered for sale to English readers. "And this," the writer goes on,

makes me fearefull to write, least the harde beleefe of others to whom you may impart my letters, may make you doubtfull of my credite, and so carelesse of my loue: but yet presuming of your wonted good opinion of me, and to perfourme my promise at our parting, when you enioyned me to this small seruice of sending you continuallie such newes as the countrey yeldes, I will roughly, (but truely) set downe the effect of a letter that was sent by Monsieur Desginers, gouernor of Dauphine for his Maiestie, to signifie their present state (sig. A2-A2b).

The rest of the "letter" is a summary of another letter, obviously written originally in French, outlining a minor military victory against the League on 18 September. A postscript to the "frame" letter declares that the writer had, "by chauce . . . mette with a friend of mine, a marchaunt, who acquainted mee with certaine newes out of the Lowe Countries" (sig. A4); and the publication ends with a paragraph concerning recent movements of Maurice of Nassau in the Low Countries. The title-page of the item does not declare that the piece is an actual letter, and the suspicion remains that the "letter" structure was a convenient device to enhance the authority of the contents of the pamphlet.

Of somewhat greater credibility as a reproduction of a piece of correspondence is a news pamphlet concerning the successes of Henry IV from 7 to 20 August, inclusive, during which

period the king captured the town of Noyon, despite several League attempts to raise the siege of the place, and also engaged in several other successful confrontations with the enemy.¹ According to the title-page, the news enclosed had been published "according to the Copie sent into England to the Lord Ambassadour for France" (sig. A2); and from the style and contents of the pamphlet it is evident that one or more pieces of official correspondence had been made available to the publisher by some interested party or other. (Indeed, if the title-page claim was falsely made, it must have been at the great peril of everyone concerned with the publication.)

In its published form, the correspondence to the French ambassador appears as a series of extracts, apparently from several letters, augmented by a copy of the agreement for the surrender of Noyon. The style of the piece is terse by contemporary standards, and the details given would suggest an intimate acquaintance with the persons and events involved. The following account of a skirmish exemplifies the tone of the publication, which is generally free of the extravagant gloating over enemy defeats so typical of this kind of news:

This fight was great, for there were at the least twelue seuerall charges and assultes geuen, in which there was some store of armed men slaine on the enemies side, with diuers of their Captains. Among whom

¹STC 13142.5, A true declaration of the honorable victorie obtained by the French king in winning of Noyan, and ouerthrow of the Duke de Maine his forces (sig. A2).

was slayn Don Francisco of Gueuara, the best captain of light horsemen that the king of Spayne had in the low Countreys. The Lieutenant to the sayde Francisco de Gueuara, was also slayn outright. It is supposed that the Lieutenant to the Gouvernor of Han was also taken and slaine, with sundrie other of great account (sig. A4).

Readers of the foregoing pamphlet would have been interested to find brief references to Sir Roger Williams, the leader of a small English detachment serving in Normandy, and to the English contingent of the Earl of Essex, which had arrived in France early in August. The writer names Williams as a participant in a skirmish near Noyon (sig. B3) and in what appears to have been the first published news concerning the Essex contingent in France, observes that

his Maiestie on the twentieth of August marched toward Gisors, there to receaue the right honourable Earle of Essex, and so immediately to ioyne with the great power of Germanes, who are already entred into Fraunce, by Gods grace to work some great effect, with the ayde of the honourable, warlike, and forward Leaders, and Gentlemen of England.¹

In an afterword to the pamphlet the publisher promised additional news about Sir Roger Williams in the form of a letter "sent

¹Sig. B3. Concerning "the great power of Germanes," one publication on the subject appeared during 1591. A pamphlet entitled A true recitall of the armie leuied by the princes of Germanie, for the aide of the French king (STC 11795.5) offered a list, translated from a German publication, of the regiments raised in Germany to assist Henry IV. Twenty-four regiments of horse, or 12,000 men, and over 25,000 foot soldiers are listed, with the leaders' names. According to the pamphlet, 8,000 horse, 10,000 foot, and 2,000 pioneers have actually entered France, while the remainder "are in readines; but stay behinde in Germany, vntill the further pleasure of the Princes and chiefe states before recited be knowne" (sig. A4).

vnto the Collonels and Captaines of Paris, challenging them to the combat, in respect of some false rumors giuen foorth by them against English companies, which therin is plainely layd open" (sig. B4). The letter, dated 16 June, appeared in due course in a pamphlet entitled Newes from Sir Roger Williams (STC 25734), where it comprises the first part of a collection of four items including a report upon a League defeat on 6 June, an account of a parliament at Caen on 6 August, and a copy of a congratulatory letter from Henry IV to a victorious general also dated 6 June.

As an item of useful information Williams's letter to the citizens of Paris must have been of dubious value, since to the modern reader it is remarkable chiefly for the writer's verbal bravado. Of course, the association of the letter with items of diplomatic correspondence, such as the letter from Henry IV, as well as the materials in A true declaration of the honorable victorie, argue for the authenticity of the Williams letter. The exaggerated importance attached to the letter by positioning it first in the collection may be an indication of official reluctance to release significant information about the activities of the English troops; or, again, it may reflect the popularity of Williams at the time.¹

¹Williams had already given long and distinguished military service by 1591 and from the evidence of the news items from the year he appears to have been generally admired. In 1590 he had published a popular treatise on warfare, A

The dearth of information regarding Sir Roger Williams is of particular interest since Williams had been in or near Dieppe since the spring of 1591 with a small detachment of Sir John Norris's army charged with keeping the port of Dieppe open to further English assistance for Henry IV. However, Williams's force, like the Essex contingent which reached Dieppe in August, remained more or less inactive during 1591 as Henry carried on the political and military manoeuvrings incident to his eventual siege of Rouen in 1592. Except for the foregoing references to Williams's service, the only items concerning him were a report of an "honourable enterprise" at Saint-Saëns on 20 May,¹ when Sir Roger's men were reported

Brief Discourse of War (STC 25732), which must have extended his popularity. It is generally agreed that Shakespeare made use of the treatise during the composition of Henry V as the source of Fluellen's disquisitions; and as C. G. Cruickshank suggests in Elizabeth's Army (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 14, Williams may have been the prototype of Fluellen.

¹The report of the affair comprised the second part of a publication of which the initial pages were devoted to an account of the taking of Zutphen in the Low Countries. The complete title reads: A Particuler, of the yeelding vppe of the Towne of Zutphen, and the beleagering of Deunter. With the honourable enterprise of Sir Roger Williams, Knight: performed vpon a thousande and two hundreth of the enemyes Souldiours or Leagors, lying at Cinque Saunce, nine leagues from Deepe: Who were all put to the sword, vpon Thursday before Witsonday last, being the xx.day of May. 1591. (STC 26134). The prominence accorded the name of Williams in the title is an interesting example of Williams's evident popularity. Another well-known English commander, Sir Francis Vere, is the object of praise and admiration on almost every page of the Zutphen article, but perhaps the publisher felt that there was some advantage to making Williams's name appear so prominently in the title. In passing, the spelling of Saint-Saëns as Cinque Saunce is typical of the casual way in which French proper names were rendered by English printers, often in such a fashion as to make a French name unintelligible.

to have slaughtered twelve hundred Leaguers, and a report on one of Williams's exploits at the siege of Noyon in July.

Williams's exploit at Saint-Saëns occurred when two regiments of Leaguers marched from Rouen to that town in order to procure supplies. Saint-Saëns was not far from Dieppe, where Williams and the troops serving under Henry IV were based, and so the Leaguers built a temporary barricade of barrels filled with earth in case of attack; and, to allow themselves advance warning of any troop movement from Dieppe, they also stationed an advance party two leagues farther up the highway towards Dieppe. These activities of the Leaguers, soon to be "ouerthrown by the outstretched Arme of the Almighty" (sig. B3b), were recounted in some detail by the narrator, partly for the benefit of readers unfamiliar with military procedures. Referring, for example, to the fortifications erected by the Leaguers the writer observes that in order to make the matter "more easily . . . vnderstood of the simple sort of people, I haue thought good to describe it heere in more plaine manner, that they may as well know and vnderstand it, as those that haue beene continually trayned vppe in Martiall exercises" (sig. B3b), and he goes on to point out that

thys kind of Fortification called the Barricadoes, is Pipes, Hogs-heads, Wine Vessels, and such like, which beeing filled and harde rammed with earth, are sette close one by one, each by other, and one vppon another, which is of such force and weight that they can not be easily remoued or entred into, but standeth as strong as any Mudde-wall, wherinto shotte of very great force cannot enter but recoyle (sig. B3b-B4).

Unfortunately for the Leaguers, all their precautions proved to be to no avail. When Williams and the leader of the French contingent at Dieppe heard of the developments at Saint-Saëns, they marched upon the place with seven hundred men, killed the entire advance party and subsequently, although outnumbered two to one, stormed the barricade and annihilated both enemy regiments. The attack did not occur without some debate between Williams and the French commander, De Chartres, about the prudence of making an assault, but Sir Roger's bravery and sense of honour prevailed over the Frenchman, who, "seeing the braue and most honourable resolution of Sir Roger, was wonderfully encouraged to the enterprize" (sig. C1b). De Chartres then encouraged his own men, and Williams "also in very louing and familiar sort, as his vsuall custome is, cheered vp his souldiers" (sig. C1b-C2) in a lengthy and somewhat pedantic speech which is reproduced in full. Following prayers the attack took place, and the example of the English soldiers was so heartening to the French that "the English and French souldiours put those two Regiments of souldiours to the sworde, suffering none to escape aliue" (sig. C3b).

The most detailed public information about Williams's service before Noyon appeared in Newes out of France for the gentlemen of England (STC 1030.6), the work of one "G. B. M. of Arte" (sig. A3b). This work, in keeping with the status of the writer and his intended audience, was tricked out with a dedicatory poem in Latin, a Latin tag from Cato, a dedication

to the gentlemen readers, a preface, and an epilogue. From the prefatory material it becomes evident that the writer's news consists largely of secondhand information "that hath been credibly informed, or that commonly among the best passeth for truth" (sig. A4b). Several items, such as the news about sixteen enemy ships taken near Dieppe, are mere snippets, and the pamphlet is filled out with bombastic passages vilifying Spain for its wickedness. But for all its evident inadequacies as news, the pamphlet must have been gratefully received by many on account of its references not only to Williams, but also to the Earl of Essex.

The incident concerning Sir Roger Williams occurred on 27 July, when Henry committed the Williams force to a battle against an enemy move to relieve Noyon. The account of Williams's part in the affair is interesting as a typical description of a battle, and for its glorification of English arms. At the point where the English joined the fight, the author writes, Sir Roger Williams

answered his Maiesties expectation, and suddenly pursuing the opportunitie (while 300. of their horse were charging our mayne Battaile, (which strongly indured the shock) inclosed the Enemie, and happily at the first incounter, being hotly maintained, discomfited them, and very vigorously pursued the victorie, which (by the omnipotent power of God especially, and triumphant valour of the English) being gotten, as hauing chased, and slaughtered them almost the space of two leagues, the retreict sounded, the dead were ouerlooked, and prisoners numbered (sig. A2b).

The writer goes on to observe that the English have gained considerable glory in the fighting in France:

This one thing remayneth yet in this report vntouched, which I cannot any way omit, and all true hearted Englishmen may bee ioyfull to record. For the French King both in this pettie battaile, and at all times els, perceiuing the hearts of the English readie prest to doo him seruice, and their haughtie mindes prompt to attempt any grande enterprise (whereby either glorie, or gaine may be purchased) as also the swift forwardnes, and forward swiftnes of his Eagle Sir Roger Williams, to soare ouer and detallant the Martiall foes of so Martiall a field, his Maiestie well noting it . . . called them before him, . . . [and] yeelding . . . them all immortall and most heartie thanks for their paynefull, and no lesse powerfull seruice, vttered many gracious words to the euerlasting commendation of all England (sig. B3).

Unfortunately, the writer has far less news and encouragement to report concerning the Earl of Essex and his force. Observing that since the departure of the Essex contingent "which was on the 23.24.25. and 26. dayes of July last, . . many matters of great importance haue chaunced" (sig. B3b), the writer confesses that he can verify none of the events alluded to and, except for a report of Henry's meeting with his allies on 6 August, he has little else to offer in the way of news. Regarding the part played by Essex at the meeting, the writer confesses to some confusion as to whether the English were present or not, and the possibility is raised that Essex, because of some deep stratagem, has not yet marched inland from Dieppe:

But whereas in the letter [regarding the meeting] (from whence I coppied out this Newes) all his [Henry's] Forces be named, and yet no mention made of the English, I suppose hee [the writer] meant it by [i.e. "by it," that is "by his remark"] the forces of the Almayngnes onely, and those his own subiects that were sent out of Brytain to ioyne with his Maiesties hoast there, and none otherwise. For there is newes come lately,

that the Earle with his companies remaine yet about Deipe, there staying a while on weightie considerations, till they heare further. But how euer it bee, this is most certaine, that his Maiestie hath a goodlie armie, besides those warlike troupes the right Honorable Earle of Essex is to come with, who how they were appointed, is knowne to al England, and I neede not now discourse (sig. C1).

Unfortunately for the common reader, printed news about the "goodlie armie" may well have consisted entirely of the insignificant trickles of information and conjecture cited in the foregoing pamphlets. Early in September, John Wolfe had a Stationers' Register entry made for "a letter sent from a gentleman of accoupte concerninge the true estate" of the Essex contingent (Arber, II, 594), but there is no further evidence extant suggesting that other printed news about Essex was ever made available.

The military inactivity which made the adventures of Essex and his men such poor material for news publications was almost certainly responsible as well for the dearth of news from a second major theatre of war, the estates of Brittany. During 1591, published reports about the activities of Sir John Norris provided several accounts of the general's activities during May and June, but except for a brief aside in a pamphlet of news from the Low Countries¹ there appear to have been no

¹"Wee heere good newes God be thanked out of all partes especiallye out of Brittany, where a Gentleman of Captaine Salamon Wolfes companye writeth that he is in good hope, very shortly to send word of one of the most brauest and commendable battels that euer was fought this hundreth yeere" (STC 24652, True newes from one of Sir Fraunces Veres company, sig. B1b). History does not record that the promised occasion ever happened.

news publications concerning Brittany for the rest of the year. The tedious weeks which wore away at the armies of both Essex and Norris were not at all conducive to news publication. Certainly, one or two of the reports of the early months of Norris's campaign demonstrate that the means existed to provide accurate information about events in Brittany; and the only hindrance to publication must have been the decision that the news from Brittany later in the year was not fit to print.

Norris's early successes were recorded in three pamphlets published by John Wolfe, each one consisting of transcriptions of private letters or official correspondence. Taken chronologically, the pamphlets give an account of the capture of the town of Guingamp in May and the manoeuvres which occurred during the month following. The first publication, The true reporte of the seruice [of the Norris force] in Britanie (STC 18655) was prefaced by a statement, presumably penned by Wolfe, on the importance of giving honour to the soldier, a matter which seems to have been of special concern to Wolfe. Observing that "in defrauding the souldier of his pay, you cut his purse and rebate his edge" but that "in deprauing his honour you cut his throate and strike him stone deade," the writer says that he was induced to publish the news of Norris's force so that the leaders and their men should be encouraged to more "honorable attempts & actions" like the ones described (sig. A2). The letter which follows was obviously,

as Wolfe himself points out, penned by "a principall actor" (sig. A2b) in the events he writes about.

As might be expected, the letter comprising the body of The true reporte was one of a series of letters sent by the unidentified gentleman to a similarly unidentified party. The writer recalls that in his "last letters" he had described the safe arrival of the Norris force in Brittany on 3 May, and had recounted the preparations for the march on the fortified town of Guingamp. The writer goes on to demonstrate the importance attached to the town by the League, and then describes the situation of the town and its fortifications in considerable detail. From his technical description of the fortifications of Guingamp and his evident knowledge of the details of the plan of attack on the town, it is likely that the writer was an officer very closely involved at the command level. In any case, the taking of Guingamp is described with an eye to completeness and accuracy while doing some justice to the narrative possibilities of the story.

The stratagem employed at Guingamp was the standard one of creating a breach in the fortifications by artillery fire and then attacking the breach with infantry. The narrator describes how the leader of the allied army, the Prince de Dombes, set his artillery in place by means of a ruse, without opposition, and began the work of mining the wall at the chosen place. And he goes on:

On fryday the 21. we began our batterie, and notwithstanding it continued all the day, yet by reason of

the few peeces of artillerie, not able to make sufficient batterie, the dayes worke brought forth no great effect other then the crushing of two Flankers, and the beating of the perrepet, so that the breach was very small and the same so repaired continually by the souldiers and inhabitants within the towne, maintaining the rampart with fetherbeds, horse dung and bags of earth almost to the lowest part of their perrepet. The next day verie earely once againe wee began our batterie, and continued it vntil two or three of the clocke in the after noone, by what time the breach seemed verie faire (sig. A4).

At this point the French officers urged the Prince de Dombes to order an attack on the breach, and their wishes were honoured. The leader of the English, Sir John Norris, doubted the wisdom of the attack since he had information that the slope leading to the breach was very steep and slippery. Nevertheless, it was a point of honour to urge that the English lead the assault, and the French general yielded to Norris in this matter:

Such was the emulation of our commanders and Captaines to winne honour, that all being willing to attempt the seruice, to auoide contention our Generall caused the dice to bee cast, so that it fell to Captaine Iackson and Captaine Heron to leade the first two hundreth to the assault, which after their deuout prayers recommending themselues to God, they performed verie valiantly, scrambling vp with a notable resolution, standing a long halfe houre at the push of the pike in the face of a whole storme of the small shot, especially Captaine Iackson who came to the point of the breach, but not being throughly seconded by the souldiers [was] vnable to get vp by reason of the steepenes of the place, yet were they hardly commanded to retire, performing their retraite with no lesse good order then their attempt to the assault, Captaine Heron receiued a shot in the throate, whereof he presently dyed, and not aboue twelue others [were] slaine: Captaine Iackson [was] sore hurt. Captaine Wolfe in the top of the breach had three daungerous woundes in the head, and others in his body: Captaine Catesbye a voluntarie gentleman [was] sore hurt in the arme. Also Captaine

Whitton and Maister Paule Wingfeeld with some other yonge gentlemen to the number of 30. Which losse can not be thought great in such a peece of seruice, considering the great strength within to defend the place (sig. A4b-B1).

A second attempt, this time by the French, had no better success, and it was decided to wait until the breach could be enlarged by artillery fire the next day. In the end, the town capitulated without further effort; and articles of surrender, which were appended to the text of the letter, were agreed upon.

The taking of Guingamp was one of the stories dealt with in another pamphlet entitled Newes sent out of Britayn [i.e. Brittany] (STC 18654.3). Like the first account of the capture of Guingamp, this compilation of news from Brittany "and other places" was purportedly taken from correspondence sent "to a Gentleman of account" (sig. A1). Unlike the former writer, however, the author of Newes appears to have got his information at second hand, and the basic facts about the incident are given in very sketchy fashion indeed. In a significant departure from the more complete account of the capture of Guingamp, the writer states that Sir John Norris's men did not, in fact, make the first assault upon the breach, since a "most valiant and forward Frenche Captayne had desired it of the Prince before" (sig. A2). According to the story that follows, the French captain could not persuade his men to fight, and the officer was so vexed to see them retire that he killed half a dozen of them, then joined the English in the second

assault and killed thirty of the enemy single handedly. The capitulation of the town and the terms of surrender are sketched in briefly, and the pamphlet goes on to relate an improbable and unrelated story about the feat of a corporal in the service of the governor of an enemy town who managed to trick his master into opening the gates of the town to Henry's men, who captured the town and commandeered "foure thousand oxen, and a very great store of corne, wine, wood and bacon" (sig. A4). The pamphlet then concludes with the innaccurate statement that "the Kings Maiestie is gone to beseige Roan [i.e. Rouen]" (sig. A4).

Notwithstanding the optimism of the surviving pamphlets concerning events in Brittany during 1591, there appears to have been a significant amount of public unease regarding the progress of the war in that theatre. It may be that the scarcity of published news, however cheerful, only tended to increase the skepticism about affairs in Brittany. In any case, the matter became serious enough by July 1591 to prompt the Privy Council to order the publication of a news pamphlet intended to put down harmful gossip concerning events in Brittany, and, specifically, the role being played there by the English. The pamphlet, A iournall, or briefe report of the late service in Britaigne (STC 13156), was entered in the Stationers' Register on 5 July "by order of the counsell" (Arber, II, 588), and the complete title-page makes it clear that the authenticity of its sources was expected to make this pamphlet a scourge

against malicious gossip. The page reads:

A Journall, or Briefe report of the late service in Britaigne, by the Prince de Dombes Generall of the French Kings Army in those partes, assisted with her Maiesties forces at the present there, vnder the conduct of Sir Iohn Norreis: aduertised by letters from the said Prince to the Kings Ambassadour here resident with her Maiesty, and confirmed by like aduertisements from others, employed in that seruice. Published, to aunswere the slanderous bruites raised of late by some euill affected to that and other good actions vnder-taken against the enemy of Gods true Religion (sig. A1).

As an instrument of Privy Council propoganda, the Journal was probably the best piece of writing that could be had under the circumstances. It takes up the story of the army of the Prince de Dombes after the winning of Guingamp and corroborates the statement made at the end of The true reporte (STC 18655) that the Prince intended forthwith to move against the town of Morlaix. As it happened, the appearance of a large army of Spaniards thwarted the French leader in his intentions, and the subsequent weeks were spent in manoeuvres, delays and skirmishes, most of which appear to have been recorded faithfully and in detail in the Journal. The reliability of the pamphlet was enhanced by the inclusion of translations of letters exchanged from time to time between the two armies as their leaders negotiated a time and place for a large scale battle; and the writer provided specific details regarding dates, geographical locations, events, and so forth. Regrettably, from the point of view of propoganda, the battle to which all the manoeuvering and communications were supposed to be leading did not occur. Instead, the piece ended with the two armies camped

close to each other throughout a week of rain, "in all which time the enemy neuer durst presume to draw his army into the Heath, nor make choise of ground for battaile, notwithstanding the brauery of his challenge" (sig. B2b). Fortunately for the propagandist, the English fought to good advantage in several skirmishes, and they are given their due at appropriate places within the narrative. Appended to the story are two letters sent to the French ambassador in London by the Prince de Dombes and a Monsieur de la Noue regarding the valour of the English, both of which accounts insist upon the vital role played by Norris and his men. Monsieur de la Noue notes that "without the succour sent hither by the Queene of England, Brittainne had been greatly in danger" (sig. B3b), while the Prince declares that

I obserue daily more and more the valour and woorth of Generall Norreis, who hath so worthely carried himselfe in all these actions, that he hath wonne greate honour and reputation here, and so haue all the Captaines and Souldiours of that Nation vnder his conduct: and if the Spaniardes had had courage and valour like to these English troupes which it hath pleased her Maiestie to send vnto vs, we had made an ende of the miseries of this Prouince, by the happy issue of a battaile (sig. B3).

The effectiveness of the Journal as propaganda must have been a matter for conjecture, even by the government which had arranged for its publication. However, the involvement of the government in this venture emphasizes once again the growing importance evidently attached to information, especially accurate information, about the wars in Europe. And while puffing, exaggeration, and adornment continued to be

generally employed by the publisher as a means to flesh out his meagre information and entertain the public, certain publishers took a stand in favour of unadorned fact. One such person was Andrew White, who apparently found himself in possession, on or before 20 July, of a very brief letter containing news from the Low Countries which he published almost immediately as a three-page news pamphlet supported by a brief preface. According to the title-page, the letter which White used as the basis for the pamphlet was written at Arnhem in the Low Countries on 17 July, in Dutch,¹ and, as the pamphlet was entered in the Stationers' Register on 20 July, it would seem to follow that the letter was in White's hands within three days of its having been written. Exactly when the letter was translated and published can not be determined, but the entire operation must have happened quickly, since White's preface implies that the virtue of his pamphlet lies in its brevity and lack of false adornment. He writes:

Whereas heretofore manye matters hath been published which of themselues were verye true: yet hath beene discredited by certain false additions for enlargement sake, wherby the truth of all things is much in suspence. To auoide that abuse, I haue heere set you down

¹STC 781, The True Coppie of a Letter, written from the Leager by Arnham, the 27. day of Iuly, according to the Computation of the Church of Rome. Wherin is perticularly set forth, the ouerthrowe of the Prince of Parmaes Forces, before Knodtsenburgh Sconce. Translated out of Dutch. The work was probably translated from the "Nederduytsch" or Low German of Holland, although at this time "Dutch" was used in England in the same general sense as "German" is used today (OED).

the very true Coppie of the ouerthrowe of the Prince of Parmas power, as it was translated out of the Dutch, as also the running report of the occasion of this conflict, as it hath beene deliuered by woord of mouth, which is as followeth (sig. A2).

Apart from its brevity, and the interest to be derived from the preface, White's pamphlet in itself holds little that is noteworthy for the modern reader. The text is chiefly concerned with two recent setbacks suffered by the Prince of Parma, especially on 15 July, when seven troops of his cavalry were badly beaten near Arnhem. The real interest in the pamphlet has to do with a curious association between this work and another somewhat longer pamphlet concerning the same events in the Low Countries. The second pamphlet,¹ which also deals chiefly with the defeats of Parma, was printed by Thomas Scarlet, who evidently made use of White's work for both his information and its arrangement, since the two pamphlets are so closely related as to share even certain phrases in common.²

¹STC 334. The complete title reads: The Ouerthrow of the most part of the Prince of Parma his forces, both horse and foote. Performed on the twelfth and fifteenth of Iuly last, by the Graue Maurice his Excellencie, Generall of the Armies in the Lowe Countries. With the breaking of the huge bridge leading to the Valew, neere Arnham.

²The assumption made is that Scarlet used White's pamphlet rather than that Scarlet's work annoyed White, making White set forth his "true coppie" of the letter as a rejoinder to Scarlet. The brief time that elapsed between the penning of the letter, on 17 July--Scarlet's work suggests 16 July, but all other pertinent dates are in agreement once the new style dates used in STC 781 are converted to current English usage--and White's entry in the Stationers' Register on 20 July, preclude the possibility that Scarlet could have published before White. Moreover, the title of STC 334 and an internal reference declare

An interesting feature of Scarlet's pamphlet is that it is exactly three times as long as White's, although it contains very little new information. Scarlet accomplished this feat, which was not uncommon, by larding his text with praise for Maurice of Nassau, the Dutch governor and military leader; adding generalities about the situation in the Low Countries; and spicing the whole work with anecdotes about past events. The following passages are typical:

Wonderful hath bene his successe since he tooke the cause of his country in hande, yea he hath daunted the enemie more within the space of one yeare, then was done by any other in seauen yeares before. How many Townes hath he lately obtained, wherein the enemie hath not made triall of his valour? Nay, what Towne or Cittie in all the Low Countries that doth forcibly resist the states, which with an vn-daunted courage he doth not attempt to conquere? Surely there is none that hee can easily come at, but hee seeketh meanes to compasse and countermaund the same, either by the Cannon or Cutlasse.

For prooffe wherof looke into his politike attempt lately made at Bredau, a thing most worthie of memorie, where vnder the colour of bringing in Turfes to serue the Towne with some kinde of fuell (whereof then they were in great want) he brought into the harbour hoyes laden with Turfes on the toppe, and armed men vnderneath, who in the dead time of the night, came forth and surprized the Towne (sig. A3b).

When he eventually came to the "historie" of how Parma's "greatest strength of horses and horsemen [were] lately by Gods prouidence scattered, slaine, and taken prisoners, besides sundry of his footmen maymed, discomfited, & put to the

that Parma's unsuccessful attacks on Knotsenburgh sconce took place on "the 12 day of Iuly last past" [italics added] (sig. A4b), so that Scarlet's pamphlet must have been issued in August 1591 or later.

sword" (sig. A4), the reader would have gone through a good third of the pamphlet without learning any current news at all. And, given that the news in the Scarlet pamphlet had taken place, and had been reported upon by Andrew White, several weeks before, the usefulness of the information that followed must have been marginal.

The "current" news portion of the Scarlet pamphlet consists of slightly expanded accounts taken from White's work concerning the defeat of Parma at Knotsenburgh and later at Arnhem where his cavalry were overcome. Between these two accounts, Scarlet's work added a description of the wrecking of a floating bridge which Parma had erected across the Rhine. The operation against the bridge is the only matter in the pamphlet which might possibly have been new information, since the statement that "the Graue Maurice hath now free passage . . . vp to Nimweghen [i.e. Nijmegen] by the river" (sig. B1) contradicts a statement in White's pamphlet that "the passage of the Rhyne and the Maes is shut vp, [so] that there can passe nothing neither vp nor down" (sig. A3). Notwithstanding all this, the pamphlet goes on to describe the defeat of Parma's cavalry as if it too was new information, although little if anything of consequence was added to White's account. The list of noble and gentle prisoners which occupies almost half of White's pamphlet is repeated, the only difference being that whereas, for example, White's text tells that "7 Company were all common Ruyters or Horsemen" (sig. A4), Scarlet's account

relates that "In the seventh Coronet was no men of name, they were all common Rutters, yet all taken prisoners" (sig. B2b).

The victories at Knotsenburgh and Arnhem as reported by White and Scarlet were part of a series of achievements by the Dutch and their allies during 1591. The year was distinguished by a highly successful campaign by Maurice of Nassau, so that there was a considerable list of successes to which publishers could allude in the course of a news pamphlet. The fact that Thomas Scarlet continued to circulate the report of the affairs at Knotsenburgh and Arnhem suggests that there was an audience for material of this kind, regardless of how old the news might have been. However, published news from the Low Countries during 1591 was limited in quantity, and generally confined to brief reports upon selected highlights from the campaign. Apart from the events dealt with by White and Scarlet, printed news from the area was limited to accounts of the Dutch victories at Zutphen and Deventer in May 1591.

The most complete account of the taking of Zutphen was the pamphlet entitled A particuler of the yeelding vppe of the towne of Zutphen, and the beleagering of Deuenter (STC 26134), the second half of which gave the news of Sir Roger Williams's enterprise at Saint-Saëns. The work evidently enjoyed some success since a second issue (STC 26134.5) was prepared during 1591. The section dealing with the Low Countries contained a summary of the victories of the English leader, Sir Francis Vere, whose exploits, says the writer, have "eternized his

renowne, and runge the fame of his name, not onely into the eares of his freendes & fauourers, but also into the hearts of his enemies" (sig. A3). Before the news regarding Zutphen, the writer lists eight places taken by Vere by way of recording "some of the rare seruices which he hath before to his great commendations effected" (sig. A3b). According to the account which follows, Vere's main contribution at Zutphen was the capture of the outer fortification of the place, which he accomplished by disguising some of his men as "poore Market folks" and arranging for some others to chase the disguised soldiers towards the sconce:

These people thus being driuing of Cattle, were pursued & chased by some Souldiours, as though they had beene their enemies, by meanes whereof the Cattle and poore people were receiued by the enemie, intending to succour them, while without any suspition those poore people being couragious souldiors, hauing got the gates opened, seized vpon the Keepers thereof, so that in the meane time the other issued, and immediatly Sir Frauncis Vere followed with a sufficient troupe of horsemen, and foote. This was doone vpon the 13. of May last past, at what time hee tooke the Skonse, and nowe enioyeth the same peaceably without any losse of men (sig. A4b-B1).

According to the account, the ruse of the disguised peasants made it possible for Vere and Nassau to bombard Zutphen itself, and the town fell into allied hands on 19 May. Almost immediately, Nassau set out for the town of Deventer, and the report concludes with the assurance that

there is great likeli-hood that Deuenter is by thys time yeilded: for such is the valiant courage of the Countie Mawrice, & Sir Frauncis Vere, that doubtles by Gods assistance, they do not pretend to rayse their siege, vntil they haue obtianed it, and constrained them to yeeld it vp, with speed (sig. B2).

Stories like the tale of Vere's disguised market folk were very much a part of contemporary news publications, and readers would no doubt have decided for themselves whether to believe such accounts. An indication of just how far certain publishers felt public credulity might be extended is illustrated from another news pamphlet concerned in part with the fall of Zutphen. In True newes from one of Sir Fraunces Veres companie (STC 24652), sent by a "gentleman of account" to "a Ladie in England, concerning the present state of the Lowe Countries" (sig. A3), the writer declares that his last letter, concerning the fall of Zutphen, was sent in such haste that he forgot to record "a thinge worthy to bee remembred" concerning the affair. According to the writer, the bombardment of Zutphen was delayed when there appeared from the town "an Italian hauing so sterne a countenance, and beeing so mighty a man of person, yt he seemed more like a monster then a man" (sig. A3). The Italian,

carryinge a countenance as it had beene a young Giant, vaunted himselfe, and made a proud challenge before our General the Graue van Maurice, offering to combate hand to hand with any Gentleman hee had in all his armie, for the estate of the whole towne. But the Generall made slight accounte of his challenge, and was very vnwilling that any one shoulde fight with him, the rather for that he seemed to bee so mightie a man at armes (sig. A3-A3b).

Not unexpectedly, a youth of nineteen begged Nassau to be allowed to fight the giant, and permission was reluctantly given. Mounted on a horse and provided with all the accoutrements of war, the latter-day David charged his enemy and eventually cut the giant's

arm off and took him prisoner.

The fantasy-laden story of the Italian Goliath is just one of a number of pieces of information which comprise the pamphlet. Other stories regarding recent successes in the Low Countries, the hope of a great success in Brittany, and the imminent arrival of German mercenaries in France are certainly far less fanciful, although the critical reader would have done well to maintain a degree of skepticism about some of them. Perhaps a main attraction of this pamphlet, and certainly a feature which makes it interesting for the modern reader, was the variety of news from different places within its pages. In this respect True newes and several other pamphlets of information from 1591 can be seen as rude precursors of the newsletters of later centuries. True newes is especially interesting with respect to its variety in that it includes an item of news from abroad on a different topic than military news. News items about foreign events other than fighting were not at all common during this time, so that in this respect the English common reader must have been quite uninformed.

Foreign news items from 1591 on topics other than war--items of some length, at any rate--were distinguished by being blatantly propagandistic. They leave the impression that apart from conveying a few kernels of information, the purpose of their writers was to encourage and confirm belief in the cruelty and error of England's enemies. One of the items in True Newes, for example, depicting "the bloodie persecution and marterdome"

(sig. B3) suffered by a number of prominent Spanish converts to Lutheranism, sets out some of the harsh realities of Spanish practice. According to the story, the Inquisition had apprehended "sundrye cheefe persons of account" (sig. B3) including a former physician to Charles V of Spain, all of whom were cast into prison, where they stated repeatedly at the risk of their lives "that the religion of Spaine was false, abhominable, full of superstition and idolatry, and that God blessed England for professing of his truth" (sig. B3b). The item conveys in great detail the "many circumstaunces and seremonies" (sig. B3b) surrounding the trial by Inquisition at Valladolid and the subsequent death at the stake of a number of the accused.

Among the accused persons at Valladolid who escaped death by fire were a Scotsman and an Englishman, the Scotsman being sentenced to three years' imprisonment and his companion "conueied into a Monastery, to be instructed in the Romish Religion" (sig. C4). The fate of these two was mild by comparison with the sufferings endured by certain other Englishmen who were the subjects of the two remaining foreign news publications from 1591. It was to be expected that from time to time an Englishman might fall into enemy hands, and the fate awaiting such unfortunates must have been a source of horror and fascination for curious readers. One pamphlet, entitled The strange and cruell martyrdome of an Englishman in the towne of Dunkerke this present moneth of Ianuarie (STC 25735), took as its theme the cruelty of God's enemies as it was manifested

in the torture of Thomas Williams, an Englishman from Kent who was martyred for his religion at Dunkirk. Williams was serving as a soldier in the Low Countries when, travelling "vppon some occasion" (sig. A2b) towards Dunkirk, he was captured and imprisoned. Later he was brought before the leaders of the place and questioned "touching his belefe and other deepe points in religion" (sig. A2b). Williams's fervor was such that, when led before certain religious images and required to fall down and worship them,

in defiance of them and to proue that they were but Idolles, hee stepped to their wooden God & violently rent awaie one of his armes, and therewithal declared vnto them, that he was commanded by the word of God to worshippe none but the liuing God, & forasmuch as he sawe that theyr God was made with mens hands of stoness and blockes, he would not honour it at all for in so doing he shoulde giue him that which is proper to none but to God (sig. A3).

His captors were not impressed by Williams's theological position, and the man's rashness resulted in most extreme punishment, as he was "condemned in this manner: first to haue his hands burned of close by the wrists, his feet to be also burned off by the anckles, and after that his bodie to be burned vntill it were consumed to ashes" (sig. A3-A3b).

The torture and death of Williams, which the writer described in some detail, occupied four days. The man's hands, then his feet, were burned off: a hand, then a foot, each day, during which time Williams played the martyr's role, declaring "that the more extreame they vsed him, the lesse paine he felt through God's assistance" (sig. A3b). But the thing that

upset Williams more than the fire, and which must have aroused the emotions of those who read of his death, was the fact that on the fourth and last day, when Williams was brought once again into the marketplace, he saw "many Englishmen to bee his persecutors" (sig. A4). These fellow countrymen urged Williams once again to recant, "promising him great maintenance" (sig. A4). To these persons, Williams replied

that they were vngodly persons, traitors and faithles both to their Prince and Countrie: Oh (sayd he) my faithlesse Countrie men, you that so greedily haue sought after my death, and procured this my extreame torture (to your seeming) and yet to me more sweete than life, you that dailie rob God of his honour, remember howe wickedlie you haue dealt with many of your Countrie men, I wishe you to repent your wickednes, and forsake your idolatrous waies, for God will seuerely punish you and yours for the same (sig. A4).

At this point, Williams's remaining foot was burnt off, an operation which consumed four hours. Before the poor man could be returned to prison however, one of the Englishmen,

an English captaine hauing charged a dagge with a bullet and white pouders, sodainly discharged it, and shot him through the heart so that hee fell downe dead, closing the stumps of his armes together, in signe that hee trusted in Christ Iesus (sig. A4-A4b).

Williams was thus spared further misery, and the traitorous English captain, "being a Kentish man," was evidently so stricken in conscience that he "released seauen Englishmen out of prison, foure whereof went into France, & the other three are lately returned into England" (sig. A4b).

It is interesting to note that the presence of the English traitors in Dunkirk is not commented upon further by the

writer of Williams's unfortunate story. For the modern reader, lulled and conditioned by the patriotic fervor of much of the literature of the period, it may come as a shock to be reminded that chance, fortune, and human nature would have played their usual roles during this time, so that a number of Englishmen must have thrown in their lot with their country's enemies. Williams's chronicler, at any rate, appears to be quite accepting of the presence of the traitors, and his main interest in them would seem to be in their possibilities as foils for Williams's example. In any case, all Englishmen were apparently not as steadfast as Williams, and stories of courage such as he displayed were evidently regarded as useful and instructive. Another example of English courage appeared in a pamphlet concerning Two most strange and notable examples, shewed at Lyshborne [i.e. Lisbon] (STC 15704), where supernatural agencies intervened on two separate occasions to save two English mariners and to give instruction concerning the punishment awaiting merchants who traded with their country's enemies.

The first of the "examples" at Lisbon occurred when two prelates were stricken dumb in turn as they attempted to pronounce sentence of death upon two English mariners who had endured years of captivity and torture rather than betray their country. The two had been part of a ship's company taken prisoner in 1586, several members of which had been spared from the galleys because the Spanish had need of their talents. Much is made in the account of the effort expended by noblemen and friars

to tempt the men to serve in the Spanish fleet, particularly at the time of the Armada. The example of these men in the face of torture, imprisonment, and other punishments, and the cruel depravity of the Spaniards comprises the theme of the story, which ends with the two surviving Englishmen being cast into prison once again by the terrified Spaniards. The second example occurred two days later, when two merchant ships arrived in the harbour laden with corn "which was brought out of France to releue the King his enemies" (sig. A2). The anchors of the ships were fouled by some Flemish vessels in the harbour, and during the course of the ensuing arguments the French captains falsely accused the Flemish men of carrying goods to England for trade. Divine providence came to the aid of the unjustly imprisoned Flemish men within six days when lightning struck the French ships and destroyed them both, killing the French captains. The morals of both stories were then declared, and the publisher made certain that the lesson for English merchants would be emphasized by declaring on the title-page that the second incident should serve as "a notable warning to such English Marchants, which for their owne benefit, by carrying our victuals away, impouerish our Country, and strengthen the enemies of God and our Prince" (sig. A2).

News stories like those from Valladolid, Dunkirk and Lisbon support the assumption that publishers of news during 1591 must have had the tastes of the curious and credulous at least somewhat in mind as they planned certain publications

which appeared during this period. On balance, however, it would seem that public enthusiasm for stories about bizarre and unusual events abroad was accompanied by at least as much eagerness to get proper information about significant developments in foreign places. And while the shortcomings of the system were recognized by publishers and readers alike, it is evident to the modern reader, as it must have been to many Elizabethans, that the overall tendency in the news publishing trade was to meet the needs of the serious and thoughtful reader. The Elizabethan reader, and his modern counterpart too, for that matter, would have been drawn to a pamphlet containing "a wonderfull and true reporte of strange Birdes seene in Fflaunders neere vnto the Cittie of Gaunt [i.e. Ghent] &c" (Arber, II, 577), but such curious tales were quite outnumbered, for example, by translations of official documents promulgated by foreign governments.¹

¹It was a common practice to include translations of documents to supplement or verify news accounts, and a number of news pamphlets from 1591 contain such materials. In addition, six publications made up solely of single documents or collections were published or entered during 1591. The items that have survived include The kings declaration (STC 13115), containing proclamations by Henry IV of France to revoke invalid letters of nobility and protect and control the clergy; and Ordinances set forth by the king (STC 13116) against improper and unauthorized appropriation of men and supplies from the civilian population of areas controlled by the French king. The remaining extant documents are The answere of the States Generall (STC 18450) containing public declarations by the United Provinces of the Low Countries in answer to complaints from German states about alleged territorial violation by the Dutch army, and a French edition of the same document (STC 18451). Two publications, Arrest de la Court De Parlement (Arber, II, 593) and a

In the end, regardless of the various tastes and inclinations to which they may have been addressed, all the foreign news pamphlets from 1591 attest in some way to a growing general awareness of the importance of events abroad for Englishmen. At such a brief remove from the wonderful year of 1588, readers were surely conscious of the fact that their own futures might be closely related to the fortunes of England's foes and allies across the Channel. The comings and goings of soldiers, the proliferation of rumours in the streets and taverns, to say nothing of a certain amount of public anxiety, must have created general interest in the wares of the bookseller offering foreign news. And for all their deficiencies from the point of view of modern journalism, the pamphlets of foreign news made available during 1591 would appear to have satisfied the immediate needs of many readers. More important, from the standpoint of future developments, these pamphlets surely helped to bring about the raising of public expectations which led with the passage of time to higher standards of journalism.

Dutch proclamation forbidding trade with "the leagers Rebelles against the kinge of Ffraunce and Navarre" (Arber, II, 595) are apparently no longer extant.

Domestic News

Receaved . . . for printing a ballad shewing the treasons of George Bysley alias Parsey and Mountford Semynarie prestes whoe suffered in ffiletestreete the ffirste of Julye 1591.¹

And I have not ballads made on you all; and sung to filthy tunes, let a cup of sack be my poison.²

Throughout Elizabethan times the ballad continued to be one of the most popular sources of information and entertainment, particularly among readers of the less learned sort.³ Unfortunately, this type of literature tended to be as short-lived as Sir John Falstaff's resolutions, and evidently every ballad issued during 1591 has been lost. However, from the evidence of the titles of ballads entered in the Stationers' Register, readers during the year could choose from a variety of ballads, including narrative stories and news ballads based upon events in England and abroad. No doubt many ballads may have been printed and sold without being entered at all, so that this dimension of ordinary literary experience has to be recognized for its importance despite the unfortunate loss of contemporary ballad material. Of sixteen news publications entered in the Stationers' Register during 1591 but no longer extant, nine were ballads inspired by occurrences in England

¹Arber, II, 590.

²1 Henry IV, II.2.44-46.

³Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Ithica, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958), p. 419.

or on the Continent.

From the evidence of Stationers' Register entries from 1591 for news ballads, it seems that there may have been some relationship between this form of news publication and longer news pamphlets upon the same subjects. The capture of Chartres by Henry IV in April 1591, for example, was one of the subjects dealt with in a pamphlet (STC 12359) produced by John Wolfe; and at the same time as the pamphlet was entered, Wolfe also had recorded his intention to publish two ballads about the taking of the city (Arber, II, 581). Similarly, the capture of Knotsenburgh in the Low Countries was the subject of news pamphlets (STC 334 and 781) as well as a ballad upon "the happie ouerthrowe of the Prince of Parma his powers, before Knodtsen burghe sconnce" (Arber, II, 591). Another entry for a work, presumably a ballad, called "the lamentacon of the Prince of Parma" made by Wolfe in September (Arber, II, 595) may also help demonstrate that news ballads, at least those that were entered, might be intended as supplementary material to popular news items.

In the area of domestic news, as well, there seems to have been a tendency among publishers to respond with ballad material as well as prose pamphlets whenever an appropriate event might occur. Of the five lost ballads on domestic topics, three were related in subject matter to longer news pamphlets published around the same time. A pamphlet about the exploits

of an English privateer,¹ for example, was followed closely by a ballad on the topic (Arber, II, 582), and the murder of Lord Burke early in the year was the subject of two pamphlets and a "mournfull Dyttye shewing the cruelty of Arnalt Cosby in murderinge the Lord Burgh the 14 January 1590 [i.e. 1591]" (Arber, II, 574). Two additional lost ballads, concerning the executions of the seminary priests Bysley and Mountford (Arber, II, 590) and the "noble departinge of the right honorable the Earle of Essex . . . and all his gallant companie" (Arber, II, 591) may well have been accompanied by companion pieces in prose or verse.

Setting aside the lost ballads, and a lost prose item on the farcical Hackett conspiracy which was also entered in the Stationers' Register during 1591,² there remain nine news

¹STC 11921, The honourable actions of . . . Edward Glemham. This pamphlet, with two others concerning maritime events, has been classified arbitrarily as domestic news.

²William Hackett, a semi-insane religious extremist, was arrested and speedily put to death in July 1591 after a demonstration in Cheapside against the government. Hackett and his deluded followers, Henry Arthington and Edmund Copinger, evidently had persuaded themselves that the Cheapside affair would herald a new era upon earth, with Elizabeth dethroned in favour of Hackett, and the episcopacy replaced by presbyterian church government (DNB, VIII, 864). The 1591 entry upon the Hackett affair was made to Robert Bourne on 28 July, the day of Hackett's execution, two days after his trial ended, as "The life, araynement Judgement and Execution of William Hackett, &c" (Arber, II, 592). According to STC, this entry is not connected to either of the extant books published about the affair in the following year. The first of these, The seduction of Arthington by Hackett (STC 799) was written by Henry Arthington, one of the conspirators, who was later released from prison; and the other account, Conspiracie for

pamphlets in prose which can be classified conveniently as domestic news items published during the year. By contrast with the bulk of foreign news items, which tended to be about relatively important events, reports about domestic occurrences during the year normally dealt with sensational or unusual happenings. In addition to three accounts of the exploits of English seamen, readers could choose from among several news pamphlets dealing with such diverse matters as the trial and execution of a disreputable murderer, and the entertainment offered the queen during the course of a royal progress. These few pamphlets would seem to be little enough to show for a year of newsgathering, and although 1591 appears to have been a reasonably quiet year in England and Scotland, there were several occurrences, such as the trial of Thomas Cartwright and civil disorders in Scotland which were evidently ignored by publishers. However, the apparent scarcity of domestic news may have been due partly to official disapproval of the reporting of national events,¹ and partly to a widespread contempo-

pretended reformation (STC 5823), was prepared by Richard Cosin, a prominent champion of the episcopacy. Since both these books were obviously inspired and supervised in some measure by the authorities, it is unlikely that Bourne's entry, made so close upon the event, bore any relationship to the decision of the authorities to countenance the 1592 publications, which could surely have come about only after somewhat lengthier deliberation, especially in the case of the Arthington book.

¹Douglas Cecil Collins, A Handlist of News Pamphlets, 1590-1610 (Walthamstow: South-West Essex Technical College and School of Art, 1943), p. xiii. Collins observes that governmental unease about domestic news pamphlets lasted well into the seventeenth century. In 1638, for example, Nathaniel Butter

rary attitude on the subject of news, which held that the attempted suicide of a perjured person in the Star Chamber made better news material than, say, the trial of certain leaders of the Presbyterian party.

The three pieces of maritime news which survived from 1591 concern the exploits of English sailors against the Spaniards on the high seas. The first of these items to appear was a pamphlet entitled The honourable actions of that most famous and valiant Englishman, Edward Glemham, Esquire (STC 11921), which related Glemham's adventures during a recent voyage. A second pamphlet told of The valiant and most laudable fight performed in the straits, by the Centurion of London, against five Spanish gallies (STC 12941); and, in the final pamphlet, Sir Walter Raleigh set down his famous account of the fight of the Revenge under the title of A report of the truth of the fight about the Isles of Açores, this last sommer (STC 20651). The writers of all three pamphlets were well aware of the narrative possibilities of the news they had to tell, so that while their accounts do not achieve the level of literature, they nevertheless do create a sense of excitement and immediacy which must have entertained the general reader.

Captain Edward Glemham's story began in 1590 in August, when he set sail from Tilbury in command of the ship Edward

and Nicholas Bourne regained their privilege of printing news pamphlets only on condition that they print no domestic news at all.

and Constance and a pinnace, the Falcon, as a privateer in search of Spanish shipping. The month of November found the Edward and Constance sailing among the Canary Islands unaccompanied by the pinnace, which had been left at Dover for repairs and was never seen by Glemham again. At this point, late in the season, Glemham had accomplished nothing of significance and, rather than return home, he decided to land on the Spanish stronghold of St. George's Island. The English landing party was discovered by the watch of the island, and in the ensuing fight the Spaniards were put to flight at the cost of ten English lives. The English remained on the island for two days, during which time they carried out ruses to deceive the Spaniards about their true number, and, consequently, intimidated the governor of the place into negotiating with Glemham the conditions of an English withdrawal. Knowing that his small party could never win a full-scale fight, Glemham agreed to leave the island if the governor would re-victual his ship and pay one thousand crowns in compensation for the men slain during the landing operation. The negotiations between the two parties were carried out with considerable cordiality, largely because Glemham, as an English gentleman, was able to deal with the Spanish governor as an equal in rank. The narrator went to considerable lengths to emphasize Glemham's gentlemanly bearing, as, for example, in the following passage describing the final steps in the negotiations:

The next daye about two of the clocke after noone, the

Gouverneur came againe to the Generall, accompanied with a troope of Gentlemen, where they passed the time in banqueting, attending the coming of the cariages which brought the victuals, viz. Beefe, Kids, 30 Buts of Sack & Canary Wines, Ruske, Meale, Flower, Salt, pumpions, & other prouision, sufficient for nine moneths victuals. The Spaniard hauing kept his word, the Generall was loath his curtesies should go altogether vnrequited, wherefore he enuited the Gouverneur & his company to dinner aborde his ship the next day, which the rest were loth to consent vnto, which the generall perceauing, told them flatly & halfe in choller, that they did distrust him, but (quoth he) you shal not need, for the worst Englishman doth hold his word of honor in as much regard as their king, & that if his boy for him had promised any thing he would maintaine it as his life. But Gentlemen (quoth he) seeing you suspect my word, & that ye may accept my offer without distrust, for that I would willingly haue your company, my warrant shall be those pledges [hostages] which I will not leaue for the kingdome of Spaine. The gouernor being of milde nature, was sorry to see him so disquiet: wherefore with gentle words, he first pacified the Generall, then entreated his freends to accompany him, which they easily graunted, and accordingly came the next day, where the Generall feasted them in braue maner, to the honour of his countrey, & his owne worthy commendation (sig. B1b-B2).

From St. George's Island, Glemham and his company made their way to the Straits of Gibraltar and proceeded to Algiers "where he was most roially entertained, in such sorte, that no Gentleman of any nation hath receaued the like at any time" (sig. B3-B3b). This portion of the voyage was not without incident, as Glemham fought on two separate occasions on the way against two French ships flying the flag of the League and six Spanish galleons which attempted to board the English ship in calm waters. Glemham fought off the galleys, finally escaping from their clutches when a fair wind arose, but damage to his own ship necessitated the run for the Straits. Some weeks later,

on the outward voyage from the Straits, the Edward and Constance was again attacked by Spanish galleys but once again Glemham's men beat them off. As the pamphlet comes to an end, the narrator observes that Glemham's voyage is not yet over, adding that "other news there is of his good succes, which I pray God prooue true" (sig. B4). The writer then asks for divine inspiration to touch the hearts of other gentlemen to emulate Glemham's unselfish example. The piece ends with a short poem by one "H. R." in commendation of Glemham:

Braue men at Armes, Englands Cheueleers,
 Let Glemhams honors, mongst you be of name,
 Whose conquests gainde, gainst Spanish Caualiers,
 With goulden Trumpe, eternisd is by fame:
 Turkie, Spaine, and France, reports the same.
 To Englands honor Glemham gaines renowne,
 In spite of those which at his weale doth frowne.

Sweete man of worth, Mars new adopted sonne,
 Let windes and seas, subiect themselues for thee,
 To Albion Ile, thou safely maist returne,
 Fraughted with Gold, and Pearle of Indee,
 To ioy of freends, thy presence wish to see,
 Whose honors gaind, with danger on the flood,
 Doth glad their harts, that wish our countries good
 (sig. B4).

The second naval battle to be reported in the press, The valiant and most laudable fight performed in the straights, by the Centurion of London, against fiue Spanish gallies (STC 12941), took place on Easter Day 1591 as the Centurion was proceeding through the Straits of Gibraltar on a voyage from Mar-seilles to London. The fight began when the Centurion and several smaller vessels sailing under its protection were be-calmed, whereupon the English saw a number of galleys headed

their way, "the chiefe Leaders and Souldiours in those Gallies, brauely apparrelled in silke Coates, with siluer whistles about theyr necks, and great plumes of Feathers in theyr Hats" (sig. A2b). Five galleys quickly grappled with the Centurion and for the next five and a half hours the galleons, manned by five or six hundred men in each, fought to overcome forty-eight men and boys in the English vessel.

During which time there was a sore and deadly fight on both sides, in which the Trumpet of the Centurion, sownded forth the deadly points of war, & encouraged them to fight manfully against their aduersaries: on the contrary part, there was no warlike Musicke in the Spanish Gallies, but onely their whystles of siluer, which they sounded forth to theyr own contentment: in which fight many a Spaniard was turned into the sea, and they in multitudes came crawling and hung vpon the side of the shippe, intending to haue entred into the same, but such was the courage of the Englishmen, that so fast as the Spaniards did come to enter they gaue them such entertainment, that some of them were gladde to tumble aliue into the sea, beeing remediles for euer to get vp aliue. In the Centurion there was in all, of men and boyes, forty and eight, who together fought most valiantly, and so galled the enemy, that many a braue and lusty Spaniard lost his life in that place.

The Centurion was fyred fyue seuerall times, with wilde fyre and other prouision, which the Spaniards threw on for that purpose; yet God be thanked, by the great and diligent fore-sight of the Master it did no harme at all.

In euery of the Gallies there was about fiue or six hundereth Souldiours: who together with the shotte boyled, rent and battered the Centurion very sore: shotte through her maine Mast, and slew foure of the men in the sayde shippe, the one of them beeing the Masters mate.

Ten other persons were hurt, by meanes of splinters which the Spaniards shotte: yea, in the ende when their prouision was almost spent, they were constraigned to shoote at them hammers, and the chaines from theyr slaues, and yet God be thanked, they receiued no more hurt but by spoyling and ouerwearying of the Spanishmen, constraigned them to vngrapple and gette them going, and sure if there had been shyp or succour to haue releiued

they had slayne, suncke, or taken all those Souldiours (sig. A3-A3b).

During the time the Centurion was fighting for its life, the companion ships fled to safety with the exception of a small vessel, the Dolphin, which stood by helplessly. At length one of the galleys disengaged itself from the main fight and, attacking the Dolphin, set the ship's powder afire so that the vessel and all its men perished. The following day, the Centurion perceived that it was being closely watched by a number of galleys, but the Spaniards dared not attack the valiant ship any more.

The exploits of the Centurion and its tiny crew prefigured in several ways the battle which took place later in the summer, on 31 August, between the Revenge and a Spanish armada. In this engagement, which occurred near the island of Flores in the Azores, a small party of English ships was surprised by a much larger Spanish force, which came upon them with such suddenness that the English were scarcely able to get under way and race for a safe refuge. One ship, the Revenge, under Sir Richard Grenville, had ninety sick men ashore, and Sir Richard's determination to see them all safe aboard the Revenge resulted in his being overtaken by the Spanish ships. Sir Richard attempted to outmanoeuvre the Spaniards but was unable to do so, and at this point a terrible fight began. Like the men of the Centurion, the crew of the Revenge distinguished themselves through their bravery and gallantry against tremendous odds,

PLATE V
(OVERLEAF)

A REPORT
OF THE TRUTH OF
the fight about the Iles of
Açores, this last
Sommer.

BETVVIXT THE
Reuenge, one of her Maiesties
Shippes,
And an Armada of the King
of Spaine.



LONDON
Printed for william Ponsonbie.
1591.

but in the end the Revenge lay low in the water, exhausted and defeated, surrounded by a ring of tired and crippled Spanish galleons. Rumours and reports about the fight quickly spread throughout England and the Continent; but in November of 1591, the publisher William Ponsonby entered for publication an account of the fight, and the ensuing pamphlet, A report of the truth of the fight about the Isles of Açores this last summer (STC 20651), helped to make the story of the Revenge part of the legend and literature of the English nation. Although much of the report upon the affair is given over to propaganda and invective against Spain, the greatest public enthusiasm must have been reserved for the writer's account of the bravery of the Revenge and its crew and the great honour which they achieved in defeat.

Readers of the story of the Revenge would have had no way of knowing that the incident at Flores would become a national symbol in the ensuing centuries. For them, the significance of the pamphlet, apart from its undoubted entertainment value, must have resided largely in the narrative itself and in the reassurance it carried of the ultimate triumph of virtue, even in apparent defeat. This combination of exciting narrative and useful moral observation was also characteristic of a number of news pamphlets printed during 1591 on the topic of murder. The first of these to be considered was a collection of stories entitled Sundrye strange and inhumaine murthers, lately committed (STC 18286.5). The writer of the stories was

careful to declare at the outset that the main purpose in setting down the details of the gruesome crimes was to demonstrate the odious nature of murder in the eyes of God, and to exhort the people to abstain from this crime. The pages that follow show the odiousness of murder by means of several recent examples, including that of a father who arranged for the murder of his children, and of a woman who plotted the death of her husband.

Of the several murders recounted in the pamphlet, the most gruesome concerned a man from Kent by the name of Lincoln, who had arranged for the murder of three of his children. Lincoln, a widower aged fifty, had courted a wealthy widow of his acquaintance, but his suit had been refused because the lady objected to the fact that he had four children to take care of. Lincoln thereupon engaged the services of an employee of his, a labourer, who agreed to kill the children for the price of forty shillings and one cow. The deed was done "on Saturday in November last [1590]" (sig. A3b) when Lincoln, his eldest son, and the hired killer set out on foot for the nearby market. Part way through the journey, the labourer returned to the Lincoln home and murdered the three younger children, two boys and a girl, by cutting their throats with a hatchet. Meanwhile, at the market, Lincoln bought three pairs of shoes as gifts for his children in order to demonstrate his innocence.

Lincoln sent his surviving son, a lad of fifteen, to the family home ahead of his father. Meantime, Lincoln stopped

at a neighbour's house, an unusual thing for him to do, in order that he might persuade the neighbour to accompany him to the Lincoln house where the murders were discovered. The neighbour and others suspected Lincoln's hired man, and urged that a hue and cry be made for the fellow, but Lincoln extolled the man's virtue and tried to convince everyone that his surviving son must be the murderer. The hired man was apprehended in any case, and the coroner had the murdered children dug up and displayed before the suspected man. It was seen that the bodies of the children were still fresh, and when the murderer was brought before them the bodies blushed, coloured, and bled again. The guilty man confessed forthwith, and punishment was meted out to Lincoln and his accomplice.

The most sensational murder case during 1591 was undoubtedly the murder of Lord Burke, a soldier and one of Elizabeth's courtiers, who was killed on 14 January by Captain Arnold Cosby in the course of a duel near Wandsworth. The incident was the subject of two ballads and three rather elaborate news pamphlets, one of which, The arraignment, examination, confession and iudgement of Arnold Cosbye (STC 5813) was entered on 25 January, the day of the trial. The publisher of the foregoing pamphlet, Edward White, subsequently issued a sequel entitled The manner of the death and execution of Arnold Cosbie (STC 5814), while an unidentified author prepared a piece called The most horrible and tragicall murther of . . . Lord Bourgh (STC 20593). All the pamphlets are in essential agreement about

the facts of the case, which were, briefly, that Cosby, on the pretext that Burke had offended him, persuaded the nobleman to duel with him, unattended by witnesses, at Wandsworth. Before the duel had properly begun, however, Cosby stealthily gave Burke a mortal stab wound, then took a dagger and stabbed his victim in twenty-one separate places before fleeing on horseback. When the dying Burke was discovered, he had time to reveal Cosby's treachery; and Cosby was quickly apprehended, brought to trial, and executed.

The trial of Cosby was reported most fully in White's first pamphlet (STC 5813), which seems to have been written up by someone who had attended the trial and had recorded the proceedings in some detail. Cosby had little enough to say in his own defence, to judge from the account, since most of the speeches recorded were made by the prosecution, and tend towards praise of Burke's nobility and condemnation of Cosby for his cowardice, duplicity, and mean station. The speech of the Lord Chamberlain, which was uttered publicly while the jury was deliberating its verdict, is indicative of the feeling which seems to have prevailed at the trial. The speech, which enumerated several signs of divine intervention against Cosby, began in the following manner:

Cosbie, giue eare what I saie vnto thee, and regard my speech, looke into they selfe, and behold the iust iudgements of God vppon thee in this action, first it is most eident, that thou hauing in a most shamefull sort murthered the noble Gentleman, for whose death thou art here araigned, thou thoughtest to saue thy self by flight: & hauing of thy own as good a hunting nag

as anie is within this Towne, thou diddest suspect that he woulde hardly serue thy turne, and therefore thou diddest refuse him. Then thou tookest the Lorde Boorkes gelding, and supposing to ride a way vpon him, hee sodainely broke from thee, and would at no hande bee taken by thee, to carrie thee from the place where thou didst commit the murther. Secondly, note how thy owne nag serued thee, that when thou wert vpon him, thou couldest hardly get him to carrie thee to the wood where thou diddest hide thy selfe. When thou camest into the wood neere Wimbleton, there thou staidst most parte of all the daie, there thou hadst time, space, and sufficient meanes to haue fled farre inough, and to haue staide there long inough, yet thou hadst not the power to doe it, there thou lingeredst all the daie long, and durst neither passe one waie or other, the fact being committed about eight of the clock in the morning, thou hadst no power to depart before euening, and then note the iudgements of God vpon thee, whether didst thou flie? Thou hadst no power to passe anie waie, but euen to the place where the man laie whome thou murtheredst, and comming on the backe side of the house, thou sawest my son, but he sawe not thee, and then to hide thy self, thou fledst behind the house where the dead corpes laie, at which time all the woundes in the Lord Boorkes bodie did bleede afresh (sig. B2b-B3).

As expected, the jury found the prisoner guilty, and Cosby, "fearing least he should haue some grieuous death for his horrible offence" (sig. B3b), begged the court to have him shot and not hanged. The request was refused, since "the fact being odious it must be punished according to the laws of the land" (sig. B4). However, Cosby's request for a day's respite and the services of a preacher to "comfort him to Godward" was granted because it was "a Christian motion" (sig. B4). Sentence was then passed, with Cosby condemned to be hanged at a place near the scene of the crime and afterward to be hanged in chains as an example. The execution was deferred "vntil the wednesdaie morning following, so that he had one day granted more vnto him than he desired" (sig. B4b). According to White's second pam-

phlet (STC 5814) on Cosby's death, Cosby was counselled by learned preachers upon the trial and transitoriness of mortal life, and prepared for the life to come. According to the pamphleteer, Cosby's few days of repentance gave him the time and inclination to compose an elegy, entitled "Arnold Cosbies vltimum vale to the vaine world." The elegy, which took up three pages of the eight-page pamphlet, concluded as follows:

Next to my God, my cuntrye pardon me,
Whose honor I haue stained and lawes infringe
And thou my Soueraigne Mistris and my Queene,
Bright starre of Englandes globe, forgiue my fact,
Nor let it touch thy Royal Princely hart,
That Cosbie hath misdome so hainously.
The circle of my time is compassed,
Arriued to the point where it began.
Worlde, cuntrye, kin, and friends farewell farewell,
Flie thou my soule to heauen the hauen of blisse,
O bodie beare the scourge of thine amisse (sig. A4).

The third publication about the Cosby affair was entered, like White's pamphlet on the trial, with a great deal of haste. This pamphlet, The most horrible and tragicall murther of . . . Lord Bourgh (STC 20593), was entered in the Stationers' Register by the printer Robert Robinson, on 26 January the day following the trial and, consequently, the day after White's entry. In fact, the two entries came so close upon one another that the company added a note to the effect that Robinson's entry would be declared void if his pamphlet proved to be "hurtfull or prejudiciall, to the copie entred the last day for Edward White" (Arber, II, 574). In the event, the pamphlet contained substantially the same information as the White publication, except that the writer was able to flesh out certain details con-

cerning the relationship between Cosby and Burke before the tragic affair. As a piece of topical literature, the pamphlet may have had certain shortcomings, since the writer appears to have had literary pretensions, with the result that much of the work presents a verbal jungle of tangled syntax in which half-formed figures of rhetoric struggle to reveal themselves. The pamphlet was concluded by a long poem, "The sighes of a sad soule," evidently written by one "W.R.," a servant of Lord Burke, which occupies fully one half of the sixteen page work. The following excerpt from the section headed "The third sigh of Winter" is typical of the whole:

Wo is my Winter for so great a misse,
 And in that season on his sadful hearse:
 A hermitage Ile build shall be my blisse,
 And call on age my yongnes to reuerse
 And in his worthie praise my pen shall dwell
 Whose vertue did all base contempt expell.

Ile sit vntill my breath ingraue this grace
 Vpon the stone doth couer his sweet corse.
 Here vertue in a milkewhite mildnes staies
 Vntill eternall glories by his force,
 Conioyne his body to his pretious soule
 In his sweet bosome that doth all controule (sig. B3).

Cosby's "elegy" and the "sighes of a sad soule" over Burke's death serve as reminders that some of the news pamphlets issued during 1591 may have been read for their literary value as much as for the news they contained. The tastes and motives of the reading audience being various, it is likely that a variety of needs attended the purchase of certain items classified as "news." News ballads, of course, are a prime example of news items which had definite pretensions to literature. Another

common form of "news" having a close affinity with the realm of literature was the pamphlet which offered an account of the luxury, ceremony, and entertainment which attended the royal progresses of the queen. Two accounts of royal entertainments were published during 1591, one of which, The honorable entertainment gieuen to the Queenes Maiestie in progresse, at Eluetham (STC 7583) is conveniently classified as news, although it contains, nonetheless, several poems and orations delivered before the Queen during her stay at Elvetham, in Hampshire.¹

Elizabeth spent part of each year in travel outside London, and on these occasions the royal court was accustomed to being lodged and amused at the expenses of whichever nobleman owned the land over which the royal progress was taking place. In September of 1591, it was the Earl of Hertford's lot to entertain the court for four days at Elvetham, one of the minor residences of the earl. The visit was regarded as such a success that someone, perhaps the Earl himself, thought it fit to have a complete account of the affair put into print. The ensuing pamphlet guided the reader through all the stages of the enter-

¹The pamphlet is divided almost equally between verse and prose. However, the intention of the prose portions is to provide background information about the preparations for the entertainment, to emphasize the largesse of the host and so on. On balance, readers might have been just as impressed with the expense and magnificence of the affair as described, as with the speeches. An account of an entertainment given at Cowdray (STC 3903) in 1591 has been classified as literature because the pamphlet is concerned almost exclusively with the speeches delivered to the queen on the occasion, and the few lines of prose that appear amount to little more than stage directions.

tainment, from its inception to the Queen's departure, in such detailed and entertaining fashion, that the account must have been very well received by the reading audience.

The history of the Elvetham entertainment begins with a "proeme" which relates the preparations made for the royal visit, which the Earl understood would occur very soon both "by the ordinarie Gesse, as also by his honorable good frendes in court, neare to her Maiestie" (sig. A2). On the strength of this information, Hertford set three hundred men to work to build additions to his house and to erect numerous outbuildings nearby "for entertainment of Nobles, Gentlemen, and other whatsoever" (sig. A2b), and for ensuring that adequate facilities would be available for providing food. Of the latter type "there was raised a great common buttrey" and other buildings besides, which the writer enumerates as follows:

A pitcher house.

A large pastery, with fiue ouens new built, some of them foureteene foote deepe.

A great kitchin with four ranges, and a boyling place for small boild meates.

Another kitchin with a very long range, for the waste, to serue all commers.

A boiling house for the great boiler.

A roome for the scullery.

An other roome for the Cookes lodgings (sig. A3).

Other preparations included the digging of a large pond shaped like a half-moon in which were three islands shaped like a ship, a fort, and a "Snayle mount rising to foure circles of greene priuie hedges, the whole in height twentie foot, and fortie foote broad at the bottome" (sig. A3-A3b).

On 20 September, the expected date of Elizabeth's arrival, Hertford took his mounted retinue of three hundred to a private place in the park, "where in few words, but well couched to the purpose" he reminded them "what quietnes, and what diligence, or other duetie they were to vse at that present" (sig. A4). This accomplished, the Earl led his men, most of whom were wearing gold chains about their necks and yellow and black feathers in their hats, to meet the Queen, who was now within two miles of Elvetham. As the Queen entered the park she was greeted by a "poet" who delivered a Latin oration prepared for the occasion, the first of a number of staged events planned for the four days of the visit. The planners of the speeches had spared no ingenuity in imbuing these formal events with symbolic importance, and the writer reports that even the poet's costume had been devised to signify a number of the important concepts:

This Poet was clad in greene, to signify the ioy of his thoughts, at her entrance a laurel garland on his head, to expresse that Apollo was patrone of his studies: an oliue branch in his hand, to declare what continual peace and plentie he did both wish and aboade her Maiestie: and lastly booted to betoken that hee was vates cothurnatus, and not a loose or lowe creeping Prophet, as Poets are interpreted by some idle or enuious ignorants (sig. A4b).

As the poet delivered a verse oration in praise of the Queen, six "virgins" went before the procession removing blocks which had been set in the way, "which blocks were supposed to bee layde there by the person of Enuie, whose condition is, to enuie at euery good thing, but especially to malice the proceed-

ings of Vertue, and the glory of true Maiestie" (sig. B3b). As they proceeded, the virgins sang a song in six part harmony which ended as the Queen reached the house. There, she rested until supper, following which "a notable consort of six musitions" (sig. C1) played for her throughout the evening. The three days following witnessed still more elaborate entertainment, mostly near the water, in the form of music, speeches, dramatic presentations, sports, and fireworks. According to the account, a mock battle had been planned as part of the entertainment, but this event was replaced by an oration in which the speaker declared that the battle had been cancelled out of deference to the Queen, who was "alwaies friend to peace, and ennemy to warre" (sig. D1b). The speeches are reproduced in full by the writer, who also overlooks no opportunity to record the fascinating details of the gargantuan effort expended during the entertainment. A typical passage concerns the menu for the banquet served at the end of the third day. This was such an elaborate affair that the chronicler himself deals only with the hors d'oeuvres, which consisted of sugar candy molded into numerous shapes. The entire passage, which is a lengthy one, is worth quoting as a demonstration of the wealth of detail recorded in the pamphlet:

During the time of these fire-workes in the water, there was a banket serued all in glasse and siluer, into the low Gallerie in the Garden, from a hillside foureteene score off, by two hundred of my Lord of Hertfordes Gentlemen, euerie one carrying so many dishes, that the whole number amounted to a thousand: and there were to light them in their way, a hundred torch-bearers.

To satisfie the curious, I will here set downe some particulars in the banquet.

Her Maiesties Armes in sugar-worke.

The seuerall Armes of all our Nobilitie in sugar-worke. Many men and women in sugar-worke, and some inforst by hand.

Castles, Forts, Ordinance, Drummers, Trumpeters, and soldiors of all sorts in sugar-worke.

Lions, Vnicorns, Beares, Horses, Camels, Bulls, Rams, Dogges, Tygers, Elephants, Antelops, Dromedaries, Apes, and all other beasts in sugar-worke.

Egles, Falcons, Cranes, Bustardes, Heronshawes, Bytters, Pheasante, Partridges, Quailes, Larkes, Sparrowes, Pigeons, Cockes, Oules, and all that flie, in sugar-worke.

Snakes, adders, vipers, frogs, toades, and all kind of wormes in sugar-worke.

Mermaides, whales, dolphins, cungars, sturgions, pikes, carps, breams, and all sortes of fishes, in sugar-worke.

All these were standing dishes of sugar-worke. The selfe same deuises were also there all in flat-worke. Moreouer these particulars following, and many such like, were in flat sugar-worke, and sinamond.

March-panes, grapes, oisters, muscles, cockles, periwinkles, crabs, lobsters.

Apples, peares, and plums, of all sorts.

Preserues, suckats, iellies, leaches, marmelats, pasts comfits, of all sorts (sig. D4b).

The final news pamphlet to be considered concerns the fate of one John Pitcher who attempted suicide in the Star Chamber on 14 May by stabbing himself. The publication, entitled A fearefull example, shewed vpon a periured person (STC 19965), told how Pitcher and another man attempted to free a third man from debtors' prison by impersonating gentlemen of substance and thus having the prisoner delivered into their care. Pitcher and his companion were found out, and the two of them were sentenced to have their ears cut off "vpon the pil-

lories at Westminster and London" (sig. A2b). But just as the condemned men were being escorted to the door on their way to the Fleet,

this desperate Pitcher drew out his knife, and giuing himself two wounds in the brest, fell downe: where vpon the Lord Chauncellor and the rest graciously commaunded his wounds should be searched, which he obstinately refused: therefore their honors appointed a diuine to be sent him for his soules comfort and that he should be forcibly held while his wounds were searched for his bodies health. O desertles charitie, O honourable and Christian pitie (sig. A3b).

Contrary to Pitcher's intentions, his wounds "being afterward searched and drest, were found not deadly but recouerable" (sig. A3b), and at the time of writing the man was in custody in the Fleet awaiting execution of his sentence, "which is appointed to be doone forth with" (sig. A3b). The lesson to be derived from the incident, according to the writer, was that God meted out just punishment against perjurers and the rest of the "rabble of the wicked," whose number, he implies, includes most of the present generation. And he concludes with the pious hope that Pitcher's fate may teach other sinners to change their ways:

Now if this mournfull act might moue the rest of this generation, who sell the innocent for siluer, and the righteous for a reward: conuerting iustice into wormewood, and iudgement into gall: happy were they that brought these euill ones to light, and happy this fearful example, for all Petyfoggers, Suborners, Knights of the Posts, and all the vnckleane kennell of vnchristened periurers, who by swearing and forswearing, bragging and outcountenancing, abuse the Iustices, oppresse their poore Clients, and for a little peece of Siluer like Iudas, sinne in betraying the innocent, sinne in betraying of their own soules, sinne in despairing of Gods grace (sig. A4).

The juxtaposition in this discussion of the Elvetham pamphlet and the story of the unfortunate Pitcher illustrates yet again the variety of materials on topical subjects made available to Elizabethan readers. And while it is reasonable to assume that most of these pamphlets were purchased through a desire to be informed--to learn the news of the day--it is also evident that other motives may have attended the purchase of topical literature. The lay sermonizing with which John Pitcher's story was tricked out doubtless appealed just as much as the actual events which inspired the pamphlet. In the end, it is the existence, in the same society, of an earnest desire for factual information and an enthusiasm for moral edification, which made the news pamphlets of the day so interesting. By catering to both these inclinations among their readers, the news publishers of 1591 helped to sustain the general public appetite for topical literature, which eventually led to the evolving of modern journalism.

EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

CHRONOLOGICAL HANDLIST: EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

24487.5, P. Ubaldini, Le vite delle donne illustri. [J. Wolfe.] History, in Italian; ent. to Wolfe 23 jy. 1590; probably early 1591.

24488 [Anr. issue] J. Wolfe. With an added dedication to Queen Elizabeth.

5400.3, Lady J. Clement, A letter . . . to the Lady Iane Clement . . . J. Wolfe. Political commentary; tr. from Fr. copy; ent. to Wolfe 4 no. 1590; probably early 1591.

19619, R. Percyvall, Bibliotheca Hispanica. J. Jackson f. R. Watkins. Two parts; grammar and dictionary in Span., Eng., and Lat.; Lat. section by T. Doyley; tr. by J. Thorie?; ent. to Watkins 26 de. 1590; probably early 1591.

19183, C. Paradin, The heroicall deuices of M. Claudius Paradin . . . W. Kearney. Emblems and mottoes, etc.; tr. from Lat. by P. S.; ent. to T. Scarlet 17 au. 1590; ded. dated 3 ja.

18422.5, T. Nelson, The blessed state of England. [R. Robinson?] f. W. Wright (SR 5 ja., Wright). Political commentary.

SR 12 ja., "The English scholemaster sett forth by Robert Edwards" (ent. to Edward Allde).

23256, W. Stepney, The Spanish schoole-master. R. Field f. J. Harrison [the elder] (SR 13 ja., Harrison). Seven dialogues in Span. and Eng., with additional material; cites STC 19619. 1/2, 1591-1614.

16632, L. Lloyd, The triplicitie of triumphes. R. Jones. History; ent. to Jones 16 de. 1590; imprint dated ja. 1591. 1/3 issues, 1591-1610.

16632.5 [Anr. issue]. 2/3 issues, 1591-1610.

13828, J. Hortop, The trauailes of [Job Hortop] an English man f. W. Wright (SR 9 fb., Wright). Geog-raphy, travel, and adventure.

SR 26 fb., "Corderius Dialoges to be printed in French and English" (ent. to John Windet).

6910, Discourse. A discourse vppon a question J. Wolfe (SR 8 mr., Wolfe). Political commentary; tr. from Fr. copy by E. A[ggas].

11097, G. Florio, Florios second frutes [T. Orwin] f. T. Woodcock. Italian tutor; with a collection of Italian proverbs; preface dated 30 ap.

664, Answer, An answeare to the supplication. J. Wolfe (SR 12 my., Wolfe). Political commentary; tr. from Fr. copy by E. A[ggas].

SR 8 jn., "M. Tullij Ciceronis Tusculanarum questionum, seu Disputationum Libri Quinque, &c" (ent. to John Harrison, the elder).

SR 3 jy., "Chrisostome in Greeke" (ent. to George Bishop and Ralph Newbery).

SR 3 jy., "Esopes fables in Greeke" (ent. to George Bishop and Ralph Newbery).

SR 3 jy., "Apolinarius in Greeke" (ent. to George Bishop).

13629, Homer, Homeri Ilias, id est de rebus ad Troiam gestis.
G. Bishop (SR 3 jy., Bishop). School text, Greek.

SR 3 jy., "Oratio Isocratis Grece" (ent. to George Bishop).

10638, G. B. A. F., A discouery of . . . the Italians . . .
J. Wolfe (SR 16 au., Wolfe). Political commentary;
tr. from Fr. copy.

19172.3, W. Panke, A . . . receite for faire writing. E.
A[llde]. f. J. Perrin. Handwriting manual; preface
dated 30 se.

5590, A. Colynet, The true history of the ciuill warres of
France . . . [T. Orwin] f. T. Woodcock (SR 3 au.,
Woodcock). Events in France, 1585 to 28 se. 1591;
tr. in part from Fr.; nine parts; ded. dated 20 oc.

SR 3 no., "The Schoole of fayre wrytinge" (ent. to Thomas Orwin).

171a, Aesop, Asopi fabulae . . . R. Robinson. School text;
Latin; after ded. date "10 Kal. Decemb. [i.e. 22 no.]
[1591?].

12461, F. Guicciardini, A briefe collection of . . .
Guicchiardine. T. Purfoot, the elder (SR 30 oc.,
Purfoot). Abstracts of Storia d'Italia; tr. from
Ital.; ded. dated 7 de.

SR 30 de., "A booke entituled, Propria quae Maribus construed"
(ent. to Robert Dexter).

1026, G. B., A fig for the Spaniard . . . J. Wolfe, sold by
W. Wright. Political commentary; ent. to Wright 31 ja.
1592; probably late 1591. 1/2, 1591-1592.

1263, W. Baldwin, A treatise of morall philosophie . . . T.
Este. Fourth enlarged ed. a. rev. by T. Paulfreyman;
includes biographies of philosophers. 12/18, 1547-
1639.

- 5300, M. T. Cicero, Marci Tullii Ciceronis epistolae
R. Robinson. School text; Latin; ed. P. Manuzio. 6/7,
1571-1602.
- 6448, J. de Beau Chesne, A newe booke of copies. W. Kearney.
Handwriting manual; in part by J. Baildon. 3/5, 1571-
1615.
- 11056, G. Fletcher, the elder, Of the Russe common wealth.
T. D[awson]. f. T. Chard. Geography, history, political
commentary; later suppressed.
- 11727, Geneva, The troubles of Geneva. f. T. Nelson. Contempo-
rary history; with a map; tr. from Fr. copy by W. P.
- 11821, C. Gibbon, A work worth the reading. T. Orwin, sold by
H. Kirkham. Moral philosophy.
- 12194, Grave, A mappe . . . of Graue. Map, tr. from Dutch
copy; Middleburg.
- 13225, Herodotus, Herodoti . . . historiarum . . . J. Barnes.
School text; Greek.
- 17288, P. Manuzio, Epistolarum Paulli Manutii . . . R. Robinson.
School text; Latin. 3/4, 1573-1603.
- 21136, S. Robson, The court of ciuill courtesie. R. Jones.
Courtesy book. 3/3, 1577-1591.
- 23642, P. C. Tacitus, The end of Nero [R. Robinson] f.
R. Wright. History; tr. and ed. H. Savile. 1/2,
1591-1598.
- 24822, P. Virgilius Maro, Nicolai Grimoaldi . . . Georgicorum
paraphrasis G. Bishop a. R. Newbery. School
text; the Georgics, with a Latin prose paraphrase by
N. Grimald.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

Regardless of the topic, be it religion, literature, science, or whatever, each surviving book from 1591 reaffirms in some way the contemporary belief in "the promise of unbelievably good things held out to those who acquired learning."¹ It would seem to follow that, given a broad definition of the term "education," any number of publications might have been included within the present category. In the interests of coherence, however, most books from the year have been assigned to categories where the criteria for inclusion have been more or less specific. Catechisms, for example, were important educative tools during the Elizabethan era, but they have been assigned, perhaps arbitrarily, to the chapter dealing with religious books. Similarly, all the publications considered to deal with science, or with information pertaining to the "useful" arts, are discussed in a separate category, despite their obvious affinities with education in its

¹Hardin Craig, "A Contribution to the Theory of the English Renaissance," Philological Quarterly, VIII, No. 4 (October, 1968), 321.

broadest sense.

For the purpose of the present category, publications related to Education and Scholarship are defined as books which formed part of the curriculum in the grammar schools, works dealing in some way with the use of language, and books embodying some aspect of "humanistic" studies. In the case of the latter criterion, of course, books dealing with religious subjects or law have been assigned elsewhere, leaving in the group a number of books dealing with topics such as history, geography, politics, and philosophy.

Table 4 indicates the distribution of the thirty-two extant titles from 1591 assigned to the category of Education and Scholarship. Taken together, these publications represent 12.5 per cent of the surviving titles from the year in all subjects.

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS: EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

Type of Book	Items	% of 1591 items	USR entries
<u>Formal Education</u>			
Latin texts (4)			
Greek texts (2)			
	6	2.3	5

TABLE 4 --Continued

Type of Book	Items	% of 1591 items	USR entries
<u>Informal Education</u>			
History (8)			
Political commentary (6)			
Geography and travel (3)			
Languages (3)			
Philosophy and ethics (2)			
Language and courtesy books (1)			
Penmanship (2)			
Others (1)			
	26	10.2	4
Totals	32	12.5	9

Formal Education

For most people living in England during the reign of Elizabeth, formal education would have been associated chiefly with the grammar schools. The period witnessed significant expansion of the grammar schools largely because these institutions, being at once both causes and expressions of the power of the rising middle class, received much support from this group. The founding and support of grammar schools, for example, was regarded as one of the important obligations of society, and in the specific area of curriculum and practice some of the best minds of the age made grammar school education

one of their chief areas of enquiry. Then, as now, nearly every town of significance contained a grammar school and attendance at the school was considered mandatory for any youth who wished to get on in the world.

Individual grammar schools tended to vary somewhat in particular aspects of curriculum, especially in the upper forms, but there was general agreement about the main purpose of the schools, which was to make students competent in the Latin tongue. It was expected also that, in the process of activities such as translating Latin authors and composing themes in Latin based upon classical models, students would learn a great deal of information of a moral and practical sort that would help to make them successful in later life. Greek and, to a lesser extent, Hebrew, were also regarded as desirable subjects for study in most schools; but the study of these languages always followed upon the learning of Latin; and in most schools, if they were taught at all, Greek and Hebrew were not approached with the same degree of thoroughness and urgency that attended the teaching of Latin. Other academic subjects such as letter-writing, rhetoric, logic, and history were largely ancillary to Latin and would, in fact, have been approached through the study of Latin models.

The ability to read and write in English was one of the prerequisites for admission into a grammar school; and so, when a boy began his grammar school career, around the age of six or seven, he began work in Latin immediately. The first

book encountered by the scholar would have been the first part of the national Latin grammar of William Lily, A short introduction of grammar (STC 15610.10, 1548), the text-book around which the entire curriculum for the first year of school was based. The material in A shorte introduction was given in English; and by the end of the first year of his schooling, the student would have committed to memory all the basic principles of Latin grammar and the rules of *accidence*. During the next two years, the student would work through the second part of Lily, the Brevissima institutio (STC 15611, 1549), which contained the rules of Latin grammar in the Latin tongue. During the first years of school, other books might be used as well, including various commentaries and handbooks on Lily's grammar, as well as selected Latin authors whose works illustrated the principles taught by Lily, and, at the same time, provided material for reading, translation, memorization, exercises in prosody, parsing, and so on. The most popular author for beginners was Cato, whose work Catonis disticha moralia (STC 4843, 1540) was valued for the relative ease with which younger scholars could read it, as well as for the useful moral lessons contained within the verses and the prose passages which preceded them. Cato was just the beginning of a long list of authors in the curriculum; and in the course of his grammar school career the student might expect to read books by most of the famous Latin writers of classical and modern times. Indeed, as T. W. Baldwin demonstrates

throughout his investigation of the Elizabethan grammar school system,¹ the reading list of any number of typical grammar schools was very formidable, and the demands made upon the scholars in terms of time and effort were correspondingly great.

The publishing industry, of course, was keenly aware of the lucrative market represented by the grammar schools, so much so, in fact, that the printing of a great number of grammar school text-books was a matter of privilege. For example, three text-books issued during 1591, Aesopi fabulae (STC 171a); the book Epistolae ad familiares of Cicero (STC 5300); and another book of letters, Epistolarum Paulli Manutii (STC 17288) by Paolo Manuzio, were all printed under monopoly by Robert Robinson, who had taken over from Thomas Marshe a patent covering many of the grammar school text-books currently in use.² Another printer, George Bishop, enjoyed privileges in the printing of certain Latin, Greek, and Hebrew texts by virtue of his office as a deputy to Christopher Barker, who himself had the monopoly upon the publishing of these books. Two books, the Iliad (STC 13629) and a Latin paraphrase of Virgil's Georgics (STC 24822) were issued in 1591 by Bishop and his associate, Ralph Newbery. The Stationers' Register

¹T. W. Baldwin, William Shakespere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke (2 Vols.; Urbana: University of Illinois, 1956). Baldwin's definitive study of the English grammar school and its curriculum has been relied upon heavily throughout the present chapter.

²Baldwin, I, 505, 560.

lists, under the date 3 July 1591, four additional titles of Greek works beside the names of Bishop and Newbery, one of them being Aesop's Fables in Greek, and the others representing the work of Christostome, Apolinarius, and Isocrates (Arber, II, 587). In fact, the only extant grammar school text-book not printed by either Robinson or Bishop and Newbery is an edition of the work of the Greek historian, Herodotus¹ published by Joseph Barnes, the official printer to Oxford University. One final grammar school text that may have been issued in 1591 was an edition of Cicero's Tusculanorum questionum, entered to John Harrison in the Stationers' Register on 8 June (Arber, II, 584).

The foregoing publications represent only a small proportion of the grammar school texts normally in use; and furthermore, the list of grammar school texts from 1591 does not include the more famous school books such as Lily's grammar, Cato, Caesar, Erasmus, Horace, and so on. As to the question of the most appropriate time to approach any given author, the practices of the schools might vary widely. Indeed, it is safe to assume that many schools would not include one or more of the texts from 1591 in their reading at all. However, it is possible to suggest at what point, in general, each of the extant texts from 1591 might have been used, and, in the case of the more popular authors, such as Aesop, the

¹STC 13225, Herodoti halicarnassensis historiarum.

specific use made of the book can also be suggested.

Aesop's fables were studied in the early part of the grammar school curriculum, usually after Cato. The moral teachings in Aesop were, of course, emphasized strongly, but as the following excerpt from a teachers' handbook by the educator John Brinsley would indicate, the fables were also used as an occasion to polish the students' skills in translation and composition in English and Latin:

So in Esops Fables, besides the examining euery piece of a sentence in the Lectures, as thus:

Gallus Gallinaceus, dum vertit stercorarium, offendit gemman, &c.

Q. Quid offendebat Gallus, dum vertit stercorarium?

R. Offendit gemman, &c.

Cause the children to tell you, what euery Fable is about or against, or what it teacheth, in a word or two. For example, thus:

Q. What Fable haue you against the foolish contempt of learning and good vertue, and preferring play or pleasure before it?

A. The Fable of the Cocke, scratching in the dung-hill.

O[r] after this manner:

Q. What Fable haue you against the foolish neglect of learning?

A. The Fable of the Cocke, scratching in the dung-hill.

2. Cause them to make a good and pity report of the Fable; first in English, then in Latine: and that either in the words of the Author, or of themselues as they can; and as they did in English. For, this practice in English to make a good report of a Fable, is of singular vse, to cause them to vtter their mindes well in English; and would neuer be omitted for that and like purposes.¹

As a supplement to exercises like the foregoing, the 1591

¹STC 3769, Ludus literarius, 1627, p. 145, quoted in Baldwin, I, 607.

edition of Aesop included interpretations of the fables by Erasmus, Pliny, and others (sig. A8b ff.), as well as a brief biography of Aesop (sig. A2 ff.).

The rudimentary exercises referred to in Ludus literarius were just the initial stages in an educative process designed to produce scholars who could compose original epistles in Latin, modelled upon the work of the best Latin writers. By implication, of course, this process involved intensive study in rhetoric and logic, to say nothing of a sophisticated understanding of moral philosophy far above the kind of reasoning demanded in understanding Aesop. The upper forms of grammar school, therefore, were required to come to grips with writers like Cicero and the sixteenth-century Italian Latinist, Paolo Manuzio, both of whom were published in 1591. Cicero, whose Epistolae ad familiares (STC 5300) was just one of the works of the Ciceronian canon to be used in grammar schools, was evidently the most popular writer upon whose works students were to model their own compositions. Manuzio's epistles (STC 17288) were used to a far lesser extent but were valued nonetheless for their Ciceronian style. Manuzio had been dedicated to the editing of Cicero's works, and the edition of Epistolae ad familiares published in 1591 bore Manuzio's annotations.

Besides learning how to write Latin prose, grammar school students were expected to master the techniques of Latin poetry. For this purpose, models were studied, and,

as with the teaching of prose composition, students were encouraged to imitate models drawn from the best writers. The poet Virgil was regarded second only to Ovid in the teaching of poetry,¹ and among Virgil's works, the Georgics were evidently well thought of. One educator advised that students should be assigned the task of translating the Georgics into English metre.² The 1591 edition of the Georgics (STC 24822) did not contain the work as composed by Virgil, but it was, rather, a Latin paraphrase of the work by Nicholas Grimald, a Latinist and English poet who was better known for his translation of Cicero's Offices. While Grimald's contribution was probably not widely used, it is possible that it was of some value to students of the Georgics.

The main reason for the study of Greek and, by extension, of Hebrew was to enable students to read the Bible in the original tongues.³ As with the study of Latin, the first task of the student was seen to be the mastery of the grammar of the language, to be followed by reading and exercises in appropriate Greek texts. The most favoured works for this purpose were those of Isocrates and Homer, with, of course, the New Testament in Greek. A completely unadorned

¹Baldwin, II, 456.

²Baldwin, II, 462.

³Baldwin, II, 617.

edition of the Iliad (STC 13629) published in 1591 must have found its way into the grammar schools, and it is not unlikely that the four additional Greek works entered to Bishop and Newbery in July were also used to a more limited extent in the schools.

The final author represented among the surviving grammar school texts from 1591 was probably the least widely read, although Erasmus, among others, recommended the study of his writing.¹ The Greek historian, Herodotus (c. 5 B.C.), whose history of the Persian Wars (STC 13225) was one of the foremost histories of antiquity, would naturally take second place to historians who wrote in Latin, the most popular language of study in the grammar schools. However, in schools where his work was read it could be expected that students would go to Herodotus, as to the Roman historians, for models upon which to base their own writing and for the moral value with which history was thought to be imbued.

The foregoing account is not, by any means, an adequate summary of all the activities of an Elizabethan grammar school. But it should be evident, nonetheless, from the few publications noted that the press had a very important function to perform in the matter of formal education. Moreover, even a brief investigation like the foregoing suggests something of the zeal with which formal education was pursued, the high

¹Baldwin, I, 80.

standards that were set by the schools, and, by implication, the rich rewards which it was expected would accrue to diligent scholars. This enthusiasm for learning pervaded society at large, and it could not, in such a climate, be institutionalized. Consequently, much of the activity of the press was concerned with meeting the growing demand for knowledge on the part of private citizens who had been denied formal education or who had continued in their zeal for learning beyond grammar school.

Private Education

There is no treasure so much enricheth the mind of man as learning.¹

In the matter of education and learning, the consciousness of the ordinary literate Englishman of 1591 was typically influenced by several attitudes in addition to the characteristic Renaissance zeal for knowledge. Implicit in certain Protestant doctrines, for example, was the notion that an important condition for personal salvation was the getting of knowledge. If the reading of Scripture was the ordinary means of salvation, it followed that a man had to be able to read to be saved. If a sign of divine election was earthly happiness and prosperity, it followed that divine approval might attend

¹STC 23642, Tacitus, The ende of Nero, and the beginning of Galba, from the preface of "A. B.," sig. ¶2.

those who read and studied in order to better their condition in life. Regardless of his attitudes and understandings concerning the doctrine of election, of course, the evidence of an individual's own experience would point to the advantages enjoyed by the educated in the search for prosperity, power and influence. In a society where preoccupation with heavenly things shared place with a general enthusiasm for worldly success, there was scarcely an area of human activity that was not investigated for its possible usefulness.

Next to the reading of the Bible and other devotional literature, the most generally approved learning activity of the private citizen was the study of certain books relating to the lives and affairs of men. Most of the books in the grammar school curriculum were concerned with such things as history, philosophy, and morality; and the common reader desired access to these materials in order to enjoy the same benefits that the reading of them bestowed upon grammar school scholars. The good opinion held of studies relating to grammar school learning extended to other reading activities which would make the enquirer more able to understand contemporary society, and, better still, win him a larger measure of influence and respect. During 1591, consequently, the presses contributed a number of books of a more or less scholarly nature whose usefulness lay in their potential for enlarging the intellect and creating a richer life.

Of all the books associated in the popular imagination

with human betterment, none, apart from religious books, were so highly esteemed for their usefulness as books of history. Grammar school teachers and common readers alike regarded the classical histories as storehouses of useful moral teaching which, if read and taken to heart, could teach a man how to behave in all circumstances and, by implication, how to secure eternal life. According to this essentially medieval tradition, history was regarded as a series of incidents in which the great men of antiquity either clung steadfastly to the good, or succumbed to evil, according to their natures. History, as one writer observed in 1591, was useful because it taught by example rather than precept, and because it gave the reader "patternes either to follow or to flye, of the best and worst men of all estates, cuntries, and times that euer were." Within the same passage, a preface to an edition of the work of the Roman historian Tacitus, the writer, one "A. B.," makes specific observations about the value of this particular history:

In these fower bookes . . . thou shalt see all the miseries of a torne and declining state: The Empire vsurped; the Princes murdered; the people wauering; the souldiers tumultuous; nothing vnlawfull to him that hath power, and nothing so vn safe as to bee securely innocent. In Galba thou maiest learne, that a good Prince gouerned by euill ministers is as dangerous as if hee were euill himselve. By Otho, that the fortune of a rash man is Torrenti similis, which rises at an instant, and falles in a moment. By Vitellius, that he that hath no vertue can neuer bee happy: for by his owne basenesse hee will loose all, which eyther fortune, or other mens labours haue cast vpon him. By Vespasian, that in ciuill tumults an aduised patience,

and opportunitie well taken are the onelie weapons of aduantage. In them all, and in the state of Rome vnder them thou maiest see the calamities that follow ciuill warres, where lawes lye a sleepe, and all things are iudged by the sworde. If thou mislike their warres be thankfull for thine owne peace; if thou doest abhorre their tyrannies, loue and reuerence thine own wise, iust, and excelent Prince. If thou doest detest their Anarchie, acknowledge our owne happie gouernement, and thanke god for her, vnder whom England enjoyes as manie benefites, as euer Rome did suffer miseries vnder the greatest Tyrant.¹

To a large extent, the reading of history during 1591 was done with the end in view implied by the foregoing extract. For the grammar school teacher, the classical historians provided a challenge in the mastery of prose style, but the special attraction of histories was that they were morally useful. After the student had discerned the moral lesson in a given selection, he would be required to prepare an original theme, which would itself serve a moral purpose, incorporating both the style and the moral lesson of the original. The 1591 edition of Tacitus would not, of course, have been used in grammar schools, since it was a translated version, but it was evidently assumed that the book would serve the same moral purpose for readers who lacked a knowledge of Latin. As the writer of the prefatory passage put it,

if thy stomacke be so tender as thou canst not digest Tacitus in his owne stile, thou art beholding to [the translator, Henry] Sauile, who giues thee the same foode, but with a pleasant and easie taste (sig. ¶3).

¹STC 23642, The ende of Nero and the beginning of Galba, sig. ¶3-¶3b.

In addition to recognition of its moral value, there was, during the sixteenth century, a growing awareness of a quite different use of history, that is, its usefulness as a source of practical lessons in politics and the use of power. As one writer has pointed out,

the emphasis on what history taught shifted from morals to wisdom, and in particular, political wisdom. From being a repertory of sins punished, it became a storehouse of political parallels.¹

Viewed in this light, the study of history was more relevant to temporal than eternal affairs, and the reader might approach books of history more for inspirations that might advance his earthly affairs than for comforting analogies that might help him to withstand temptation.

On the evidence of the history books published during 1591, it would seem that both the medieval and the more contemporary attitudes about the study of history were current during the year. If the medieval attitude is represented by the publication of Herodotus (STC 13225), which was used in grammar schools, and by Savile's translation of Tacitus (STC 23642), where the expressed purpose of the book, according to the preface, is to inculcate desirable attitudes, then the publication of a third history, based on the work of Francesco Guicciardini, might be taken to represent the more contemporary view. The work in question comprises a synopsis of the book

¹J. R. Hale, ed., The Evolution of British Historiography (London and Melbourne: Macmillan and Company, 1967), p. 10.

Storia d'Italia by the Italian historian Guicciardini (1483-1540) and it is in the title and prefatory material, rather than in the somewhat dull synopsis of the original twenty books that the interest of the work is seen to lie. According to the heading devised by the translator, the book is "verie necessarie for Parliament, councell, treatises, and negotiations."¹ In the dedication to Sir Henry Brooke Cobham, the dedicator, one "T. P.," implies that the book is dedicated to Cobham because this dedicatee had been "along time . . . exercised in forraine affaires, and imploied in matters of some weight for her Maiesties seruice and the estate" (sig. A2b). Guicciardini was not read in grammar schools, and it is not unlikely that the present work was directed to readers who looked for practical advice about their affairs.

In addition to the more or less standard historians, represented in 1591 by Herodotus, Tacitus, and Guicciardini, readers during the year could choose from several additional histories which were quite unlike the sort of material used in the grammar schools. The first of these, Le vite delle donne illustri,² was a history in the Italian language by

¹STC 12461, A briefe collection or epitomie of all the notable and material things contained in the historie of Guicchardine, sig. A1.

²STC 24487.5. A second issue (STC 24488) containing an added dedication to Queen Elizabeth also appeared during the year.

Petruccio Ubaldini, who styled himself as "a citizen of Florence," but who was also, for some years, a favourite at the English royal court.¹ Ubaldini's book consisted of brief accounts of the lives of seventy-odd women, most of them British. His sources apparently included the standard English historians such as Holinshed, since the work includes sections upon such legendary figures as Cordelia (sig. B2b ff.). The audience for the book must have been comparatively small, given its use of the Italian language, but it is easy to imagine that Ubaldini's popularity at court must have increased considerably after the publication of the work.

Another somewhat unusual approach to the writing of history is found in The tripliciteie of triumphes (STC 16632), a work in praise of Queen Elizabeth written by Lodowick Lloyd, who was apparently one of the Queen's Serjeants-at-arms. The "triumphes" named in the title refer to "the three most happy, ioyfull and triumphant daies, in September, Nouember and Ianuary" (sig. A1), that is, the days of Elizabeth's birth, accession, and coronation. In the book, Lloyd set himself the task of outlining briefly the ways in which rulers and other famous people were honoured in antiquity, and demonstrating how far the virtues of Elizabeth and the ceremonies attending upon her eclipsed even the most memorable figures and events

¹Alexander Chalmers, ed., The General Biographical Dictionary (32 Vols.; London: J. Nichols and Son, 1816), XXIX, 146.

of the past. For readers during 1591, the book was probably valued most for its summaries of a great many obscure customs and ceremonies from Greece, Rome, Persia, and other places, and, perhaps to a lesser extent, for its numerous passages, in verse and prose, in praise of the Queen, of which the following is a typical example:

What shall we write further of triumphs and of natiuities: But our day began the seuenth of September, the most happy and blessed day of Queene Elizas natiuitie, of whome wee haue triumphed 20295 daies, euery day being a triumphant day, sithence her Maiesties byrth vnto this present time.

With whom, neither Romulus, though cannonized, and after called God Quirinus: neither Cyrus, though named the Great King: neither Xerxes, called Titan: neither Alexander the great, though called the son of Iupiter: neither Caesar though called perpetual Dictator. In fine, neither Assur, nor Pharao: neither Iew or Gentle can with their Triumphs and pomp of natiuities, match Elizas byrth. The reason is plaine, because her God is the God of Abraham, in whose seed the children of God possesse eternity, and for whose sake, we in England enioy peace and quietnes (sig. D3b).

Lloyd's reference to "peace and quietnes" would have reminded his readers that England was one of the few European nations during 1591 where war and disorder were not the lot of the people. For many readers, curiosity about the current state of disorder on the Continent might have been satisfied by purchasing a news pamphlet about the latest Spanish defeat; but it would appear that some people desired more detailed knowledge about the situation in France and elsewhere. For these readers, two books of contemporary history appeared during 1591, one of them dealing with The troubles of Geneua (STC

11727), and the other containing The true history of the ciuill warres of France betweene the French King Henry the 4. and the Leaguers (STC 5590). In their style and manner of approach to recent history in France and Geneva, both books share close affinities with the news publications of the day; but they are identifiable as works of history by the fact that each deals with a time span of several years.

The period covered by The troubles of Geneua takes in the struggle between the Duke of Savoy and the Genevans during the period 1589-90. The book, which was translated from French, begins with a lengthy description of the geography of the area, outlines the history of Geneva, and then proceeds to give a narrative account of military operations during the period in question. Contrary to a statement made above the text, the year 1591 was not dealt with in the book at all. The second book of contemporary history, The true history of the ciuill warres of France betweene the French King Henry the 4. and the Leaguers, was largely translated from French sources, and, unlike the Genevan history, included a fair amount of information about events during 1591. In substance, the book is largely a narrative account of events from 1515 until 28 September 1591, with the bulk of the narrative dealing with the period from 1585 forward. In the preface, the translator observes that he has not felt compelled to withhold the use of abusive epithets for the enemies of Henry IV, and he states that he has "thought it good to

decke the parties with titles and ornaments fit for such deedes [as they committed], to wit, with sharpe words to express more effectually the greatnes of the offenses" (sig. A4b). The part of the narrative dealing with 1591 contains more detail, perhaps, than all the news publications of the year put together, and the account of the siege of Chartres, for example, as well as the history of the struggle between Diguieres and Savoy in Piedmont, Provence, and elsewhere is particularly full. For the modern reader, however, the details, although plentiful, appear to be somewhat tedious and repetitious, as the writer recounts all the manoeuvres and inconsequential occurrences attending the sieges and battles. Notwithstanding the amount of detail, contemporary English readers would perhaps have been somewhat disappointed to find very few references to the Earl of Essex and the English contingent. Many of the details of events following the death of Henry III, as the compiler observes in the preface (sig. A4), were gathered from previously published materials. It is interesting to observe, in this connection, that several sections of the narrative had already been reported in news publications during 1591, and, in one instance, a story about a brave corporal who secured the town of Fonteyne Martell for Henry IV (sig. 2M4), was copied almost verbatim from a pamphlet containing Newes sent out of Britayn (STC 18654.3, sig. A3b-A4).

For some readers, an interest in contemporary history

led naturally to a desire to learn more about the political questions underlying current events. Books about political matters were not plentiful during 1591, but in view of the negative attitude assumed by the government with regard to public discussion of affairs of state, this is not surprising. In all, six books which might be defined loosely as political commentary were issued during the year. None of them would have been considered in the least obnoxious by the government, of course; and, in fact, the somewhat limited usefulness of these books varies inversely with the degree to which English affairs are their topic of discussion.

Insofar as published commentaries upon foreign political affairs were concerned, the main topic of interest during 1591 centred upon the question of the religion of Henry IV of France. As a nominally Protestant king leading a loose alliance of Protestant and Catholic groups against the powerful Catholic League and its Spanish allies, Henry's position was a somewhat difficult one. His claim to the French throne by right of succession was firm, but his religion alienated powerful groups in France, especially the Catholic Church, and created an effective propaganda device for his enemies to use against him. In one sense, the War of the League represented Henry's attempts to secure, by military means, recognition as undisputed ruler of France. However, the war dragged on fitfully, month after month, until it became evident to Henry that political expediency demanded that he embrace the Catholic

faith, accomplishing by policy what had been denied to him in war. Following his acceptance into the Catholic Church in 1593, events in that country moved towards an eventual peace: and the question of what religion Henry should embrace became a dead issue. In 1591, however, the question was as yet unresolved, and in France it was a matter for bitter public debate.

In England, readers could secure information about the controversy by reading translations of two French commentaries, both of which argued against the wisdom of any forced or hasty conversion on the part of the king. One of these publications, An answeare to the supplication (STC 664), was a reply to a Catholic writer who had penned a "supplication" urging the king to become a Catholic on the ground that the common people demanded Henry's honouring of a promise he allegedly made in 1589 to his Catholic allies to change his religion (sig. A2). In refuting this argument, the writer of the answer points out that Henry's promise, made at St. Cloud, was not to become a Catholic, but to convene a council within six months, and to abide by the council's advice in the matter (sig. A2). As to the accusation that Henry never did assemble the council, the writer observes that Henry's enemies have not given him a moment's leisure to do so since 1589. Henry's promise, the writer remarks, "in it selfe implied a quiet condition of possibilities, for no man ever meant to bind himselfe to a thing vnpossible,

neyther is there any so senselesse, as not to see that the lingering which now appears in the execution of this promise, is not by him sought or desired, but springeth out of these troubles" (sig. A3). The very people to whom Henry made this promise, the writer continues, have remained allied to him, and prominent Catholics continue to join him every day. Turning his attack upon the writer of the original supplication, the writer of the answer reveals that he is himself a Catholic, and proceeds to instruct his opponent in the duty of a good Christian towards a king of a different faith:

First, I am of opinion, that euery good citizen shoulde wish there were but one religion in euery well ordered common wealth, and euery good Christian that there were no exercise of any other then the cathol[ic]. apost[olic]. religion. That is the same wherein we haue beene of all antiquity brought vp in France: the same wherein we were baptised: the same wherein we should liue and die, as being the spring and assurance of our saluation vnder the banner of our sauior Iesus Christ. God hath giuen vs a king of an other religion then ours, yet a vertuous, valeant, noble, wise and iust prince, such a one as accompanyeth all his actions with the feare of God. Where the Wise man sayth, that the feare of the Lorde is the beginning of wisdom, I suppose he meant, that the feare of God is the ground of all religions. Neuerthelesse, if he were other, if a Nabuchodonozer, who was the greatest scourge vnto the house of God, yet were it our partes to doe for him the same that the Prophet Baruch exhorted the children of Israell to do for the said Nabuchodonozer, that is, to loue, honour, and obey him, and to remember him in our prayers: and whie? Because God hath giuen him vs, and will haue vs to haue such a one, whether to be reuenged of vs for our sinnes, or to proue the steadfastnesse of our faith, or vpon any other reason which he will not any should know but himselfe (sig. A3b-A4).

Having argued from the standpoint of the divinity of kingship that all Frenchmen should acknowledge Henry, the writer proceeds to examine further the question of whether, and under what conditions, the king should change his religion. He dismisses his opponent's implication that religious differences are responsible for the war in France (sig. B4b), but agrees, nevertheless, that Henry should become a Catholic. Unlike his opponent, however, the writer argues that Henry should make his decision only after a period of religious instruction followed by an opportunity to reflect upon his true feelings. Such a procedure would argue for the king's sincerity, the writer says, whereas if Henry were led "vn-awares and blindfolde" (sig. B1b) into the Catholic Church, his sudden conversion would be rightly interpreted as a Machievellian device, and not, as the "supplicant" has suggested, as a pattern of the conversion of Paul. Indeed, warns the writer, "Bring in the mystery of the conuersion of Saint Paull to strengthen your aduice, and al Macheuellian princes shall hereafter become S. Paules" (sig. B2).

The fact that the current political situation would have made it impossible for the king to enjoy the kind of respite implied by his suggested programme of religious instruction and reflection is not commented upon by the writer. But the reason for this omission is implicit in his final proposal, which is that Henry should not seriously consider changing his religion until he has secured the loyalty of the

people by military victory. For Henry to alter his religion before achieving victory, the writer argues, would be seen as "a vaine conceipt thereby to winne the hearts of those whome he would conquere" (sig. C1b). The story of Alexander's conversion to the pagan beliefs of the Persians is cited as an example of the troubles that might face Henry if he converted prematurely; and the "supplicant" himself is warned that the lessons of history advise against meddling in the business of monarchs:

This example haue I set you downe to two endes. The first, to shew you that a soueraigne prince ought neuer to alter his fashions, maners, or religion for the contentation of a people before he hath gotten the maistery ouer them. The other to let you vnderstand that we are not so easily or openly to controll the behaiours of our kings, especially in matters concerning the estate. For not to penetrate into the bosome of their thoughts, and yet to publish against them such speeches or diffamatory libels as may moue their subiectes to reuolt, is a matter of death; and you may peradventure haue deserued the same punishment as Calisthenes: he for complaying foolishly, and out of season of Alexanders new alteration of the auncient fashions of Greece: you for complaining of the king for not altering his olde religion for an other that shall be new vnto him. For to tell you plainely what opinion many haue of you, they say that it is the very counsel of one, who seeming to loue the king, loueth him not, or studying vppon his preseruati-
on, endeuoureth to destroy him (sig. C2b).

In conclusion, the writer urges all Frenchmen to pray earnestly for Henry's conversion (sig. E1), and to repent of the sins which have caused the present calamity of civil war to be visited upon France (sig. E1b).

A number of the arguments advanced in An answeare to the supplication appeared again during 1591 in a second publi-

cation entitled A discourse vppon a question of the estate of this time (STC 6910). The essential difference of approach between the two writers was that whereas the writer of An answeare argued largely upon theoretical grounds, emphasizing, for example, the duty of the subject to the divinely appointed king, the writer of A discourse tended to investigate the matter from several more practical points of view. Noting, first of all "the daily speeche of diuers," to the effect that if Henry would change his religion the realm would be at peace, the writer suggests that such speeches may come from people who are "as farre different in humours, as they differ in intents" (sig. A2). The humours and intents of those who call for Henry's conversion, measured against the practical necessities of the situation, are the concerns of the discourse that follows.

The public outcry of the League for the king's conversion is not, the writer alleges, to be taken seriously. The League, he says, made Henry's conversion the condition of their capitulation only when it seemed evident that Henry would defeat them in any case. Thus, the Leaguers concluded that

if they must needes grow to that passe, that of necessitie they must obey him, they would at the least perswade and make the simple people (whome they had abused) to beleeeue that their first stirring vp of these commotions and troubles of war, tended only to the preseruacion of the Cathol[ic]. Aposto[lic]. Romish religion, and the kings conuersion (sig. A2).

However, the past history of the League reveals their duplicity in this regard since, it is pointed out, the League began the present struggle by rebelling against Henry III who was "as great a catholike as any of his predecessours" (sig. A2). Another fact that gives the lie to the Leaguer's current posture is that at the time when they thought Henry's military defeat was imminent they proclaimed him a relapse, stating that his right to the crown by succession should never be acknowledged, even if he should be received into the Catholic Church. Numerous additional contradictions in the position of the League could be alleged against them, the writer says, but his main concern, he implies, is that certain friends of the king speak in favour of Henry's speedy conversion in the same words the Leaguers use, "albeit with other affection and meaning then they" (sig. A2b).

Among a great many of Henry's servants, the writer goes on,

we daily heare no other speeches but these: Would to God the King would become a Catholike: That he would vouchsafe so much content to the Catholikes, as to go to masse: so shoulde the Leaguers no longer haue any cloke for their rebellion, the Townes that they holde should yeelde him obedience: and to be briefe, we should obtaine peace, that is so necessary to this realme (sig. A2b).

If such people are sincere in their belief that the religious conversion of Henry, even before a general council had been convened, would bring about an instant and universal peace, they are very much deceived, the writer alleges. Moreover,

they do not understand the important political implications of such a conversion:

I would to God that there were the onely let, and in so holy a desire wil I neuer giue place to any. Besides, I am assured, that the King is so ready to learne, that he will easely be content to be instructed and brought to the Cath[olic]. Apost[olic]. Romish religion, in case any man can shew and proue him to be in any error: yet, may I tell you, that this remedy is not sufficient to cure our diseases. Do you beleeeue, that the Leaguers doe in heart desire that the King would be brought to the Cath[olic]. Apost[olic]. Romish religion? If you do so thinke, you are deceiued. They seeme to desire it, but they would be very sory it should be so, yea, albeit the King had done it, yet would they yeelde him no more obedience then they now do, but rather they would use his returne to the Cath[olic]. Church as a meane to seuer the Germans, Switzers, and other protestant nations from the Kings friendship, and so bring him to loose al credit and reputation both within and without the realme: a matter which great princes do continue according as they are thought of, and are in effect constant, couragious and stedfast in their good purposes. Marke therefore this one onely matter among many other of like pollicy, which now I thinke meete to shew you, for so may you discover the trueth of these their speeches (sig. A3).

Some indication of the effect which Henry's conversion would have among his Protestant allies, the writer continues, is already evident, since the foreign agents of the League have succeeded in arousing Protestant complaints against Henry's use of Catholics in important offices:

With this sleight and subtilty have they troubled the Kings affaires in Germany, and slacked the leauy of his men of war. What then would they do if indeede the king were become a Catholike, considering that vpon a simple apparance only they haue so shaken the amity which the princes of Germany do beare to the king? Hereupon therefore ye may conclude, that al the instance that the Leaguers make, to cause the K. to returne to the Catholike religion, tends only to withdraw from him the loue of forren protestant Princes (sig. A3b).

The ultimate political effect of Henry's conversion, the writer alleges, would be a shift in the current balance of power. The League and their Spanish allies would prosecute the war against Henry with renewed vigour, and Henry would occupy a vastly weakened position, having lost his foreign Protestant allies and, perhaps, those within France itself. Every reasonable consideration, the writer concludes, points to the advantages of continuing in the present situation and waiting upon a suitable occasion for convening a general council to deal with the problem of the King's religion.

The publication of the foregoing pamphlet upon the question of Henry's religion must have helped allay the fears of many readers that this most popular champion of Protestantism might change his colours. Certainly, it was clear that from every reasonable point of view Henry should remain a Protestant, at least for the foreseeable future. Whether such pamphlets as these would have eased the nervousness of Elizabeth and her advisors over Henry's unpredictable nature is, surely, questionable; but among the Queen's subjects they must have been regarded in a different light. To the ordinary person, these rudimentary exercises in political commentary would tend to dispel the mists of rumour surrounding affairs in France, and inspire increased confidence that Henry would persevere in his present course.

Much of the admiration Henry IV of France aroused in English hearts was surely due to the fact that among his chief

enemies he numbered the King of Spain. To the Elizabethans, Philip of Spain was the arch-tyrant of the age, a satanic figure whose malevolence lay behind the greater part of the religious and civil disorder of the times. The fear and hatred he aroused in England assured him of a place in the popular literature of the age, and during 1591, for example, his life and deeds were made the subject of a political pamphlet entitled A fig for the Spaniard (STC 1026).

The writer's purpose in A fig for the Spaniard was to depict Philip's true nature and suggest the implications for England of his malevolent savagery. Philip is compared, first of all, to Nimrod, the hunter, who built a lofty tower in his pride of strength and was dashed down by God. The writer goes on to dispute any arguments for Philip's innocence and godliness, noting his crimes against his own nation and the neighbouring states. A list of seven noblemen whom Philip had strangled and burned is offered against him, and anecdotes are provided to illustrate the objections among Philip's own people at the ascendancy of the Jesuits, and to illustrate the ways in which Spain has persecuted its neighbour, Portugal. Philip's malevolence towards England and France is also alleged against the notion that Philip is a godly man:

If he did sincerely loue, imbrace and nourishe the Gospell, would he xxxiii. whole years together molest the Prince, enuie the people, and disturbe the Realme, that generally aboue all other loueth, imbraceth, and nourisheth the gospel? If he loued, imbraced,

and nourished the Gospell, woulde hee seeke by all meanes possible to hinder the rightful possession, and orderly proceedings of a king, who these manie yeares hath impouerished himselfe by seeking to plant the Gospell, and so manie times hath, and yet daily doth fight, and hazardes his life for the Gospell? (sig. B3)

The catalogue of Philip's misdeeds is revealed further as the writer chronicles Philip's invasions of other lands, noting that none of his victims have suffered as long as the English, who have had to withstand his hatred for thirty-three years. Naturally, the writer continues, England could expect to suffer more than any other land if Philip should ever conquer the nation:

Suppose the Spaniard . . . should make a conquest in this land, and bring all to his bay, as hee hath done in other countries ouer whome hee vsurpeth: Would hee (tro yee) spare this more then them? No: hee will finde fiue hundred times more cause to raze [i.e. raze] and ransacke our citties, to pill and pole our country, to murther and massacre our people, then theirs. For they were his neighbours; we meer strangers: they haue bene sometime his friends; wee alwaies (as he counteth) sworne enemies: they are of his owne religion, wee altogeather contrary: they haue the Pope to mittigate his wrath, if hee be to fierce; wee haue both Pope and Pope-lings to incense him vnto further ire, that hee may be more frowarde (sig. C3).

The possibility of a Spanish invasion was a very real fear among Englishmen during the last decade of the sixteenth century, and, having raised it, the writer of A fig for the Spaniard proceeded to demonstrate why such a terrible event was unlikely to occur. Besides the fact of political unrest in Philip's subject nations and even within Spain itself, the writer alleges, there is at this time a chronic shortage of

food in Spain (sig. C3b). Moreover, Philip's last Indian fleet met with many misfortunes, and he is presently short of money. As to the urgings of "our English Traytours," presumably exiled Catholics in Spain who urge Philip to invade England, the writer alleges that their optimism about a successful invasion is ill-founded. Their allegations that England's navy is weak have already been proven false by the events of 1588, he says; and their theories about political unrest and religious discontent in England "are but imagined surmises, and vntrue reportes" (sig. D1b). In conclusion, the author writes, Englishmen can look to God for protection from Spain as long as the nation continues to be steadfast in duty and obedience to God and the queen, as it was in 1588. To encourage Englishmen in their duty, he writes:

Let those regions, ouer whome the Spaniard alreadie tyranizeth, be examples vnto vs, whose cofers are alreadie impouerished, whose people are mightily impaired, whose liues are not theyr owne, whose landes vpon euerie light quarrell are confiscate, whose antient rightes are contemned, peculiar priuiledges infringed, wholesome lawes violated, and all in all corrupted: then may we couragiously say, God the Lord of hostes (who is, and hath alwaies been our defender) is our right, and cheerfully vaunt, a Fig for the Spaniard (sig. C3b).

The belief implied by the writer of A fig for the Spaniard that England had been singled out for divine favour was a common one during the Elizabethan era, and publications like the pamphlet against Philip did a great deal to encourage it. Another work to the same purpose was a book called The blessed state of England (STC 18422.5) by Thomas Nelson, a

popular writer of ballads. The subject of Nelson's publication was "the singular vertues and peaceable gouernment" of the **Q**ueen, which, he suggests, are the foundation of the present "blessed state of England" (sig. A1). The first part of the work traces briefly Elizabeth's early life, noting how divine providence had protected her from her enemies, and then proceeds to recall the joy that attended her coronation and the clemency that she showed to her enemies. Since Elizabeth became queen, Nelson continues, the fame and glory of England "runneth into all partes of the world, in to euerie foraine nation and heathen kingdome, yea, euen to the court and pallaces of the mightie and great Emperour of the Turkes" (sig. B1). As proof of the honour in which the **Q**ueen is held by the Turks, Nelson reproduces a letter sent to the **Q**ueen from the **E**mperor. The letter, like Nelson's prose, is replete with fulsome praise of the **Q**ueen. The pamphlet concludes by listing all the blessings enjoyed by Englishmen, such as the abundance of all things, the cheapness of prices, the fairness and vigilance of Elizabeth's government, and the readiness of her soldiers and navy when invasion threatens. In one typical passage, the writer contrasts the blessed peace in England with the fate of such places as France:

Their fieldes are filled with Campes, whilest ours are quietly bringing foorth corne, they are mustering their men in harnesse, whilest that we in quiet are reaping our haruest. Englande vseth their peeces to fowle for pleasure, when in other countries they

vse them for feare of perill. Who so euer he be that considereth the troubles which they daily tast of, their continuall dangers and daily vnquietnesse, which they from time to [time?] abide will say no lesse but that their case is most miserable (sig. B3b).

Perhaps the most curious politically inspired writings published in England during 1591 were a scurrilous tract entitled A letter written by a Catholicke gentleman (STC 5400.3) and a much longer work called A discouery of the great subtilltie and wonderful wisedome of the Italians (STC 10638). The former item, translated from French, was an address to "the Lady Iane Clement, the hauling [i.e. arrogant] Princesse of the League" (sig. A2), in which that person is accused of being "the onely shop and warehouse of al the mischiefe committed in France" (sig. A2). The lady is declared to be a whore--"for no meate in Paris more common, then thy selfe" (sig. A2b)--who bewitched the assassin of Henry III of France and who continues to play a significant role in drawing ordinary Frenchmen away from allegiance to their divinely appointed ruler, Henry IV. The writer extol^s Henry's virtues, such as his evident religious tolerance, and points out numerous ways in which the treachery of the League manifests itself. The second item, on the Italian nation, makes frequent reference to the danger allegedly represented to France by the Italians and the Catholic Church; and it is likely that the publication was written by a Protestant sympathizer of Henry IV. The writer demonstrates by numerous examples that the Italians are cunning and dangerous politicians who use the Church of

Rome to extend their influence into other nations. However, various chapters such as one entitled "The service of the Iesuites, to blinde the youth withall, to the end to make them adore the Italian inuentions" (sig. G3), imply that the Catholic Church is a dangerous institution by itself. The Catholic Church is accused, among other things, of pretending to bring all kings under the sway of the pope, thereby spinning "the thred of all the warres which haue beene betweene the Emperours, and other christian princes" (sig. D4), and of using excommunication as a political weapon (sig. D4b).

Apart from their usefulness as rudimentary political commentary, publications like the foregoing items are a further measure of a general interest in life beyond English shores. No doubt much of the attraction of Nelson's pamphlet lay in its references to Turkey and other nations; and news, histories, and commentaries dealing with other countries must have been purchased, at least in part, because they spoke about foreign lands. Several other publications from 1591 owed their existence to this type of curiosity; and, in a sense, they also typify the broadening of interests that was characteristic of the Elizabethan age. These items, which it is convenient to classify as publications in the area of geography and travel, consisted of a map of Grave, in Holland (STC 12194), a study of Russia by Giles Fletcher, and an account of the adventures of Job Hortop, an English seaman.

Giles Fletcher, the author of the book Of the Russe

common wealth (STC 11056), was serving in the English diplomatic service when, in 1588, he was sent to Russia to win the friendship and cooperation of the Czar, especially in matters of trade. Fletcher's mission was successful; but he was, evidently, badly treated at the court of the Czar, Fedor I (DNB, VII, 300). It may be that his treatment at the hands of the Russians influenced his attitude towards that country, as his description of Russia, published in 1591, is very negative in places. In his dedication to the Queen, Fletcher calls Russia "a tyrannical state . . . without true knowledge of God, without written Lawe, without common iustice," and observes that the lack of justice is "griuous to the poore oppressed people, that liue within those countreyes" (sig. A3b). Fletcher suggests that his comparison of conditions in Russia with the happy state of England

may giue iust cause to my selfe, and other your Maiesties faithfull subiects, to acknowledge our happines on this behalf, and to giue God thankes for your Maiesties most Princelike, and gracious gouernment: and also to your Highnesses more ioy and contentment in your royall estate, in that you are a Prince of subiectes, not of slaues, that are kept within duetie by loue, not by feare (sig. A3b).

Fletcher's study of Russia was very ambitious, in that he attempted to encompass every aspect of the Russian state within its pages. The book deals with the physical geography of the country, the system of government, the classes of people, the customs of the Russians, and numerous other matters such as justice, military affairs, colonies, and churches and religion. Many of Fletcher's observations displeased the

Russians, and in response to this, the English trading interests succeeded in having this book suppressed (DNB, VII, 300). The following passage on the subject of the Russian system of government is typical of the kind of remark that made the book so offensive:

The state and forme of their gouernment is plaine tyrannical, as applying all to the behoofe of the Prince, and that after a most open and barbarous manner: as may appeare by the Sophismata or secretes of their gouernment afterwards set downe, aswell for the keeping of the Nobilitie and Commons in an vnder proportion, & far vneuen ballance in their seuerall degrees, as also in their impositions and exactions, wherein they exceede all iust measure without any regard of Nobilitie or people: farther then it giueth the Nobilitie a kinde of vniust and vnmeasured libertie, to commaund and exact vpon the commons and baser sort of people in all partes of the realme wheresoeuer they come, specially in the place where their landes lye, or where they are appoynted by the Emperour to gouern vnder him (sig. D4-D4b).

Another Englishman who travelled abroad, albeit under rather different circumstance^s than those of Fletcher, was Job Hortop, a seaman from Lincolnshire who had left English soil in 1567 as a gunner in the service of John Hawkins. When Hawkins's expedition was ended abruptly by Spanish guns at San Juan de Luca, Hortop was among the Englishmen who escaped and eventually made their way on foot to Mexico City. In Mexico City Hortop and his companions fell into enemy hands, and two years' imprisonment in that place were but the beginning of what would prove to be twenty-three years of confinement for Hortop in Mexico and Spain. Of all his companions, Hortop alone managed to escape. In 1590 he stowed away on a vessel leaving San Lucar which was itself eventually taken by

an English ship. Hortop returned home late in 1590, and in the following year his story was published under the title of The trauailes of an Englishman (STC 13828).

Hortop's book consists of his recollections of the "sundrie calamities" he experienced during his adventures, which are revealed in chronological order. The publisher of this book evidently sensed that the appeal of the work might lie as much in Hortop's descriptions of "the sundrie shapes of wilde Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Foules, rootes, plantes, &c" (sig. A1), as in the narrator's sufferings; and thus the title holds out the promise of descriptions of exotic flora and fauna, including "the description of a man that appeared in the Sea; and also of a huge Giant brought from China to the King of Spaine" (sig. A1). Among the adventures occurring during the outward voyage, for example, was an encounter with a sea-horse, a creature said to inhabit the area around Sierra Leone, where the fleet landed before resuming the Atlantic crossing:

In this riuer in the night time we had one of our pincas [i.e. pinnaces] bulged by a sea-horse, so that our men swimming about the riuer, were all taken into the other pinnaces, except two that tooke holde one of another, and were carried awaie by the seahorse, who hath the iust proportion of a horse, sauing that his legs be short, his teeth verie great and a span in length, he vseth on the night to go on land into the woodes, seeking at vnawares to deuour the Negros in their cabbins, whom they by their vigilancie preuent, and kill them in this manner. The Negros keepe watch, and diligently attend their comming, and when they are gone into the woodes, they forthwith laie a great tree ouerthwart the waie, so that at their returne, for that their legs be so short, they cannot

go ouer it: then the Negroes set vppon them with their bowes, arrowes and darts, and so destroy them (sig. A4).

Following the African portion of the adventure, which included encounters with the negro people and the capture of five hundred of them "for trafficke of the West Indies" (sig. A4b), the fleet sailed for the New World, where Hortop enjoyed several months of cruising and enjoying more marvels, including "a monstrous venemous worme, with two heads" (sig. B1b), and tigers, "monstrous and furious beasts, which by subtiltie deuoure and destroy many men" (sig. B1b). Later on, Hortop and several companions had an encounter with an alligator, which he describes as follows:

In this riuer we killed a monstrous Alagarta in this port at Sunne set: seuen of vs went in the pinnice vp into the Riuer, carrying with vs a dogge, vnto whom with rope yarne wee bound a great hooke of steele, with a chaine that had a swiuel, which wee put vnder the dogs belly, the point of the hooke comming ouer his backe fast bound, as aforesaid, we put him ouer bord, & vered out our rope by little & little, rowing away with our boate, the Alagarta came and presently swallowed vp the dogge, then did we rowe hard, till we had choked him, hee plunged and made a wonderfull sturre in the water, we leapt on shore, and haled him on lande: he was 23 foote by the rule, headed like a hogge, in bodie like a serpent, full of scales as broad as a sawcer, his taile long and full of knots, as bigge as a fawcon shotte, he hath foure legges, his feete haue long nailes like vnto a dragon, we opened him, tooke out his guttes, flead him, dried his skinne, & stuffed it with strawe, meaning to haue brought it home, had not the shippe been cast away. This monster wil carrie away and deuoure both man and horse (sig. B2-B2b).

During all this time, Hawkins's fleet was encountering the Spanish presence in the area, sometimes trading and negotiating, but fighting more often than not. At length, Hawkins's

fleet was so crippled in a fight at San Juan de Luca that the expedition effectively ended. Hortop's greatest adventures commenced at this point, since he was one of a number of men who were put ashore by the captain of the Minion, one of the ships that had escaped the Spaniards. The overland journey to Mexico City, which Hortop describes in some detail, was punctuated by continual harrassment from the Indians, and there were several casualties before the group reached their destination and were taken captive by the Spaniards. Two full years of close custody and drudgery elapsed before Hortop and his surviving companions were sent to Spain in the custody of an admiral of the Spanish fleet, who also carried with him the skeleton of the enormous giant mentioned on the title-page.

Hortop and his surviving friends were brought to Seville despite an attempt to escape from this ship, and the Spanish part of their adventure began. Hortop goes on to describe in detail such things as his imprisonment in Seville and Triana and the unhappy escape attempt which resulted in the execution of several of the men, including the leader of Hortop's group. Hortop's punishment for escaping, and his subsequent adventures, are best revealed in his own words:

Then I Iob Hortop, and Iohn Bone, were called, & brought to the place, as before, where we heard our sentence, which was, that we should go to the Gallies, and there to rowe at the oares end ten yeeres, and then to be brought backe to the Inquisition house, to haue the cote with S. Andrewes crosse put on our backes,

and from thence to go to the euerlasting prison remedillesse, and so wee were returned to the scaffold from whence we came. Thomas Marks, and Thomas Eilis were called, and had sentence to serue in the Gallies eight yeeres, and Humphrey Roberts, and Iohn Emerie to serue fiue yeres, and so were returned to the benches on the scaffold, where wee sate till foure of clocke in the after noone. Then we were led againe to the Inquisition house, from whence we were brought. The next day in the morning, Bresinia the secretorie came thither to vs, and deliuered to euerie one of vs his sentence in writing, I with the rest were sent to the Gallies, where we were chained foure and foure together, euery mans daily allowance was twentie six ounces of course black bisket and water. Our clothing for the whole yeare, two shirts, two paire of breches of course canuas, a red cote of course cloth, soone on, and soone off, and a gowne of haire with a Friars hoode, our lodging was on the bare bords, and bankes of the Gallies, our heads and beards were shauen euery month, hunger, thirst, cold and stripes, wee lacked none, till our seuerall time expired, and after the time of 12 yeeres, for I serued two yeres aboue my sentence, I was sent back to the Inquisition house in Ciuill [i.e. Seville], & there hauing put on the cote with S. Andrews crosse, I was sent to the euerlasting prison remedillesse, where I wore the cote 4. yeeres, & then vpon great suite, I had it taken off for 50 duckets, which Hornando de Soria, treasurer of the kings mint lent me, whom I serued for it as a drudge 7. yeeres, and vntill the moneth of October last, 1590. and then I came from Ciuil to S. Lucar, where I made means to come away in a fly-bote, that was laden with wines & salt, which were Flemmings goodes, the king of Spaynes subiects, dwelling in Ciuill, married to Spanish women, and sworne to their king. In this moneth of October last, departing from S. Lucar, at sea, off the sothernmost Cape, wee met an English ship, called the Galleon Dudley, who tooke the Flemming, and mee out of him, & brought me to Portsmouth, where they set me on land, the 2 day of December last past, 1590. From thence I was sent by M. Muns the lieutenant of Portsmouth, with letters to the R. honorable the Earle of Sussex, who commanded his secretorie to take my name and examination, how long I had beene out of England, and with whom I went, which he did. And on Christmas euen I tooke my leaue of his honor, and went to Redriffe (sig. D3-D3b).

Quite apart from the question of the literal truth of

some of his anecdotes, Hortop's story afforded entertainment of the most exciting kind; and it is easy to believe that the book of his adventures must have been a literary sensation among his contemporaries. Hortop's tales of the bizarre and exotic, his descriptions of new lands and of the habits of strange peoples, and his intimate knowledge of some aspects of Spanish culture were but a few of the attractive features of the book; and curiosity-loving Elizabethans must have read it with eagerness. The story of the unfortunate gunner lacked the scholarship of Fletcher's account of Russia, but it was, in its own way, a significant contribution to the growing fund of popular geographical understanding about foreign lands.

Yet another literary reflection of English interest in foreign lands was the publication of language tutors for private study. Language tutors had been in use in England as far back as the thirteenth century, when manuscript texts were produced to facilitate the learning of French, but their use became most widespread during the second half of the sixteenth century and later.¹ The most popular language for study continued to be French, which was important in such areas as diplomacy, trades and law; but other tongues, notably Italian and Spanish, were also studied, and it was with these two languages that the tutors published during 1591 were concerned.

¹Kenneth Charlton, Education in Renaissance England (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), p. 227.

While the motives for studying a foreign language may have been various, most students must have regarded their efforts in terms of social accomplishment or business success. For some years, for example, English traders had been compelled to learn foreign tongues in order to compete with business men on the Continent where English was spoken hardly at all.¹ French, again, was the most popular language for study among traders, but during the last decade of the sixteenth century, there was a rather sudden interest in Spanish among this group. The rather late appearance of Spanish tutors is somewhat surprising, in view of the fact that commerce and diplomacy continued between England and Spain throughout the Elizabethan era, despite the political and religious animosities that prevailed.² The first Spanish tutor to appear in English was John Thorie's Spanish Grammar, published in 1590.³ This work was followed in 1591

¹Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Ithica, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958), p. 359.

²Charlton, p. 237. Trade with Spain, however, was strictly controlled. During 1591, for example, a proclamation (STC 8206) was issued forbidding the export of food, metal, and naval and military supplies to Spain.

³STC 5790. The book was a translation of Reglas grammaticalis para aprender la lengua espanola y francesca (STC 5789, 1586). Thorie was a pupil of the writer of the original work, Antonio de Corro. (See H. S. Bennett, English Books and Readers, 1558 to 1603, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965, p. 178.)

by a second tutor, The Spanish schoole-master (STC 23256), by William Stepney and by a grammar and dictionary, Bibliotheca Hispanica (STC 19619) by Richard Percyvall.

The grammar and dictionary of Percyvall was a popular work among merchants,¹ and the dictionary portion of the work, at least, was recommended by William Stepney in the preface to his own tutor, The Spanish schoole-master (sig. A4). Readers of the grammar would have proceeded through a brief text explaining the pronunciation of Spanish and indicating the basic rules of its grammar. In an interesting digression at the end of the grammar, Percyvall discourses briefly upon the language of Spain in relation to its history, and concludes that "this mixture of nations must of necessitie make a mixt and compounded language: such as hauing affinitie with many, hath no perfection in any one" (sig. E2). Noting that speakers of Latin might profit by certain affinities between the pronunciation of the two tongues, the author concluded the grammar by annexing a table in Latin showing certain common sounds derived from that language. The dictionary which makes up the bulk of the work consists of over 100,000 Spanish words, with meanings in English and Latin.

William Stepney's tutor (STC 23256) was based largely upon the tutor of John Thorie,² which, along with that of

¹Wright, p. 362.

²Wright, p. 362.

Percyvall, Stepney acknowledged kindly in his preface (sig. A4). Stepney's tutor, however, proved more popular with English readers largely because Thorie's work was rather academic, with no dialogues, few examples, and little help with pronunciation.¹ Stepney, on the other hand, devised a dialogue for each day in the week and a detailed examination of Spanish pronunciation, as well as some notes on the conjugation of verbs. Stepney's work contained no grammar section because, as he says, "there is a Grammar in Spanish [presumably, that of Thorie] very exactly shewing all the parts of speech" (sig. C7).

From the dramatic situations suggested in his dialogues, it is evident that Stepney's aim was to cater to the needs of traders especially. The dialogue for Monday, for example, teaches "how trauellers should aske the waye from one place to another, with diuerse familiar communications" (sig. C7b), the Tuesday dialogue "treateth of marchandise, and teacheth for to buy and sell" (sig. D5b), while the dialogue for Wednesday "is for the receiuing of debts, with other familiar communications" (sig. E2b). The dialogues, which were, essentially, records of hypothetical conversations, with the English and Spanish versions on facing pages, also included information about what to say at feasts and banquets (sig. E7b ff.), how to deal with various situations at inns (sig.

¹Charlton, p. 237.

H2b ff.), how to converse upon arising (sig. I1b ff.), and "what talke is most conuenient to be vsed at our going to the Church" (sig. I6b ff.). There is no evidence that Stepney arranged the conversations in order of increasing grammatical complexity; and it must have been a gargantuan task for the learner to proceed through the book, even with the help of Thorie's grammar and Percyvall's dictionary at his elbow.

Language tutors like that of Stepney are infinitely fascinating for the modern reader because of the incidental information they convey about contemporary society and for the insight they offer into such things as current idioms, the rhythm and tone of casual conversation, and the daily habits and customs of the people for whom they were intended. In the dialogue for Thursday, for example, two speakers, Matthew and Mark, discuss the practices of "diuers dames in London" who breakfast in bed "and when they haue well broken their fasts, they will lye downe againe and sleepe vpon it" (sig. E7b-E8b). Asked whether there are many such women, Mark replies:

I in good faith too many: but if they were
as well exercised in their spinning as they are in
trimming and painting themselues, they would
proue better houswiues, & some of them not cause
their husbands so soone to become bankeroutes (sig.
F1b).

After additional derisory remarks, including the assertion that the husbands of such women risk becoming cuckolds, the two speakers take their leave of one another, and one of them appears in the succeeding line of dialogue as a schoolboy

being chastized for coming home late. The conversations that ensue within the boy's home refer to such things as the preparation of the table (sig. F3b), the Spanish school at Paul's Church (sig. F4b), troubles in Spain and Portugal (sig. G8b), and so on. Part of the conversation in an ensuing dialogue deals with an evening at an inn, when a guest attempts to become familiar with his bedchamber and the chambermaid at the same time:

My she friend is my bed made?
 Is it a good bed?
 Yea sir, it is a good fether bed
 and the sheetes be verie cleane.
 Pull off my hosen, and warme my bed,
 for I am verie euill at ease,
 and I shake as a leafe vpon the
 tree, warme my kerchife:
 soft, you bind it too hard, giue me now my
 nightcap, bring my pillow, and couer me
 well, draw the curtines, and pin them with
 a pin. Where is the chamber pot?
 Where is the priuie?
 Follow me, and I will shew you the way, go
 vp straight, and you shall finde them
 at your right hand.
 If you see them not you shall smell them well enough.
 Sir doth it please you to haue any other thing?
 are you well?
 Yea my she friend, put out the candell,
 and come neerer to me.
 I will put it out when I am out
 of the chamber.
 What is your pleasure? are you not
 well enough yet?
 My head doth lie too low, lift
 vp a little the bolster.
 I cannot lie so low,
 for it will make my head ake.
 My she friend, kisse me once before you
 go, and I shall sleepe
 the better all this night after.
 Sleepe, sleepe, you are not sicke
 that see I well, because ye speake of kissing:

I had rather die then kisse a man in
his bed, or in any other place (sig. H7b-H8b).

The final language tutor from 1591, Florios second frutes (STC 11097) by the teacher of Italian, John Florio, had certain features in common with Stepney's book, but it was evidently intended for a different sort of reader. Like Stepney, Florio presented his text in the form of "dialogues," with Italian and English on facing pages; and a number of situations, such as rising in the morning, dining, and going to bed, are common to both books. From the conversations that go on among Florio's speakers, however, and from the activities which they carry on, it is evident that they are not merchants, but members of the courtier class.

Florio's choice of gentlemen to people his dialogues was perfectly in keeping with the position which the Italian language enjoyed during the sixteenth century in England. Although it was second only to French in popularity,¹ it was not urgently required as a language of trade, since the Italians themselves controlled trade into and out of their own country.² Florio's tutors, in fact, were of more use to Italian traders, who frequently visited English ports and cities, than to English merchants; and the preface of his first tutor, Florio his first frutes (STC 11096, 1578) was addressed alike

¹Charlton, p. 234.

²Wright, p. 363.

to English gentlemen and Italian traders.

Unlike his earlier work, Florio's tutor of 1591 did not contain a grammar section, so it must have been assumed that his readers would have the earlier work either memorized or close at hand while reading the second one. The dialogues in the 1591 tutor are fairly complex at the beginning, and become progressively more so as the work goes on. The final dialogues of the collection of twelve contain long passages upon such subjects as love, women, and courtiers, which would appear to assume great competence in Italian. At the very least, of course, Florio would have hoped that his readers would learn a collection of Italian phrases to use in situations similar to those described in the dialogues. The second part of the book, in fact, contains an alphabetical arrangement of no less than six thousand Italian proverbs, none of which are translated; and it was probably assumed that an individual with a personal collection of these would be able to spice his conversation in an interesting and fashionable way.

The twelve dialogues in the first section of the book trace the events of a gentleman's day, from his arising and dressing to "a night watch, wherein prouerbially and pleasantly discourse is held of loue, and of women" (sig. Y3). During the course of the "day" various gentlemen take part in, and discuss, such activities as tennis (sig. D4 ff.), hunting (sig. F3 ff.), horsemanship (sig. G1 ff.), cardplaying (sig. K2 ff.), chess (sig. L2 ff.), travelling (sig. N3 ff.), and

fencing (sig. O3 ff.). The following remarks, concerning beauty in women, are typical of much of the material in the book:

Womens beauty is like vnto a flower; in the morning plast in theyr bosomes, at night cast at their heeles: a sun-shine ecliptst by a minutes sicknesse, ouercast by a clowde of care, and outworne by a night of age: a lightening with a thunder in the taile, the first blasteth where it bideth not; the other killeth where it breakes no flesh: it is like vnto a golden cloke, nor warme for winter, nor light for sommer: like vnto a starcht peece of fine Lawne it is, stayned with euery light spot, frayed with the least stresse, & rent with a little vse (sig. 2B1).

The education of a gentleman was the concern of another book from 1591 entitled The court of ciuill courtesie (STC 21136). Written originally by an Italian courtier for the instruction of his young nephew (sig. A2), and first published in translation in English in 1582, this work was evidently popular enough to warrant a second edition during 1591. According to the sub-title, the work was

fitlie furnished with a pleasant port of stately phrases and pithy precepts: assembled in the behalfe of all young Gentlemen, and others, that are desirous to frame their behaiour according to their estates, at all times, and in all companies (sig. A1).

Courtesy books and conversation manuals like The court of ciuill courtesie enjoyed great popularity during the sixteenth century, and, as the sub-title suggests, they were not limited in their appeal to the upper classes. The middle-classes regarded handbooks of this kind as one of the keys to self-advancement, and the main stimulus for such manuals came

from this section of society.¹ Like Florio's Italian tutor, however, The court of ciuill courtesie made no concessions to the possibility that readers of less than gentlemanly status might read it, and the advice and situations in the book were directed to persons of rank and privilege.

The assumption underlying the book was that an accomplished gentleman should know how to deal with any number of social situations that might arise, so that his handling of them would enhance his reputation. The book deals with such problems as responding to praise in a way appropriate to the rank of the giver, handling people who make offensive remarks, dealing with envious and scornful persons; behaving oneself "in bad company, and among such Roysters as will offer familiarity with him" (sig. B4b) and so on. Proper behaviour and courtesy at the table (sig. E2 ff.), and the way to initiate (or avoid) a duel (sig. C4 ff.), are among the other topics dealt with, all of them accompanied by remarks like the following aside on the telling of jokes at the table:

Yet this admonition more I must adde, that who so in his entertainentes shall indeuour to tell any tale to mooue laughter (specially in a strange company) had need to be sure that it carie that life or quicknesse with it, as he be not so much deceiued of his expectation, that he be fain himself to laugh alone: for that wil be so great a disgrace, as in steed of laughing at the table, they wil smile in their sleeues at him, and therefore to shun that, hee must beware that he take not in hand to tell any thing for foolish, that is not folly, nor for wise

¹Wright, p. 128.

that hath collour of folly: nor for a wonder, that is not wonderfull: nor for rare, that is common: for want of experience may deceiue all these (sig. B4b).

Most occasions cited in the book required some form of verbal behaviour, appropriate examples of which are provided. If, for instance, a young man should find himself "in the companie of any, whose liuing and byrth is woorse than his owne, and yet perceiueth the other for his wisdom and grauity to be well esteemed of by others," the young courtier should yield to the other in words such as the following:

I pray you goe, for I loue to follow the steppes of mine elders. Or thus.
 You must needs go, for I cannot away to go formost, Or thus,
 On, on I pray you, you be the next the doore. Or thus.
 If you go not we shal striue al day, for I wil not. or thus,
 You make too much a doo for so small a matter, And at the placing at the table, as thus,
 Wil you sit sir, and I wil be next you, Or thus.
 Not I by your leaue. Or thus.
 Such a one wil needs haue you by him. Or thus.
 You shal not rule me til you come to your own house. Or thus.
 The place is fitter for you than for me. Or thus.
 Go too, Shal we striue all day like women (sig. A3-A3b).

The abundance of conversation manuals and courtesy books during the Elizabethan era is just one manifestation of the enthusiasm of the age for handbooks to self-improvement. Any number of books, upon such subjects as the inculcation of manners in children, the memorization of aphoristic knowledge, the composing of letters, the use of philosophy and the study of penmanship were read eagerly by Englishmen for

their potential usefulness in the ordinary affairs of life. In addition to The court of ciuill courtesie, the year 1591 witnessed the publication of several additional handbooks which the private citizen could read for the sake of his personal betterment. These included two books on the subject of penmanship, and three titles dealing with moral philosophy and ethics.

The subject of penmanship appears to have excited a good deal of interest during the Elizabethan period, and a number of tutors in this skill appeared during the reign. Throughout the Tudor period as a whole, handwriting was in a state of flux, and at one time there were no less than six recognizable styles of writing.¹ For all practical purposes however, the two hands which vied for supremacy were the so-called secretary hand, deriving from the indigenous English script, and the Italian, or Roman hand, which had been developed in Italy during the Italian Renaissance and imported to England during the early Tudor period. One handwriting tutor from 1591, A most breefe, easie and plaine receite for faire writing (STC 19172.3) provided instruction in both the Roman and secretary hands on the assumption that "many would willingly attayne the perfection of writing, and cannot, either for that their abiding is too farre off, or helde back by

¹Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, "Handwriting," in Shakespeare's England, ed. by C. T. Onions (2 Vols.; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966), I, 291.

PLATE VI
(OVERLEAF)



A

Most breefe, easie and plaine
receite for faire writing.

*Wherin the Author being well ac-
quainted with the causes, which in these
daies hinders it, hath for the good of his Cunt-
trie, so distinguished and broken every particular letter
for the true making thereof, and so perfected
by and plainly showne the ready way
of true soyning the same.*

Both for the Roman and Se-
cretary handes, as any one of ordinarye
yeres and capacity, not hindring any other bu-
sines, may at his idle times by his own private prac-
tise, in short time attaine to write, to serue ve-
ry good vses either in office or
otherwise.

AT LONDON

Printed by E. A. for Iohn Perin, and are
to be solde in Paules Churchyard
at the sign: of the Angell.

occasion of business or otherwise" (sig. A2b).

The author of the manual, William Panke, appears to have run a school for handwriting, as he promises "that he will gratis shew . . . by woord of mouth" (sig. A2b) the implementation of his simple rules to all those who cannot profit by his tutor alone. The tutor itself is divided into two parts, one for the secretary hand and one for the Roman. In each part, Panke leads the student through the formation of the letters, and shows readers how to join them. The book emerged from the press with blank spaces where the written examples were to appear and these were later written in by hand, a procedure which must have been laborious indeed. Panke's instructions for the writing of the first two letters of the alphabet in secretary hand are illustrative of his method:

For your **a** the plainest and easiest waye is yt you make the first parte round thus **o** (for to make it otherwise will seeme hard to a learner) then, from the vttermost parte therof, towards your right hand, make a small stroke thus **σ** which doone, set on your pen where you fastned your last stroak, and from thence draw down a straight stroake no lower then your firste compasse thus. **o σ a**

Your **b** is thus made. First make a slope stroak thus **'** at the vpper end wherof set your pen, and turning it ouer a little towards your lefte hand thus **σ** bring it straight downe so far as your lyne that you writ vpon thus **l** which doone, set your pen a little behinde the end therof thus **l** and bringing it straight forward thus **l** then turne it vp round in this manner **bb** (sig. A3).

By following such "plain, easie, & exact, rules for faire writing" (sig. A2b), Panke argued, anyone "of ordinarye yeres

and capacity, not hindring any other busines, may at his idle times by his own priuate practise, in short time attaine to write, to serue very good vses either in office or otherwise" (sig. A1). A second handwriting manual, A booke containing diuers sortes of hands, as well the English as French secretary (STC 6448) by John de Beau Chesne was also issued in 1591, twenty years after a first edition in 1571 (STC 6446).

For all his enthusiasm for more practical accomplishments like polished conversation and neat penmanship, the ordinary Elizabethan was not unmindful of the value of knowledge of a less utilitarian kind. The inculcation of morals, for example, was one of the chief aims of the grammar schools, and some readers were eager to read materials that dealt with philosophical or moral questions. One of the favourite books of the age,¹ in fact, was William Baldwin's collection of the sayings of philosophers and other wise men of the past. Baldwin's book, A treatise of morall philosophie (STC 1263) had been augmented soon after its first appearance by one Thomas Paulfrayman, and this revised version was in its twelfth edition in 1591.

Baldwin's treatise purports to gather together and organize the most significant utterances of the philosophers by arranging them under subject headings. The book begins with several chapters upon the subject of philosophy itself,

¹Wright, p. 148.

followed by a brief biographical sketch of each personage whose words appear later on. Among the categories included in the text are such things as the nature of God, the philosophy of government and order, wisdom, sorrow, envy, wrath, blessedness, and lechery. The final two sections of the work contain miscellaneous aphorisms, "pithie meeters of diuers matters," and a collection of "parables" by writers such as Socrates, Seneca, and Plutarch. One of the reasons for the popularity of this book was undoubtedly "its compact wisdom expressed in neat sententious statements" since the Elizabethans "liked their learning spoken trippingly from the tongue."¹

Another book dealing with certain moral questions was A work worth the reading (STC 11821), by Charles Gibbon. Unlike Baldwin, Gibbon limited his work to the consideration of five "profitable and pithy questions" which are examined by "two louers of learning," Philogus and Tychicus, in the form of a dialogue. In the first dialogue, the two men consider a case in which a young girl is to be married against her will to an old man, at her parents' urging; and the men discourse at large upon the question "whether the election of the parents is to be preferred before the affection of their children in marriage" (sig. B1). Other matters which come to the attention of the two men lead them into debates upon such questions

¹Wright, p. 148.

as whether a father may lawfully disinherit his first born (sig. D1 ff.), whether there are degrees of glory in heaven or differences of pain in hell (sig. G2 ff.), and whether the rich or poor are most blessed (sig. H2b ff.).

In the final dialogue, the two men debate upon a topic which seems to have been of great interest at the time--the matter of usury. Philogus reports the case of a wealthy man who lends money to the poor at no interest, but who charges interest to rich borrowers. In answer to the question whether such a man may lawfully take usury of the rich, Tychicus compares all usurers to drones, and points out that usury is flatly forbidden. As the debate goes forward, the men summarize and comment upon various biblical texts on the topic, and Philogus concludes "that although vsury is prohibited to be taken of the poore, I see no reason it should be remitted of the rich" (sig. G1b).

A final publication from 1591 which might have been regarded as educationally useful was a book of devices, or illustrations, each of which was accompanied by an appropriate motto, historical observation, or morally useful statement. The book, called The heroicall deuises of M. Claudius Paradin (STC 19183) was a translation from Latin of the notes and comments attached to a number of devices from the collections of Paradin and others. One illustration showing a snake coiled around a strawberry plant is accompanied, for example, by the motto "The adder lurketh priuilie in the grasse" (sig. F2).

On the following page, the writer observes that in gathering flowers and strawberries, care must be taken to avoid adders. Similarly, in reading books, he goes on, readers should be careful not to be taken in by "absurde, and wrong iudgements, and opinions, & by that meanes make shipwracke of our soules" (sig. F2b).

Handbooks to practical and moral improvement constituted only a part of the educational material available to the Elizabethan reader, but they do, in a sense, epitomize the eagerness for learning which was so much a part of the age. Readers hoped to find something useful and uplifting in everything they read, and where the topic of the book might not be seen as obviously beneficial, the publisher was usually quick to find some redeeming feature and advertise it prominently upon the title-page. In a real sense, therefore, the widespread desire for popular education had far greater implications than the foregoing discussions of formal and informal education would imply. In the end, the desire for education was the basic impetus behind the publishing industry, which in turn helped so much to make learning the privilege of the common man.

SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

CHRONOLOGICAL HANDLIST: SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

- 403, Almanac, engraved copper plate. Early in 1591.
- 434, J. Dade, An almanacke and prognostication . . . R.
Watkins a. J. Roberts. Early in 1591.
- 434.5, J. D., A triple almanacke . . . [R. Watkins a. J.
Roberts.] Probably by Dade; early in 1591.
- 444, G. Frende, A new almanacke and prognostication
R. Watkins a. J. Roberts. Early in 1591. 1/2, both
1591.
- 444.5, G. Frende [An almanac] [R. Watkins a. J. Roberts.]
Fragments only; early in 1591. 2/2, both 1591.
- 4864, C. de Cattan, The geomancie of . . . Cattan
J. Wolfe, sold by E. White. Pseudo-science; tr. from
Fr. by F. Sparry; ent. to White 26 se., 1590; probably
early 1591. 1/2, 1591-1608.
- 5457, Sir T. Cockaine, A short treatise of hunting T.
Orwin f. T. Woodcocke. Ded. dated 31 de. 1590; prob-
ably early 1591.
- 11625, W. Garrard, The art of warre. f. R. Warde. Military
handbook; ed. R. Hichcock; with section on victualling
troops by Hichcock; foreword dated 1590; probably early
1591.
- 10642, J. F., Perpetuall . . . prognostications of the change
of weather J. Wolfe (SR 7 ja., Wolfe). Weather
forecasting; tr. from Ital. copy by J.F. 1/2, 1591-
1598.

SR 24 fb., "A booke entituled Admirandum et inaestimabile opus Steganographiae A Johanne Tritemio Abbate Spanheymensi &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 25 fb., "A booke entituled the Judgement of Vrine &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 8 mr., "The methode Curatyve of the venerious disease &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).

5376, G. Clayton, The approoued order of martiall discipline
 J. C[harlewood]. f. A. Kitson (SR 12 ap.,
 Charlewood). Military handbook in two parts.

SR 30 ap., "The Phisiognimye of dreames &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 30 ap., "the Secretes of the arte profumitorye &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 30 ap., "a booke of Cookerye for all manner of Dutche vycually &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 30 ap., "a perfecte waye to preserue wyne from marrynge &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 30 ap., "a booke wherein is shewed the order howe to measure all manner of vesselles" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 30 ap., "a booke intituled Epulario wherein is set forthe the dressinge of all manner of fleshe, byrdes and fishe, and to make all sortes of sawce tartes and pasties &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 30 ap., "Christofer Messisbugo his booke of Cookerye &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 30 ap., "the righte makinge of Aqua vitae. &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 30 ap., "a booke of plantinge and graftinge &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 30 ap., "a booke howe to brewe all sortes of beire &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 30 ap., "a booke of Alkamyē [i.e. Alchemy] &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 30 ap., "a booke sheweinge howe to make all manner of Inke, and howe to wryte with gold and siluer, with Diuerse other notable Directions to write and laye all manner of cullours vppon parchement and otherwise" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 30 ap., "iij little bookes of fishinge to be translated out of Dutche" [three items] (ent. to John Wolfe).

20118, G. B. della Porta, De furtiuīs literarum notis . . . J. Wolfe. Cryptography; Latin; ded. dated 1 my.; ent. to Wolfe 2 no. 1590.

20118a [anr. issue, w. imprint:] Neapoli, ap. Io. Mar. Scotum, 1563 [London, J. Wolfe, 1591]. Forgery of Italian edition of 1563.

21057, G. Ripley, The compound of alchymy. T. Orwin (SR 12 my., Orwin). Alchemical treatise, in verse; ed. R. Rabbards.

11185, S. Forman, The groundes of the longitude T. Dawson (SR 12 jy., Dawson). Navigation; defense of an alleged system for finding longitude.

SR 16 au., "A booke entitled: A treatise of measuringe of Land, by statute woodland customary and Court measure" (ent. to Edward White).

12159, R. Grafton, A briefe treatise contayning . . . tables and rules J. Charlewood f. T. Adams (SR 12 oc., Adams). Miscellaneous information; ed. and revised by W. W. 7/14, 1571-1611.

- 13070, G. Henisch, The principles of geometrie, astronomie, and geographie. J. Windet [f. T. Cooke] (SR 6 de., Cooke). With astronomical tables; tr. from Germ. copy by F. Cooke.
- 1049.1, J. B., The marchants auiso. T. Orwin, by assignes of W. Norton. Miscellaneous information. 1/4?, 1591-1640.
- 1213, H. Baker, The wel spring of sciences T. Purfoote. Arithmetic tutor; revised edition; w. tables of weights, etc., from Continental centres. 5/10, 1568-1631.
- 5445, W. Clowes, A prooued practise for all young chirurgians T. Orwin f. J. Broome. With a treatise on the French Pox by J. Almenar and a collection of aphorisms; enlarged and augmented. 2/2, 1588-1591.
- 6859, L. Digges, A geometrical practical treatise A. Jeffes. Revised edition. 2/2, 1571-1591.
- 7275, J. Du Chesne, A breefe aunswere . . . to the exposition of Iacobus Aubertus Vindonis [f. J. Hester] Medicine and pharmacology; Paracelsan controversy; two books, and appendix about three of Hester's curatives; tr. from Lat. by Hester.
- 15391, G. Legh, The accidence of armorie. [R. Tottell.] Heraldry. 4/6, 1562-1612.
- 16810, B. de Loque, Discourses of warre J. Wolfe. Two parts; tr. from Fr. copy. 1/2 issues, 1591-1631.
- 17581, L. Mascall, The first booke of cattell J. Wolfe, sold by J. Harrison the elder. Three parts; on cattle, horses, and other domestic animals. 2/9, 1587-1633.
- 19429, J. Partridge, The tresurie of commodious conceits . . . [J. Charlewood?] f. R. Jones. Recipes for condiments, etc.; with additional recipes for curatives. 5/11, 1573-1637.

24765.3, F. di Vinciolo, New and singular patternes & workes of linnen. J. Wolfe f. E. White. Pattern book for lace making; tr. from Fr. by A. Poyntz; ent. to Wolfe 11 se. 1587.

24897, A. W., A book of cookrye. Recipes with suggestions for order of serving meat courses. 3/4, 1584-1594.

CHAPTER IV

SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

Twenty-seven separate items, or 10.6 per cent of the total output in all subject during 1591, have been classified under the category of Science and Information. Publications in this category consist of books of mathematics and applied science, including "pseudo-sciences" such as geomancy; and books of information such as almanacs, reference manuals, and a number of books on miscellaneous "useful arts" and disciplines. The latter group includes three books on the art of warfare, besides works on the topics of husbandry, hunting, medicine, armory, and cryptography. The distribution of publications in the category is listed in Table 5.

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS: SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

Type of Book	Items	% of 1591 items	USR entries
<u>Science</u>			
Arithmetic (1)			
Geometry (2)			
Navigation (1)			
Geomancy (1)			
Alchemy (1)			
	6	2.4	1
<u>Information</u>			
Almanacs (5)			
Handbooks (4)			
Household Reference (2)			
<u>Useful Arts</u>			
Husbandry (1)			
Hunting (1)			
Warfare (3)			
Surgery (1)			
Medicine (1)			
Armory (1)			
Cryptography (2)			
	21	8.2	18
Totals	27	10.6	19

Science

They that are learned and haue the gift,
 may make of matters what they will,
 But he that hath none other shift,
 must goe the plaine way to the mill.¹

Take away Arithmeticke, [and] wherein differeth the
 sheehearde from the sheepe, or the Horsekeeper from
 the Asse? Surelye but onely in shape and figure,
 which as the learned affirme, is a very slender cause
 of difference.²

The phenomenal advances in mathematics and science which occurred in places such as Portugal, Italy, and Germany during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were not part of the English experience during that period. When Henry VIII died in 1547 there was still little practical application of mathematics in England to civil, military, or nautical endeavours,³ nor were there any traditions which might have encouraged a development in this direction. The grammar schools taught no arithmetic or science at all, for example, while the universities remained hostile or indifferent to the teaching of

¹STC 13070, George Henisch, The principles of geometrie, astronomie, and geographie, from the preface of Francis Cooke, sig. A3b.

²STC 1213, Humphrey Baker, The wel spring of sciences, sig. A4b.

³E. G. R. Taylor, The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor & Stuart England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 17. The first two chapters of this work, covering the periods 1485-1558 and 1558-1600 have been particularly useful sources of background information in connection with this chapter.

mathematics. Where the mathematical parts of the quadrivium were attended to at all, it was in a most perfunctory fashion, as at Cambridge, where there was but one single lecture course available in mathematics.¹ The Edwardian years witnessed growing patronage of mathematicians at court and elsewhere, but mathematical theorists had little or no influence upon current practices for some years, despite the fact that the motives for protecting and encouraging them were to enhance English capabilities in navigation and the military arts.

The Elizabethan period witnessed important changes in attitude, at least in some quarters, towards the mathematical sciences at any rate; but the gains made during the reign did not constitute a blossoming of science, by any means. At court, Elizabeth's patronage of the noted mathematician and astrologer, John Dee, was emulated by other court figures such as Leicester, and thus a climate was established in which writers on mathematics might expect to interest cultivated readers. Moreover, by this time there was growing recognition of the importance of mathematical knowledge to the military arts and navigation, both of which endeavours were important to gentlemen. Countering these developments, unfortunately, were such problems as the shortage of trained theorists, the scarcity of useful literature in the English language, and the popular association of mathe-

¹Taylor, p. 18.

matics and science with evil powers.¹ And the most significant problem of all, undoubtedly, was the difficulty of achieving communication and understanding between theorists and practitioners, such as navigators, who would have to put theory into practice before any benefits could accrue to England.²

In view of the prevailing situation during the Elizabethan era, it is not surprising to discover that the laborious development of the sciences, mathematics included, is reflected in the number, history, and nature of the scientific publications released during 1591. Of six books classified as "science," one work alone, a publication by Simon Forman (STC 11185) on the subject of navigation, was "new" in any meaningful sense of the word. Two other books were reprints of works that had appeared originally in English; but each of these had made its first appearance many years before, one in 1568 (STC 1213) and the other in 1571 (STC 6859), so that neither of them offered fresh information on their subjects at all. A third book written in English (STC 21057) had been prepared in manuscript more than a century earlier. The remaining two books were translations of works that had appeared initially in other languages. Of these translated works, only one, a translation of a geometry textbook (STC 13070), would have had practical utility, while the remaining one, a description of the pseudo-

¹Taylor, p. 4.

²Taylor, p. 35.

science of geomancy (STC 4864) would certainly have fulfilled no important needs. Outdated though most of them were, the four books by English writers included two, an arithmetic text and a book on applied geometry, which must have been somewhat useful. Of the remaining two English books, one was a reprint of a very old work on alchemy, while Simon Forman, the writer of the book on navigation, was recognized as a notorious quack even in his own day, so that the book would surely have been regarded as more curious than useful. On balance, the impression conveyed by the scientific books from 1591, especially those prefaced by editorial comment, is of a quickening interest in mathematics and of moderate gains in that discipline, while other sciences continued to exist in the realm of the esoteric and strange.

The progress made in mathematics during the Elizabethan period was due largely to a growing demand for the teaching of geometry and astronomy, which were necessary in order to profit by new techniques in such disciplines as navigation, gunnery, surveying, cartography, fortification, and horology, the art of measuring time. Formally educated teachers of mathematics were very scarce, so that the teaching was frequently done by men with practical experience of mathematics, such as almanac makers, astrologers, retired sailors, navigators, and gunners. A few of these "mathematical practitioners" had university training, but most did not; and their professional associations, rather, tended to be with craftsmen such as instrument makers. A few

teachers of mathematics were paid by patronage or public subscription, a notable example being Thomas Hood, who delivered the first public lectures in mathematics in London from 1588 until 1591. The majority of teachers, those not enjoying a lectureship, had to attract pupils by advertising, and a common approach towards this end was to design a new instrument or devise an innovative technique. News about the innovation might then be published, with the declaration that prospective pupils could learn the necessary details for a price. Another way to enhance one's reputation was to publish a textbook; and during the queen's reign a number of mathematical practitioners published their teaching notes or wrote up unoriginal and derivative material plagiarized from earlier works.¹

The importance of arithmetic and geometry as the fundamental bases for all the mathematical sciences was evidently well understood in 1591, at least among people familiar with scientific literature. In 1570, for example, John Dee had published his Mathematical preface which included a large chart showing the necessary relationships between these activities and nineteen other mathematical sciences "deriuatiue from the principalls," such as astronomy, music, astrology, architecture, navigation, and so forth.² Notwithstanding the availability of such information, however, the value of mathematics did not

¹Taylor, pp. 9-10.

²Taylor, facing page 432.

achieve popular acceptance in England until much later,¹ so that books on mathematics continued to be in short supply. Probably as a result of the dearth of useful new materials, older works tended to go through numerous later editions to meet the needs of persons for whom knowledge of arithmetic and geometry ~~was~~ important in some way. In the case of arithmetic, for instance, the first comprehensive practical textbook had not appeared in English until as late as 1542;² and although contemporary readers were not restricted to books of such antiquity, one of the popular arithmetics of the age was a book that went through ten editions between 1568 and 1631. This work, The wel spring of sciences (STC 1213), by Humphrey Baker, appeared in 1591 in its fifth edition. Baker's text was compendious as well as practical, being a manual for merchants and an introduction to the fundamental arithmetic operations; and for these reasons it must have attracted a catholic audience.

The three parts of Baker's text dealt in turn with basic arithmetic computation, operations with fractions, and "certain briefe rules, called rules of practise, with diuerse necessarie questions, profitable not onely for Merchants, but

¹Taylor, p. 5.

²Taylor, p. 15.

also for other occupiers" (sig. M6b). The sections on algorism are characterized by very long and detailed definitions of such ideas as number, numeration, and decimal notation; and when the author turns to matters such as addition, progression, and ratio, the preference for verbal explanation over arithmetical examples is even more apparent. Throughout the first two parts, Baker's preoccupation with order and neatness is evident, as, for example, in his instruction that addends should be arranged progressively with the largest at the top of the column (sig. B6). The rules making up the last part of the book consist mainly of arithmetical short cuts useful in business, all of them illustrated by numerous examples, but with none of the problems and drill materials typical of modern arithmetic texts. Other helps contained in the book include ways to calculate loss and gain in trading merchandise (sig. R2 ff.), suggestions for setting up business partnerships (sig. T8 ff.), rules for measuring tapestry and other cloth (sig. R7b ff.), rules for barter (sig. W5b ff.), and procedures to follow in exchanging currency (sig. X5b ff.). The work concludes with a series of tables comparing standard weights and measures of various European cities. For example, readers could discover at a glance the local equivalents of one hundred ells of cloth at Paris, Danzig, Amsterdam, Vienna, Seville, and a number of other places (sig. 2B6b ff.). One of the most fascinating chapters in the book must have been the one on "Questions of Pastime" containing the rules for a number of

arithmetic games such as the following:

If in any companye, one of them hath a Ring vpon his finger, and you woulde knowe by manner of diuining, who hath the same, and vpon what finger and what ioynt, cause the persons to sit down in order, and keepe likewise an order of their fingers, then separate your selfe from them in some certayne place, and say vnto one of the lookers on, that hee double the number (marking well in your minde the order) of him the which hath the ring: and vnto the double bidde him adde 5, and then cause him to multiplie this addition by 5, and vnto the producte bidde him adde the number of the finger of the person which hath the Ring. Suppose that the same last summe did amount vnto 89, then afterwards say to him that he put after the same last number towards his right hand a figure signifieng vppon which of the ioyntes hee hath the Ring, as if it bee vpon the third ioynt, let him put 3 after 89, and it will be 89.3; this done you shall aske him what number he keepeth, from the which you shall abate 250, and you shall haue three figures remayning at the least. The first towards your left hande shall signifie the number of the person which hath the Ring. The seconde or middle finger shall represent the number of the figure [i.e. finger]. And the last figure towards your righte hande shall betoken the number of the ioynt, as if the number which he did keepe were 883 from that you shall abate 250, & there will remaine 633, which doe note vnto you that the sixt person hath the Ring vpon the third finger, and vpon his third ioynt (sig. 2B4-2B4b).

The 1591 edition of Baker's text was based upon a revision of the book prepared in 1580, and much of the interest of the work derives from the prefatory material which Baker had prepared for this edition. In the re-dedication of the book to the Company of Merchant Adventurers, Baker presented a brief defence of arithmetic, a subject which he says is so "fit and necessarie that it shoulde bee written vppon your schoole doores" (sig. A5). But notwithstanding his observation that only the knowledge of arithmetic distinguishes the horsekeeper from the ass, Baker is somewhat annoyed that arithmetic is not more highly

regarded, and he invokes the support of the Company against "foolish and vaine" people who "suppose and affirme that Arithmeticke is of small vse vnto anie other men" than merchants. Well-ordered nations, he continues, "haue deseruedely accounted for fooles, and vnfit members, (to rule or deale in a common wealth,) all such as wanted the skill of naturall arithmeticke, [and] deprived them both of Landes and liuing" (sig. A5b).

From the foregoing statement, it would seem that Baker may have been a very impatient man, and in the general preface to the work he turns his attention to foreign teachers of mathematics who, he says, are well deserving of "restraint and banishment," especially one unnamed foreigner who "continueth in dispraise of our Nation, saying that wee are vnskillful in those Rules that hee teacheth" (sig. A1b). Aside from the fact that numerous editions of his book have appeared "without the view of a skilful corrector, vnto the great discredit of the Author" (sig. A2), Baker writes, his chief aim in editing and enlarging the book was to uphold the honour of national teachers, of whom he says there are "diuerse in the honourable Citie" (sig. A2). According to Baker, English teachers of mathematics are the victims of lies by

certaine strangers, not born within this land [who haue], at this present, and of late dayes, so farre proceeding, that they aduanced and extolled themselues in open talke and writings, that they had attained such knowledge and perfection in Arithmeticke, as no English man the like: Truely me thought that the same report, not only tended to the dispraise of our Country men in general: but touched especially some others, and mee,

that had trauailed and written publikely in the same facultie. For vnto this same effect they haue of late painted the corners and posts in euery place within this Citie with their peeuish billes, making promise [that] . . . they could teach the summe of that science in briefe Methode, and compendious rules, such as before their arriuall hath not beene taught within this Realme (sig. A1-A1b).

Humphrey Baker's somewhat volatile national pride must have been shared, at least to some degree, by other London teachers during the latter part of the sixteenth century. In any case, another writer, Thomas Digges, felt moved to declare, in the preface to a geometry book based on his late father's notes, his intention to publish additional manuscripts of Leonard Digges in English, "desiring rather with plaine and profitable conclusions to store his natiue language and benefit his Countreymen, than by publishing in the Latin rare and curious demonstrations, to purchase fame among straungers."¹ Elsewhere, in the dedication to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Digges declared his intention to endow "our natiue tongue with Mathematicall demonstrations, and some such other rare experiments and practicall conclusions, as no forraine Realme hath hitherto beene, I suppose, partaker of" (sig. A3). But national pride notwithstanding, students of mathematics were constrained to look for help wherever they could get it; and if there was popular prejudice against foreign mathematics teachers, Englishmen were not reluctant to use translations of foreign books. One

¹STC 6859, A geometricall practical treatize named pantometria, sig. A4b.

such book, The principles of geometrie, astronomie, and geographie (STC 13070), was the translation by Francis Cooke of a work by the German scholar, George Henisch. Cooke was an instrument maker who worked closely with his mentor, Thomas Hood, and according to the title-page, Cooke's compendium of mathematical definitions and rules was "appointed publicly to be read in the Staplers Chappell at Leaden hall" by no less a person than Hood himself, the "mathematicall Lecturer of the Cittie of London" (sig. A1).

Thomas Hood was one of a relatively small group of men who would have been recognized by students of mathematics and science for their pre-eminence as scholars and writers. During the final decades of the sixteenth century, accomplished mathematicians such as Hood, John Dee, and Thomas Digges were publishing books which eventually benefitted the growth of their discipline; but these authors are not well represented in the scientific publications of 1591. Except for Thomas Digges's edition of Pantometria (STC 6859), to which brief reference has been made, no significant presentations of advanced mathematics appeared during 1591. However, the appearance of Digges's Pantometria was an important event in the development of the mathematical sciences in England, as Digges was able in this work to relate his extensive theoretical training to his practical experience as a military man and as an engineer.

Thomas Digges, who died in 1595, had been educated by

his father, who was a noted mathematician himself, and at Cambridge University, where he proceeded as far as M. A. He became an intimate friend of John Dee, and this association, with his theoretical background and opportunities to consult closely with the best soldiers of the day, made possible a career of which a later writer was to remark that "although he made no great addition to science, yet his writings tended more to its cultivation than perhaps all those of other writers on the same subject put together" (DNB, V, 977). Digges himself had had the experience of practical applications of mathematics as the supervisor of the building of new works and fortifications at Dover and as the muster-master-general of the English forces in the Netherlands for several years. The value he placed upon the practical use of mathematics is clear from the introductory remarks to Pantometria, where he points out the advantages to be enjoyed through an understanding of stereometry, planimetry, and longimetry, the three divisions of pantometry, or universal measurement:

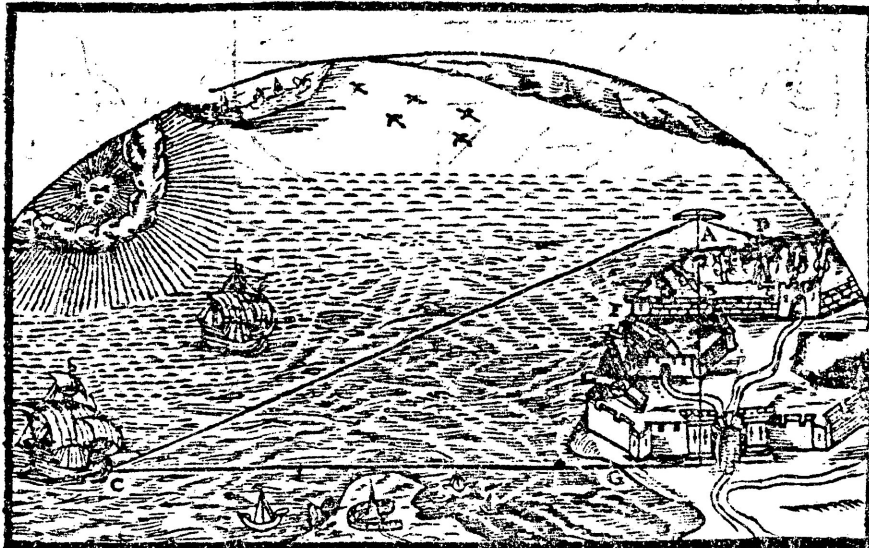
As the skilfull in Architecture can apply the Stereometria to serue his turne in preordinance and forecasting both of the charges, quantities and proportion of all parcels necessarilie appertaining to any kind of buildings: so Planimetra may serue for disposing all manner groundes, Plattes of Cities, Townes, Fortes, Castles, Pallaces or other Edifices. The Marshall of the fieldes shall also most speedely thereby appoint place conuenient for his Campe, distributing euery parte thereof according to the number of his Men, Horse, cariage, &c. Also in suruaying, parting and diuiding of Lands and Woods, it is most requisite as well for exact as speedye dispatch therein The other part named Longimetra, the ingenious practizioner will applie to Topographie, fortification, conducting of

PLATE VII

(OVERLEAF)

A GEOMETRICAL PRACTICAL
TREATIZE NAMED PANTOMETRIA,
divided into three Bookes, LONGIMETRA, PLANIMETRA, and
STEREOMETRIA, Containing rules manifolde for mensuration of all *Lines*,
Superficies and *Solides*: with sundrie strange conclusions both by Instrument and with-
out, and also by *Glasses* to set forth the true Description or exact *Platte* of an whole
Region. First published by *Thomas Digges* Esquire, and Dedicated to the Graue,
Wife, and Honourable, Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Knight, Lord Keeper of the great
Seale of England. With a Mathematicall discourse of the five regular
Platonicall Solides, and their *Metamorphosis* into other five com-
pound rare *Geometricall Bodies*, conteyning an hun-
dred newe *Theoremes* at least of his owne *In-
vention*, neuer mentioned before
by anye other *Geome-
trician*.

LATELY REVIEWED BY THE AUTHOR
himselfe, and augmented with sundrie *Additions*, *Dis-
tinctions*, *Problemes* and rare *Theoremes*, to open the pas-
sage, and prepare away to the vnderstanding
of his Treatize of *Martiall Pyrotechnie*
and great *Artillerie*, hereafter to
be published.



AT LONDON
Printed by *Abell Feffes*.

ANNO. 1591.

Mines vnder the earth, and shooting of great Ordinance. So that there is no kinde of man, of what vocation or degree soeuer he bee, but shall finde matter bothe to exercise his witte and diuersly to pleasure himselfe, so surely for a Gentleman especially that professeth the warres, aswell for discoueries made by Sea, as Fortification, placing of Campes, and conducting of Armies on the lande howe necessaree it is to bee able exactlye to describe the true Plattes, Symetrie and proportion of Fortes, Campes, Townes and Countries . . . I thinke there are none so vnskillfull but will confesse these Geometricall questions most requisite (sig. A3b-A4).

Gentlemen who were persuaded by Digges that Pantometria would repay close study, were led through a lengthy work which proceeded from the most elementary principles-- "a line is a length without breadth or thickness, whose extremities are two points" (sig. B1)--to advanced definitions and theorems concerning artillery and ordinance. Between these extremes, the book dealt with all the principles of geometry as well as its numerous practical applications, such as measuring distance, measuring the depth of a well, and measuring solid bodies. Numerous excellent woodcut diagrams appeared throughout the book, many of them depicting military applications of geometry; and the military emphasis throughout the book was further enhanced by Digges's choice of military situations in his problems and examples. The book concluded at length with a section containing twelve problems, with diagrams, which Digges declared would be of great use and importance "for the vnderstanding of my other Treatize of Architecture militarie and Nauticall and great Artillerie" (sig. 2B4).

Digges's Pantometria illustrates well enough the innova-

tions in military technique made possible through mathematics; and no doubt the success of the theorists in military endeavours helped to enhance the reputation of mathematics, as Digges evidently hoped would be the case. Another important activity to which mathematics was becoming more necessary was navigation, and here, too, the development of new instruments and techniques eventually replaced old-fashioned and inefficient methods of plotting a ship's course. One book published during 1591 was concerned exclusively with a problem which continued to perplex mathematicians and navigators alike, the lack of a means of determining the longitude by celestial observations. During 1591, ships which ventured out of sight of land could reckon longitude only by a system of dead reckoning based on the ship's log and the ship's point of departure, a method which was quite unreliable, since it did not account for the effects of wind and current or the inconstancy of the magnetic declination of the compass.¹ Thus when Simon Forman declared, in a pamphlet called The groundes of the longitude (STC 11185), that he had solved the problem, he must have expected to arouse a good deal of interest.

Unfortunately for navigators and others who might have been interested in the problem of longitude, Forman's work on the subject did absolutely nothing to resolve the question.

¹W. P. D. Wightman, Science and the Renaissance (2 Vols.; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd; New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1962), I, 136.

His purpose in releasing the publication was evidently to enhance his reputation (or increase his notoriety) and to entice interested persons to consult him for full information about the alleged method. An infamous astrologer and quack doctor, Forman had apparently fallen upon hard times around 1591, and he undertook the writing of a treatise on mathematics and medicine to improve his position (DNB, VII, 439). The work on longitude was the only publication by Forman to appear during his lifetime, but it apparently gave the writer a certain amount of publicity, since Thomas Hood and Emery Molyneux, a well-known instrument maker, both attacked Forman in connection with his writings.¹

Forman's discourse on longitude had very little to offer prospective students. After referring briefly to the helps presently available for navigators, he bemoans the fact that no satisfactory method of finding longitude is available, except for his own "secrete meane and way as yet vnknown vnto all the world" (sig. A2). He goes on to say that he had never made the problem of longitude part of his study until a merchant of London named Robert Parker had encouraged him in this direction. "And by the grace and helpe of God," he goes on, "I haue brought [the new method] to that passe, which any man that is desirous of the knowledge thereof, may learne the trueth thereof at the Authors handes if he repayre vnto him,

¹Taylor, pp. 182, 330.

or else if he or they repaire to Master Robart Parkes in pudding lane" (sig. A4). The concluding sections of the tract contain Forman's gibes at scholars who have alleged the impossibility of solving the problem, "because themselues haue trauailed therin with much studie, counting themselues great and cunning Clarkes, hauing found and prooued twentie waies at the least, and could not happen on the right way as themselues haue reported" (sig. A4). Others who have heard of his success, says Forman, have alleged that "if he haue found out the true way thereof, hee neuer founde it by God, but by some sinister meanes by the Diuell" (sig. A4). To answer his critics and entice prospective students, Forman goes on to list fifteen "grounds" which he observes are shared by ancient writers, confirmed by Scriptures, or supported by experience or reason. Two other "grounds" Forman says, he has left out because "as they are most true, so they giue too plain euidence, and too much vnderstanding to a subtill witte" (sig. B1b). The fifteen "grounds" listed consist of elementary notions such as divine creation, the belief that "the Earth is quiet and ynmoueable, and is accounted the Center of the worlde," and several more, including the following:

11 The Sunne doth rise and fall in his course, and neuer continue at one staie.

12 It is Omne oppositum.

13 There is fire in a flint-stone.

14 Diuers places haue diuers Latitudes in respect of

the South and North. And diuers Longitudes in respect of East and Weast.

15 A man may see farther on a plaine ground, or on a hill, then he can among trees or in a bottome, and as farre by sea as by Lande (sig. B1-B1b).

Whether Forman's pamphlet enticed any sailors to his door, is, of course, highly questionable. Certainly, anyone familiar with his reputation--and he appears to have been well-known--would surely have hesitated to approach him upon innocent matters. Only a few years previously, he had begun the public practice of necromancy; and this fact, if nothing else, must have confirmed the contemporary belief that he was indeed, as Richard Nicchols's Overbury was to put it later, "that fiend in human shape,/That by his art did act the devil's ape" (DNB, VII, 439). On the other hand, many of Forman's contemporaries would not have been surprised to learn that the man's name was associated with mathematics and navigation as well as necromancy. In the popular imagination, mathematics and other sciences continued to be associated with strange and questionable practices, mathematics in particular being associated with astronomy, which meant astrology; and "astrology meant demonology and demonology was demonstrably evil."¹ Readers of 1591 seeking additional confirmation that the smell of brimstone might attend the study of astrology had only to turn to a recent publication on the subject of geomancy, a "science" which purported to use astrology as part of a system of divination. According to the title-

¹Taylor, p. 4.

page, this work, The geomancie of Maister Christopher Cattan (STC 4864) was a "no lesse pleasant and recreatiue, then . . . wittie inuention, to knowe all thinges, past, present, and to come" (sig. A1).

Readers of Cattan's Geomancie were led initially through several introductory passages offering apologies for the discipline and providing information about the utility of geomancy, its methods, its relationship to astrology, and so forth. First of all, the author of the dedication, who had apparently come into possession of Cattan's manuscript and resolved to prepare it for publication,¹ defends astrologers, observing that these men have followed to a logical conclusion the divinely inspired human impulse to understand the "vniversal harmony and beauty" of creation (sig. A2b). Turning to geomancy, the writer observes that the purpose of this activity is "to giue occasion of honest pastimes, pleasure, and recreation" (sig. A3), a point which is further emphasized in Cattan's own preface to the work, where he defends the innocence of the science against detractors who say it is an evil discipline:

If there be any person of so peruerse and corrupt iudgement which wil say, that this Science is ill, and for that cause ought to be prohibited, forbidden, and reiected from amongst men as a thing pernicious and

¹Sig. A3. The identity of the publisher and dedicator is not given, although he styles himself as "servant" of the dedicatee, Lord Nicot, a member of the court of Henry IV of France. The book was translated from French into English by a certain Francis Sparry, who is identified as the translator following the text (sig. 2M1b).

damnable, and treating of Diuination, I desire him not to iudge so lightly . . . for this Science is no Arte of inchauntry, as some may suppose it to be, or of diuination, which is made by Diabolike Inuocation, but it is part of naturall Magicke, called of many worthy men, the daughter of Astrologie, and the abbreuiation thereof . . . I would that . . . [no one] should giue credite vnto it as vnto an vndoubted certainty, but to giue vnto good spirites an argument to pastime and recreation in matter of earnest (sig. C1-C1b).

Another prefatory section of some interest is the general preface of the editor, who discourses at some length upon the twelve houses of the zodiac, the influences of which are of central importance to geomancy. The properties of each house, and the ^{are} ~~are~~ of human activity over which each has some influence having been dealt with, the editor then goes on to present numerous instances in nature where the properties and behaviours of things are defined by their associations with various stars and planets. To take one heavenly body, the sun, as an example, readers were informed of numerous interesting and useful phenomena caused by the influence of this body. Because of the influence of the sun, the eagle, for example, "hath a marueilous property, which is, to be Lady of all other birdes, and to be feared of them," and, in fact, the feathers of an eagle "doe eate and consume the feathers of other birdes, if they be mixed together" (sig. B2b). The influence of the sun is also declared to endow the peony with power to cure the falling sickness, "which commenth by the influence of the Sunne," and for similar reasons, ginger eaten with meat is said to be a cure for weaknes of the stomach and vomiting (sig. B3). More

medical lore and natural history follows for each of the planets; and some of it, such as the following observations on the influence of the moon, are very interesting:

The Cats . . . haue this property by the subiECTION that the Moone hath ouer them, that their eie-brows do increase or decrease ech day according to the course of the Moone, & her aspects, which thing is daily seen to him that listeth to see the experience thereof. The Moone hath like domminion ouer many things, and espetially things white and greene, and of mettalles, ouer siluer: and for this cause the trees, in the increase and decrease of the Moone, to shead out, and also restrain their force or humor: also all Birds which liue in riuers and watrie places be subiect vnto the Moone (sig. B3b).

When readers turned to the main text of the book, they learned in the first of its three sections, that the "instrument" of geomancy was "a penne, incke, and paper, or a boorde wel shauen, and a little bodkin, or punchin" (sig. C3) upon which the inquirer would arrange, according to a system of rules and procedures, a certain number of dots or pricks. The interpretation of the peculiar configurations of the dots, and certain lines joining some of them, would establish a relationship between the dots, the zodiac, and one or more questions which might be resolved by the dots, depending upon which of the twelve houses of the zodiac the dots could be related to. The second section of the book listed all the questions which could be resolved by geomancy. The fifth house of the zodiac, for example, is said to govern thirteen questions upon such matters as the legitimacy of an unborn child, the contents of a letter, the sex of an unborn child, the question of a woman's pregnancy,

and the question as to whether "the sonne be sicke dead, or taken prisoner" (sig. 02b). According to Cattan, the science could also help the inquirer "to knowe what an other thinketh" (sig. 2F1), "to knowe the name of any person, that is to say, with what letter or syllable it doth beginne" (sig. 2A2), and "to knowe which of the two that fight or goe to lawe one against another shal haue the victory (sig. 2K1b). The foregoing questions appeared in the third section of the book which related in more detail the affinities between geomancy and astrology, and provided advanced instructions in the use of such devices as a chart called "The Wheel of Pythagorous," which was a versatile instrument of divination (sig. 2L2b ff.).

Of all the books of science published during 1591, none is more curious or interesting, from several points of view, than one entitled The compound of alchymy (STC 21057), a work which had been written during the reign of Edward IV, but which apparently did not appear in print until 1591, a century and a half later. The author of the work, George Ripley, had been canon of a priory at Bridlington in Yorkshire, and there in 1471, he compiled a treatise in English verse on alchemy, containing "the right and perfectest meanes to make the philosophers stone, aurum potable, with other excellent Experiments" (sig. A1). The book survived in manuscript through the years, until a copy fell into the hands of one Ralph Rabbards, who published the work in 1591 prefaced by a dedication to Elizabeth, an address to the gentlemen of England, and numerous

commendatory verses. Little enough is known about Ripley, although he was one of the most widely read of the alchemists (DNB, XVI, 1203), and even less about Rabbards, who did, however, provide a few biographical details in his dedication and preface. In the dedication, Rabbards claims among other things that he suffered imprisonment during the Marian period for his secret activities to save Elizabeth's life from conspirators, an experience which left him broken in health for twenty years thereafter (sig. A2b-A3). He goes on to claim that for forty years he contributed inventions and "diuerse deuices of rare seruice, both for Sea and land" (sig A3b), many of which, he complains, were credited to others. His later years, he writes, have been marred by unsuccessful lawsuits, and he has determined at length to publish his copy of Ripley's book as a further token of his duty to the queen.

Rabbards's copy of Ripley's manuscript begins with an account, in verse, of a vision which Ripley experienced in which a toad, coloured all in red, drank grape juice so fast that it killed the creature. The verses go on to describe the changes of colour through which the dying toad was seen to pass, until at length "drowned in his proper Veynes of poysoned flood,/For terme of eightie days and foure he rotting stood" (sig. *4). At this point, Ripley reports, he extracted the venom from the toad to create a medicine which "saueth such as venome chaunce to take"; and during the extraction process, the toad was seen to pass through various changes in colour

once more. The colour changes appear to have been symbolic of the twelve "gates" or chemical processes through which base metals had to pass in turn in the process of creating the philosopher's stone.¹ The first "gate" that of "Calcination," "the purgation of our stone" (sig. C2b) is followed in turn by "Dissolution," "Separation," "Conjunction," and so on, until the final "gate," that of "Projection," is reached. Some indication of the flavour of the book is provided by the following two stanzas which introduce Ripley's discussion of the twelfth gate:

In Projection it shal be proued if our practise be
profitable,
Of which it behoueth me the secrets her to moue,
Therefore if thy tincture be sure and not variable,
By a little of thy medicine thus mayst thou proue,
With mettle, or with Mercury as pitch it will cleaue,
And teyne in Projection all fires to abide,
And soone it will enter and spread him full wide.

But many by ignorance doe marre that they made,
When on mettals vnclensed Projection they make,
For because of corruption their tinctures must fade,
Which they would not away first from the body take,
Which after Projection be brittle blew and black,
That thy tincture therefore may euermore last,
First vpon ferment thy medicine see thou cast (sig. K2).

Aside from such considerations as its history, subject, and style of delivery, Ripley's Compound of alchymy is interesting because of what it suggests about contemporary attitudes towards the sciences. From what he says about himself, the editor, Rabbards, was evidently a practical man who had applied

¹Wightman observes that "this colour transition was a constant theme in the alchemical work" (p. 291).

his knowledge in the service of the military and naval arts, but in spite of all that, he chose to offer Elizabeth a work which, to the modern reader, is a concoction of fantasy. It is evident, of course, that Rabbards hoped to move the queen to reward him in some appropriate way, perhaps with a pension for his service and devotion; and for that reason his choice of Ripley's manuscript must have been made with some attention to the reaction it might provoke. The fact that a man who was versed in applied sciences could also relate to a treatise on the philosopher's stone may be an indication of the wide range of belief and practice which Elizabethan students of science were able to encompass at one and the same time. And while this ability to identify seriously with disciplines ranging from magic to artillery caused a diffusion of energy among the Elizabethan sciences, it also made the world of science a fascinating one.

Information

September yeeldes fruites pleasauntly,
 Refrayne, eate not thy fyll:
 Take Medicines: vse Phlebotomy,
 Now Spice in meates not yll.¹

¹STC 444, Gabriel Frende, A new almanacke, and prognostication, composed for the yeere of our redemption. MDXCT., sig. B4b.

Good Huswives here you haue, a Iewell for your ioy,
 A Closet meet your Huswiferie to practise and imploy.
 Aswel the Gentles of degree, as eke the meaner sort,
 May practise here to purchase health, their household
 to comfort.¹

During the Elizabethan period, a popular function of the press continued to be the production of more or less practical books containing useful information or providing instruction in a number of practical disciplines such as cookery, husbandry, medicine, and warfare. The year 1591 witnessed the publication of a number of books on the foregoing subjects as well as almanacs, reference manuals, and books on somewhat esoteric activities like armory and cryptography. While the latter two items would have reached a very limited audience, other books in this grouping, especially the almanacs and other household reference works, represent a class of publications which were widely used and universally popular. Almanacs in particular were in continual demand, and during 1591 five different versions of this useful reference work were made available to the reading public.

The English printed almanacs of 1591 represented a stage in the evolution of a book which had begun in medieval times with publications containing information about conjunctions and oppositions of the sun and moon, dates of eclipses, and movable

¹STC 19429, John Partridge, The treasurie of commodious conceits, sig. A1b.

feasts.¹ By the end of the sixteenth century, the almanac was generally integrated with a calendar which had itself evolved from the religious calendars attached to service books. In addition to the items of information normally to be found in the church calendar, the calendar portion of the almanac might also give items of astrological information as well as a brief historical or other reference for each day of the year not already accounted for by the religious calendar. In addition to the combined almanac and calendar, the printed almanacs of 1591 normally included a supplementary section called the "Prognostication," which offered predictions, mostly about the weather for the year. Except for an unusual perpetual calendar for deriving the hours of sunlight and the phases of the moon for the days of any year,² the almanacs from the year 1591 were typical of such publications of the time; and in all important respects they appear to have been quite similar to each

¹Eustace F. Bosanquet, English Printed Almanacks and Prognostications: A Bibliographical History to the Year 1600 (London: Chiswick Press, Printed for the Bibliographical Society, 1917), p. vii. This important study of almanacs continues to be useful; and it has been particularly helpful in the present study, since several almanacs from 1591 offer special bibliographical problems.

²STC 403. Bosanquet's description of this item, which was meant to be printed on a single folio sheet, appears in Appendix I. The calendar does not exist as a printed sheet; rather, STC 403 is the engraved copper plate from which impressions were taken. According to Bosanquet a second folio-size plate was used to impress a companion sheet to the main calendar showing the changes of the moon (p. 78).

other.

One important maker of almanacs during the period was Gabriel Frende, who had prepared almanacs early in his career for the astronomical Meridian of Canterbury, and, later, as in 1591, for the city of London. Almanac-makers had to be versed in astronomy, astrology, and medicine, so all of them were either practitioners or students in these arts, Frende himself being a "Student in Phisicke and Astrologie."¹ Frende's almanac was prefaced by a "briefe note" (sig. A2) outlining the contents of the book and gathering together a summary of such essential information as the golden number used to calculate the date of Easter; the dates of important days such as Whitsunday; and the number of days elapsing between important dates in the church calendar. The note referred readers to the rest of the work for other kinds of information such as the day of the sun's entrance into each of the zodiacal signs, the phases of the moon, and "the most dangerous and infortunate dayes in euey Month to fall sicke in, to bleede in eyther by opening a Vayne, or by a wounde." Dangerous days for bleeding, vomiting, purging and taking medicine, of which there were from six to eight in each month, were marked on the calendar with a special symbol; but the most detailed medical advice appeared in the first two pages of the text,

¹STC 444, A new almanacke and prognostication, composed for the yeere of our redemption. MDXCI., sig. A1.

immediately following the contents page. Here, a number of "necessarie Rules concerning Phisicke and Chyrurgerie" (sig. A2b) and several "notes for the ministring of Purgations" (sig. A3) were set down, readers being advised, for example, that

no part in mans body ought to be touched with any Chyrurgeans instrument whatsoeuer, when either the Sunne, the Moone, or the Lord of the Ascendent, which is the Signe then arysing in the East, is appointed within the same Signe that ruleth that very part or member of mans body (sig. A2b).

The rules for purging, blood-letting, and other medical practices were evidently included within almanacs "not only as a sort of household Medical Vade Mecum, but also for the use of what one of the authors . . . [called] Ignorant Chirurgeons."¹ For the same considerations, Frende and other writers habitually included an illustration showing "the anatomie of mans body" (sig. A4) declaring which parts were governed by the twelve celestial signs. Frende's illustration followed a page offering rules for finding the dates of the four terms in the church calendar, and it was followed in turn by the calendar proper, consisting of an opening for each month, with the right hand page mostly blank so that the book could serve as a diary or daybook. The printed parts of the opening were packed with information, most of it in columns, concerning astrological phenomena, the phases of the moon, the rising and setting of the sun, and the significance of each date in the year. Readers

¹Bosanquet, p. 25.

could learn, for example, the dates when various church fathers were made bishops, the date of Paul's conversion, of Stephen's martyrdom, of the ending of the dog-days, of Elizabeth's birthday, and so forth, besides the significant dates in the church calendar. Frende also followed the common practice of prefacing each month with four lines of rough verse containing general advice and admonitions for the period below. All of Frende's verses make interesting reading, but two selections, the first for January and the other for July, are typical of his approach. Of January, the writer observes that

Colde Ianuarie loues warme clothes,
 Hotte meates, and brothes are best:
 Bludletting is vnholosome: Bathes
 Vse none but warme: fly rest (sig. A4b).

Later for July, he advises:

Sleepe not too much, to coole Bathes goe,
 Refuse to vse Phlebotomy:
 This month abstayne from Venus, woe
 To him, that keepes her company (sig. B2b).

While the almanacs published during 1591 represent the most common book of household information used during the sixteenth century, other small books of information, some of them related to almanacs, were made available from time to time. During 1591, for example, several books containing miscellaneous information were published, two or three of which might have been purchased as useful supplements to the almanac. A little pamphlet called Perpetuall and naturall prognostications of the change of weather (STC 10642) contained a great many hints for predicting changes in the weather by observing all

PLATE VIII
(OVERLEAF)

PERPETVALL

AND NATVRALL PROG-

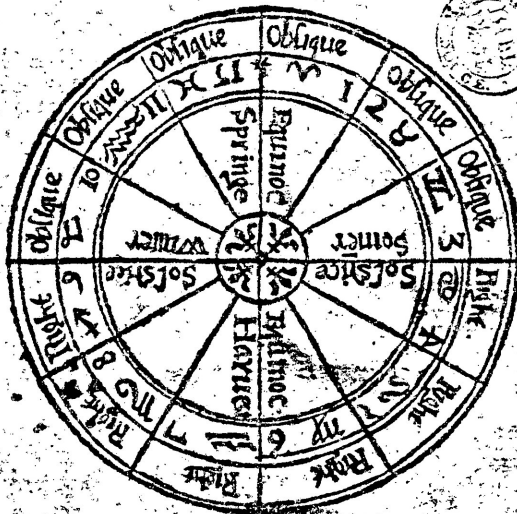
NOSTICATIONS OF THE
change of weather.

Gathered out of diuers ancient and late

writers, and placed in order for the

common good of all men.

Recently translated out of Italian into
English by J. J.



LONDON.

Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to bee sold
at his shop ouer against the great South
doore of S. Paul, 1592.

kinds of natural phenomena. Translated from the Italian, the book was advertised as a compendium of knowledge gathered from "diuers ancient and late writers" (sig. A2), thirty of whom, including Plato, Bede, Galen, Ovid, and Pliny, are named in a list of sources on the final page (sig. C2). Unlike the prognostications in almanacs, which were accomplished through "judicial," or legal astrology, the hints in the present work were based on folklore and observations which could be carried out by anyone. The various sections of the book dealt in turn with every conceivable change in the weather, with lengthy lists of hints ranging from the quaint and curious to the obvious being offered in each section. Readers learned, for example, that "if Please byte faster then they are wont, it is a sygne of water" (sig. A4b), that "if a Dogs guttes or entrails stirre or rumble in his bellie, it is a sygne of raine" (sig. A3), and that "duskie and black cloudes foretelleth raine to be at hand" (sig. A2b). Over seventy such hints regarding signs of rain appeared in the book, most of them depending upon observations of farm animals and birds, with a smaller number referring to such things as the sweating of men's feet (sig. A4b) and the spontaneous breaking of the strings of an instrument (sig. A3b) which also signified wet weather. Numerous other possibilities other than rain were dealt with in succeeding sections, so that observant readers could predict conditions such as fair weather, hot weather, storm, snow, "yse and frost," and so forth.

Another handbook of information which evidently was

much sought after was a book by the chronicler and printer, Richard Grafton,¹ entitled A briefe treatise contayning many proper tables and rules (STC 12159), which went through many editions following its first appearance in 1571. A bewildering array of thirty different lists, tables and series of tables, and rules appeared within the book, which was at once a perpetual almanac and calendar, gazeteer, astrological handbook, medical textbook, and compendium of history. The numerous rules and calculations contained within the book taught readers how to find important dates, such as the legal and religious terms, the dates of moveable religious feasts such as Easter, the vigils and fasting days, and the "dogge-dayes," which "doe alwaies beginne the sixt of Iulie, & end the seauenteene of August" (sig. D5). The behaviour and influence of the sun and the moon were the subject of a number of sections which showed, for example, how "to knowe howe long the moone shineth, and when she ryseth and setteth" (sig. D1), how "to knowe the howres of the night by the shadow of the sun cast on a ruler (sig. D2b). Other rules and tables contained astrological lore, such as the relationship between the houses of the zodiac and the parts of the body (sig. E2), the influences of the planets upon human nature and personality (sig. E8b ff.),

¹Grafton was a prominent figure in the publishing trade during the years leading up to 1572. During the reign of Henry VIII he was deeply involved in the preparation of an English Bible, and in later life he undertook the writing of English history. A brief treatise was evidently his last publication (DNB, VIII, 312).

and the rules for blood letting, three of which read as follows:

Let bloode at no time without great cause, for it weakeneth and maketh way to many diseases, but if ye doe, see it be after good digestion and fasting, in any temperate day, and afterwards vse fine meates of light digestion, abstaining from all exercise, as bathing, watching, and carnal copulation. Next consider the time of the yeere, if it be in spring, let bloode at the right side, and in the harvest at the left. Thirdlee, the age of the person: for young persons, from the change to the first quarter: for them of middle age, from the first quarter to the full, & for elder persons, from the full to the last quarter, and for old folke, from the last quarter to the change (sig. E3b).

One of the most important components of the book was a perpetual calendar in which the old Saints' days were observed, "not of superstition, as though euery of them mencioned in the said Kalender were a Saint" (sig. A7), but because old deeds, evidences and records were dated according to Saints' days, and also because "the same custome is yet remaining in the returning of writs and processes, and also is commonly vsed in the noting & setting forth of the principall Faires and markets" (sig. A7). The calendar and certain other rules and tables could be used in conjunction with the "Computation," a series of tables setting out in columnar form numerous details about the reigns of every English monarch from William the Conqueror to Elizabeth. One use of the "Computation" and supporting materials was to confirm details about the history of old legal documents. Several sample problems were given to show readers how to use the tabulated information, the second problem read-

ing as follows:

2 Question

An Euidence dated the 15. Kalends of December in the third yeere of King Iohn, I would know what day of the Month the same was, and how long it is since.

Aunswere

First looke in the Kalender in the Month of November for the Kalends of December, & there you shall find the xv Kalends of December is on the xvii. day of November. Then seek in the Computation for K. Iohn, and you shall find that the third yeere of his raigne was in the yeere of our Lord 1201, and there resteth 370. And so it must follow, that vpon the xvii. day of Nouember next, it shall be sithen the third yere of king Iohn, 370, yeeres, and thus of the like (sig. A8-A8b).

Among the remaining features of Grafton's handbook were tables showing the tides in the principal English ports, with instructions for interpreting them (sig. D6b ff.) and a one-page almanac for the years 1588-1620 showing various religious feast days for the period (sig. D5b). The work concluded with a number of lists giving such information as the names of all the colleges and halls of Oxford and Cambridge, with details as to founders and dates (sig. F3 ff.); the names of towns having representation in Parliament (sig. F5 ff.); the bishoprics of England (sig. F7 ff.); the wards and parish churches of London (sig. F8 ff.); and details about the principal fairs, of which three hundred and sixty are named (sig. G1b ff.). A final series of lists gives "the High wayes from any notable Towne to another" (sig. G8 ff.), with distances in miles and with notes at different places regarding alternate routes for shorten-

ing a journey or avoiding a ferry.

The information handbooks printed during 1591 would appear to have been most useful to householders, although one small book, The merchants auizo (STC 1049.1) by one "I. B.," a merchant, was meant for young men sent by their masters on business trips to foreign places, particularly Spain and Portugal. The book provided sample letters that might be sent to keep a master informed about developments at different points in the journey; and the work also included information about foreign weights and measures, money exchange, and "diuers wares" of Spain, Portugal and France. Other sections included samples of the various bills and bonds the young man might be called upon to draw up, and the work concluded with "godly sentences" and other admonitory material of a moral nature. Of particular use to householders were such works as a pattern book by Adrian Poynts offering New and singular patternes & workes of linnen (STC 24765.3) to be used in lace-making, and two reference works for householders, The tresurie of commodious conceits and hidden secrets (STC 19429) by John Partridge and A book of cookrye (STC 24897) by "A. W."

The main emphasis of A book of cookrye was upon the preparation of meat, fish, and fowl, with special attention being paid to the making of sauces appropriate to different dishes. The compiler of the book had collected one hundred and fifty recipes, a great many for a short work of thirty-six leaves; consequently most of the recipes are necessarily brief.

The recipes were organized somewhat casually into groupings dealing with stewed and boiled meats, fish, baked meats, roast meats, and, finally, tarts, a section which also included meat pies, "haggas of Almain" (sig. D7), jelly, gingerbread, conserves, and several desserts, including "a dish of snow" (sig. D8b). For the modern reader, perhaps the initial reaction to the book is to marvel at the Elizabethans' evident love of meats of all sorts and their ingenuity at concocting sauces and broths to accompany them. No less remarkable is the Elizabethan's evident love of sugar, which is prescribed in liberal amounts not only for desserts and conserves but also for many sauces as well. The meats used in the recipes included familiar kinds such as beef and mutton; but rabbits, venison, and oxen were also favourites in meat dishes. The book explained how to prepare a wide array of fish, eels, shrimps, and other sea creatures but the greatest variety of dishes called for poultry and the fowls of the air. The complete list of birds which were to be used in one or more recipes included capons, chickens, roosters, hens, turkeys, ducks, pigeons, stockdoves, pheasants, partridges, swans, woodcocks, cranes, herons, plovers, snipe, quail, curlews, bitterns, bustards, sparrows, and larks.

None of the recipes appears to have been very complicated, most of them involving little more than mixing things together and heating them. A few recipes, such as the way to "bake a Pig like a Fawne" (sig. C6b) or to make a pie from the entrails of a deer seem interesting enough at first, but even

in these recipes very little art is involved. The deer pie, for instance, requires only that the entrails be minced with suet, seasoned with pepper, ginger, and cinnamon, and baked, following which two spoonfuls of claret wine are to be added (sig. C6-C6b). One of the more ambitious recipes which might be quoted in full as an example of the compiler's approach, is one for boiling a cony, that is, a mature rabbit, "with a Pudding in his Belly":

Take your Cony and fley him, & leaue on the eares and wash it faire, and take grated Bread, sweete Suet minced fine, corance and some fine hearbs, Peneriall, winter sauery; percely, Spinage or beets, sweet margerum, and chop your hearbs fine, and season it with Cloues, Mace and Sugar, a little creame and salt and yolks of Eggs, and Dates minst fine. Euen mingle all your stuf together, and put it in your Rabets belly and sowe it vp with a thred, for the broth take mutton broth when it is boyled a little, and put it in a pot wheras your Rabet may lye long waies in it, and let your broth boile or euer you put it in, then put in Gooceberries or els Grapes, corance and sweet Butter, Vergious, Salt, grated bread and Sugar a little, and when it is boyled, lay it in a dish with Sops. And so serue it in (sig. A8).

The compiler of A book of cookrye knew that there was a relationship between diet and health, and, consequently, several recipes were suggested for feeding sick people. A mutton broth for the sick was to be seasoned with herbs "according as the patient is," that is, hot herbs for cold patients and cold herbs such as endive and cinnamon for patients who were hot (sig. B4). Another recipe "for a weake body that is consumed" showed how to prepare a broth made from a cock and a great variety of herbs. The cock had first to be beaten to

death, cut up into small pieces, and the bones bruised. Then the meat was to be put in a pipkin with various herbs and spices, some dates, and some white wine and rosewater. The addition of a piece of gold and half a pound of prunes was also recommended, following which the pipkin was to be placed in a pot of boiling water and heated for twelve hours before serving (sig. B4b).

Another dish which was believed to have therapeutic value was marchpane, a recipe for which began the book, The treasurie of commodious conceits, and hidden secrets (STC 19429). According to the writer, John Partridge, this food was valuable as "a comfortable meat, meete for weake folkes, such as haue lost the taste of meates by much and long sicknesse" (sig. A4b). Marchpane was just one of a number of health-restoring foods in the Treasurie, a work which was intended to serve as a source of home remedies and household hints as well as a recipe book. Under one hundred and eighteen separate headings, the book offered numerous recipes for food preparations, chiefly conserves and marmalades, recipes for nutritious or healing oils and waters, formulas for such items as sealing wax, breath sweeteners, hair dye, and perfumes, and medical advice of various kinds. In a prefatory poem (which, by the way, observes that the book costs four pence), the writer compares the book to a closet where housewives will find instructions to make most things needed in a household, such as

al conserues & Sirops sweet to comfort heart and braine.

For banquets to here may you find, your dishes howe
to frame.
As Succad, Marmalad, Marchpane to, & each thing els
by name
Fine powders eke for linnen clothes, & wollen, furd
or fac'd,
To keepe them sweet and safe from Mothes,
in chestes when they be plac'd,
Good medicines to, for present health, in Closet here
you haue
To maintain life, & keep ye yong the chiefest thing
ye craue (sig. A1b).

Most of the food recipes in the text that follows betray the English predeliction for sugar, none more so than a recipe for a paste which could be fashioned into dishes, so that at the end of a meal the diners might "breake all, and eat the Platters, Dishes, glasses, Cuppes, and all such like: for this paste is verie delicate and sauourous" (sig. A7b). A number of recipes, particularly the instructions for making "diuers necessarie Oiles of great vertue" (sig. B3b), indicated the healing properties and good effects of the substances, one compound made from "good Oile," sweet wine, and half a pound of earthworms boiled together being good for pains in the joints, for example (sig. B4b). Many of the conserves made from wild flowers and berries were also recommended for certain virtues, as, for example, a conserve of strawberries which was said to be "good against a hot liuer, burning of the stomackes and specialy in the furuent heat of an ague" (sig. B7b).

The writer of the Treasurie may have been a herbalist, or a student of that art, since most of his recipes involved

the use of herbs and other wild plants. A number of recipes explain how to make perfumes or incense from herbs, and there are also recipes for substances "to perfume gloues" (sig. C7b), to "make the face faire and the breath sweete," "to make haire yellow as gold" using rhubarb and white wine, and "to driue away all venimous beastes from your house" (sig. D5). One section of the book explains at "what time in the yeare hearbs and flowers should be gathered in their ful strength" (sig. D8 ff.), and subsequent sections discuss the medicinal virtues of roses, lilies, rosemary, and so on. The final sections of the book describe concoctions for miscellaneous problems such as grease spots on cloth, weasels among chickens, and various medical disorders such as worms in young children, headache, the itch, sore throat, coughs, and the French pox. Readers learned, for example, that the following procedure would "make a barren woman beare children":

Take those little Sea fishes, called in Latin Polipi or Polipode, and roast them vpon the Embers without oile, and let the woman eate of them, and it shall profite and help very much, hauing in the meane time the companie of a man (sig. D2b).

The almanacs, information handbooks, and other reference works examined thus far illustrate well enough many of the ordinary questions and problems which a householder might resolve by perusing one of these indispensable books. In addition to such general books of information, the sixteenth century witnessed the publication of any number of works intended to provide information about more or less specialized pursuits.

One writer, Leonard Mascall, for example, produced books on such topics as fishing, poultry farming, manuscript illumination, and the grafting of trees (STC² p. 144), and, in 1591, under the general title of The first booke of cattell (STC 17581), a book on the care of all the animals commonly found on a farm. A clerk of the kitchen in the household of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, Mascall evidently had practical experience of husbandry, but, if not, he was extremely well-read on his subject, since he displays encyclopedic knowledge of husbandry from the very outset of the text.

Mascall's book was divided into three sections, the first dealing with oxen and cattle, the second with horses, and the third with sheep, goats, swine, and dogs. The general approach taken in each section is illustrated well enough in the first part, where Mascall deals with the purchase of oxen. Citing the various breeds of oxen found in each section of Europe, Mascall proceeds to review, with reference to various authorities on the subject, over thirty features characteristic of desirable oxen. Turning at length to the care of oxen, the writer lists dozens of symptoms and disorders in oxen and cattle, with appropriate countermeasures. Readers learned, for example, how to treat oxen and cattle bitten by a mad dog (sig. C1b) or by adders or field spiders (sig. E3b). The second section, on horses, deals first of all with the duties of farriers or horseleeches, and Mascall admonishes them to remain with a horse for some time after administering medicine,

in case the horse does not react well to it (sig. G6). Other matters dealt with in the section include the breeding of colts, the use of proper harness by carters, shoeing of horses, the properties of a fair horse, and a list of forty-eight diseases of the horse, including advice for treatment. Except for a digression on the eradication of moles from pastures (sig. T5b ff.), the third section of the book deals with sheep, goats, swine and dogs according to the plan followed for oxen and horses. Mascall may not have been fond of pigs, since he declares at the outset of the section on hogs that "the hog is a hurtfull and spoiling beast, stout and hardy, and troublesome to rule: he is a great rauener for his meate, because he is hot of nature" (sig. K7). Parts of Mascall's text, including, for example, some general advice on the care and training of horses, were written in verse. The last stanza of the poem about horses admonishes buyers with "a prouerbe" which reads:

To trust all currant horsecoursers,
I vise thee to beware,
For truth among the most of them
is found to be full rare (sig. G7).

The great versatility of another farm animal, the sheep, impressed Mascall sufficiently to prompt him to write a poem called "A praise of Sheepe," in which the writer's regard for the animal is quite apparent:

These cattel (sheepe) among the rest,
Is counted for man one of the best.
No harmeful beast nor hurt at all,
His fleece of wooll doth clothe vs all:

Which keepes vs from the extreame colde:
 His flesh doth feed both yong and olde.
 His tallow makes the candles white,
 To burne and serue vs day and night.
 His skinne doth pleasure diuers wayes,
 To write, to weare at all assayes.
 His guts, thereof we make wheele strings,
 They vse his bones to other things.
 His hornes some shepeheardes wil not loose,
 Because therewith they patch their shooes.
 His dung is chiefe I vnderstand,
 To helpe and dung the plowmans land.
 Therefore the sheep among the rest,
 He is for man a worthy beast (sig. 01b).

Readers who had occasion to use Mascall's book on husbandry may well have been attracted to another book from 1591, A short treatise of hunting (STC 5457), by Sir Thomas Cockaine, a notable hunter of the day (DNB, IV, 682). Like Mascall's book Cockaine's brief work on hunting and related activities would probably have been most useful to country people, especially country gentlemen, and Mascall's book is, in fact, dedicated to "the Gentlemen Readers." Besides dealing with basic hunting techniques, such as stalking game, Cockaine offered suggestions on the breeding and handling of dogs and the techniques of blowing the hunting horn.

The year 1591 was a war year for England, and this fact had certain consequences on the book trade. Contemporary interest in military events and the art of war are apparent from news pamphlets and books associated in some way with military practice, a good example being Digges's Pantometria. Other books which must have owed their being, at least to some degree, to current events, were three works on warfare and mili-

tary practice which appeared during 1591. The first of these, a treatise entitled Discourses of warre and single combat (STC 16810) was a philosophical work written originally in French by Bertrand de Loque, while the remaining two, The arte of warre (STC 11625) by William Garrard, and The approued order of martiall discipline (STC 5376) by Giles Clayton, were practical handbooks for serving, or, more probably, aspiring officers.

The translator of the Discourses, John Eliot, remarks in the dedication that he translated the work because he saw how excellently de Loque had handled certain questions "most godly worth the reading of all Christian souldiars, setting downe the ancient rules of warre, grounded on Gods holy word, [and] seeking reformation of sundrie abuses committed by the military profession" (sig. A2-A2b). De Loque's first discourse, in seven chapters, discusses such basic questions as the right of a prince to make war, which the writer affirms by presenting six reasons supported by eighteen citations from Scripture. The Bible is consulted in succeeding sections of the discourse to resolve such matters as the legitimate causes for making war and the rules that must be obeyed in order to merit the blessing of God. The rules, twelve in all, declare that in a just war a great matter is at issue, all means short of war have been tried, wealth is not the motive, the prince is in control of his will and passions, he chooses wise officers, the ranks are God-fearing, Christian laws govern the army, Christian virtues prevail throughout the army, and so forth. Other ques-

tions which de Loque examines in the book are the morality of ambushes and the legality of duelling between officers, a question which is the subject of the second discourse. In the dedication to Henry IV of France, de Loque deplores duelling from several points of view, not least because "so manie that be seruiceable to Prince and Countrey, vpon a brauerie lose their liues: and when they are slaine, it is to late to raise the dead againe" (sig. A3b). The discourse, not suprisingly, urges Scriptural and philosophical reasons against the practice of duelling, and de Loque declares that a prince should not permit it.

Bertrand de Loque's insistence upon the fundamental importance of godly objectives and moral uprightness as the bases for successful soldiering was shared by the other military writers of 1591, who were concerned as well with the qualities and virtues needed in soldiers and officers at all levels. William Garrard, who put great emphasis upon the importance of the common soldier in his book The arte of warre (STC 11625), observed, for example, that men in the ranks should practice silence, obedience, secretness, sobriety, hardiness, truth and loyalty (sig. C3b-C4). Garrard's opinion of the importance of the private soldier, whom he compares to the "platforme of a Fortresse" (sig. B1) was derived from long experience as a mercenary soldier in the army of Philip of Spain, with whom he had served until returning home to England shortly before his death in 1587. In the first of the six

sections of his treatise, Garrard discourses at length about the qualities, duties, and behaviours desired in common soldiers, under such headings as the care of equipment, use and handling of weapons, behaviour in camp, sentinel duty, and the spending of a soldier's pay. The importance of physical conditioning was also recognized by Garrard, who writes that anyone desiring to become a good soldier, able to "beare out euery brunt stoutly, and serue sufficiently, . . . ought to haue a strong body, sound, free from sicknesse, & of a good complexion:

So shall hee bee able to resist the continuall toile and trauaile, which of necessitie hee must dailie take, as continual and extreame cold in the winter, immoderate heate in the Sommer, in marching in the day, keeping sentinell in the night, and in his cold Cabben, in secret ambushes, and in Trenches, where perchance hee shall stand a number of houers in the water and myre vp to the knees: and beside vpon Bulwarkes, breaches in espials, in Sentinels, perdues, and such like, when occasion requires (sig. B1).

From the foregoing description, it is tempting to assume that Garrard's remarks about private soldiers were based upon personal experience of life in the ranks. Indeed, it was apparently not unusual for gentlemen to enrol as common soldiers in foreign armies and work their way through the ranks.¹ Regardless of how far he may have advanced in rank, however, Garrard had fairly detailed knowledge about all the higher military offices, which he proceeds to examine in the second and

¹J. W. Fortescue, "The Soldier," in Shakespeare's England (2 Vols.; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966), I, 115.

succeeding sections of the book. As in his discussion of private soldiers, Garrard's approach is to enumerate the qualities needed for each office, and to give advice for performing the various functions of the office, such as training men, making reports, setting up a camp, and, in the case of artillery officers, using siege machines, setting up earthworks, and so forth. The final section of Garrard's text, on certain higher ranks such as the high treasurer, the muster master, and the master of the victuals, was supplemented by an addition written by a certain Captain Hichcock, who had edited the manuscript at the request of Sir Thomas Garrard, a kinsman of the author. Hichcock's supplement set down the food supplies that would be needed by a garrison of one thousand soldiers to endure a siege of one year.

The author of the final book on martial arts to be published during 1591 was, like Thomas Garrard, a practicing soldier. In the dedication to Elizabeth I, the writer of The approved order of martiall discipline (STC 5376) observes that he has served the queen in Ireland and the Low Countries for sixteen years. Giles Clayton's approach to his subject was unlike that taken by Garrard in The arte of warre, in that Clayton appears to have felt that the success of an army depended chiefly upon its officers. The arrangement of Clayton's material reflects his bias, so that where Garrard had begun his work with a lengthy discourse upon the private soldier, and then worked through the officers' ranks in ascending order,

Clayton begins with the office of colonel general and works down. The common soldier is given less consideration by Clayton, and most of his references to ordinary troops are made in connection with the duty of some officer or other. Garrard's book devotes considerable space to arms drills and such necessary practices; but this aspect of military activity receives less attention from Clayton. Clayton's emphasis upon the attributes and duties of the officer may have had a lot to do with his experiences of serving under inferior and inexperienced officers. In his preface, addressed in part to "all young Gentlemen of Englande, which most honourably attempteth to get renowne and honour" through military service (sig. A3b), Clayton remarks at one point that experienced men are in short supply, so that "we see that euery one hauing serued but a yeere or two, it is a great matter. Nay, if he but crosse the Seas, and make hys abode but one month, he is accounted a Souldiour" (sig. A4b). Despite his sixteen years' experience, the writer goes on, he dares not call himself a soldier, "for the name of a Souldiour is most honourable, and those that beare the name or title thereof, should be men of vnderstanding and knowledge, and well experienced in warre, & Martiall discipline" (sig. A4b).

The most important concern in establishing an army, Clayton affirms at the outset of his text, is that officers be selected who are "men of godlie conuersation, great wisdome, expert and politique in Martiall affaires, . . . and of such

magnanimitie and courage, as rather couet to climb to honour by desert, then to liue a cowardish life with shame" (sig. B2b). A camp furnished with such officers, he goes on, cannot help but flourish, since the common soldiers will profit by the instruction and example of their leaders. The only other necessary thing to be ensured, he writes, is that the soldiers must be paid regularly, "for the want of pay doth not onely infeeble and abate the courage of Souldiours, when they shall bee pincht both with hunger and cold: but it breedeth mutinies, it causeth discordes, it neglecteth seruice, and lets slippe opportunities" (sig. B3). "Maintain discipline," Clayton admonishes, "and see your Souldiours be well payd and well punished" (sig. B3). Having established these general principles, the author proceeds to describe the office and duty of all the officer ranks, beginning with the colonel-general, who in turn appoints all subordinate ranks, including drums and fifes, and informs each of his captains "what weapon his Souldiours shall vse" (sig. B3).

In addition to the duties of various officers, the first part of Clayton's book sets down numerous "strategems and obseruations very necessary to be vused for diuers good causes," which officers were expected to convey to the ranks. Rules of silence, care of equipment, marching formations, and miscellaneous stratagems, such as having some men fall down, "heere some, and ther some, as if they were slaine with shotte" (sig. E3), are just a few examples of the kind of information Clayton

felt should be recorded. The first section also includes a list of "rules of Armes" for soldiers and officers alike, in which captains are forbidden to entice men from other units, soldiers are forbidden to be out of uniform, and women are forbidden to follow the camp, except for "victualers or laundresses, which shall be licenced by the Marshals byll" (sig. F2b). Most officers had responsibilities in the area of inventory and equipment, so one of the interesting features of the book lies in its descriptions of the equipment carried by certain soldiers. For example, a corporal leading a group of men furnished with firearms was required to see his men "well furnished in all pointes, as followeth":

that they haue their full number of Souldiours, and euery Souldiour to haue a sufficient Caliuer, Flaske, and Touch bore, powder, bullets, mould, priming yron, match, rammer, worme, burgenet, and one sword and dagger, to teach them to march, to charge and discharge with a fayre retreat, not touching one another, keeping their faces vpon the enemies: and in raine or moist weather, to hould their Peece vnder their arme, with the touch-hole of their Peece, close vnder their armhole, their match being fyred betweene their fingers in the palme of their hande, so shall they be ready at euery suddaine. Prouided alwaies, they keep their match and powder dry, their Peece cleane scoured within and without: if any fault be found therein, immediatly to be amended (sig. D2-D2b).

The second part of The approoued order of martiall discipline was devoted mainly to the study of ways in which groups of various sizes could be formed into effective marching and battle arrays. At the beginning of the section, Clayton (who is identified on the separate title-page as the former lieutenant of Lord North), sets down nineteen separate letters to

serve as symbols for the various personnel to be depicted in the diagrams used to illustrate the formations. The eleven diagrams and supporting commentary deal with marching orders appropriate to different terrains as well as various rings and battle squares. One formation of the various arrays required the use of rapid calculation, since the number of men in a particular rank or section depended upon such things as the square root of the number of men involved. Examples of the sort of calculation required were given by Clayton in his discussions of each figure, and a "calendar" at the end of the book contained tables of square roots for various numbers. In the final section, the writer also set down a number of "rules of armes" for the advice of officers, who are admonished in particular "not to giue battell without the aduice and counsaile of diuers olde Seruitors and men of experience" (sig. L4). Other brief pieces of advice included notes such as the following:

Also you are to vnderstand that where discipline is vsed with lenitie and curtesie, more preuaileth then furie & rashnes, without discretion or wisdom.

Also you shall vnderstande, that the valiantnesse of your Souldiours, more preuaileth then the multitude, and sometime the situation helpeth more then the valiantnes.

Also you may vnderstand, that new and suddain things, maketh many Armies amazed and feared, and accustomed things daily vsed, are little regarded. Wherefore make your Armie to practise, and to know with small fights a new Enemie before you enter the fight with him (sig. L3).

One of Clayton's important admonitions to captains was that they should take special care in choosing the surgeons for their companies, selecting honest men of good conscience, "and such as shoulde worke according to arte, not practising new experiments vpon poore souldiours, by meanes whereof many haue been vtterly maimed" (sig. D1b). In return for his services, the surgeon was to be provided with all necessary equipment, "as Oyles, Balmes, salues, and Instruments," and in addition each soldier was to augment the surgeon's wages by paying him two pence a month, "in consideration whereof, he ought readily to imploy his industry vpon the sore and wounded Souldiours, not intermedling with any other cures to them noysome" (sig. D1b). As a further concession to the importance of his function, the surgeon was to be permitted freedom of movement throughout the watch in the course of his duties (sig. D1b). One of the most prominent surgeons of the time, William Clowes, had wide experience of military surgery, having been called to the Low Countries in 1585 to serve the Earl of Leicester. In 1588, following his return to England, Clowes published a work called A prooued practise for all young chirurgians, concerning burnings with gunpowder, and woundes made with gunshot, sword, halbard, pike, launce, or such other, the second edition of which appeared in 1591 (STC 5445).

The prefatory materials and much of his text reveal that Clowes was a most splenetic man who spared no words in heaping abuse upon his enemies. He had a special hatred of medical

charlatans, such as barber-surgeons, who denied their profession when drafted for military service as surgeons, protesting that their entire skill lay in "the drawing and stopping of a tooth, letting of bloud, or . . . the cure of the french pocks" (sig. A3b-A4). Equally despised by Clowes were a number of self-styled surgeons in service in the Low Countries, "which did thrust them selues into Captaines hands for principall Chirurgions, and there without either knowledge or skill seduced many with their rude obseruations and vndiscret practices" (sig. H2b-H3). His own practices, and those of his associates, Clowes wrote, were such that not one man treated by them died of gunshot wounds, for example, "so that he was not first wounded to death" (sig. H2b), while the wicked practices of the charlatans, he declared, killed more soldiers than the enemy (sig. H3). Clowes attributed his success to the impressive variety of medicines, powders, and ointments in his repertoire, most of which had proven their efficacy in cases that had come to the surgeon's attention in civilian life. The book, consequently, is replete with detailed case histories of both civilians and soldiers, with descriptions of the procedures and recipes used to cure them. That surgery continued to be a cruel and brutal act at times, despite the advances described by Clowes, is evident, however, from the illustrations of crude surgical instruments in the book, and descriptions of some surgical procedures, such as the following one for removing a gangrenous limb.

You shall haue in readinesse a good strong fourme and a stedie, and set the patient at the verie ende of it: then shall there bestride the fourme behinde him a man that is able to hould him fast by both his armes: which done, if the legge be to be taken of beneath the knee, let there be also an other strong man appoynted to bestride the legge that is to be taken of, and he must hould fast the member aboue the place where the incision is to be made, very stedily without shaking, and he that doth so hould should haue a large hand and a good gripe, whose hand may the better stay the bleeding: but in some bodies it will not-bee amisse to admit bleeding, specially in such bodies as are of hot complexions and doe abound in bloud In like maner there must be an other skilfull man that hath good experience and knowledge to hould the legge belowe, for the member must not be held too high, for staying and choking of the saw, neither must hee hould downe his hande too lowe for feare of fracturing the bones in the time it is a sawing off, and he that doth cut off the member, must bee sure to haue a sharpe sawe, a very good catlin and an incision knife, and then boldly with a stedie and quick hand cut the flesh round about to the bones without staying, being sure that the Periostium or Panicle that couereth the bones bee also incised & cut with the Nerue that runneth betweene the two bones of the legge, which shall be done with your incision knife: all this being orderly performed, then set your sawe as neere the sound flesh, as easely you may, not touching it, and with a light hand speedily sawe it off (sig. G1b-G2).

Because the ingredients of the compounds described by Clowes were expressed in Latin, A prooued practise would not have been a useful source of information about home remedies. As the title implies, the book must have been of most use to surgeons looking for current information about surgical techniques and the use of different curatives. Another book of medical information which would have appealed to a specialist audience was a translation by a well-known chemist named John Hester of a French work called A breefe aunswere of Iosephus Quercetanus . . . to the exposition of Iacobus Aubertus Vindonis,

concerning the original, and causes of mettalles (STC 7275). Hester who styled himself as a "practitioner in the Spagericall Arte" (sig. A1), that is to say, a chemist, was in the habit of advertising his nostrums from time to time in folio sheets; and the concluding sections of the book contain information about Hester's "aqua Balsamie," "aromatics," and a curious plaster of innumerable virtues, such as the power to heal wounds, draw out lead from wounds, and neutralize the bite of venomous beasts (sig. R2b). The translation, which made up the main body of the book, contained the reply of Joseph du Chesne, also known as Quercetanus, a learned chemist and physician to Henry IV of France, to a criticism of his belief and practice made by the French physician Jacques Aubert. The work was an important document in the contemporary dispute between chemists and pharmacologists of the school of Paracelsus, and their opponents, among whom Aubert was a formidable champion.

In A breefe aunswere Joseph du Chesne's objectives were evidently various, since he is at pains to define his attitude towards Paracelsus and his chemical theories, to defend the virtue of certain Paracelsan practises such as the creation of medicines from metals, and to take issue with Aubert on numerous specific points of disagreement between them in various areas of chemistry and pharmacology. For example, two ingredients objected to by Aubert were laudanum, which he said was perilous because it was nothing but opium, and crabs' eyes.

Du Chesne replied briefly to the charges against laudanum, noting that the substance was partly opium, but that it was "of a farre better preparation then is commonlie in vse" (sig. B1b), being an effective medicine if all its ingredients were properly put together. In spite of Aubert's charge that crabs' eyes were "ridiculous," du Chesne defended the use of calcined eyes of crabs for various disorders including rabies (sig. C1). A crab being a watery animal, du Chesne argued, it was an appropriate antedote to hydrophobia, a "dry" disease. Regarding the charge that Paracelsus relied solely upon compounds distilled from metals, pearls, and precious stones in order to cure diseases, du Chesne countered with numerous instances where Paracelsus had made medicines from many other substances, including "the oile and fat of a mans scull not buried for the epilepsye" (sig. C2b). The rest of the work continued in a similar vein, its several sections setting forth numerous preparations against disease, with particular emphasis upon compounds, that is, medicines made of a variety of ingredients, particularly distillations of metals.

The final two works to be considered in the category of Science and Information are perhaps the most esoteric books produced during 1591. One of them, a treatise on cryptography by an Italian patron of letters and science who had died in 1515, was published by John Wolfe in two versions during 1591. One version of the work, which was called De furtiuis literarum notis (STC 20118), was an edition of the original work, while

the second version, also published by Wolfe, was a forgery of the original edition, bearing the date 1563 and an imprint purporting to be that of the Italian printer of the first edition of the book. The second work, The accedence of armorie (STC 15391) was purportedly an elementary treatise on the subject of armory, that is to say, heraldry, or the science of blazoning arms, although one article about the author, Gerard Legh, observes that the book "is in reality a medley of irrelevant learning," and that "in endeavouring to explain the art, Legh is purposely obscure from fear of tranching on the official privileges of the College of Arms" (DNB, XI, 860). The text of the book is in the form of a dialogue between "Leigh" who explains that he wishes to be instructed in armory, and "Gerard" the "herehaught," that is, the herald, who undertakes his teaching. The herald begins his lesson abruptly, declaring that there are nine "fields" consisting of seven colours and two metals, and goes on to discuss the meanings and virtues of the various fields, their historical associations, their significances in combination, and so on. The herald provides numerous examples of the blazoning of arms, illustrations of which appear in the book; and he also goes into the history of arms and nobility, the office of the herald, the genealogy of English monarchs and so on.

One of the claims made by Legh on behalf of the herald is that this person must have profound and universal knowledge. "I maruell what Science, arte, or mysterie it were, that an

herauld shoulde haue none intelligence thereof were it neuer so secret or profound," he declares. If a herald does not have some understanding of all things, as well as command of several languages, Legh continues, he is not fit for office. And he concludes that it is therefore necessary for a herald "to haue an vniuersall knowledge in ech thinge" (sig. B3).

Legh's assumption that "universal knowledge" could be attained would not have been regarded as preposterous by his contemporaries. The same assumption caused John Dee to coin the term "archemastry" to designate complete mastery of applied science or applied mathematics. Naturally, most readers during 1591 would not have aspired to universal knowledge but the evident demand for publications such as the foregoing books of science and information indicates a healthy state of intellectual curiosity and a need for information and knowledge in a number of human endeavours.

GOVERNMENT AND LAW

CHRONOLOGICAL HANDLIST: GOVERNMENT AND LAW

- 8200 [A proclamation for respect to friendly powers at sea] Deputies of C. Barker. Regnal date 3 fb. 1590, i.e. 1591.
- 8201, Proclamation, Orders conceiued . . . for the restraint of killing and eating of flesh this next Lent Deputies of C. Barker. Probably fb.
- 8202 [A proclamation to forbid resort to French rebels] Deputies of C. Barker. Dated 14 ap.
- 8203 [A proclamation against disorders in the posts] Deputies of C. Barker. Dated 26 ap.
- 8204, Proclamation, Articles concerning the Admiralty of England Deputies of C. Barker. Dated 21 jy.
- 13856, C. Howard, E. of Nottingham, Siarles Arglwydd Howard T. Purfoot. Brief, in Welsh, authorizing collections in behalf of John Salisbury; dated 31 jy.
- 8206 [A proclamation forbidding exports to Spain] Deputies of C. Barker. Dated 16 se.
- 8207, Proclamation, A declaration of the great troubles pretended . . . by a number of seminarie priests and Iesuists Deputies of C. Barker. Dated 18 oc.; three folio sheets. 1/2, both 1591.
- 8208 [Anr. ed.] Deputies of C. Barker. Seven leaves, quarto, with a title-page. 2/2, both 1591.

- 8210 [A proclamation against vagrant soldiers] Deputies of C. Barker. Dated 5 no.
- 8211 [A proclamation for pricing wines] Deputies of C. Barker. Dated 17 de. 1/2, both 1591.
- 8212 [Anr. ed.] Deputies of C. Barker. 2/2, both 1591.
- 8213 [A proclamation for restitution of goods] Deputies of C. Barker. Dated 29 de. 1/2, both 1591.
- 8214 [Anr. ed.] Deputies of C. Barker. 2/2, both 1591.
- 9318, England--Statutes, A collection in English, of the statutes now in force Deputies of C. Barker. Abridged statutes; ed. W. Rastell; with tables. 13/22, 1557-1621.
- 9943, England--Year Books, Cy ensuist le report de tout ceux cases R. Tottell. Cases dating from Henry VIII; Law French. 1/2, 1591-1619?
- 15149, W. Lambard, The duties of constables R. Newbery. Enlarged edition. 6/23, 1583-1640.
- 15166, W. Lambard, Eirenarcha: or of . . . iustices of peace R. Newbery. Four books; reprint of enlarged edition. 4/12, 1581-1620.
- 15749, Sir T. Littleton, Les tenures de Monsieur Littleton [R. Tottell]. Land law; Law French. 34/47, [1482]-1639.
- 15750 [Anr. ed.] [R. Tottell]. 35/47, [1482]-1639.
- 23547, H. Swinburne, A briefe treatise of testaments and last willes J. Windet. In seven parts. 1/4, 1591-1640.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNMENT AND LAW

Twenty-one separate items, or 8.2 per cent of the total output in all subjects during 1591, have been considered to belong primarily to the category of Government and Law. Most of the items in this category consist of official publications such as proclamations, collections of statutes, and year books. The remaining books, all of which would have been basic items on a lawyer's shelves, consist of popular textbooks or manuals on specific areas of the law and its administration. Table 6 summarizes the distribution of the publications within this category.

A number of titles from 1591 having certain associations with government and law have been assigned to other categories for various reasons. For example, books concerned exclusively with ecclesiastical laws and regulations are considered among the theological works from the year. Translations of certain official publications from foreign sources have been assigned to the category of news. While these translations are concerned to varying degrees with law and government in France and elsewhere, they were probably offered for sale to English-

men because of their topical interest.

With the exception of a single book (STC 23547), none of the items in the present chapter is associated with entries in the Stationers' Register, at least not in 1591 or the years immediately preceding. This can best be explained by the fact that most extant items in the area of government and law are official documents, or later editions of books entered some years prior to 1591, or books covered by Richard Tottell's privilege. The same explanations probably account for the absence of any entries in the Stationers' Register that could suggest the publication during the year of other books that have not survived.

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS : GOVERNMENT AND LAW

Type of Book	Items	% of 1591 items	USR entries
<u>Proclamations and Briefs</u>			
Privy Council (13)			
Lord Admiral (1)			
	14	5.5	0

TABLE 6 --Continued

Type of Book	Items	% of 1591 items	USR entries
<u>Legal Books</u>			
Year books (1)			
Abridged statutes (1)			
Text-books (5)	7	2.7	0
Totals	21	8.2	0

Proclamations

And moreouer her highnesse pleasure and commandement is, that all and singuler Maiors, Sheriffes, Bayliffes, Constables, and other officers to whom it apperteineth, that they, and euey of them with diligence, cause and see that this her Proclamation be put in execution . . .
..1

Government proclamations, printed on one side of an unfolded folio sheet, and pinned up in conspicuous places, must have been a common sight in market towns and other places where ordinary Elizabethans tended to congregate. The number of surviving proclamations from 1591, fourteen in all, attests

¹STC 8211 [A proclamation for pricing wines.] (Signature references are not provided for unbound proclamations, since these are unsigned and usually do not run to more than one sheet in any case.)

to the fact that they were regarded by the government as one effective means of making its policies and intentions known to the people.¹

A typical proclamation was headed by the inscription, "By the Queen," or a brief summary of its purpose, or both. The text, in black letter type, reviewed the circumstances which had given rise to the document, and then gave the reader any necessary information regarding required behaviour of subjects in connection with the proclamation. The text ended with such information as the date, the regnal year, and the location of the court or palace from which the proclamation had been issued. Finally, there appeared a colophon indicating that the proclamation had been printed by the Queen's Printer, Christopher Barker, or his deputies.

The proclamations from 1591 can be classified conveniently into four groups: those related to Elizabethan foreign policy; proclamations related to jurisdiction over maritime affairs; proclamations against Roman Catholics; and proclamations concerned with domestic affairs such as Lenten regulations and the control of vagrants. Some of the proclamations, such as those pertaining to Lenten ordinances and the prerogatives of the Admiralty, were more or less routine statements

¹This figure includes STC 13856 [A brief authorizing collections on behalf of John Salisbury.] While it was not a proclamation, the brief is closely related to the proclamations, being an order published by the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, in support of a disabled seaman.

of law and policy which were issued at irregular intervals throughout the Elizabethan period. Others, especially the ones having some connection with political affairs on the Continent, must have been read avidly for the information they might yield about government policy and current affairs in England and abroad. The government, for its part, appears to have recognized the opportunities presented by proclamations to instruct the common reader in areas of belief as well as conduct. Several proclamations, especially those having something to do with religion or foreign affairs, were obviously intended as propaganda devices as well as edicts.

During 1591, government proclamations relating to foreign nations were intended for the most part to control trade and communications between England and the Continent. A typical example of such a proclamation was one issued on 14 April forbidding trade with places in France currently in the hands of the League.¹ The government was at pains to include within the proclamation "a declaration of the iust causes of the said prohibition," and, accordingly, much of the text consists of a preamble asserting the legitimacy of Henry IV as lawful ruler of France and condemning "the vn-natural rebellion" of some of his subjects. The rebellion, the proclamation continues, "is faouered by none of the

¹STC 8202 [A proclamation to forbid resort to French rebels.]

ancient byrth of Fraunce, but by a very fewe of a strange bloud, lately brought in, and planted by marriages in Fraunce." For these and other reasons "in the sight of Almightye God very iust, and to the world most honorable," the Queen has given Henry her unqualified moral support as well as such assistance "as she may conueniently yeelde with regarde to her owne estate." Coming at length to the purpose of the document, the proclamation notes that "this populer rebellion . . . is fedde and maintained in sundry Port Townes of Fraunce," and declares that the queen, therefore

hath thought it meete, that although her subiects ought in reason of themselues to haue considered as much, to will and charge, . . . all maner her own naturall Subiects, and all other persons resorting to her realme, to forbear from repaying to any Porte or Creeke of Picardie, Normandie, or Britaine, where the Rulers of the same Portes or Creekes doe not manifestly obey the French king, and that in no manner, directly or indirectly, they doe cary or send any Marchandize, victual, or munition to any Port or Towne, that doeth disobey the French king, or doe vse any trade of buying or selling by bartering or by exchange with any of the kings rebels, or with their adherents either in Fraunce, or fraudulently here in England or elsewhere: vpon paine that whosoever shall attempt the contrarie, the same shall be punished as Traitors, and relieuers and succourers of her Maiesties enemies.

According to the proclamation, many "secretly euill disposed subiects" have devised stealthy methods for carrying food and merchandise, particularly war materials such as "pouder, shot, copper, and other habillements of warre," to the rebels. Among the measures proposed to stop this traffic are closer inspections of cargoes bound for the Continent, and close questioning of the owners of suspicious cargoes. Such owners are to

declare the innocence of their intentions under oath and post bonds double in value to the value of their goods. Evidently, certain customs officers had hitherto been in collusion with persons carrying illicit cargoes, and the proclamation promises the loss of office and a jail sentence for officers who assist in the running of cargoes to forbidden ports.

The proclamation forbidding trade with towns held by the League was followed in September by a similar document prohibiting exports of foodstuffs, particularly grain crops, to Spain.¹ The September proclamation, like the April document, seizes upon the opportunity presented to emphasize the malevolence of Philip of Spain. The April proclamation, for example, had observed that every monarch in Christendom, save Philip, stood in support of Henry IV of France, while Philip, "not contented with all the kingdomes and dominions which his most noble father left him, by reason of his abundant riches brought to him out of his Indies, attempteth to augment his estate by encroching to himselfe the dominions of his neighbours." If Philip were content to live in peace and enjoy his own dominions, the proclamation continued, "Christendome were to enjoy an vniuersall peace, without any noyse of warre in any countrie or corner of Christendome." In similar fashion, the proclamation of 16 September forbidding exports to Spain notes that Philip is "the onelieemie" of England, "and hath

¹STC 8206 [A proclamation forbidding exports to Spain.]

longest continued in mortall warre against vs, manifestly violating the treaties of Peace, and refusing to liue in such peace with vs, as hath bene by solemne contracts and Leagues aunciently established." The proclamation also contrasts the abundant mercies of God towards England with the situation in Spain, where despite the "abundance of treasure by his Indian Mines," Philip is short of food and supplies, and

is forced to expend great treasures to get Corne, Shipping, and other necessaries for shipping, yea Mariners out of the East countries of Almaine, and hath attempted to corrupt some of our Subiects and some Strangers also inhabiting our Countries, to procure the conueiance of such kindes of his wants, either directly by stealth to his owne Countries, or indirectly and coulourably first to some other Countries adiacent to his, and from thence to be conueied to his owne.

The proclamation goes on to threaten with execution anyone guilty of involvement in the transport to Spain of food, war materials, naval supplies, or metal. An important circumstance underlying the regulation was that the grain harvest in England in 1591 was quite abundant so that farmers, especially on the south coast, had large surpluses. The proclamation urges "the principall persons of wealth" to buy up surplus corn and store it, so that surplus crops are kept in England. The proclamation also outlines several general restrictions and conditions on the shipping of grain from one English port to another, as well as on the shipping of several restricted materials to foreign places.

Government efforts to regulate the activities of

independent-minded Englishmen in matters concerning foreign nations are reflected as well in several other proclamations during 1591, among them an edict to regulate the post, and a proclamation concerning the activities of privateers. A proclamation dated 26 April¹ observes that "diuers disauowed persons" have been offering to carry letters and packets to foreign places contrary to existing laws. The document instructs various officials to remind Englishmen that it is illegal to offer private postal services. A proclamation touching upon a far more serious matter was one dated 3 February declaring the Queen's intention to "inhibit her subiects vpon most extreme paines" from attacking the shipping of nations friendly to England.² According to the proclamation, certain of the Queen's subjects sailing into Spanish Seas the previous summer in search of Spanish shipping ("to recouer of the Spaniards recompence of the notable iniuries by arrests and barbarous cruelties committed in Spaine and Portingall, against a great number of her subiects"), had, instead, attacked and captured the ships of friendly countries. The examples are cited of two vessels from Venice and Florence respectively, which were taken by English privateers near Portugal and brought to the west coast of England. According to her usual practice,

¹STC 8203 [A proclamation against disorders in the posts.]

²STC 8200 [A proclamation for respect to friendly powers at sea.]

the queen had the complaints of her allies investigated and had made appropriate restitution, even going so far as to recompense the Florentines, although their ship, says the proclamation, "is knowen to be English, and lately taken by Spaniards." According to the proclamation, full restitution of the Florentine goods had not yet been made because certain persons had removed parts of the cargo illegally, that is, before the Court of the Admiralty had performed an investigation to discover whether the goods actually belonged to the Spaniards. The offenders are ordered to recompense the owner of the cargo, upon pain of punishment, and regulations are set down against breaking up captured cargo while it is still in bond, and against detaining or rifling captured ships belonging to friendly nations.

Since contact with foreigners by Englishmen would ordinarily involve ships and shipping, all the foregoing proclamations concerning dealings with other nations were at the same time expressions of official attempts to regulate maritime activities of various kinds. The problem of illegal activities by privateers such as those mentioned in the proclamation to protect friendly powers at sea was evidently a vexing one; as it was the subject of more than one proclamation during 1591. According to a passage appended to the proclamation regarding friendly powers at sea, it was illegal for anyone to go to sea against the Spaniards without a licence, and the conditions attached to the granting of such a licence were highly specific.

Besides undertaking to leave all friendly shipping alone, the master of the privateer had to promise to bring captured Spanish vessels to the nearest English port; to bring along the captain, the pilot, and one other member of the captured ship's company; and to leave the captured cargo untouched until it had been judged to be "good and lawfull prize," and a complete inventory taken. The problem presented by captains who ignored the conditions of this licence was serious enough to warrant the publication, on 29 December, of a proclamation "to be published in Cornewall, Deuonshire, Dorcetshire and Hampshire, for Restitution of goods lately taken on the Seas from the Subiects of the King of Spaine by way of Reprisall."¹

The December proclamation concerned certain London ships financed by merchants of the city, which had joined the fleet of Lord Thomas Howard in the summer of 1591 as privateers. The London privateers had the good fortune to capture a number of Spanish vessels coming from the West Indies, and while the ships of war under Howard proceeded to further adventures, including the famous fight of the Revenge, the London ships returned to England with their prizes. According to the proclamation, the London captains did not return directly to the port of London "as they should and might haue done, the wind seruing thereunto" but put in at remote places on the coasts where they rifled their cargoes and sold them to "sundry

¹STC 8213 [A proclamation for restitution of goods.]

persons." The proclamation commands that

all such persons as haue bought, exchanged or haue any wayes receiued of any maner person, directly or indirectly, out of the said London Fleet, any for-reine Coyne, Bollyon of Gold, or Siluer, Iewels, Pearles, Stones, Muske, wrought or rawe silke, Coch-enelia, Indico, or any other marchandizes, commodities or things whatsoever, or that shall haue in their possession any of the goods of the aforesaid natures: shall presently after the publication of this Proclamation, or within tenne dayes next following, bring in a true particular note in writing of the same, with the seuerall prizes what they payd, and the names of whom the same was bought, or tokens deciphring the person and persons, as neere as they can remember, and the day, time and place, where and when the same was bought, exchanged, or receiued, and foorth of what Shippe or Prize the same was brought.

While the enthusiasm of the authorities to restore the rifled cargoes to their original condition was based partly upon sympathy for the financiers who had invested in the privateering venture, the lost goods also represented a financial setback for the government, which collected customs duties on captured goods following the official auction of the prizes.¹ The sharing of captured prizes in this way was one of a bewildering number of arrangements by which the government profited by the bounty of the sea, many of which arrangements were re-affirmed in a proclamation dated 21 July. This edict, headed "Articles concerning the Admiralty of England" (STC 8204),

¹ Although only £15,000 of an average annual revenue of £490,000 during the period 1590-1603 is estimated to have been derived from prizes taken at sea, Elizabeth's budget-conscious government depended upon that source of money to help finance the English war effort on the Continent. (See Alan G. R. Smith, The Government of Elizabethan England, London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1967, p. 8.)

lists fifty-seven areas of naval and maritime affairs to be investigated by the Admiralty; and a number of items in the proclamation enjoin the Admiralty to ensure that the government is not being cheated of certain sources of revenue. The value of anything salvaged from the sea, for example, had to be shared equally with the Crown, with the exception of "the goods and Jewels" found on a corpse, which were to become the exclusive property of the government. The proclamation also contains reminders that one-half of all "Whales, Sturgians, Porposes, Balenes, or Graspes, or any other great, fatte, and ouergrowen fish" belong to the Crown, as do ransoms collected for any relation of a royal house taken prisoner on the seas. Other items covered in the proclamation dealt mostly with crimes of different sorts, ranging all the way from treason and piracy to casting filth into channels, taking fish illegally, molesting anchors, taking oysters or mussels "betwixt the first day of May, and the feast of the exaltation of the holy Crosse," and so on.

Notwithstanding the importance of the matters discussed in several of the foregoing proclamations, it is evident that the most significant edict of the year, from the government point of view, was the proclamation regarding the "great troubles pretended against the Realme, by a number of Seminarie Priests and Iesuists." This proclamation, which was dated 18 October, was issued in two editions during the year, appearing not only as a standard proclamation on three

PLATE IX
(OVERLEAF)



DECLARATION OF
great troubles pretended against
the Realme by a number of Semi-
narie Priests and Iesuists, sent, and
very secretly dispersed in the same,
to worke great Treasons vn-
der a false pretence of
Religion,

*With a prouision very necessarie
for remedie thereof. Published
by this her Maiesties
Proclamation.*



Imprinted at London by the Deputies
of *Christopher Barker Printer to the*
Queenes most excellent
Maiestie.

1591.

folio sheets (STC 8207) but also as a small quarto pamphlet (STC 8208). The purpose of the document was to announce the government's intention to hunt down Catholic clergy with renewed vigour on the grounds that the chief purpose of Catholic priests operating within England was "to worke great treasons vnder a false pretence of religion." Readers would probably have found the proclamation interesting for its summary of the official position towards Catholics as well as for the notice it gave of the measures proposed in order to identify and punish Catholic clergy.

From the outset, the proclamation insists upon the continuing danger represented to the realm by Philip of Spain, whose irrational malice towards England, which ought to "haue waxed faint and decayed in him," flourished unabated after thirty-three years of the queen's reign. Not only has Philip troubled the peace by warring against the present French king, the proclamation declares, but also he has not ceased to plot against England, having meant to invade the country only two years before. Moreover, the document continues, Philip has gained great personal influence over the latest pope, as a result of which the pope has permitted Philip to use the Catholic Church to promote Spanish designs against England. Under the authority of the pope, "which he hath now hanging at his girdle" (STC 8208, sig. A3), the Spaniard has worked with certain seditious English Catholics to recruit a multitude of dissolute young men

who haue partly for lacke of liuing, partly for crimes committed, become Fugitiues, Rebelles, and Traitours, and for whome there are in Rome, and Spaine, and other places certaine receptacles made to liue in, and there to bee instructed in Schoole pointes of sedition, and from thence to bee secretely and by stealth conueyed into our Dominions, with ample authorities from Rome, to mooue, stirre vp, and perswade as many of our Subjects, as they dare deale withall, to renounce their naturall alleageance due to vs and our Crowne, and vpon hope by a Spanish Inuasion to bee enriched and endowed with the Possessions and Dignities of our other good Subiects (with whome they practise) by Othes, yea by Sacramentes to forswear their naturall alleageance to vs, and yeelde their obedience wyth all their powers to this King of Spaine and to assiste his forces (sig. A3).

The proclamation goes on to emphasize that the arrest and punishment of Catholic priests and their supporters is not motivated by their religious views, but by their treasonous activities. A number of wealthy Englishmen, it is observed, are known to favour the Catholic religion, but they are not harassed for their religion as long as they pay "a pecuniary summe, as a penaltie for the time that they doe refuse to come to Church" (sig. A2b). The seminary priests and Jesuits, on the other hand, are alleged to be the agents of such men as Robert Parsons, the English Jesuit leader, and Cardinal William Allen, the leader of the English Catholics in Rome, both of whom are working actively to promote a Spanish invasion in the following year. According to the document, Allen and Parsons have assured Philip that many thousands of Englishmen will support him and that "their Seedmen named Seminaries Priests, and Iesuites" (sig. A3) have been entering the country for the last ten to twelve months, preparing their loyal followers to rise

up in support of the Spaniards. In view of the seriousness of the situation, the proclamation goes on, adequate preparations and counter-measures are needed; and these are described in some detail. The necessity for building up strong naval and military strength is emphasized in the proclamation, as is the importance of "diligent teaching and example of life" by ministers "to retaine our people stedfastly in the profession of the Gospell" (sig. A4b) and in their duties to God and their queen. Finally, the proclamation decrees the establishment of commissions in every locality to investigate persons suspected of being priests or Jesuits.

From the final sections of the proclamation, it is evident that the government found the identification and capture of priests very difficult. Experience has shown, the edict declares, that the priests enter the country by secret landing places and conceal their identities by means of numerous disguises:

Some [come] in apparell, as Souldiers, Mariners, or Merchants, pretending that they haue bene heretofore taken prisoners, and put into Gallies, and deliuered: Some come in as gentlemen with contrary names, in comely apparell, as though they had trauelled into forreine Countries for knowledge: And generally all, or the most part, as soone as they are crept in, are cloathed like Gentlemen in apparell, and many as gallants, yea in all colours, and wyth feathers, and such like disguising themselues, and many of them in their behaiour as Ruffians, farre off to be thought, or suspected to be Friars, Priestes, Iesuits, or Popish Schollers (sig. B2).

Following their successful entry into the country, the proc-

lamation goes on, these priests infiltrate the universities and Inns of Court and houses of noblemen, where they spread sedition among the people.

The final section of the proclamation sets down an extraordinary measure whereby "all maner of persons of what degree soeuer they bee without any exception," (sig. B2b) are made personally responsible for questioning closely "all maner of persons that haue bene admitted, or suffered to haue vsual resort, diet, lodging, residence in their houses, or in any place by their appointment, at any time within the space of one whole yeere now past" (sig. B2b) and at any time henceforward. Householders are charged to find out full details about the background of any strangers, and especially "whether he hath vsed, & doth vse to repaire to the Church at vsuall times to diuine seruice, according to the Lawes of the realme" (sig. B2b). Moreover, registers recording the dates and details of these "Inquisitions" are to be kept for the perusal of the commissioners, with penalties provided for persons failing to carry out the interviews and maintain registers. Finally, all persons who know of someone who has come into the country to perform the office of priest are warned to report the matter to the local commissioner "vpon paine that the offenders therein, shall be punished as abettours and mainteiners of traytours" (sig. B3).

The government proclamation against priests and Jesuits must have created a certain amount of excitement in the autumn

of 1591. The normal routines of life, however, would have been the preoccupation of most people during the year; and even the government was obliged to expend the usual amount of energy in such ordinary problems as the regulation of sales of meat during Lent, the pricing of wines, and the control of vagrants. These matters, at any rate, were the concerns of several proclamations issued at various times during the year. Each year, in February, the authorities issued a proclamation setting forth the Lenten ordinances, which were designed to control the killing and consumption of meat, especially in London, during Lent. The contents of the Lenten proclamations changed little from year to year, the only significant variation being that from time to time a change was made in the number of butchers who were to be allowed to keep their shops open. In order to prevent the smuggling of meat into London during Lent, and the illegal butchering of animals during the season, the Lenten ordinances for 1591¹ provided that six butchers would be allowed to post a bond of two hundred pounds (a very large sum, surely!) for the privilege of selling meat to certain individuals who possessed a warrant from the Lord Mayor to buy and consume meat during Lent. Persons who were ill might be given such a warrant, and the households of ambassadors and other agents of foreign princes were also exempt from the regulations. The proclamation itself

¹STC 8201, Orders conceiued . . . for the restraint of killing and eating of flesh this next Lent.

imposes a bewildering array of checks and balances to prevent such things as price manipulation and the smuggling of meat into London. During Lent, for example, the fishmongers of London enjoyed obvious advantages over the butchers, and they were even allowed to appoint some of their number to assist in policing the butchers and other groups such as innkeepers. But lest the fishmongers should take undue advantage of the demand for fish during Lent, the ordinances provided that the Lord Mayor could impose price controls on the sale of fish.

Government control of commerce and commodities did not occur just at Lent, but was a year-round affair. An example of the type of regulation that might be made to govern buying and selling is provided by a proclamation dated 17 December concerning the pricing of wines.¹ The prices of wines sold in bulk, that is to say, by "the Tunne, Butte, Pipe, Punchion, Hogshed, Tyerse, Barrell and Rundlet" had fallen under government control under Henry VII, and the aim of the 1591 proclamation was to adjust the prices of wines from France. According to the document, the increased cost of providing safe conduct for wines out of France necessitated the changes, so that "euery Tunne of the best Gascoigne and French wines" was to be sold at the price of sixteen pounds if the seller bore the customs duties, or at the price of

¹STC 8211 [A proclamation for pricing wines.]

thirteen pounds, six shillings and eight pence if the buyer bore the charges. Similar adjustments were made in the pricing of "Rochel and other small and thinne wines," and penalties are mentioned for any departure from the official prices.

A recurring problem throughout the Elizabethan period was the control of vagrants and vagabonds, for whom the government had an extreme distaste. The problem was aggravated during the war years by returned soldiers, who moved throughout the country on foot as they journeyed home, or in some cases, loitered about from place to place. A proclamation dated 5 November¹ observes that most members of the "great multitude" wandering about within the country claim to be returned soldiers "though in trueth it is knowen, that very manie of them, either haue not serued at all, or haue not bene licenced to depart from the places of their seruice." The proclamation goes on to declare that henceforth it will be the task of local Justices of the Peace to ascertain the truth of claims made by wandering men, so that legitimately returned soldiers, especially the sick and the maimed, can be given proper assistance and that

all such vagarant persons, as neyther haue beene brought to sicknesse nor lamenesse by the saide late seruice, and that shall not be able to shewe sufficient pasport for their dismissal, shall be taken and apprehended, wheresoeuer they may be found, as persons vagabonds, and so to be punished.

Furthermore,

¹STC 8210 [A proclamation against vagrant soldiers.]

if any of them shall alleadge, that they haue bene in her Maiesties pay on the other side of the Seas, and cannot shewe sufficient pasport from the Lord Generall, or some of the principall Officers of the armie, then to be taken and committed to prison, and to be indited as felons, and to suffer for the same, as souldiours being in her Maiesties pay, that haue runne away, and left the seruice traiterously.

Besides providing for the detention of deserters and persons masquerading as returned soldiers, the proclamation of 5 November took cognizance of the fact that good will should be shown towards cases of legitimate need. The proclamation advises that soldiers with proper passports should be "relieued by some charitable meanes, to conduct them into their Countrey [i.e. county], with commendation of publique Letters from the Justices of the Peace where they shall be found." Officials of parishes are enjoined to provide "reasonable reliefe and ayde" to legitimate returned soldiers as they make their way home, and home parishes are reminded that returning men ought to be given help and placed in the service of their former masters. The proclamation concludes with a notice that henceforth returning soldiers shall be given sufficient money to see them home, while special measures will be taken to reduce "the great number of mightie & hable vagarant persons now wandring abroad vnder pretence of begging as souldiers, although in deed they are known to commit open robberies vpon her Maiesties poore subiects and trauaillers by the way."

The government's main objective regarding returning soldiers was obviously to ensure that these men returned to

their home parishes by the shortest convenient way. Passports evidently declared the soldier's destination and expected route, and officials are advised to apprehend soldiers "if they shall bee found to wander abroad out of the ordinary wayes mentioned in their Pasports" and punished as vagabonds. Evidently, there were rare exceptions to the rule about wandering soldiers, however, since one document from 1591¹ authorizes a returned veteran to wander about for a full year, "and not more," to beg for alms. The document, signed by the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard, calls upon any and all of Elizabeth's subjects to assist John Salisbury, a Welsh veteran, or any of his representatives, "in your cities, towns, villages and forests, and euery other place where they might come to seek alms." Salisbury, the document declares, served the Queen for six years in France, Flanders, "and in the Moroccan seas in a ship called Minivvn [i.e. Minivin, or Miniwin?] of London," and in this service he incurred "eleuen visible wounds" upon his person, and lost the use of one hand. Considering that the man has spent all the money he could command in trying to heal his wounds, and "hauing been influenced through pity and commiseration on seeing his poor wretched condition, and his manner of liuing at present," Howard declares that he was moved to authorize publication of this document, which is at once a safe-conduct and an exhortation to charity for the poor man. Individ-

¹STC 13856 [A brief authorizing collections on behalf of John Salisbury.]

uals who collected money for Salisbury were directed at the conclusion of the document to write on the reverse side of the paper the sum collected and the name of the individual's parish, presumably as a check upon possible abuse of the privilege extended by Howard. Since Salisbury was a native of "Gwyddelwern in the county of Merioneth," his alms-gathering would probably have been carried on in Wales, and for this reason, no doubt, the document was printed in Welsh, the only publication from 1591 to be printed in that language.¹

Legal Books

Like their successors during later centuries, practicing lawyers during the Elizabethan period relied heavily upon a basic library of printed law books. Justices of the Peace and other persons charged with some aspect of local administration also relied upon manuals of different kinds to assist them in their duties. To meet the needs of lawyers, administrators, and others who had dealings with the law, certain presses were kept busy during the Elizabethan period as they provided the books of statutes, year books, abstracts, legal text-books and manuals which were necessary to understand and practice law.

¹Thanks are due Mr. David Jenkins, Keeper of Printed Books, The National Library of Wales, for preparing a translation of the document. Mr. Jenkins's translation appears in this thesis as Appendix III.

The printing of books on the common law was a matter of privilege enjoyed by the printer, Richard Tottell, whose imprint appears on most of the law books during 1591. Some idea of the prevalence of legal books is conveyed by the fact that Tottell's privilege gave him sole right to print twenty-five different titles besides the Year Books.¹ The number of legal books published during 1591 was not great, as only seven items, including two editions of Littleton's Tenures, were published, but several items from the year were popular and useful works and, taken as a whole, the books from 1591 provide some insight into the kinds of published materials that were generally available during the Elizabethan period.

Among the most important published sources of law were abridgements of statutes and yearbooks, each of which was represented among the books of the year. The most important abridgement of the statutes was A collection in English, of the statutes now in force (STC 9318), which appeared in its thirteenth edition during 1591. The Collection was the work of William Rastell, and consisted of Rastell's abridgements of most of the statutes contained within the great collections of all the laws enacted since the Magna Charta, the Statutes of the realm. Rastell was careful in his preface to warn readers not to trust his books as the final authority on any matter,

¹H. S. Bennett, English Books and Readers, 1558 to 1603 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 157.

but to read the book in conjunction with the full collection, which also gave the preambles to the statutes. The preambles, which Rastell had omitted because of their length, might shed additional light upon the significance of certain statutes, Rastell advised; and, additionally, he pointed out that his abridgement might contain errors which contradicted the Statutes of the realm (sig. A2b). Rastell also observed that his abridgement omitted entirely all statutes concerning private persons or places. Readers were cautioned that some statutes left in the book had also been repealed "by other Statutes made after [or] by speciall or generall wordes, which for lack of leasure I could not throughly consider" (sig. A2). Despite these limitations, however, the book was an indispensable tool for lawyers and, as the title-page observed, for Justices of the Peace, who also had to deal with certain statutes. In fact, the alphabetical and chronological indexes of the statutes were arranged so that Justices of the Peace could discover quickly which statutes pertained to their office.

In its first few editions, Rastell's abridged statutes had been printed in the original language, that is, Law French. Later editions, however, gave the statutes in English, and this change must have had something to do with the popularity of the book, including, perhaps, its usefulness to Justices of the Peace. Law French, however, continued to be used in certain publications, as, for example, the Year Books, which were volumes containing all the statutes passed during a given year or

legal term of a given year. The Year Books covered the reigns of English monarchs beginning with Edward III, and at regular intervals Tottell's presses turned out Year Books of different years. The volume Cy ensuist le report de tout ceux cases . en le raign de le nadgairis roy de famous memorie Henry le huitiesme (STC 9943), for example, rendered in Law French, was concerned with statutes enacted during the reign of Elizabeth's father. Another important work which appeared frequently in the original Law French was Les tenures de Monsieur Littleton (STC 15744), an indispensable manual for understanding English land law which had appeared first during the middle of the fifteenth century.

The needs of Justices of the Peace and other administrators of the law were attended to by Rastell's abridgement as well as shorter treatises on various offices in local government. Such offices had received attention from several legal scholars before 1591,¹ but by this year, the most popular works among local guardians of the law were two companion volumes prepared by William Lambard. The two works, Eirenarcha: or of the office of the Iustices of Peace (STC 15166) and The duties of constables, borsholders, tythingmen, and such other lowe ministers of the peace (STC 15149) had made their first appearances a decade or so before 1591, and each of them went through many editions. The most important of the offices dealt with

¹Bennett, p. 163.

by Lambard was that of Justice of the Peace. Created by the Tudor monarchy to assist at the local level in maintaining order in society, the Justice of the Peace was always a man of wealth, that is, a country gentleman, and his function was "to enforce the basic statutes for keeping the peace and inquiring by jury into stated offences."¹ Lambard's book on the office was a mine of information dealing with every aspect of the history of the office, the powers and duties it carried with it, and the breaches of the peace, or causes, which were to be dealt with by the Justice. Ecclesiastical causes, for example, included absence from Church of England services, and "saying and hearing of Masses" (sig. 2V4), killing a man by witchcraft (sig. 2V5b), bewitching a horse, and fighting in the churchyard (sig. 2V6). Lay causes, like ecclesiastical causes, were numerous, and included such interesting crimes as "pulling out of a mans eyes" (sig. 2X2) and "selling a Horse to a Scottishman, to be conueied into Scotland" (sig. 2X8). Lambard's second book, besides dealing with the offices of constables and petty constables such as borsholders and tithingmen, also dealt with the duties of churchwardens; surveyors, "for amending the highwayes"; "distributors of the prouision for noysome Foule and Vermin"; and various officers charged with looking after the poor (sig. A1).

A final legal text-book of some interest is A briefe

¹ Esther Moir, The Justices of the Peace (London: Penguin Books, 1969), pp. 28-29.

PLATE X
(OVERLEAF)

A BRIEF TREATISE OF TESTAMENTS AND LAST WILLES,

Very profitable to be vnderstoode of all the Subiects of this Realme of England, (desirous to know, *Whether, Whereof, and How,* they may make their Testaments: and by what meanes the same may be effected or hindered,) and no lesse delightfull, aswell for the rarenes of the worke, as for the easines of the stile, and method:

Compiled of such Lawes Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill, as be not repugnant to the Lawes, customes, or statutes of this Realme, nor derogatorie to the Prerogative Royall.

In which Treatise also are inserted diuers Statutes of this land, together with mention of fundrie customes, aswell General as Particular, not impertinent thereunto:

Besides diuers Marginall notes, and Quotations not to be neglected, especially of Iustinianists, or young Students of the Ciuil Law:

With two Tables, the one Analyticall, describing the generall order of the whole Treatise: The other Alphabetically, disclosing the particular contents thereof: This in the beginning; this in the end of the booke.

By the Industrie of Henric Swinburn, Bachelor of the Ciuill Lawe.

2. Kings c. 20.

Put shine boose in order, for thou shalt die and not liue.



L O N D O N
Printed by Iohn Windet. 1 5 9 0.

treatise of testaments and last willes (STC 23547) by Henry Swinburne, a book which deals exhaustively with its subject in seven scrupulously organized sections. The book deals succesively with such matters as the definition of a will, the laws regarding eligibility to make a will, the items that may be disposed of in a will, the duties of executors, and so on. Various tables, side-notes, copious quotations from the statutes and detailed chapter summaries must have enhanced the usefulness of the book although, unfortunately, the author did not offer any examples of wills for the guidance of his readers. Some notion of the intricate detail that distinguished the book can be gleaned from the section on the forms of testament, where Swinburne observes that wills may be written on paper or parchment "or other like stuffe apt for writing," that any language may be employed, and that

for the hande or letters wherewith the testament is written, the lawe is indifferent whether it be Secretarie hand, Roman hand, Court hand, or any other hand, either faire, or otherwise, so that the same may bee read and vnderstood (sig. 2C1).

H. S. Bennett has observed that the Elizabethan lawyer "had reason to bless the printers of his day" for the important work they did in preparing accurate renditions of original documents and meeting the needs of lawyers for textbooks.¹ As stated earlier in this chapter, the output of legal books during 1591 in no way reflects the full extent of the printing of legal books in the Elizabethan period, but

¹Bennett, p. 166.

there is, nonetheless, some evidence that people in the legal profession could look about them during the year and marvel at an abundance of titles from previous years. Henry Swinburne's opening remarks in his preface to the reader may exaggerate the number of books available, but his words leave no doubt, on the other hand, that the legal profession felt itself to be richly blessed. Swinburne writes:

Great and wonderful is the number of the manifolde writers of the Ciuill and Ecclesiasticall lawes, and so huge is the multitude of their sundrie sorts of bookes, as lectures, councels, tracts, decisions, questions, disputations, repetitions, cautels, clausules, common opinions, singulars, contradictions, concordances, methodes, summes, practickes, tables, repertories, and bookes of other kindes (apparent monuments of their endlesse and inuincible labours) that in my conceite, it is impossible for any one man to read ouer the hundred part of their works, though liuing an hundred yeeres hee did intende none other worke (sig. B1).

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

CHRONOLOGICAL HANDLIST: LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

24767, Captain Viques, The rodomontades of Captayne Viques
. . . . J. Wolfe. Prose narrative and political
commentary against the League; tr. from Fr. copy; ent.
to Wolfe 4 no. 1590; probably early 1591.

23078, E. Spenser, Complaints. [T. Orwin] f. W. Ponsonby.
Nine poems in three books; ent. to Ponsonby 29 de.
1590; probably early 1591.

11210, A. Foulweather, A wonderfull . . . astrologicall prog-
nostication . . . T. Scarlet. Prose satire; prob-
ably early 1591.

23079, E. Spenser, Daphnaïda. [T. Orwin] f. W. Ponsonby.
Elegy on Douglas Howard; ded. dated 1 ja.

SR 5 ja., "A merrye and plesant newe ballad. Intituled.
alas the poore Tynker. and a newe Northerne Jigge" [one
publication] (ent. to William Wright).

SR 5 ja., "A lettre written by Sir Henrye Sydney vnto Philip
his sonne, with an Epitath vppon the life and Deathe of Sir
Henrye Sydney" (ent. to Thomas Dawson).

7199, M. Drayton, The harmonie of the church. R. Jones (SR
1 fb., Jones). Nineteen songs in verse, without music.
1/2 issues, 1591-1610.

21656, G. de Saluste du Bartas, Guilielmi Salustii Bartasii
hebdomas. [J. Windet? f.] R. Dexter (SR 6 fb.,
Dexter). Epic poem; tr. from Fr. to Lat. by G. Lerman.

11339, A. Fraunce, The countesse of Pembrokes Emanuel. [T. Orwin] f. W. Ponsonby (SR 9 fb., Ponsonby). Religious verse in hexameters.

11340, A. Fraunce, The Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch. T. Orwin f. W. Ponsonby (SR 9 fb., Ponsonby). Verse, hexameters.

SR 16 fb., "A ballad entituled all the merrie pranke of him that whippes men in the highe waies" (ent. to Thomas Nelson).

SR 24 fb., "A booke entituled Laclestina Comedia in Spanishe &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).

SR 25 fb., "A booke entituled Ffraunces Fayre Weather" (ent. to William Wright).

746, L. Ariosto, Orlando furioso R. Field (SR 26 fb., Field). Verse epic; tr. Ital. by J. Harington. 1/3, 1591-1634.

SR 2 ap., "a balladd entituled a Colliers cavet to his frend to perswade, to shewe the like follie his fancie hath made" (ent. to Richard Christian).

SR 9 ap., "A ballat intituled A warninge to worldlinges Discoveringe the covetousnes of a vsurer and the liberalyty of his ape" (ent. to William Wright).

SR 17 ap., "the Colliers misdowntinge of forder strife, made his excuse to Annet his wief &c" (ent. to Richard Jones).

3508, T. Bradshaw, The shepherds starre R. Robinson f. W. Jones (SR 29 ap., Jones). Prose paraphrase of Theocritus; tr. from Lat. by Bradshaw; foreword dated 23 ap.

SR 30 ap., "a controuersie betwene the flees and women &c" (ent. to John Wolfe).

16657, T. Lodge, The famous . . . life of Robert second Duke of Normandy . . . [T. Orwin] f. N. L[ing]. a. J. Busby. Prose narrative; ded. dated 2 my.

3633, N. Breton, Brittons bowre of delights. R. Jones (SR 3 my., Jones). Verse, incl. a memorial to Sidney. 1/2, 1591-1597.

SR 3 my., "twoo ballades. The one entitled: a godly new ballad Describenge the vncertenty of this present Lyfe the vanities of this aluring world, and the Joyes of heaven &c" (ent. to Henry Carey).

SR 3 my., "twoo ballades . . . the other a godly newe ballad wherein is shewed the inconveinency that commeth by the losse of tyme and howe tyme past cannot be called againe" (ent. to Henry Carey).

SR 16 my., "a ballad entituled, A pleasaunt songe of Twoo stamering lovers which plainely dothe vnto your sighte bewraye their pleasaunt meetinge on Sainct Valentines daie" (ent. to Abel Jeffes).

12414, B. Guarini, Il pastor fido. J. Wolfe. Verse drama in Italian; with the Aminta of Tasso; text dated 19 jn.

SR 24 jy., "a booke intituled The murder of murders" (ent. to John Kid).

SR 26 jy., "a booke intituled the Huntinge of Cupid wrytten by George Peele Master of Artes of Oxeford" (ent. to Richard Jones).

25764, R. Wilmot, The tragedie of Tancred and Gismund. T. Scarlet, sold by R. Robinson. Drama; by Wilmot, C. Hatton, and others; prefatory letter dated 8 au.

SR 13 au., "a ballad of a newe northerne Dialogue betwene Will, Sone, and the warriner, and howe Reynold Peares gott faire Nannye to his Loue" (ent. to Thomas Nelson).

SR 14 au., "a book in English Entituled, Salustius Du Bartas his weeke or Seven Dayes woork" (ent. to Gregory Seton).

3903, A. Brown, Visct. Montague, The . . . entertainment giuen to the queenes maiestie T. Scarlet, sold by W. Wright. Royal progress, Cowdrey, Sussex, 14-20 au., prose a. verse; possibly by J. Lyly?

SR 26 au., "A pleasant newe balled Called 'the maydens choyce'" (ent. to John Danter).

SR 27 au., "a pleasant ballad of a combat betwene a man and his wyfe for the breches" (ent. to Robert Bourne).

SR 27 aug., "a ballad of a Dialoge betwene a Lord and his Lady" (ent. to Robert Bourne).

11789, Germany, Expeditio . . . Germaniae principum [J. Wolfe] (SR 8 se., Wolfe). Verse, in Latin, praising German expedition; dated 30 jy.

16654, T. Lodge, Catharos. W. Hoskins a. J. Danter f. J. Busby (SR 17 se., H. Chettle). Moral philosophy; colloquy.

17049, J. Lyly, Campaspe. T. Orwin f. W. Broome. Drama, performed initially in 1584; precedes STC 17050, entered to Broome's widow. 4/4, 1584-1591.

17087, J. Lyly, Sapho and Phao T. Orwin f. W. Broome. Drama; precedes STC 17050, entered to Broome's widow. 3/3, 1584-1591.

17050, J. Lyly, Endimion, the man in the moone. J. Charlewood f. J. Broome (SR 4 oc., Broome). Drama; first entry for J. Broome.

19532, G. Peele, Descensus Astraeae. [T. Scarlet] f. W. Wright. Civic pageant, 29 oc.; verse and prose.

- 4248, W. Byrd, Liber secundus sacrarum cantionem. T. Este f. assignes of W. Byrd. Twenty-one songs; music; six parts; imprint dated 4 no.
- 22950, R. Southwell, Marie Magdalens funeral teares. J. W[olfe]. f. G. C[awood]. (SR 8 no., Cawood). Prose. 1/6, 1591-1609.
- 5253, T. Churchyard, A reuyuing of the deade . . . [E. Allde?] f. E. White. Memorial verses; after the death of Sir C. Hatton, 20 no.
- 19876, J. Phillips, Vt hora, sic fugit vita. [E. Allde] f. E. White. Memorial verses, in English; upon Sir C. Hatton; after Hatton's death, 20 no.
- 14685.5, R. Johnson, Musarum plangores. [R. Jones?] (? SR 24 no., Jones). Verse, elegy on Sir C. Hatton; after Hatton's death, 20 no.
- 12271, R. Greene, A maidens dreame. T. Scarlet f. T. Nelson (SR 6 de., Nelson). Verse; elegy on Sir C. Hatton.
- 12279, R. Greene, A notable discovery of coosenage. J. Wolfe f. [E. White a.] T. N[elson]. (SR 13 de., White a. Nelson). Cony-catching book. 1/2, 1591-1592.
- 12281, R. Greene, The second part of conny-catching. J. Wolfe f. W. Wright (SR 13 de., Wright). Cony-catching book; after STC 12279. 1/2, 1591-1592.
- SR 16 de., "the Seconde parte of the gigge betwene Rowland and the Sexton" (ent. to Thomas Gosson).
- 11511.5, W. P., Luctus consolatorius. T. Orwin. Memorial verse, in Latin, on Sir C. Hatton; after 16 de., date cited for funeral.
- SR 28 de., "the Thirde and last parte of Kempes Jigge" (ent. to Thomas Gosson).

- 5349, J. Clapham, Narcissus. T. Scarlet. Latin verse.
- 6220, W. Damon, The former booke of the musicke T. Este, assigne of W. Byrd. Sixty-eight songs; music; four parts.
- 6221, W. Damon, The second booke of the musicke T. Este, assigne of W. Byrd. Another version of STC 6220.
- 6818, J. Dickenson, Deorum consessus E. Allde. Latin verse.
- 10698, J. Farmer, Forty seuerall ways of two parts in one made vpon a playn song. [T. Este.] Music, with notation.
- 12241, R. Greene, Greenes farewell to folly. T. Scarlet f. T. Gubbin a. T. Newman. Prose fiction; ent. to E. Aggas, 11 ja. 1587. 1/2, 1591-1617.
- 14379, James VI, K. of Scotland, His maiesties poetically exercises R. Waldegrave. Three parts; tr. from Fr. of "The Furies" (Du Bartas); "The Lepanto," by James; tr. of this into Fr. by Du Bartas.
- 14644, John, K. of England. The troublesome raigne [T. Orwin] f. S. Clarke. Drama; two parts. 1/3, 1591-1622.
- 17143, J. M., Phillippes Venus. [E. Allde] f. J. Perrin. Prose narrative.
- 22536, Sir P. Sidney, Syr P. S. his Astrophel and Stella. [J. Charlewood] f. T. Newman. With additional verse by S. Daniel and others; suppressed edition. 1/3, 1591-[1597?].
- 22537 [Anr. ed.] [J. Danter] f. T. Newman. Without the prefaces or added sonnets. 2/3, 1591-[1597?].

23092, E. Spenser, The shepherds calender. J. Windet f.
J. Harrison the younger. 4/7, 1579-1617.

CHAPTER VI

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

The enthusiasm for literature which characterized the last quarter of the sixteenth century¹ is reflected in the literary publications of 1591 no less than those of the preceding years. This year witnessed the appearance of a considerable number of books of verse and other forms of literary recreation such as prose fiction and printed drama. Several literary works from 1591 are recognized as precious examples of the flowering of English literature during the sixteenth century, while others, although somewhat less highly honoured, are respected for the fact that new developments in style, technique, or subject matter are exemplified within their pages. Still other literary works from the year, and these the majority, are not honoured or recognized in the pages of literary anthologies. However, all the imaginative literature of 1591, significant creations

¹C. S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama, Vol. III of Oxford History of English Literature, ed. by John Buxton and Norman Davis (13 Vols.; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1954-), p. 394.

as well as literary curiosities, are a memorial to the exuberance and variety of taste which lay behind the literary outpouring of the late sixteenth century.

Altogether, forty-two extant publications from 1591 can be classified under the heading of Literature and the Arts. Twenty-one additional works, including fourteen ballads and items which appear to have been ballads, were entered in the Stationers' Register, but no copies of these works are known to survive. The surviving publications, including five books of songs, account for 16.5 per cent of the total output in all subjects during 1591. Table 7 indicates that books of poetry were the most numerous literary publications, followed by prose and drama in that order.

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLICATIONS : LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Type of Book	Items	% of 1591 items	USR entries
<u>Poetry</u>			
English (12)			
Latin (4)			
Foreign, in original (1)			
French to Latin (1)			
Italian to English (2)			
	20	7.8	16

TABLE 7 --Continued

Type of Book	Items	% of 1591 items	USR entries
<u>Prose Literature</u>			
Fiction (3)			
Colloquies (2)			
Cony-catching books (2)			
Others (3)	10	4.0	4
<u>Drama and Entertainments</u>			
Comedies (3)			
Tragedies (1)			
Histories (1)			
Entertainments (2)	7	2.7	1
<u>Music</u>			
Religious (4)			
Secular (1)	5	2.0	0
Totals	42	16.5	21

Poetry

Since my late setting foorth of the Faerie Queene, finding that it hath found a fauourable passage amongst you; I haue sithence endeoured by all good meanes . . . to get into my handes such smale Poemes of the same Authors; as I heard were disperst abroad in sundrie hands.¹

From the remarks made in readers' prefaces by William Ponsonby and several other publishers during 1591, it seems evident that the publication of books of verse was regarded in the book trade as a rather worthwhile venture. Ponsonby's implied expectation that Spenser's Complaints would find as favourable a passage among readers of the gentler sort as had The Faerie Queene was expressed in more ingenuous fashion by Robert Jones in his address to "the gentlemen readers" prefaced to a collection of Nicholas Breton's verse.² Remark- ing that if any readers enjoyed the poems, he would consider his "labour and charges well bestowed," Jones confessed frankly that while his chief aim was to give pleasure to "the gentle- men readers," he was also hopeful "partly to profit my selfe, if [the poems] prooue to your good liking." "If otherwise," he concluded, "my hope is frustrate, my labour lost, and all my cost is cast away" (sig. π2). Jones's suggestion that he

¹STC 23078, Edmund Spenser, Complaints, from the pre- face of the publisher, William Ponsonby, sig. A2.

²STC 3633, Brittons bowre of delights.

is placing his livelihood at the mercy of his readers sounds suspiciously like yet another of the polite conventions that attended the publishing of verse at the time. Certainly, the output of books of poetry during 1591 belies any notion that publishers became involved reluctantly in this aspect of the book trade. Of the twenty books of verse appearing during the year, all but one, a later edition of The shepherds calender (STC 23092), represented new ventures in publishing; and one work, Sir Philip Sidney's Astrophel and Stella, went through two editions during the year.

The predominant medium of expression in the verse publications of 1591 was English; however, at this time, the eventual triumph of the vernacular as the preferred language of literature lay some distance in the future. Thus, a number of original poetic works from the year by English writers were penned in Latin. Two pastoral poems in Latin were Narcissus, siue amoris (STC 5349) by John Clapham, and Deorum concessus (STC 6818) by John Dickenson. In addition, an unknown writer penned a verse oration in Latin in recognition of the German force sent to assist Henry IV of France against the League,¹ while another unidentified writer honoured the late Sir Christopher Hatton in a verse memorial entitled Luctus consolatorius (STC 11511.5).

¹STC 11789, Expediatio illustrissimorum Germaniae principum.

Foreign languages, and literatures as well, also figured in making up the sum of literary publications, as several editions and translations of authors such as the Frenchman, Saluste Du Bartas and the Italian poet Ludovico Ariosto made their appearance during the year. Du Bartas seems to have been almost a cult figure in the courts of Elizabeth and James VI; and during 1591 alone his poetry appeared in translation in two separate publications. A translation, from French to Latin, of his epic poem on the creation of the world, La Semaine, was dedicated to Elizabeth,¹ while James VI himself included his own translation of the Du Bartas poem "The Furies" as part of a collection called His Maiesties poetically exercises at vacant houres (STC 14379). Du Bartas, who was killed in 1590 at the battle of Ivry, had been received at the courts of both Elizabeth and James; and James even paid him the compliment of including in his collection of verse a rendition in French by Du Bartas of James's poem "The Lepanto." The works of the Italian poet Ludovico Ariosto were no less popular at court than those of Du Bartas, and the story of how Elizabeth commanded her nephew Sir John Harington to translate the whole of the epic poem Orlando Furioso (STC 746) as a penance for sharing bawdy verses with her ladies is a well-known literary anecdote. Other foreign writers whose work was deemed worthy of attention

¹STC 21656, Guilielmi Salustii Bartasii hebdomas a Gabriele Lermaeo latinitate donata.

during the year were the Italian poets Battista Guarini, whose pastoral drama in verse, Il pastor fido (STC 12414) was published, in Italian, by John Wolfe, and Torquato Tasso, whose pastoral play, Aminta, was rendered into English verse by Abraham Fraunce.¹

The prominence of Latin verse in original works and translations during 1591 was due largely to the status enjoyed by Latin as a learned language among members of royal courts, who were associated in one way or another with most of the poetry published during the year. At this time, the writing of verse by courtiers was an accepted way of displaying certain personal attributes, such as learning, sensitivity, and cleverness of wit, which were numbered among the qualities desirable in a courtier. A poem written in Latin might demonstrate by how far the writer had surpassed the clever grammar school imitations familiar to educated people; and if the work was very well done, the courtier's reputation might be enhanced abroad, since the standards of good Latin poetry were understood by educated people everywhere. Other current fads and interests at court, such as an enthusiasm for the Italian language, or for a particular writer,

¹STC 11340, The Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch [i.e. Ivychurch]. The play had already been translated from Italian into Latin by Thomas Watson when Fraunce decided to prepare an English version. In the dedication Fraunce observes that both the original Italian text as well as Watson's Latin version were consulted, both texts being "somewhat altered" by Fraunce "to make them both one English" (sig. A2).

such as Du Bartas, had a great deal of influence over the sort of literature which was published during the period. But alongside of contemporary interest in foreign writers and tongues, there was also a growing acceptance of English as a vehicle for poetic literature, so that poetry written in the vernacular was deemed worthy of serious attention at this time.

The status of English as a literary medium during 1591 was the result of various immediate and remote causes, such as growing national pride and the development of a body of highly regarded works in the vernacular, like Chaucer's poetry. Thus, notwithstanding the attractions of the Latin tongue for some writers, a poet writing during 1591 might choose to express himself in English without the necessity of commentary or apology regarding the matter. In fact, the poets whose verse was published in English during 1591 joined a rather distinguished group, including as it did Edmund Spenser, Sir Philip Sidney and James VI. The quality of the verse produced by the writers published during 1591 varied a great deal, as did the subjects of their poetry. However, these writers were all subject to certain conventions which lent a degree of uniformity to their pursuit of poetry.

One of the most important conventions of the writing of verse was that poets were expected to assume a modest and self-depreciatory attitude towards their work. James VI, for example, notes in the prefatory passages to His maiesties

poeticall exercises at vacant houres (STC 14379) that his performance is imperfect because he wrote the material in his youth, and that, moreover, he has few opportunities "to blenk vpon any paper, and yet not that, with free and vnuexed spirit" (sig. π2b). All poets, whether they sought wealth, preferment, or enhanced reputation, were expected to demonstrate reluctance at having their work published, or, at least, to justify publication in terms other than the poetic worth of their verses. James, for example, declares that his translation of "The Furies" of Du Bartas will act as a "mirror of this last and most decreeped age" (sig. π2), while his own poem, "The Lepanto," he declares, needs to be published with a proper preface defending James's treatment of Don John, the victor at the Battle of Lepanto. Until now, James observes, the poem has not been printed, but, "being set out to the publick view of many, by a great sort of stoln Copies, purchast (in truth) without my knowledge or consent, it hath for lack of a Praeface, bene in some things misconstrued" (sig. G4). The main charge he seeks to refute, James goes on, is that he "shoulde seeme, far contrary to my degree and Religion, like a Mercenary Poët, to penne a worke, ex professo, in praise of a forraine Papist bastard" (sig. G4). James observes that his references to Don John are based on historical fact, and that his purpose was not to immortalize Don John, "as it becomes not the honour of my estate, like an hireling, to pen the praise of any man" (sig. H1). James's

verses themselves are somewhat ragged and uneven in quality, and the dedicatory sonnets by such writers as Henry Constable --"With all thy speed from Fame thou canst not flee,/But more thou flees, the more it followes thee" (sig. π3)--are at least as impressive as James's translation of Du Bartas and his own attempt to recount

a cruell Martiall warre,
A bloodie battel bolde,
Long doubtfull fight, with slaughter huge
And wounded manifold.
("The Lepanto," sig. H2)

Despite James's evident enthusiasm for writing verse, his influence upon the development of English poetry was, of course, minimal. To writers and lovers of poetry during the last decade of the sixteenth century, pride of place as the chief support of English verse was assigned to the late Sir Philip Sidney, who, with his sister, Mary, Countess of Pembroke, had a tremendous influence upon the development and encouragement of poetry in English. The year 1591 alone witnessed the publication of no less than eight editions of works by Sidney or by poets who had received support from the Sidney family. The publication in 1591 of Sidney's sonnet sequence, Astrophel and Stella, encouraged a great outpouring of poetic energy in the sonnet form, while the work of Sidney's friends and protégés, such as Spenser, also created fresh excitement over English verse. According to the publisher Thomas Newman, who prepared a dedication for the first

edition of Astrophel and Stella,¹ Sidney's sonnets had been circulating in manuscript and it was Newman's good fortune to chance upon a copy of the sonnets. It would appear that the sonnets had suffered from repeated copying during the years following Sidney's death in 1586, so Newman was at pains to assure readers of the accuracy of his text:

For my part, I haue beene very carefull in the Printing of it, and where as being spred abroade in written Coppies, it had gathered much corruption by ill Writers, I haue vsed their helpe and aduice in correcting & restoring it to his first dignitie, that I knowe were of skill and experience in those matters (sig. A2b).

While the sonnets to Penelope Devereux created a vogue for this form of verse, Sidney had been interested in his lifetime in exploring other possibilities for English poetry. One project in which he had taken a leading role was the attempt to write good English poetry in the classical metres of Latin poetry, a task which continued to interest Abraham Fraunce, a protégé of Mary Sidney, after Philip Sidney's death. In 1591 Fraunce dedicated to his patroness two separate books of verse written in hexameters in imitation of Latin poetry. The first of these, The Countesse of Pembrokes Emanuel (STC 11339) rendered a number of Psalms as

¹STC 22536. This edition, printed for Newman by John Charlewood and containing prefatory material by Newman and Thomas Nashe, besides "sundrye other rare Sonnets of diuers Noble men and Gentlemen" (sig. A1), was suppressed (Arber, I, 555). However, a second edition appeared during 1591, printed for Newman by John Danter, without the prefaces or the additional sonnets by such figures as Samuel Daniel (STC 22537).

well as the story of the birth, crucifixion, burial and resurrection of Christ into hexameters, while the second work, called The Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch (STC 11340) in honour of one of Mary Sidney's residences named Ivychurch, contained several poems, notably a hexameter version of the poem "Aminta" adapted from the Italian of Tasso and the Latin translation of Tasso done by Thomas Watson. Some idea of the effect of Fraunce's hexameters in English is evident from the following lines at the beginning of the second major poem in Yuychurch, "Phillis Funerall":

Now bony lasse Phillis was newly betroathd
to Amyntas
By rich Montanus consent; whoe yet,
for a long tyme
Wedding day differd, til his owne byrthday
was approaching:
That twooe solempne feasts ioynd fryendly
together in one day
Might with more meryment,
and more concurse be adorned.
Soe men on earth purpose,
but Gods dispose in Olympus:
For, when as each thing
was by the Father duly prepared,
And byrthwedding day now nere
and nearer aproached,
Wedding by brydes death
was most vntymely preuented,
And fathers byrth-day,
deaths-day to the daughter apoynted,
Deaths-day lamented many dayes
by the woeful Amyntas,
Deaths-day which hastned deaths-day
to the mourneful Amyntas:
Whose mournyng all night all day,
did weary the Mountaynes,
Weary the woods, and winds, and caues,
and weary the fountayns (sig. G1).

Two additional poets who were associated with the

Sidneys were Nicholas Breton, who was represented in 1591 by a work called Brittons bowre of delights (STC 3633), and Edmund Spenser, whose poetry was very much in vogue during the year. The book of Breton's verse consists of a variety of short works, advertised as "rare Epitaphes, pleasant Poems, Pastorals and Sonets" (sig. π1), most of them, including a piece called "Amoris Lachrimae," on Sidney's life and death, being quite undistinguished as poetry. Spenser was represented during 1591 by three books, a later edition of The shepheards calender (STC 23092), a collection of his earlier verse called Complaints (STC 23078), and an elegy upon the death of Douglas Howard entitled Daphnaïda (STC 23079).

It is sad that Spenser, one of the greatest poets in the language, should have fallen so far short of the success to which he aspired in his life. His struggle for recognition and preferment, which is part of English literary history, is evidenced in the publications of 1591, in each of which Spenser penned one or more dedications, presumably in the hope of gaining favour and recognition from the great. For writers such as Spenser, who lacked wealth and rank, the pen could be a very precarious instrument by which to rise in the world. While a flattering dedication might attract the temporary benevolence of the great, preferment of a more permanent sort was a rarity; and for most writers who relied upon patronage for their advancement, life was usually a series of hopes deferred. Aside from the device of the dedication, and the possibility

that his published work might prompt a wealthy person to offer him protection, one additional way in which a writer might attract the attention of the great was to compose occasional verse to mark significant events in the history of great houses. Reference has been made to one of Breton's verses in commemoration of Sidney, for example; and Spenser also honoured Sidney in verse within the pages of Complaints. The composing of memorial verses for great personages was an accepted form of literary activity during 1591, and in addition to the foregoing poems and Spenser's Daphnaïda, five other publications of this type appeared during 1591, all of them inspired by the death of Sir Christopher Hatton.

The memorial verses on the death of Sir Christopher Hatton, who had been Lord Chancellor, included an elegy in Latin entitled Luctus consolatorius (STC 11511.5) by one "W. P.," and publications in English by Thomas Churchyard, Robert Greene, and two lesser known writers. According to a page of information following the brief Latin poem of "W. P.," Hatton had been born in 1550, and had served as Lord Chancellor for four years and seven months until his death, around six o'clock in the evening on 20 November, at his palace, presumably Ely, in Holborn (sig. π4). The funeral from Paul's did not occur until 16 December, according to the writer, so presumably the memorial verses were published during the interval between the death and the funeral, or shortly after the funeral took place. From the prefatory

materials and texts of the eulogies on Hatton's death, it would seem that the needs addressed by this sort of literature might have been various. Several of them are prefaced by dedications, including addresses to Hatton's adopted son and his niece, but at least one item bears certain earmarks of governmental propaganda. No doubt, the death of a prominent person could create splendid opportunities for writers to seek patronage or repay a great house for favours received, while the government might welcome an opportunity to memorialize a faithful servant and, at the same time, remind the people of the qualities to be desired in faithful subjects. The title-page of one publication noted that Hatton's memory should encourage "Nobilitie, Gentry, and dutifull Subiects, to continue their obedience to God and her Maiestie, and to preuent by pollicie the perillous practices of euery ciuil and forrain enemy."¹ In the dedication to Hatton's son, the poet John Phillips observes that historical precedent supports public eulogies, and therefore "publick and apparant vertues in persons deceased, haue neuer been buried in obliuion, but haue alwaies been recorded and left to posterities: the end only this, that they who still liue, by apt imitation, might be practisers of like vertues" (sig. A2). It would have been "great vnkindnes to God, and iniurie to remayning Subiects," Phillips goes on,

¹STC 19876, Vt hora, sic fugit vita. A commemoration on the life and death of . . . Sir Christopher Hatton (sig. A1).

"if the vertuous life and death of this right honorable deceased Lord, should not be emblazoned" (sig. A2). The text of Phillips's eulogy records Hatton's virtues in some detail; and the poet even recalls, for example, that through Hatton's efforts while commanding Elizabeth's guards the pay of these men was increased from sixteen to twenty pence a day.¹ Much is made of Hatton's example as a good subject of the queen, and the poem is replete with stanzas such as the following:

Which of you could with Hatton finde a clause,
 or say that he vniust or faithlesse was?
 Did he not liue according to the lawes?
 and on the earth his daies in duetie passe?
 Was not his care set on his God for aye?
 and did not he his soueraigne Queen obay? (sig. A3)

Phillips also uses the occasion of the poem to exhort subjects to be zealous in their enmity towards England's enemies, namely, the pope and the Spanish nation:

Yet from his graue, Trueth dooth you all exhort,
 To lincke your hearts and minds in loyall loue:
 Let faith in you builde such a famous fort,
 That nothing may from trueth your mindes remooue,
 That though Pope and Spain, against your peace doe iarre,
 Withstand their rage, prepare your selues to warre
 (sig. B1).

The quality of Phillips's verse is typical of the general performance of Hatton's eulogists, none of whom, evidently, was sufficiently inspired by Hatton's career to produce

¹Sig. A4. Thomas Churchyard makes reference to the guards' raise in pay in A reuyuing of the deade (STC 5253) when he writes, regarding Hatton:

Who mourneth more then he that made this Verse?
 To whom good turnes, this Lord did often send:
 Come noble Guard, and kneele before his herse,
 Whose helping hand, your wages did amend (sig. B2).

great poetry. Robert Greene, in fact, declared that the more talented poets of the day appeared indifferent to the opportunities "ministred to the excellent wits of both Vniuersities" by Hatton's life and death (sig. A2). In the dedication to A maidens dreame (STC 12271), his own eulogy for Hatton, Greene remarks sadly to Hatton's niece, that art has "growen idle, and either choice schollers feared to write of so high a subiect as his vertues, or else they dated their deuotions no further then his life" (sig. A3). Greene himself was not one to let modesty interfere with opportunity, and his commemoration of Hatton is lengthy and enthusiastic. Like a poet named Richard Johnson, who published an elegy called Musarum plangores (STC 14685.5) in honour of Hatton, Greene employs the elegiac convention of a procession of mourners who speak in turn upon the virtues of the deceased. In Johnson's poem, the Muses are made to speak in turn over the dead knight, while in Greene's poem a procession of mourners representing the virtues possessed by Hatton speak of their sorrow at his death. The procession of virtues in Greene's poem is witnessed in a dream by a maiden who recalls a sorrowful scene in which ladies and knights, and a mournful Queen Elizabeth, hear such characters as Temperance, who praises Hatton in part as follows:

Temperate he was, and tempered al his deedes
 He brideled those affects that might offend,
 He gaue his wil no more the raines then needs,
 He measured pleasures euer by the end:
 His thought on vertues censueres did depend.

What booteth pleasures that so quickly passe:
 When such delights are fickle like to glasse (sig. B3).

Before the maiden is awakened by her own screams of anguish upon seeing Hatton's soul taken up to heaven, she also hears from Justice, who declares that Hatton was the enemy of "delaying law that picks the clients purse" (sig. B1), Hospitality, who recalls that "his wine and beere to strangers were not spare" (sig. B4), and last of all, Religion, who observes that Hatton trod the middle ground in matters of worship, a highly desirable and laudable form of conduct:

Vpright he liu'd, as holy writ him lead,
 His faith was not in ceremonies old,
 Nor had he new found toies within his head,
 Ne was he luke-warme, neither hot nor cold,
 But in religion he was constant bold,
 And still a sworne professed so to all,
 Whose lookes were smooth, harts pharesaicall (sig. C1).

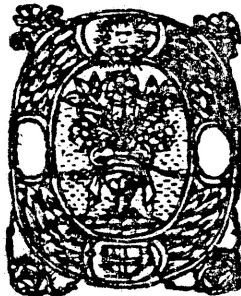
The final book of eulogistic verse from 1591 was Thomas Churchyard's collection of poems entitled A reuyuing of the deade by verses that foloweth (STC 5253). Churchyard, a prolific literary hack of the day, had seized upon the opportunity afforded by Hatton's passing to prepare memorial verses honouring five different people: Henry VIII, Edward VI, and three recently deceased privy councillors, Walter Mildmay, Ambrose Dudley, and Hatton. In the dedication to John Wolley, Churchyard, who was in his seventies at this time, remarks to the Secretary for the Latin Tongue that he had been "bound for benefits receiued" (sig. A2) from all five subjects of his verses, which, he goes on, are meant to remind readers that "heer is no certain habitation or sure dwelling place for thos

PLATE XI
(OVERLEAF)



A reuyuing of the deade
by Verses that foloweth: Which makes
worthy men known, by the examples of
King Henry the eight: King Edward
the sixt: *Sir Walter Mildmay: the last Erle*
of Warwick: and Sir Christofer
Harton, lately L. Chaun-
celler of England.

With a declaration of the names of all
the most honourable Counsellors, that haue
dyled since the beginning of the Queens
Maiesties raigne.



AT LONDON

Printed for Edward White, and are to be solde at his
Shop neere the little north doore of Saint Paules
Church, at the signe of the
Gun. 1591.

that are left behinde, placed heer below (a little while) to look for a better world aboue" (sig. A2b). The verses themselves are quite brief and unmemorable, and the main interest in the work is seen to lie in the dedication, half of which is an open request for patronage from Wolley, and the concluding half an advertisement for a forthcoming edition of some of Churchyard's poems to be entitled his Challenge. Some indication of the style and quality of Churchyard's verse can be gleaned from the following passage taken from his epitaph on

Hatton:

Let droppes of blood from wounded hart,
 bewaile our losse of late
 Teares are too base to show the smart,
 is felt for this great state.
 No mourners voice, nor yelling cries,
 nor sighes nor sobs may serue:
 Nor all the cunning vnder skies,
 from death can life preserue.
 No worldly pomp, nor Princes grace,
 can lengthen life an hower:
 All glory lasts but heer a space,
 it withers like a flower.
 A mightie man of great account,
 whose fate the clouds did clime:
 Whose fortune dayly did surmount,
 great numbers in his time.
 Telles that and much more matter showes,
 of honours tickle stay:
 That like a candle out it goes,
 and quickly steales away (sig. B1b).

To the modern reader, lines like the foregoing are tedious to read at length, and today their chief interest lies in the contrast they present to some of the great poetry written by more talented artists during the period. However, it is important to remember that despite their shortcomings

as literature, verses like those of Churchyard were evidently in demand by the reading public. While the educated and discriminating reader at court or elsewhere must have done a great deal to encourage the development of poetry, verse was also common fare for the ordinary reader. And the enthusiasm of the general populace for verse of all kinds, from the doggerel of the almanac writers to the moralizing of the balladeers, was also a significant factor in the advances made in literary expression.

Prose Literature

Gentlemen, I haue giuen colours to a rare conceit, as ful of wonder as worth, as full of perfection as pleasure, in which I haue satisfied humours, and performed historie, obseruing with Apelles the proportion of lines, as Protogenes did the disposition of lineaments, keeping such method in my humours, as the spheres in the heauens: where Venus is placed neere Mars to correct his mallice, and mirth, is planted in this discourse to detect the imperfections of melancholie.¹

Follies I tearme them, because their subiects haue bene superficiall, and their intents amorous, yet mixed with such morrall principles, that the precepts of vertue seemed to craue pardon for all those vaine opinions loue set downe in hir periods.²

The increasing popularity of imaginative literature

¹STC 16657, Thomas Lodge, The famous, true and historical life of Robert second Duke of Normandy, sig. M3b.

²STC 12241, Robert Greene, Greenes farewell to folly, sig. A2-A2b.

characteristic of the last quarter of the sixteenth century encouraged numerous writers and publishers to tempt the public audience with prose works of various kinds. During 1591, ten books and pamphlets containing prose fiction, or works that can be classified conveniently as literary recreation in prose, were made available to the general reader. From the modern point of view, most of these works defy classification within any recognized literary genre; but it would appear, on the other hand, that their writers were aware of the tastes and expectations of the reading audience, so that certain common assumptions are reflected in most of the prose literature from the year. Thomas Lodge's claim for his version of the tale of Robin the Devil summarizes well enough a basic expectation of the common reader, which was that imaginative literature should be utilitarian as well as recreational. The rare conceits of the artist's imagination were expected to provide useful moral instruction, that is, to perform history, as well as to "satisfy humours." The challenge for writers of recreational prose during the period was to explore new approaches, or improve upon old ones, in which the proper balance between mirth and moral instruction continued to be maintained.

The methods by which writers sought to appeal to public tastes during 1591 were various, but the most common approaches are exemplified in two works by the writer Thomas Lodge which appeared during the year. In the first of these,

Lodge had mined older sources for material out of which to create a lengthy narrative history of one of the dukes of Normandy, a legendary figure named Robert who had lived during the time of Charlemagne. The book, entitled The famous, true and historicall life of Robert second Duke of Normandy (STC 16657) chronicled the history of the protagonist, "surnamed for his monstrous birth and behauour, Robin the Diuell" from his dissolute youth to his virtuous old age; and the title-page went on to tempt readers with the promise of Robert's "many straunge and miraculous aduentures" which would, it was declared, afford "both causes of profite, and manie conceits of pleasure" (sig. A1). In the story itself, Lodge traces Robert's life from his youthful years, when his sinful ways prompted him to perform such horrible crimes as the killing of his schoolmaster and the rape and murder of a nun. After relishing a number of tales about similar horrors, readers came to the point at which Robert was outlawed, and was forced to become the leader of a group of brigands. Eventually, Robert's own father defeats the brigands in fight, and Robert, wandering alone in the forest, repents of his sins and, by way of begging for divine mercy, carves into a pine tree the first of a number of poems attributed to him throughout the story. At this point, morality appears upon the scene in the person of an old hermit who makes Robert's complete conversion his special responsibility. Further adventures ensue, such as a pilgrimage to Rome, where Robert is instrumental in

saving the city from the malevolence of the Sultan of Babylon, who had plotted to destroy it. In the end, the hero, by now a paragon of virtue, saves the honour of his mother, who has been accused of murdering her husband, and assumes the role of duke to which he had been born.

Robert's crimes and exploits, and the sudden turns which occurred during his eventful life, gave Lodge abundant opportunities for sententious moralizing, few of which he appears to have overlooked. A strong narrative structure, however, was not an essential condition of recreational prose at this time; and Lodge's second work from 1591, Catharos, subtitled Diogenes in his singularitie (STC 16654), demonstrates well enough that the moralizing demanded of fiction writers could be suspended from the flimsiest of narrative threads. The Diogenes story, as far as it goes, involves two hypocritical men, Philoplutos and Cosmosophos, who approach Diogenes, the cynic, for assistance in understanding their moral obligations. Once the three men have come together, the work becomes a record of a lengthy conversation in which various ethical problems are considered, and "Diogenes reprooves the vitious, commendes the vertuous, vnmaskes sinne, and sets downe remedies" (sig. A2). The setting of the piece is Athens, but London and Londoners, naturally, are the implied subjects of the cynic's observations upon the immorality of his auditors, the proliferation of such vices as inconstancy, the moral obligations of such people as government officers

and lawyers, and the general state of London and its people:

Diogenes: A goodly day if men were as good: The Sunne I see riseth vpon many, but not to their amendment. Good God what a Citie Athens is? Here are faire houses, but false hearts: Many tenements fit to make Temples for the Gods, but few owners in them that tempt not the Gods: I see here goodly Pallaces, & rich, that spue out their Maisters for Riot; A faire market place to entertain much mischief. I wonder when our great Maisters rise, how many sinnes that rise with them? (sig. B1)

Both of Lodge's publications from 1591 were examples of bookmaking, or the compilation and adaptation of materials originally prepared by other writers, a practice which was not uncommon at this time. Thomas Bradshaw, for example, made extensive use of the work of the Greek pastoral poet Theocritus in his work The sheperds starre (STC 3508), a lengthy colloquy in a bucolic setting involving Corydon, a simple shepherd; Amaryllis, a star; and Tityrus, the rival of Corydon for the love of Amaryllis. In essence, the piece is a witty and playful conversation in a euphuistic style, interspersed with verse on a variety of topics such as "merie newes" comparing Philip II of Spain unfavourably to Henry IV of France, the conflict between men and women, and of course, love. Corydon's protestations of love and the discouraging replies of Amaryllis are made in erudite fashion, and classical allusions abound throughout the speeches. Among the things discussed by the characters are the manners and morals of contemporary society, and the desirability of such virtues as silence. A lengthy discussion of the science of physiognomy begins at one point during the conversation when Tityrus remarks that "women being faire in face,

and not pure in heart, are as their pysiognomy presageth of them." It turns out that Tityrus is well versed in physiognomy, and he goes on to relate the significance of such physical features as the head, eyes, and lips. Tityrus explains, for example, that a low forehead on a woman

signifieth accordingly lowe and base mindes, and sorrowfull heartes, passionate and discontented, because the blemish being in the fairest place and most visible causeth them to seek the darkest places, eschewing companie to liue solitarie and inuisible (sig. D3b).

Corydon, in his turn, responds as follows to the desire of Amaryllis to know "what shape of the face and countenances is best destinate by dame Nature vnto women":

If fleshie, then somewhat sluggish: If leane, then curious. If bigg and foggie, fearefull like an Asse, or as the Hart is. If round and somewhat fat with a little blacke spot or two on it, then faire Amaryllis, The roundnes sheweth aptnes of proportion, as a temple of better giftes which are within. And the reason why the spottes are, is that a little contrarie opposed to a marueilous singularitie, doth make that which is verie excellent to be better: because the imperfection standing neere beauties grace is made a less imperfection, and beautie a more beautie. As blacke annexed to white, maketh white more white, and black more perfecte blacke (sig. E2).

The topics of love and the relationship between men and women were evidently popular with readers, since a second publication offering this kind of fare also appeared during 1591. In a publication entitled Phillippes Venus (STC 17143) by one "Joseph M.," a synod of gods and goddesses deliberate upon the wantonness of Venus and expel her from the heavens. However, as events fall out, her absence is soon regretted and

an election is called to replace her. Of course, the usefulness and importance of the moralizing that accompanied this tale might well have been called in question by the sterner sort of moral teacher, and, in fact, one writer, the Jesuit Robert Southwell, prefaced his work, Marie Magdalens funeral teares (STC 22950), with several passages decrying the mercenary conduct of writers of "diuerse patheticall discourses, in which if they had shewed as much care to profite, as they haue done desire to please, their workes woulde much more haue honoured their names, and auailed the Readers" (sig. A7). It is a justified complaint among the better sort of persons, Southwell continues,

that the finest wittes loose themselues in the vainest follies, spilling much Arte in some idle phansie, and leauing their workes as witnesses, howe long they haue beene in trauaile to be in fine deliuered of a fable. And sure it is a thing greatly to be lamented, that men of so high conceite should so much debase their habilities, that when they haue racked them to the vttermost endeour, all the prayse that they reape of their employment, consisteth in this, that they haue wisely tolde a foolish tale, and carried a long lie verie smoothlie to the ende. Yet this inconuenience might finde some excuse, if the drift of their discourse leuelled at anie vertuous marke, for in fables are often figured morall trueths, and that couertly vttered to a common good, whiche without a maske woulde not finde so free a passage. But when the substance of the worke hath neither trueth nor probabilitie, nor the purpose thereof tendeth to anie honest end, the writer is rather to bee pitied then praised, and his bookes fitter for the fire then for the presse (sig. A7-A7b).

As a work of imaginative prose, Southwell's portrayal of Mary Magdalene following the crucifixion is typical of those that subordinated narrative to "honest ends." Beyond establish-

ing the occasion for the piece, the writer takes no interest in the narrative possibilities of his material at all, so that the sole interest in the work is found in the oration of Magdalene, which deals with the doctrines pertinent to the true love of the Christian towards Christ. Thus, while the work does have obvious affinities with imaginative literature, Southwell's primary concern is the inculcation of religious teachings.

Another writer who set out to exploit the didactic possibilities of artistic prose was the anonymous author of The rodomontades of Captayne Viques (STC 24767), a pamphlet which set forth in dialogue form a conversation between the ghost of Viques, who had been "a most proud and insolent person, a traytour to his King, and an enemy to his Country," and "the Soule of a great Lord called Fauterer," a supporter of Henry IV of France, "whom the sayd Viques had caused most cruelly to be murdered" (sig. A1). The two shades meet in the other world shortly after the traitor Viques has been slain; and in the ensuing conversation Viques alternately berates himself for his sinful folly and brags about his wickedness, avarice and cruelty. More significantly from the propagandist's point of view, the remarks of the ghost of Viques demonstrate clearly the treachery of the self-seeking Leaguers. Prompted by leading questions from the soul of Fauterer, the ghost affirms the duplicity and evil intentions of the League in relation to just about every current point of difference between the two sides in the War of the League. The extent of the depravity imputed

by the narrator to the ghost lends a certain fascination to the piece, especially when the shade of Viques openly admits to his malevolence. At one point, the question arises as to what Viques will do if entrance to purgatory is denied him, and the ghost replies that he might go to Toledo "where for money they sell the soules of men, wher I, which am knowen to be both subtil and crafty, should be hartely welcome" (sig. B2). Alternatively, the ghost continues, he would be eager to enter the body of a newborn Spanish infant of royal blood, so that in later years he might return to France as an invader, and, putting to use the knowledge gained in campaigns in his former life, eventually become king of France. The writer's talent for narrative is also evident in passages such as the concluding speech of Fauterer, who chides Viques for the cruel treatment he afforded his enemy at his death:

And when I sustained the danger of two or three
 Barricades, fighting ther for my safgard (when al
 my company was fled) til such time I coulde no
 longer indure for wounds and faintnes, thou gauest
 commandement to thy souldiers, that they should
 neither saue my life, nor shew mercy, and that which
 doth most greeue me aboue the rest, thou didst permit
 them (like a villayne as thou art) to plucke and
 teare the very beard from my face, denying the right
 of buriall to my mangled body, but starke naked thou
 didst cause the same to be drawen vp and downe the
 streates, as a skorne to all people. What Turke, Iew,
 or Tartarian, would haue committed so barbarous a
 deede (sig. B2b).

The dialogue between the ghost of Viques and the soul of his victim was one of several pieces of prose literature from 1591 in which an attempt was made to draw materials from

contemporary life to entertain readers and, at the same time, satisfy the requirement for moral edification. For example, a satirical work called A wonderfull, strange and miraculous astrologically prognostication for this yeere 1591 (STC 11210) by a pseudonymous writer called "Adam Fouleweather" made numerous contemporary practices the subject of humour and criticism under the guise of a prognostication of the kind usually attached to almanacs. The book--"wherein if there be found one lye, the Author will loose his credit for euer"--predicts a number of "wonders to happen this yeere, as neuer chaunced since Noes floud" (sig. A1); and the humour and satire, of course, lie in the fact that all of these so-called "wonders" were not at all uncommon or unexpected, although not altogether welcome. The "strange accidents" to fall out during the year, the writer alleges, will derive from the peculiar conjunctions of the planets during each of the four seasons, as well as from one eclipse of the sun and two of the moon, the second of which "is like to fall out when it chaunceth either before the 31. of December or els not at all" (sig. B3). Incident to these phenomena will be many peculiar circumstances, the writer declares. Among many other things, readers are warned to expect that "fooles shall haue full cofers, and wise men walke vp and downe with empty purses" (sig. A2); that "diuers Hostesses shall chaulke more this yeere then their Guests wil wipe out" (sig. A2b); that "the poore sitting on pennylesse benche, shall sell their

Coates to striue for a straw, & Lawyers laugh such fooles to scorn as cannot keep their crowns in ther purses" (sig. A4b); and that "diuers women this yeere shall bee borne with two tungs, to the terrible greefe of such as shall marry them, vttering in their fury such rough cast eloquence, that knaue and slaue shalbe but holyday woords to their husbands" (sig. B2-B2b). Moreover, the writer goes on, the year will witness an abundance of fleas, so that seamen are advised to carry more than one shirt "lest to their great labour they spend many houres in murthering their vermin on the hatches" (sig. A4), while in England the abundance of fleas following the sun's eclipse in July will keep many women up until midnight "for the great murthers and stratagemes they are like to commit vpon those little animalls" (sig. B1). Elsewhere, it is predicted that

olde women that can liue no longer shall dye for age: and yong men that haue Vsurers to their father, shall this yeere haue great cause to laugh, for the Deuil hath made a decree, that after they are once in hell, they shall neuer rise againe to trouble their executors (sig. A4b),

and that certain females in Petticoat Lane

shall learn to cosin young nouices, and fetch in young Gentlemen, to the great ouerthrow of youth, if some sharpe and speedye redresse be not fetcht from the woorshipfull Colledge of Phisitians in the parrish of S. Brides (sig. B2).

In many of the "predictions" made by "Fouleweather" a certain degree of moralizing and social criticism is to be discerned beneath the humour. Nevertheless, most of the

writer's observations about lawyers and drinkers, who were two of his favourite targets, and about Lenten observances, the practices of butchers, and the drinking habits of the Danish people (sig. B3), emphasize the humour of things. Matters of religion and foreign politics also receive attention in the work, however, and here the writer's tone becomes noticeably peevish, and the humour somewhat thin. In one of several references to foreign affairs, the writer observes that "Fraunce is like to haue a great dearth of honest men, if the King preuaile not against these mutenous rebels of the League, and Papists in duiers places to be plenty, if God or the King route them not out with a sharpe ouerthrowe" (sig. B3b). Several references to the Barrowists appear throughout the work, and at one point the writer predicts that

out of the old stock of heresie, this spring it is to be feared, will bloome new scismaticall opinions and strange sects, as Brownists, Barrowists, & such balductum trashy deuises to the great hinderance of the vnitie of the Church, & confusion of the true faith, if the learned doctor Sir T. Tiburne be not taskte to confute such vpstart companions, with his plain & dunstable [straightforward] philosophy [of the noose] (sig. C3b).

The most successful attempts at enlisting contemporary life and customs in the service of prose literature during 1591 are found in the famous "cony-catching" pamphlets of Robert Greene, two of which appeared during the year. Around this time, Greene had struck upon the notion of writing accounts of various forms of criminal practice and underworld

life with which he was quite familiar, and cloaking these accounts in the necessary garb of morality and useful edification. The first fruits of this inspiration were A notable discovery of coosenage (STC 12279) and The second part of conny-catching (STC 12281), two works which represented significant departures from the conventions of prose fiction to which readers had become accustomed. Aside from the unusual subject of criminals and their techniques, Greene's pamphlets were notable for the settings of his stories, which were openly declared to be contemporary London, and for his style and technique, through which the author created verisimilitude and immediacy by his use of first person narration and unadorned, common speech instead of the euphuistic style commonly favoured by prose artists. The overt didacticism typical of prose literature is not lacking in the cony-catching books, but rather than attempting to warn the reader away from debilitating vice, Greene was chiefly concerned with saving the reader's purse from the clutches of confidence men.

Greene's first cony-catching pamphlet, A notable discovery of coosenage, dealt with two types of cozenage,¹

¹According to OED, the verb "cozen" and its derivatives may perhaps be traced from the noun "cousin," so that "cozenage" came to be applied initially to confidence tricks in which the criminal duped the victim into believing that he shared kinship with him. Greene's tricksters cozen their victims by claiming to share a mutual acquaintance with the innocent party; and, in a more general way, Greene uses the term to mean cheating and deception.

PLATE XII

(OVERLEAF)

A
Notable Discouery of Coosenage.
*Now daily practised by sundry lewd per-
sons, called Connie-catchers, and
Crosse-byters.*

Plainely laying open those pernicious sleights that hath brought many igno-
rant men to confusion.

*Written for the general benefis of all Gentlemen, Citizens, Apprentises, Countrey Farmers
and yeomen, that may hap so fall into the company of such coosening companions.*

With a delightfull discourse of the coosenage of Colliers.

Nascimur pro patria. By R. Greene, Maister of Arts.



LONDON.
Printed by Iohn Wolfe for T. N. and are to be sold ouer
against the great South doore of Paules. 1591.

or fraud, currently being used by criminals to swindle unsuspecting victims, who were known in some instances as "conys," that is, rabbits, in the argot of the underworld. Potential conies evidently included "yong gentlemen, Marchants, Apprentices, Farmers, and plain Countreyemen" (sig. A2), and it was to this group that Greene addressed his prefatory remarks explaining briefly the nature of the "laws" or ruses known as "the Art of Cunny catching" and "the Arte of Crosbiting," both of which, says Greene, are "pestilent and preiudiciall practises, as of late haue beene the ruine of infinit persons, and the subuersion and ouerthrow of many Marchaunts, Farmers, and honest minded yeomen" (sig. A2b). In Greene's lexicon, the term "crossbiting" was applied generally to any act of deceit, especially an act in which a criminal was duped by someone equally base, as when a cutpurse was robbed by his confederate, the "snap," or when a cutpurse fell into the hands of "some bribing officer, who threatning to carrie him to prison, takes awaie all the monie and lets him slip without anie punishment" (sig. A4b). However, the "Arte of Crosbiting" as Greene used the term in the pamphlet, pertained to the ruses employed by pimps to lure a victim into a tavern, entice him to go to a prostitute, and subsequently intimidate him through blackmail to give up his money. The "art" which most concerned Greene, however, was that of "cony-catching," or the tricks used to entice a victim to join a group of confidence men in a game of cards. Greene's concerns, which might

well have been sincere, about the problem of cozenage at cards, is evident from remarks such as the following:

The poore man that commeth to the Tearme to trie his right, and laieth his land to morgadge to get some Crownes in hys purse to fee his Lawyer, is drawne in by these deuillish Cunny-catchers that at one cut at Cardes looseth all his money, by which meanes, he, his wife and children, is brought to vtter ruine and misery. The poore Prentice whose honest minde aymeth onely at his Maisters profites, by these pestilent vipers of the commonwealth, is smoothly intised to the hazard of this game at Cardes, and robd of his Maisters money, which forceth him oft times eyther to run away, or banckrout all, to the ouerthrow of some honest and wealthy Cittizen. Seeing then such a daungerous enormity groweth by them to the discredit of the estate of England, I would wishe the Iustices appointed as seuerer Censors of such fatall mischiefes, to shewe themselues patres patriae, by weeding out such worms as eat away the sappe of the Tree, and rooting this base degree of Cooseners out of so peaceable and prosperous a countrey, for of al diuelish practises this is the most preiudicial. The high Lawyer that challengeth a purse by the high way side, the foist, the nip, the stale, the snap, I meane the picke-pockets and cut-purses are nothing so daungerous to meet with all, as these Coosening Cunny-catchers (sig. A3-A3b).

Readers of Greene's preface, and the accompanying text, learned that the art of cony-catching was closely related to "the Barnards law," in which the victim, enticed into a tavern by "the Taker vp," was lured into a card game by the "Barnard," a trickster pretending to be a drunken farmer with money. But the art of cony-catching, Greene averred, was "so farre beyond it in subtilty, as the diuel is more dishonest then the holiest Angelle" (sig. A4b). The text of this work explains in some detail how the cony-catchers, that is, the Setter, the Verser, and the Barnacle, employ their art, which

was distinguished from the Barnard's law chiefly by the ingenious variations on the basic confidence trick employed by the cony-catchers, and the amazing persistence which they revealed in their attempts to lure the victim into a tavern. During the legal term, in particular, Greene relates, the cony-catchers, "apparelled like honest ciuil Gentlemen, or good fellows, with a smooth face, as if butter would not melt in their mouthes," wait until clients at Westminster Hall are "at leisure to walke vp and downe Paules, Fleetstreet, Holburne, the Strond, and such common haunted places" (sig. B1b). As soon as they see "a plaine country fellowe wel and cleanly apparelled, either in a coate of home spunne russet, or of freeze as the time requires, and a side pouch at his side," the Setter greets him in a friendly manner and learns the name of the intended victim and as much additional personal information as he can be induced to part with (sig. B1b). Shortly thereafter, the second confidence man, the Verser, sets upon the victim and, using the information gleaned by the Setter, initiates a conversation such as the following:

What goodman Barton? how fares all our friends about you? you are wel met, I haue a pint of wine for you, you are welcome to Towne. The plaine country-man hearing himselfe named by a man he knowes not, maruels and answers him that he knowes him not, and craues pardon: Not mee goodman Barton? haue you forgot mee? Why I am such a mans kinsman your neighbour not farre off: how doth this or that good Gentleman my friend? good Lorde that I should bee out of your remembrance, I haue beene at your house diuers times. Indeed sir, saith the farmar, are you such a mans kinsman? Surely sir, if you had not challengde acquaintance of me, I

should neuer haue knowne you, I haue clean forgot you, but I know the good Gentleman your Coossen well, hee is my very good neighbor: and for his sake saith the Verser, wele drinke afore we part: happely the man thankes him, & to the wine or ale they go, then ere they part they make him a Cony, and so ferret-claw him at cards, that they leaue him as bare of mony, as an ape of a taile (sig. B2).

At times, the cony was evidently too suspicious to be taken in by obvious ruses, in which case he might be tempted into the hands of the Barnacle, or card player, by one of several additional tricks, such as by planting a shilling in his way, permitting him to pick it up, and then having the Verser lay claim to a half-share of the coin:

The country-man content offereth to chaunge the money: Nay faith friend, saith the Verser, tis ill lucke to keepe found money, wele goe spend it in a pottle of wine, or in a breakefast, dinner or supper, as the time of the day requires: If the Conie say he wil not, then answers the Verser, spend my part: If still the Connie refuse, he taketh halfe and away: If they spie the country-man to be of a hauing and couetous humor, then haue they a further policie to drawe him on: an other that knoweth the place of his abode, inticeth him and saith; Sir, well met, I have runne hastily to ouertake you I pray you dwel you not in Darby-shire in such a village? yes, marrie do I frend, saith the Connie: then replies the Verser, trulie Sir, I haue a sute vnto you, I am going out of towne, and must sende a letter to the parson of your parish, you shall not refuse to do a stranger such a fauor as to carry it him, happelie as men may in time meete, it may lie in my lot to doe you as good a turne, & Sir for your paines I will giue you twelue pence. The poore Conny in meere simplicitie saith, sir, I will do so much for you with all my heart, where is your letter? I haue it not (good sir) readie written, but may I intreate you to steppe into some Tauerne, or Ale house, wele drinke the while, and I will write but a line or two: at this the Connie stoupes, and for greediness of the money and vppon kinde curtesie goes with the Setter vnto the Tauerne (sig. B2b).

Greene's first work on cozenage appears to have been

an immediate success, since his second work on the subject, The second part of conny-catching¹ came out later in the year. This time, Greene cast a much wider net, as he revealed the tricks of seven different criminal activities ranging from the "prigging law," or horse stealing, and the "blacke art," or the picking of locks, to such activities as the "Courbing Law" and the "Lifting Law," that is, the stealing of items at windows and the stealing of parcels. Like the first pamphlet, this one contained numerous anecdotes about men who were cheated, and about Greene's own conversations with criminals. Several of Greene's anecdotes were advertisements for his first pamphlet, which was apparently still being re-issued. A certain merchant, cheated at a game of cards, Greene affirms, came to his chambers not long after,

where he found a book of Cony-catching new come out of the presse which when he had smilde at, for the strangenesse of the title: at last he began to reade it, and there saw how simplie hee was made a conny, and stript of hys crownes: with that he fetcht a great sigh, and sayd: sir, if I had seene this booke but two dayes since, it had saued me nine pound in my purse, and then hee rehearst the whole discourse, howe kindly hee was made a conny (sig. C1).

Despite the evident success of the cony-catching pamphlets, Greene apparently felt that in some respects his innovations were open to criticism.² In the preface to the second

¹STC 12281. Both cony-catching pamphlets were entered in the Stationers' Register on 13 December, but from Greene's remarks in the second work it is evident that some time elapsed between the publication of the two pamphlets.

²Lewis, p. 402.

pamphlet, he set down a reply to critics who had criticised A notable discovery on the grounds that its style involved "no eloquent phrases, nor fine figurative conueiance" (sig. *3b). The reason for this alleged deficiency, he went on to declare, was that he would do dishonour to eloquence and detract from the honour of the English tongue should he "employ any figure or bestow one choyce English word vpon such disdained rakehels as those Conny-catchers" (sig. *3b). That Greene was entirely capable, on the other hand, of writing the standard sort of moralistic prose in the accepted style is evident from a third work, Greenes farewell to folly (STC 12241), which was also issued during 1591. The folly to which the title refers, Greene observes in his prefatory passages, is love and prose works about the subject of love, both of which his age and experience have led him to renounce. As evidence of his good intentions, he goes on, he has prepared the present work in which he renounces "love for a foole, and vanitie as a vaine too vnfit for a Gentleman," and, in addition, discovers

the generall abuses that are ingrafted in the mindes of Courtiers and schollers, with a Colling Card of counsell, supressing those actions that straiie from the golden meane of vertue (sig. A2b).

The vehicle by which Greene's intentions are carried out consists of a frame narrative within which are set three tales illustrating the dangers of the vices of pride, lust, and intemperance. The frame narrative, which is reminiscent of the Decameron, relates how Geronimo Farneze flees the city

of Florence because of political dangers and retreats to a rural setting near Vienna, accompanied by his wife; his daughters Margaret, Frances, and Katherine; and four young courtiers named Peratio, Bernardine, Cosimo, and Benedetto. During the idle hours imposed by their exile, the group holds lengthy conversations about different vices, especially those which are the subject of the three stories related in turn by Peratio, Cosimo and Bernardine. The discussions that ensue after each story subject to criticism such people as courtiers, soldiers, and scholars. The conversations are spiced liberally with topics which would have been familiar to Elizabethan readers, including, for example, the excessive pride of the English in matters of apparel. The Italians, it is alleged, have become so proud in these latter days that they are "almost as fantasticke as the English Gentleman that is painted naked with a paire of sheares in his hande, as not being resolved after what fashion to haue his coat cut" (sig. C3b).

The three stories within the frame narrative are especially interesting in that each one follows the same general formula by which a person of exalted rank is driven by his particular vice to persecute an inferior. The injured man invariably exacts revenge upon his superior, and in the end their positions are reversed. Although the injured party is usually poor, he seems to have a profound knowledge of classical models upon which to base his conduct in adversity, and calls them to mind in a moment of passion. In Cosimo's tale, for example, a

woman named Semyramis learns that her husband, Maenon, has been murdered by the king of Egypt, because of his refusal to turn over his wife to the lustful king. Semyramis at first contemplates suicide, and pauses to recall various precedents which seem to apply in her own case. She communes with herself as follows:

Then Semyramis seeing thou seekest after fame, seeke not to live, vse the knife thou hast in hand, as a meanes to requite thy husbands loue, and to warrant thy former honestie: Panthea the wife of Abradatus, seeing hir husbände slaine in the campe of Cyrus, sacrificed hir selfe on his dead corps: when Iulia the wife of Pompey saw but a gowne of hir husbands bloody, suspecting some mishap, fell into a trance & neuer reuiued. Portia the wife of Brutus hearing of hir husbands death, choked hir self with hot burning coales. . . . Let the resolute loue of these noble dames incourage thee to the like constancy, consider Semyramis thy husbände is deade, and deedes done can not be reuoked (sig. I3).

However, like the injured characters in the other tales, Semyramis eventually plots a cunning revenge and the lustful king is finally destroyed.

How sincerely Robert Greene repented of his follies, particularly his ventures into artistic prose, is probably just as conjectural as the question of the practical effect his moralizing may have had upon his readers. People have always had a talent for perceiving redeeming features within questionable activities, so it may be that much of the moral or utilitarian convention in English prose was at bottom a harmless conspiracy to permit enjoyment of delightful prose. Worthwhile literature, on the other hand, delights in large

measure through its ability to instruct. Perhaps it is safe to say that in the prose literature of 1591 the modern reader can perceive the foregoing tendencies existing together, awaiting the later development of literature when entertainment and instruction would be molded by the artist into more sophisticated forms.

Drama and Entertainments

Since the Plaies in Paules were dissolued, there are certaine Commedies come to my handes by chaunce, which were presented before her Maiestie at seuerall times by the children of Paules. This is the first, and if in any place it shall displease, I will take more paines to perfect the next. I referre it to thy indifferent iudgement to peruse, whom I would willinglie please. And if this may passe with thy good lyking, I will then goe forwarde to publish the rest. In the meane time, let this haue thy good worde for my better encouragement.¹

The prefatory remarks of John Charlewood, the printer, to Lyly's Endimion contain several points of interest, chief of which is Charlewood's optimism about the prospect of public acceptance of this dramatic publication. Although plays by Lyly and others had been published from time to time before 1591, Charlewood appears to regard the publication of Endimion as an innovation of sorts; and so it was, in fact, at least for Charlewood. Charlewood's promise of more plays from Lyly's

¹STC 17050, John Lyly, Endimion, the man in the moone, "The Printer to the Reader," sig. A2.

pen in the future was honoured in the next year when he printed Gallathea (STC 17080), but the bulk of Lyly's plays were published by others, and, in fact, the year 1591 alone witnessed the publication of two more of the plays of Lyly by other presses. Thomas Orwin published Campaspe (STC 17049), while another printer, Thomas Dawson, prepared the script of Sapho and Phao (STC 17087) for private readers. Notwithstanding Charlewood's posture of cheerful optimism, it seems evident that the reading audience of 1591 regarded printed drama as a standard form of amusement. During the year, five plays were offered for sale, and, in addition, several works containing dramatic speeches given at entertainments were also printed and sold.¹

The three Lyly plays published during 1591 dated from the early years of Lyly's successful career as a dramatist, and all had been acted before Elizabeth by the Children of Pauls', a fact which was given prominence on the title-page of each play by the various printers. Each play is a light comedy in prose, with pastoral settings and characters drawn from mythology or classical Greek times; and all are about the subject of love. In the play, Endimion, for example, the opening scene shows Endimion confessing to Eumenides his love for Cynthia,

¹One publication, The honorable entertainment giuen to the queenes maiestie . . . at Eluetham (STC 7583) has been assigned to the chapter on news publications on the ground that it was probably purchased at least as much for the news and information it contained as for the reproduction of dramatic speeches.

the moon. Later, Tellus, the earth, whose love Endimion has rejected, casts a spell over him with the assistance of the witch Dipsas, and he falls into a deep sleep which lasts more than forty years. The rest of the play, which some critics have taken to be an allegory upon Elizabeth and others, deals with the punishment of Tellus by Cynthia the moon, and the subsequent revival of Endimion, the man in the moon.

Romantic comedy also provides the interest in a second play, Sapho and Phao, in which the various love intrigues are aided by such characters as Venus and Cupid. In the play, Venus and Cupid conspire to make the queen, Sapho, fall in love. To this end, Venus casts a spell over Phao, a boatman, which transforms him into a man so handsome that Sapho falls in love with him. Venus, herself, however, now falls in love with Phao. Unfortunately for Venus, only the great difference in their stations prevents Sapho and Phao from declaring their mutual love; so Venus orders Cupid to make Sapho despise Phao and to make Phao love Venus. Cupid carries out the first part of his instructions, but instead of making Phao love Venus, he casts his lot with Sapho and makes the boatman despise Venus. Venus's vow of vengeance on Cupid and Sapho adds further complications to the situation.

In the final Lyly play from 1591, the playwright brought historical characters from antiquity into great prominence, as the action occurs in the city of Thebes after its capture by Alexander the Great. In the play, entitled Campaspe (STC

17049) Alexander falls in love with Campaspe, one of the ladies of Thebes. But when Alexander commissions the artist Apelles to paint Campaspe's portrait, the artist and his subject fall in love. In the end, Alexander relinquishes his claim on Campaspe and the two lovers are free to marry. Further interest is added to Campaspe by the presence of such historical characters as Plato, Aristotle, and Diogenes. Much of the witty dialogue in the play appears during the quarrels over money waged between Diogenes and his discontented servant, Manes. The following excerpt from the play not only gives an example of Lyly's wit, but also indicates that the playwright had a certain amount of insight into human behaviour:

Diog. I know I haue no money, neither will I haue euer a man: for I was resolued long sithence to put away both my slaues: money and Manes.

Manes: So was I determind to shake off both my dogges, hunger and Diogenes.

Psyllus: O sweet consent between a crowde and a Iewes harpe.

Grani: Come let vs reconcile them.

Psyllus: It shall not neede: for this is their vse, now do they dine one vpon another (sig. C3).

The play also offers definitions of such terms as "quip" ("a short saying of a sharp wit, with a bitter sense in a sweete worde") (sig. D1b) and discussions on art. Apelles, for example, speaks of the use of colours in painting:

"For as in a garden knots diuersitie of odours make a more sweete sauour, or as in musik diuers strings cause a more delicate consent; so in painting, the more colour, the better counterfeit, obseruing blacke for a ground, and the rest for grace" (sig. E2).

Like Lyly's other published plays, Campaspe was distinguished

by various songs presented during performance, as well as the ingenuous and modest prologues and epilogues delivered during performances at court.

The final two printed dramas from 1591, a tragedy called Tancred and Gismund (STC 25764) and a history play in two parts called The troublesome raigne of Iohn King of England (STC 14644) no doubt enjoyed a measure of popularity at the time they were published, but like Lyly's plays, they have since been consigned to a not unmerited oblivion. The play about King John is interesting today chiefly for the possible relationship it shares with Shakespeare's King John, and for the enthusiastic anti-Catholic bias evident in many speeches. The publisher, Sampson Clarke, evidently felt that an appeal to nationalism might help sales of the play, since he had the work introduced by a verse preface urging "the Gentlemen Readers" to give the play the same reception accorded to Marlowe's Tamburlaine:

You that with friendly grace of smoothed brow
 Haue entertaind the Scythian Tamburlaine,
 And giuen applause vnto an Infidel:
 Vouchsafe to welcome (with like curtesie)
 A warlike Christian and your Countreyman (sig. A2).

The tragedy of Tancred and Gismund, based on a story by Boccaccio, had been performed before Elizabeth, probably at Greenwich in 1566, and its publication in 1591 was justified by the chief collaborator in the play, Robert Wilmot, in terms of its moral lessons "tending to the good instructions of Youths" (sig. *2b). Aside from this usefulness, the play

PLATE XIII

(OVERLEAF)



9.

THE
TRAGÉDIE
of Tancred and Gismund.

COMPILED BY THE GEN-
tlemen of the Inner Temple, and by them pre-
sented before her MAJESTIE.

*Newly revised and polished according to the decorum
of these daies. By R. W.*



LONDON,
*Printed by Thomas Scarlet, and are to be sold by
R. Robinson. 1591.*

would appear to have been the subject of nostalgia and sentiment for Wilmot and others who had been associated with it a quarter of a century earlier; and several prefatory passages such as a letter from William Webb and Wilmot's commentary on this letter indicate that profit was not necessarily the chief motive for releasing this play. In addition to several prefatory passages, most in honour of the ladies-in-waiting who had seen the original performance, the text was embellished by descriptions of the dumb shows which had preceded each act (sig. H4b), as well as by a summary of the plot in prose and verse, the verse summary reading as follows:

Tancred the Prince of Salerne, ouerloues
 His onely daughter (wonder of that age)
 Gismund, who loues the Countie Palurin,
 Guishard, who quites her likings with his loue:
 A Letter in a cane, describes the meanes
 Of their two meetings, in a secret caue.
 Vnconstant fortune leadeth for the king
 To this vnhappie sight, wherewith in rage,
 The gentle Earle he doometh to his death,
 And greets his daughter with her louers hart.
 Gismunda fills the goblet with her teares,
 And drinks a poison which she had distild,
 Whereof she dies, whose deadly countenance
 So grieues her Father, that he slew himselfe
 (sig. A1b).

Printed accounts of the preparations, speeches, and other matters pertaining to civic pageantry and royal entertainments were popular during the period, and one of these, The speeches and honorable entertainment giuen to the queenes maiestie (STC 3903) provided an account of the entertainment afforded the queen by Anthony Brown, first Viscount Montague, at Cowdray in Sussex. This royal entertainment at Cowdray,

like all affairs of this kind, was marked by carefully contrived dramatic incidents designed to flatter the Queen and to entertain her and her train. Perhaps the most interesting incident occurred immediately upon Elizabeth's arrival, when an actor dressed in armour made a speech in which the Queen's appearance was likened to the arrival before Thebes of "the wisest, the fairest and most fortunate of all creatures" (sig. A3b), who alone could steady the walls of the city, heretofore held up only by music. Speeches, songs, music, hunting, and other activities are mentioned in the account of the visit, which lasted from 14-20 August. Music was a very prominent feature of the Cowdray entertainment; and even while Elizabeth was shooting at deer, musicians in a bower nearby were playing the accompaniment to a song, part of which is reproduced below:

Behold her lockes like wiers of beaten gold,
 her eies like starres that twinkle in the skie,
 Her heauenly face not framed of earthly molde,
 Her voice that sounds Apollos melodie,
 The miracle of time, the world's storie,
 Fortunes Queen, Loues treasure, Natures glory
 (sig. A3).

The final extant publication dating from 1591 in which an account of an entertainment is given is a work entitled Descensus Astraeae, the deuice of a pageant, borne before William Web, Lord Maior of the citie of London (STC 19532). This entertainment (or pageant, as it is called in the account) was held as part of the festivities surrounding the day on which the new Lord Mayor took his oath of office. From the title, it would appear likely that the speeches were delivered

by actors who were carried on floats or similar conveyances which comprised part of the procession moving towards Westminster, where the oath of office would be taken. However, the pageantry of the day was not wholly confined to a procession on land. Annexed to the account is

A Speech deliuered by one clad like a Sea Nymph, who presented a Pinesse on the water brauely rigd and mand, to the Lord Maior, at the time he tooke Barge to go to Westminster (sig. A1).

The speeches, all of which are in verse, were carefully devised to shower praise upon Webbe, and upon Queen Elizabeth. In the first speech, an actor called the Presenter introduces a character called Astraea. The speech establishes that Astraea, who has descended from the heavens to bless the occasion, is none other than Elizabeth. Allegorical figures were popular among the Elizabethans, and extensive use was made of them, especially as applied to Elizabeth. A portion of the Presenter's speech, reproduced below, is typical in its praise of the queen, and it contains as well one of a number of puns on the name Webbe which appear from time to time in the speeches:

Honor attendes hir throne, in hir bright eies
Sits Maiestie: Vertue, and Stedfastnesse
Possesse hir hart, sweete mercy swaies hir sword.
Her champion armed with resolution,
Sits at hir feete to chastise Malecontentes,
That threat hir honors wracke. And Time & Kinde
Produce hir yeares to make them numberlesse
While Fortune for hir seruice and hir sake,
With golden hands doth strengthen and enrich
The Web that they for faire Astraea weaue.
Long may she liue, long may she gouerne vs
In peace triumphant, fortunate in warres
Our faire Astraea, our Pandora faire,
Our faire Eliza, our Zabeta faire (sig. A2b).

Following the Presenter's speech, a number of characters appeared in the pageant, the first being Astraea herself, who brought words of encouragement and comfort to the spectators. Then a character representing "Superstition" spoke the following words to a "Friar sitting by the fountaine": "Stirre Priest, and with thy beades poyson this spring,/I tell thee all is banefull that I bring" (sig. A3). "Ignorance," in the guise of a priest, then appears, making yet another utterance designed to condemn the Catholic Church. Other characters, such as "Thalia," "Charitie," "Hope," and "Honor" appear in their turn, speaking words in praise of Astraea. Two "Malecontents" also appear, but their attitude is not one of love and respect for the Queen:

I. Malecontent

What meaneth this, I striue and cannot strike,
 She is preserued by myracle belike:
 If so then, wherefore threten we in vaine,
 That Queene, whose cause the gracious heauens
 (maintain.

2. Malecontent.

No maruell then although we faint and quaille,
 For mightie is the truth and will preuaile (sig. A4).

Unlike some accounts of entertainments and pageants of the period, the account of the Lord Mayor's pageant does not contain detailed descriptions of the settings in which the various speeches were delivered, or of the actions of the characters, but consists mainly of the speeches themselves. The most detailed explanatory notes are those preceding a speech by a character called "Time":

In the hinder part of the Pageant did sit a
 Child, representing Nature, holding in her hand
 a distaffe, & spinning a Web, which passed through
 the hand of Fortune and was wheeled vp by Time,
 who spake as followeth.

Time.

Thus while my wheele with euer turning gyres,
 At heauens hie heast serues earthly mens desires,
 I wind the Web that kinde so well beginnes:
 While Fortune doth enrich what Nature spinnes (sig. A4).

From the above description, however, it would appear that this entertainment, like the others of the year, was marked by elaborate decoration and attempts to make the setting underline the importance of the speeches.

It can probably be assumed that readers of accounts of pageants and entertainments were interested at least as much in news about the occasion as in the speeches that embellished the event. No doubt, for some readers, the account of Webbe's pageant was somewhat in the nature of a souvenir programme, since many Londoners who saw the pageant must have purchased copies of Descensus Astraeae. However, notwithstanding this, the published reports of pageants and entertainments, no less than the printed dramas from the year, indicate that there was an enthusiastic audience for drama and dramatic literature. None of the published dramas from 1591 have been deemed worthy of an honoured place in English literature, but in their time they performed the valuable service of creating and responding to developing public tastes; and in this way they contributed to the perfection of the dramatic medium which was to come.

Songs and Music

The Elizabethan love of music is attested to in many ways in the literature of the period. Songs and music were normal features of plays, for example; and outside the theatre, printed ballads on moral or humorous topics were freely available. Unfortunately, published plays did not include the music to the songs which were sung in performance, so that only the words remain. As for ballads, no examples of this kind of literature are extant, at least none which were printed during 1591; and only the titles entered in the Stationers' Register suggest the contemporary tastes in popular songs. From these entries for ballads, it would appear that songs on both secular and religious subjects were favoured, so that ballad sellers might offer a variety of sheets, bearing such titles as "A pleasaunt songe of Twoo stamering louers" (Arber, II, 582), "A warninge to worldlinges Discoveringe the covetousnes of a vsurer" (Arber, II, 578), and "a godly new ballad Describing the vncertenty of this present Lyfe, the vanities of this aluring world, and the Joyes of heaven &c" (Arber II, 581). Additional testimony to the contemporary love of music is evident in five published books of music from 1591, three of which contained musical notation as well as words for the songs.

One book of songs, The harmonie of the church (STC 7199), by Michael Drayton, contained no music at all, but the title-page suggested that all nineteen of these "Spirituell

Songes and holy Hymns, of godly men, Patriarkes and Prophets" were "meet to be read or sung, for the solace and comfort of the godly" (sig. A1). Drayton's method in composing his songs had been to take biblical passages which lent themselves to versification, and to render them into verses of various kinds. His aim of hewing as closely as possible to the complete sense of the prose models (sig. A3) resulted usually in a rather trite ballad style of verse, or else very long lines of eight beats. However, Drayton did seek variety of versification within the limits he established for himself and the first song, the song of Moses, taken from Deuteronomy, was in six-lined iambic pentameter with a regular rhyme scheme.

Drayton was drawn to godly men and women in the Apocrypha for nine of his songs, a somewhat unusual source, perhaps, since the favourite religious songs of the time were musical versions of the Psalms. Sternhold and Hopkins's musical renditions of the Psalms were perennial favourites, for example, and their songs enjoyed special status in the service of the church.¹ Another composer, William Damon, set forty-nine Psalms to music in a book of sixty-eight religious songs entitled The former booke of the musicke of M. William Damon (STC 6220). The word "former" in the title refers to the fact that the book was issued in two versions, the second of which

¹For this reason, the Psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins have been grouped with religious publications.

was called, naturally enough, The second booke of the Musicke of M. William Damon (STC 6221). Both versions are similar in every detail, except that in the "former" book, "the ordinarie singing part is caried in the Tenor [while] in the second set it is conueyed in the highest part" (sig. [A]2b). Both versions consisted of four separate parts corresponding to the ranges of voice required for the music, that is "cantus," "tenor," "altus," and "bassus." In the dedication to William Cecil, written by William Swayne, the writer observes that Damon's music is suitable for either voice or instruments, and he goes on to commend the composer's piety in seeking to promote the singing of Psalms. Later, in the preface to the book, Swayne remarks that Damon's venture into print was caused initially by a friend of Damon who had published the Psalms previously, much against the wish of the composer, who did not feel that music composed for the private entertainment of his friend, was "purposed or framed for the learned eares of our times" (sig. [A]2b). Swayne goes on to recall how Damon then composed his work again in a manner that would demonstrate his skill to better advantage.

It is significant that a certain degree of skill in reading music was assumed of readers by the composers of music books. Damon's music in four parts was by no means the most challenging music published during the year, as another composer, the queen's organist, William Byrd, issued a book of religious songs in Latin called Liber secundus sacrarum

cantionum (STC 4248) in which five or six parts were involved. Singers who enjoyed very challenging musical recreation could turn to a book by John Farmer known as Forty seueral ways of two paths in one made vpon a playn song (STC 10689). As one of the prefatory verses to the book puts it, Farmer's skills as a composer had resulted in a very unusual work:

Who so delights in Musickes skill
and thereof iudges right,
May here perceiue a straunge deuise
most plainly in his sight.

Two parts in one vppon a ground
in number fortie wayes,
A thing most rare surpassing farre
most songsters now a dayes (sig. A4).

In Farmer's book, a short plain-song is reproduced at the top of forty successive pages, and below the plain-song on each page is music which harmonizes with it. Instructions at the bottom of each page point out how three-part harmony may be achieved by having one singer take the plain-song and the other two, the harmony part. The instructions at the bottom of the pages become more and more complex, and the following set of instructions is by no means the most elaborate:

This 2 parts in one is backward and forward, the one part to begin at the beginning and so to the ende, and the other part to begin at the ende, and so forward to the beginning, the plainsong likewise, is to be sung forward and backward, the first note a sem-breefe the next a minom, and so forward in order to the ende, and then begin at the ende, singing one note a minom the other a sembreefe, and so backward in order to the beginning (sig. D3b).

The composer was able to employ the same plain-song as the melody for forty different arrangements, not only by having

the music of the plain-song sung backwards and forwards, as noted above, but also by raising the melody a full tone, instructing the singer to sing an octave higher than it was written, or, in some instances, having one or more singers turn their books upside down. Farmer was well aware of some of the demands his music made on a singer, as he observes from time to time in his instructions that a certain measure "is a verie difficult way to make" (sig. D1b). However, the wit and ingenuity that obviously lay behind the book carried into musical endeavours something of the Elizabethan love of novelty. For this reason, it must have been a welcome addition to the homes of many lovers of music.

APPENDIX I

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

The following descriptive catalogue gives bibliographical data for 255 publications found to be extant from 1591. Some of these items are not listed in STC or, if they are listed, are incorrectly dated or subject to other kinds of errors or omissions. Naturally, credit for identifying additions to STC or for the correcting of errors, omissions, or duplications must be assigned to a number of well-known analytical bibliographers who have been associated with the revision of STC for some years and whose names are featured in the list of works consulted in preparing this thesis. In a few cases, as, for example, two works by the sixteenth-century theologian, Hugh Broughton, a close reading of a work has suggested corrections within the revision of STC in manuscript, and such corrections have been brought to the attention of those associated with the project. At one point during the preparation of this thesis, the second volume of the revision of STC became available, so that the information in the following catalogue from STC 14379 onward agrees with this publication.

In terms of the information provided and the way

in which it is conveyed the catalogue is generally consistent with standard bibliographical practice as defined by R. B. McKerrow¹ and Fredson Bowers.² A number of titles could not be made available for examination, and these items, identified by an asterisk (*), are dealt with as fully as possible under the circumstances. For the remaining publications, a reasonably full description is provided, including a simplified transcription of the title-page, a listing of the contents, and additional notes and information regarding the makeup of the book, its contents, and its history.

The alphabetically arranged headings and STC numbers used for each entry are consistent with STC² either in manuscript or published form, except that a few headings have been altered slightly to make them agree with the status of the writer during 1591. Other headings have been augmented by information such as the identity of a translator, editor, or collaborator. If a publication is a translation, or if it is written in a language other than English, this information appears in abbreviated form below the STC number, while the abbreviation "R" in the same position indicates that the item is a reprint of an earlier edition.

¹An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1967).

²Principles of Bibliographical Description (Princeton: The University Press, 1949).

Regarding the transcription of the title-page, it should be noted that Greek words have been replaced by ellipses and that in all instances where a colon (:) has been inserted following the place of publication this punctuation has been added for the sake of easier reading. In addition to title-pages, all colophons and explicits have been provided in transcription.

Information about the makeup of each item includes the format and a simplified collation formula. In every case, moreover, the number of leaves is given and, where applicable, a simplified pagination or foliation formula is provided.

Following the abbreviation, "W/p," the approximate number of words on a typical page is provided, the figure having been calculated by selecting a typical page and multiplying the number of words in a typical line by the number of lines and rounding off the result to the nearest multiple of five. Other information includes the fount or founts or type employed, the use of side-notes, the presence of diagrams and illustrations, and the occasional use of other languages if the book is in English.

Because most of the items had to be read on microfilm and thus sewings could not be examined, special conventions have been adopted with regard to blank leaves in initial and final gatherings. In the collation formulae, all initial and final gatherings are numbered as if they were complete, but a note immediately following lists as blanks any leaves which

may be either blank or missing or, possibly, never present in the gathering at all. In declaring the number of leaves in a book, these conjectured blanks are not counted, nor are they mentioned in the contents summary.

Except for initial and final blanks, the contents summary for each publication accounts for all the pages of a book, including any blank pages. In addition to accounting for all prefatory, textual, and final material, the summary locates any device found in R. B. McKerrow's collection¹ as well as any title-page border found in the collection of McKerrow and F. S. Ferguson.² Devices and title-page borders from these works have been identified by the abbreviations "McK" and "TPB" respectively.

In many cases, the transcription of the title-page and the contents summary provide an adequate account of the nature and purpose of a book, but for most entries additional notes and comments have been provided. Many descriptions contain information regarding Stationers' Register entries, the date of publication, and information about other editions. Finally, the library and shelf mark are given of the copy read, and a reference is made to the category to which the publication has been assigned.

¹Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland, 1485-1640 (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1949).

²Title-page Borders Used in England & Scotland, 1485-1640 (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1932).

171a. AESOP. Aesopi fabulae, lectori non minorem
Latin fructum quàm florem ferentes.

Londini: Excudebat Robertus Robinsonus. M.D.XCI. Cum
Priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis.

8vo. A-M⁸; 96 leaves, pp. [16] 1(B1)-176; W/p, 210.
Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 202c]; A2, biographical note,
"Aesopi vita breuissime ex maximo Planude selecta; A4, dedi-
cation, "Martinus Dorpius Ioanni Leupe, Iacobo Papae et
Ioanni Niniuitae, erudissimus in Flandria Ludi-magistris,
S.," dated "10. Kal. Decemb.," i.e. 22 November [1591?];
A4b, "Ex Pilostrati Imaginibus"; A5, index, double columns;
A8b, "Interpretes" by Erasmus, Pliny, and twelve others;
B1, text; M8b, verse, "Petri Aegidii Antuerpiani hendecasyll-
labon ad lectorem."

The fables of Aesop were widely used in grammar schools, and
the prefatory materials in this edition were probably directed
chiefly to students. Robinson had a monopoly on the printing
of this and several other grammar school text-books.

Houghton: STC 171a See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

332. ALEXANDER [FARNESE], Prince of Parma. (Tr.
Tr. E[dward]. A[ggas].) A breefe description of
(Fr.) the battailes, victories and triumphes, atchiued
by the D. of Parma, and the Spanish Armye.
Sent by the king of Spayne, vnder his conduct to
the succour of the rebellious Leaguers of Fraunce.
Faithfully translated out of French by E. A.
according to the French coppie, printed at Paris.

At London: Printed [by Edward Allde] for Edward White, and
are to be solde at the little North doore at Saint Paules
Church, at the Signe of the Gunne. [1591.]

4to. A-B⁴ C²; 10 leaves, pp. [2] [1]2(A2b)-10 [i.e. 18];
W/p, 290.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 290]; A2, text; C2b, blank.

Entered to White both in English and French, this pamphlet
bears the device of the printer Edward Allde. The text
offers a sardonic account of Parma's successful campaign
into France in 1590, where the general raised the seige of

Paris in August.

Entered to Edward White, 23 January 1591.

Cambridge (Peterborough Cathedral Collection)¹

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

333. ALEXANDER [FARNESE], Prince of Parma.
Copy of a letter from the Prince of Parma to the General
States of the Low Countries. 12mo. R. Jones, [1591?].

Withdrawn. The title page dates the reply to the letter as
12 March, 1579, so this must have been published before 1591.

334. ALEXANDER [FARNESE], Prince of Parma. The ouer-
throw of the most part of the Prince of Parma his
forces, both horses and foote.
Performed on the twelfth and fifteenth of Iuly
last, by the Graue Maurice his excellencie, generall
of the armies in the Lowe Countries.
With the breaking of the huge bridge leading to the
Valew, neere Arnham.
Seene and allowed.

[London:] Printed by T[homas]. S[carlet]. and are to be
sold ouer against the South doore of Pauls. 1591.

4to. A-B⁴ [A1, B4 blank]; 6 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 240.
Roman with italic.

A2 (verso blank), title; A3, text, headed, "A letter written
in Arnham by a Gentleman of account on the sixteenth of Iuly,
concerning the great ouerthrow which the Prince of Parma
lately sustained"; B3b, blank.

This news letter from the Low Countries describes recent en-
counters between the forces of Maurice of Nassau and those of
the Prince of Parma. Parma's unsuccessful assaults on the
works at Knotsenburgh are described; and Maurice's successes
are recounted with favourable comment. It is reported that in
one encounter Parma lost seven companies of soldiers, includ-
ing a number of gentlemen, some of whose names are given along

¹Unless otherwise specified, "Cambridge" means "The
University Library, Cambridge."

with such details as the ransom offered by those captured alive. The work would appear to be one of a projected series of letters by the same writer reporting upon the progress of the war. At least, the pamphlet concludes with the implication that more news will be forthcoming upon "further occasion" (sig. B3b). It would appear that this item is a reworking of an earlier item published by William White (STC 781).

The wording of the title, and an internal reference (sig. A4b) suggest that publication occurred after 1 August. The dates of two encounters, on 12 and 15 July, are given according to old style dating. In White's version the encounters are dated according to the Continental style.

Folger: STC 334

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

403. ALMANACS AND KALENDARS. [Almanac, engraved copper plate.] [Lacks title, imprint, colophon.]

Oblong folio. About 11⁵/₈ X 17 in. Engraved broadside.

The almanac is described by Eustace F. Bosanquet as follows:

This engraved sheet consists of 384 circles, 16 mm. in diameter, of which 19 are blank. A line of engraved text runs round the four sides of the sheet explanatory of the Almanack, and ends with the date. Between each of the larger circles are smaller circles stated to be only put in to fill up space. The 365 circles, which are filled up, are divided into two parts, the lower dotted over, to a larger or smaller extent, to represent the amount of darkness for the days, the upper left blank to represent the amount of light. At the foot of each circle, in a border, is the name of the Saint for the day and the day of the month, and inside the times of the rising and setting of the Sun. The Almanack begins at the upper left corner with March xi (the vernal equinox) and reads downwards, ending at the lower right-hand corner with March x the next year. . . . From the text it would appear that another sheet showing the changes of the moon, was issued to be used with this.¹ Bosanquet III.

¹English Printed Almanacks and Prognostications: A Bibliographical History to the Year 1600 (London: Chiswick Press, Printed for The Bibliographical Society, 1917), p. 78.

British Library: Bagford Fragments, Harl. 5937/384.
See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

434. DADE, John. Dade. 1591. An almanacke and prognostication, for the yeere of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ. M.D.XCI. Made and set foorth, by Iohn Dade, practitioner in phisicke.

Imprinted at London, by Richard Watkins and Iames Robertes. Cum Priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis.

8vo. [The almanac is known only from two leaves.]
Black letter with roman and italic.

First leaf, recto, title [TPB 213]; verso, declaration: "For this yeere of our Redemption, 1591," with list of special dates, dominical letters, etc., followed by a second heading: "Rules for Husbandrie," with information about times for planting, shearing, felling trees, etc., according to the zodiac; second leaf (verso blank), separate title (the Prognostication): Dade. 1591. A prognostication, in which you may beholde the state of this yeere of our Lord God. M.D.XCI. Made and set foorth, by Iohn Dade gentleman: student in phisicke. Imprinted at London, by Richarde Watkins and Iames Robertes. Cum priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis [TPB 213].

Dade seems to have been a popular writer of almanacs, as STC lists a number of editions of his almanac, dating from 1589 through 1640. Bosanquet CIII.

Cambridge: SSS. 2. 6. 36 and 37 See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

- 434.5. D., I. [John Dade] A triple almanacke for the yeere of our Lorde God. 1591. being the thirde from the Leape yeere. Wherein is conteyned, not onely the common accompt, which in this our realme is vsed, with the Romane Kalender according to the late correction of Gregorie: but also, the true computation and reduction of the monethes to their first and auncient seates Christmas day being at the Sunnes entrance into Capricorne, or shortest day: whereby . . . [This entry is taken from Bosanquet (p. 131), and the ellipsis is his.] By I. D. Nil tam occultum quod non reuelabitur.

[IMPRINT] [None. However, the imprint of Robert Watkins and James Roberts appears on the second title-page.]

4to. A-C⁴ D² 2⁴ A⁴ 2² B²; 20 unnumbered leaves.

A1, title [McK 181]; A1b, errata list; A2, declaration of the three almanacs, and zodiacal influences; A2b, text, calendar; D2b, blank; 2⁴A1 (verso blank), separate title, prognostication; 2⁴A2, "To his very friende P. L."; 2⁴A2b, "To the Reader," dated 24 April 1590; 2⁴A3, rules; 2⁴A4, text, eclipse and prognostication; 2⁴B1, "To find the planitaire or artificall houre"; 2⁴B1b, diagram; 2⁴B2, text.

Bosanquet observes that the three almanacs are "the Common or Old Style, the Roman or New Style, and the true and exact Almanacke" (p. 46). Bosanquet attributes the authorship to Dade (p. 131).

There appear to have been several issues of this. The one transcribed here is at the British Library and Trinity College, Cambridge (vi^b, 2-11), but Cambridge University Library has an earlier issue, and the Bodleian Library has what may be a later one (Bosanquet, pp. 46-7). Bosanquet CI.

British Library: 718. g. 54 See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

444. FRENDE, Gabriel. 1591. A new almanacke and
R prognostication, composed for the year of our
 redemption. M.D.XCI. Which is the yeere from the
 worldes creation. 5553.
 By Gabriell Frende, student in phisicke and astrol-
 ogie.
 Fato prudentia maior.

Imprinted at London, by Richarde Watkins and Iames Robertes.
Cum Priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis.

8vo. A-B⁸ C⁸ [with the 1591 almanac ending B7b]; 15 unnumbered leaves.

Black letter with roman and italic. Colour print.

A1 (verso blank), title [TPB 209]; A2, declaration; A2b, rules; A3b, terms; A4, anatomical man; A4b, calendar begins. [A7, A8, and the whole of the prognostication are wanting. After B7 appears part of the 1592 edition of the almanac.]

All Frende's octavo almanacs are diaries, with a blank page left opposite each month for notes (Bosanquet, p. 46). Bosanquet CII. First of two editions in 1591.

Canterbury Cathedral: (v. 2. 21/1)

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

- 444.5. FRENDE, Gabriel. [The almanac exists only as a fragment, and the information which follows is from Bosanquet, p. 133:]
 "Title: wanting. [An Almanack? and Prognostication.] Colophon: Imprinted at London by Richarde Watkins and Iames Robertes. Cum priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis.

Sextodecimo. . . . CD⁸ (last leaf blank).

Ci and ii wanting. Ciii, recto: Declaration. The Prognostication for the seasons begins on the verso. Cvii and viii wanting. "The principall Fayres of Englande and Wales" begin on D i, recto; and end, D vii, verso; Colophon. D viii: blank. . . .

The fragments are unfolded sheets, the corresponding sheets containing A and B with the Almanack and Kalendar? are wanting. A small portion of C i, showing the top of a border containing the Royal Arms supported by cupids remains. . . . " Bosanquet CV. Second of two editions in 1591.

Shrewsbury School Library: (2 copies: in the binding of G.iv, 26)

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

664. ANSWER. (Tr. E[dward]. A[ggas].) An answere
 Tr. to the supplication. Against him, who seeming to
 (Fr.) giue the King counsel to become a Catholike, in-
 deuoueth to stirre vp his good subiectes vnto
 rebellion.
 Faithfully translated out of French by E. A.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde at his shop right ouer against the great South doore of Paules. 1591.

4to. A-E⁴; 20 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 400.
 Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin (verse), E1b.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 216]; A2, text; B4b, blank.

The writer refutes an essay in which Henry IV of France was warned of the possible consequences of his delay in converting to Catholicism. The present work plays down the possibility

of a popular uprising against Henry, and recalls the obligations due a king ordained of God. The author agrees that Henry ought to be converted, but insists that the king's repentance must be sincere.

Entered to John Wolfe, 12 May 1591, under the French title.

Folger: STC 664

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

746. ARIOSTO, Ludovico. (Tr. John Harington)
Tr. Orlando furioso in English heroical verse, by
(Ital.) Iohn Harington Principibus placuisse viris non
vltima laus est. Horace

[IMPRINT] [None.]

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by Richard Field dwelling in the Blackfriars by Ludgate. 1591.

fol. ¶⁸ A-P⁶ Q³ R-2N⁶ 20⁴; 225 leaves, pp. [18] [1-3]4(A3b)-423 [i.e. 421] [11]; W/p, 1,120.

Roman with italic. Side notes. Title-page printed from an engraved brass plate. 46 full-page illustrations, one preceding each book. Some Latin, Italian.

¶1, title; ¶1b, contents, "A note of the matters contained in this whole volume"; ¶2, dedication to Queen Elizabeth by the translator; ¶2b, preface, "or rather a briefe apologie of poetry, and of the author and translator of this poem"; A1, preface, "An aduertisement to the reader before he reade this poeme, of some things to be obserued, as well in the substance of this worke, as also the seeting foorth thereof, with the vse of the pictures, table, and annotations to the same annexed; A1b, illustration, cut in brass, first of 46; A2, text; 2M2, "A briefe and summarie allegorie of Orlando Furioso, not vnpleasant nor vnprofitable for those that haue read the former poeme"; 2M6b, "The life of Ariosto briefly and compendiously gathered out of sundrie Italian writers by Iohn Harinton"; 2N5b, index, "An exact and necessarie table in order of alphabet, wherein you may readilie finde the names of the principall persons treated in this worke, with the chiefe matters that concern them"; 2O3b, table, "The principal tales in Orlando Furioso that may be read by themselves"; below, errata list; 2O4 (verso blank), colophon [McK 170].

This paraphrase of Ariosto's epic was given elaborate and skilfull treatment by both the printer and the engraver of the title-page and illustrations. In addition to the "Apology" and other interesting prefatory and final material, Harington provided notes following each book upon such matters as the

allegories and allusions to be found in the book.

Entered to Richard Field, 26 February 1591. First of three editions, 1591-1634.

Huntington: 62722

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

781. ARNHEIM [i.e. Arnhem]. The true coppie of a letter,
Tr. written from the Leager by Arnham, the 27. day of
(Dutch) Iuly, according to the computation of the Church of
Rome. Wherin is perticularly set forth, the ouer-
throwe of the Prince of Parmas forces, before
Knodtsenburgh sconce.
Translated out of Dutch.
Seene and allowed.

At London: Printed for Andrew White, and are to be sold at
his Shop by the Royall Exchange ouer against the Conduct in
Corne-hill. 1591.

4to. A⁴; 8 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 185.
Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, preface; A3, text; A4b, blank.

The preface to this brief news report criticizes some writers
of newsletters who exaggerate and adorn the truth of events.
STC 334 reports upon the same events, with old style dating,
and it is likely that STC 334 was itself based upon the present
item.

After 27 July [n.s., i.e. 17 July]. Entered to Andrew White,
20 July 1591.

Bodleian: Antiq. f. E. 1591/2

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

939. AUGUSTINE, [of Hippo,] Saint. (Tr. Thomas Rogers)
Tr. S. Augustines manuel. Containing special, and piked
(Lat.) meditations, and godlie praiers:
R Drawne out of the word [of] God, and writings of
the holie Fathers, for the exercise of the soule.
Corrected, translated, and adorned, by Thomas
Rogers.
1 Thes. 5, 17. Praie continuallie.

Imprinted at London, by Richard Yardley and Peter Short, dwelling
on Bredstreet hil, at the signe of the Starre. Cum Priuilegio.
1591.

[COLOPHON] At London, Printed by Richard Yardley and Peter Short, dwelling on Bred-street hill, at the signe of the Starre. Cum priuilegio.

12mo. A-D¹² E¹⁰; 58 leaves, pp. [14] [1]2(A8b)-96 [6];
W/p, 125.

Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, preface, "A preface vnto the reader," by Thomas Rogers, dated 15 july 1581; A5, preface, "The authors preface"; A8, text; E8, index; E10b, colophon [McK 214].

The book contains thirty-five prayers.

Second of four editions, 1581-1604.

Huntington: 46667

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

951. AUGUSTINE, [of Hippo,] Saint. (Tr. Thomas Rogers)
Tr. A right Christian treatise, entituled S. Augustines
(Lat.) praiers:
R Published in more ample sort than yet hath bin in
the English tung, purged from diuers superstitious
pointes, and adorned with manifold places of the
S. Scripture, by Thomas Rogers:
Wherevnto is annexed Saint Augustines psalter.
Translated and quoted by the same, T. R.
1 Thes. 5, 17. Praie continuallie.

Imprinted at London, by Richard Yardley and Peter Short,
dwelling on Brodstreet hil, at the signe of the Starre. Cum
Priuilegio 1591.

[COLOPHON] 1591. At London, Printed by Richard Yardley and
Peter Short, dwelling on Bred-street hill, at the signe of the
Starre. Cum priuilegio.

12mo. A-K¹² L⁶; 126 leaves, pp. [10] [1]2(A6b)-218 [24];
W/p, 150.

Roman with italic. Side-notes.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, preface, "To the Christian readers"
by Rogers, dated 10 June 1581; A6, text; K7, psalter begins;
L3, blank; L3b, summary; L5b, table; L6b, colophon [McK 211].

Rogers's preface contains a discourse upon the correction of
doctrinal errors in Augustine.

Second of four editions, 1581-1604.

Bodleian: Syn. 8. 59. 60

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

1026. B., G. A fig for the Spaniard, or Spanish spirits. Wherein are liuelie portraihed the damnable deeds, miserable murders, and monstrous massacres of the cursed Spaniard.
With a true rehearsal of the late troubles, and troublesome estate of Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and Portingall:
Wherevnto are [added matters?] of much marueile, and causes of [?] consequence.
Magna est [veritas et?] praeualet.

London: Printed by Iohn Woolfe, and are to be solde by William Wright. 1591.

4to. A-D⁴ [A1, D1 blank]; 14 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 250. Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A2 (verso blank), title; A3, preface, "To the curteous gentlemen readers, health," by "G. B."; A4, illustration, Queen Elizabeth, with, below, four lines of Latin verse in praise of the queen, and, below, another verse selection, "Lenvoy," also in praise of Elizabeth; B1, text.

Atrocities alleged to have been perpetrated by Philip of Spain against his own and neighbouring nations are recalled in this tract. Philip is compared to Nimrod, and it is conjectured that in the unlikely event that he should ever conquer England, his treatment of the country would be horrible, in view of his deeds against his friends.

Entered to William Wright, 31 January 1592. Likely printed late 1591. First of two editions, 1591-1592.

British Library: 8042. aa. 32 See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

- 1030.6. B., G., M. of Arte. Newes out of France for the Gentlemen of England.
A stratagem most ventrously attempted, and valiantly atchiued by the French king, the 27. day of Iuly. Anno Domini 1591. Wherein is desciphered, what trust his royal Maiestie reposesh on the valour of the English, and their duetifull seruice vnto him at all assayes.
Newes also touching 16. shippes taken nigh the hauen of Deepe [i.e. Dieppe], and the discomfiture of the

Popes forces transported into France towards the ayde of the Leaguers, both concurring on the 28. of Iuly last past.

With a report of the princely meeting, and honorable conioyning of the whole power of the French king the sixt day of this present moneth of August, consisting of English, Germane, and his owne people.

Deuteronomie. 1. 30. The Lord your God, who goeth before you he shall fight for you, according to all that he did vnto you in Egypt before your eyes.

Imprinted at London for Iohn Kid, and are to be . . . [remainder cropped].

4to. A-C⁴ [A1, C4 blank]; 10 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 250. Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin.

A2, title [ornament similar to MCK 379 above imprint]; A2b, ten lines of verse in Latin, "In laudem Angliae charissimae suae Patriae decasticon," signed "Cato. Pugna pro patria"; A3, preface, "to his friends, the Gentlemen Readers of England, health," signed, on A3b, by "G. B. M. of Arte"; A4, preface, "A Poem [i.e. a proem] touching the credit of this Newes, with an item to them, that takes felicitie in publishing Lies," signed, on A4b, "G. B., Magna est veritas, et preualet"; B1, text; C1, "Epilogue"; C3, twenty-four lines of verse in Latin, "Precatio ad coelestem nostrum Patrem miseris hisce temporibus."

The catalogue of Cambridge University Library attributes the pamphlet conjecturally to John Kid, and fixes the date at [1591?].

Published after 6 August 1591, the date of the meeting between the French and Germans.

Cambridge: Pet. K. 6. 15³⁸

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

*1049.1. B., J. [i.e. John Browne], Merchant. The marchants auiso.

[Anr. ed.] 4to. Thomas Orwin, by the assignes of William Norton, 1591.

Browne is identified as the author by Louis B. Wright in Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Ithica, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958). Wright observes that Browne, a merchant in the Spanish trade, dedicated the work to Thomas Aldworth, a merchant of Bristol, and the other members of the

Company of Merchants of Bristol, "from my house in Bristow the 26. day of October. 1589" (p. 160). According to Wright, the work was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1589, and he observes that there were probably more editions than those listed in STC.

First of four editions [?], 1591-1640.

Huntington

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

1092. BABINGTON, Gervase, Bp. A sermon preached at Paules Crosse the second Sunday in Mychaelmas tearme last. 1590.
By Geruase Babington D. of Diuinitie.
Not printed before this 23. of August. 1591.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Este, dwelling in Aldersgate street at the signe of the black Horse, and are there to be sould. [1591.]

8vo. A⁴ B-E⁸ F⁴; 40 leaves, pp. [8]1(B1)-72; W/p, 225.
Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin, Greek.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to Thomas Cranfield, Master of the "right worshipfull Socieitie of the Mercery of the citie of London," and to Henry Rowe, Bartholomew Barnes, and Nicholas Staynes, wardens of the company, by Richard Wilkinson, a friend of Babington who persuaded the preacher to release the sermon to the printer; A4, blank; A4b, table, "Things touched in this sermon"; B1, text.

The sermon is a presentation and defence of the doctrine of divine election, but Babington touches upon a wide variety of interesting topics besides. The text is John 6:37.

Entered to Thomas Este, 23 August 1591, the same day upon which, according to the title, the sermon was printed. First of two editions, 1591-1599.

British Library: 695. 1. 5. (2) See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

1094. BABINGTON, Gervase, Bp. A sermon preached at the court at Greenewich the xxiiii. of May, 1591.
By Geruase Babington Doctor of Diuinitie.

Imprinted at London by Richard Field for Thomas Chard. 1591.
[COLOPHON] [None: in its place McK 179b.]

8vo. A-B⁸ C⁶ [A1 blank]; 21 leaves, pp. [4]1(A4)-37 [1];
W/p, 150.

Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Welsh (B2b), some Hebrew (in italics, C3b), some Latin and Greek.

A2 (verso blank), title [McK 192]; A3, dedication to the Privy Council, who attended the sermon, by Babington; A4, text; on C6b, McK 179b as colophon.

Babington uses the story of Naaman, the leper, to illustrate his remarks about the obligations of masters and servants. The sermon, which is based upon 2 Kings 5:13-16, appears to have been one of a series of addresses based upon the story (A4). However, there is nothing in the text to suggest that the Privy Council had attended at an earlier sermon.

Dated after 24 May 1591, when the sermon was preached.

British Library: 4479. a. 35 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

1213. BAKER, Humphrey. The wel spring of sciences:
R which teacheth the perfect worke and practise of
Arithmeticke, both in whole numbers and fractions:
set foorth by Humphrey Baker Londoner. 1562.
And now once againe perused augmented, and amended
in all the three parts, by the sayde authour:
wherevnto he hath also added certain tables of the
agreement of measures and waights of diuers places
of Europe, the one with the other, as by the table
following it may appeare.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Purfoote. 1591.
[COLOPHON] Printed at London by Thomas Purfoote, dwelling
within the new rents in Newgate market. 1591.

8vo. π¹ A⁶ B-W-Z⁸ 2A-E⁸ [E8 blank]; 230 leaves, ff. [7] [1]
2(B2)-198 [25]; W/p, 260.
Black letter with roman.

π1 (verso blank), title; A1, preface, "The prologue to the gentle reader"; A3, dedication to the governor, assistants, "and the rest of the Companie of Marchaunts aduenturers," by Baker, dated at London, 2 September 1580; B1, text; 2B6b, tables, "The agreement of the measures and waights of diuers countries the one with the other, being reduced to an equality, and drawne into tables, as followeth"; 2E3b, blank; 2E4, table,

"Here followeth the table of all that is conteyned in this booke"; 2E7b, colophon, with McK 161.

Basic concepts and operations in arithmetic, with many fascinating problems, and a few games involving numbers, comprise the bulk of the book, which seems to have been intended as a textbook.

Fifth of ten editions, 1568-1631.

Folger: STC 1213

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

1263. BALDWIN, William. (Ed. Thomas Paulfreyman)
 R A treatise of morall philosophie containing the sayings of the wise:
 Wherein you may see the worthie & pithie sayings of philosophers, emperors, kings and oratours: of their liues, their answers, of what lineage they came of, and of what country they wer: whose worthy sentences, notable precepts, counsels, parables, and semblables, doe hereafter folow.
 First gathered and partly set foorth by William Baudwin, and now the fourth time since that enlarged by Thomas Paulfreyman, one of the gentlemen of the Queenes Maiesties chapell.
 If wisdome enter vnto thine hart, & thy soule delight in knowledge: then shall counsell preserue thee, & vnderstanding shall keepe thee. Prouer. II.

Imprinted at London, by Thomas Este. 1591.

8vo. A-Y⁸ 2A-C⁸; 200 leaves, ff. [8]1(B1)-192; W/p, 275.
 Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntington, by Paulfreyman; A3, preface, "Thomas Paulfreyman vnto the reader"; B1, text; 2C6b, table, "A table wherein is declared the contents of this whole booke."

Following definitions and biographical sketches, the most significant utterances of the philosophers are arranged under subject headings.

Twelfth of eighteen editions, 1547-1639.

Huntington: 12682

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

*1464+. BARNE, Thomas. A sermon preached at Pauls
Crosse the thirteenth of June.

4to. Oxford, Joseph Barnes, 1591. A-D⁴.

Union Theological Seminary See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

1517. BARROW, Henry. (in part, John Greenwood) A
REDATED brief discoverie of the false church. Ezek. 16. 44. As the mother such the daughter is.

[IMPRINT] [None, but dated:] 1590.

[EXPLICIT] By the Lords most vnworthy seruant and witnes in
bandes. Henry Barrowe. Finis.

4to. A-2L⁴; 136 leaves, pp. [8]1(B1)-263 [1]; W/p, 550.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin and Greek.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, preface, "To the reader"; A4b,
blank; B1, text; on 2L4, explicit; 2L4b, note, "The Printer
to the Reader" to acknowledge "verye many faultes escaped."

This is one of a number of books printed at Dort from manu-
scripts smuggled out of England by sympathisers of Barrow and
his co-religionists John Penry and John Greenwood.

Elizabeth Chandler Hunt, in "Books and Readers, 1588-1590"
(unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Birmingham,
1964), redates this entry from 1590 to 1591 (p. 336). She
cites F. J. Powicke,¹ who maintains that the book was printed
at Dort in the early months of 1591. Powicke's statement is
based on The Egerton Papers, where the following excerpt from
the examination of Robert Stokes, 19 March 1592/93 appears:

F.--He sayth also that the booke intituled a Breiff
Dyssection [Discoverie] of the false Church, and
the booke intituled a playne refutation of Mr. G.
Giffords Booke, &c, thys Examt procured, at hys
charges, to be prynted at Dort about Christmas
last was two yeares; which was lykewyse don by the
perswasyon of the sayd Mr. Barrow and Grenewood, all
which were taken at Flushyng and Brill: and there
were of these thre thowsand prynted, as thys Examt
understood, and Arthure Byllet was the examyner for

¹Henry Barrow and The Exiled Church of Amsterdam
(London: Henry Bell, 1900), p. 336.

that impressyon.¹

Powicke also argues that, because of the length of the book, it was likely not completed before the early months of 1591. The forthcoming revision of STC will give the place and printing of this entry as [Dort?] 1590 [1591?].

Yale: Zd 939

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

1521. BARROW, Henry. A petition directed to her most
 REDATED excellent Maiestie, wherein is deliuered
 1 A meane howe to compound the ciuill dissention
 in the church of England.
 2 A prooffe that they who write for Reformation,
 doe not offend against the stat. of 23. Eliz. c.
 and therefore till matters bee compounded, deserue
 more fauour.
 Open thy mouth for the dumbe in the cause of the
 children appointed to death, Prou. 31. 8.
 I beleueed and therefore haue I answered,
 For Sions sake I will not ceasse, and for Ierusalems
 sake I will not holde my tong, Esa. 62. 1.
 Hereunto is aunexed:
 Some opinions of such as sue for Reformation: by
 which it may appeare how vniustlie they are slaundered
 by the Bishops, &c. pag. 53. Together with the
 authours epistle to the reader. pag. 58.
 Also: Certayne articles wherein is discovered the
 negligence of the Bishops, their officialls, favour-
 ers and follower, in performance of sundrie eccle-
 siasticall statutes, lawes and ordinances royall
 and episcopall, published for the gouernement of
 the Church of Englande, pag. 60.
 Lastlie: Certayne questions or interrogatories
 drawn by a fauourer of Reformation, wherein he
 desireth to be resolued by the prelates, pag. 74.

[IMPRINT] [None: Middleburg, Richard Schilders? or Dort? 1591.]

4to. A-K⁴ L²; 42 leaves, pp. [1-3]4(A2b)-83 [1]; W/p, 400.
 Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text, headed "To the Queenes most

¹Ed. by J. Payne Collier (London: J. B. Nichols
 and Son, Printed for the Camden Society, 1840), p. 336.

excellent Maiestie, Elizab."; G2b, blank; G3, text continues, headed "To the ende that it may appeare how vniustlie the seekers of reformation are slaundered by the bishops and others, I thought good brieflie & truly to deliver the opinions of such as sue for reformation, which I haue gathered out of their bookes, and seene in their practise, & heard in conference which I haue had with them"; H1b, note "To the godlie reader" on the anonymity of the author, who maintains that if the full truth is delivered "it skilleth not whether the professor thereof be knowen or not"; H2b, text continues, headed "Certaine articles wherein is discovered the negligence of the Bp. their officialls, fauourers and followers"; K1b, text continues, headed "Certaine questions . . . which the printer hath thought good here to annexe."

Like the preceding entry, this book was printed abroad, probably by Richard Schilders of Middelburg, or perhaps by another printer at Dort, in the Netherlands.

Elizabeth Chandler Hunt fixes the date of this entry at 1591, instead of the 1590 dating conjectured by STC (p. 336). The text refers to STC 23471 (E3b), which was printed in 1591, with an entry date of 3 July 1591; and this entry is itself referred to in STC 23450, which was printed in 1592. First of two editions in 1591. Title, line 5, "doe."

Huntington: 85582

See THEOLOGY. AND RELIGION

1522. BARROW, Henry. A petition directed to her most excellent maiestie. [Anon.] 4to. [Anr. ed.] Title, line 5, "do." [n.d.]

This item is a ghost.

*1522a. BARROW, Henry. A petition directed to her most excellent maiestie. [Anon.]

[Anr. ed.] 4to. Title, line 5, "Reformatio-." [Middleburg, Richard Schilders? or Dort? 1591.]

Second of two editions during 1591.

Bodleian

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

1523. BARROW, Henry. (In part, John Greenwood) A plaine refutation of M. G. Giffardes reprochful booke, intituled a short treatise against the Donatists of England. Wherein is discovered the forgery of the whole Ministrie, the confusion, false worship, and anitchristian disorder of these parish assemblies, called the Church of England. Here also is prefixed a summe of the causes of our seperation, and of our purposes in practise, which M. Giffard hath twice sought to confute, and hath now twice receiued answere, by Henrie Barrowe. Here is furder annexed a briefe refutation of M. Giff. supposed consimilituda betwixt the Donatists and vs. Wherein is shewed how his arguments haue bene & may be by the Papists more iustly retorted against himself & the present estate of their Church, by I. Gren. Here are also inserted a few observations of M. Giff. his caulls about read prayer & deuised leitourgies.

[IMPRINT] [None, but dated:] 1591. [Middleburg, Richard Schilders? or Dort, Hanse?]

[EXPLICIT] Christs vnworthie witness for the truth and freedome of the Gospell. Iohn Greenwood. Finis.

4to. *⁴ A-2L⁴ [2L⁴ blank]; 139 leaves, pp. [20] 1(B3)-255 [i.e. 257] [1]; W/p, 515.

Roman with italic and black letter (e.g. I3b). Side-notes. Some Latin. Some Greek and Hebrew, in phonetic transcription.

*1 (verso blank), title; *2, dedication to Sir William Cecil by "Henrie Barrowe & Iohn Greenwood for the testimonie of the gospel in close prison"; A1, preface, "Wisedome to the Reader from the Father of lightes, to discerne of these times, and to iudge of themselues what is right"; B3, prefatory material, "A brief summe of the causes of our seperation, and of our purposes"; E1, text; 2C1, text continues with a new section, unheaded; 2E3, text continues, "A briefe refutation of Mr. George Giffard his supposed consimilitude"; 2I1, text continues, "A few obseruations of Mr. Giffards last caulls," followed by the explicit of Greenwood on 2L3b.

False worship, ungodly communicants, anti-Christian ministers, and anti-Christian ecclesiastical government are the four main headings under which Barrow and Greenwood criticize the Church of England in this work. The book bears a number of typographical resemblances to STC 1521, and it may have been printed by Richard Schilders of Middelburg, or, perhaps, at Dort, by one "Hanse."

First of two editions, 1591-1605?

Huntington: 60336

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

1562. BASTINGIUS, Jeremias. A catechisme of Christian
Tr. religion, taught in the schooles and churches of
(Lat.) the Low-Countries, and dominions of the Countie
Palatine:
With the arguments, and vse of the seueral doctrens
of the same catechisme
By Ieremias Bastingius.
And now authorized by the Kinges Maiestie, for the
vse of Scotland.
Wherunto is adioyned certaine praiers, both publicke
and priuate, for sundry purposes.

Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Walde-graue, printer to the Kings
Majestie. 1591. Cum priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis.
[COLOPHON] [None: in its place McK 187b.]

8vo. [A]⁴ B-I⁸; 76 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 230.
Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes.

[A]1 (verso blank), title; [A]2, the alphabet; [A]2b, the
Lord's Prayer and Creed; [A]3, Ten Commandments; [A]4, "A
praier to be vsed before catechising"; B1, text; H6, a public
confession of sin, followed on succeeding pages by two additional
confessions and six prayers for special occasions; on I8 (verso
blank), McK 187b as colophon.

First of two editions, 1591-1617.

Folger: STC 1562

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

2053. BEZE, Theodore de [or, Theodore Beza]. [Tr.
Tr. John Penry] Propositions and principles of
(Lat.) diuinitie, propounded and disputed in the vniuer-
sitie of Geneua, by certaine sutdents of diuinitie
there, vnder M. Theod. Beza, and M. Anthonie Faius,
professors of diuinitie.
Wherein is contained a methodicall summarie, or
epitome of the common places of diuinitie.
Translated out of Latine into English, to the end
that the causes, both of the present dangers of that
church, and also of the troubles of those that are
hardlie dealt with els-where, may appear in the
English tongue.

At Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Walde-graue, printer to the Kings Maiestie. Anno. Dom. 1591. Cum Priuilegio Regali.

4to. [A]⁴ B² 2²B-2M⁴ 2N²; 144 leaves, pp. [12] 1(B1)-268 [i.e. 274] [2]; W/p, 340.

Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin and Greek.

[A]1 (verso blank), title, within a border formed by type ornaments above and below, and, to left and right, "Veritas" and "Castitas" names of two of the four cardinal virtues, depicted as female figures; [A]2, dedication to "the Lord Nicholas, Earle of Ostrorog, &c." by Anthony Faius, dated from Geneua the tenth of the Kalends of September [i.e. 23 August] 1586; B2, translator's preface, addressed to "all those that wish wel vnto the Lord Iesus and his poore Church wandring here vpon earth"; 2B1, text; 2N2, table, "The table and order of the principles contained in this treatise"; on 2N2b, errata list, asking the reader to bear with "the false pointing in some places of the booke, [and] correct the nomber of the Principles according vnto the Table, and mend these faultes with thy Pen."

The book contains eighty-one essays, each concerned with some aspect of Protestant doctrine, or, in some cases, with the refutation of Catholic beliefs.

First of two editions, 1591-1595.

Huntington: 42618

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

2155. BIBLE--ENGLISH. [Geneva] The Bible: that
R is, the holy scriptures contened in the Old and
New Testament.
Translated according to the Hebrue and Greeke, and
conferred with the best translations in diuers
languages.

Printed [at Cambridge] by Iohn Legatt, Printer to the Vniuersitie of Cambridge. Anno. Do. 1591. Maij 29.

8vo. A-30⁸ 3P²; 482 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 1,225.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Double columns.

A1 (verso blank), title [TPB 210]; A2, preface, "To the diligent and Christian reader"; A2b, contents, "The names and order of all the bookes of the Olde and newe Testament, with the number of their chapters"; A3, text; 2P6, "Apocrypha"; 3A5, "A perfite supputation of the yeeres and times from Adam vnto

Christ," a chronology; 3Ab, New Testament; 3N7, "The order of the yeeres from Pauls conuersion shewing the time of his Peregrination, and of his Epistles written to the Churches"; 3N7b, alphabetical listing of Biblical names and their meanings; on 3O2b, index "A table of the principall things that are contened in the Bible."

Numerous editions.

British Library: C. 110. 6. 23(1) See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

2156. BIBLE--ENGLISH. [Bishops] The Holy Bible,
R conteyning the Olde Testament and the Newe.
Authorised and appointed to be read in churches.

Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker,
Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. Anno 1591.
Cum priuilegio.

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by the deputies of Christopher
Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. Anno
Domini. 1591.

fol. A-B⁶ A-4Z⁶ 5A⁶ 5B⁴; 574 leaves, ff. [12] 1(2A1)-562;
W/p, 925.

Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Maps, tables.
Double columns. Some Hebrew (in italics), some Latin, as,
Psalm headings.

A1 (verso blank), general title [TPB 203]; A2, "A Prologue
or Preface made by Thomas Cranmer, sometime Archbishop of
Canterburie"; A4b, table, giving arrangement of books of the
Bible and summaries of their contents; A6, "An Almanacke,"
giving religious holidays, golden number, etc., followed by
the calendar; B6 (verso blank), illustration of the Garden of
Eden, within TPB 199; 2A1, text, Old Testament; on I1b, diagram
illustrating degrees of kindred which "let Matrimonie"; 2I1b,
"A verie profitable declaration for the vnderstanding of the
histories of Esdras, Nehemias, Esther, Daniel, and diuers
other places of Scripture"; 2K1, text resumes, Esdras; 4B2,
"A necessarie Table for the knowledge of the state of Iuda,
from the beginning of the Monarchie of the Greekes . . .
vntill the death and passion of Iesus Christ"; 4B3, text resumes,
I Machabees; 4F2b, blank; 4F3 (verso blank), separate title,
The newe testament of our Sauour Iesus Christ. Rom. I. I am
not ashamed of the Gospell of Christ, because it is the power
of God vnto saluation to all that beleue. Imprinted at
London by the deputies of Christopher Barker, printer to the
Queenes Maiestie. Anno 1591 [TPB 158]; 4F4, map, "The descrip-
tion of the holy land"; 4F4b, table, "A Table to make plaine

the difficultie that is found in Saint Matthew, and Saint Luke, touching the generation of Iesus Christ"; 4F5, text, Matthew; 4I1b, table, "A Table for the better vnderstanding of the xxvj. Chapter of S. Matthew"; 4I1, text resumes, Mark; 4R4b, map, "The Chart Cosmographie, of the peregrination or iourney of Saint Paul, with the distance of the miles"; 4R5, table, "The order of times," relating the lives of various rulers to periods and events in Paul's life"; 4R6, text resumes, Romans; on 5B4 (verso blank), colophon.

Numerous editions.

Huntington: 32929

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*2478. BIBLE--ENGLISH--Psalms--Metrical Versions. i.
R Sternhold and Hopkins. The whole booke of psalmes collected into English meter by Thomas Sternhold, I. Hopkins and others.

[Anr. ed.] 8vo. John Wolfe for the assignes of Richard Day, 1591.

Numerous editions.

British Library, etc.

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*2479. BIBLE--ENGLISH--Psalms--Metrical Versions. i.
R Sternhold and Hopkins. The whole booke of psalmes collected into English meter by Thomas Sternhold, I. Hopkins and others.

[Anr. ed.] 4to. John Windet for the assignes of Richard Daye, 1591. No perfect copy extant.

Numerous editions.

St. Bride, London

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*2890. BIBLE--NEW TESTAMENT--ENGLISH. The new test. of our lord Iesus Christ. [Geneva, Tomson.]

[Anr. ed.] 32mo. Deputies of Christopher Barker, 1591.

Numerous editions.

British Library

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

3508. BRADSHAW, Thomas. The shepherds starre, now
 Tr. of late seene, and at this hower to be obserued
 (Lat.) merueilous orient in the East: which bringeth
 glad tydings to all that may behold her brightnes,
 hauing the foure elements with the foure capitall
 vertures [sic] in her, which makes her elementall
 and a vanquishor of all earthly humors.
 Described by a gentleman late of the right worthie
 and honorable the Lord Burgh, his companie &
 retinue in the Briell in North-holland.
 Tu si hic esses aliter senties. Terent. .
 Amor fa molto: Argento fa touto.

[London:] Printed by Robert Robinson, for William Iones, and
 are to be sould at his shop neere Holborne Condit. 1591.

4to. ¶⁴ A² B-G⁴; 30 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 240.
 Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin, Greek, Italian,
 and Dutch.

¶1 (verso blank), title; ¶2, dedication to the Earl of Essex
 and "Thomas Lord Burgh, Baron of Gayns-burgh, Lord Gouvernour of
 the towne of Bryell, and the Fortes of Newmanton, & Cleyborow
 in North-Holland for her Maiestie," by Bradshaw, who had
 formerly served under Burgh; ¶4, foreword, "To my well beloued
 brother," by the translator's brother, Alexander Bradshaw,
 who says he published the book, and who dates the foreword
 at "the Court at Greenewich, vpon Saint Georges day 1591
 Aprill. 23"; ¶4b, verse, "I. M. Esquier, his farewell to
 England and to the Author," signed "I. M."; A1, verse, "The
 Authors farewell to England, and to his most intier friend
 I. M. Esquier"; A1b, verse, "T. G. Esquier, his repleye to the
 farewell of the Author," signed "Thomas Groos"; A2, preface,
 "To the curteons [sic] Reader," signed "In hast on Saint
 Georges day" by "T[homas]. B[radshaw]."; B1, text.

In his address to his brother, Alexander Bradshaw says that the
 book was published without the knowledge of the translator.
 The attempt to relieve Thomas Bradshaw of responsibility for
 the printing of the book is, perhaps, only a matter of form,
 since the dedication and the preface to the reader are both
 signed by the translator, the latter item being dated the
 same day as Alexander Bradshaw's foreword. The book is a para-
 phrase, in prose, on the third of the canticles of Theocritus.

Entered to William Jones, 29 April 1591.

British Library: 115. a. 64 See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

3633. BRETON, Nicholas. Brittons bowre of delights. Contayning many, most delectable and fine deuices, of rare epitaphes, pleasant poems, pastorals and sonets.
By N[icholas]. B[reton]. Gent.

Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones, at the Rose and Crowne neere Holborne Bridge. 1591.
[EXPLICIT] Finis. N. B. Gent.

4to. π^2 A-G⁴; 30 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 320.
Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin.

π^1 (verso blank), title [with illustration, possibly Breton's arms?]; π^2 , preface, by the printer, Richard Jones, who points out one printer's error on sig. A3--"for 'lime or lead,' I pray you read it 'line or lead'"; A1, text; on G4 (verso blank), explicit.

The poems include a memorial to Sir Philip Sidney and several verses forming acrostics upon the names of friends of the poet.

Entered to Richard Jones, 3 May 1591. First of two editions, 1591-1597.

Huntington: 31267

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

3861. BROUGHTON, Hugh. An epistle to the umpires touching "The concent of scripture." 4to. [n.p., 1591.]

Withdrawn, re-dated [1594?]. The text makes mention of a letter dated 20 December 1592 (sig. B4b). The heading before a letter reproduced in the book explains that the letter was sent to "the Archb. of C. and D. Elmer then [italics added] B. of London." Since Aylmer was Bishop of London until his death on 3 June 1594, it is likely that the item was published later in 1594.

3871. BROUGHTON, Hugh. [Letters to Queen Elizabeth, Archbishop Whitgift, Bishop John Aylmer touching the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford &c.] 4to. Richard Watkins, [1591?]

Now = 3861.

3887. BROUGHTON, Hugh. Sundry workes, defending the certayntie of the holy Chronicle. 4to. for Gabriel Simson and William White [1591.]

Withdrawn, redated [1594?], and attributed to [Richard Watkins?] The collection contains several re-issues of works by Broughton including items from 1592 (STC 3485) and 1594 (STC 3885).

3888. BROUGHTON, Hugh. Textes of scripture, chayning the holy chronicle vntyll the sunne lost his lyght; and the Sonne brake the serpentes head: dying, rising, and ascending. Search the scriptures: for in them ye thinke to haue eternall life, and they are they which testifie of me. Iohn. 5. 39.

Imprinted at London, [by Richard Watkins] for Gabriell Simson and W[illiam]. White: and are to be solde at their house in Fleete lane. 1591.

4to. A-B⁴ C²; 10 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 340. Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 181 = TPB 141, the device of Richard Watkins]; A2, preface, "To the Christian reader," by "H[ugh]. B[roughton]."; A3b, introduction, "The chiefe poyntes of the holy Chronicle"; A4, text.

Broughton demonstrates that with the use of four essential keys or "knots," such as the age of Abraham when he received his promise, it can be determined that the number of years that must elapse between the first promise of life after death and the Resurrection is 3960.

Entered to Gabriel Simpson and William White, 10 June 1591. Printed after STC 3890, which is itself mentioned in the present book on sig. A3. First of two editions, 1591-[n.d.].

Library of Congress: BS 391. B73 Office
See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

3890. BROUGHTON, Hugh. A treatise of Melchisedek, prouing him to be Sem, the father of all the sonnes of Heber, the fyrst king, and all kinges glory: by the generall consent of his owne sonnes, by the continuall iudgement of ages, and by plentifull argumentes of scripture.

Heb. 7. 4. Now consider how great He is.

Imprinted at London [by Richard Watkins] for Gabriel Simson and William White. 1591.

4to. f⁴ A-I⁴; 40 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 350.
Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Greek and Hebrew.

f1 (verso blank), title [McK 128a = TPB 100a, the device of Richard Watkins]; f2, dedication to William Cecil, by Broughton; f4b, errata list, "Scapes in printing, at which if the Reader stagger, let him reade thus"; A1, text; on I4b, bibliography, list of twenty-two books and rabbinical authors cited, "whose whole workes, from Venice, or Francfurt, Studentes may haue."

Among the contrary points of view examined and refuted is the view that Melchisedek partook of divinity. Broughton claims to have seen a 400-year-old book found in Dover Castle in which his side of the argument was substantiated (sig. E2b). Part of the present book is printed in double columns, in which Hebrew and Greek versions of certain parts of scripture are ranged side by side for comparison and analysis.

Published before 10 June 1591, entry date of STC 3888, in which the present work is mentioned. Reprinted in STC 3887, Sundry workes [1594?].

Huntington: 60489

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

3903. BROWNE, Anthony, Visct. Montagu. [John Lyly?]
The speeches and honorable entertainment giuen to the queenes maiestie in progresse, at Cowdrey in Sussex, by the right honorable the Lord Montacute. 1591.

London: Printed by Thomas Scarlet and are to be solde by William Wright, dwelling in Paules churchyard neere to the French Schoole. 1591.

4to. A-B⁴ [A1 blank]; 7 leaves, pp. [2] [1]2(A3b)-12; W/p, 200.
Roman and italic. Some Latin.

A2 (verso blank), title [McK 277]; A3, text.

The account of the entertainment, which lasted from 14-20 August, contains three songs and a number of speeches in prose, some of the latter being in dialogue form.

Published after 20 August 1591, the final day of the entertainment. E. K. Chambers notes that in 1788 John Nichols reprinted what appears to be a different edition, which lacked the three songs, but included a fuller description of the entertainment.¹

British Library: C. 33. d. 11 See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

3923. BRUCE, Robert. Sermons preached in the kirk of Edinburgh, be M. Robert Bruce, minister of Christs euangel there: as they wer received from his mouth: Meet to comfort all sik as are troubled, ather in bodie or minde.
The number of the sermons, ar set down in the page following.

Edinburgh: Printed be Robert Walde-graue, printer to the Kings Majestie. 1591. Cum privilegio regali.

8vo. [A]⁴ B-2A⁸, 2B⁴ [A1, A2 blank]; 190 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 210.

Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

[A]3, title; [A]3b, list of contents, "The number of the sermons contained in this booke"; [A]4, dedication to the Lord Provost and other officials of the Kirk at Edinburgh, by Bruce, dated at Edinburgh, 6 December 1591; B1, text.

Two of the eleven sermons are dated 1589. Two others were preached during a time of thanksgiving for the delivery of Scotland from the Spanish Armada.

Published after 6 December 1591.

Huntington: 12841

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

3924. BRUCE, Robert. Sermons vpon the sacrament of the Lords Supper: preached in the kirk of Edinburgh be M. Robert Bruce, minister of Christes euangel there, at the time of the celebration of the Supper, as they were receaued from his mouth.

¹The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923), IV, 180.

Iohn 6. 54. 63.

Quasaeuer eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood,
hath eternall life, and I will raise him vp at the
last day.

It is the Spirit that quickneth, the flesh profiteth
nathing, the words that I speake vnto zou, are
Spirit and life.

At Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Walde-graue, printer to the
Kings Maiestie. Cum priuilegio regali. [1591?]

8vo. [A]⁴ B-T⁸ V⁴ [A1 blank]; 151 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 225.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin and Greek.

[A]2, title; [A]2b, coat of arms of James VI of Scotland;
[A]3, dedication to James VI, by Bruce, dated at Edinburgh,
9 December 1590; B1, text.

The five sermons in the collection were preached on successive
Sundays from 1 February through 2 March 1589.

The dedication is dated late in 1590, so it is likely that the
book was published early in the following year.

Huntington: 30930

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

4167. BURTON, William. Certaine questions and answeres,
concerning the knowledge of God.
Whereunto are adioyned some questions and answeres,
concerning the right vse of the law of God.
Taught publikely by way of catechising.
By William Burton, minister and preacher of the
worde of God in the cittie of Bristoll.
Ioh. 17. 13. [i.e. 3.] And this is eternall life,
that they know thee to be the only very God, and
whom thou hast sent, Iesus Christ.

At London: Printed by Iohn Windet for Tobie Cooke. 1591.
[COLOPHON] London: Printed by Iohn Windet for Tobie Cooke.
1591.

8vo. A-K⁸ [K8 blank]; 79 leaves, ff. [8]1(B1)-70 [1]; W/p, 330.
Roman with italic. Side-notes.

A1, title; A1b, errata; A2, dedication to the Bishop of Bristol
[Richard Bancroft] by Burton; A4b, blank; A5, preface, "to his
beloued, and Christian Auditors, and all other in the cittie
of Briston," by Burton; B1, text; K7 (verso blank), colophon
with McK 243a.

The catechism, which is very detailed, is based upon various questions concerning the nature of God with commentaries upon each of the questions.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge: Sg. 5. 76⁶
See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

4248. BYRD, William. Tenor. Liber secundus sacrarum
Latin cantionum, quarum aliae ad quinque, aliae verò ad
sex voces aeditae sunt.
Autore Guilielmo Byrd, Organista Regio, Anglo.

Excudebat Thomas Este ex assignatione Guilielmi Byrd. Cum
priuilegio. Londini, quarto Nouemb. 1591.

4to. [A]² B-E⁴; 18 leaves, pp. [4] I(B1)-XXXII.
Roman with italic. Music notation.

[A]1 (verso blank), title; [A]2, dedication to [John,] Lord
Lumley, by Byrd; [A]2b, index, with, below, imprint, "Londini,
apud Thomam Este typographum in vico Aldersgate. 1591."; B1,
text.

Part II.² [Title-page and contents as above, but:] Sextus. .
4to. [A]² B⁴ C²; 8 leaves, pp. [4] XXI(B1)-XXXII.

Part III. [Title-page and contents as above, but:] Medius.
. . . 4to. [A]² B-E⁴; 18 leaves, pp. [4] I(B1)-XXXII.

Part IV. [Title-page and contents as above, but:] Bassus.
. . . 4to. [A]² B-E⁴; 18 leaves, pp. [4] I(B1)-XXXII.

Part V. [Title-page and contents as above, but:] Contratenor.
. . . 4to. [A]¹ B-E⁴; 17 leaves, pp. [1] I(A1)-XXXII [1].

A1, title; A1b, index with imprint as before; B1, text.

Part VI. [Title-page and contents as above, but:] Superius.
. . . 4to. [A]² B-E⁴; 18 leaves, pp. [4] I(B1)-XXXII.

Contents as "Tenor"

The index before each part indicates that there are twenty-one
songs for five voices and twelve songs for six voices.

Published after 4 November 1591.

British Library: K2 F5

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

4562. CANCELLAR, James. (Ed. A. Fleming) The
 R alphabet of praiers, very fruitfull to be exer-
 cised and vsed of euerie Christian.
 Newlie drawne, into no lesse direct an order than
 aptlie agreeth with the name; by A. Fleming.
 Luke. 11. 20. Euerie one that asketh, receiueth:
 and he that seeketh, findeth.

Imprinted at London [by Richard Yardley and Peter Short],
 for the assignes of W[illiam]. Seres. Seene and allowed
 according to the Queenes Iniunctions. [1591.]
 [COLOPHON] 1591 Printed at London by Rychard Yardley, and
 Peter Short, for the assignes of W. Seres.

8vo. A-O⁸; 112 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 60.
 Black letter with roman and italic.

A1, title; A1b, illustration, arms of the Earl of Leicester;
 A2, dedication to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, initialled
 "I[ames]. C[ancellar]."; A4, acrostic on the name "Robert
 Dudley" headed "It is good for euerie estate,/These few lines
 to imitate"; A4b, preface, "To the Reader"; B2, "Certaine
 [hortatory] sentences set foorth in order alphabeticall";
 B2b, text; O8 (verso blank), colophon with McK 150.

Most of the prayers are ingenious acrostics on the name of
 Robert Dudley.

Fifth of six editions, 1565-1626.

Folger: STC 4562

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

4864. CATTAN, Christophe de. (Tr. Francis Sparry)
 Tr. The geomancie of Maister Christopher Cattan
 (Fr.) Gentleman.
 A booke, no lesse pleasant and recreatiue, then of
 a wittie inuention, to knowe all thinges, past,
 present, and to come.
 Whereunto is annexed the wheele of Pythagorus.
 Translated out of French into our English tongue.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be sold at Edward
 Whites shop, at the signe of the Gunne, at the little north
 doore of Paules. 1591.

[COLOPHON] London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to solde
 by Edward White at his shoppe at the little North doore of
 Paules at the signe of the Gunne. 1591.

4to. A-Y⁴ 2A-M⁴ [2M⁴ blank]; 135 leaves, pp. [18]1(C2)-243 [i.e. 251] [1]; W/p, 405.
Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Diagrams.

A1 (verso blank), title [ornament similar to McK 379, but wanting initials]; A2, dedication to "the Lorde Nicot," a French nobleman, by the editor of the French edition here translated (A3); A4, foreword, "The Epistle to the Reader," by the editor of the French edition, mainly expository material on astrological principles; C1, preface, "The Preface of the Authour vnto the Reader" by Cattan; C2, text, in three books; on 2M1b, "Thus endeth the third Booke of Geomancie, translated by Francis Sparry"; 2M2, table, "The Table of the Chapters contained in the first Booke of Geomancie," with similar tables for the second and third books following on 2M2b and 2M3; on 2M3b, colophon.

Geomancy is a "science" closely related to astrology. The first book explains how to foretell the future through patterns of pin pricks made on a sheet of paper, and explains the affinities of the two "sciences." The second book lists a number of questions that can be resolved through astrology; and the third book joins astrology and geomancy. Francis Sparry is identified as the translator on sig. 2M1b.

First of two editions, 1591-1608. Entered to Edward White, 26 September 1590.

Huntington: 144185

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

4868. CAUMONT, Jean de. (Tr. John Pauncefoot) The
Tr. firme foundation of Catholike religion, against the
(Fr.) bottomles pitt of heresies: wherin is shewed that
only Catholiks shal be sauéd, & that all heretikes
of what sect soeuer are excluded from the kingdome
of heauen.
Compyled by Iohn Caumont of Champany: and trans-
lated out of French into English, by Iohn Pauncefote
the elder esquyre, in the tyme of his banishment.
Hoc habet authoritas Ecclesiae, hoc fundatus
veritatis canon: contra hoc robur, contra hunc
inexpugnabilem murum quisquis anetat: ipse constrin-
gitur. S. August. de. verb. Apost. ferm. 15

Imprinted at Antwerpe by Arnold Coninx. M.D.LXXXXI. Cum gratia & priuileg. Reg. Maiest.

8vo. *² A-G⁸ H²; 60 leaves, pp. [4]1(A1)-115 [1]; W/p, 260.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin, Greek and French.

*1, title; *1b, note over the name of "Io. de Buschere" that Coninx has been given the right to print the book in translation, and that no printer may print the book for three years from the date given, 15 November 1591, "without licence of the said Arnold Coninx"; *2, translator's preface, by "I. P."; A1, text; H2b, censor's note dated at Antwerp, 9 October 1590, in French, noting that the book has been examined and approved for publication.

Much of the book is devoted to an examination of the twelve "marks" of the true church, and it is demonstrated, from all the evidence available, that the Catholic religion is the true religion. One of the interesting points alleged in favour of the thesis of the book is that the spread of Catholicism to the New World is an indication of the supremacy of the Catholic religion.

Published after 15 November 1591.

Huntington: 69521

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

4952. CHAMBERLAINE, Bartholomew. A sermon preached at Farington in Barkeshire, the seventeene of Februarie, 1587.
At the buriall of the right honorable the Lady Anne Countes of Warwicke, daughter to the Duke of Sommerset his grace, and widowe of the right worshipfull Sir Edward Vmpton knight.
By Bartholomew Chamberlaine, Doctor of Diuinitie.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be sold at his shop at the broad south dore of Paules. 1591.

8vo. A-B⁸; 16 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 190.
Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 251]; A2, dedication to "the Ladie Doritie Vmpton" [i.e. Dorothy Shirley, wife of Sir George Unton], daughter-in-law of the deceased woman, by Chamberlaine; A3b, text.

Reference to the deceased is very brief, and for the most part the sermon is a call to repentance.

Entered to John Wolfe, 9 December 1590. Probably printed early in 1591.

British Library: 4474. a. 78

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

5192. CHRISTIAN SOUL. The sacrifice of a Christian soule containing godlie prayers, and holy meditations for sundry purposes: drawne out of the pure fountaines of the sacred scriptures. Psal. 51. 29. The sacrifices of God, are a contrite spirite: a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Walde-graue, printer to the Kings Maiestie. 1591. Cum priuilegio regali.

12mo. [A]⁶ B-N¹² [N12 blank]; 149 leaves, pp. [12]1(B1)-285 [1]; W/p, 125.
Roman with italic. Side-notes.

[A]1 (verso blank), title; [A]2, dedication to the Chancellor of Scotland, Lord Thirlstane [John Maitland], and his wife, by the printer, Robert Waldegrave; [A]6, table, "A table of the prayers contened in this booke"; B1, text; N11b, blank.

The book contains forty-two prayers, some of them for special occasions.

British Library: 3457. aaa. 67 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

5253. CHURCHYARD, Thomas. A reuying of the deade by verses that foloweth:
which makes worthy men knowen, by the examples of King Henry the eight: King Edward the sixt: Sir Walter Mildmay: the last Erle of Warwick: and Sir Christofer Hatton, lately L. Chaunceller of England.
With a declaration of the names of all the most honourable Counsellors, that haue dyed since the beginning of the queens maiesties raigne.

At London: Printed [by Edward Allde?] for Edward White, and are to be solde at his Shop neere the little north doore of Saint Paules Church, at the signe of the Gun. 1591.

4to. A⁴ B²; 6 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 430.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some French.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 290, the device of Edward Allde]; A2, dedication to John Wolley, by Churchyard; A3, text; on B2b, list of the names of "all the most honorable Councillors that haue dyed since the beginning of her Maiesties Raigne," including the name of Sir Christopher Hatton, who died in 1591.

The last two of the six memorial poems are in honour of Hatton.

The item was published at some time following the death of Sir Christopher Hatton at Ely House on 20 November 1591.

Huntington: 53686

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

5300. CICERO, Marcus Tullius. (ed. Paolo Manuzio)
 R Marci Tullii Ciceronis epistolae ad familiares.
 Latin A Dionysio Lambino Monstroliensis ex codicibus
 manuscriptis emendatae. Eiusdem D. Lambini
 annotationes, seu emendationum rationes. Item
 Pauli Manutii annotationes breuissimae in margine
 adscripta.

Londini: Excudebat Robertus Robinsonus. Cum Priuilegio
 Regiae Maiestatis. 1591.

8vo. A-2K⁸ 2L⁶; 270 leaves, pp. [10] [1]2(A6b)-506 [24];
 W/p, 280.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 202c]; A2, dedication "ad
 Mattaeum Senaregam, Ambrosii filium" by Paolo Manuzio, the
 composer of the annotations; A3, blank; A6, text; 2K3,
 "Dionysii Lambini Monstroliensis emendationum rationes in
 lib. I. Epistolarum M. T. Ciceronis ad familiareis."

Cicero's epistles were widely used in the upper forms of
 the grammar schools as models for composition. Manuzio, the
 editor of the book, was a devoted editor of Cicero. Manuzio's
 own epistles, which were published in part in 1591 (STC 17288),
 were also read in some grammar schools. Robinson's privilege
 in the printing of certain grammar school texts included the
 work of Cicero.

Sixth of seven editions, 1571-1602.

British Library: 10905. a. 29 See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

5349. CLAPHAM, John. Narcissus. Siue amoris
 Latin iuuenilis et praecipue philautiae breuis atque
 moralis descriptio.

Londini: Excudebat Thomas Scarlet. 1591.

4to. A-B⁴; 8 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 150.
 Italic with roman.

A1 (verso blank), title, with woodcut illustration of the Roman youth, Marcus Valerius Corvinus; A2, dedication to [Henry Wriothesley] the Duke of Southampton, by Clapham; A3, text; B4b, blank.

The woodcut illustration of Corvinus, a Roman soldier who was assisted by a raven, was also used by Scarlet in STC 19183 (q.v.), a translation of a book of devices of Claude Paradin. According to the British Library, the two illustrations are from the same block, with the Paradin illustration the fresher. The text is a verse rendering of the myth of Narcissus.

Probably published after STC 19183.

British Library: 837. h. 11 See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

5376. CLAYTON, Giles. The approued order of martiall discipline, with euery particuler offycer his offyce and dutie: with many other stratagemes adioyning to the same. Whereunto is adioyned a second booke, for the true ordering and imbattelling of any number so euer, with the proportions of euery battel, which best serueth in these our dayes of seruice. Newlie written by Gyles Clayton.

Printed at London, by I[ohn]. C[harlewood]. for Abraham Kitsonne, dwelling in Paules Churchyarde, at the signe of the Sunne. Anno 1591.

[EXPLICIT] Finis. Courteous Gentlemen, great occasions of present busines calleth me from my penne, which driues me to conclude in more breefe manner, then I was determind. Wherein I haue erred through ignoraunce, I haue no doubt but you will pardon of curtesie: may opportunity serue, I will proceede further. In the meane time, I beseech you accept of this my good meaning vnto you; so shall I with all willingnes, rest thankefull vnto you, most louing and courteous Gentlemen. G[iles]. C[layton].

4to. A-I⁴⁺¹ K-M⁴ [M4 blank]; 48 leaves, pp. [10]1(B2)-62 [2] 63-83 [1]; W/p, 300.

Black letter with roman and italic. Illustrations and diagrams, including an illustration of Queen Elizabeth. Some Latin.

A1, title; A1b, woodcut illustration of Queen Elizabeth, with, below, Latin verse; A2, dedication to Queen Elizabeth by the author; A3b, preface, "To the freendly Readers in generall, and specially to all young Gentlemen of Englande, which most honourably attempteth to get renoune and honour, in thys most famous and renowned exercise"; B2, text, with a fold-out after G1 bearing a woodcut illustration of a plan for an encampment; G4b, blank; H1 (verso blank), separate title, "The second part. With a kalender, contayning the square of any number, from one hundred, to ten 1000. seruing for the ordering of iust squares, bastard squares, and broad squares: and most sufficient for the imbattailing of any number. With certain rules of marching by degrees, the which of a suddaine you may with ease bring them into a square battell, or a broad square, of what number soeuer. By Gyles Clayton, seruitour & late lieutenant to the right honorable the Lord North, Lorde Lieuetenant Generall of Cambridgeshyre. At London: Printed, Anno. Domini. M.D.XCI."; H2, dedication to [Henry Carey] Lord Hunsdon by Clayton; H3b, blank; H4, text; I4+1, blank; K1, text continues; on M3 (verso blank), explicit.

The second part of the book contains numerous diagrams, including fold-outs following sigs. H4, K3, and L4, depicting various plans for encampment and offensive and defensive tactics. As a handbook for would-be officers, the book devotes much space to a consideration of the qualities needed in the various subordinate officers, in addition to rules and advice for most of the situations a new officer might encounter.

Entered to John Charlewood, 12 April 1591.

Bodleian: Douce. c. 256

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

5400.3 CLEMENT, Lady Jane. A letter written by a
Tr. Catholicke gentleman, to the Lady Iane Clement, the
(Fr.) hauling princesse of the League.
From Saint Dennis.
Translated out of French into English.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be sold at his shop right ouer against the great South doore of Pauls. 1591.

4to. A-B⁴ [B4 blank]; 7 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 370.
Black letter with roman and italic. Some Spanish and Italian.

The item is a scurrilous political tract against the League.

Entered to John Wolfe, 4 November 1590 with STC 24767 (q.v.) which is apparently a separate publication.

Folger: STC 5400.3

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

5445. CLOWES, William. A prooued practise for all
 R young chirurgians, concerning burnings with gun-
 powder, and woundes made with gunshot, sword,
 halbard, pike, launce, or such other.
 Wherein is deliuered with all faithfulnessse, not
 onely the true receipts of such medicines as shall
 make them bolde, but also sundry familiar examples,
 such as may leade them as it were by the hand to
 the doing of the like.
 Hereto is adioyned a treatise of the French or
 Spanish pocks, written by Iohn Almenar, a Spanish
 phisition.
 Also a commodious collection of aphorismes both
 English and Latine, taken out of an old written
 cobby.
 Published for the benefite of his country, by
 William Clowes, Maister in Chirurgery.
 Newly enlarged and augmented.
 Seene, and allowed, according to the order appoynted.

[London:] Printed by Thomas Orwin, for Wydow Broome. 1591.

4to. ¶⁴ A-P⁴ 2^P 3^P 2^P 3^P 4^P 5^P 4^P 5^P 6^P 7^P 8^P
 9^P(P⁴ + χ¹) Q¹ Q-2E⁴ 2F⁴; 167 leaves, pp. [32]1(D1)-93
 [101 unnumbered leaves] 97 [i.e. 195] - 130 [i.e. 228] [2]
 133 [i.e. 231] - 200 [i.e. 298] [4]; W/p, 395.
 Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin
 and Greek. Illustrations.

¶1 (verso blank), title; ¶2, preface, "To all true professors
 of Chrirurgery," by Clowes; ¶3b, crest [of Clowes?] headed,
 "Good men are not forbidden to hope for Honor," with verse
 against critics and detractors; ¶4, preface, "The Epistle to
 the Reader," by Clowes; B2, note on errors, with, below,
 errata list; B2b, illustration, surgeons attending a sick
 man; B3, foreword, "To his very good freend, Mayster Clowes
 Chirurgion," signed "Iohn Banester"; C1, commendatory passage
 by "I. G. Master of Arte, and Student in Physick and Chirur-
 gerie," dated from Cambridge, 24 June 1588; C4, commendatory
 verse, "T.P. to his loving freend Mayster Clowes"; C4b,
 blank; D1, text; on O3b, illustration, a man being impaled
 or hit by fifteen different instruments of war, such as
 arrows, spears, and shot; on 8^P3, "Finis William Clowes,
 Maister in Chirurgerie"; 8^P4, illustration of a surgeon's
 chest, showing the arms of the Earl of Leicester on the lid,
 surrounded by various instruments and battlefield scenes;
 8^P4b, verse, declaring that the writer of such a work "May
 sometimes erre, and runne his pen amisse"; 8^P4 + χ¹ (verso
 blank), illustration depicting fifteen surgeon's tools, in-
 cluding a saw; Q1, illustration depicting eleven additional
 tools; Q1b, verse, a couplet and a quatrain, against critics;

²Q1b, "A treatise of the French pocks, written by Iohn Almenar a Spanish Phisition; V2, preface, "To the Reader"; V3, "De Apostematibus," a collection of medical aphorisms in Latin and English; 2F1, alphabetical index with page references; 2F2b, blank.

Second of two editions, 1588-1591.

Folger: STC 5445

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

5457. COCKAINE, Sir Thomas. A short treatise of hunting: compyled for the delight of noble men and gentlemen, by Sir Thomas Cockaine, Knight.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin for Thomas Woodcocke, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the black Beare. 1591.

4to. A-D⁴; 16 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 250.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title, with illustration of a retriever; A2, dedication to [Gilbert Talbot] the Earl of Shrewsbury, by Cockaine, dated from "my house neere Ashborne this last of December. 1590"; A3, preface, "To the Gentlemen Readers"; B1, text.

The book deals with various aspects of hunting, including the types of prey, the breeding and handling of dogs, hunting techniques, and the code for blowing the hunting horn.

British Library: C. 31. c. 6

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

5590. COLYNET, Antony. The true history of the ciuill Tr. warres of France, betweene the French King Henry (Fr.) the 4. and the Leaguers. Gathered from the yere of our Lord 1585. vntill this present October. 1591. By Antony Colynet. Romanes 13. He which resisteth the power, testi-fieth the ordinance of God.

Printed at London for Thomas Woodcock, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the black Beare.
[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, for Thomas Woodcock, and are to be sould at his shop in Pauls Churchyard, at the signe of the black Beare. 1591.

4to. A⁴ B-2M⁸ 2N⁴ [2N4 blank]; 279 leaves, pp. [8]1(B1)-549 [1]; W/p, 500.

Black letter with italic and roman. Side-notes. Some Latin, Greek, and French.

A1 (verso blank), title [TPB 133]; A1, dedication, in Latin, to John Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 20 October 1591, by A[ntony]. C[olynet].; A4, preface, "To the Christian Reader"; B1, text, in nine books; 2N3b, colophon.

Colynet's history of the French civil wars traces the fortunes of the house of Guise in nine books arranged in a kind of annalistic form. The material, most of which was translated from various French sources, carries the story to 28 September 1591. Colynet observes that for the latter part of the book he has relied as well upon "such euent[s] as haue been published from time to time" (sig. A4), and, in fact, several passages concerning events in 1591 were copied almost verbatim from contemporary news pamphlets. The book offers many details about such things as battles and manoeuvres, but very little interpretation or commentary.

Published after October 1591. Entered to Thomas Woodcock, 3 August 1591.

Huntington: 56642

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

5813. COSBY, Arnold. The araignment, examination, confession and iudgement of Arnold Cosbye: who wilfully murdered the Lord Burke, neere the towne of Wanswoorth [i.e. Wandsworth], on the 14. day of this present month of Ianuary and was executed the 27. of the same moneth. 1591.

At London: Printed [by Edward Allde] for Edward White, and are to be solde at the little North doore of Saint Paules Church, at the Signe of the Gunne. [1591.]

[COLOPHON] London: Printed for William Wright. 1591.

4to. A-B⁴; 8 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 210.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 290, the device of Edward Allde]; A2, text; on B4b, colophon, differing from imprint in bookseller assigned.

An eyewitness account of the trial, the article is divided into two parts, containing, respectively, the evidence offered during the trial and the remarks of the Lord Chamberlain to the

condemned man. See also STC 5814, 20593.

Published after 27 January 1591. Entered to Edward White, 25 January 1591.

British Library: 1132. a. 44 See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

5814. COSBY, Arnold. The manner of the death and execution of Arnold Cosbie, for murthuring the Lord Boorke, who was executed at Wanswoorth [i.e. Wandsworth] townes end on the 27. of Ianuarie 1591.
With certaine verses written by the said Cosby in the time of his imprisonment, containing matter of great effect, as well touching his life as also his penitence before his death.

[London:] Imprinted [by Edward Allde] for William Wright. 1591.

4to. A⁴; 4 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 300.
Roman and black letter with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text, with details of events following Cosby's sentencing as reported in STC 5813; A3, verse, "Arnold Cosbies vltimum vale to the vaine world"; A4b, blank.

The writer was evidently the same person who wrote the text of STC 5813, since he makes specific reference to a publication on Cosby's trial (A2), probably STC 5813. The verse section of the text consists of seventy-two lines purportedly written by Cosby "in the Marshalsea after his condemnation" (A3).

Published after 27 January 1591, probably after the publication of STC 5813. Allde is assigned as printer because the work has typographical and other affinities with STC 5813, which is certainly Allde's work. See also STC 20593.

Bodleian: 4^o. 16. c. Art. Bs (45) See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

5820. COSIN, Richard. An apologie: of, and for sundrie proceedings by iurisdiction ecclesiasticall, of late times by some challenged, and also diuersly by them impugned.
Lex, Iustitiae: Iustitia Reipub. basis.

Imprinted at London [by the Deputies of Christopher Barker].
Anno. Dom. 1591.

4to. A-2C⁴ [2C4 blank]; 103 leaves, pp. [8]1(B1)-197 [1];
W/p, 480.

Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin and French.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, preface, "containing the Occa-
sion, and generall distribution of this Treatise following";
A4, contents list, "The Chapters and Contents of the first
part"; B1, text, seventeen chapters; K1b, contents list,
second part; K2, text, twenty chapters; 2C3b, errata list.

According to the preface to the second edition in 1593 (STC
5821), only forty copies of the first edition of this impor-
tant book were printed. Cosin's aim is to allay the fears of
those who suspect that the Presbyterians are justified in
their complaints that the law discriminates against them.

First of two editions to 1593.

British Library: C. 25. f. 11 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

5840. COTTESFORD, Samuel. A treatise against traitors.
Meete for all faithfull subiects in these dangerous
dayes.
Taken out of the 40. chapter of Ieremye, the 13,
14, 15, 16. verses, and the 41. 1, 2, 3, 4.
Made and published for the benefite of the Church
and common wealth of England: by Samuell Cottesford
minister and publique preacher of the woord of God.
Prouerb. 17. 14. The beginning of strife is as one
that openeth the waters: therefore ere the conten-
tion be medled with, leaue off.

At London: Printed by E[dward]. A[llde]. for William Holme.
[1591].

8vo. ¶⁸ *⁴ A-G⁸ H⁴ [¶1 blank]; 71 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 125.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin and Greek.

¶2 (verso blank), title; ¶3, dedication to John Whitgift,
Archbishop of Canterbury, by Cottesford, dated at "Woodgrange
in Westham in Essex, the 6. of Nouember. 1591"; *1, second
dedication to William Webbe, Lord Mayor of London, and to Sir
Richard Martin "and to all the rest of the Aldermen," by
Cottesford, dated as before; A1, text; H4b, blank.

The treatise is based upon the account of how Ishmael the traitor killed Gedaliah, the Jewish leader, despite the warning Johanan had given concerning Ishmael's plan.

Published after 6 November 1591.

British Library: C. 12. d. 18. (8)

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

6011. CRASHAW, William. Decimarum et oblationum tabula; a tithing table. [Init. W. C.] fol. [Thomas Purfoot, 1591.] Ent. to Thomas Purfoot, 30 mr.

Withdrawn. The Stationers' Register has an entry to Thomas Purfoot, the elder, and Thomas Purfoot, the younger, dated 30 March, for "A table for the paiement of tithes and oblacons" However, STC 6011 (British Library: 816. M. 22 (73)) is definitely from a much later year.

6220. DAMON, William. Cantus. The former booke of the musicke of M. William Damon, late one of her maiesties musitions: conteining all the tunes of Dauids Psalmes, as they are ordinarily song in the Church: most excellently by him composed into 4. parts. In which sett the tenor singeth the Church tune.
Published for the recreation of such as delight in musicke: by W[illiam]. Swayne Gent.

[London:] Printed by T[homas]. Este, the assigné of W[illiam]. Byrd. 1591.

[EXPLICIT] Finis. W. Damon.

4to. [A]² B-G⁴; 26 leaves, pp. [4]1(B1)-47 [1].
Roman with italic. Some Latin. Music notation.

[A]1, title [McK 230b]; [A]1b, coat of arms of Sir William Cecil; [A]2, dedication to Sir William Cecil by William Swayne, protégé of Cecil and publisher of the book; [A]2b, foreword, by Swayne; B1, text; on G4, explicit; G4b, table, with songs listed alphabetically by title, with page references.

Part II. [Title-page and contents as above, but:] Tenor.
. . . 4to. [A]² B-G⁴; 26 leaves, pp. [4]1(B1)-46 [2].
. . . on G3b, explicit; G4 (verso blank), table, as before.

Part III. [Title-page and contents as above, but:] Altus.
 . . . 4to. [A]² B-G⁴; 26 leaves, pp. [4]1(B1)-46 [2].
 . . . on G3b, explicit; G4 (verso blank), table, as before.

Part IV. [Title-page and contents as above, but:] Bassus.
 . . . 4to. [A]² B-G⁴; 26 leaves, pp. [4]1(B1)-46 [2].
 . . . on G3b, explicit; G4 (verso blank), table, as before.

The book contains sixty-eight songs, forty-nine of them Psalms set to music. The collection also includes a song entitled "A prayer for the Queenes most excellent maiestie."

Huntington: 60597

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

6221. DAMON, William. Bassus. The second booke of the musicke of M. William Damon, late one of her maiesties musitions: conteining all the tunes of Dauids Psalmes, as they are ordinarily song in the Church: most excellently by him composed into 4. parts. In which sett the highest part singeth the Church tune.
 Published for the recreation of such as delight in musick: by W[illiam]. Swayne Gent.

[London:] Printed by T[homas]. Este, the assigné of W[illiam]. Byrd. 1591.

[EXPLICIT] Finis. W. Damon.

4to. [A]² B-G⁴; 26 leaves, pp. [4]1(B1)-47 [1].
 Roman with italic. Some Latin. Music notation.

[A]1, title [McK 230b]; [A]1b, coat of arms of Sir William Cecil; [A]2, dedication to Sir William Cecil by William Swayne, protégé of Cecil and publisher of the book; [A]2b, preface, "To the Reader," by Swayne; B1, text; on G3b, explicit; G4 (verso blank), table, with songs listed alphabetically by title, with page references.

The work is another version of STC 6220, similar in all details, except that the music has been arranged to require the "highest part," and not the tenor part as in STC 6220, to sing the church tune. This work does not exist in a complete state, the only other copy, at the British Library, containing the "Cantus" part only. Originally the book was issued in four parts.

Bodleian: Tanner. 303. (2)

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

6328. DAVIES, John. O vtinam. 1 For Queene Elizabeths securitie, 2 For hir subiects prosperitie, 3 For a generall conformitie, 4 And for Englands tranquillitie.

Printed at London by Richard Yardley and Peter Short, for Iohn Pennie, dwelling in Pater noster row at the sign of the Grey hound. 1591

8vo. A-F⁸ G⁴ [A1, G4 blank]; 50 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 160. Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A2 (verso blank), title; A3, preface, to "the most noble, famous, renowned, inuincible and victorious Realme of England," by "he that is alwaies prest to die to shield thee from danger: Iohn Dauies"; A4, text, headed "A priuate mans potion, for the health of England"; F3b, arms; F4, prayer for Elizabeth, concluding, on G1, "Amen, quoth Iohn Dauies"; G1b, "The Authors submission," containing concluding remarks, signed by Davies; G3, verse, "Hail sacred soueraigne, the comfort of Israell," signed (G3b) "Iohn Dauies."

In this homiletic treatise, the author urges Englishmen to remain worthy of the manifest favour of God towards Englishmen. The title is a hortatory expression meaning, roughly, "oh, that [all might be well]."

Entered to John Penny, 12 April 1591.

Lambeth Palace

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*6448. DE BEAU CHESNE, John, and John Baildon. A booke containing diuers sortes of hands, as well the English as French secretary.

[Anr. ed.] A newe booke of copies. obl. 8vo. William Kearney, 1591.

Third of five editions, 1571-1615.

William White, Private Owner

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

6818. DICKENSON, John. Deorum consessus, siue Apolinis ac Mineruae querela summam legentibus voluptatem nec minorem vtilitatem praebens. Auctore. I. Dickensonno. Est labor in minimus: habet & scintilla calorem.

Londini: Excudebat Eduardus Allde 1591.

8vo. A-C⁴; 12 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 220.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Greek.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 290]; A2, dedication to Joannes Malenus by Dickenson; A2b, prefatory verses, "Tetrastichon ad Lectorem," "Hexastichon H. C. ad Authorem," initialled "H. Cr.," and "Decastichon N. S. ad Authorem," initialled "No. Sc.,"; A3, text; on C4b, errata list.

Bodleian: 8^o. F. 12 Art BS See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

6859. DIGGES, Leonard. (Ed. and pub. Thomas Digges)
R A geometrical practical treatize named Pantometria,
 diuided into three bookes, Longimetra, Planimetra,
 and Stereometria,
 Containing rules manifolde for mensuration of all
 lines, superficies and solides: with sundrie strange
 conclusions both by instrument and without, and
 also by glasses to set forth the true description
 or exact platte of an whole region.
 First published by Thomas Digges Esquire, and
 dedicated to the graue, wise, and honourable, Sir
 Nicholas Bacon Knight, Lord Keeper of the great
 seal of England, with a mathematicall discourse of
 the fiue regular platonically solides, and their
 metamorphosis into other fiue compound rare geo-
 metricall bodies, conteyning an hundred newe
 theoremes at least of his owne inuention, neuer
 mentioned before by anye other geometrician.
 Lately reuiewed by the author himselfe, and aug-
 mented with sundrie additions, deffinitions, prob-
 lemes and rare theoremes, to open the passage, and
 prepare a way to the vnderstanding of his treatize
 of Martiall Pyrotechnie and great Artillerie, here-
 after to be published.

At London: Printed by Abell Ieffes. Anno. 1591.

fol. [A]-2C⁴ [[A]1, blank]; 103 leaves, pp. [6]1(B1)-195
[i.e. 197] [3]; W/p, 600.
Roman with italic and black letter. Some Greek. Diagrams
and illustrations.

[A]2, title; [A]2b, coat of arms of Sir Nicholas Bacon; [A]3,
dedication to Sir Nicholas Bacon by Thomas Digges; [A]3b,
foreword, "The Preface to the Reader," by Leonard Digges; B1,
text, in three parts (Z4b, blank); 2C3b, coat of arms; 2C4 (verso

blank) errata list.

The three parts of the text deal with the measuring of heights, plane figures, and solid bodies. The text is supplemented by many diagrams and illustrations. The original edition of the book was prepared by Leonard Digges, who also prepared the manuscript of the present revised edition before his death. The present edition was published, presumably with further revision, by the elder Digges's son, Thomas.

Second of two editions, 1571-1591.

Huntington: 18917

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

6878. DIGUIERES, M. de. A most excellent exploit
Tr. performed by Monsieur de Diguieres, the French
(Fr.) kinges lieutenant, vpon the Popes armie which was
vnder the conduct of Earle Hercules the popes
nephew.
With the taking of Saint Esprite, and the mutiny
in Paris.
Together with a discourse of the ouerthrowe of the
Duke of Sauoyes army defeated by the Lord de
Diguieres, in the plaine of Pont-Charra, near to
Castle Bayard, in the vale of Guesiuodan the
eighteenth of September 1591.
Printed at Toures by Iames Mattayer printer to the
Kings Maiesty, and truely translated into English,
according to the same cobby.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, 1591.

4to. A⁴; 8 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 380.
Roman with italic.

A1, title; A1b, text.

The newsletter recounts several recent successes of the forces of Henry IV of France against the League.

Entered to John Wolfe, 21 November 1591, two months after the only dated event.

Cambridge (Peterborough Cathedral collection)

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

6910. DISCOURSE. [Tr. E[dward]. A[ggas].] A
 Tr. discourse vppon a question of the estate of this
 (Fr.) time.
 Faithfully translated out of French by E[dward].
 A[ggas].

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde at his
 shop ouer against the great South doore of Paules. 1591.

4to. A-B⁴; 8 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 445.
 Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 251]; A2, text.

The writer analyzes the question of whether the conversion of
 Henry IV of France to Catholicism would win him the allegiance
 of the Catholic League, and concludes that the agitation of
 the League over the question of the king's religion is just
 a propaganda device. He argues that the political consequences
 of Henry's conversion, especially the loss of Protestant sup-
 port, would be disastrous.

Entered to John Wolfe, 8 March 1591.

British Library: 1195. g. 33 See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

7199. DRAYTON, Michael. The harmonie of the Church.
 Containing, the spirituall songes and holy hymnes,
 of godly men, patriarkes and prophetes: all,
 sweetly sounding, to the praise and glory of the
 highest.
 Now (newlie) reduced into sundrie kinds of English
 meeter: meete to be read or sung, for the solace
 and comfort of the godly.
 By M[ichael]. D[rayton].

London: Printed by Richard Ihones, at the Rose and Crowne,
 neere Holborne Bridge. 1591.

4to. A-F⁴; 24 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 350.
 Black letter with roman.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2 (verso blank), dedication to "the
 Godly and vertuous Lady, the Lady Iane Deuoreux, of Meriuale,"
 dated at London, 10 February 1590, by Drayton; A3, preface,
 "To the curteous Reader," by "M. D."; A3b, list of contents;
 A4, text.

The text consists of nineteen pieces of indifferent verse on

religious themes. Several examples are paraphrases of Scripture, as, for example, the Song of Solomon.

Entered to Richard Jones, 1 February 1591. The work was re-issued in 1610 (STC 7200).

British Library: C. 14. a. 3. See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

7275. DU CHESNE, Joseph. (Tr. John Hester) A breefe
Tr. aunswere of Iosephus Quercetanus Armeniacus, Doctor
(Lat.) of Phisick, to the exposition of Iacobus Aubertus
Vindonis, concerning the original, and causes of
mettalles. Set foorth against Chimists.
Another exquisite and plaine treatise of the same
Iosephus, concerning the spagericall preparations,
and vse of minerall, animall, and vegitable medicines.
Whereunto is added diuers rare secretes, not heere-
tofore knowne of many. By Iohn Hester, practitioner
in the Spagericall Arte.

At London: Printed [for John Hester] Anno. Dom. 1591.

8vo. A³ B-O⁴ *⁴ Q⁴ R² *⁴; 69 leaves, ff. [3]1(B1)-20[21,22]
23-61 [62] [4]; W/p, 360.

Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin and Greek.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to Robert Carey by John Hester; A3, preface, "To the gentle Reader," followed by a reference to errata, which the reader is asked "courteously to pardon, and friendly to correct"; B1, text; F4b, blank; G1 (verso blank), separate title, The true and perfect spagerike preparation of minerals, animalles, and vegitables with theyr vse. Set forth by Iosephus Quercetanus of Armenia Doctor. Whereunto are added, dyuers rare secrets, not heere-tofore knowne of many. By I[ohn]. H[ester]. At London, Printed, Anno. Dom. 1591; G2, text; R2, heading, "The vertues of aqua Balsamie" and two other medicines prepared by Hester; on R2b, note to the effect that "These [medicines referred to above] are to bee solde by Iohn Hester, dwelling at Pooles market at the signe of the Stillitone. 1591"; *1, index of topics and remedies in the first part; *2b, index of topics and remedies in the second part.

Hester was a London chemist who occasionally advertised his wares in print. His translation and publication of the work of a prominent Paracelsan indicates Hester's support of the medical theories of that school.

Huntington: 59197

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

7301. DU JON, François, the Elder. Sacrorum parallelorum libri tres: id est, comparatio locorum scripturae sacrae, qui ex testamento vetere in novo adducuntur: summam utri usque in verbis convenientiam, in rebus consensum, in mutationibus fidem veritatemque; breviter & perspicuè ex fontibus scripturae genumaque linguarum Hebraeae & Graecae conformatione monstrans: & contra Atheos, Arianos, Iudaeos, Muhamedistas, aliosque afferens simplicitatem Euangelistarum & Apostolorum Christi. Primo libro continentur loci, qui in Euangelius & Actis Apostolorum exstant: Secundo, qui in tredicem Pauli Epistolis: Tertio, Epistolae ad Hebraeos justus & methodicus commentarius. His postremo accedit appendix, ex scriptis reliquis canonicis. Francisci Iunii Bitarigis. Editio tertia.

London: Impensis G[eorge]. Bishop. [1591.]

8vo. A-2A⁸ [2A8 blank]; 191 leaves, pp. [16]1(B1)-366; W/p, 510.

Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Greek.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 185b]; A2, dedication to "D. Wilhelmo Landgrauio," by the author; A6, index, "Index locorum veteris testamenti qui in nouo exstant et in parallelis diagrammatis vel comparationibus adducuntur," dated (A7b) 1591; A8 (verso blank), foreword, in verse, "Ad Lectorem," by "Joh. Polyander, M."; B1, text, book one; K2b, text, book two; O6b, dedication to "Domino Mauricio Landgrauio," by the author; O7b, text, book three; Z6b, appendix.

Notwithstanding the declaration on the title-page, this may have been the only edition. At least, no earlier editions are extant.

University of Chicago: BS 2387. 5804

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

7583. ELIZABETH, QUEEN. [Nicholas Breton? John Lyly?] The honorable entertainment giueen to the Queenes Maiestie in progresse, at Eluetham in Hampshire, by the right honorable the Earle of Hertford. 1591.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to bee solde at the little Shop right ouer the great South dore of Paules. 1591.

4to. A-D⁴ E²; 18 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 190.
Roman with italic. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text, headed "The Proeme," followed by "The first daies entertainment" [sig. A4], then the second day [on sig. C1] and the third [sig. D2b] and fourth [on sig. D4b] days.

The entertainment was most remarkable for the extravagance and extent of the preparations involved.

Entered to John Wolfe, 1 October 1591.

Cambridge: BC-11-5

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

8200. ENGLAND--Proclamations.--II. Chronological Series. By the Queene. The Queenes Maiesties proclamation, declaring her princelie intention to inhibit her subiects vpon most extreme paines, from offending on the seas: any persons in their ships or goods, being the subiectes of any prince, potentate, or state, in amitie with her Maiestie.

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. [1591.]

fol. [2 leaves]; W/p, 990.
Black letter with roman and italic.

The text alludes to complaints that English ships seeking Spaniards have captured friendly shipping instead. A full investigation is promised aimed at recompensing the victims and punishing the pirates. The proclamation recalls that on a previous occasion two captured ships, the Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Venice, had been held in bond until similar complaints could be examined. The text lays down the punishment for attacking and capturing allied ships or for breaking up a captured cargo until the usual legal steps have been taken.

"Giuen at her Maiesties manor of Richmond, the third day of February in the three and thirtieth yere of her reigne. 1590." [i.e. 1591.]

Bodleian: Arch. Bodl. G. C. 6 (305-6) See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

8201. ENGLAND--Proclamations.--II. Chronological Series. Orders conceiued by the Lords of her Maiesties priuie councell, and by her Highnesse special direction, commanded to be put in execution for the restraint of killing and eating of flesh this next Lent, and to be executed aswel by the Lord Maior within the city and suburbes of London, and by the officers of the liberties and exempt places in and about the same, as by the Lords Lieutenants in the severall countiees of the realme. In the xxxiii. yeere of the Queenes Maiesties reigne.

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent maiestie. [1591.]

s. sh. fol. W/p, 1,380.
Black letter with roman and italic.

The text contains the usual Lenten ordinances aimed at controlling the sale of meat during the Lenten season. Such matters as smuggling of meat, fair prices for meat to people with special permits to consume meat, and the disposition of confiscated meat are all attended to in detail. In 1590 the number of butchers permitted to sell meat in special circumstances was raised from four to six, and this figure appears again in the 1591 ordinance.

Bodleian: Arch. Bodl. G. c. 6 (307) See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

8202. ENGLAND--Proclamations.--II. Chronological Series. By the Queene. A proclamation to forbid all maner of persons to resort to any townes held by the French kings rebels, or to traffique with any of them, vpon paine to be punished as traitors: with a declaration of the iust causes of the said prohibition. Giuen vnder her Maiesties signet at Greenwich the xiiij day of Aprill 1591, and of her Maiesties reigne the xxxiiij yere.

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

fol. [2 leaves] W/p, 600.
Black letter with roman and italic.

The proclamation declares the government's support for Henry IV of France and prohibits all commerce into French ports except for the provision of goods for the use of Henry's supporters.

Bodleian: Arch. Bodl. G. c. 6 (308-9) See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

8203. ENGLAND--Proclamations.--II. Chronological Series.
By the Queene.

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. [1591.]

s. sh. fol. W/p, 600.

Black letter with roman and italic.

The proclamation calls attention to existing laws against the carrying by unauthorized persons of mails of foreign origins or destinations. Officials of the crown are charged to apprehend and hold all persons suspected of carrying mail unlawfully.

"Signed at our Mannor of Greenwich the 26. day of Aprill, 1591. in the 33. yeere of our reigne."

Bodleian: Arch. Bodl. G. c. 6 (310) See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

8204. ENGLAND--Proclamations.--II. Chronological Series.
Articles concerning the Admiralty of England, and
the iurisdiction thereof. 21. Iulij. Anno Domini.
1591. Regnique serenissimae Dominae Elizabethae
tricesimo tertio.

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. [1591.]

fol. [2 leaves] W/p, 1,200.

Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin (see above).

The proclamation enumerates fifty-seven items to be enquired into by those charged with the jurisdiction of the Admiralty. The items include enquiries into various crimes which might be committed against the Admiralty, such as piracy, failure to turn over jewels and valuables found upon corpses, smuggling, taking oysters out of season, molesting anchors, and casting filth into channels.

Bodleian: Arch. Bodl. G. c. 6 (311-12) See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

8205. ENGLAND--Proclamations.--II. Chronological Series.
Siarles Arglwydd Howard, etc. [Brief in favour of Sion Salis-
bury. 31 July 1591.] s. sh. fol. Thomas Purfoot, [1591].

Now = STC 13856

8206. ENGLAND--Proclamations.--II. Chronological Series. By the Queene. A Proclamation straightly commanding that no Corne nor other Victuall, nor any Ordonance, nor furniture for shipping be caried into any of the king of Spaines countries, vpon paine to be punished as in case of Treason: nor that any of the like kinds be caried out of the Realme to other Countries without speciall licence vpon sundry great paines.

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London, by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. [1591.]

s. sh. fol. W/p, 600.
Black letter with roman.

The proclamation provides that anyone involved with the sale or transport of food, war materials, naval materials, or metal to Spain will be executed. The main intention of the proclamation is to restrict the movement, both within and outside the country, of grain crops, which were plentiful in England, and for which a buyer's market existed.

"Giuen at the Castle of Basing, in our Countie of Southhampton, the xvi. day of September, in the xxxiii yeere of our reigne. 1591."

Bodleian: Arch. Bodl. G. c. 6 (313) See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

8207. ENGLAND--Proclamations.--II. Chronological Series. By the Queene. A declaration of great troubles pretended against the realme by a number of seminarie priests and Iesuists, sent, and very secretly dispersed in the same, to worke great treasons vnder a false pretence of religion, with a prouision very necessary for remedy thereof. Published by this her Maiesties proclamation.

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. [1591.]

fol. [3 leaves] W/p, 600.
Black letter with italic and roman.

The proclamation against seminary priests and Jesuits reflects the continuing anxiety of the government over the pressure of Catholic opposition to the established Church. The political implication of loyalty to the Catholic church is implied within

the proclamation, and a connection is suggested between the work of Catholic priests and the threat of another Spanish invasion. The methods of Catholic infiltration are outlined, and the people of England are given directions to act as inquisitors by ascertaining the background and religious habits of all newcomers.

"Giuen at our Mannor of Richmond the xviii. of October, 1591. in this xxxiii. yeere of our raigne." Patrick McGrath suggests that, the proclamation was not published until after this date.¹ First of two editions in 1591.

Bodleian: Arch. Bodl. G. c. 6 (314-16)

See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

8208. ENGLAND--Proclamations.--II. Chronological Series.
R A declaration of great troubles pretended against the realme by a number of seminarie priests and Iesuists, sent, and very secretly dispersed in the same, to worke great treasons vnder a false pretence of religion.
With a prouision very necessarie for remedie thereof.
Published by this her Maiesties proclamation.

Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. 1591.
[COLOPHON] [As imprint, but:] . . . Barker, Printer .
Maiestie.

4to. A-B⁴ [B4 blank]; 7 leaves, pp. [2] [1]2(A2b)-12; W/p, 330.
Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text; on B3b, colophon.

Another edition of STC 8207. Second of two editions in 1591.

Huntington: 59325

See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

8209. ENGLAND--Proclamations.--II. Chronological Series.
Articles annexed to the commission, etc. [Concerning recusants, 18 Oct. 1591.] s. sh. fol. [n.p., 1591.]

Withdrawn. This item is a reprint by Bonham Norton and John Bill dated 1618.

¹Papists and Puritans under Elizabeth I (London: Blandford Press, 1967), p. 256.

8210. ENGLAND--Proclamations.--II. Chronological Series.
By the Queene.

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. 1591.

s. sh. fol. W/p, 600.
Black letter with roman.

The proclamation sets out measures to control vagrants, particularly those who masquerade as veterans of foreign wars. The main provision of the proclamation is for the impounding of all vagrants who cannot produce documents proving their status as veterans.

"Giuen at our Mannor of Richmond, the fift day of Nouember and in the three and thirtieth yeere of our raigne."

Bodleian: Arch. Bodl. G. c. 6 (317) See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

8211. ENGLAND--Proclamations.--II. Chronological Series.
By the Queene.

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most Excellent Maiestie. [1591.]

s. sh. fol. W/p, 600.
Black letter with roman.

The proclamation sets out an amendment to an act of Henry VIII on the pricing of wines by providing for an increase in the prices of certain wines. The increase was necessitated by the increased expenses involved in securing the safe conduct of wines from France to England, and officials are ordered to help enforce the new regulations.

"Giuen at our Palace of Westminster the seunteenth day of December, in the foure and thirtieth yeere of our Raigne."
First of two editions in 1591.

Bodleian: Arch. Bodl. G. c. 6 (318) See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

8212. ENGLAND--Proclamations.--II. Chronological Series.
R By the Queene.

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. [1591.]

s. sh. fol. W/p, 600.
Black letter with roman.

Another edition of STC 8211. Second of two editions in 1591.

Society of Antiquaries, London See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

8213. ENGLAND--Proclamations.--II. Chronological Series.
By the Queene. A proclamation to be published in
Cornwall, Deuonshire, Dorcetshire and Hampshire,
for restitution of goods lately taken on the seas
from the subiects of the King of Spain by way of
reprisall.

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher
Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. [1591.]

s. sh. fol. W/p, 600.
Black letter with roman.

The proclamation notes that certain ships returning from Lord
Howard's expedition against Spanish shipping from the Indies
failed to return to London immediately so that the prizes they
took could be processed by customs and turned over to the
rightful owners, the sponsors of the ships. Instead, the
captains and crews, who were only salaried men, put in at
remote places on the coast and sold parts of their cargoes
to the natives. The proclamation demands the return of all
such goods, with names or descriptions of sellers, as well as
other information about the circumstances of each sale.

"Giuen at our Palace of Westminster the nine and twentieth day
of December, in the foure and thirtieth yeere of our Raigne.
1591."

British Library: G. 6463 (302) See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

8214. ENGLAND--Proclamations.--II. Chronological Series.
R By the Queene. A proclamation to be published in
Cornwall, Deuonshire, Dorcetshire and Hampshire,
for restitution of goods lately taken on the seas
from the subiects of the King of Spain by way of
reprisall.

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher
Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. [1591.]

s. sh. fol. W/p, 600.
Black letter with roman.

Another edition of STC 8213. Second of two editions in 1591.

Bodleian: Arch. Bodl. G. c. 6 (319) See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

9318. ENGLAND-Statutes.--I. General Collections. (Ed. William Rastell) A collection in English, of the statutes now in force, continued from the beginning of Magna Charta, made in the 9. yeere of the reigne of King H. 3. vntill the ende of the session of Parliament holden in the 31. yeere of the reigne of our gracious Queene Elizabeth, vnder titles placed by order of the alphabet: wherein is perfourmed (touching the statutes wherewith iustices of the peace haue to deale) so much as was promised in the booke of their office lately published. For which purpose also the statutes concerning those iustices haue this mark [hand] at the beginning, and this mark [asterisk] at the end of them, noted in the margent ouer against the same. Hereunto is added two tables: the one at the beginning of the booke, declaring vnder titles by order of alphabet the substance of such refermentes as stood at the ende of eche title in the first collection of statutes, set forth by Master Iustice Rastal. And in this table, the title of iustices of the peace is specially perused and amended, for their more easie finding of matters in this booke, concerning their authoritie. In the other table (being at the ende of this booke) are set downe by order of the Kinges reignes, the seuerall times of their Parliaments, together with the sundry chapters and intitulings of the particular statutes in euerie of the same: whereby the reader may easily finde vnder what title, and in what leafe of this booke, anie of these statutes be placed: and may also (by helpe of certain handes prefixed to diuers of them) readily see, what, and howe manie statutes in eche Kings reigne, doe concerne the iustices of peace, and in what leafe of this booke to find them.

Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher Barker,
Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie. Anno 1591.

fol. A-C⁸ D⁶ A-3V⁸ ¶⁸ ¶¶⁸; 574 leaves, ff. [30]1(A1)-528
[16]; W/p, 1,160.

Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.
Double columns.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, preface, "William Rastall Sergeant
at Lawe, to the gentle Reader"; A3, alphabetical index "for
the ready finding of the seuerall titles contened in this
volume"; ²A1, text; ¶1, general table listing the statutes
enacted during the reigns of the various monarchs from Henry III;
¶¶7, the same in Latin.

Thirteenth of twenty-two editions, 1557-1621.

Harvard (Harvard Law Library): D. ST. 1. J. 8. 2
See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

9943. ENGLAND--Year Books. Cy ensuist le report de
Law Fr. tout ceux cases, queux fueront collect en le
raigne de le nadgairis Roy de famous memorie
Henry le huitiesme [i.e. huitiesme].
Nouelment imprimee lan du grace 1591

[London:] In Aedibus Richardi Tottelli. Cum priuilegio.
[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London in Fleetestrete within
Temple Barre, at the Signe of the Hand and Starre by Richarde
Tottyll. 1591.

fol. A-P⁴ *¹ Q⁴ R⁶ S-Z⁴ G⁶; 101 leaves, ff. [1]1(A2)-16,
1(E2)-31, 1(N1)-14 [i.e. 13], 1(Q1)-10, 1(S1)-30; W/p, 600.
Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text; *1b, blank; R6b, blank;
on G6 (verso blank), colophon.

The series of year books, with their abridgements, were the
main source of information about medieval common law.

First of two editions, 1591-1619?

Harvard (Harvard Law Library): D. Y. 12. 27. 9
See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

10105. ENGLAND, Church of--Injunctions.
R Iniunctions giuen by the Queenes maiestie.
Anno domini. 1559. The first yere of the raigne
of our soueraigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth.

[London: Deputies of Christopher Barker, 1591?]

4to. A-D⁴; 16 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 225.
Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A1, title [McK 221a = TPB 165a]; A1b, text.

Eleventh of sixteen editions, 1559?-1600?

Folger: STC 10105

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

10130. ENGLAND, Church of--Visitation Articles--General.
R Articles to be enquired in the visitation, in the
first yeare of the raigne of our most dread
Soueraigne Ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God,
of England, Fraunce, and Irelande, Queene, defender
of the faith, &c. Anno domini. 1591.

[IMPRINT] [None.]

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by the Deputies of Christopher
Barker, printer to the Queenes Maiestie. Cum priuilegio
Regiae Maiestatis.

4to. A-B⁴ [B4 blank]; 7 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 250.
Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 221 = TPB 165]; A2, text; on B3b
(verso blank), colophon.

The visitation articles enumerated the items of belief and
conduct which the bishop and his assistants would enquire
after in the course of a visit to a diocese.

Thirteenth of sixteen editions, 1559-1600.

Union Theological Seminary: McAlpin--1591--tA59

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

10233. ENGLAND, Church of--Visitation Articles--Local--
Lincoln.
Articles to be enquired of by the churchwardens
and swornmen within the diocesse of Lincoln, and
the truth thereof to be by them vpon their othes
duelie presented vnto the bishop, or his deputies
at his visitation, now to be holden this present
yeere of our Lord 1591 with particular answer to
euery interrogatorie.

10642. F., I. [i.e. J.] Perpetuall and naturall
Tr. prognostications of the change of weather.
(Ital.) Gathered out of diuers ancient and late writers,
and place in order for the common good of all men.
Newly translated out of Italian into English by
I. F.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to bee sold at his
shop ouer against the great South dore of S. Paul, 1591.

8vo. A-B⁸ C²; 18 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 250.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text; C2 (verso blank), partial
list of authors consulted.

The author provides hints useful in predicting the weather,
many of them perfectly useful.

Entered to John Wolfe, 7 January 1591, "to be printed in
Italian, French and Englishe." First of two editions, 1591-
1598.

Bodleian: Douce. w. 28 See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

10698. FARMER, John. [Title-page missing. STC has:
Forty seuerall ways of two parts in one made vpon
a playn song.

London: Thomas East, 1591.]

8vo. A⁴ B-C⁸ D⁴ [A1, D4 wanting]; 24 leaves pp. [2] [6]
1(B1)-38 [2].

Roman with italic. Some Latin. Music notation.

[A1 (verso blank?), title]; A2, dedication to Edward Vere,
Earl of Oxford, by Farmer; A3, preface, "Philomusicus," by
Farmer; A4, commendatory verse, by Richard Wilkinson; A4b,
commendatory verse by Francis Yomans; B1, text.

By a number of ingenious arrangements, users of the book
could create forty different harmonies or arrangements based
on a single plain song.

Bodleian: Wood. 90. See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

10748. FEGUERNEKINUS, Isaacus. Enchiridii locorum
 R communium theologicorum, rerum, exemplorum, atque
 Latin. phrasium sacrarum; ex Augustini Marlorati Thesauro,
 & Christ. Obenhenii Promptuario ab Isaaco L.
 Feguernekino Ungaro, collecti.
 Editio secunda, priore melior.
 Paulus II Tim. 4. 13. Interim dum venio, attende
 lectioni, exhortationi, doctrinae.
 Cyprianus Lib. 2. Epist. 2. ad Donatum. Sit tibi
 vel oratio assidua, vel lectio. Nunc cum Deo
 loquere, nunc Deus tecum.

Londini: Impensis Georg. Bishop. **CI** **I** **XCI**.

8vo. A-2E⁸ [2E8 blank]; 223 leaves, pp. [16]1(B1)-381 [49];
 W/p, 500.
 Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Greek.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to "D. Stephano de
 Bathor, Comiti Zathmariensi, &c.," dated "Cal. Martii. 1589";
 A3, dedication to "D. Stephano de Bathor," signed "Magn.
 tuae humilimus Cliens Isaacus L. Feguernekinus," dated "prima
 die Martii. Anno aerae Christianae 1586. Heydelbergae";
 A5b, verse, "Ode . . . Ad Magn. Dn. D. Stephanum de Bathor"
 by "Petrus M. Lascouius"; A6b, preface, by Feguernekinus;
 A8b, verse, "Epigramma ad lectorem," by "Andreas Corolinus,"
 and, below, verse, "In Liuidum," by "Stephanus Consius";
 B1, text; 2B7b, "Index verborum in hoc enchiridio"; 2E1b,
 "Elenchus rerum et verborum brevis is quidem, sed tamen
 plentissimus"; 2E6b, "Locorum sacrae scripturae, qui in hoc
 thesauro utilissimo illustrantur, elenchus"; 2E8b, blank.

The text of the work provides a detailed index, collected
 from several other sources, of Biblical references.

Second of two editions, 1588-1591.

Bodleian: Tanner. 443

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

10841. FIAN, Dr. Newes from Scotland. Declaring the
 damnable life of Doctor Fian a notable sorcerer, who was
 burned at Edenbrough in Ianuarie last. 1591. 4to. for
 William Wright, [1591?]

Withdrawn; re-dated [1592] in MS. for STC².

10841a. FIAN, Dr. Newes from Scotland, declaring the damnable life and death of Doctor Fian, a notable sorcerer, who was burned at Edenbrough in Ianuary last. 1591. [Anr. ed.] 4to. for William Wright, [1592?]

Withdrawn; re-dated [1592] in MS. for STC².

10842. FIAN, Dr. Newes from Scotland, declaring the damnable life and death of Doctor Fian, a notable sorcerer, who was burned at Edenbrough in Ianuary last. 1591. [Anr. ed.] 4to. for Thomas Nelson, [1591?].

Withdrawn; re-dated [1592] in MS. for STC².

11056. FLETCHER, Giles. the elder. [Parts of the Huntington copy, the title-page included, are too faint to read. STC has: Of the Russe common wealth.

London: T[homas]. D[awson]. for Thomas Chard, 1591.]

8vo. A⁴ B-P⁸ Q⁴ [A1 blank]; 119 leaves, ff. [4]1(B1)-115; W/p, 195.

Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin. Some Russian, transcribed phonetically.

A1 (verso blank), title; A3, dedication to Queen Elizabeth, by Fletcher; A4b, contents; B1, text.

A controversial book when it first appeared, the work deals with many aspects of Russia and its people as experienced by Fletcher during the course of his service there as an agent of the queen.

Huntington: 60514

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

11097. FLORIO, Giovanni. Florios second frutes, to be Italian gathered of twelue trees of diuers but delightsome (in part). tastes to the tongues of Italians and Englishmen. To which is annexed his Gardine of Recreation yeelding six thousand Italian prouerbes.

London: Printed [by Thomas Orwin] for Thomas Woodcock, dwelling at the Black-beare. 1591.

[COLOPHON] Finitio di stampare in Londra, appresso Thomaso Woodcock, l'vltimo di Aprile. 1591.

4to. A⁴ *² B-2D⁴ A-2A⁴ [2A⁴ blank]; 205 leaves, pp. [12] [1]2(B1b)-205 [2] [1], [8]1(B1)-217 [i.e. 181] [1]; W/p, 520. Italic and roman.

A1 (verso blank), title [TPB 133a]; A2, dedication to Nicholas Saunders, by Florio; *1, preface, "To the Reader," dated 30 April 1591, and signed "I. F."; *2b, commendatory verse, "Phaeton to his friend Florio," signed "Phaeton"; B1, signature letter only; B1b, text, with Italian and English on facing pages; 2D3b, contents, in Italian; 2D4 (verso blank), the same, in English; 2A1 (verso blank), separate title, Giardino di ricreazione nel quale crescono fronde, fiori e frutti, vaghe, leggiadri, e foauì, forto nome discimila prouerbij, e piaceuoli riboboli Italiani, colti e scelti da Giouanni Florio, non solo vtili, ma diletteuoli per ogni spirito vago della nobil lingua Italiana. Nuouamente posti in luce. In Londra. Appresso [by Thomas Orwin, for] Thomaso Woodcock. CI, I, XCI. [TPB 133a]; A2, dedication to Nicholas Saunders, by Florio; A3b, blank; A4 (verso blank), preface, "Al candido Lettore," by Florio; B1, text; 2A3b, table, showing the distribution of 6,150 proverbs, with, to right, McK 273, and, below, colophon.

Since the ability to use Italian proverbs in one's conversation was regarded as a necessary accomplishment for a gentleman, Florio's collection of proverbs must have been a popular supplement to his Italian tutor.

Published after 30 April 1591.

Harvard: 7286. 73

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

11100. FLORIO, Giovanni. Giardino di recreatione: prouerbij colti e scelti da G. Florio. 4to. f. Thomas Woodcock, 1591.

= STC 11097, pt. 2.

11185. FORMAN, Simon. The groundes of the longitude: with an admonition to all those that are incredulous and beleeeue not the truth of the same. Written by Simon Forman, student in astronomie and phisique. 1591.
Nihil impossibile Deo
Hil tam difficile quod non solertia vincat
Veritas filia temporis.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson. 1591.
[EXPLICIT] Finis. Per me Simon Forman. 1591.

4to. A-B⁴ [B4 blank]; 7 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 255.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A1, title [McK 241]; A1b, dedication, to "all true students of Geography, and Cosmography: and to all traualiers aswell by lande as Sea, for the discoverie of straunge Places, Ylands or Countries: to all students of Astronomy, and to all those that are desirous to augment their skill and knowledge by the helpe of the Longitude, and to all others, well willours of Arte and faouurers of learning. Simon Forman student in Astronomy and Phisique, sendeth greeting in our Lord God euerlasting. 1591"; A2, text; on B3b, explicit.

Forman's defence of his system of tables for finding the exact longitude concludes with a note that the tables themselves will be published in a forthcoming book. Much of the present work is given over to attacks upon Forman's critics.

Entered to Thomas Dawson, 12 July 1591. According to G. B. Harrison,¹ Forman's diary notes that the book was sent to the press on 6 July 1591.

Bodleian: MS. Ashm. 802 (376) See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

11210. FOULEWEATHER, ADAM. A wonderfull, strange and miraculous astrologicall prognostication for this yeere 1591.
Discovering such wonders to happen this yeere, as neuer chaunced since Noes floud. Wherein if there be found one lye, the author will loose his credit for euer.
Newly corrected.
By Adam Fouleweather, Student in Astronomy.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Scarlet. [1591.]

4to. A-C⁴ D² [rest wanting]; 14 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 215.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, preface, "To the Readers health"; A3, text, wanting all after D2.

¹G. B. Harrison, "Books and Readers, 1591-4," The Library, VIII, No. 3, 4th Ser. (December, 1927), p. 275.

The "prognostication" is a satire upon various contemporary mores and habits. The writer is particularly bitter about the continued presence of religious sectaries in England, and advocates the death penalty for them.

Bodleian: G. P. 2156. (2) See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

11280. FRANCE. Newes from France. Where Monsieur de Signiers in the Kings behalfe, most brauely discomfited the armie of the King of Spaine and the pope, consisting of ten thousand strong, being Neapolitans, Spaniards, Sauoians and Burgonians. With the taking of fifteene Ensignes, the number that were slaine, and how many were taken prisoners, which armie was sent to surprize Languedock and Grenoble.
This happened the 18. of September. 1591.
With some notes and newes from Deruerne in Holland.

London: Printed by Thomas Scarlet for William Wright.

4to. A⁴; 8 leaves, pp. [2] [1]2(A2)-5 [1]; W/p, 260.
Roman with italic and black letter.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text; A4b, blank.

The writer confesses that his optimistic letter from France, describing a victory, may not be as well received as false optimistic reports which allegedly are written, printed, and sold in England.

Entered to William Wright, 2 October 1591.

Bodleian: Antiq. f. E. 1591/3 See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

11283. FRANCE. Newes lately come on the last day of Tr. Februarie 1591. from diuers partes of France, (Fr. and Sauoy, and Tripoli in Soria. Ital.) Truely translated out of the French and Italian copies, as they were sent to right honourable persons.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be sold at his shop, ouer against the great South doore of S. Paule. 1591.

4to. A⁴; 8 leaves, pp. [2]3(A2)-7 [1]; W/p, 315.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1, title [McK 216]; A1b, illustration, mounted knight slaying a dragon; A2, text; B4b, blank.

The text describes briefly eleven separate incidents arising from war in France and the Low Countries, and in Palestine.

Entered to John Wolfe, 2 March, 1591.

Bodleian: Antiq. f. E. 1591/1 See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

11290. FRANCE. A true discourse of an ouerthrow giuen
Tr. to the armie of the Leaguers in Prouince: by
(Fr.) Messieurs D'Esdiguieres and Laualette.
Translated verbatim out of the French copie, printed at Tours by Iamet [i.e. James?] Mettayer.

London: Printed by Thomas Purfoot, dwelling in Saint Nicholas shambles within the New-rents. [1591.]

4to. A⁴; 4 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 380.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text; A4b, blank.

The main item of news in this pamphlet concerns the capture by D'Esdiguieres and Lavallette of the village and castle of Sparron in Provence. Among several brief items appended to the main account is the news that the King of Spain is dead (sig. A3b). In fact, Philip II died on 13 September, 1598.

Entered to Thomas Purfoot, 23 June 1591.

Cambridge (Peterborough Cathedral Collection)
See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

11339. FRAUNCE, Abraham. The Countesse of Pembrokes
Emanuel. Containing the natiuity, passion, buriall,
and resurrection of Christ: together with certaine
Psalmes of Daud.
All in English hexameters.
By Abraham Fraunce.

Imprinted at London [by Thomas Orwin], for William Ponsonby, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Bishops head. 1591.

4to. A-E⁴ [E4 blank]; 19 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 200.
Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [TPB 117]; A2 (verso blank), dedica-
tion to Mary [Sidney], Countess of Pembroke, by Fraunce;
A3, text.

A popular poet with many of his contemporaries, Fraunce was
a champion of the use of classical metres in English verse,
and all his poems are written in hexameters. The present
work was one of several dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke,
his patroness.

Entered to William Ponsonby, 9 February 1591, with STC 11340.

Huntington: 59823

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

11340. FRAUNCE, Abraham. The Countesse of Pembrokes
Yuychurch. Containing the affectionate life, and
vnfortunate death of Phillis and Amyntas: that in
a pastorall; this in a funerall: both in English
hexameters.
By Abraham Fraunce.

London: Printed by Thomas Orwin for William Ponsonby, dwelling
in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the Bishops head. 1591.

4to. A-M⁴; 48 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 400.
Roman with italic. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title [TPB 117]; A2, dedication to Mary
[Sidney], Countess of Pembroke, by Fraunce; A3, text, "The
first part of the Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch"; G1,
second part; L2b, blank; L3, text, "The Lamentation of
Corydon"; L4b, blank; M1, text, "The beginning of Heliodorus
his Aethiopolical History"; M4 (verso blank), errata list.

Another of Fraunce's series of hexameter poems dedicated to
the Countess of Pembroke, "Ivychurch" was named for one of
the residences of his patroness.

Entered to William Ponsonby, 9 February 1591, with STC 11339.

Huntington: 59822

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

11475a. FULIVELL, Ulpian. The flower of fame [Anr. ed.]
4to. [Richard Jones? 1591] Entered to Richard Jones, 3 March
1578.

This item is a ghost.

11511.5 G., W. P. Luctus consolatorius.
Latin. Super morte nuper D. Cancellarij Angliae,
Nouembr. 1591.

Londini: Apud Thomas Orwinum Typographum. 1591.
[EXPLICIT] Suae dignitati devotus & devinctus Cliens W. P. G.
Finis.

4to. π⁴; 4 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 150.
Roman with italic.

π¹ (verso blank), title [McK 273]; π², text, Latin verse;
π⁴ (verso blank), biographical information about Hatton, and,
below, explicit.

The publication is an elegy upon Sir Christopher Hatton.

Published after 16 December 1591, the date given for the funeral
service at Paul's.

Folger: STC 11511.5

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

11625. GARRARD, William. (Ed. Robert Hichcock) The
arte of warre. Beeing the onely rare booke of
myllitarie profession: drawne out of all our late
and forraine seruices, by William Garrard Gentleman,
who serued the King of Spayne in his warres fourteene
yeeres, and died Anno. Domini. 1587.
Which may be called, the true steppes of warre, the
perfect path of knowledge, and the playne plot of
warlike exercises: as the reader heereof shall
plainly see expressed.
Corrected and finished by Captaine Hichcock. Anno.
1591.

At London: Printed for Roger Warde, dwelling at the signe of
the Purse in the Old-balie. Anno. M.D.XCI.

4to. A-2Y⁴ 3A-B⁴; 188 leaves, pp. [8]1(B1)-368; W/p, 470.
Black letter with roman and italic. Fold-out illustrations.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to the Earl of Essex by Thomas Garrard, who says he was requested by the dying William Garrard to publish the book; A3b, errata list; A4, foreword, "Captaine Robert Hichcock, his commendations of this Booke," dated "1590"; B1, text, in six parts.

In the foreword, Hichcock recalls that the book was turned over to him for correction by Sir Thomas Garrard, a near kinsman of the author who died shortly after returning to England following fourteen years' service as a soldier for the King of Spain. The six parts of the text deal with a great many military matters, from the duties and proper conduct of the various ranks to the methods of moving large numbers of troops and the procedures to follow in various types of military engineering. Numerous fold-out illustrations depict various battle formations and plans for encampments. Hichcock augmented the work with a section on victualling a garrison.

Huntington: 59154

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

11727. GENEVA. (Tr. W. P.) The troubles of Geneua.
Tr. With the warres which the Duke of Sauoy hath made
(Fr.) against it these three yeeres space.
And the great victories which God hath lately
giuen to the citizens of Geneua.
Trulie translated according to the French copie.
by W. P.
The map of Geneua [illustrated].

Printed at London for Thomas Nelson, and are to be sold at his shop at the great South doore of Paules. 1591.

4to. A² B-E⁴; 18 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 320.
Roman with italic. Woodcut map of Geneva on title, and repeated on B2.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to the "Lordes of her Highnesse most Honorable Priuie Councill" by "T[homas]. N[elson]."; B1, text; E4b, blank.

The text gives a description of the city and surrounding area, followed by an account of the unsuccessful attempts of the Duke of Savoy upon the city.

Folger: STC 11727

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

11789. GERMANY. Expeditio illustrissimorum Germaniae
 Latin. principum: Henrici IV. Galliarum et Nauarrae
 regis Christianiss. omine atq. nomine:
 Christiani illustrissimi principis Anhaltini
 ductu:
 Augusto mense suscepta Anno Dn. M. D. XCI.
 Psal. CXVII. Hebr. XIII.
 Dominus mihi auxiliator, nec timebo: quid faciat
 mihi homo?

[IMPRINT] [None.]

[COLOPHON] Excudebat Ioannes Wolphius. *CI*. *I*. XCI.

4to. A⁴ B⁶ [B6 blank]; 9 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 150.
 Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, verse, "Illustriss. principi
 ac domino Dn. Christiano duci Anhaltino, &c. domino clemen-
 tissimo, Gabriel Gerberus sal."; A2b, verse, "De societate
 Christiana Christianiss. Gallarum et Nauarrae regis Henrici
 IV. et illustriss. principis Anhaltini tam re, quam nomine
 vere Christiani, Christiana epagogue R. Eglini"; A3, text,
 Latin verse; on B4, verse ends, with, below, "Laus Deo. III
 Idus Augusti [i.e. 30 July], *CI*. *I*.XCI."; B4b, verse, "Ad
 Nob. V. Dn. Ioan. Huldr. Grebelium a mur, patricium tigurinum,
 Raphaelis Eglini ode"; on B5 (verso blank), colophon.

The text consists of a description, in Latin verse, of an
 army levied by various princes of Germany for service with
 Henry IV of France.

Entered to John Wolfe, 8 September 1591.

Lambeth Palace

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

11795.5 GERMANY. A true recitall of the armie leuied
 Tr. by the princes of Germanie, for the aide of the
 (Germ.) French king: this present yeare of our Lord, 1591.
 With the names of the chiefe gouernours, leaders,
 and officers of the said armie, and the true number
 of them, both of horse and foote.
 Translated out of the Dutch [i.e. German] coppie,
 sent forth of Germanie.

[London:] Printed [by John Wolfe] for Thomas Nelson, and are
 to be solde at his shop ouer against the great South doore of
 Paules, 1591.

4to. A⁴; 8 leaves, pp. [1,2]3(A2)-7 [1]; W/p, 245.
Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text; A4b, blank.

The pamphlet enumerates the troops, both horse and foot, of twenty-four regiments, totalling 12,000 mounted troops and 25,100 foot soldiers. The title-page has a woodcut illustration of a mask, an ornament frequently used by Wolfe.

Entered to John Wolfe, 8 September 1591.

Cambridge (Peterborough Cathedral collection)

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

11821. GIBBON, Charles. A work worth the reading. Wherein is contayned, fiue profitable and pithy questions, very expedient, aswell for parents to perceiue howe to bestowe their children in marriage, and to dispose their goods at their deaths: as for all other persons to receiue good profit by the rest of the matters herein expressed. Newly published by Charles Gibbon. The wisdome of a man commeth by vsing well his vacant time, and he that ceaseth from his owne matters and labour, may come by wisdome. Eccles. 38. 24.

London: Imprinted by Thomas Orwin: and are to be solde by Henry Kyrkham, dwelling at the little North doore of S. Paules Church, at the signe of the Blacke Boy. 1591.

4to. A-H⁴ I²; 34 leaves, pp. [8]1(B1)-60; W/p, 320.
Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to Sir Nicholas Bacon, by Gibbon; A3b, preface, by Gibbon, from "Bury S. Edmond in Suffolke"; A4b, blank; B1, text.

The five questions are debated by Philogus and Tychicus in a dialogue which considers such matters as parental consent for marriage, inheritance, and so on. The "two lovers of learning" draw liberally upon Biblical evidence to enhance their arguments.

Huntington: 59744

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

11868. GIFFORD, George. A short reply vnto the last printed books of Henry Barrow and Iohn Greenwood, the chiefe ringleaders of our Donatists in England: Wherein is layd open their grosse ignorance, and foule errors: vpon which their whole building is founded.
By George Gyfford, minister of Gods holy worde, in Maldon.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, for Tobie Cooke: and are to be solde at the Tygers head, in Pauls Churchyard. 1591.

4to. A-N⁴; 52 leaves, pp. [6]1(A4)-98; W/p, 445.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [TPB 117]; A2, preface, "To the Reader"; A3, address, "To Master Barrow, and Master Greenwood," in which the author disclaims any personal malice towards Barrow and Greenwood; A4, text.

Gifford achieved contemporary fame as a champion of the established Church through his writing against Barrow and Greenwood, the prominent Separatists.

Entered to Toby Cooke, 6 December 1591.

British Library: 4103. aaa. 42 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

11921. GLEMHAM, Edward. The honourable actions of that most famous and valiant Englishman, Edward Glemham, Esquire.
Lately obtained against the Spaniards, and the holy League, in foure sundry fightes.
With his landing on S. Georges Ile, belonging to our enemie, which he kept with foure score and six men, the space of 48. houres.
With his like succes against 6. gallegoes, of which he fired two: and notable victorie in his fight with foure gallyes, bound for Marceellus: to the eternall honour of our countrie, and no lesse worthy commendations of the valiant and braue gentlemen and his followers, haning [sic] but one ship of burthen 240. tunnes, or thereābout, whereof himselfe is owner.
Published for an encouragement to our English aduenturers, (gentlemen, sailars, and souldiars,) that serue against the euemies [sic] of God and our countrey.

London: Printed by A[bel]. I[effes]. for William Barley, and are to be sold at his shop in Newgate Market. 1591.

4to. A-B⁴; 8 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 360.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text; B4b, blank.

Although no claim is made for eyewitness authority, the three separate incidents are recounted in some detail. This was evidently Glemham's first voyage, and he is roundly praised for placing honour above the luxury of life on shore, for outfitting his ship at his own expense, and for hazarding his own person at sea.

Entered to Abel Jeffes, 29 April 1591.

Folger: STC 11921

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

12159. GRAFTON, Richard. (Ed. and revised by W. W.)
R A briefe treatise contayning many proper tables and easie rules: verie necessarie and needefull, for the vse and commoditie of all people, collected out of certaine learned mens workes. Perused, corrected, and augmented by W. W. The contents whereof, the leafe that followeth doth expresse. Newly set forth and allowed according to the Queenes maiesties iniunctions.

At London: Printed by Iohn Charlwood, for Thomas Adams. 1591.

8vo. ¶⁴ A-G⁸ H⁴; 64 leaves, pp. [1,2]3(¶1)-127 [1]; W/p, 280.
Black letter with roman and italic.

¶1 (verso blank), title; ¶2, contents; ¶3, text; H4b, blank.

The contents list refers to thirty tables, charts, rules, and summaries in the areas of history, geography, the Church calendar, and so on.

Entered to Thomas Adams, 12 October 1591. Seventh of fourteen editions, 1591-1611.

Bodleian: 8^o. I. 17. Art. (2) See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

*12194. GRAVE. A mappe and true situacion of the toune
Tr. of Graue. Eng. out of the Dutch. 4to.
(Dutch) Middleborough [1591?]

Lincoln Cathedral

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

12241. GREENE, Robert. Greenes farewell to folly.
Sent to courtiers and schollers as a president
to warne them from the vaine delights that drawes
youth on to repentance.
Sero sed seriõ
Robert Greene vtriusque academiae in artibus
magister.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Scarlet for T[homas]. Gubbin
and T[homas]. Newman. 1591.

4to. A-M⁴ [M4 blank]; 47 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 350.
Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin and Italian.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to Robert Carey by
Greene; A4, preface, "To the Gentlemen Students of both
Vniuersities health," by Greene; B1, text; M3b, blank.

Greene's repentance pamphlets, of which this is an early
example, are a useful indication of one aspect of current
popular taste in literature.

First of two editions, 1591-1617. Entered to Edward Aggas,
11 June 1587.

Huntington: 14109

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

12271. GREENE, Robert. A maidens dreame. Vpon the
death of the right honorable Sir Christopher
Hatton Knight, late Lord Chancelor of England.
By Robert Greene Master of Arts.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Scarlet for Thomas Nelson. 1591.

4to. A-C⁴ [A1, C4 blank]; 10 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 160.
Roman with italic. Some Latin.

A2 (verso blank), title; A3, dedication to Lady Elizabeth
Hatton, neice of Sir Christopher Hatton, by Greene; A4, text.

12281. GREENE, Robert. The second part of conny-catching. Contayning the discouery of certaine wondrous coosenages, either superficialle past ouer, or vtterlie vntoucht in the first. As the nature of

The blacke art,	Picking of lockes,
The Vincents law.	Coosenage at bowls.
The prigging law,	Horse stealing.
The courbing law,	Hooking at windows,
The lifting law,	Stealing of parcels
The foist,	The pickepocket.
The nippe,	The cut purse.

With sundry pithy and pleasant tales worthy the reading of all estates, that are ennemies to such base and dishonest practices.

Malle non esse quam non prodesse patriae.
R[obert]. G[reene].

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe for William Wright, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church yard, neare to the French schoole. 1591.

4to. *⁴ A-F⁴; 28 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 310.
Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin. Woodcut illustrations.

*1 (verso blank), illustration, a cony picking a lock; *2 (verso blank), title; *3, preface, to "all yoong gentlemen, marchants, citizens, apprentices, yeomen, and plaine country farmers," by R[obert]. G[reene]."; A1, text, headed by illustration, a mounted rider; F4b, blank.

Greene's expressed purpose in the second cony-catching pamphlet was to reveal other criminal activities passed over lightly, or omitted, from the first book. Other illustrations in this book include on sig. B2, the cony shown in *1; on sig. C2, a rider mounted on a rearing horse; on sig. C3b, a cony holding a razor and a playing card; and on sig. D4, a cony holding two playing cards. In the Huntington copy, the title-page precedes the first illustration; but this is not the arrangement of the original.

Entered to William Wright, 13 December 1591, "to be printed alwayes for him by Iohn Wolfe." First of two editions, 1591-1592.

Huntington: 61123

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

12359. GRENoble. (Tr. E[dward]. A[ggas].)
 Tr. Articles concerning the yeelding of the cittie of
 (Fr.) Grenoble into the Kings obedience, agreed vpon
 betweene the Lord Desdiguiers, and the committee
 of the countrey.
 Together with the besieging and yeelding vp of
 Chartres.
 Faithfully translated out of the French coppie
 printed at Tours, by E[dward]. A[ggas].

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde at his
 shop right ouer against the great South doore of Paules. 1591.

4to. A⁴; 4 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 370.
 Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 216]; A2, text, "Articles . . .
 concerning . . . Grenoble," dated (sig. A3b) 22 December 1590;
 on A3b, text continues under heading, "The besieging and yeeld-
 ing vp of Chartres on the 19. day of Aprill. 1591"; on A4, text
 continues under heading, "Aduertisements sent to the King."

The first part of the text appears to be a reprint of the
 formal surrender document drawn up after the fall of Grenoble.
 Twelve articles are included, providing for such things as
 freedom of religion within the city, an oath of loyalty to
 Henry IV of France, a transfer of city government, and so on.
 The news from Chartres concerns the enthusiastic reception
 given to Henry by the people of the city after it had suc-
 cumbed to an artillery barrage. Brief news items from other
 parts of France conclude the pamphlet.

Entered to John Wolfe, 2 May 1591. The news from Chartres
 was also entered, by Wolfe, as "twoo ballettes, the one of
 the besieginge, and the other of the yeildinge of Shartres,"
 but in the present pamphlet the Chartres material is a brief
 item in prose.

Cambridge (Peterborough Cathedral collection)

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

12414. GUARINI, Battista. Il pastor fido
 Italian. Tragicomedia pastorale di Battista Guarini.
 Al sereniss. D. Carlo Emanuele. Duca di Sauoia
 &c. dedicata.
 Nelle reali nozze di S. A. con la Sereniss. Infanta
 D. Caterina d'Austria.

Londra: Per Giouanni Volfeo, a spese di Giacopo Casteluetri.
MDXCI.

12mo. A-N¹² O⁴ [O4 blank]; 159 leaves; pp. [18]1(A10)-298 [2];
W/p, 320.
Italic with roman.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 251]; A2, dedication to "il
S. Carlo Blunt" [Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire] by
"Giacopo Casteluetri," dated "Londra a vi. di Guigno MDLXXXXI";
A4, "Argomento"; A6b, "Le persone, che parlano" [dramatis
personae]; A7, text, "Prologo"; A10, text, "Atto Primo";
L3, separate title, Aminta fauola boschereccia del S.
Torquato Tasso. Con priuilegio. 1591; L3b, "Interlocutori";
[List of speakers]; L4, preface, "Aldo Manucci a' lettori";
L5, "Prologo"; L6b, text, "Atti Primo," dated (sig. O2b)
"In Londra a XIX. di Guigno. M. D. LXXXXI"; O3, errata list.

The text, in Italian verse, consists of a tragi-comical
pastoral set in Arcadia.

Published after 19 June 1591.

Huntington: 20547

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

12461. GUICCIARDINI, Francesco. [Title-page missing
Tr. in Folger copy. STC has: A briefe collection
(Ital.) of all the notable things in the hystorie of
Guicchiardine.

London: Thomas Purfoote, the elder, 1591.]

4to. A⁴ B-G⁸ H⁴ [A2 wanting, H4 blank]; 55 leaves ff.
[4]1(B1)-51; W/p, 155.
Black letter with roman.

A1 (verso blank), blank except for type ornament and signature;
[A2 (verso blank?), title, wanting]; A3, dedication to Sir
Henry Brooke Cobham by T[homas]. P[urfoot]., the publisher,
dated from "my house in the new rents in Saint Nicholas
shambles, this seuenth of December 1591"; A4b, blank; B1, text.

The anonymous translator had prepared abstracts of the twenty
books of Storia d'Italia, an important history of Italy by
Francesco Guicciardini. Guicciardini does not appear to have
been part of the grammar school curriculum, so the present
work was evidently meant for private readers.

Published after 7 December 1591. Entered to Thomas Purfoot the elder and Thomas Purfoot the younger, 30 October 1591.

Folger: STC 12461

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

12589. HACKET, Roger. A sermon needfull for theese times, wherein is shewed, the insolencies of Naash king of Ammon, against the men of Iabesh Gilead, and the succors of Saule, and his people sent for their reliefe.
Preached at Paules Crosse the 14 of Feb. 1590. by R[oger]. H[acket]. fellow of the New College in Oxford.
Iud. 5. 23. Curse ye Menoz, sayeth the Angel of the Lorde, and in cursing curse the enhabitantes thereof: because they came not to helpe the Lorde, to helpe the Lorde against the mighty.

At Oxford: Printed by Ioseph Barnes Printer to the Vniuersitie. 1591.

8vo. ¶⁴ A-C⁸ [¶1, blank]; 27 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 270.

¶2 (verso blank), title; ¶3, dedication to Sir Henry Norris by Hacket dated "from new College the 27 of March [1591?]" ; A1, text.

On the occasion of the sermon, Hacket discussed several contemporary problems, such as the presence of sectaries in England.

Published after 27 March 1591.

Folger: STC 12589

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

12941. HAWES, John. The valiant and most laudable fight performed in the Straights, by the Centurion of London, against fiue Spanish gallies. Who is lately returned this present moneth of May. Anno. D. 1591.

[IMPRINT] [None.]

4to. A⁴ [A4 blank]; 3 leaves, pp. [1,2]3(A2)-6; W/p, 350. Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title, with illustration of a ship of war flying an English standard; A2, text.

The text tells the story of a London merchant ship which overcame a force of Spanish ships in the Straits of Gibraltar on the return journey from Marseilles.

Entered to Andrew White, 15 May 1591.

Bodleian: 4^o c. 16. Art. BS (46) See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

13023. HEIDELBURG CATECHISM. Catechisis religionis
Latin. Christianae.
 Quae in ecclesiis & scholis Palatinatus ac Belgii
 traditur: und cum notis breuissimis.
 Iehoua adiutor est mihi. Psal. 54. 4.

Edinburgh: Excudebat Robertus Walde-graue, Typographus Regia Majestatis. 1591. Cum priuilegio Regali.

8vo. [A]-C⁸ D⁴ [D4 blank]; 27 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 160. Roman with italic. Side-notes.

[A]1 (verso blank), title [McK 187b]; [A]2, text; D3b, blank.

First of five editions 1591-1637.

Edinburgh (St. Andrews Library) See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

13070. HENISCH, George. (Tr. Francis Cooke) The
Tr. principles of geometrie, astronomie, and geographie.
(Germ.) Wherein is breiefely, euidently, and methodically
 deliuered, whatsoever appertaineth vnto the know-
 ledge of the said sciences.
 Gathered out of the tables of the astronomicall
 institutions of Georgius Henischius.
 By Francis Cooke.
 Appointed publicquely to be read in the Staplers
 Chappell at Leaden hall, by the Wor. Tho. Hood,
 Mathematicall Lecturer of the Cittie of London.

At London: Printed by Iohn Windet [for Toby Cooke], and are to be solde in Mark lane, ouer against the signe of the red Harrow, at the house of Francis Cooke.

8vo. A-L⁴ [L4 blank]; 43 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 240.
 Roman with italic. Some Latin and Greek. Fractions and
 zodiacal signs.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to "the Worshipful
 wel-willer and practiser of the Mathematics, M. Bernard
 Dewhurst," by Cooke; A3, dedication to Thomas Hood, by Cooke;
 A3b, preface, to "the louing and diligent Auditors of the
 Mathematicall Lecture"; A4, text; L8, blank.

The matters covered in the book include the measurement of
 surfaces, bodies, angles, and so on, and the investigation
 of such phenomena as eclipses.

Entered to Toby Cooke, 6 December 1591.

Huntington: 19062

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

13115. HENRY IV, King of France. The Kings declaration,
 Tr. importing a reuocation of all such letters for
 (Fr.) ennoblishment, as haue not been verified in the
 chamber of accountes of Normandy. Also of all
 such as haue been graunted to such persons as
 haue or yet do beare armes against his Maiestie,
 and fauour rebelles.
 Together with an arrest or decree of the court of
 parliament of Caen, concerning the residence of
 clergie men vpon their cures, and the warranties
 of their tithes.
 Faithfully translated out of French according to
 the coppye printed at Caen.

At London: Printed for Edward White, and are to be solde at
 the little North door of S. Paules Church, at the signe of
 the [Gunne. 1591.]

4to. A-B⁴ [A1, B4, blank]; 6 leaves, pp. [2] [1]2(A3b)-10;
 W/p, 175.
 Roman with italic.

A2 (verso blank), title; A3, text.

The text consists of translations of three official documents.
 The first, dated 29 June 1591, is aimed against nobles who
 have borne arms against Henry IV of France, as well as those
 who make false claims of nobility in order to escape the tax
 of talliage. All those claiming nobility are directed to have
 their nobility verified by the Chamber of Accounts in Caen.
 The second document, issued by the Chamber of Accounts in Caen

and dated 27 July 1591, reiterates the first document and states the procedure by which claims to nobility will be examined. In addition to presenting documentary proof of their claims, claimants will also be expected to provide a summary of their recent "behaviours, dealinges and residence." The final document, dated at Caen on 7 August 1591 [n.s.?] states that all clergy will be allowed to continue their work unmolested, and penalties are set down for soldiers or others who appropriate tithes from the clergy.

Published after 7 August 1591 [i.e. 29 July o.s.?)

British Library: 8052. aaa. 25 See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

13116. HENRY IV, King of France. (Tr. E[dward].
Tr. A[ggas].)
(Fr.) Ordinances set foorth by the king, for the rule
 and gouvernement of his maiesties men of warre.
 Read and published at Caen the 30. of March. 1591.
 Faithfully translated out of the French coppie
 printed at Caen by E[dward]. A[ggas].

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde at his shop right ouer against the great south doore of Paules. 1591.

4to. A⁴; 4 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 400.
Black letter with roman.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text.

The main purpose of the ordinance is to protect the peasants and clergy from abuses by the soldiers of Henry IV of France. Among the practices condemned are such things as expropriating the goods of peasants for military use without royal warrant, fortifying churches, and levying men without royal assent. Several offenses carry severe penalties. The penalty of death is provided for anyone taking a beast of labour, and anyone levying men without royal warrant will be "ouer runne and cut in peeces."

Entered to John Wolfe, 8 May 1591.

British Library: 283. b. 1 - 4 See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

13132. HENRY IV, King of France. A discourse and true
recitall of euerie particular of the victorie obtained by the
French king. [Anr. ed.] 4to. Thomas Orwin for Richard

Oliffe, 1591.

Withdrawn; redated 1590. STC gives the imprint date as 1591, in error.

13142.5 HENRY IV, King of France. A true declaration
Tr. of the honorable victorie obtained by the French
(Fr.) king in winning of Noyan, and ouerthrow of the
Duke de Maine his forces.
Performed this present moneth of August, 1591.
Published according to the copie sent into England
to the Lord Ambassadour for France.

London: Imprinted by Thomas Scarlet, for Thomas Nelson,
and are to be solde at his shop ouer against the South dore
of Paules. [1591.]

4to. A-B⁴ [A1 blank]; 7 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 205.
Roman with italic.

A2 (verso blank), title [McK 277]; A3, text; B4b, blank.

Written from Henry's camp before the city of Noyon, the
pamphlet covers events from 8-17 August, when the city
capitulated; and there are in addition several brief news
items covering the period 17-20 August, in which Sir Roger
Williams, the Essex contingent, and the German forces are
mentioned briefly.

Folger: STC 13142.5

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

13156. HENRY, PRINCE DE DOMBES. A iournall, or briefe
report of the late seruice in Britaigne, by the
Prince de Dombes generall of the French kings army
in those partes, assisted with her Maiesties forces
at this present there, vnder the conduct of Sir
Iohn Norreis: aduertised by letters from the said
prince to the Kings ambassadour here resident with
her Maiesty, and confirmed by like aduertisements
from others, imployed in that seruice.
Published, to aunswere the slanderous bruites raised
of late by some euill affected to that and other
good actions, vndertaken against the enemy of Gods
true religion.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be sold at his shop
right ouer against the great South-doore of Paules. 1591.

4to. A-B⁴ [B4 blank]; 7 leaves, pp. [1,2]3(A2)-14; W/p, 210.
Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 251]; A2, text.

The account deals with a battle fought in Brittany between 10 and 16 June 1591 between the forces of Henry of Navarre, led by de Dombes, and those of the League, under the Duke de Mercoeur. Much of the account deals with letters which passed between the two forces before battle commenced. The affair would have been of some interest to Englishmen, since the English contingent under Sir John Norris served under de Dombes. Two letters, dated 20 and 21 June, sent to the French ambassador in London by French leaders, are reproduced following the account of the battle. These letters praise the conduct of the English contingent in the affair.

Entered to John Wolfe, 5 July 1591. After STC 18654.3.

Huntington: 27913

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

13225. HERODOTUS. . . . Herodoti Halicarnassensis
Greek. historiatarum liber primus, Clio.

Oxoniae: In officina Iosephi Barnesij. M.D.LXXXXI.

4to. A-H⁴ I³; 35 leaves, pp. [1,2]3(A2)-69 [1]; W/p, 380.
Greek type, with roman. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 285]; A1b, preface, "Herodoti vita ex Suida"; A2, text; on I3 (verso blank), errata.

The history of the Persian Wars by the Greek historian Herodotus (c. 5 B.C.) was one of the Greek texts sometimes read in grammar schools.

Bodleian: 4^o. P. 138. Art. See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

13629. HOMER. . . . Homeri Ilias, id est de rebus ad
Greek. Troiam gestis.

Londini: Excudebat Georgius Bishop, Regiae Maiestatis
Typographi Deputatus. Anno salutis humanae ~~CI~~ ~~I~~ XCI.

8vo. A-Z⁸ 2A-L⁸; 272 leaves, pp. [1-5]6(A3b)-544 [i.e. 542] [2]; W/p, 185.

Greek type, with roman and italic. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 185b]; A2, prefatory note; A2b, prefatory note; A3, text; on 2L7b, table; 2L8b, blank.

It is likely that this edition of the Iliad was used in grammar schools.

Entered to George Bishop, 3 July 1591.

Huntington: 37906

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

13828. HORTOP, JOB. The trauailes of an English man. Containing his sundrie calamities indured by the space of twentie and odd yeres in his absence from his natiue countrie; wherein is truly decyphered the sundrie shapes of wilde beasts, birds, fishes, foules, rootes, plants, &c. With the description of a man that appeared in the sea: and also of a huge giant brought from China to the Kinge of Spaine. No lesse pleasant than approued. By I[ob]. H[ortop]. Published with authoritie.

Imprinted at London for William Wright, and are to be solde at his shop neere vnto Pauls Schoole. 1591.

4to. A-D⁴; 16 leaves, pp. [1-5]6(A3b)-31 [1]; W/p, 310. Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to Queen Elizabeth by Hortop; A3, text; D4b, blank.

In its essential details, Hortop's fantastic tale of his adventures at sea as a sailor under Hawkins and his subsequent years as a Spanish captive, was true.

Entered to William Wright, 9 February 1591.

British Library: G. 6893

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

13856. HOWARD, Charles, Earl of Nottingham. Siarles Welsh. Arglwydd Howard. [Brief authorizing collections in behalf of John Salisbury.]

[COLOPHON] Printed by Thomas Purfoot. [1591.]

s. sh. fol. W/p, 750.

Black letter with roman. Illustrations.

Charles, Lord Howard, made out this brief in favour of John Salisbury, a Welsh soldier who had served the Queen in France, Flanders, and at sea. The grievous wounds sustained by the man are enumerated, and it is observed that Salisbury has spent all his wealth trying to heal himself. The document declares that the man may travel freely, and urges the giving of alms to him. Illustrations above and below the text depict the queen, the royal arms, and, below, a ship of war in full sail.

"Given in London in the High Court of Admiralty of England under the Great Seal the 31st day of July in the year of our Lord 1591, and in the 33rd year of the reign of our noble Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc."

Bodleian: Ashmole. 1819 (31)

See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

14379. JAMES [VI, King of Scotland]. His Maiesties Tr., in poetically exercises at vacant houres.
part
(Fr.)

At Edinburgh: Printed by Robert Walde-graue printer to the Kings Maiestie. Cum Priuilegio Regali. [1591.]

4to. π^4 [A]-L⁴ M⁴⁺¹ N-O⁴ P² [P2 blank]; 62 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 180.

Roman with italic. Some Latin and Greek (prefatory materials); Part III in French.

$\pi 1$ (verso blank), title, with border formed of type ornaments and figures of "Amor" and "Pax"; $\pi 2$, preface, "The authour to the reader"; $\pi 3$ (verso blank), verse, "To the King of Scotland," by Henry Constable; $\pi 4$ (verso blank), verse, "Sonet to the onley royal poet," by "M. W. Foulter"; [A]1, verse, in Greek, "In serenissimum inuictissimumque Scotiae Regem Iacobum Sextum," and, below, verse, "Idem Latine," in translation of the above, signed, "Hdr. Damman à Bisteruelt Gandauensis Flander"; [A]1b, verse, "Aliud eiusdem," and, below, verse, "To the Kings Maiestie of Scotland," signed "Henrie Lok"; [A]2, "The Exord, or Preface of the second week of Du Bartas"; [A]4, "The translators inuocation"; B1, text, "The Furies"; G2b, blank; G3 (verso blank), separate title, The Lepanto of Iames the sixt,

King of Scotland. At Edinburgh Printed by Robert Walde-graue Printer to the Kings Maiestie. Cum priuilegio Regali, with border formed of type ornaments and figures of "Veritas" and "Castitas"; G4, preface, "The authors preface to the reader"; H1b (blank); H2, text, "The Lepanto"; M1 (verso blank), "Sonet," signed "I. R. S." [i.e., James, King of Scotland]; M1+1 (verso blank), separate title, "La LEPANTHE DE IAQUES VI. ROY D'ESCOSSE, FAICTE FRANCOISE PAR LE SIEUR DU BARTAS. Imprime a Edinburgh par Robert Walde-graue, Imprimeur du Roy. Anno Dom. 1591. Auec Priuilege de sa Majesté; M2, preface, "Au lecteur"; M2b, "Preface du Traducteur a Lautreur"; M3, text, "La LEPANTHE."

James's translation of "The Furies," a poem by Du Bartas, is followed in turn by an original work on the subject of the battle of Lepanto and the translation of the work into French by Du Bartas.

Huntington: 61838

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

14584. JEWEL, John, Bp. Apologia ecclesiae anglicanae.
R Authore Iohanne Iuello, olim episcopo Sarisburiensi.
Latin. Rom. I. Non enim me pudet euangelij Christi:
potentia siquidem est Dei, ad salutem omni credenti,
&c.

Londini: [Robert Robinson,] Impensis Thomae Chardi. 1591.

12mo. A-H¹² I⁶; 102 leaves, pp. [6]1(A4)-197 [1]; W/p, 145.
Roman with italic. Side-notes.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 207]; A2, preface; A3b, blank;
A4, text; I6b, blank.

Jewel's defence of the doctrine and practices of the established Church, chiefly against Catholics, was one of the more important books to emerge from the religious controversies which played such a prominent role in Elizabeth's reign. Issued with this was STC 24750 (q.v.).

Fourth of nine editions, 1562-1639. There were in addition several translations and other issues in original and in translation.

British Library: 4103. a. 6

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

14644. JOHN, King of England. The troublesome raigne of Iohn King of England, with the discoverie of King Richard Cordelio is [i.e. his] base sonne (vulgarly named, The Bastard Fawconbridge): also the death of King Iohn at Swinstead Abbey. As it was (sundry times) publikely acted by the Queenes Maiesties Players, in the honourable Citie of London.

Imprinted at London [by Thomas Orwin] for Samson Clarke, and are to be solde at his shop, on the backside of the Royall Exchange. 1591.

4to. A-G⁴ A-E⁴; 48 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 360.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 273a]; A2 (verso blank), preface, in verse, "To the Gentlemen Readers"; A3, text; G4b, blank;
²A1 (verso blank), separate title: The second part of the troublesome raigne of King Iohn, conteining the death of Arthur Plantaginet, the landing of Lewes, and the poysoning of King Iohn at Swinstead Abbey. As it was (sundry times) publikely acted by the Queenes Maiesties Players, in the honourable Cittie of London. Imprinted at London [by Thomas Orwin] for Sampson Clarke, and are to be solde at his shop, on the backe side of the Royall Exchange. 1591. A2 (verso blank), preface, in verse, "To the Gentlemen Readers"; A3, text.

Greg 101. The fact that the two parts were issued together is noted in STC².

First of three editions, 1591-1622.

Huntington: 61839, 61840 See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

14645. JOHN, King of England. The second part of the troublesome raigne of King Iohn. 1591.

= pt. 2 of STC 14644.

14685.5 JOHNSON, Richard. [No formal title-page with imprint. Text headed:]
Musarum plangores: Vpon the death of the right Honourable, Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight, &c.

[IMPRINT] [None: London: Richard Jones? 1591.]
 [EXPLICIT] Finis. R. Iohnson. Sa:

4to. B⁴; 4 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 270.
 Roman with italic.

B1, text; on B4b, explicit.

The printer of this poem upon the death of Hatton has not been identified.

Published after 20 November 1591, the date of Hatton's death. This may be the item entered to Richard Jones on 24 November.

Folger: STC 14670.5 See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

15061 KNOX, John. An answer to a great number of
 R blasphemous caulliations written by an anabaptist,
 and aduersarie to Gods eternall predestination.
 And confuted by Iohn Knox, minister of Gods word
 in Scotland.
 Wherein the author so discovereth the craft and
 falshood of that sect, that the godly knowing that
 error, may be confirmed in the truth by the eudent
 word of God.
 Prou. XXX. There is a generation that are pure in
 their owne conceit, and yet are not washed from
 their filthinesse.

Imprinted at London [by Richard Field] for Thomas Charde. 1591.

8vo. A-2D⁸ 2E⁶; 222 leaves, pp. [1-3]4(A2b)-443 [1]; W/p, 380.
 Roman with italic. Side-notes.

A1, title [McK 164, the device of Richard Field]; A1b, note
 on arrangement of sections of text, for comparison with the
 "pestilent booke" of Knox's adversary; A2, "The Preface"; B1,
 text; E6b, blank.

In forty-seven sections, drawing largely from the works of
 Calvin, Knox defends election and predestination against an
 unnamed adversary. Each section is headed by a quotation or
 paraphrase from the writings of Knox's opponent, and the
 assertion is attacked with close reference to the offending
 book.

Second of two editions, 1560-1591. Entered to Toby Cooke,
 11 January 1581.

Huntington: 93045 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

15149. LAMBARD, William. The duties of constables,
 R borsholders, tythingmen, and such other lowe
 ministers of the peace.
 Whereunto be also adioyned the seuerall offices
 of churchwardens: of surueyors for amending the
 highwayes: of distributors of the prouision for
 noysome foule and vermin: of the collectors,
 ouerseers, and gouernours of the poore: and of the
 wardeins and collectors for the houses of correc-
 tion.
 First collected and penned by William Lambard of
 Lincolnes Inne Gent. 1582. and now enlarged by the
 same authour, 1587.

Imprinted at London by Ralph Newberie. 1591.

8vo. A-E⁸; 40 leaves, pp. [1,2]3(A2)-80; W/p, 210.
 Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 248]; A2, text.

A companion volume to Lambard's Eirenarcha (STC 15163, 1581)
 on the duties of justices of the peace, the present work
 filled an important need among people who might be called upon
 at one time or another to perform the various offices dealt
 with in the book.

Sixth of twenty-three editions, 1583-1640.

Huntington: 21455

See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

15166. LAMBARD, William. Eirenarcha: or of the office
 R of the iustices of peace, in foure bookes:
 Gathered 1579: first published 1581: and reuised,
 corrected, and enlarged, in the 31. yeere of the
 peaceable raigne of our most gracious Queene
 Elizabeth:
 By William Lambard of Lincolnes Inne, Gent.
 Whereunto is added the newly reformed Commission
 of the Peace, & an appendix of sundry precedents
 touching matters of the peace.
 Hae tibi artes erunt, pacique imponere movem.

At London: Printed by Ralph Newbery. Cum Priuilegio. Anno
 Domini, 1591

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by Ralph Newbery. 1588.

8vo. [A]⁴ B-Z⁸ 2A-Z⁸ [2Z8 blank]; 363 leaves, pp. [8]1(B1)-627 [91]; W/p, 240.

Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin. Charts.

[A]1 (verso blank), title [McK 146b]; [A]2, preface, "A forewarning to the Reader"; B1, "The Proeme"; B2b, text; 2S3b, table of all the statutes "wherwith Iustices of the Peace haue in any sort to deale"; 2T2, table; 2V1, appendix, "containing sundry Precedents," in Latin; on 2Z7 (verso blank), colophon.

Another issue of the 1588 edition, the fourth of twelve editions, 1581-1620.

Bodleian: 35. c. 41

See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

15391. LEGH, Gerard. The accedence of armorie.

R

[IMPRINT] [None.]

[COLOPHON] FINIS. Imprinted at London in Fleetstrete within temple barre at the signe of the hand and starre, by Richard Tottell, 1591.

4to in 8's. A-S⁸; 144 leaves, ff. [7]1(A8)-135 [2]; W/p, 220.

Roman with italic and black letter. Some Latin. Illustrations.

A1, title, within an illustration depicting an elaborate "viniēt" (see sig. A6); A1b, verse, beginning, "Aduise you well this worke ere ye reprove"; A2, dedication, to "the honorable assemblie of gentlemen in the Innes of Court and Chancery," by Legh; A4b, foreword, by "Richard Argol of the Inner Temple"; A6, a "description of the Viniēt with the circumstances thereof, contained in the first Page of the booke"; A7b, blank; A8, text; S7, index, "The Table"; S8, illustration of an heraldic nature; S8b, note, "The way to vnderstande Tricking," and, below, colophon.

The book contains numerous elaborate illustrations of coats of arms and heraldic figures, with one of these, depicting Atlas and Hercules, bound in to fold out after sig. S8. The text takes the form of a dialogue between "Leigh," who wishes to learn armory, and "Gerard," a "Herehaught" or student of heraldry. The book begins with such matters as the various colours and metals used in heraldry, and proceeds through the subject of heraldry in some detail, concluding with such matters as the appointment and duties of heralds.

Fourth of six editions, 1562-1612. Entered to Richard Tottell, 18 February 1583.

Huntington: 62198

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

15570. LEYDEN UNIVERSITY. A catalogue of all the cheifest rarities in the Publick Theater. Leyden, J. Voorn, 1591 [1691].

= Wing S 905

15644. LINAKER, Robert. A short and plaine instruction, for the help and furtherance of such as are carefull to know the way to euerlasting life. Whereto are added the places of scripture, which serue to prooue the points of doctrine herein contained: together with certaine profitable notes set downe in the margent, to make euey prooffe more plaine concerning that point for the which it is alleadged. By Robert Linaker. Seeke ye first the kingdome of heauen, and the righteousnes thereof, and all these things shalbe ministred vnto you. Mat. 6. 33.

At London: Printed by Thomas Orwin, for Thomas Woodcock, 1591.

8vo. A-D⁸ E⁴ [E4 blank]; 35 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 170. Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, preface, "To the Reader"; A4, text; E1, text continues, "A shorter instruction to be learned of those that are to receiue the Lords Supper"; E2b, text continues, "A prayer, wherein is conteyned the substance of the Catechisme"; E4, blank.

New York Public Library

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

15704. LISBON. Two most srange [sic] and notable examples, shewed at Lyshborne the 26. day of Ianuarie now last past.

The one by striking dumme two of the cheefe of the Holy-house, as they were pronouncing the sentence of death against two English marriners, vnto whom they had offerred great promotions, to haue them to serue against the King of France, and their owne countrie.

The other within sixe dayes then next following, by burning two ships of corne in the harbour there, which was brought out of France to releuee the King his enemies: an example most wonderfull.

A notable warning to such English marchants, which for their owne benefit, by carrying our victuals away, impoverish our countrey, and strengthen the enemies of God and our Prince.

Affirmed for truth by those men vnder named, of honest reputation, being present at the dooing thereof, the one Maister of the ship called the Fortune: the other Maister of the Flying Harte. Hance Hogenberge, & Adrian van How.

Signed for truth in the presence of those here vnderwritten.

Henry Roberts.

Walter Mantle.

John Nashe.

Robert Ihones.

London: Printed [by Abel Jeffes] for William Barley, and are to be solde at his shop in Newgate Market. Anno. 1591.

4to. A-B⁴ [B4 blank]; 7 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 350.
Black letter with roman and italic. Illustrations.

A1, blank; A1b, woodcut illustration of a ship under sail within a shield, surmounted by roses to right and left, and a lion between them; A2 (verso blank), title; A3, text.

The first part of this news pamphlet recounts the story of four men who had been memebers of the crew of an English ship captured by the Spanish in 1586. Since the four were talented seamen, the Spanish are alleged to have cajoled and enticed them to captain ships in the Armada. Frustrated in their aims, the enemy decided to pronounce sentence of death by burning upon the two survivors of the four, with results observed by the title. The second part of the text tells of the abuses suffered by the crew of a French ship, who foolishly carried grain to sell to the Spanish. The strange judgement visited upon the ships helps to point up the moral that trading with Spain is to be eschewed. The pamphlet is replete with heavy moralizing against the Spanish, and there are vivid descriptions of the tortures and inhumaine treatment visited upon the captives.

Entered to Abel Jeffes, 29 April 1591, under the title
"Newes from Lisbone &c."

Bodleian: 4^o C. 16. Art. BS (8) See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

15749. LITTLETON, Sir Thomas. Les tenures de Monsieur
R Littleton, ouesque certain cases addes per auters
Law Fr. de puisne temps, queux cases vous troueres signes
 ouesque cest signe [fleuron-like sign] al commence-
 ment, & al fine de checun de eux: au fine que ne
 voies eux misprendre pur les cases de Monsieur
 Littleton: pur quel inconuenience, ils fueront
 dernièrement tolles de cest lieur [i.e. liure?], et
 cy vn foits plus adoptes al request des gentel-
 hommes, students en le ley Dengleterre.

Cum Priuilegio. 1591.
[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London, in Fleetestrete within
Temple Barre, at the Signe of the Hand and Starre by Richarde
Tottell. Cum priuilegio.

8vo. A-X⁸ [with an extra leaf inserted after A1] Y⁴; 173
leaves, ff. [2] [1]2(A3)-171 [i.e. 170] [1]; W/p, 310.
Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin.

A1, title; A1b, table, "A figure of the diuision of posses-
sions"; A1+1 (verso blank), preface, "Lectori studioso W.
West, S.," dated "Ex interiori Templo 12. Calendas Martij.
Ann restitute salutis. 1581"; A2, text; Y3b, list of contents,
"Cy ensuist la summe des Chapters de cel present Lieux"; on
Y4b, colophon.

Littleton's Tenures had long been the basic guide to matters
concerning the tenure of land, and it was still highly re-
garded in the latter years of the sixteenth century. The
present edition was interleaved, with blank sheets, presum-
ably for note-making, bound in after every printed leaf.

Thirty-fourth of forty-seven editions, [1482]-1639. Some
copies are printed on quarto paper.

Huntington: 93060 See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

15750. LITTLETON, Sir Thomas. Les tenures de Monsieur
R Littleton ouesque certaine cases addes per auters
Law Fr. de puisne temps: queux cases vous troueres signes

ouesque cet signe [a cross] al commencement &
fine de chescun de eux:

Au fine que ne poies eux misprendre par les cases
de Monsieur Littleton, pur quel inconueniens, ils
fueront dernièrement telles de cest livre.

Et cy vn foits plus admotes al request des gentle-
hommes studentes en le ley Danglittere.

Cum Priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis. 1591. [London: Richard
Tottell.]

12mo. A-R¹²; 204 leaves; ff. [1]1(A2)-171 [i.e. 170] [33];
W/p, 225.

Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin.

A1, title; A1b, table, "A figure of the diuision of posses-
sions"; A2, text; on P3b, list of contents; on P5, index,
"Index Littleton"; on R12b, note, "Ingenij cibus studium.
Per W. West," dated "Ex interiori Templo, 12. Calendas Martij.
Ann restitute salutis. 1581."

Another edition of STC 15749, but without interleaving.

Thirty-fifth of forty-seven editions, [1482]-1639.

Huntington: 14969

See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

16632. LLOYD, Lodowick. The triplicitie of triumphes.
Containing, the order, solempnitie and pompe, of
the feastes, sacrifices, vowes, games, and triumphes:
vused vpon the natiuities of emperours, kinges,
princes, dukes, popes, and consuls, with the cus-
tome, order and maners of their inaugurations,
coronations and annointing.
Wherein is also mentioned, the three most happy,
ioyfull and triumphant daies, in September, Nouember
and Ianuary; by the name of Triplicia Festa.
With a briefe rehearsall of the funerall solemp-
nities at some emperors, kings, and princes burials.
By Lodowike Lloyd, Esquier.

Imprinted at London, by Richard Ihones, at the Rose and Crowne,
neere Holborne Bridge. Ianuary. 1591. Liber minimus, labor
maximus.

4to. A² B-I⁴ [I4 blank]; 33 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 315.
Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to Queen Elizabeth, signed "Lod. Lloyd"; A2b, preface, "To the Reader"; A3, text; I3b, blank.

The author, who was a serjeant-at-arms and well-known figure in Elizabeth's court, describes various public occasions as they were observed in antiquity, or, in some cases, during contemporary times. The central theme of the book is that all pomp and ceremony, past and present, is eclipsed by the grandeur of Elizabeth and the ceremonies and celebrations associated with the queen.

Published in January 1591. Entered to Richard Jones, 16 December 1590. First of three issues, 1591-1610.

Huntington: 62332

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

*16632.5 LLOYD, Lodowick. The triplicitie of triumphes.

Another issue of STC 16632 with the preliminary leaf reset. Dedication signed "Lodowike Lloyd."

Second of three issues, 1591-1610.

Bodleian; New York Public Library

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

16654. LODGE, Thomas. Catharos. Diogenes in his singularity.
Wherein is comprehended his merrie baighting fit
for all mens benefits: christened by him,
A Nettle for Nice Noses.
By T[homas]. L[odge]. of Lincolns Inne, Gent:

At London: Printed by William Hoskins & Iohn Danter, for Iohn Busbie. [1591.]

4to. A² B-I⁴ [I4 blank]; 33 leaves, ff. [2] [1]2(B2)-31;
W/p, 360.

Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin and Italian.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to Sir John Hart, by John Busbie; A2, preface, "Diogenes to such as are disposed to Reade"; B1, text.

A conversation involving Diogenes, the cynic, and Philoplutos and Cosmosophos, two hypocrites, provides the vehicle for Lodge's discourse upon ethics. Diogenes, the "nettle for nice noses," chastises his two companions and instructs them in their moral obligations, with special reference to the duties of government officials and other office holders.

Entered to Henry Chettle, 17 September 1591 [not November, as STC].

Huntington: 54016

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

16657. LODGE, Thomas. The famous, true and historicall life of Robert second Duke of Normandy, surnamed for his monstrous birth and behaiour, Robin the Diuell. Wherein is contained his dissolute life in his youth, his deuout reconcilement and vertues in his age: interlaced with many straunge and miraculous aduentures. Wherein are both causes of profite, and manie conceits of pleasure. By T[homas]. L[odge]. G[entleman].

Imprinted at London [by Thomas Orwin] for N[icholas]. L[ing]. and Iohn Busbie, and are to be sold at the West dore of Paules. 1591.

4to. A² B-M⁴ [M4 blank]; 45 leaves, ff. [2]1(B1)-43; W/p, 325.

Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 273, the device of Thomas Orwin]; A2, dedication to "the worshipfull and true Moecenas of learning, M. Thomas Smith," by "T. L. G.," dated from "my Chamber 2. May. 1591"; A2b, preface, "To the curteous Reader whatsoever," by "T. L. G."; B1, text; M3b, "Epilogus."

The "history" traces the career of Robert from his dissolute youth to his eventual conversion to religion. Much of the interest of the book lies in Lodge's descriptions of the bestial crimes perpetrated by the hero. The work is based on an earlier book about Robin the Devil (STC 21070, [1500?]).

Published after 2 May 1591.

Huntington: 31531

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

16766. LONDON--Appendix. A profitable and necessarie discourse, for the meeting with the bad garbelling of spices, composed by diuers grocers of London. 4to. R. B[ourne]. f. T. Man, 1591.

Now = STC 16767 [1592].

16810. LOQUE, Bertrand de. (Tr. John Eliot)
Tr. Discourses of warre and single combat, translated
(Fr.) out of French by I[ohn]. Eliot.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde at his shop right ouer againt the great South dore of Paules. 1591.

4to. A-I⁴ K²; 38 leaves, pp. [8]1(B1)-68; W/p, 445.
Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 242]; A2, dedication to the Earl of Essex, by Eliot; A3, dedication to "the most Christian King of France and Nauarre, &c." by the author, "B. de Loque," dated from "Castel-geloux the 5 of October 1590"; A4b, blank; B1, text; G1b, blank; G2 (verso blank), separate title, A treatise of single combate. Wherein is disclosed this question, Whether it be lawfull for Christians to discide a difference or contro- uersy by single combat, or not. London Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe, and are to bee sold at his shop ouer against the great South dore of Saint Paul. 1591; G3, text.

The first book discourses upon the causes and conduct of wars in general, with close reference to Scripture for precedents and pronouncements. Topics in this section range from the circumstances in which war may lawfully be waged to the question of whether it is lawful to lie in ambush. In the second book the author proves from Scripture that single combat is unchristian, and suggests a number of remedies for this vice, including the banishing of ambition and pride from the heart.

First of two issues, 1591-1631. Entered to Wolfe, 11 April 1589.

Bodleian: Tanner 192 (9)

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

17049. LYLY, John. Campaspe.
R Played beefore the Queenes maiestie on twelfe day at night, by her Maiesties Children, and the Child- ren of Paules.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, for William Broome. 1591.

4to. A² B-G⁴; 26 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 215.
Roman with italic. Some Latin, stage directions.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 273]; A2, "The Prologue at the black Friers"; B1, text.

First performed in 1584, this prose comedy deals with the love of Alexander the Great for a girl named Campaspe. Stage directions at various points indicate that songs were to be sung, but these do not appear in the text.

Fourth of four editions, 1584-1591.

Huntington: 62387

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

17050. LYLY, John. Endimion, the man in the moone.
Playd before the Queenes Maiestie at Greenewich
on Candlemas day at night, by the Chyldren of Paules.

At London: Printed by I[ohn]. Charlewood, for the widdowe Broome. 1591.

4to. A² B-K⁴ [K4 blank]; 37 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 280.
Roman with italic. Some Latin, stage directions.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 112]; A2, "The Printer to the Reader," observing that "certaine Commedies" have come to his hands since the plays in Pauls were dissolved; A2b, "The Prologue"; B1, text; K3b, "The Epilogue."

The play concerns Endimion, who rejects the love of Tellus and pledges his love to Cynthia, the moon. Tellus casts Endimion into a deep sleep which lasts for more than forty years. At length, Tellus is punished by Cynthia, and Endimion is aroused from his sleep. From his note to the reader, it is evident that Charlewood regarded the publication of this and the other old comedies of Lyly as an innovation of sorts.

Entered to [Joan,] Widow Broome, 4 October 1591, with two other Lyly plays, Galathea and Midas, published in the following year.

Huntington: 62388

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

17087. LYLY, John. Sapho and Phao, played before the
R Queenes maiestie on Shroue tewsdays, by her Maiesties

Children, and the Boyes of Paules.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, for William Broome. 1591.

4to. A-F⁴ G²; 26 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 350.
Roman with italic. Some Latin, stage directions.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 273]; A2, "The Prologue at the Black Friers"; A2b, "The Prologue at the Court"; A3, text; G2 (verso blank), "The Epilogue."

In the play, Venus and Cupid conspire to make the queen, Sapho, fall in love. Venus casts a spell over Phao, a boatman, and transforms him into such a handsome man that Sapho falls in love with him. Unfortunately, a complication arises when Venus herself falls in love with her own creation. Other complications follow quickly, but in the end the inexorable laws of comedy bring about a satisfactory ending.

Third of three editions, 1584-1591. Entered to Joan Broome, 12 April, 1597.

Huntington: 62383

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

17143. M., Io[hⁿ?]. Phillippes Venus.
Wherin is pleasantly discoursed sundrye fine and wittie arguments, in a senode of gods and goddesses, assembled for the expelling of wanton Venus, from among their sacred societie.
Interlaced with many merrye and delightfull questions, and wittie answers: wherin gentlemen may finde matter to purge melanchollye, and pleasant varietie to content fancye.

At London: Printed [by Edward Allde] for Iohn Perrin, and are to be solde in Paules Church yard at the signe of the Angell. 1591.

4to. A-D⁴ [D4 blank]; 15 leaves, ff. [2]1(A3)-13; W/p, 340.
Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 290, the device of Edward Allde]; A2, dedication to Henry Prannell, by "Io. M."; A3, text.

The story is an account of the deliberations of a synod of gods and goddesses who expel Venus from the heavens because of her wantonness. Her loss is keenly felt, however, and an election is called to replace her. Further complications ensue.

Bodleian: Malone 659 (4)

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

17288. MANUZIO, Paolo. Epistolarum Paulli Manutii
 R libri XII.
 Latin. Eiusdem quae praefationes appellantur: cum noua
 quoque accessione.

Londini: Excudebat Robertus Robinsonus. 1591. Cum Priuilegio.

16mo. in 8's. A-2P⁸; 304 leaves, pp. [12]1(A7)-591 [i.e. 585]
 [11]; W/p, 245.

Roman with italic. Some Greek.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 207]; A2, dedication "Ad Illustriss. Albericum Cibo Malaspinam, Massae et Carrariae Principem," dated "Venetijs. **CLIO LIIX**"; A7, text; 2I1 (verso blank), separate title, Paulli Manutii praefationes, quibus libri ad illustres viros aut ad amicos missi commendatur; 2I2, text resumes; 2P3b, blank; 2P4, "Index eorum ad quos missae sunt epistolae"; 2P8b, blank.

Manuzio (1512-74), a prominent editor of Cicero, is also remembered for his association with the Aldine Press (see STC 5300). His epistles in a Ciceronian style were used as models for composition in some grammar schools. Robinson's monopoly on several grammar school text-books included this work.

Third of four editions, 1573-1603.

Bodleian: Douce. M. 138. See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

17581. MASCALL, Leonard. The first booke of cattell:
 R wherein is shewed the gouernement of oxen, kine,
 calues, and howe to vse bulles and other cattell
 to the yoake, and fell.
 With diuerse approued remedies, to helpe most diseases among cattell: most necessarie for all, especially for husbandmen, hauing the gouernment of any such cattell.
 Gathered and set foorth by Leonard Mascall.

Thou Heardsman, keeper of thy beastes,
 when any beast is sickly:
 Search herein, and thou shalt finde,
 of prooued remedies quickly.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde by Iohn Harrison the elder, at the signe of the White Grayhound in Paules Churchyeard. 1591.

[EXPLICIT] Finis. L[eonard]. M[ascall].

4to. in 8's. A-T⁸ V⁴ [A1 blank]; 155 leaves, pp. [6]1(A5)-301 [i.e. 303] [1]; W/p, 360.

Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin. Illustrations.

A2 (verso blank), title [McK 251]; A3, dedication to Sir Edward Montagu, by Mascall; A4, preface, "To the Reader," signed "L. M."; A4b, verse, "To the Husband-man," by "L. M."; A5, text; G3 (verso blank), separate title, The second booke intreating of the gouernment of horses, with the approued remedies against most diseases. Verie profitable for all men, hauing a charge and gouernment therof, and chiefly for husbandmen: with diuers other remedies practised in this lande. Gathered by L. M. Although the Learned haue reuealed/ the helpes for horse great store,/Yet practisers therein againe:/haue found for them much more. London Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde by Iohn Harrison the elder, at the signe of the White Grayhound in Paules Churchyeard. 1591. [TPB 198]; G4, "The Table of the principall thinges in this [first] Booke, by Alphabet as followeth"; G5b, blank; G6, text resumes; N6b, blank; N7, "The Table for the principall thinges contained in this Booke for Horses"; O1, separate title, The third booke intreating of the ordering of sheep and goates, hogs and dogs: with such remedies to help most diseases as may chaunce vnto them. Taken forth of learned authours, with diuers other approoued practises, verie necessarie for all men, especially those which haue any charge and gouernement thereof. Gathered by L. M. London Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde by Iohn Harrison the elder, at the signe of the White Grayhound in Paules Churchyeard. 1591. [TPB 198]; O1b, verse, "A praise of Sheepe"; O2, text resumes; K5, "The Table for Sheepe and Goats, by Alphabet, as followeth"; K7, section on hogs, headed, "The nature and qualities of Hogges, and also the gouernement thereof"; on V4, "The Table following to find out any thing in this booke as touching Moules, and Hogs: and to find out likewise remedies against the byting of mad-dogs, and helpe for mangie dogs"; on V4b, explicit.

Mascall was evidently a very popular writer on agriculture and related subjects, and this book went through several editions.

Second of nine editions, 1587-1633.

Huntington: 62512

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

17752. MAYO, John. The popes parliament, containing a pleasant and delightful historie, wherin are throughly deliuered and brightly blazed out, the paltry trash and trumperies of him and his pelting prelates, their mutinies, discord, and dissentions, their stomacke and malice at Pope Ioane, their shifting and foisting of matters for defence of her, and their antichristian practices, for maintenance of their pompe and auarice. Whereunto is annexed an anatomie of Pope Ioane, more apparantly opening her whole life and storie. Written by Iohn Mayo. Quis tulevit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

Imprinted at London by Richard Field dwelling in the Black Friers neare Ludgate. 1591.

4to. A-F⁴ G²; 26 leaves, pp. [10]1(B2)-42; W/p, 453. Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 192]; A2, dedication to Sir George Frenchard, Captain of Weymouth Castle and a Deputy-Lieutenant of Dorset, by Mayo; A4, preface, "To the Christian Reader"; A4b, twenty-two lines of verse in Latin, "Candido Lectori. I. O."; B1, verse, "In commendation of the Author," signed "Robert Foord"; B1b, "The argument of this treatise"; B2, text; E4, separate title: The anatomie of Pope Ioane, wherein her life, maners and death is liuely layd abrode and opened, and the forged cauills and allegations, that our aduersaries vse for her, throughly vnripped and confuted: Necessarie for all those that are not fully acquainted with the storie, and not vnfrutefull to them that loue and embrace the true religion of Christ, and abhorre the sottish illusions of Romish Antichrist. Imprinted at London by Richard Field dwelling in the Blacke-friers neare Ludgate. 1591. [McK 192]; E4b, preface, "To the reasonable reader"; F1, text resumes.

The anatomie of pope Joane was published separately in 1624 (STC 17754).

Folger: STC 17752

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

- 18286.5 MURDERS. Sundrye strange and inhumaine murthers, lately committed. The first of a father that hired a man to kill three of his children neere to Ashford in Kent:

The second of master Page of Plymoth, murdered by the consent of his owne wife: with the strange discoverie of sundrie other murthers. Wherein is described the odiousnesse of murther, with the vengeance which god inflicteth on murtherers.

Printed at London by Thomas Scarlet. 1591.

4to. A-B⁴; 8 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 175.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [with an illustration showing the three children being murdered with an axe]; A2, text.

The title-page is oversize, folding in approximately one inch along the right-hand margin.

Lambeth Palace: 1594. 16. (10) See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

18422.5. NELSON, Thomas. The blessed state of England. Declaring the sundrie dangers which by Gods assistance, the queenes most excellent maiestie hath escaped in the whole course of her life. With her singular vertues and peaceable gouernment. Wherein is also shewed how greatly foraine nations doe admire and wonder thereat, together with the rare titles of commendation which the great Emperor of the Turkes lately sent in his letters to her highnesse.

[London:] Printed [by Robert Robinson?] for William Wright. 1591.

4to. A-B⁴; 8 unnumbered leaves; W/p 370.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to the Lord Mayor of London and the Aldermen; A3, text; B1, another section, containing the letter from the Emperor of the Turks, etc.

An illustration on the title-page depicting Death standing over a human figure was the property of Robert Robinson.

Entered to William Wright, 5 January 1591.

Folger: STC 18422.5 See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

18450. NETHERLANDS--States Generall. The answere of
Tr. the states generall of the vnited prouinces of the
(Germ.) low countries vnto the ambassadors of Germanie,
their proposition.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to bee sold at his
shop ouer against the great South dore of Saint Paule. 1591.

4to. A³ B-C⁴; 11 leaves, pp. [2]1(A2)-21 [i.e. 19] [1];
W/p, 370.

Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 242]; A2, text; C4b, blank.

The document attempts to mollify the Germans following a
complaint that soldiers of the States had encroached upon
Germany sovereignty. The text consists of several diplomatic
exchanges, dated from 23 September through 13 October 1590.

Lincoln Cathedral

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

18451. NETHERLANDS--States Generall. (Tr. from German
French. by P. Verheile)
Copie de la responce de messieurs les estats gener-
aux sur la proposition a eux faite, par messieurs
les ambassadeurs des circles d'Alemagne.

Londres: Imprimé par Iohn Wolfe, & se vendent à sa botique
vis à vis de la grand porte de S. Paul du costé midy. 1591.

4to. A-D⁴; 16 leaves, pp. [5]1(A3b)-27; W/p, 210.
Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 242]; dedication to "Monseigneur
le Viconte de Touraine," by P. Verheile, who says he trans-
lated the book from German; A3b, text.

A translation of STC 18450. Entered to John Wolfe, 17 October
1590.

British Library: 1195. g. 31

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

18654.3 NORRIS, Sir John. Newes sent out of Britayn
[i.e. Brittany], and other places on the third of
Iune 1591. to a gentleman of account.
Concerning the seuerall exploits of Sir Iohn Norris,

Lord Gouvernour of hir Maiesties forces in Brittainē,
since his departure from England.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be sold at his shop
right ouer against the great South-doore of Paules. 1591.

4to. A⁴; 4 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 240.
Roman with italic and black letter. Side-notes.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 215]; A2, text; B4b, blank.

The newsletter deals chiefly with the capture of a city named
Guingamp, at which the English contingent played an honourable
part. The narrative of events in Brittany is apparently con-
tinued in STC 13136 (q.v.).

Entered to John Wolfe, 5 June 1591.

Huntington: 61649

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

18655. NORRIS, Sir John. The true reporte of the seruice
in Britaniē. Performed lately by the honorable
knight Sir Iohn Norreys and other captaines and
gentlemen souldiers before Guingand [i.e. Guingamp].
Together with the articles which the Prince de D'ombes
accorded to the defendants of the towne.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be sold at his shop
right ouer against the great South-doore of Paules. 1591.

4to. A⁴ B²; 6 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 240.
Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 251]; A2, text.

This news pamphlet is a reproduction of a letter in which is
given a more detailed account of the events at Guingamp than
in the preceding entry.

Huntington: 31981

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

19172.3 PANKE, William. A most breefe, easie and plaine
receite for faire writing. Wherin the author being
well acquainted with the causes, which in these daies
hinders it, hath for the good of his cuntrie, so
distinguished and broken euery perticular letter for
the true making thereof, and so perfectly and plainly

shewed the ready way of true ioyning the same. Both for the Roman and secretary handes, as any one of ordinarye yeres and capacity, not hindring any other busines, may at his idle times by his own priuate practise, in short time attaine to write to, to serue very good vses either in office or otherwise.

At London: Printed by E[dward]. A[llde]. for Iohn Perin, and are to be solde in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Angell. [1591.]

8vo. A⁸ [A8 blank]; 7 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 310. Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Manuscript additions.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to "Thomas Powle Esquire, one of the six Clarkes of her Maiesties most honourable Court of Chauncery," by Panke; A2b, preface, "To the Reader," dated "Vltimo Septembris. 1591," by Panke; A3, text, dealing with the secretary hand to sig. A6, where an analysis of the Roman hand begins.

The writer gives detailed instructions for the formation of the various letters by breaking each operation down into steps. Each step is illustrated at the appropriate place in the text by example, the various strokes and loops having been written into the text by hand after each copy of the book left the press.

Published after 30 September 1591, the date of the preface.

Huntington: 59196

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

19183. PARADIN, Claude. (Tr. P. S.) The heroicall
Tr. deuises of M. Claudius Paradin Canon of Beaulieu.
(Lat.) Whereunto are added the Lord Gabriel Symeons and
others.
Translated out of Latin into English by P. S.

London: Imprinted by William Kearney dwelling in Aldersgate Streete. 1591.

16mo. in 8's. ¶⁶ A-Z⁸ 2A²; 192 leaves, pp. [12]1(A1)-374 [i.e. 372]; W/p, 250.

Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin, French and Italian mottoes. Illustrations.

¶1, blank; ¶2 (verso blank), title [McK 258]; ¶3, dedication to Captain Christopher Carleill, commander of the English forces in Ulster by William Kearney, the printer, dated from "London the third of Ianuarie. 1591"; ¶5, second dedication, from the original work, to Theodet of Marze, by Paradin; A1, text.

The text contains over two hundred illustrations of emblematic designs, with accompanying mottoes.

Published after 3 January 1591. Entered to Thomas Scarlet 17 August 1590.

University of Illinois: 842P22 Od. Ed.
See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

19381. PARSONS, Robert. (Ed. Edmund Bunny) The second
R part of the booke of Christian exercise, appertayning to resolution.
Or a Christian directorie, guiding all men vnto theyr saluation.
Written by the former authour. R[obert]. P[arsons].
Psalm 27. ver 4. One thing haue I requested of the Lorde, and that will I demaund stil, which is, to dwell in hys house all the dayes of my lyfe: to the ende I may knowe and doe his will.

At London: Printed by Iohn Charlewood for Simon Waterson, in S. Paules Church-yarde, at Cheape gate. 1591.

12mo. ¶⁶ *¹¹ A-Y¹² [¶1 blank]; 280 leaves, pp. [32]1(A1)-527 [1]; W/p, 150.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

¶2 (verso blank), title; ¶3, dedication to Sir Thomas Heneage, unsigned; ¶4b, blank; ¶5, preface, "To the Christian reader," unsigned; ¶6b, blank; *1, table, by chapters, including "euery particuler argument handled in each Chapter"; A1, text; Y12b, blank.

The book was anonymously adapted for Protestant use largely from the new material in the enlarged edition of A Book of Christian Exercise published in 1585 at Rouen (STC 19354.1)

Second of thirteen editions, 1590-1633. The work also appeared in translation, in Welsh, in 1632 (STC 19390).

Huntington: 85933

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

19429. PARTRIDGE, John. The 'treasurie of commodious
 R conceits, and hidden secretes.
 Commonlie called the good huswiues closet of
 prouision, for the health of her houshold.
 Meete and necessarie for the profitable vse of all
 estates.
 Gathered out of sundry experiments, lately practised
 by men of great knowledge: and now newly corrected,
 and inlarged, with diuers necessary phisicke helpes,
 not impertinent for euery good huswife to vse in
 her house, amongst her own famelie.

London: Printed by [John Charlewood? for] Richard Iones, at
 the Rose and Crowne neere Holborne bridge. 1591.

8vo. A-F⁸; 48 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 270.
 Black letter with roman and italic.

A1, title; A1b, preface in verse, "The Printer to all women,
 that couet the practise of good Huswiferie, aswel wiues as
 maides; A2, dedication to Richard Wistow, "one of the assis-
 tants of the Companie of the Barbors and Surgions," by
 Partridge; A3b, verse, "The Author to his booke, concerning
 his friend, whose importunate suit procured him to publish
 the same," initialled "I. P."; A4, text; F7, table.

The book contains recipes for such things as condiments as
 well as instructions for making medicines and cosmetics.
 The treatment of certain diseases, such as plague and "French
 Pockes" is given as well. According to DNB Partridge probably
 supplied all the verses himself (XV, 427-28).

Fifth of eleven editions, 1573-1637.

Bodleian: 8^o. F. 8. Ling. (6) See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

19532. PEELE, George. Descensus Astraeae. The deuice
 of a pageant, borne before M. William Web, Lord
 Maior of the citie of London on the day he tooke
 his oath, beeing the 29. of October. 1591.
 Wherevnto is annexed a speech deliuered by one
 clad like a sea nymph, who presented a pinesse
 on the water brauely rigd and mand, to the Lord
 Maior, at the time he tooke barge to go to
 Westminster.
 Done by G[eorge]. Peele Maister of Arts in Oxford.

[London:] Printed [by Thomas Scarlet] for William Wright.
 [1591.]

4to. A⁴; 4 leaves, pp. [1-3]4(A2b)-8; W/p, 250.
Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text.

The text consists of speeches, in verse, delivered by various allegorical characters who formed part of the procession honouring the Lord Mayor on the day he took office. One of the speeches was delivered "on the water" as the procession travelled to Westminster.

Published after 29 October 1591.

Guildhall Library, London

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

19619. PERCYVALL, Richard. Bibliotheca Hispanica.
[Tr.?] Containing a grammar; with a dictionarie in Spanish, English, and Latine; gathered out of diuers good authors; very profitable for the studious of the Spanish toong.
By Richard Percyvall Gent.
The dictionarie being enlarged with the Latine, by the aduise and conference of Master Thomas Doyley Doctor in Physicke.

Imprinted at London, by Iohn Iackson, for Richard Watkins.
1591.

4to. A-F⁴ A-Z⁴; 116 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 480.
Black letter with roman and italic. English, Spanish, and Latin.

A1, title; A1b, coat of arms, Essex; A2, dedication to the Earl of Essex by Percyvall; A3, preface, "To the Reader," initialled "R. P."; A3b, twelve lines of Latin verse, "Thomas Doyleyus medicinae doctor," and, below, ten lines of Latin verse, "Aduena quidam amicus"; A4, verse, sixteen lines, "To the practitioners in the Spanish" by "Iames Lea," and, below, ten lines of Latin verse, "Ad Lectorem," by Percyvall; A4b, table, "The analytically table for the grammar"; B1, text; F2, blank; F3 (verso blank), separate title: Bibliothecae Hispanicae pars altera. Containing a dictionarie in Spanish, English, and Latine: gathered out of diuers good authors: very profitable for the studious of the Spanish toong. By Richard Percyvall, gent. Enlarged with the Latine, by the aduise and conference of Master Thomas Doyley Doctor in Physicke. Imprinted at London by Iohn Iackson, for Richard Watkins. 1591.; F4, preface, "To the reader," in English and Latin; A1, text.

The Huntington copy is autographed by Gabriel Harvey on the title-page. Harvey also made a note on the title-page attributing the translation to "M[aster Iohn]. Thorius" [i.e. Thorie], a noted contemporary translator.

Entered to Richard Watkins, 26 December 1590.

Huntington: 56972

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

19655a. PERKINS, William. Armilla aurea, id est,
R theologiae descriptio mirandam seriem causarum &
Latin. salutis & damnationis iuxta verbum Dei proponens:
Eius synopsis continet annexa ad finem tabula.
Editio secunda.
Accessit practica Th. Bezae pro consolandis
afflictis conscientijs.

Cantabrigiae: Ex officina Johannis Legatt. Extant Londini
apud Abrahamum Kitson, ad insigne Solis in Coemiterio D.
Pauli. [1591?]

8vo. A² B-X⁸ [with X8 blank and a fold-out after A2b]; 162
unnumbered leaves; W/p, 200.
Roman with italic. Some Greek. Tables.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to the members of
Cambridge University by Perkins, dated 20 January 1590;
B1, text, with tables on sigs. P1, P2b, Q3b, T8b; X2b, separate
heading, "Eximia tractatio de consolandis ijs qui circa
Praedestinationem tentantur," Beza's tract on predestination;
on X7 (verso blank), errata.

Published before 10 May 1591, the date of purchase of the
British Library copy. Second of thirteen editions and re-
visions in Latin and English, 1590-1621.

British Library: 1020. g. 5 (1) See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

19657. PERKINS, William. [Tr. R. Hill] A golden
Tr. chaine, or the description of theologie, containing
(Lat.) the order of the causes of saluation and damnation,
R according to Gods woord. A view of the order wherof,
is to be seene in the table annexed.
Written in Latin by William Perkins, and translated
by an other.
Hereunto is adioyned the order which M. Theodore
Beza vsed in comforting troubled consciences.

At London: Printed by Edward Allde, and are to be sold by Edward White, at the little North doore of S. Paules Church at the signe of the Gunne. 1591.

8vo. A-X⁸ [X8 blank]; 167 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 280. Roman with italic. Some Greek. Tables. Diagrams.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, preface, "To the Christian reader," by Perkins, dated 18 April 1591; A3, text, with table (sig. P1b) on the Lord's Supper, diagram (sig. Q2) on justification, and diagram (sig. T7) on predestination; X2, separate heading, "An excellent Treatise of comforting such as are troubled about their Predestination," by Beza; X7b, blank.

This was the first English edition of the work.

Published after 18 April 1591. Third of thirteen editions and revisions in Latin and English, 1590-1621. Entered to Thomas Newman and Thomas Gubbin, 1 September 1590.

British Library: 3932. 6. 47 (3) See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*19658. PERKINS, William. A golden chaine, or the
Tr. description of theologie
(Lat.)
R

[Anr. ed.] 8vo. John Legate, printer to the University
of Cambridge, sold [by Abraham Kitson,] London, [1591?]

Fourth of thirteen editions and revisions in Latin and English,
1590-1621.

Cambridge, etc. See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

19710. PERKINS, William. The foundation of Christian
R religion, gathered into six principles.
And it is to bee learned of ignorant people,
that they may be fit to hear sermons with profit,
and to receiue the Lords Supper with comfort.
Psal. 119. 30. The entrance into thy words sheweth
light, and giueth vnderstanding to the simple.

[London:] Printed by Thomas Orwin, for Iohn Porter. 1591.

8vo. A-B⁸ C⁴; 20 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 160.
Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, preface, "To all ignorant people that desire to be instructed"; A4, text, the six principles; A5b, blank; A6, text resumes, "The exposition of the principles."

Second of nineteen editions, 1590-1638.

British Library: 3932. b. 47 (1) See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

19753. PERKINS, William. A treatise tending vnto a
R declaration, whether a man bee in the estate of
damnation, or in the estate of grace: and if he
be in the first, how he may in time come out of
it: if in the second, how he may discerne it,
and perseuer in the same to the ende.
Newly corrected and augmented by William Perkins,
fellowe of Christs Colledge in Cambridge.
The poynts that are handled are set downe in the
page following.
2 Pet. 1. vers. 10. Giue all diligence to make
your calling and election sure: for if ye doo
those things ye shall neuer fall.

Printed at London by Thomas Orwin, for Iohn Porter, and Thomas
Gubbin. 1591.

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, for Iohn
Porter, and Thomas Gubbin.

8vo. A-R⁸ 2A-B⁸; 152 leaves, ff. [8]1(B1)-129, 1(2A2)-13 [2];
W/p, 230.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), signature letter only; A2, title [McK 262];
A2b, contents; A3, dedication to Valentine Knightley, a
justice of the peace in Northamptonshire, by Perkins, dated
at Cambridge, 24 November 1589; A4b, blank; A5, preface, "To
the Christian reader," dated 1589; A8b, blank; B1, text; 2A1b,
blank; 2A2, text continues, "A Declaration of certen spirituall
Desertions, seruing to terrifie all drowsie Protestants, and
to comfort them which mourne for their sinnes"; 2B7 (verso
blank), colophon; 2B8, blank.

The "Declaration of certen spirituall Desertions" appeared for
the first time in this edition.

Third of ten editions, [1590?]-1619.

Folger: STC 19753

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

19876. PHILLIPS, John. Vt hora, sic fugit vita. A commemoration on the life and death of the right honourable, Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight, late Lord Chancellor of England. Wherin triumphant Trueth reuiueth his memorie from the graue: exhorting nobilitie, gentry, and duetifull subiects, to continue their obedience to God and her maiestie, and to preuent by pollicie the perilous practises of euery ciuil and forrain enemy. Published by Iohn Phillips. Fidenti sperata cedunt.

London: Printed [by Edward Allde] for Edward White. 1591.

4to. A-B⁴; 8 leaves, pp. [4]1(A3)-12; W/p, 195. Roman with italic. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 290]; A2, dedication to Sir William Hatton, "Sonne adopted and Heire to . . . Sir Christopher Hatton," by Phillips; A3, text, in verse.

The device of Edward Allde appears on the title-page. The verses, in sestets, concern the transitoriness of life, and the uselessness of wealth and rank. Hatton's good deeds are recorded, including the fact that he raised the pay of the Guards from sixteen to twenty pence a day. Readers are urged to follow his example and continue to support the country against the enemy, that is, Spain.

Published some time after Hatton's death on 20 November.

Huntington: 31749

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

*19916.7 PIGGE, Oliver. Sermons vpon the 101. psalme, conteyning profitable instruction for all, especially for such as haue any gouernement ouer others. [Init. O. P.]

8vo. Thomas Orwin for Thomas Man, 1591.

Folger (imp.)

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

19953. PISCATOR, Johann. Analysis logica euangelii
 Latin. secundum Johannem: una cum scholiis & observa-
 tionibus locorum doctrinae.
 Autore M. Johanne Piscatore, sacrarum literarum
 in illustri schola Herbornensi professore.

Londini: [Eliot's Court Press], Impensis G[eorge]. Bishop.
 [1591.]

8vo. A-N⁸ O⁴; 108 leaves, pp. [10]1(A6)-205 [1]; W/p, 450.
 Roman with italic. Some Greek.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 185b = TPB 146b]; A2, dedication,
 to Count Arnold of Bentheim by Piscator, dated from Ireland,
 16 March 1591; A6, text; O4b, blank.

Published after 16 March 1591. Entered to Edmond Bollifant
 and partners, 27 May 1591. First of two editions, 1591-1595.

Huntington: 60199

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

19956. PISCATOR, Johann. Analysis logica epistolarum
 R Pauli ad
 Latin. Romanos.
 Corinthios.
 Galatas.
 Ephesios.
 Philippenses.
 Colossenses.
 Thessalonicenses.
 Una cum scholiis & observationibus locorum doctrinae.
 Autore M. Johan. Piscatore, sacrarum literarum in
 illustri schola Herbornensi professore.

Londidi: [Eliot's Court Press] Impensis Georg. Bishop. 1591.

8vo. A-2G⁸ 2H⁴; 244 leaves, pp. [12]1(A7)-476; W/p, 510.
 Roman with italic. Some Greek.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 185b = TPB 146b]; A2, dedication
 to Count Witgenstein by Piscator; A7, outline of Romans; A7b,
 text; K5, separate title, Analysis logica vtriusque epistolae
Pauli ad Corinthios; vna cum scholiis. Authore M. Iohan
Piscatore sacrarum literarum in illustri schola Herbornens:
professore. 1591.; K6, dedication to Count Catzenelenbogen,
 dated from Ireland, 4 February 1589, by Piscator; L1, text
 resumes; T8b, blank; V1 (verso blank), separate title, Analysis
logica sex epistolarum Pauli, videlicet ad Galatas. Ephesios.
Philippenses. Collossenses. Utriusq; ad Thessalonicenses.

Vna cum scholiis & observationibus locorum doctrinae. Authore
M. Johan. Piscatore, sacrarum literarum in illustri schola
Herbornensi professore. 1591.; V2, dedication to Count Solins,
 by Piscator, dated from Ireland, 29 June 1589; V5, text resumes.

Entered to George Bishop, 19 January 1590. Second of four
 editions, 1590-1608.

Huntington: 91524

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

19965. PITCHER, John. A fearefull example, shewed vpon
 [John Pitcher] a periured person.
 Who on the 14, of this present moneth of May being
 condemned for periury, in the honourable Court of
 Starre Chamber: did there desperatly stabbe him-
 selfe.
 Containing a notable warning to all common baylors.

At London: Printed [by Edward Allde] for Thomas Nelson. [1591.]

4to. A⁴; 8 leaves, pp. [2] [1]2(A2b)-5 [1]; W/p, 240.
 Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text; A4b, blank.

Published after 14 May 1591.

Bodleian: 4^o. C. 16. Art. BS. (28) See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

20118. PORTA, Giovanni Battista della. De furtiuis
 literarum notis vulgo.
 De Ziferis libri IIII.
 Ioan. Baptista Porta Neapolitano autore.

Cum Priuilegio Londini, Apud Iohannem Wolphium. 1591.

4to. †⁶ χ² *⁴ A-H⁴ I⁴ (I4 + χ1), K-2D⁴ 2E⁶; 125 leaves, pp.
 [20]1(A1)-72 [2] 73-228; W/p, 265.
 Roman with italic. Some Greek. Tables. Illustrations.
 Special scripts for coded writing.

†1 (verso blank), title; †2, dedication to Henry Percy, Lord
 Northumberland, dated at London, 1 May 1591, and signed
 "Iacobus Casteluitrius"; †3, preface, "Ad lectore"; †4b, blank;
 χ1, alphabetical index; on *4, register of signatures; *4b,
 errata list; A1, text; G2b, heading, "Liber Secundus"; I4 + χ1
 (verso blank), illustration; K1, illustration; K1b, text resumes;

K4, illustration; K4b, text resumes; L2, illustration; L2b, text resumes; on P1, afterword, dated at Naples, 5 Februarie 1560, and signed "Baptista porta Neapolitanus"; P1b, lists of codes in columns; R3b, text resumes; S4, heading, "Liber Tertius"; 2C1b, heading, Liber Quatuor; 2C3, tables.

Porta was a notable literary figure, scientist, and dabbler in the occult during the late fifteenth century. He founded several academies and is said to have invented the camera obscura.¹ Porta's work on cryptography includes many woodcut cyphers, typographic ornaments, and illustrations, including the Four Cardinal Virtues from Elizabeth's Prayer Book. John Wolfe specialized in foreign, particularly Italian, books.

Entered to John Wolfe, 2 November 1590.

University of Illinois: X652 P83d. 1591

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

*20118a. PORTA, Giovanni Battista della. De furtiuis
Latin literarum notis.

[Anr. issue, w. imprint:] Neapoli, ap. Io. Mar. Scotum,
1563 [London, John Wolfe, 1591.]

Imprint and dedication to Joannes Sotus copied from the Naples, 1563 edition. Wolfe's reprint has a mask ornament on the title-page while the original title-page has the arms of the kingdom of Naples.

British Library, Folger, etc. See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

20180. POYNTZ, Adrian. New and singular patternes &
workes of linnen. 1591.

Now = STC 24765.3 (q.v.)

20588. R., R., of Lincolnes Inne [Robert Rawlyns]. A
consort of the creatures, with the Creator, and
with themselues.

¹Alexander Chalmers, ed., The General Biographical Dictionary (London: J. Nichols and Son, 1816), XXV, 206-7.

By R. R. of Lincolnes Inne student in the common lawes.

It is not good in all things and at all times to be ashamed. Ecclesiast. 41.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, for William Young and Raph Iac-son. 1591.

8vo. A² B⁸ C⁶; 16 leaves, pp. [4]1(B1)-28; W/p, 120.
Roman with italic. Some Latin and Greek. Illustrations.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 273]; A2, blank; A2b, illustration; B1, text.

The harmony and order of creation are shown, first in a diagrammatic illustration and then in elaboration in the text.

Entered to Thomas Orwin, 11 January 1591.

Folger: STC 20588

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

20593. R., W. The most horrible and tragicall murder of the right honorable, the vertuous and valerous Gentleman, Iohn Lord Bourgh, Baron of Castell Connell.
Committed by Arnold Cosby, the foureteeth of Ianuarie.
Togeather with the sorrowfull sighes of a sadde soule, vppon his funerall: written by W. R. a seruant of the said Lord Bourgh.
Tempus, fortuna, fient.

[London:] Printed by R[obert]. R[obinson]. 1591.

4to. A-B⁴; 8 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 370.
Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 244]; A2, text; B1, verse, headed, "The sighes of a sad soule vpon the vnfortunate death of the Right Honourable the vertuous and valarous gentleman the Lord Bourgh."

See also STC 5813, 5814. Only the verse is by "W. R."

Entered to Robert Robinson, 26 January 1591.

Huntington: 31793

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

20651. RALEIGH, Sir Walter. A report of the truth of the fight about the Iles of Açores, this last sommer.
Betwixt the Reuenge, one of her maiesties shippes, and an armada of the king of Spaine.

London: Printed [by Iohn Windet] for William Ponsonbie. 1591.
[COLOPHON] London: Printed for William Ponsonbie. 1591.

4to. A-D⁴ [A1, D4 blank]; 14 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 250.
Roman with italic.

A2 (verso blank), title; A3, text; D2b, headed, "A perticuler note of the Indian fleet, expected to haue come into Spaine this present yere of 1591. With the number of ships that are perished of the same: according to the examination of certaine Spanyards, lately taken and brought into England by the shippes of London"; on D3b, colophon.

Spain is condemned for spreading false reports about the incident, her motives being seen as an attempt to cover her shame over the affair of 1588. The Armada incident is reviewed briefly, as is Sir John Norris's expedition against Lisbon. The second section tells of the misfortunes suffered at the hands of nature and English privateers during the period July-September. Leaf A3b-A4 has been found to exist in two settings, with A3b line 1 ending "parciali-," as with the present copy, or "parciall-," in one of the copies at the British Library.

Entered to William Ponsonby, 23 November 1591.

Bodleian: A. 6. 21. Linc (7)

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

*20853. REGIUS, Urbanus. The solace of Sion, and ioy
Tr. of Ierusalem. Beeing a godly exposition of the
(Lat?) Lxxxvij. psalme. Tr. into english by R. Robinson.
R

[Anr. ed.] 8vo. [John Charlewood f.] R. Jones, 1591.

Second of three editions, 1587-1594.

Cambridge, Harvard, etc.

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

21057. RIPLEY, George. [ed. Ralph Rabbards] The
compound of alchymy.

Or the ancient hidden art of archemie: conteining
the right & perfectest meanes to make the Philosophers
Stone, aurum potabile, with other excellent experi-
ments.

Diuided into twelve gates.

First written by the learned and rare philosopher
of our nation George Ripley, sometime Chanon of
Bridlington in Yorkeshyre: & dedicated to K.
Edward the 4. Whereunto is adioyned his Epistle
to the King, his Vision, his Wheele, & other his
Workes, neuer before published: with certaine
briefe additions of other notable writers concerning
the same.

Set foorth by Raph Rabbards Gentleman, studious and
expert in archeicall artes.

Pulchrum pro patria pati.

London: Imprinted by Thomas Orwin. 1591.

[EXPLICIT] Amen. quod George Ripley. Finis.

4to. A⁴ *⁴ B-M⁴; 52 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 250.

Roman with italic. Some Latin and Greek. Illustration de-
picting Queen Elizabeth on A2.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 154b = TPB 125b]; A2, dedication
to Elizabeth by Rabbards; *1, preface, "To the right Honourable,
Worshipfull, and worthy Gentlemen of England, and other learned
& industrious Students in the secrets of Philosophie," signed
"yours in the furtherance of Science, Raph Rabbards"; *2,
sixteen lines of Latin verse, "Thomas Newtonus Cestreshyrius,"
signed "Thomas Newton," and, below, fifteen lines of verse,
"I. D. gent: in praise of the Author, and his Worke"; *2b, 18
lines of verse, "P. Bales Gent. in commendation of the Author,
and his twelue gates: Orderly set down [that is, named] in
the 12. last verses"; *3, thirteen lines of Latin verse, "The
Summe of this Worke, learnedly reduced into these few verses,
by the diuine Poet Palingenius," and, below, verse, "Sr. E. K.
concerning the Philosophers Stone, written to his especiall
good friend, G. S. Gent."; *4, verse, "The Vision of Sir George
Ripley, Chanon of Bridlington"; *4b, preface, in verse, "Titulus
operis," and, below, "A briefe note to the Readers," noting
that "the wheele" (sig. M3) differs "through the diuersitie
of Copies," stressing his care, nonetheless, and challenging
carpers; B1, text, in verse, prologue; on C2b, text proper,
beginning "Of Calcination"; K3, text ends, and, below, verse,
"Recapitulatio totius operis praedict:"; L1, verse, "An Admoni-
tion, wherein the Author declareth his erronious Experiments,"
signed "Amen quod George Ripley"; L3, verse, "The Epistle by
the same Author written to King Edward the 4"; M3, illustration,
"George Ripleys Wheele mentioned in his Worke"; M3b, note "To
the indifferent Reader," regarding faults and errors, and

concluding that "if in reading hereof thou shalt note any fault in matter or forme, that thou wilt curteously note the same and send it vnto me, or the house of Peter Bales in Olde Bayly, too bee corrected vpon the next generall impression, there being but a small number of these Bookes imprinted, remayning at this time in his handes to be priuately deliuered to the learned & desirous thereof."

Entered to Thomas Orwin, 12 May 1591.

Huntington: 69121

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

21136. ROBSON, Simon. The court of ciuill courtesie.
R Fitlie furnished with a pleasant port of stately phrases and pithy precepts: assembled in the behalfe of all young gentlemen, and others, that are desirous to frame their behauour according to their estates, at all times, and in all companies. Therby to purchase worthy praise of their inferiours: and estimation and credite among their betters. Out of the Italian, by S[imon]. R[obson]. Gent.

Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones. 1591.

4to. A-E⁴; 20 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 410.
Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, preface, "To the flourishing youthes, and curteous young Gentlemen of England, R[ichard]. I[hones]. the Printer hereof, wisheth an happie New-yeare present," etc.; A2b, fictitious letter allegedly written by Bengalaso del Mont. Prisacchi Retta to his nephew by way of introduction to the book; A3, text.

Jones's preface to the 1577 edition, reproduced here, says that the book was "the first fruits of my poore Presse." Purported to be a translation, the book is actually by Robson. The text deals with such matters as responding to praise offered by others, dealing with courtesies from a noble person, behaving properly at table, dealing with one who has given offense, and handling taunts from envious and scornful persons.

Third of three editions, 1577-1591.

Folger: STC 21136

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

21280. ROLLOCK, Robert. In librum Danielis prophetae,
Latin. Roberti Rolloci Scoti, ministri Iesu Christi in
Ecclesiae Edinburgensi, commentarius.

Edinburgi: Excudebat Robertus Walde-graue, Typographus
Regiae Maiestatis. 1591. Cum Priuilegio Regali.

4to. in 8's. [A]⁴ B-X⁸ 2A-H⁸ 2I⁴ 2K⁸ 2L¹; 241 leaves, pp.
[8]1(B1)-480 [i.e. 460] [14]; W/p, 260.
Roman with italic.

[A]1, title ["Amor" and "Pax" from the Elizabethan prayer book
as a border]; [A]1b, arms of James VI; [A]2, dedication to
James VI and Queen Anne, dated at Edinburgh, 1 October 1591,
by Rollock; [A]4, preface, "Ad lectorem," and, below,
"Argumentum"; B1, text; 2K3, index; on 2L1b, at the bottom
of last column of index, errata list regarding pagination
errors, which are numerous after page 209.

The exegesis of Daniel is divided into twelve parts.

Published after 1 October 1591.

Huntington

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

21619. SALISBURY, John. Siarles Arglwyddâ Howard.
[Brief authorizing collections in behalf of John Salisbury.
1591.]

= STC 13856 (q.v.)

21656. SALUSTE DU BARTAS, Guillaume de.
Latin. Guilielmi Salustii Bartassii hebdomas.
A Gabriele Lermaeo latinitate donata.
Ad serenissimam, atque illustrissimam Elizabetham,
Angliae, Franciae, & Hyberniae Reginam.
Opus argumento sacrum, stylo perelegans, doctis
gratum, studiosae iuuentuti perutile.

Londini: [John Windet?] Apud Robertum Dexter, in caemeterio
D. Pauli, sub insigni Serpentis aenei. 1591.
[COLOPHON] [None: in its place, McK 257.]

12mo. A⁵ A-I¹² K⁶ [K6 blank]; 118 leaves, ff. [5]1(A1)-112 [1];
W/p, 185.
Roman with italic. Some Greek.

A1 (verso blank), title, with royal arms above imprint; A2, dedication to Elizabeth; A5, sixteen lines of Latin verse, "In Gulielmi Salustii Hebdomadem," initialled "Th. B. V. F.," and, below, twelve lines of Greek verse; A5b, sonnet in Latin, in commendation of Du Bartas; A1, text, in Latin verse; K5 (verso blank), McK 257 as colophon.

The epic poem by the French poet and soldier Du Bartas concerning the creation of the world was a contemporary favourite.

Entered to Robert Dexter, 6 February 1591.

Folger: STC 21656

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

21749. SARAUIA, Hadrianus. D. Sarauia
Tr. 1. Of the diuerse degrees of the Ministers of the
(Lat.) Gospell.
2. Of the honor which is due vnto the priestes and
prelates of the church.
3. Of sacrilege, and the punishment thereof.
The particulars of the aforesaide treatises to be
seen in the next pages. Iob. 8.
8. Inquire I pray thee of the former age, and
prepare thy selfe to learne of the Fathers,
9. (For we are but of yesterday, and are ignorant.)
10. Shall not they teach thee?

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be sold by Iohn Perin at the signe of the Angell in Paules Church-yard. 1591.

4to. *⁴ A-2L⁴; 140 leaves, pp. [40]1(E1)-240; W/p, 370.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin and Greek.

*1 (verso blank), title [McK 216]; *2, contents; *4, preface, by the translator; A1, dedication to John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, and to Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor, and to Sir William Cecil, Lord Treasurer, by Saravia, dated at London, 4 Kal. April [i.e. 29 March] 1590; A4b, dedication to "the godlie and faithfull ministers of the Church of Christ, throughout the Low countries, my brethren," by Saravia, dated as before; C2, preface; D1, "The Praemle"; D4b, blank; E1, text; R1b, blank; R2, book two; 2I1b, book three.

The original Latin version of Saravia's defense of episcopacy appeared in 1590 (STC 21746).

First of two editions to 1592.

Folger: STC 21749

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22536. SIDNEY, Sir Philip. [With additional material by Samuel Daniel and others.]
Syr P[hilip]. S[idney]. his Astrophel and Stella.
Wherein the excellence of sweete poesie is concluded.
To the end of which are added, sundry other rare
sonnets of diuers noblemen and gentlemen.

At London: Printed [by John Charlewood] for Thomas Newman.
Anno Domini. 1591.

4to. A-L⁴; 44 leaves, pp. [8]1(B1)-80; W/p, 250.
Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to Francis Flower, by Thomas Newman; A3, preface, "Somewhat to reade for them that list," by Thomas Nashe; B1, text; on I3, "Finis. Syr P. S."; I3b, poems of others beginning with verse by S[amuel]. D[aniel].

This edition was suppressed (Arber, I, 555).

First of three editions, 1591-[1597?].

British Library

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

22537. SIDNEY, Sir Philip. Sir P[hilip]. S[idney]. his
R Astrophel and Stella.
Wherein the excellence of sweete poesie is concluded.

At London: Printed [by John Danter] for Thomas Newman. Anno
Domini. 1591.
[EXPLICIT] Finis. Syr P. S.

4to. A-H⁴; 32 leaves, pp. [2]1(A2)-61 [1]; W/p, 250.
Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text; on H4 (verso blank), explicit.

Second of three editions, 1591-[1597?]. Without the prefaces
or the added sonnets.

Huntington: 69457

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

22538. SIDNEY, Sir Philip. [Anr. ed. of 22536.]
Syr. P. S. his Astrophel and Stella.

Formerly [1591], now [1597?]

22656. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The affinitie of the
faithfull: being a verie godlie and fruitfull
sermon, made vpon part of the eight chapter of
the gospel of Sainte Luke.
By Henrie Smith.

At London: Printed by William Hoskins [, John Danter,] and
Henrie Chettle, for Nicholas Ling, and Iohn Busbie. 1591.

8vo. A-B⁸ C⁴ [A1, C4 blank]; 18 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 155.
Roman with italic. Side-notes.

A2 (verso blank), title; A3, text; C3b, blank.

Taking as his text, Luke 8:19-21, where Christ is interrupted
by relatives while preaching, Smith discusses the nature of
spiritual and human kinship, and concludes that the obliga-
tions of one's earthly kinships, such as the relationship with
parents, should always remain secondary to the obligations
imposed by one's kinship with God.

Entered to Nicholas Ling, 12 September 1591. First of two
editions in 1591. Reprinted in various collections: STC
22718 (1592) - 22722, and 22735 (1599) sqq.

Huntington: 22245 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*22656.5. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The affinitie of the
faithfull

[A variant, with imprint:] William Hoskins and John Danter
for Nicholas Ling and John Busbie, 1591.

The London Library, Folger, etc. See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*22657. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The affinitie of the
R faithfull

[Anr. ed.] Nowe the second time imprinted. 8vo. [T.
Scarlet] for Nicholas Ling and John Busbie, 1591.

British Library See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22659. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The Christians sacrifice.
R Seene, and allowed.

At London: Printed [by John Charlewood] for Thomas Man. Anno.
1591.

8vo. A-B⁸ C⁴; 20 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 210.
Roman with italic. Side-notes.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication "to my late auditors,
the congregation of Clement Danes" by Smith; A3, text.

The text, "My sonne, giue me thy hart" (Proverbs 23:26),
provides the basis for this sermon, which was evidently Smith's
farewell sermon to his congregation at St. Clement Danes (sig.
A3).

Entered to Thomas Man, 3 October 1589. Second of two editions,
1589-1591. Reprinted in various collections: STC 22718 (1592)
and 22783.3 ([1591?]) sqq.

Folger: STC 22659

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22660. SMITH, Henry, Minister. [Title-page wanting;
STC² has:] [The examination of vsury. In two
sermons. Taken by characterie, and after examined.
[Init. H. S.]

[London:] Richard Field for Thomas Man, 1591.]

8vo. A-C⁸ D⁴ [A1 wanting]; 28 leaves, pp. [4]1(A3)-52; W/p,
180.

Roman with italic. Side-notes.

[A1 (verso blank?), title]; A2, preface, initialled "H[enry].
S[mith.>"; A3, text; C3, second sermon begins.

The sermons on usury were evidently part of a series on a
number of sins, including bribery and simony (sig. A3b).
Taking as his text Psalm 15:1,5, Smith examines usury under a
number of headings as he defines what it is, examines arguments
alleged in favour of it, considers the position of borrowers
on usury, and so on.

Reprinted in various collections: STC 22685 (1591)-22687,
22783.3 [1591?] and 22718 (1592) sqq.; also issued as pt. 3
of 22685.5 (1591).

Entered to Thomas Man, 4 February 1591.

Folger: STC 22660

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22661. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The examination of vsury, in two sermons. Taken by characterie, and after examined.

[Anr. ed.] 8vo. Thomas Orwin for Thomas Man, 1591.
Collates A² B-E⁸ F⁴; = pt. 3 of STC 22685.

[Anr. ed.] 8vo. Thomas Orwin for Thomas Man, 1591.
Collates H2-8 I-L⁸, with H3 missigned A3; see pt. 2 of STC 22687.

22662. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The fall of King Nabuchadnezzar.
Dan. 4. 28. 29. 30.
By Henrie Smith.

[London:] Printed by Thomas Scarlet, 1591.

8vo. A-B⁸ C⁴; 20 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 155.
Roman with italic. Side-notes.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 227]; A2, text; C4b, blank.

Entered to Thomas Scarlet, 19 July 1591. First of two editions in 1591. Running titles in all quires. Reprinted in various collections: STC 22783.7 (1592) and 22718 (1592) sqq.

British Library: 4474. b. 102 (2) See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*22662.5. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The fall of king Nabuchadnezzar.
R

[Anr. ed.] 8vo. Thomas Scarlet, (sold by William Wright,) 1591.

Second of two editions in 1591. No running titles.

Bodleian, Huntington, etc.

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22663. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The first sermon of Noah's drunkennes.
A glasse wherein all drunkards may behold their beastlinesse.
Noah also began to be an husbandman and planted a vineyard, and he dranke of the wine and was drunken, and was vncouered in the middest of his tent.
Gen. 9. 20.
Henry Smith.

Imprinted at London by [Edward Allde? for] William Kearney dwelling within Creeple-gate. 1591.

8vo. A-B⁸; 16 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 200.
Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 219]; A2, text; B8b, blank.

The text of the sermon is Genesis 9:20-1.

Entered to Cuthbert Burby 28 April 1592. Reprinted in various collections: STC 22718 (1592)-22719; 22747.3 ([1595?]) sqq.; and 22781 (1629) sqq.

British Library: 4452. a. 30 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22664. SMITH, Henry, Minister. A fruitfull sermon, vpon part of the 5. chapter of the first Epistle of Saint Paul to the Thessalonians, by Henrie Smith. Which sermon being taken by characterie, is now published for the benefite of the faithfull.

At London: Printed (by William Hoskins, Henry Chettle, and Iohn Danter) for Nicholas Ling. 1591.
[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London, by William Hoskins, Henrie Chettle, and Iohn Danter, for Nicholas Ling: & are to be sold at his shop at the West end of Paules. 1591.

8vo. A-C⁸; 24 leaves, pp. [1-4]5(A3)-45 [3]; W/p, 130.
Roman with italic. Side-notes.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text; C7b, colophon; C8, blank.

The text is I Thessalonians 5:19-22.

Entered to Nicholas Ling, 18 August 1591. First of two editions in 1591. Reprinted as "The true trial" in various collections: STC 22718 (1592) sqq.

Folger: STC 22664 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22665. SMITH, Henry, Minister. A fruitfull sermon,
 R vpon part of the 5. chapter of the first Epistle
 of Saint Paule to the Thessalonians.
 By Henry Smith,
 Which sermon being taken by characterie, is now
 published for the benefite of the faithfull.

At London: Printed [by William Hoskins, Henry Chettle, and
 John Danter] for the Widdowe Broome. 1591.
 [COLOPHON] Imprinted at London, for the widdowe Broome. Anno
 Dom. 1591.

8vo. A-C⁸; 24 leaves, pp. [1,2]3(A2)-45 [3]; W/p, 1'80.
 Roman with italic. Side-notes.

Second of two editions in 1591.

British Library: 4474. a. 22 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22681. SMITH, Henry, Minister. [The Folger copy is
 imperfect, wanting the title-page and all after
 sig. E3. STC² has:] The magistrates scripture,
 which treateth of their election, excellencie,
 qualities, dutie, and end: with two prayers . .

[A variant, w. imprint:] [Richard Field for] William Kearney,
 1591.

8vo. A-D⁸ E1-3 [Folger copy lacks A1 and all after E3];
 paginated; W/p, 115.
 Roman with italic. Side-notes.

[A1 wanting]; A2, text, headed "The Magistrates Scripture."

The text is Psalm 82:6-7, "I haue said yee are gods . . . but
 you shal die like men"

First published in 1590 (STC 22680). Reprinted in various
 collections: STC 22717 (1592); 22783.5 (1592); 22718 (1592) sqq.

Folger: STC 22681 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22684. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The preachers proclama-
 tion. Discoursing the vanity of all earthly things,
 and proouing that there is no contentation to a
 Christian minde, but onely in the feare of God.
 Ecclesiastes. 1. 2. Vanitie of vanities, saith the

Preacher, vanitie of vanities, all is vanitie.
Henry Smith.

Imprinted at London by [Edward Allde? for] William Kearney dwelling within Creeple-gate. 1591.

8vo. A-B⁸ C⁴; 20 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 400.
Roman with italic. Side-notes.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 219]; A2, text.

The vanities of Solomon are taken as the starting point for a denunciation of contemporary vanities such as pride in apparel.

Entered to Thomas Man, 26 July 1591. Reprinted as "The trial of vanity" in various collections: STC 22717 (1592), 22783.5 (1592), and 22718 (1592) sqq.

British Library: 4474. a. 23 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22685. SMITH, Henry, Minister. A preparatiue to marriage. The summe whereof was spoken at a contract, and enlarged after. Whereunto is annexed a treatise of the Lords Supper, and another of vsurie. By Henrie Smith.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin for Thomas Man, dwelling in Paternoster row at the signe of the Talbot. 1591.

8vo. A-H⁸ A-H⁸ I² A² B-E⁸ F⁴; 168 leaves, pp. (in Pt. 1 only): [12]1(A7)-115 [1], with 104 unnumbered leaves, Pt. 2 and Pt. 3; W/p, 140.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 273a]; A2 (verso blank), dedication in Latin to William Cecil, by Smith; A3, preface "To the Reader"; A4, contents; A5, supplement to contents, "Other obseruations that fall in handling the partes"; A7, text; H8b, blank; ²A1 (verso blank), separate title: A treatise of the Lords Supper, in two sermons. Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin for Thomas Man, dwelling in Paternoster row at the signe of the Talbot. 1591. [McK 273a]; ²A2, text; on ²D8b, errata list, one item only; ²E1, "The second Sermon"; ³A1 (verso blank), separate title, The examination of usurie, in two sermons. Taken by characterie, and after examined. Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin for Thomas Man, dwelling in Paternoster row at the signe of the Talbot. 1591. [McK 273a]; ³A2, preface, "To

the Reader"; ³B1, text; ³D6b, blank; ³D7, "The second Sermon."

Entered to Thomas Man, 4 February 1591. First of four editions in 1591. Reprinted in STC 22718 (1592) sqq. Pt. 3 formerly also STC 22661.

Folger: STC 22685

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*22685.5 SMITH, Henry, Minister. A preparatiue to mariage.
R

[Anr. ed.] 3 pts. Richard Field for Thomas Man, 1591.

Collates A⁴ B-F⁸ G⁴ (Preparative); A⁸F⁸G⁴ (Lords supper, also issued separately as STC 22705); A-C⁸ D⁴ (Usury, also issued separately as STC 22660). No perfect copy extant.

British Library, Harvard

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22686. SMITH, Henry, Minister. A preparatiue to mariage.
R The summe whereof was spoken at a contract, and
inlarged after.
Whereunto is annexed a treatise of the Lords Supper:
and another of vsurie.
By Henrie Smith.
Newly corrected, and augmented by the author.

Imprinted at London by R[ichard]. Field for Thomas Man, dwelling in Paternoster row, at the signe of the Talbot. 1591.

8vo. A-R⁸ S⁴; 140 leaves, pp. [8]1(A5)-272; W/p, 190.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A1, title [McK 192]; A1b, dedication in Latin to William Cecil by Smith; A2, preface, "To the Reader"; A3, contents, including, on A3b, "Other obseruations that fall in handling the parts"; A5, text; G1, separate title, A treatise of the Lords Supper, in two sermons. Imprinted at London by R[ichard]. Field for Thomas Man, dwelling in Pater noster row, at the signe of the Talbot. 1591. [McK 192]; G1b, preface "To the Reader"; N7, text; P7, "The second Sermon"; R1 (verso blank), separate title, Three prayers, one for the morning, another for the euening, the third for a sick-man. Whereunto is annexed, a godly letter to a sicke friend: and a comfortable speech of a preacher vpon his death bed. Anno. 1591. Imprinted at London by Richard Field for Thomas Man, dwelling in Paternoster row, at the signe of the Talbot. 1591. [McK 192]; R2, text.

Third of four editions in 1591.

Folger: STC 22686

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22687. SMITH, Henry, Minister. A preparatiue to mariage.
 R The summe whereof was spoken at a contract, and
 enlarged after.
 Wherevnto is annexed a treatise of the Lords Supper:
 and another of vsurie.
 By Henrie Smith.
 Newly corrected, and augmented by the author.

At London: Printed by I[ohn]. Charlewood [and] (Thomas Orwin)
 for Thomas Man, dwelling in Paternoster row, at the signe of
 the Talbot. 1591.

8vo. A-G⁸ A-L⁸ A⁸ M⁴ [A1, M4 blank]; 154 leaves, pp. [14] [1]
 2(B1b)-96 [2]1(A2)-53 [1]1(D5)-58, [4]1(H4)-35 [1], 1(K6)-7,
 then ff. 8-14 [1]2(A1b)-20 [i.e. 22]; W/p, 155.
 Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A2 (verso blank), title; A3 (verso blank), dedication in Latin
 to William Cecil by Smith; A4, preface, "To the Reader";
 A5, contents; A6, "Other obseruations that fall in handling
 the parts"; B1, text; ²A1, separate title: A treatise of the
 Lords Supper, in two sermons. Imprinted at London by Thomas
 Orwin for Thomas Man, dwelling in Paternoster row, at the signe
 of the Talbot. 1591. [McK 273a]; A1b, preface, "To the
 Reader"; ²A2, text; ²D4b, blank; ²D5, "The second Sermon";
 H2 (verso blank), separate title, The examination of vsurie,
 in two sermons. Taken by characterie, and after examined.
 Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin for Thomas Man, dwelling
 in Paternoster row at the signe of the Talbot. 1591. [McK
 273a]; H3, preface, "To the Reader"; H4, text; K5b, blank;
 K6, "The second Sermon"; ³A1, separate title, Three praiers,
 one for the morning, another for the euening: the third for
 a sick-man. Whereunto is annexed, a godlie letter to a sicke-
 friend; and a comfortable speech of a preacher, vpon his death
 bed. 1591. London. Imprinted for Thomas Man. 1591.; ³A1b,
 text.

Some copies want quire ³A⁸, containing the three prayers,
 which appears in this copy before quire M⁴, printed by
 Charlewood and containing the letter and the speech.

Fourth of four editions in 1591.

British Library: 4452. a. 31

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22688. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The pride of King
Nabuchadnezzar. Dan. 4. 26. 27.
By Henrie Smith.

London: Printed by Thomas Scarlet 1591.

8vo. A-B⁸ C⁴ [A1, C4 blank]; 18 leaves, pp. [2] [1]2(A3b)-
33 [1]; W/p, 120.
Roman with italic. Side-notes.

A2 (verso blank), title [McK 277]; A3, text; C3b, blank.

Entered to Thomas Scarlet, 19 July 1591. First of two editions
in 1591. Reprinted in various collections: STC 22783.7 (1592)
and 22718 (1592) sqq.

British Library: 4474. a. 21 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22689. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The pride of King
R Nabuchadnezzar. Dan. 4. 26. 27.
By Henrie Smith.

[London:] Printed by Thomas Scarlet, and are to be sold by
William Wright. 1591.

8vo. A² A-B⁸; 18 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 130.
Roman with italic. Side-notes.

Wright observes that the sale of the Nebuchadnezzar sermons
has been hindered because of badly garbeled versions in print.
The present version, he says, has been collated from the best
copies.

Second of two editions in 1591.

Princeton Theological Seminary: A. p. 388
See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*22690. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The restitution of king
Nebuchadnezzar.

8vo. Thomas Scarlet, (sold by William Wright,) 1591

Entered to Thomas Scarlet, 19 July. Unpaginated. Reprinted in STC 22783.7 (1592) and 22718 (1592) sqq. First of two editions in 1591.

British Library

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22691. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The restitution of King
R Nabuchadnezzar.
Dan. 4. Verses. 31. 32. 33. 34.
By Henrie Smith.

[London:] Printed by Thomas Scarlet 1591.

[COLOPHON] Printed by T[homas]. S[carlet]. and are to be sold by William Wright. 1591.

8vo. A-C⁸ [A1, C8 blank]; 22 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 125. Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A2 (verso blank), title [McK 277]; A3, text; on C7 (verso blank), colophon.

Second of two editions in 1591.

Princeton Theological Seminary: A. p. 388

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*22696. SMITH, Henry, Minister. A sermon of the benefite
R of contentation. Taken by characterie.

[Anr. ed.] Newly examined and corrected by the author. 8vo. Abel Jeffes, 1591.

Collates A-B⁸ C⁴, no blanks. With address to the reader by Smith. Sixth of seven editions, 1590-1591.

British Library, Princeton Theological Seminary, etc.

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22696.5. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The benefite of contenta-
R tion.
Newly examined and corrected by the author.

London: Printed by Abell Ieffes, dwelling in the old Bailie. at the goulden Cup, 1561 [i.e. 1591].

8vo. in fours. A-E⁴; 20 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 215.
Roman with italic. Side-notes.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, preface, "To the Reader," by Smith; A2b, printer's device of Abel Jeffes [McK 253]; A3, text.

The text for the sermon is I Timothy 6:6, "Godliness is great gaine, if a man be content with that he hath." In the preface, Smith declares that the sermon has been popular, but "miserablye . . . abused in Printing, as it were with whole lims cut off at once, and cleane left out." He has taken pains, he says, when illness would allow him "both to perfit the matter, and to correct the print" (sig. A2).

Seventh of seven editions, 1590-1591.

Folger: STC 22696.5

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22703. SMITH, Henry, Minister. Three prayers, one for the morning, another for the euening: the third for a sick-man.
Whereunto is annexed, a godly letter to a sicke freend: and a comfortable speech of a preacher vpon his death bedde.
Anno. Dom. 1591.

At London: Printed [by John Charlewood?] for Thomas Man.
1591.

8vo. A⁸ B⁴; 12 leaves, pp. [1,2]3(A2)-24; W/p, 195.
Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text; on A6, "A Prayer for the Euening"; on B1b, "A Prayer for a sicke man"; B3, "A comfortable speech, taken from a godly Preacher, lying vpon his death bed: written for the sicke"; on B4, "A Letter written to ones freende in his sicknesse."

First of three editions, 1591-92. Reprinted in STC 22686-7, 22783.3 [1591?], and 22719 (1592) sqq.

Huntington: 69506

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*22703.5 R SMITH, Henry, Minister. Three prayers, one for the morning, another for the euening: the third for a sick-man.

[Anr. ed.] 8vo. [Thomas Orwin] for Thomas Man, 1591.

16 pp. Calls for Letter and Speech on the title-page, but these appear only in M⁴ of STC 22687 (q.v.), with which all copies are bound.

Second of three editions, 1591-1592.

British Library, etc. See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*22704. SMITH, Henry, Minister. A treatise of the Lords supper, in two sermons.

8vo. Thomas Orwin for Thomas Man, 1591. Collates A-H⁸ I²; see pt. 2 of STC 22685. Printed in STC 22685.7 and 22718 sqq.

[Anr. ed.] 8vo. Thomas Orwin for Thomas Man, 1591. Collates A-G⁸ H1; see pt. 2 of STC 22687.

*22705. SMITH, Henry, Minister. A treatise of the Lords supper, in two sermons.
R

[Anr. ed.] 8vo. Richard Field for Thomas Man, 1591. Collates A-F⁸ G⁴. A different setting of type from G1-N4 of STC 22686. Also issued as pt. 2 of STC 22685.5

British Library, Folger, etc. See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*22706. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The trumpet of the soule, sounding to iudgement.

8vo. [Edward Allde] for John Perrin, 1591. Reprinted in STC 22719-21, 22747.3 sqq., and 22781 sqq.

First of ten editions, 1591-1640.

British Library, etc. See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22714.5. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The wedding garment.
R Rom. 13. 14. Put yee on the Lorde Iesus Christ.
By H[enry]. Smith.

At London: printed [by Abel Jeffes?]. 1591.

8vo. A-B⁸ [B8 blank]; 15 leaves, pp. [1-3]4(A2b)-30; W/p, 190.
Roman with italic. Side-notes.

A1, title; A1b, preface, "To the Reader"; A2, text.

In the preface, the writer, who is evidently Smith, declares that the sermon has been prepared in its present form "to controll those false copies of this Sermon, which were printed with out my knowledge (patched as it seemeth out of some borrowed notes, and to stoppe the Printing of it againe without my corrections" (sig. A1b). All extant editions of the sermon have a preface referring to previously published false copies.

Fourth of six editions, 1590-91. Reprinted in various collections: STC 22783.3 [1591?], 22683 (1592), 22783.7 (1592), 22718 (1592) sqq. A3b line 2 begins: "Christ"; A5 last line ends: "righteousnesse."

Folger: STC 22714.5

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22715. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The wedding garment.
R Rom. 13. 14. Put yee on the Lorde Iesus Christ.
By H[enry]. Smith.

At London: printed [by Abel Jeffes?] 1591.

8vo. A-B⁸ [B8 blank]; 15 leaves, pp. [1-3]4(A2b)-30; W/p, 190.
Roman with italic. Side-notes.

A1, title; A1b, preface, "To the Reader," by Smith; A2, text.

Fifth of six editions, 1590-1591. Reprinted in various collections: STC 22783.3 [1591?], 22683 (1592), 22783.7 (1592), 22718 (1592) sqq. A3b line 2 begins "Christ"; A5 last line ends "Christ."

Cambridge

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*22715.5. SMITH, Henry, Minister. The wedding garment.
R

[Anr. ed.] 8vo. London, [Abel Jeffes?] 1591.

Sixth of six editions, 1590-1591. Reprinted in various collections: STC 22783.3 [1591?], 22683 (1592), 22783.7 (1592),

22718 (1592) sqq. A3b line 2 begins: "christ" (lower case "c"); A5 last line ends: "Christ."

British Library, Princeton Theological Seminary, etc.

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22716. SMITH, Henry, Minister. Seuen godly and learned sermons vpon seuen diuers textes of scripture. Containing necessarie and profitable doctrine, as well for the reformation of our liues as for the comfort of troubled consciences in all distresses. By Henry Smith.
Perused by the author before his death.

Imprinted at London by R[ichard]. Field for Thomas Man, dwelling at Paternoster-row at the signe of the Talbot. 1591.

8vo. A-T⁸ [T8 blank]; 151 leaves, pp. [4]1(A3)-298; W/p, 140. Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin and Greek.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 164]; A2, contents, giving the texts of the sermons; A3, text.

The titles or topics of the sermons, with their texts, are as follows: pride and humility (1 Peter 5:5, "God resisteth the proud and giueth grace to the humble"); "The Young Mans Task" (Eccles. 12:1, Remember thy creator); "An Exhortation to Patience" (Psalm 34:19, "Manie are the troubles of the righteous"); a baptism sermon upon vice in general (Romans 12:2, "Be ye changed by the renewing of your minds"); "A punishment against drunkards, a curse vpon wicked, and a blessing vpon good children" (Genesis 9:20 ff., "And Noah began to be an husbandman"); "An earnest desire . . . to end the pilgrimage of this life, and to be . . . with Christ" (Phillipians 1:23, "I desire to be . . . with Christ"); and "A feruent request . . . to obtaine wisdome" (Psalm 90:12, "Teach vs to number our dayes").

Entered to Thomas Man, 26 July 1591 and 4 October 1591, the second entry being for the sermon on 1 Peter 5:5.

Folger: STC 22716

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*22783.3 SMITH, Henry, Minister. Certain sermons, preached by H. Smyth.
Taken by characterie and examined after.

8vo. Edinburgh, Robert Walde-graue, [1591?]

Certain sermons pirated by Waldegrave. Reprints STC 22693, 22713, 22660, 22703 in that order. Formerly 22837. No perfect copy extant.

Aberdeen University

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

22873. SMYTH, Henry. Certain sermons. [1591?]

Now = STC 22783.3 (q.v.)

22950. SOUTHWELL, Robert. Marie Magdalens funeral teares. Ieremiae. Cap. 6. Verse, 26. Luctum vnigeniti fac tibi planctum amarum.

London: Printed by I[ohn]. W[olfe]. for G[eorge]. C[awood]. 1591.

8vo. A-I⁸ K⁴ (K4 + χ1) [A1 blank]; 76 leaves, ff. [7]1(B1)-68 [1]; W/p, 175.

Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A2 (verso blank), title; A3, dedication to "Mistris D. A." [? Dorothy Arundell] by "S. W.," i.e. "Southwell"; A7, preface "To the Reader," signed as before; B1, text; K4 + χ1 (verso blank), errata, "Faults escaped in the Printing."

Although Magdalen's thoughts following the death of Christ were conceived in the mind of the prominent Jesuit, Southwell, the doctrine contained in the work was acceptable to believers of the Protestant faith; and the book went through several editions.

Entered to George Cawood, 8 November 1591. First of six editions, 1591-1609.

Huntington: 69502

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

23019. SPARKE, Thomas. An answere to Master Iohn de Albines, notable discourse against heresies (as his frendes call his booke) compiled by Thomas Spark pastor of Blechley in the County of Buck. And I heard a voice from heauen saying, Come out of her my people that yee be not partakers of her

sinnes, and that yee receaue not of her plagues.
 Reuelat. 18. vers. 4.
 Put your selues in aray against Babylon rounde
 about, all yee that bende the bowe, shoote at
 her, spare no arrowes, for shee hath sinned against
 the Lord. Ierem. 50. vers. 14.

Printed at Oxforde by Ioseph Barnes, Printer to the Vniuersitie.
 1591.

[EXPLICIT] Thine in the Lord: Thomas Sparke.

4to. in 8's. A-2H⁸ 2I⁴ 2K²; 254 leaves, pp. [76]1(E7)-426 [5]
 [1]; W/p, 505.

Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin
 and Greek.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 285]; A2, dedication to Arthur,
 Lord Grey, of Wilton, "his especiall good Lord and Patrone,"
 by Sparke; A8, preface "to the Reader"; B6, "An answere to
 the preface set before Iohn de Albines booke entituled, A
 notable discourse against heretickes. &c." [STC 274], signed
 (E6b) "Thine in the Lord, Thomas Sparke"; E7, text; on 2I3b,
 explicit; 2I4, table, "A Table whereby readily to finde out
 the principal matters contained in the former answere to
 Albine"; 2K2 (verso blank), errata, "Faults escaped
 in printing, through the absence of the author, the hardnes
 and smalnes of the hand, wherein the copy was offered to the
 presse, and the vnaacquaintance of the ouerseers with the same."

The text includes a reproduction of the book of John de Albines,
 with Sparke's commentary.

British Library

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

23078. SPENSER, Edmund. Complaints.
 Containing sundrie small poemes of the worlds vanitie.
 Whereof the next page maketh mention.
 By E[dmund]. Sp[enser].

London: Imprinted [by Thomas Orwin] for William Ponsonbie,
 dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Bishops
 head. 1591.

4to. A-Z⁴ [Z4 blank]; 91 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 210.
 Roman with italic.

A1, title [TPB 117]; A1b, contents, "A note of the sundrie
 Poemes contained in this Volume," listing the titles of nine
 poems; A2, preface, "The Printer to the Gentle Reader"; A3,

dedication to Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, initialled "E. S."; A4b, blank; B1, text, "The Ruines of Time"; E1 (verso blank), separate title, The teares of the Muses. By Ed. Sp. London. Imprinted for William Ponsonbie, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Bishops head. 1591. [TPB 117]; E2, dedication to [Alice Stanley] Lady Strange, initialled "Ed. Sp."; E2b, text; H1, dedication to the Earl of Leicester, prefaced to the poem "Virgils Gnat"; H1b, text, "Virgils Gnat"; L1 (verso blank), separate title, Prosopopoeia. Or Mother Hubberds tale. By Ed. Sp. Dedicated to the right honorable the Ladie [Anne] Compton and Mountegle. London. Imprinted for William Ponsonbie, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Bishops head. 1591. [TPB 117]; L2, dedication, initialled "Ed. Sp."; L3, text; R1, "Ruines of Rome: by Bellay"; T1 (verso blank), separate title, Muiopotmas, or the fate of the butterfly. By Ed. Sp. Dedicated to the most faire and vertuous Ladie: the Ladie [Elizabeth] Carey. London. Imprinted for William Ponsonbie, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Bishops head. [TPB 117]; T2, dedication, initialled "E. S."; T3, text; X2b, blank; X3, "Visions of the worlds vanitie"; Y2, "The Visions of Bellay"; Z2, "The Visions of Petrarch formerly translated."

The success of Spenser's Fairie Queen encouraged Ponsonbie to publish this collection of the poet's minor verse and juvenalia. "The Ruines of Time" is an elegy on Sir Philip Sidney.

Entered to William Ponsonbie, 29 December 1590.

Huntington: 69576

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

23079. SPENSER, Edmund. Daphnaïda. An elegie vpon the death of the noble and vertuous [Lady] Douglas Howard, daughter and heire of Henry Lord Howard, Viscount Byndow, and wife of Arthure Gorges, Esquier. Dedicated to the right honorable the Lady Helena [Parr], Marquesse of Northampton. By Ed[mund]. Sp[enser].

At London: Printed [by Thomas Orwin] for William Ponsonby, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Bishops head 1591.

4to. A-C⁴; 12 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 230.
Roman with italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 273]; A2, dedication, dated from "London this first of Ianuary. 1591." and initialled "E. Sp."; A3, text.

The central mourner is "Alcyon," that is, Sir Arthur Gorges, whose wife is the subject of the elegy. Gorges, who was a poet and translator, sailed as a captain with Raleigh.

Huntington: 23079

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

23092. SPENSER, Edmund. The shepheards calender.
R Containing twelue aeglogues proportionall to the
twelue monethes.
Entituled, to the noble and vertuous gentleman
most worthie of all titles, both of learning and
chiualry, Maister Philip Sidney.

London: Printed by Iohn Windet, for Iohn Harrison the yonger,
dwelling in Pater noster Roe, at the signe of the Anger. 1591.
[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by Iohn Windet, for Iohn
Harrison the younger, dwelling in Pater noster Roe, at the
signe of the Anker, and are there to be solde. 1591.

4to. *⁴ A-N⁴; 56 leaves, ff. [4]1(A1)-52; W/p, 260.
Black letter with roman and italic. Some Latin and Italian.
Illustrations.

*1, title; *1b, verse, "To his booke"; *2, dedication to
Gabriel Harvey by E[dward?]. K[irke, a college friend?].
dated "from my lodging at Loudon this 10. of Aprill, 1579.";
*3b, preface, "The generall Argument of the whole booke"; on
A1, text; on N4 (verso blank), colophon.

Illustrations depicting the various seasons appear throughout
the book.

Fourth of seven editions, 1579-1617.

Huntington: 69545

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

23256. STEPNEY, William. The Spanish schoole-master.
Spanish Containing seuen dialogues, according to euey day
and in the weeke, and what is necessarie euerie day to
English be done, wherein is also most plainly shewed the
true and perfect pronounciation of the Spanish tongue,
toward the furtherance of all those which are de-
sirous to learne the said tongue within this our

realme of England.

Whereunto, besides seuen dialogues, are annexed most fine prouerbs and sentences, as also the Lords prayer, the articles of our beliefe, the ten commandements, and a vocabularie, with diuers other things necessarie to be knowne in the said tongue.

Newly collected and set forth by W[illiam]. Stepney, professor of the said tongue in the famous Citie of London.

Spes anchora tuta.

Imprinted at London by R[ichard]. Field for Iohn Harison [the elder]. 1591.

16to. in 8's. A⁴ B-R⁸ [R8 blank]; 131 leaves, pp. [8]1(B1)-252 [1] [1]; W/p, 205.

Roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication, in Spanish, to Robert Cecil, by Stepney; A3b, preface, "The epistle to the reader" initialled "W. S."; B1, "The pronuciation of the Spanish letters," with the conjugation of verbs; C7b, text, "The first dialogue, being vpon Monday"; R7 (verso blank), errata list, all errors in the Spanish text.

Entered to John Harrison the elder, 13 January 1591. First of two editions, 1591-1614. This followed the book Bibliotheca Hispanica by Richard Percyvall (STC 19619) whose work Stepney commends (sig. A4).

Huntington: 30619

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

23359. STRIGELIUS, Victorinus. (Tr. Richard Robinson)
Tr. A proceeding in the harmonie of King Dauids harpe.
(Lat.) That is to say, an exposition of 13. psalmes of the princely prophet Dauid, from the 22. vnto the 35. psalme, being a portion of the psalmes expounded by the reuerend doctor Victorinus Strigelius, professor in diuinity in the Vniuersity of Lipsia in Germany.
Translated out of Latin into English by Richard Robinson, Citizen of London. Anno Christi 1591. Seene and allowed.
Briefe contentes of these 13 psalmes
Psal. 34. Verse 15. & 16. The eies of the Lord are vpon the righteous

Printed at London by Iohn Wolfe [and John Charlewood],
and are to be sold at his shop ouer against the great South
dore of Saint Paule. [1591.]

[EXPLICIT] Radiantem Solemnon restringam. Per me Ric[hardus].
Robinson[us].

4to. A-Z⁴ [Z4 blank]; 91 leaves, pp. [8]1(B1)-174; W/p, 430.
Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin,
Greek, and German.

A1, title [McK 216]; A1b, arms of Sir Christopher Hatton; A2,
dedication to Sir Christopher Hatton by Richard Robinson,
dated from "London, at my poore house in Saint Martins parrish
by Ludgate this Thursday the 22. day of Aprill bein S. Georges
euen, anno Christi 1591"; A4b, ten lines of Latin verse,
"Rodolphi Waddingtoni decasticon in Psalmorum encomion &
huius operis," in commendation of the translator; B1, text;
on Z3b, explicit, and, below, errata.

The work offers a biblical exegesis of Psalms 22-34. The
work was the first of a series of five "proceedings" in which
Robinson provided, in translation, further exegesis of the
Psalms by Strigelius. Wolfe printed quire A; and Charlewood
printed quire B to the end.

Entered to John Wolfe, 8 March 1591.

Folger: STC 23359

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

23381. STUBBES, Philip. A christal glasse for Christian
women.

Contayning an excellent discourse, of the godly
life and Christian death of Mistresse Katherine
Stubbes who departed this life in Burton vppon
Trent, in Staffordshire, the 14 day of December.
1590.

With a most heauenly confession of the Christian
faith, which she made a little before her depar-
ture: together, with a most wonderfull combate
betwixt Satan and her soule: worthie to be im-
printed in the tables of euery Christian heart.
Set downe word for worde as she spake it, as near
as could be gathered, by P[hilip]. S[tubbes]. Gent.
Reuel. 14. ver. 13. Blessed are the dead which die
in the Lorde, euen so saith the Spirite, for they
rest from their labours, and their workes follow
them.

Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones, at the Rose and Crowne
neere Holborne Bridge. 1591.

[EXPLICIT] Finis. P. S. Gent.

4to. A-C⁴; 12 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 455.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text; on B1, "A most heauenly
confession"; on C2b, "A most wonderfull conflict betwixt Satan
and her soule"; on C4 (verso blank), explicit.

Apart from its theology, which made it a perennial favourite
in its day, the pamphlet is interesting for the details it
provides about the domestic life of the Stubbes family.

Entered to Richard Jones, 15 June 1591. First of twenty-four
editions 1591-1637.

British Library: 4902. b. 63 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

23458. SUTCLIFFE, Matthew. De presbyterio, eiusque
Latin noua in ecclesia Christiana politeia,
 aduersus cuiusdam I. B. A. C. de politeia ciuili
 & ecclesiastica librosduos, eiusaémque & reliquorum
 presbyterii patronorum grauissimos in politeiae
 iudaica; & Christianae descriptione errores,
 Matthaei Sutliuii disputatio:
 In qua presbyterium quod illi tuentur, oppugnatus;
 Christiani magistratus potestas, quam illi oppugnant
 defenditur; episcoporum euangelium amplectentium
 supra alios ecclesiae ministros dignitas, quam
 varijs sermonibus nonnulli traducunt, confirmatur;
 Ecclesiae denique Anglicane pristinus ordo, quem
 omni ratione ecclesiasticae pacis hoster euertere
 conantur, ab eorum calumnijs vindicatur.
 Constantinus de Nouatianis. Eus. de vit. Const.
 lib. 3
 Sub specie religionis semper peccantes, omnia faedatis,
 sinceras & puras conscientas laethalibus ictibus
 vulneratis.

Londini: Excudebant Georgius Bishop, & Rodolphus Newbery.
Anno 1591.

4to. A-X⁴ Y² [A1, A2 blank]; 84 leaves pp. [10]1(B4)-156 [1][1];
W/p, 590.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Greek.

A3 (verso blank), title; A4, dedication to members of Oxford and Cambridge signed "Math. Sutliuius" and dated from London, 1 January 1590.

Sutcliffe's arguments against Presbyterianism were also published in translation during 1591 (see STC 23471 and 23472).

Entered to George Bishop and Ralph Newbery, 3 July 1591.

British Library: 848. d. 12 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*23471 SUTCLIFFE, Matthew. A treatise of ecclesiasticall discipline.

4to. George Bishop and Ralph Newbery, 3 July 1591. First of two editions in 1591.

British Library, Folger, etc. See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

24372. SUTCLIFFE, Matthew. A treatise of ecclesiasticall
R discipline:
Wherein that confused forme of gouernment, which certein vnder false pretence, and title of reformation, and true discipline, do striue to bring into the Church of England, is examined and confuted: By Matt[hew]. Sutcliffe.
1. Timoth. 1.
The end of the commandement (which is the summe of true discipline) is loue with sinceritie of heart, sound conscience, and faith vnfeined: which some missing, are turned aside into vaine brabbling about words.
Greg. Naz. in Orat. in Basiliij laudem.
Facilius benè instituta dissoluuntur, quàm dissoluta restituuntur.
Good orders are easily dissolued, but being once dissolued, are hardly restored.
Newly corrected and amended.

At London: Printed by [rather, at Eliot's Court Press for] George Bishop, Anno 1591.

[COLOPHON] Imprinted at London by George Bishop, and Ralph Newberie. 1591.

4to. A-Y⁴; 88 leaves, pp. [10]1(B2)-166; W/p, 415.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin and Greek.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, dedication to [William Bourchier] the Earl of Bath, by Sutcliffe, dated from "London the 1 of Ianuarie, this present yeere 1590"; A3b, preface, "To all those into whose hands and vnder whose censures this Treatise may come," by Sutcliffe; B2, text; on 2H2b, errata, and, below, colophon.

Second of two editions in 1591.

Huntington: 22286

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

23547. SWINBURNE, Henry. A briefe treatise of testaments and last willes, Very profitable to be vnderstoode of all the subiects of this realme of England, (desirous to know, whether, whereof, and how, they may make their testaments: and by what meanes the same may be effected or hindred,) and no lesse delightfull, aswell for the rarenes of the worke, as for the easines of the stile, and method: Compiled of such lawes ecclesiasticall and ciuill, as be not repugnant to the lawes, customes, or statutes of this realme, nor derogatorie to the prerogatiue royall. In which treatise also are inserted diuers statutes of this land, together with mention of sundrie customes, aswell general as particular, not impertinent thereunto: Besides diuers marginall notes, and quotations not to be neglected, especially of Iustinianists, or young students of the ciuill law: With two tables, the one analyticall, describing the generall order of the whole Treatise: the other Alphabeticall, disclosing the particular contents therof: that in the beginning; this in the end of the booke. By the industrie of Henrie Swinburn, Bachelor of the Ciuill Lawe. 2. Kings c. 20. Put thine house in order, for thou shalt die and not liue.

London: Printed by Iohn Windet. 1590.

[COLOPHON] Printed at London by I[ohn]. Windet. 1591.

4to. in 8's. A⁴ C⁴ B⁴ B⁴ C-2P⁸ 2R-T⁴ [A1 blank]; 315 leaves, ff. [11] [1,2]3(2B3)-293 [i.e. 304]; W/p, 265. Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A2 (verso blank), title; A3, dedication to [John Piers] the Archbishop of York, by Swinburne; A4b, blank; C1, table showing the kinds of wills; C1b, table showing who may make wills; C2, table showing what may be disposed by wills; C2b, table, "decyphering the formes of Testaments"; C3, table showing who may be made executor; C3b, table showing the functions of an executor; C4 (verso blank), table showing how wills become void; B1, preface, "To the Reader," by Swinburne; B4 (verso blank), contents; ²B1, contents, part one; ²B2, text; F4b, blank; F5, contents, part two; F6, text; K8, contents; L1, text, part three; Q1, contents, part four; Q2b, blank; Q3, text; 2C6 (verso blank), contents part five; 2C7, text; 2D8, contents part six; 2E1, text; 2I1b, blank; 2I2, contents, part seven; 2I8, text; 2Q2, "An Epilogue," initialled "H. S."; on 2Q2b, errata note, indicating that the author had errors "of greater consequence to be amended with a penne"; 2R1, table of contents with leaf references; on 2T4b, colophon.

Some copies of the book contain an extra leaf with thirty-five errata, but from the errata note cited above it is evident that the first copies off the press were corrected by hand.

Entered to John Windet, 10 September 1590. First of four editions, 1591-1640.

University of Michigan

See GOVERNMENT AND LAW

23642. TACITUS, Publius Cornelius. (Tr. and ed. by
Tr. Sir Henry Sauile) The ende of Nero and begin-
(Lat.) ning of Alba.
Fower bookes of the histories of Cornelius Tacitus.
The life of Agricola.

M. D. LXXXXXI.

[COLOPHON] Printed at Oxforde by Ioseph Barnes [really
London by Richard Robinson] for Richard Wright. Cum Priuilegio.

fol. ¶⁶ 2¶⁶ A-Y⁶ Z² 2A-F⁶ 2G⁴ H²; 188 leaves, pp. [6] [1,2]3
(²¶5)-17 [1], 1(A1)-267 [1], 1(2A1)-80 [3] [1]; W/p, 505.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Greek and Latin.

¶1 (verso blank), title; ¶2, dedication to Queen Elizabeth, by Sauile; ¶3, preface, "A. B. to the Reader"; ¶4, "The ende of Nero and beginning of Galba"; ²¶6b, blank; A1, text, in four books; V5, "The life of Iulius Agricola"; Z2b, blank; 2A1, "Annotations vpon the first booke of Tacitus"; 2E1, "A view of certaine militar matters, for the better vnderstanding of the ancient Roman stories (2E6, diagram showing the deploy-

ment of Roman troops); 2G2, "The explication of a place in Polybius"; 2G3b, "Translations of the marginall Greeke"; H1, "A note of the editions used in such authors as are cited by page," listing thirty-four authors by format, printer and year, all printers being continental, and the editions dating from 1546-1590; H1b, errata; H2 (verso blank), colophon.

Tacitus (c. 56-c.120), an historian of first century Rome was popular in grammar schools, especially as material for translation. Saville's translation was meant for readers outside the grammar schools. Saville's supplementary materials include interesting references to the contemporary state of inflation in Europe.

First of two editions, 1591-1598. Wright was given a patent to print this on 25 May 1591.

Huntington

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

24274. TRIAL. (Tr. Richard Smith) The trial of
Tr. trueth or a treatise wherein is declared who should
(Lat.) be iudge betweene the Reformed Churches, and the
Romish:
in which is shewed, that neither pope, nor counsels,
nor fathers, nor traditions, nor succession, nor
consent, nor antiquitie of custome: but the onely
written worde of God, ought to determine the contro-
uersies of religion:
wherein also is declared which is the true religion,
and catholick church.
Written for the pleasure of the popes, cardinalles,
prelates, abbots, monkes: and speciallie the
Iesuites, which of late were driuen out of Transyl-
vania, by the States there.
Published in Latine by certaine Hungarian, a
fauourer of the trueth: and translated into English
by Richard Smith.

Imprinted at London [by Iohn Windet] for Robert Dexter, & are
to be sold in Pauls Churchyard, at the signe of the Brasen
Serpent. 1591.

[COLOPHON] [Wanting in Folger copy].

4to. A² B-I⁴ [I4 wanting]; 34 leaves, ff. [2]1(B1)-31 [1];
W/p, 270.

Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 257a]; A2 (verso blank), dedication to William Peryam by Smith; B1, text; I3b, bibliography; [I4 (verso blank?), colophon].

The Folger copy has B4 and C1 cancelled and replaced by a bifolium with the leaves signed * and C1. The book is a translation of Oratio de constituendo iudice controuersarium, Basel, 1591.

Entered to Robert Dexter, 5 June 1591.

Folger: STC 24274

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

24275. TRIGGE, Francis. Analysis capitis vicesimi
Latin. quarti euangelii secundum Matthaëum,
in qua prophetiae omnes, & quae ad sinagogam, &
quae ad Antichristum seductorem illum, & quae ad
nostra tempora spectant, clarè explicantur, nec
non ministerium ecclesiasticum cum omnibus suis
adiunctis declaratur ac delineatur.
Authore Francisco Triggo.

Oxoniae, Ex officina Iosephi Barnesii, celeberrimae Academiae
Typographi. 1591.

4to. ¶² A-Q⁴; 66 leaves, pp. [4]1(A1)-128; W/p, 380.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Greek.

¶1 (verso blank), title [McK 285]; dedication to William
James, vice-chancellor of Oxford, by Trigge; A1, text.

The work provides an exegesis of the second Gospel of
Matthew.

British Library

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

24339. TURNBULL, Richard. An exposition vpon the canoni-
call epistle of Saint Iames:
with the tables, analysis, and resolution, both of
the whole epistle, and euerie chapter thereof: with
the particular resolution of euerie singular place.
Diuided into 28. lectures or sermons, made by
Richard Turnbull, sometimes fellow of Corpus Christie
Colledge in Oxford now preacher and minister of the
word of God and the holy sacraments, in the citie
of London.

Imprinted at London by Iohn Windet. 1591.

8vo. A⁸ B⁴ C-2V⁸ [V8 blank], + fold-ins after B4, 2A8, 2L;
339 leaves, ff. [12] [1]2(C2)-326 [1]; W/p, 495.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin and Greek.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 208]; A2, dedication to John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Turnbull, dated 10 May 1591; A6b, blank; A7, preface, "To the Christian Reader" by Turnbull, dated "May the 10"; B1, table, outline of the Epistle of James; B1b, "Saint Iames Epistle generally resolved"; B3, "The analysis of the first chapter of S. Iames"; C1, text; 2V7 (verso blank), errata, by leaf, page, section, and line.

Published after 10 May 1591. Entered to John Windet, 12 January 1591. First of three editions, 1591-1606.

Huntington: 17302

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*24487.5 UBALDINI, Petruccio. Le vite delle donne illustri. Italian.

4to. [John Wolfe,] 1591.

An issue of 24488 (q.v.) without the dedication to Queen Elizabeth. The imprints of the two issues differ.

Entered to John Wolfe, 23 July 1590.

Bodleian, Yale, etc.

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

24488. UBALDINI, Petruccio. Le vite delle donne illustri. Italian. Del regno d'Inghilterra, & del regno di Scotia, & di quelle, che d'altri paesine i due detti regnisono stato maritate. Doue si contengono tutte le cose degne di memoria da esse, ò da latri per i rispetti loro state operate, tanto di fuori, quanto di dentro de i due Regni. Scritte in lingua Italiana da Petruccio Vbaldino Cittadin Fiorentino.

Londra: Appresso Giouanni Volfio [John Wolfe]. 1591.

4to. ¶³ A-Q⁴; 67 leaves, pp. [14]1(B1)-117 [2] [1]; W/p, 320.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

¶1 (verso blank), title [McK 216]; ¶2, dedication to Queen Elizabeth by Ubaldini; A2, "Proemio"; A4 (verso blank), preface, "Aggiunta al Lettore"; B1, text; Q4, table, "Tauola delle Donne contenute in questo Libro."

The book contains brief accounts of the lives of seventy-odd women, most of them British. Ubaldini was a Florentine citizen who was a popular figure in the English court for some years. The work was issued twice in 1591. The other issue (STC 24487.5) does not have the dedication to Elizabeth, and Wolfe's name does not appear on the title-page. Most, but not all, copies of STC 24488 have the original title-page cancelled.

Huntington: 17399

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

24534. URSINUS, Zacharius. (Tr. Henry Parry) The
Tr. summe of Christian religion:
(Lat.) Deliuered by Zacharias Vrsinus in his lectures vpon
R the [Heidelberg] Catechisme, authorized by the
 noble Prince Fredericke throughout his dominions.
 Wherein are debated and resolved the questions of
 whatsoeuer points of moment, which haue beene or
 are controversed in Diuinity.
 Translated into English by Henry Parry, out of the
 last and best Latine editions, together with some
 supplie of wants out of his Discourses of Diuinity,
 and with correction of sundry faults & imperfections,
 which are as yet remaining in the best corrected
 Latine.

At Oxford: Printed by Ioseph Barnes, and are to bee solde
[in London by Toby Cooke] in Paules Churchyeard at the signe
of the Tygres head. 1591.

8vo. ¶⁸ A-3P⁸; 496 leaves, pp. [16]1(A1)-966 [9] [1]; W/p,
440.

Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin and Greek.

¶1 (verso blank), title; ¶2, dedication to Henry [Herbert],
Earl of Pembroke, by Parry; ¶5, preface, "To the Christian
Readers"; ¶8b, blank; A1, text; 3P4, table of "the common
places, and principall questions" handled in the text; 3P8b,
blank.

Third of eight editions, 1587-1633.

Huntington: 21318

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

24598. VAUGHAN, Edward. Nine obseruations, howe to reade profitably, and to vnderstand truly euey booke, chapter and verse, of the holy Bible. Which being once perfectly learned, shall euer bee remembred. Teach a righteous man, and hee will increase in knowledge: giue admonition to the wise, and he wil be wiser. Pro 9,9.

At London: Printed [by John Charlewood] for Thomas Gosson, dwelling in Pater noster rowe, at the signe of the Sunne, and are to be solde at hys shoppe on London bridge, adioyning to the Gate. Anno. Dom. 1591.

8vo. *⁸ A-E⁸ F⁴; 52 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 150.
Roman with italic. Side-notes.

*1 (verso blank), title; *2, dedication to "my very singular friend, Master Tobie Wood . . . Counciller at Lawe, dwelling neere her Maiesties Towre at London," by Vaughan; *5, preface, "to my countrimen and kinsmen in Wales, especially of the Countie of Monmouth," addressed from "S. Leonards in Shorditen, neere London" by Vaughan; *8, contents; A1, text; E7, preface, "To the Reader" introducing a supplementary section on "two thinges which are called into question, and misliked by many"; E8, supplementary section on "whether Genealogies of the Scripture are necessary and profitable," and whether Christians should "frequent other Churches to heare Sermons, when they haue Preachers of their own."

Entered to Thomas Gosson, 8 November 1591.

Emmanuel College, Cambridge: 328. 7. 36

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

24652. VERE, Sir Francis. True newes from one of Sir
Tr. in Fraunces Veres companie.
part Concerning Delftes-Isle, and sundry other townes
(Dutch.) in the Lowe Countries, yeelded to the Generall since
May last.
Of the great armie, nowe comminge out of Germanie
for the aide of the French king, and their hope for
the speedye winninge of Antwerpe.
With the bloody persecution and Marterdome which
sundrye cheefe persons of account did lately suffer
in Spaine for the profession of Christ Iesus.
Translated out of Dutch.
Seene and allowed.

Imprinted at London [by Edward Allde] for Thomas Nelson, and are to be sold at his shop, ouer against the great South doore of Paules. 1591.

4to. A-C⁴ [A1, C4 blank]; 10 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 295. Black letter with roman and italic.

A2 (verso blank), title; A3, text; B2b, blank; B3, text resumes with the article on "the bloodie persecution and marterdome."

Huntington: 12590

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

24750. VINCENT, of Lerins, Saint. Vincentii Lirinensis Latin. Galli pro catholicae fidei antiquitate & veritate, aduersus prophanas omnium haereseon nouationes, libellus verè aureus: Nunc primum per capita distinctus.

[London:] Excusum [Robert Robinson]. 1591.

12mo. A-D¹² E¹⁰; 58 leaves, pp. [2] [1]2(A2b)-107 [6] [1]; W/p, 110. Roman with italic. Side-notes.

A1, title; A1b, "Ex catalogo gennadii"; A2, text; E7b, blank; E8, index; E10b, blank.

The work, on the subject of heresy, was issued with Bishop John Jewel's book Apologia ecclesiae anglicanae (STC 14584).

Folger: STC 24750

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

*24765.3 VINCIOLO, Federico di. New and singular patternes & workes of linnen. Tr. (Fr.) Seruing for paternes to make all sortes of lace. (New . . . patterns. . . . Wherein are represented the seauen planets, [etc.]) [Anon. Tr.] (A. Poyntz.)

4to. John Wolfe and [i.e. for] Edward White, 1591.

A translation of Les singuliers et nouveaux pourtraicts, pour toutes sortes d'ouurages de lingerie (Paris, 1587) (formerly STC 24765 but not an STC book). Formerly STC 20180. All leaves have signatures. The second title-page has imprint: "J. Wolfe, 1591." No perfect copies extant.

Entered to John Wolfe, 11 September 1587.

British Library, Harvard

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

24767. VIQUES, Captain. The rodomontades of Captayne
 [Tr. Viques, a most proud and insolent person, a
 (Fr.)] traytour to his king, and an enemy to his countrey,
 who in the end was slayne in fight vnder the banner
 of the Leaguers.
 Wherein is poetically declared howe his ghost
 meeting with the soule of a great lord called
 Fauterer, one of the Kinges side, whom the sayd
 Viques had caused most cruelly to be murdered, fell
 in communication the one with the other.
 Wherein is expressed, the desire of a bloody minde,
 and the reward of a false traitour.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to bee solde at his
 shop at the broad South doore of Paules. 1591.

4to. A⁴ B²; 6 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 440.
 Black letter with roman and italic.

A1, title; A1b, text.

During the conversation, the ghost and its companion cover
 most of the points at issue between the League and the forces
 of Henry IV of France, to the discredit of the League.

Entered to John Wolfe, 4 November 1590 with STC 5400.3 (q.v.)
 which is apparently a separate publication.

Folger: STC 24767

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

24822. VIRGILIUS, MARO, Publius. Nicolai Grimoaldi
 Latin. viri doctiss.
 In P. V. Maronis quatuor libros Georgicorum in
 oratione soluta paraphrasis elegantissima.
 Oxonij in aede Christi, anno serenissimi Regis
 Edouardi sexti secundo, confecta.

Londini: Excudebant Georg. Bishop & Radulph. Newbery. 1591.

8vo. A-N⁸ [N8 blank]; 103 leaves, ff. [1]2(A2)-102 [1];
 W/p, 220.
 Roman with italic. Side-notes.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 185b = TPB 146b]; A2, text;
N7 (verso blank), errata.

The book, containing Virgil's text with a Latin prose paraphrase, may have been used as a grammar school text. Nicholas Grimald, who prepared the paraphrase upon the Georgics, was better known for his work as a translator of Cicero's Offices.

Folger: STC 24822

See EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIP

24897. W., A. A booke of cookrye. Very necessary
R for all such as delight therin.
Gathered by A. W.
And now newlye enlarged with the seruing in of
the table.
With the proper sauces to each of them conuenient.

At London: Printed by Edward Allde. 1591.

8vo. A-E⁸; 40 leaves, ff. [1] [1]2(A3)-36 [3]; W/p, 190.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, text, commencing with "The order how Meats should be serued to the Table, with their sauces"; E6, contents.

The book offers numerous brief recipes, most of them concerning the preparation of meat, fish, and fowl.

Third of four editions, 1584-1594.

Bodleian. Douce W. 23

See SCIENCE AND INFORMATION

24913. W., R. [R. Wilson?] Martine Mar-Sixtus.
Tr. (in part) A second replie against the defensory and apology
(Lat.) of Sixtus the fift late Pope of Rome, defending
the execrable fact of the Iacobine Frier, vpon the
person of Henry the third, late King of France, to
be both commendable, admirable, and meritorious.
Wherein the saide apology is faithfully translated,
directly answered, and fully satisfied.
Let God be Iudge betwixt thee and me.
Genes. 16.

At London: Printed [by Thomas Orwin] for Thomas Woodcock, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the black Beare. 1591.

4to. A-F⁴ [A1 blank]; 23 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 445.
Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

A2 (verso blank), title [McK 273]; A3, dedication to Edmund Bowyar, initialled "R. W."; B1, "The Oration of Sixtus the V"; C1, text; "A reply against the former Apologie"; F4b, blank.

The first reply is STC 14002, which has a different translation of the Sixtus work. A variant issue of the present work appeared in 1592.

Entered to Thomas Woodcock, 8 November 1591.

Huntington: 69766

See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

25613. WIGAND, Johann. De neutralibus & mediis.
Tr. Grosly Englished, Iacke of both sides.
(Lat.) A godly and necessarie catholike admonition,
R touching those that be neuters, holding vpon no
certaine religion, nor doctrine, and such as hold
with both partes, or rather of no part: very
necessary to stay and stablsh Gods elect in the
true catholicke faith against this present wicked
world.
Seene and allowed.
Apocalips. 3. Thus sayth Amen, the faythfull and
true witsesse, the beginning of the creatures of
God: I know thy works that thou art neither hote
nor colde. I woulde thou were eyther cold or hote.
So then because thou art betweene both, and neither
colde nor hote, I will spewe thee out of my mouth.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson, for Edward White: And are to be sold at his shop at the litle North dore of Pauls, at the signe of the Gunne. 1591.

8vo. A-N⁸ [N8 blank]; 105 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 175.
Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin and German.

A1 (verso blank), title; A2, preface, "The Preface to the Reader"; A7b, blank; A8, text.

The book provides harsh denunciation of people who harbour any sympathy for papists.

Entered to John Sheldrake, 12 April 1591, with the note that it is "a book printed in former tyme." Third of four editions, 1562-1626.

British Library: 3932. c. 6 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

25626. WILCOX, Thomas. A very godly and learned exposition, vpon the whole Booke of Psalmes.
R Wherein is contained the diuision and sense of euery Psalme: as also manifold, necessary and sound doctrines, gathered out of the same, all seruing for the great furtherance and instruction of euery Christian Reader.
Heretofore penned and written, and now diligently and faithfully reuiued by the author (who hath added many worthy things therto) and newly published at the no smal cost of the printer, for the glory of God, and the good of the Church.
2. Tim. 3. ver. 16.17. For the whole Scripture is giuen by inspiration of God, & is profitable to teach, to improue, to correct and to instruct to righteousnesse. That the man of God may be absolute, being made perfect vnto all good works.

London: Printed by Thomas Orwin for Thomas Man. 1591.

4to. in 8's. A⁴ B-2P⁸ 2Q⁴; 304 leaves, pp. [8]1(B1)-600; W/p, 645.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [TPB 169b]; A2, dedication [headed by TPB fragment 6], to the brothers Roger Harlackinden and William Harlackinden, dated from "London this 27. of Aprill 1591" and initialled "T. W."; A4, preface, "The printer of this worke, to all godly and Christian readers," dated as before; B1, text; 2Q4b, errata.

Published after 27 April 1591. Second of two editions, 1586-1591.

Huntington: 23014 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

25734. WILLIAMS, Sir Roger. Newes from Sir Roger Williams. With a discourse printed at Rheines [Rheims], containing the most happie victorie, lately obtained by the Prince de Conty, lieutenant generall ouer the kinges

forces, in Anion, Touraine, Maine, Poictu, Berry, Blaysois, Vendomois, Dunois, high and lower Limesin, and Perche, against the rebellious Leaguers, enemies to his Maiestie.

Whereunto is annexed the order on agreement of the Court of Parliament, held in Normandy at sundry times, and now lastly confirmed the eighteenth of August, to the vtter abolishing of the Popes authoritie, the taking away of his reuenues, and the burning of his bulles.

[London:] Printed by Iohn Woolfe, and are to be sold by Andrew White, at the Royall Exchange, ouer against the Conduit in Cornewall. Anno. 1591.

4to. A-C⁴; 12 leaves, pp. [2] [1,2]3(A3)-19 [i.e. 21] [1];
W/p, 270.
Roman with italic.

A1, blank; A1b, illustration, Saint George slaying a dragon;
A2 (verso blank), title [McK 216]; A3, text.

The first item in the collection is a letter allegedly written by Williams to the citizens of Paris, while the bulk of the items are translations of news from French sources.

Lambeth Palace: 1589.2

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

25735. WILLIAMS, Thomas. The strange and cruell martyr-
dome of an English man [Thomas Williams] in the
Towne of Dunckerke this present moneth of Ianuarie.
1591.

With the manner of his torments, and his great
patience at his death, which hee suffered for the
profession of the goppell of Christ Iesus.

London: Printed [by William Kearney?] for William Wright.
1591.

4to. A⁴; 4 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 210.
Black letter with roman and italic.

A1 (verso blank), title [McK 258]; A2, text.

The torture and death of Williams, who refused to deny his religious beliefs, are described in detail. According to the entry in the Stationers' Register, Williams was put to death on 13 January.

Entered to William Wright, 21 January 1591.

Folger: STC 25375

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

25764. WILMOT, Robert. (With the collaboration of Christopher Hatton and others) The tragedie of Tancred and Gismund. Compiled by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple, and by them presented before her Maiestie. Newly reuiuēd and polished according to the decorum of these daies. By R. W.

London: Printed by Thomas Scarlet, and are to be solde by R[obert]. Robinson. 1591.
[EXPLICIT] Finis. R. W.

4to. *⁴ A-H⁴; 36 unnumbered leaves; W/p, 255.
Roman with italic. Side-notes. Some Latin.

*1 (verso blank), title [McK 277]; *2, dedication to Lady Anne Gray and Lady Mary Petre, who had seen the play in performance while ladies-in-waiting for Elizabeth, by Wilmot; *3, letter from William Webbe "to his friend R. W." dated from "Pyrgo in Essex, August the eight, 1591" urging Wilmot to publish the play; *4, preface addressed to the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple, containing comments upon the letter, signed "R. Wilmot"; A1, verse preface, "to the Queenes Maidens of Honor"; on A1b, "Argumentium Tragediae" in verse; on A2, a second argument, in prose; on A2b, text; on H4, explicit; Hb4, notes on music and dumb shows provided during the original performance, and, below, errata list.

A variant of the publication (STC 25764a) appeared during 1592.

Huntington: 79718

See LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

26032. WRIGHT, Leonard. The pilgrimage to paradise. Compiled for the direction, comfort, and resolution of Gods poore distressed children, in passing through this irkesome wilderness of temptation and tryall. By Leonard Wright. Act. 14. 22. Through much tribulation must wee enter into the kingdome of God. Matth. 7. 14. Straight is the gate, and narrowe is the way that leadeth vnto life, and fewe there be

that finde it.
Seene and allowed.

London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde at his shoppe against the broad South doore of Paules. 1591.

4to. A-H⁴ I² [A1 blank]; 33 leaves, pp. [6] [1]2(B2)-58 [2]; W/p, 245.

Black letter with roman and italic. Side-notes. Some Latin. Illustrations.

A2 (verso blank), title [McK 251]; A3, dedication to John St. John, Baron of Bletso, by Wright; A4, preface, "The Author to the Reader"; B1, text; I1, contents.

Wright's religious essays are illustrated with several woodcuts, including pictures of the New Jerusalem (sig. G1), a skeleton holding a spade (sig. C3), and so on.

Entered to John Wolfe, 23 January 1591. First of two editions, 1591-1608.

British Library: 4407. f. 6 See THEOLOGY AND RELIGION

26134. ZUTPHEN. A particuler, of the yeelding vppe of Zutphen, and the beleagering of Deuenter. With the honourable enterprise of Sir Roger Williams, Knight: performed vpon a thousand and two hundreth of the enemyes souldiours or Leagors, lying at Cinque Saunce [Saint Saëns], nine leagues from Deepe [Dieppe]: who were all put to the sword, vpon Thursday before Whitsonday last, being the xx. day of May. 1591.
Seene and allowed.

At London: Printed by Iohn Charlwood, and are to be solde by William Wright. 1591.

4to. A-C⁴ [A1, counted, blank]; 12 leaves, pp. [1-4]5(A3)-23 [1]; W/p, 190.

Roman with italic.

A2 (verso blank), title; A3, text B3, "The Honourable Enterprise of Sir Roger Williams Knighte"; C4b, blank.

The pamphlet describes two victories, one in the Low Countries, the other in Normandy.

Entered to John Charlewood, 2 June 1591.

British Library: C. 55. d. 8 (3) See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

26134.5. ZUTPHEN. The politique takinge of Zutphen Skonce,
the winning of the towne, and beleagering of
Deuenter.
With the honourable enterprize of Sir Roger Williams
knight, performed vpon a thousande and two hundred
of the enemies souldiours or Leagors, lying at
Cinque Saunce, nine leagues from Deepe [i.e. Dieppe].
Who were all put to the sworde, vpon Thursday
before Whitsonday last, beeing the twentie day of
May. 1591.
Seene and allowed.

At London: Printed by Iohn Charlewood, and are to be solde by
William Wright. 1591.

4to. A-C⁴ [A1, counted, blank]; 12 leaves, pp. [1-4]5(A3)-
23 [1]; W/p, 190.

Roman with italic and black letter.

A2 (verso blank), title; A3, text B3, "The honourable Enter-
prise of Sir Roger Williams Knighte"; C4b, blank.

Another issue of STC 26134, the pamphlet has a new setting
of quire A.

Folger: STC 26134.5.

See NEWS PUBLICATIONS

APPENDIX II

INDEX OF DEDICATIONS

The following index lists all individuals, groups, and institutions named by Franklin B. Williams, Jr.¹ as having been the recipients of dedications within publications appearing during 1591. After the name of each dedicatee appears the name of the individual who wrote the dedication, together with the STC number of the publication in which the dedication appears. In several instances a dedicatee was honoured by more than one dedication, in which case the names of the dedicators are listed alphabetically. In general, the information contained within the index, and the manner in which it is conveyed, are consistent with Williams's index, except that in some instances additional information is offered regarding the identity of the dedicator.

In every case, the rank or station given for a dedicatee agrees with the Williams listing, although in some cases these are not in accord with an individual's status during 1591. Following the names of married women, Williams places

¹Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in England Before 1641 (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1962).

the sign of equality (=) and then gives the name, rank, and station of the husband of the female dedicatee.

An asterisk (*) following the STC number of a publication indicates that the dedicator addressed himself in the dedication to more than one person, while the symbol (R) indicates that the dedication had appeared during a previous year in an earlier edition.

A., D., Gentlewoman. [? Dorothy Arundell.]
"S. W." [i.e. Robert Southwell.] 22950.

ALDWORTH, Thomas, Merchant.
B[rowne]., J[ohn]. 1049.1.

APPRENTICES.

Greene, Robert. 12279. (*)
Greene, Robert. 12281. (*)

ASTRONOMERS.

Forman, Simon. 11185. (*)

BACON, Sir Nicholas, Lord Keeper.
Digges, Thomas, editor. 6859. (R)

BACON, Sir Nicolas [sic], I Bt.
Gibbon, Charles. 11821.

BANCROFT, Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Burton, William. 4167.

BARNES, Bartholomew, Alderman.
Wilkinson, Richard, editor. 1092. (*)

- BLOUNT, Charles, Earl of Devonshire.
Castelvetri, James, editor. 12414.
- BOURCHIER, William, III Earl of Bath.
Sutcliffe, Matthew. 23471.
Sutcliffe, Matthew. 23472. (R)
- BOWYER, Sir Edmund, the elder, of Camberwell.
W[ilson?]. R. 24913.
- BROOKE, alias Cobham, Sir Henry, a. 1592.
P[urfoote]. T[homas]., bookseller. 12461.
- BURGH, Thomas, V Baron Burgh.
Bradshaw, Thomas. 3508. (*)
- CAMBRIDGE AND OXFORD UNIVERSITIES.
Sutcliffe, Matthew. 23458.
- CAREY (Spenser), Elizabeth = George II Baron Hunsdon.
Spenser, Edmund. 23078.
- CAREY, Henry, I Baron Hunsdon.
Clayton, Giles. 5376.
- CAREY, Robert, I Earl of Monmouth.
Greene, Robert. 12241.
Hester, John, translator. 7275.
- CARLEILL, Christopher, Commander.
Kearney, William, bookseller. 19183.
- CECIL, Robert, I Earl of Salisbury.
Stepney, William. 23256.

CECIL, William, Baron Burghley.

Barrow, Henry, and John Greenwood. 1523.

Broughton, Hugh. 3890.

Saravia, Hadrian. 21749. (*)

Smith, Henry. 22685.

Smith, Henry. 22685.5 (R)

Smith, Henry. 22686. (R)

Smith, Henry. 22687. (R)

Swayne, William. 6220.

Swayne, William. 6221.

CRANFIELD, Thomas, Mercer.

Wilkinson, Richard, editor. 1092. (*)

DEVEREUX (Scudamore), Jane = Sir William of Merevale.

Drayton, Michael. 7199.

DEVEREUX, Robert, II Earl of Essex.

Bradshaw, Thomas. 3508.

Eliot, John, translator. 16810.

Garrard, Thomas, editor. 11625.

Percyvall, R[ichard]. 19619.

DEWHURST, Bernard, Surveyor and mathematician.

Cooke, Francis, translator. 13070.

DUDLEY, Robert, Earl of Leicester.

C[ancellar]., J[ames]. 4562. (R)

Spenser, Edmund. 23078.

EDINBURGH. Corporation and civic. (The Lord Provost and other officials of the Kirk in Edinburgh).

Bruce, Robert. 3923.

ELIZABETH I, Queen.

- Clayton, Giles. 5376.
 [earlier abroad]. 21656.
 Fletcher, Giles. 11056.
 Harington, John, translator. 746.
 Hortop, Job. 13828.
 Lloyd, Lodowick. 16632.
 Rabbards, Ralph, editor. 121057.
 Savile, Henry, translator. 23542.
 Ubaldini, Pettruccio. 24488.

FARMERS.

- Greene, Robert. 12279. (*)
 Greene, Robert. 12281. (*)

FLOWER, Francis, Gentleman pensioner and textbook monopolist.

- Newman, Thomas, bookseller. 22536.

GENTRY. Young gentlemen.

- Greene, Robert. 12279. (*)
 Greene, Robert. 12281. (*)

GEOGRAPHERS.

- Forman, Simon. 11185. (*)

GREY (Windsor), Anne = Henry I Baron Grey of Groby.

- Wilmot, Robert. 25764. (*)

GREY, Arthur, XIV Baron Grey of Wilton.

- Sparke, Thomas. 23019.

HARLACKINDEN, Roger, of Warehorne.

- W[ilcox]., T[homas]. 25626. (*)

HARLACKINDEN, William, Brother of Roger.

W[ilcox]., T[homas]. 25626. (*)

HART, Sir John, Lord Mayor.

Busby, John, bookseller. 16654.

HARVEY, Gabriel, Poet.

K[irke?]. E[dward?]. 23092. (R)

HASTINGS, Henry, III Earl of Huntingdon.

Paulfrayman, Thomas, editor. 1263. (R)

HATTON, Sir Christopher, Lord Chancellor.

Robinson, Richard, translator. 23359.

Saravia, Hadrian. 21749. (*)

HATTON (Gawdy), Elizabeth = Sir William alias

NEWPORT, d. 1597.

Greene, Robert. 12271.

HATTON, alias NEWPORT, Sir William, d. 1597.

Phillips, J[ohn]. 19876.

HENEAGE, Sir Thomas, Vice-chamberlain.

[Bunny, Edmund, editor.] 19381.

HERBERT, Henry, II Earl of Pembroke.

Parry, Henry, translator. 24534.

HERBERT (Sidney), Mary = Henry, II Earl of Pembroke.

Fraunce, Abraham. 11339.

Fraunce, Abraham. 11340.

Spenser, Edmund. 23078.

HOOD, Thomas, Mathematician.

Cooke, Francis, translator. 13070.

HUSBANDMEN or COUNTRYMEN.

Greene, Robert. 12279. (*)

JAMES VI and I, King.

Bruce, Robert. 3924.

Rollock, Robert. 21280.

JAMES, William, Bishop of Durham.

Trigge, Francis. 24275.

KNIGHTLEY, Sir Valentine, of Fawsley, d. 1618.

Perkins, William. 19753. (R)

L., P.

D[ade]. J[ohn]. 434.5.

LONDON. Ecclesiastical. St. Clement Danes.

Smith, Henry. 22659.

LONDON. Inns of Court and Chancery.

Legh, Gerard. 15391.

LONDON. Mayor and Corporation.

Nelson, Thomas. 18422.5.

LUMLEY, John, I Baron Lumley, d. 1609.

Byrd, William. 4248.

MAITLAND (Metellanus), John, I Lord Maitland, Chancellor.

Waldegrave, Robert, printer. 5192.

MALENUS, Joannes.

Dickenson, John. 6818.

MARTIN, Sir Richard, Lord Mayor.

Cottesford, Samuel. 5840. (*)

MERCHANT ADVENTURERS.

Baker, Humphrey. 1213. (R)

MERCHANTS.

Greene, Robert. 12279. (*)

Greene, Robert. 12281. (*)

MONTAGU, Sir Edward, of Boughton, father of I Baron M.

Mascall, Leonard. 17581. (R)

NORRIS, Henry, I Baron N. of Rycote.

Hacket, Roger. 12589.

PARR (Suavenburgh), Helena = William I Marquis of Northampton.

Spenser, Edmund. 23079.

PERCY, Henry, III Earl of Northumberland.

Castelvitrius, James. 20118.

PERYAM, Sir William, Judge.

Smith, Richard, translator. 24274.

PETRE (Waldegrave), Mary = John I Baron Petre.

Wilmot, Robert. 25764. (*)

PIERS, John, Archbishop of York.

Swinburne, Henry. 23547.

POWLE, Thomas, One of six clerks.

Panke, William. 19172.3.

PRANNELL, Henry, Alderman.

M., Jo[hn?]. 17143.

PRIVY COUNCIL (of Elizabeth I).

Babington, Gervase. 1094.

N[elson]., T[homas]. 11727.

ROWE, Sir Henry, the elder, Lord Mayor.

Wilkinson, Richard, editor. 1092. (*)

SACKVILLE (Spencer), Anne = Robert II Earl of Dorset,
previously Compton.

Spenser, Edmund. 23078.

ST. JOHN, John, II Baron St. John.

Wright, Leonard. 26032.

SAUNDERS, Nicholas, of Ewell, Surrey.

Florio, John. 11097.

SHIRLEY (Wroughton), Dorothy = Sir George I Bt.,
previously Unton.

Chamberlaine, Bartholomew. 4952.

SMITH, Sir Thomas, Merchant, d. 1625.

Lodge, Thomas. 16657.

STANLEY (Spencer), Alice = Ferdinando V Earl of Derby,
later Egerton.

Spenser, Edmund. 23078.

- STAYNES, Nicholas, Warden of Mercers.
Wilkinson, Richard, editor. 1092. (*)
- TALBOT, Gilbert, VII Earl of Shrewsbury.
Cockaine, Sir Thomas. 5457.
- TRENCHARD, Sir George, the elder of Wolveton, Dorset.
Mayo, John. 17752.
- VERE, Edward, XVII Earl of Oxford.
Farmer, John. 10698.
- WEBBE, Sir William, Lord Mayor.
Cottesford, Samuel. 5840. (*)
- WHITGIFT, John, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Colynet, Antony. 5590.
Cottesford, Samuel. 5840.
Saravia, Hadrian. 21749.
Turnbull, Richard. 24339.
- WISTOW or WYSTO, Richard, Master of Barber Surgeons.
Partridge, John. 19429. (R)
- WOLLEY, Sir John, Latin secretary.
Churchyard, Thomas. 5253.
- WOOD, Toby, of Lincoln's Inn.
Vaughan, Edward. 24598.
- WRIOTHESLEY, Henry, III Earl of Southampton.
Clapham, John. 5349.
- YEOMANRY.
Greene, Robert. 12281. (*)

APPENDIX III

BRIEF IN FAVOUR OF JOHN SALISBURY

The brief authorizing collections on behalf of John Salisbury (STC 13856), which is discussed in this thesis within the chapter on Government and Law, is a semi-legal document issued under the authority of the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard. The document is unique among the publications from 1591 because it is the only extant item to have been printed in Welsh. Publications in the Welsh language were not numerous during the Elizabethan period as a whole, and on this account the document is an item of some interest. The following translation, which is a fairly literal rendering of the text, is the work of Mr. David Jenkins, Keeper of Printed Books, The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

Charles, Lord Howard, Baron of Effingham, Knight of the noble Order of the Garter ruler of the high seas of England, Ireland and Wales, their border lands, their islands, the town of Calais and its provinces of Normandy, Gascony, and Guines, overlord of the seas and of the royal fleet of her Highness. To all and sundry of the deputy governors of the seas, justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, customs officers, water bailiffs, clergymen, vicars, curates, church wardens, subscribers and collectors for the poor, and to all who may hold posts under them, and to all friends and obedient officials, ministers, and subjects of our most Honourable

Queen, of whatever grade, rule or calling within England, Ireland, the Principality of Wales their borders and islands, as well within their jurisdiction as without, and to each of them. Greeting in our Lord God Everlasting. Inasmuch as this poor leader (? armour-bearer) John Salisbury of Gwyddelwern in the county of Merioneth, is a warrior having served and devoted himself diligently to follow the demands of her Majesty in France, Flanders and in the Moroccan seas in a ship called Minivvn of London over a period of six years whereby he has lost the use of one of his hands, and that his face, his body and his limbs have eleven visible wounds, and in seeking to heal them he has used and spent the little wealth which he had and that which he obtained from his Kinsmen, and from others in any like manner, whereby he has been brought to such distress and misery that it appears he will fail completely unless he is helped and nourished through the assistance of good devout men. After carefully considering this I have permitted him this appeal having been influenced through pity and commiseration on seeing his poor wretched condition, and his manner of living at present. Therefore these letters in the name of Her Majesty the Queen and through her gracious and royal authority granted and vested in me, not only do command and exhort you and all of you to permit and suffer the said Sion [John] Salisburi to travel and to pass in peace among you at all times and in all seasons within the aforesaid countries, (on condition that he should behave properly according to the Royal law) without let or hindrance, accusation, molestation or trouble: But rather do I wish and earnestly desire (for God's sake) and implore you and each of you to whom this may be pertinent to grant succour and support to the said John Salisburi according to his needs in all your churches and chapels whence he or his representative may come to request this, and to collect and gather the generous alms, and promises of all Christian and well meaning people, and to give him or his representative, the same to help him. And also to allow him or his representative in your cities, towns, villages and forests, and every other place where they might come to seek alms, to receive the willing devotions of all good people (whose hearts God may stir to help him) without trouble or affliction.

By fulfilling this I have no doubt that you will be performing an act of kindness to this poor man. This order to extend for a full year from the day it is written, and not more. Given in London in the High Court of Admiralty of England under the Great Seal the 31st day of July in the year of our Lord 1591, and in the 33rd year of the reign of our noble Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

Charles Howard.

Write clearly on the verso of this the sum you have collected,
and the name of your parish.

May God remain with the Queen.

Printed by Thomas Purfoot.

APPENDIX IV

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