PART TWO

PATRONS AND PRINTERS
The Elizabethan period was a watershed in the history of literary patronage. The printing press had provided a means for easier publication, distribution and availability of books; and therefore a great patron, the public, was accessible to all authors who managed to get into print. In previous times there were too many discouragements and hardships to be borne so that writing attracted only the dedicated and clearly talented writer. In addition, generous patrons were not at all plentiful and most authors had to be engaged in other occupations to make a living. In the last half of the sixteenth century, a far-reaching change is easily discernible. By that time there were more writers than there were patrons, and a noticeable change occurred in the relationship between patron and protégé. Instead of a writer quietly producing a piece of literature for his patron's circle of friends, as he would have done in medieval times, he was now merely one of a crowd of unattached suitors clamouring for the favours and benefits of the rich. Only a fortunate few were able to find a patron generous enough to enable them to live by their pen.¹ Most had to work at other vocations and/or cultivate the patronage of the public and the publishers. The fact that only a small number of persons had more than a few works dedicated to them indicates the difficulty in finding a beneficent patron. An examination of 568 dedications of religious works reveals that only ten dedicatees received more than ten dedications and only twelve received between four and nine. There were 127 dedicatees who received only one dedication; an indication of the search by authors to find patrons.

Expectation of material reward was only one of several reasons why authors dedicated their works to a particular person or persons. The desire for protection was often expressed, and it was not unusual for an author to ask his dedicatee to examine his work and then cast

¹See P. Sheavyn, "Patrons and Writers Under Elizabeth and James I," The Library, New Series, 7, 1906. p. 305. Only Ascham, Daniel, and Jonson, it seems, were fortunate enough to obtain lifelong patronage.
it aside or commit it to the press. Many times the dedication merely acknowledges the author's appreciation of the dedicatee's remarkable character and abilities or of his generosity. On one occasion, at least, an author dedicated a work to his opponent -- attacking him, of course. Laced with sarcasm, he wrote

This my answere, albeit you looke not for it, I dedicate to your owne selfe, and not without just cause. I doe not look for any thankes at your handes. I know it is an ungratefull world. Yet if you will patronize this booke and vouchsafe to stay the vnbridled tongues of your disciples, that in their Bacchanall banquettes and disciplinary feastes degorge their malice, and speake their pleasures of whom they list, I wil accept it at your hands as a fau-our, and put it into the reckining of your good doings.

Another author, Richard Hakluyt, the famous geographer, deliberately used dedications as part of a publicity campaign for Sir Walter Raleigh's adventures. He wrote to Raleigh concerning the dedication in Peter Martyr: "if there be anythinge else that you wold have mentioned in the epistle dedicatorie, yow shal doe wel to let mee understand of yt betymes." In 1587 Peter Martyr appeared and its dedication, in large part, was devoted to advertisement of Raleigh and Virginia.

But mentioned more often than any other reason for dedicating a religious writing to a prestigious dedicatee was to offer him the opportunity of advancing the Protestant faith. One author pointed out in a dedication to Dr. Babington, Bishop of Worcester, that Erasmus and Calvin dedicated their works to kings, princes, and nobles "to make them in loue with religion [and] to make them to fauour and further it, to the vttmost of theyr power." He, therefore, was following their example and trusted that the bishop would "further Gods Church and the ministrie by this means." What Eleanor Rosenberg found to be true of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was true also of the other important patrons of Protestant literature: "the dissemination of propaganda was the most powerful single purpose behind the production of patronized religious writing in the period."
Though times had changed with the invention of the printing press and authors were no longer totally dependent upon a patron, most clung to the tradition of dedicating their work to wealthy and important persons. When successful, the benefits of such a system could be considerable. Peter Martyr (Pietro Martire Vermigli), the Italian reformer, received twenty crowns from Bishop Cox for his commentary on Judges. Radolph Gualter of Zurich did much better by using a multi-patron dedication. He dedicated his homilies on I Corinthians to Bishops Grindal, Sandys, Horn, Cox, Parkhurst and Pilkington. From Grindal he received thirty crowns, from Pilkington about twenty-five, from Cox about seventeen (25 gulden plus 5 crowns), and probably similar amounts from Sandys, Horn, and Parkhurst. On the other hand, remuneration from a dedicatee could be quite meagre, and sometimes not forthcoming at all. Richard Robinson received only two shillings and sixpence from Mr. Syinon Roe, Master of the Company of Leathersellers, for dedicating to him Certeyn Select Historyes for Christian Recreation....(1576) and only two shillings from Bishop Watson of Chichester for his A Record of Ancyent Historyes....(1602). Even worse for poor Robinson, he received nothing on at least three occasions — from Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, Queen Elizabeth, and Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England. Robinson was not typical of the Elizabethan author of religious literature in that he was a hack writer trying to eke out a living by his pen. A talent for writing he clearly lacked; his works consisted of translations and compilations. There is little doubt that expectation of material reward was his main reason in making a dedication. There was no chance at all that Robinson could have followed Bucer's example of a few decades before when he told Archbishop Cranmer not to send him an "additional" thirty crowns for one of his dedications: "I have never yet received a farthing from any one for dedicating my works: so that if your reverence will treat me with such liberality, there will be some danger of my

---

1 Cox to Martyr, Aug. 5, 1562; Cox to Gualter, June 12, 1573, and Feb. 4, 1573; Pilkington to Gualtee, July 20, 1573; Grindal to Gualter, July 31, 1573. H. Robinson (ed.) The Zurich Letters (1842), pp. 112, 282, 284-6, 288, 293-4.

Disclaiming any motivation for material gain, Bucer states that his purpose in dedicating his work to Cranmer was "to set forth your faith to the godly ... and thereby to encourage our hopes and also to procure some kind of access from us to you, and some communion in the Lord." That statement goes a long way in expressing the motivation behind most dedications by Elizabethan authors of serious religious literature.

Not all dedications, however, reflect the acceptance of the dedicatee of the work or his sympathy with what is expressed in it. Most probably did. There were some that only came to the attention of the dedicatee after the printing. Robinson received a tongue-lashing from Sir Thomas Egerton for that very thing — besides a flat refusal to remunerate him. Nevertheless, dedications in all ages have been generally accepted as evidence of patronage and of sympathy with what has been written. Therefore, while it would be dubious to deduct a dedicatee's religious preferences from two or three dedications, yet much can be said about his or her religious sympathies by the kind of authors and translators they attracted, especially if they had sufficient number of works dedicated to them. There is little doubt, for example, that the Earl of Leicester's identification with the extreme Protestant faction at Court was reflected in the type of literature dedicated to him. Of twenty-five dedications to Leicester eighteen were written by Puritans. There was no doubt in the minds of Puritans that sympathetic nobles like Leicester were elevated to their high social status by God to support His cause. In a dedication to George, Earl of Cumberland, Christopher Shute stated plainly that what bounty he had received of the Earl ought to be the expression of "the zeale and loue of all Nobilitie, (whereof your Honoure is a most towarde Braunche) always with maine and might, to defend the cause of true Religion ... for which cause the Lorde hath stirred vp most noble men and godly

2 Ibid.
3 B.M. Ms. Royal 18A. lxvi, fol. IIV.
4 Holzknecht, op. cit., p. 135. J. Caldwell, A Sermon preached before the ... Earle of Darbie (1577), sig. A2v, for example of dedicatee offering to finance the publication.
5 See Bibliography II for works dedicated to Leicester.
Magistrates, to bee, as Patrones, and Protectoures too the Ambassadores of his woorde, for the better proceeding of Religion...."\(^1\)

**Single-Patron Dedications**

The Queen and Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, as would be expected, were among those receiving above average numbers of dedications of religious works.\(^2\) The scarcity of dedications to them by Puritans is striking and underlines the antagonism that lay between them. Out of some twenty-six dedications of religious works to Elizabeth, only two dedicators could be classified as Puritan — and moderate Puritans at that. They were Lawrence Humphrey and William Fulke. There were none by the later and more radical Puritans of the stamp of Cartwright, Field or Wilcox. Much the same can be said of Archbishop Whitgift. Only two dedications out of ten were written by Puritans, but, one must add, whose Puritanism was of an earlier period.\(^3\) Most of the Queen's and the Archbishop's dedicators were staunchly orthodox in their religious views.

Other prominent Elizabethans were involved in the Protestant booktrade. None was more active than Sir Francis Walsingham. Related to the Queen through his stepfather, Walsingham had served as resident ambassador in Paris and witnessed the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Ever since his days at Cambridge, he held advanced Protestant views and had to flee abroad during Mary's reign. He returned with religious attitudes typical of the Marian exile. When William Cecil became Lord High Treasurer upon the death of the old Marquis of Winchester in March 1572, Walsingham was appointed second Principal Secretary nine months later.\(^4\) His appointment altered little, if at all, his religious viewpoint. While too discreet to be caught in the Puritan camp, there was no doubt about his anti-Catholic zeal and sympathetic attitudes to Puritanism.

Walsingham, it seems, was the co-ordinator of an organized

---


\(^2\) Parker and Grindal received some dedications during their shorter incumbencies, but insignificant compared with Whitgift.

\(^3\) They were Miles Mosse and Thomas Sparke. Within a decade, Sparke was urging his wayward brethren to conform in his *Brotherly persuasion to unitie and uniformitie* (1607).

\(^4\) When Cecil became Lord High Treasurer, the practice of having two Principal Secretaries was revived. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth*, p. 227.
campaign to reply to the Roman Catholic books being distributed in England by the Jesuits and Seminary priests. Notes by him set out three points to be considered in dealing with the problem:

"1. What books are fit to be answered.
2. By whom.
3. And how the Charges shall be defrayed."

The consideration of the first was to be referred to "D. Hammond, H. Knowles, Mr. Beale, D. Crook, Reynolds, Travers, Reynolds (six), Charke, Sootheacce (?), Mr. Norton, Thomson." With regard to the second point, the authors would be "well chosen Persons of Cambridge and Oxford" and "learned Ministers in London and in other Diocesses." And the last point, the problem of expenses, would be met in the following manner:

"1. Bishops to make collections in their Diocesses and Chancellors in the Universities.
2. The well affected to be moved publickly by the Preachers at Pauls Crosse to yielde Contributions. Others that are thought to be religious, may be appointed with the city.
3. To move particular Persons for Contribution.
4. To make choice of a Printer to have the printing of these bookes who is to give some allowance to the Notarys that are to write these books. The Bookes to be perused before the Printing by the best learned in both the Universities, as also by other learned Fathers of the Church." 1

The plan soon became practice. Three of the eighteen works dedicated to him were written against the Jesuits, and he was directly involved in two others of a similar nature. One of the latter was The copie of a letter sent out of England (n.d.), a piece of anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic propaganda which John Wolfe printed in Italian at the warrant of Sir Francis. 3 The other was Thomas Cartwright's A Confutation Of The Rheemists Translation, Glosses And Annotations On The New Testament....(1618). A letter written to Cartwright on July 5, 1586(?) from the Court at Greenwich, almost surely by Walsingham, informed him that the Queen wished his removal as master of Leicester's hospital in Warwick, but that he was "earnestly desired by some" to spend his time in answering "books of 1S.P. Dom. Eliz. 12. Vol. cxxxiii. (1579?).
2J. Keltridge, Two Godlie And learned sermons, appointed and preached before the Iesuites....(1581); A Munday, A breefe Aunswer made vnto two seditious Pamphlets....(1582); and T. Lupton, The Christian against the Iesuite....(1582).
the Jesuites." He then was offered one hundred pounds a year to reply to the Catholic Rheinish New Testament, the finished product to be "seane and allowed by the best learned of both the Universities." In addition to free accommodation, he also could have whatever assistants he thought necessary, "as many as you will, and they likewise shall have good allowance made them." It was suggested, furthermore, that the book should be dedicated to the Lord Treasurer or to the Queen, "whom you best lyke and this way is thought best to make an overture for your further favour."\(^1\) The preface to the Confutation, published posthumously in 1618, outlined the conditions of Walsingham's generous offer and referred to proof of receipt of the one hundred pounds in Cartwright's letters.\(^2\)

Walsingham's Protestant fervour and zeal were often alluded to in dedications to him. John Foxe, for example, in A Sermon prea-ched at the Christi-neing of a certaine Iew .... (1578), reminded Sir Francis that when he missed the preaching of Foxe's sermon due to sickness, he had him come to his chamber and repeat it.\(^3\) John Stockwood dedicated his translation of Brentius' discourse on the Book of Esther to him, and clearly defends the position of the Puritans in the dedicatory epistle. Stockwood likens Walsingham to Mordecai, the uncle of Queen Esther, who pleads with her to use her influence to thwart the murderous designs of the enemies of her people, the Jews. Just as Mordecai championed the cause of his people, so Walsingham has advanced the cause of "the children of god both of our owne church at home, and also abroad in other countreis [sic], as occasion hath bene offered." The villain of the piece was Haman, "the most powerful official in the empire next to the king himself."\(^4\) Given the year of publication of this work, 1584, the year of the Subscription crisis,\(^5\) there is little doubt that Stockwood's Haman is really John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury. "We see then first in [H]aman what enuie and ambition meeting together can doe, namely that it can procure the partie in whom it taketh place, to bende all his studie, labor, trauell, and policies to seeke the vitter

---

\(^3\) Sig. *2.
\(^4\) Esther 3:1
\(^5\) Supra., pp. 90ff.
ruine, yea euuen of the Church of Cod, making him quite and cleane to forget all thankfulnesse vnto God for advancing him vp from low estate, vnto the high top of dignitie, and for taking him from the dunghill ... to place him amongst princes, and causing him further to imploy his preferment (to) ... the vttter defacing of true religion, and extreame destruction of the most sincere folowers and embracers of the same." But Mordecai's influence with Queen Esther prevailed, and Haman swung from the gallows he had prepared for the people of God.¹ Stockwood was only one of eight Puritans who presented their work to Walsingham. Thomas Wilcox, John Keltrige, Nathaniel Baxter, Anthony Munday, Stephen Gosson, Laurence Tomson, were others.²

There were further indications of Walsingham's Puritan sympathies. According to Thomas Jackson, the Puritan minister of Wye, Kent, Walsingham was responsible for persuading the Queen to assign yearly stipends of fifty pounds to "some" godly ministers in Lancashire. He also refers to Sir Francis Walsingham as that "most worthie, religious, and deeply prudent Councellour."³ And when Puritan opposition to the Queen's proposed marriage to the Duke of Alencon reached a crescendo in the publication of the Gaping Gulf, with the wrath of Elizabeth falling upon John Stubbes, the author, and his cohorts, the rumour was that Walsingham had inspried it. Memoranda left by him shows that his thinking regarding the Queen's marriage coincided with Stubbes' pamphlet to a remarkable degree. In their arguments against the marriage, the difference of religion weighed more heavily than any political consideration.⁴ While no connection between Stubbes and Walsingham can be proved before the publication of his pamphlet, there is evidence that he was known to associates of Walsingham, and that after its publication he had dealings with Leicester, Burghley and Walsingham.⁵

Next to Sir Francis Walsingham in the number of religious dedications they attracted were the Earls of Huntingdon, Bedford,

²See authors listed in Bibliography II. under Walsingham.
³T. Jackson, Davids Pastoral Poeme....(1603), sig. S6v. For Jackson's participation in a weekly lecture conducted by five ministers in Ashford, Kent, every market day, see sig. *2.
⁵Ibid.
Warwick, and Essex. On the whole, the kinds of religious works dedicated to them were similar in nature: translations of commentaries, sermons, treatises, etc., of Continental reformers and anti-Catholic propaganda much of which contained trenchant criticism of the Church of England. At least ten of the sixteen dedications to the Earl of Huntingdon were made by Puritans,¹ nine out of nineteen to Francis, Earl of Bedford, and to his son Edward,² ten out of sixteen to the Earl of Warwick,³ and six out of twelve to the Earl of Essex.⁴ The four earls were linked together not only by their strong Protestantism but also by marriage. Huntingdon married Katherine Dudley, a daughter of Northumberland, and so became brother-in-law to the Earls of Leicester and Warwick. Early in Elizabeth’s reign Warwick married the daughter of the Earl of Bedford. Essex was Warwick’s nephew, Leicester’s stepson, and became Walsingham’s son-in-law. Together with Leicester and Walsingham, the four Earls formed a complex of religious literary patronage that was the backbone of the effort to put the Puritan viewpoint into print. At least sixty-three works written by Puritans were dedicated to this small group of Protestant peers.⁵ They were all praised by their dedicators for their staunch support of Christ’s Church and, as Bartimaeus Andrewes added in his dedication to Huntingdon, of “good causes”.⁶

Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, was supportive particularly of militant Protestantism. While he did encourage and patronize such radicals as John Field, Thomas Wilcox, and John Udall, he certainly did not embrace their presbyterianism. Though his dedicators did not hesitate to condemn corruption in the Church, none attacked episcopacy in their dedications to him. The self-restraint exercised by Field and Udall in their dedications was admirable.

¹John Udall, Bartimaeus Andrewes, Arthur Hildersam, John Stockwood, Anthony Gilby, Arthur Golding, Robert Fyll, Christopher Fetherstone, and John Field.
²To Francis: John Udall, Eusebius Paget, Thomas Wilcox, Arthur Golding, and John Field. To Edward: Thomas Wilcox, William Perkins (3) and Elijah Wilcox.
⁴George Gifford (3), Nicholas Bownd, William Hubbocke, and Josais Nichols.
⁵See Bibliography II.
⁶B. Andrewes, Certaine Verie ... profitable Sermons ....(1583), sig. A2.
Field, for example, concentrated on railing against the "Papistes". 1 Throughout his life, the Earl seems to have consistently favoured the cause of moderate reform. He chose for his livings men of the type of Anthony Gilby, Thomas Sampson, and Arthur Hildersham. After his death, his brother Francis wrote of him:

he never sett a strayinge Foote in anye place, where he did not labour at the least to settle the preachinge of the word to the people. And in manie places I knowe hee broughte it to passe to the comforte of manie consciences, and the knitting of there hartes in all loyaltie and obedience to there soveraigne and Queene: and in whome soever he found eyther backwardnes or blinde ignorance, hee would seeke lovinglie to have them instructed, or else by Just severtie to correcte and reforme them. 2

It must be added that his concern for the proclaiming of the Word of God encompassed the printing of it. 3

A similar picture emerges from dedications to Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford. Bedford was a staunch supporter of radical Protestants in the West Country. A Marian exile at Zurich, he maintained friendships with such reformers as Calvin and Beza into Elizabeth’s reign. His keen interest in advancing the Protestant cause was indicated by the numerous books in his library by leading Puritan divines and by Calvin and Beza. 4 Such radicals as John Field could testify of his patronage. Field dedicated to the Earl and his wife his translation of Thirteene Sermons Of Maister Iohn Caluine ....(1579) "because I can not ... by arye other meanes testifie the dutie that I owe you." Field felt free enough to go on to write a ringing exhortation:

Beware of those twoo Cankers that corrupte the whole worlde, and is moste likely to assayle Nobilitie, I meane Pride and Couetousness; Let them not once bee named amongst you as becommeth Saintes .... Stand fast in his trueth in these slipperie daies .... Examine your selues often ... and neglect not holy exercies .... Care not for the contempt of the worlde, but holde fast a good conscience that you may be approued before God. 5

---

4 Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, p. 53.
5 J. Calvin, Thirteene Sermons....(1579), sigs. A2, B3.
Arthur Golding referred to Bedford's God-given "singulaer desire to aduance his glorie, and benefite his Churche." The main reason for the dedication, wrote Golding, was because "your Lordshippes good gouernment, and conversatian in these North partes of Englannde, hath furdered not a fewe, to the light of true Religion."\(^1\) Thomas Gibson, the Puritan minister of Ocham in Rutland, thought the Earl one of "the cheefe Patrons and defenders of the Godly preachers and the worde of God." Gibson went on to refer to him as one of the "defenders of the Lord's cause, and tried Friends and fauorers of God and his truth" and to commend him for his "zeale of Gods glory and furtherance of his religion."\(^2\) Gibson published his sermon in the year of the Subscription crisis\(^3\) and was clearly on the side of those who refused to subscribe. He implied that this was one of the reasons for dedicating it to Bedford. After mentioning the "bitter persecution" the "dearest children of God" were suffering for contending for "sinceritie of religion" and "the pure preaching of the worde of God," he sated: "This I say, is hated, reiected and persecuted so farre as may bee, of the greater sorte, and therefore not without cause haue I attempted to dedicate this my labour" to you.\(^4\) Bedford's patronage, however, was by no means one-sided. Among the dedicators acknowledging his bounty to them were a bishop, William Alley of Exeter, and two who later became bishops, John Bridges and John Woolton.\(^5\)

Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, gave every indication of sympathizing with the ultra-Protestant cause. Although the religious works dedicated to them are not so numerous compared with Walsingham and Huntingdon, some indication of their zeal is contained in them.\(^6\) John Knewstub

---

\(^1\) J. Calvin, A Little Booke ....(1566), sig. *4v, *5.


\(^3\) See supra., pp. 90-95.

\(^4\) Gibson, A Fruit-ful sermon ....(1584), sig. A2.

\(^5\) W. Alley, The poore mans Librarie....(1570); J. Bridges (Dean of Salisbury, 1577-1604; Bishop of Oxford) dedicated to Bedford his translation of R. Walther, An hundred, threescore and fiftene Homelyes ....(1572); J. Woolton (Bishop of Exeter, 1578-1594), A Treatise of the Immortalitie of the Soule....(1576). It was due to Bedford's patronage that Woolton became Bishop of Exeter. See Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, p. 201.

\(^6\) Franklin B. Williams, Jr., Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses In English Books before 1641 (New York, 1962), pp. 57, 63, ascribes 30 dedications to Warwick and 80 to Essex, but they included religious and non-religious literature. My figures are based on an
acknowledged Warwick's benevolence to him by providing "a safe harborow vnder your honourable protection" for himself and others. ¹

To William Kethe, one of the Puritan ministers to accompany Warwick to the Netherlands, the Earl was most worthy as a dedicatee "beyng desirous to further vertue, and the sincere religion of Iesus Christ, with the fauourers of the same." Kethe went on to say that "some of Higher calling" in the county of Dorset had "misliked" his sermon for its plain speaking about abusing the Sabbath, but that he dedicated it to Warwick knowing from experience that he appreciated his forthrightness.² William Fulke mentioned his gratitude for the Earl's singuler good wyll" towards him and that while his "godlye zeale to the glorye of God, and the detestation of Papistrye, may appeare to all men ... it is throughly knowne to those that daylye haue experience of your honorable disposition."³ Similar sentiments were expressed by George Gifford, John Udall and Thomas Tymme.⁴

The young Earl of Essex, according to Thomas Cartwright, was "a father of his people." Cartwright was a regular correspondent with Essex and was one of several Puritans directly associated with him.⁵ Stephen Egerton was another ardent Puritan who received favours from Essex. Egerton would later emerge as the leader of the militant Puritan ministers in London.⁶ George Gifford dedicated his A Treatise Of True Fortitude (1594) to the Earl because it was "the common hope and expectation of our whole Land, (at the least, of so many as carry faithfull harts to their Prince and Country, and loue to the truth) that God hath prepared your Honour as a right worthy instrument furnished with an heroicall spirite for the defence of our most noble Queene and Kingdome."⁷ Josias Nichols of Kent pointed out to examination of some 1,700 Elizabethan publications (including ballads, news-sheets, pamphlets, etc.), of which approximately 568 contained dedications. Of these, 16 were to the Earl of Warwick and 12 to the Earl of Essex.

¹Knewstub, A Confutation ....(1579), sig. *7v.
²W. Kethe, A Sermon made at Blanford Forum....(1571), sig. A2v-A3v.
³W. Fulke, A Sermon preached at Hamp-ton Court ....(1572), sig. A2.
⁴Tymme translated A Commentarie of Iohn Caluine, vpon ... Genesis.... (1578).
⁶Ibid., p. 446.
⁷Sig. A2v. See also Gifford, Fifteene Sermons, Vpon The Song Of Salomon (1598).
Essex that Queen Esther became the intercessor for the Jews in the face of "wicked Haman," and added "Who knoweth whether thou art come to kingdom for such a time?" The same reference and words, only this time applied to King James, appeared later in the Millenary Petition. Queene Esther and her uncle Mordecai were favourite Old Testament figures of the Puritans when urging prominent and important Elizabethans to take up their cause. In similar vein but using a different analogy, Nicholas Bownd informed Essex that in "these euil daies" the "best causes are druen to seeke patronage where it maie doe them most good." Consequently, he was dedicating his Doctrine of the Sabbath (1595) to him. The Lord had raised up the Earl, continued Bownd, and had "inlarged your honorable name, aboue a great manie, which as a precious ointment flowing from yourselfe, comfortable refresheth and perfumeth a great number."2

As was the case with the other prominent Protestant patrons, Essex was the recipient of dedications from orthodox writers. In later life, he seems to have supported both reformers and maintainers of the status quo. Richard Harvey, for example, in his tract against "Martinism", acknowledges the Earl's "faourable affection" which "hath bene euer so euldent and your bountlfull hand alwaies so open vnto me."3 During his disgrace and fall, Essex maintained that his affection for the Protestant zealots was a passing fancy of his youth and that he much admired and respected Archbishop Whitgift. In fact Whitgift remained true to him in the last tragic years of his life.4 A letter from Essex to Lady Ann Bacon, probably written early in 1597 as it was a reply to her letter of December 1596, suggests that he had a falling out with the godly preachers. He defended himself against Lady Bacon's accusation that he had committed adultery with a certain unnamed lady and protested that it was the work of his enemies slandering him to the Queen. After complaining that his enemies were consolidating support against him in his absence, he added: "Yea the very Oracles (I meane those that are accounted to be plaine and sincere) doe ... speake the language of the strongest faction."5 Nevertheless, in the few days before his fateful rising

1 J. Nichols, An Order of Houshold Instruction .... (1596), sig. A3v; see also supra, pp. 181-182.
2 Sig. A2-A2v.
3 Harvey, A Theologicall Discourse.... (1590), sig. A2.
5 Lansd. Ms. 885. fol. 88.
against the Queen, zealous preachers addressed the great number of citizens assembled at Essex House. The passing fancy of his youth, if that is what his relationship with the Puritans was, had returned on the eve of his death.

Another cluster of influential patrons of Protestant religious literature consisted of Sir William Cecil, Sir Thomas Egerton, and Sir Christopher Hatton, all receiving a similar number of dedications. Only Cecil gave some indication of being sympathetic to the reformist cause; the other two clearly were not. Cecil was involved with the publication of Protestant literature from the early years of the reign and, by virtue of his positions as Principal Secretary and later Lord Treasurer, continued to be throughout his career. Through the agency of Cecil, William Seres was granted the patent for the sole printing of Protestant Primers containing the Psalter. Cecil was also responsible for the writing and publication of Jewel’s Apology in 1561, for the publication of Grindal’s sermon upon the death of Emperor Ferdinand, and later on, for numerous tracts defending English religious and foreign policy. In 1562 Bishop Cox of Ely, in appealing to Cecil for a new translation of the Bible, referred to him as a "speciall instrumente" chosen by God "to the furtherance of His heavenly truth."

With regard to religion, William Cecil was the epitome of discretion. As Elizabeth strove for a via media between continental Protestantism and Catholicism, so Cecil worked for a middle way within the Church of England. Both Grindal and Whitgift found advancement at his hands; both were criticized by him when their actions did not concur with his thinking. Though Cecil supported without equivocation the established Church, he frequently sympathized with Puritan ministers and lent some of them his support. Thomas Cartwright corresponded with him and enjoyed his support in frequent difficulties.

1Neale, Queen Elizabeth, p. 371.
3See supra., pp. 165-66; C. Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), pp. 262, 326-327.
5Lansd. Ms. 63. fol. 203; 64. (15). fol. 49, (17). fols. 57, 58; 103 fol. 206.
In 1584 he upbraided Whitgift for dealing harshly with the Puritan ministers, Thomas and Edward Braine, of Cambridgeshire. In the same year he advanced the name of Walter Travers for the mastership of the Temple.¹ He was in close contact with continental divines including Calvin. The latter felt himself close enough to Cecil to remind him "that all delay/ in reforming the Church/, coloured by whatever specious pretexts ought to be regarded by you with suspicion."² In the matter of reform of the Church Cecil trod most warily. While at times sympathetic to the moderate reformers, he had no truck with the extremists. In a letter to Archbishop Parker (Aug. 12, 1561), he expressed consternation and impatience with Bishop Parkhurst of Norwich for winking at "'schismatics and anabaptists'" and tolerating "'indiscreet behaviour of the readers and ministers in these eastern counties of Suffolk and Essex.'"³ When Archbishop Grindal, a longtime recipient of Cecil's favour and support,⁴ refused to follow the Queen's order to suppress the prophesyings, and was suspended from exercising his office, Cecil urged him to acknowledge his error.⁵

Although the number of dedications of religious works to Cecil is relatively small, he was involved in publication more directly than any other lay patron.⁶ Several authors of works that touched on sensitive religious or political topics sent them to Cecil for perusal before committing them to the press. Such was the case with Alexander Nowell, Thomas Bell of Cambridge, Thomas Cartwright, Lord Henry Howard and Sir John Smith. The case of Smith throws some

³Quoted in Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil..., p. 261.
⁵Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, p. 197.
⁶Of the 568 dedications that I examined, 12 were dedicated to Cecil. Four of the dedicators were moderate Puritans, e.g., Arthur Golding, George Gifford, and two were separatists (joint dedicators). The Separatists, Henry Barrow and John Greenwood, made their dedicatory epistle into an appeal to Cecil for justice. See H. Barrow, A Plaine Refutation of M. Giffars Book....(1591), sig. *3. See also C. Read, "William Cecil and Elizabethan Public Relations" in Elizabethan Government and Society (ed. by S.T. Bindoff, J. Hurstfield, C. H. Williams. The Athlone Press, 1961), pp. 21-55.
light on Elizabethan licensing procedures. He sent two books to Cecil "both dedicated vnto your Lp: incase that your Lp: had any liking that they should go to the printe; These are humbly to beseche your Lp: incase that you doe allowe them that then your Lp: will confirme the same wth some three or four wordes to the printer written in each first leafe of those bookes." Furthermore, it fell to Cecil, as instrument of the Queen and Privy Council, to see that authors, printers, and distributers of illicit literature were ferreted out and apprehended. Consequently, one finds him intimately involved in the tracking-down of clandestine presses, such as those used by the Jesuits and seminary priests and Martin Marprelate.

Sir Thomas Egerton, solicitor-general, and Sir Christopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain and Lord Chancellor, were the only dedicatees receiving a significant number of dedications of religious works who did not attract at least a couple of Puritans. Egerton was chosen as dedicatee only once, and Hatton never, it seems, by a Puritan. Edward Bulkley, an erstwhile Puritan minister of Northamptonshire, dedicated to Egerton an anti-Catholic pamphlet entitled, *An Apologie For Religion ....*(1602). Egerton received at least thirteen dedications of religious works, of which three were by his own chaplains (John King, Samuel Gardiner, Roger Fenton) and five were by authors who had enjoyed or were aware of his benevolence to ministers and scholars.

A good example of the latter group were the sentiments expressed by Dr. John Dove: "Your integrtie in bestowing spirituall liuings, and making choyse of learned men vpon whom you bestow them, hath satisfied the common expectation, and fully answered that great hope which the Cleargie of Englande hath conceiued of you. It is the voyce of all them which are religiously affected, that God in his mercy hath raysed you vp to bee an expeciall instrument of his glorie." Dove went on to acknowledge his indebtedness to Sir Thomas for his own

---

1 Smith to Cecil, 12 March 1591/2. Lansd. Ms. 69 (56). fol. 127. See also Nowell to Cecil, 1 April 1566, Lansd. Ms. 9 (42). fol. 165; R. Young to Cecil July 5, 1593, re Bell, Lansd. Ms. 75. (21). fol. 42; Cartwright to Cecil. Aug. 5, 1590, Lansd. Ms. 64. (17). fols. 57, 58; Howard to Cecil, 1594, Lansd. Ms. 885. fol. 87v.


Sir Christopher Hatton belonged undoubtedly to the anti-Puritan party; a fact clearly reflected in the dedications of religious works received by him. At least thirteen religious works contain dedications to Hatton and no less than three attacked the Puritans and condemned their "heapes of Nouelties." Everard Digby, a Cambridge divine, was one who attacked the Puritans as schismatics. A fellow of St. John's, Digby was deprived of his fellowship by the Master of the College. His expulsion was confirmed through the influence of that friend of the Puritans, the Earl of Leicester. In a pamphlet urging the state to "cut these [Puritans] off," William Covell referred to Hatton as "the Muses favorite: the Churches musick: Learnings Patron." While the author of the anonymous Humble Motiues For Association To Maintaine Religion Established (1601) reminded his readers that when "the Earle of Leicester liued, it went for currant that all Papists were Traitors in action, or affection. He was no sooner dead, But Sir Christopher Hatton ... he (I say) bearing sway, Puritans were trounced and traduced as troublers of the state." He went on to exhort his readers to beware of "some crafty Simon of Sir Christopher Hattons stamp," a probable reference to the bishop of London, Richard Bancroft, formerly Hatton's chaplain.

Hatton certainly was a patron of letters, but his preverence seems to have been towards the authors of non-religious literature. The literary men who had the most continuous relationship with him were Thomas Churchyard, Barnabe Rich, and Dr. John Dee. No work of any religious significance is listed under their names in the Short-title Catalogue. Furthermore, Hatton was the patron of printer Henry Bynneman, and Bynneman describes himself in the imprint of one book as "Servant to the Right Honourable Sir Christopher Hatton, Vice-Chamberlain." Archbishop Parker had been Bynneman's

2 W. James, A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse ....(1590), sigs. A2-A2v; R. Bancroft, A sermon preached at Paules Crosse (1588).
4 W. Covell, Polimanteia....(1595), sigs. P4v, Q2; Humble Motiues.... (1601), sig. D1. The latter is ascribed to W. Bradshaw or L. Digges in STC No. 3518.
6 T. Churchyard, A discourse of the queenes maiesties entertainement in Suffolk and Norfolk (1578).
It was with Hatton's help that Bynneman secured the privilege to print "all Dictionaries in all tongues, all Chronicles and histories whatsoever." Bynneman acknowledged his indebtedness to him by dedicating to Hatton the second edition of Wolfgang Musculus' Common places of Christian Religion .... (1578). Although flattery was an ingredient of almost every dedication, there was more truth than sycophancy in the tribute of Dr. John Harvey, physician, to Hatton: "I have already mentioned your bounteous long approved favour toward learning, and the professors thereof; neither can I forget in general so assured an argument, and praegnant testimony, as so many famous Dedications, Inscriptions, Praefaces, Titles, Directions, and Letters missive extant in your Right Worshipfull, and Right Honorable most renowned name, do continually suggest and afford." 

Receiving fewer dedications than any of the above, but nevertheless significant for their patronage of Protestant religious literature were the following: Sir Thomas Heneage; Thomas, Earl of Sussex; Sir George Carey; Henry, Earl of Pembroke; Sir Nicholas Bacon; Sir Julius Caesar; Lord Arthur Grey of Wilton; Lord Thomas Wentworth; Lord Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford; Lord Robert Rich and Lord John St. John, Baron of Bletsoe. To a few of these dedicatees, some of the most radical Puritans presented dedications. Thomas Wilcox frequented the household of Sir Nicholas Bacon and dedicated to Lady Bacon A Short, Yet sound Commentarie .... (1589). He remarked that just as she is "beloved at home in the midst of God's saints and faithful servants here, and these not only common professors, but many worthy ministers: (for kindes towards whom, and particularlie towards my selfe, I doo humblie here in all our names thanke GOD, and you as his gracious instrument) so you are made truely famous abroad in forraine Churches and countries, & highly reuerenced of many


2 J. Harvey, A Discoursiue Pro-bleme concer-ning Prophesies .... (1588), sig. A2v.
worthie men there, indue doubtles with singular graces for Gods glory, and the building vp of the bodie of the fellowship of Saints. ¹

Thomas Sparke, Ezekiel Culverwell, William Burton, and William Cupper acknowledged receipt of benefits and encouragement in dedications to, respectively, Lord Grey, Lord Rich, Lord Wentworth, and Lord St. John. There were further indications of support for radical Protestantism from Grey, Rich, and St. John. Robert Wright a Puritan preacher who had been ordained by presbyterian ministers and elders in Antwerp, confessed to the authorities that he had preached and catechized in the households of all three.²

The above twenty dedicatees were the recipients of the bulk of single-patron dedications. They were the small group of men to whom Elizabethan authors of Protestant literature looked for moral support, and sometimes financial reward, more than any others. Of 459 single-patron dedications examined, 230 were presented to twenty-three dedicatees receiving four or more, 102 to forty-six receiving two or three, and 127 to those receiving just one dedication.³ As would be expected the predominant social group represented by the dedicatees (196) was the nobility. However, the tendency for those belonging to the social groups inferior to the greater nobility to become increasingly involved in the life of the nation can be seen clearly in that they were in the majority. The social composition of the dedicatees was as follows:

¹Sigs. A3-A3v. The Puritan preachers, Humphrey Wildblud and Percival Wiburn, were permanent residents at Gorhambury and were responsible for catechising the household. Dr. Collinson thought that there was "a strong probability that it was in this group and under this patronage that A Parte of a Register was prepared for its publication in 1593 and Gorhambury may well have harboured the MS collections now known to us as 'A Seconde Parte of a Register.'" P. Collinson, "The Elizabethan Classical Movement," pp. 1178-80.

²B.M. Lansd. Ms. 109. (3). fols. 7-8. See also Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement p. 344; Sparke and J. Seddon, A catechisme .... (1588); Sparke, A Sermon Preached At Cheanies .... (1585) and An Answere To Ma-ster Iohn De Albines .... (1591); Culverwell's Dedications in A. Dent, The Ruine of Rome .... (1603); Burton, Dauids Euidence .... (1596); Cupper, Certaine Sermons Concerning Gods Late visitation .... (1592).

³See Bibliography II.
Greater Nobility = 52
Lesser Nobility = 72
Gentry = 44
Ecclesiastics = 21
Merchants = 7
TOTAL = 196

Included in the total were forty-nine women consisting of the wife of a bishop, forty wives of noblemen and eight of Gentlemen. Furthermore, as the following figures for each decade show, the monopoly of patronage by the great nobles in the early sixteenth century constantly declined throughout the Elizabethan period.

DEDICATIONS ARRANGED BY DECADES AND ACCORDING TO SOCIAL GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1558-67</th>
<th>1568-77</th>
<th>1578-79</th>
<th>1588-97</th>
<th>1598-1603</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greater Nobility</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesser Nobility</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gentry</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecclesiastics</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>_</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% to Greater Nobility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1558-67</th>
<th>1568-77</th>
<th>1578-79</th>
<th>1588-97</th>
<th>1598-1603</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greater Nobility</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As noticed earlier and will be seen later in discussing printing and publishing, it was the expansion of the booktrade and the increasing role of the publisher in bearing the brunt of the financial investment that removed the urgency of finding a great patron. Consequently,
authors were free to present their works to dedicatees for other than financial reasons. The result, of course, was that many other persons were chosen and joined the great nobles as dedicatees of Protestant literature. The same trend was reflected in other forms of dedications.

**Multi-Patron and Collective Forms of Dedications.**¹

Becoming more and more common by the end of the period, perhaps because of increased remuneration as indicated early in the chapter, was the multi-patron form of dedication. Thomas Bell dedicated *The survey of Popery ....* (1596) to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Sir Thomas Egerton, and the Bishop of Durham. He explained why: "you my L. of Canturburie, did harbour me a long time in your owne house .... You my L. of York for rare curtesies receiued both of old and late daies, haue made me greatly bound vnto your grace. You my L. Keeper, to speake nothing of your great zeale for the free passage of Christes gospel .... aswel for your rare honourable fauour to- wards [me]." The Bishop of Durham had never met him but nevertheless had been of great spiritual assistance to him.² Instead of the bishops, Puritans tended to dedicate their literary efforts to groups of laymen, usually those related by blood or marriage and who shared a religious zeal. Robert Cleaver explained to Robert Burgaine, J.P., of Roxall, County of Warwick, John Dive, of Ridlington Part, County of Rutland, and Edmund Temple, of Temple Hall, County of Leicester, and to their "religious and vertuous Wiues" his reasons for choosing them as dedicatees: "calling to mind the holy exercises dayly vsed and exercised in all your houses: I was moued for two

¹See Bibliography II.
²Sig. A2v.
causes, to make you all jointly Patrones hereof. First, for that I acknowledge my selfe beholden and indebted vnto you all diversely, since my first acquaintance with you by reason of marriage: so also you are, and have beene a long time inseparably knit in a zealous and sincere profession of Gods word and religion." Similar in content to single-patron dedications, the recurring reasons given for choosing dedicatees were acknowledgement of benefits received or of expertise on the subject of the publication, or the desire for protection from possible detractors, or occasionally, the desire for remuneration for honest labour.

For much the same reasons, a collective form of dedication was often used. Examples of the most popular were dedications to the Privy Council, the Church of England, the Episcopate, the Clergy, the Lord Mayor, Sherriffs, and Aldermen of London, the Judiciary, and the Companies of London. Such dedications often were little more than appeals or petitions. John Field expressed his outrage at the public activities permitted in London on the Sabbath in a slim pamphlet and dedicated it to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen as he "thought it should more concern you then others. I profess that I do it advisedly, and my reason is, because it most concerneth you, and such as are in authoritie." In the literary skirmish between John Darrell, the exorcist, and John Deacon and John Walker, Darrell dedicated his defence to the Church of England. Deacon and Walker responded by dedicating their accusations not only to the bishops and clergy of "our English Church" but, since Darrell was before the courts, to the "Judges, Sir Thomas Egerton knight, Lord Keeper of the great Scale of England: Sir John Popham knight, Lord cheefe Justice of England: Sir Edmund Anderson knight, Lord cheefe Justice of the common Pleas: and Sir William Periam knight, Lord cheefe Baron of the Exchequer: and other Judges of the comman Lawes." The Puritan divine and preacher at Newcastle, James Balmford, put into print what

1 R. Cleaver, A "Godly Forme Of Household Gouern-ment ....(1603), sig. A2v.
3 Field, A godly exhortation ....(1583), sig. A2.
4 Supra. pp. 171-172.
5 Darrell, A True Narration....(1600), sig. *2; Deacon and Walker, A Summarie Answere ....(1601), sig. *2, and Dialogicall Discourses
he had taught publicly "concerning the unlawfulnes of playing at
Cards or Tables, or any other game consisting in chance" and dedicated
it to the Mayor, Aldermen, and burgesses of Newcastle.¹

Sometimes collective dedicatees were chosen for no obvious per-
sonal reason. John Stockwood, for example, dedicated a sermon to
"the Maiers, Baylifes, Iurates, and Freemen of her Maiesties Cinque
Portes, and lymes of the same", even though he was a stranger to
them, because he had preached the sermon on election day in one of
the ports.² Obviously such an impersonal dedication held out small
hope of financial remuneration. Yet its frequent use underlines the
fact that for many authors of religious literature, material reward
was clearly secondary to the primary motive of extending the Kingdom
of God. A Sermon Of Christ crucified....(1570) was dedicated by
John Foxe "To all them that labour and be heavy laden in conscience."
And the Puritan pamphlet, A Triall of Subscription....(1599), was
addressed to "such Ministers of the Gospell as would seem desirous
of reformation; and yet haue subscribed to the Arch-Bishop of Can-
erburie his Articles." In both cases, religious conviction was of
paramount importance.

For most authors of religious literature, particularly Puritans,
the greatest benefit derived from dedications to prestigious per-
sonages was not financial reward but the enhanced prospect of public
acceptance and for some, respectability. In this regard, the sympathy
and support given to Puritans by the progressive Protestant patrons
was invaluable. Works which had multiple editions published were
more often than not written by Puritans and endorsed by a dedication
to an influential patron. Then, as now, controversial literature had
an appeal of its own. For example, the bulk of multi-edition works
were originally dedicated to those Protestant patrons who had strong
leanings toward Puritanism: Leicester, Walsingham, Huntingdon, Bed-
ford, Warwick, and Essex. Obviously the more radical Protestants
had more to gain from such patronage than orthodox writers since it
was they who were challenging the establishment. Hence, the great

¹Balmford, A Short and Plaine Dialogue....(1593), sig. A2. This
appeared also anonymously in a single-sheet folio, entitled To the
²Stockwood, A verie godlie and profitable Sermon ....(1584), sig.
A2.
emphasis on the godly zeal of the patron because he or she was not only a patron but an example. The implication, of course, was that the other pillars of the establishment ought to be as advanced in their protestantism and reform the Church accordingly.

With regard to the actual financing of the publication of Protestant religious literature, the contribution of Patrons appears to have been much less than of those actually involved in the booktrade. It is significant that it is the exception, rather than the rule, when an author mentions the contribution or the offer of a contribution by the dedicatee towards publication. Most of the dedications in the 1700 (approximate) pieces of literature examined in this study are lavish in thanksgiving and praise to the dedicatee, often excessively so, but rarely is gratitude extended for financing publication. The financial burden of publication, as could be expected since they reaped most of the profits, was borne by the printers and publishers. And it is their contribution to the Elizabethan Protestant press that is the subject of the next chapter.

1See Caldwell, A sermon preached before the Earle of Darbie (1577) for patron offering to finance the printing of sermon. See also W. Fulke, Two Treatises....(1577), sig. *3, for "a godly and learned brother" who paid the bill for publication.

2Further evidence can be found in comparing Robinson's "Eupolemia" with Barker's report to Lord Burleigh, see pp. 177, 212. In the former, contributions by dedicatees to Robinson were generally small and sometimes not forthcoming at all; in the latter, Barker points out not only the profitability of the booktrade to printers and publishers but the economic risks also and complains bitterly about his own "desperate adventure." Although Robinson may not be a typical Elizabethan author of religious literature, his list of dedicatees offers a good cross-section of Elizabethan Patrons.
As with the dedicatees, so it was with the printers and publishers: a relatively small group of persons was responsible for the lion's share of publications. The men chiefly responsible for the production of Elizabethan Protestant literature, some forty of them, may be divided into two general groups. The first group were zealous Protestant master printers and publishers who had had first hand experience of the Marian exile and persecution. These were the printers who began their careers or served their apprenticeship in King Edward's reign. For convenience, they will be called in this study the Edwardian-Elizabethan printers and publishers. The liaison which developed between this group and the new regime under Queen Elizabeth must be considered one of the important factors which paved the way for the general acceptance of the Elizabethan settlement of religion.¹ There was John Day's close relationship with Archbishop Parker; Rowland Hall's preoccupation with Calvinist literature; and Edward Whitchurch's and Reginald Wolfe's intimacy with the continental reformers.² And conspicuous in publications by Thomas Purfoot, John Charlewood, John Awdely, John Alide, and Thomas Marshe was the great number of works by the Protestant leaders on the continent and by the more progressive English Protestants. The object of most hostility in these works, of course, was the Roman Catholic Church.

Few of the Marian printers, it seems, did not adapt themselves to the new conditions under Elizabeth. There were exceptions, however. One Roman Catholic printer who continued to prosper was Richard Tottel, and did so without printing any strictly Protestant works. Tottel was fortunate, however, to have had a monopoly of the printing of all books relating to Common Law -- a patent which Christopher Barker described as having been "very beneficial" in 1582.³ Robert Caley, another Marian printer, was not as fortunate as Tottel, but perhaps a more zealous Catholic. Caley fled from London when he was summoned by the ecclesiastical commissioners to answer charges that he had organized gatherings of Roman Catholics to hear mass.⁴

The second group, the Elizabethan printers and publishers, were those who had served both their apprenticeship and were made free of

¹See Garrett, The Marian Exiles, p. 44.
³Barker's report to Lord Burghley, 1582.
⁴Richard Grafton to Parker, c. 1566. Correspondence of Matthew Parker (Cambridge, 1853), p. 295.
the Company after 1559, and whose publications contained a wide variety of Protestant opinion. Not only did they contain anti-Catholic sentiment, but also strong expressions of anti-Puritanism and anti-sectarianism, along with stout apologies of the Church of England. As the book trade expanded and as more and more apprentices became journeymen, economic considerations increasingly came into prominence.¹ Thus arose the quarrel over book patents around 1577 and which lasted until the Star Chamber Decree of 1586. Pressed by economic problems and led by John Wolfe and Roger Ward, the younger and poorer members of the printers began to print books regardless of whether they were covered by royal letters patent. No doubt even the first group of printers and publishers were greatly, if not mainly, influenced by the prospect of economic gain; but an added incentive to many was the part they could play in spreading the Gospel of Protestantism -- the faith for which some of them had already suffered. They were few, however, in this second group whose religious convictions had been tempered in the fire of persecution. By the end of the reign their approach to the publication of Protestant literature was that of a businessman and not of a Protestant zealot.

Edwardian-Elizabethan Printers and Publishers

John Day was the outstanding printer and publisher of Protestant literature in the first half of Elizabeth's reign. Of the 276 items ascribed to him in the STC for this period, at least 105 are Protestant books and pamphlets.² He began his long career of over forty years in 1546, when he and William Seres went into partnership at the sign of the Resurrection in Holborn. Shortly after this they acquired another shop in Cheapside, and 1549 they moved to Aldersgate to yet another shop.³ But the year following Mary's accession, in 1554, he was sent to the Tower for printing "noythy bokes."⁴ It has

³Duff, op. cit., p. 38; see Clair, op. cit., p. 75, for view that most of Day's books in these early years were printed for him in the Low Countries.
⁴Duff, op. cit., p. 38; for Day's own remarks that he was "enforced
been suggested that these were the group of Protestant books bearing the imprint of "Nicholas Dorcastor, Wittonburge," or, as is thought more likely, the several books bearing the imprint of "Michael Wood, Roan" (i.e. Rouen). Notwithstanding, in October 1554 Day was arrested and imprisoned. It was then that he encountered John Rogers waiting for martyrdom, as Fox later recorded, and who informed him rather apocalyptically, "Thou shalt live to see the alteration of this religion and the gospel freely to be preached again." How long he spent in prison is not known, but by 1556, and possibly earlier, he was back in business again in London printing works that were inoffensive to the Marian authorities.

Throughout the rest of his career, apart from a few minor misdemeanors such as printing a book now and again without license, Day worked in close collaboration with secular and ecclesiastical authorities. He was fortunate to secure from the outset of the reign the patronage of the Earl of Leicester, who possibly influenced the Queen's decision to grant Day in 1559 the sole right to print William Cunningham's The Cosmographical Glasse ... (1559) during his lifetime and also, for seven years, "all suche Bookes, and workes, as he hath Imprinted ... or herafter shall Imprint, being devised ... by any learned man."

Archbishop Parker was also a generous patron of John Day. With his help and encouragement, Day cut several founts of type and became the first English printer of whom it can be said with certainty that and compelled" to cease printing Protestant literature at this time, see Roger Hutchinson, A Faithful Declaration of Christes holy surper ... (1560), sig. *4.

1 STC. Nos. 5630, 7059, 15059 and three unrecorded in Bodl., A.F. 107.
3 J. Foxe, Actes and Monuments ... (ed. J. Pratt, 1877), Vol. 5, p. 610.
4 Oastler, p. 41; see also C. H. Garrett, Marian Exiles (1938), pp. 142-3, for view that Day possibly fled to Strasbourg after his release.
5 Day was fined twelve shillings by the Court of Stationers for printing a "Quartron [25] of psalmes with notes" without licence on Oct. 2, 1559. Arber, Transcript I. 124; see A. W. Pollard, "Regulation of the Book Trade ...," p. 39, for another instance of Day being fined five shillings "for prynting of a boke without lycense called an Excellent treats made by Nosterdamus."
he was his own letter-founder. When the Lord Mayor and Alderman refused to allow Day to set up a stall in St. Paul's churchyard, which some of his friends had procured for him, Archbishop Parker wrote to Lord Burghley and requested him "to move the Queenes Majestie to subscribe her hand to thse or such letters that all this entendement maye the better goe forward...." Day needed the shop, according to Parker, because he had two or three thousand pounds worth of stock on his hands. Eventually he got his shop, but no mention of it occurs in his books until 1578. A major factor in Day's prosperity was the exercise he had of some profitable patents, among which were the printing of the Psalms in metre and the A B C with the Little Catechism. Furthermore, John Day also became Printer to the City of London, and although it is not likely to have been of great profit, yet it did mean work that could be counted on and, in addition, the office did carry some prestige. With his prosperity came other positions of influence: he was elected by the Court of Assistants once to be Under-warden, twice Upper-warden and finally Master of the Company from July 11, 1580 to July 10, 1581. By this time, he possessed and operated four printing presses.

1 Clair, op. cit., p. 76; see also G. Wakeman, "The Design of Day's Saxon," The Library, Ser. 5, Vol. 22, 1967, 283-98. This is rejected by Oastler (p.114) who suggests that Day never did work as a founder and was dependent for his supplies of his type on foreign workmen, like other Elizabethan printers and probably acted only as an agent for Parker's Anglo-Saxon type.

2 Parker to Burghley, Dec. 12, 1572, Lansd. MS. 15. fol. 99; Printed in Arber, Transcript, I. 454.

3 Oastler, pp. 99-100.

4 Christopher Barker's report to Lord Burghley on "the state of the Company of Printers, Booksellers, and Bookeynders comprehended under the name of Stacioners, with a valuation also of all the Ires patents concerning printing," December 1582, Lansd. MS. No. 48, pp. 189-194; printed in Arber, Transcript, I. 114.

5 The appointment of the City Printer was in the gift of the Chamberlain and sold for a price fixed by the Corporation. It is not known what the price was in the sixteenth century. Although there is evidence that Day was City Printer at the beginning of the reign, his name does not appear in the minutes of the Court of Aldermen until August 4, 1584, when Hugh Singleton was appointed his successor. City of London, Re. 21f. 78r; Oastler, op. cit., pp. 54-55; see also C. Welch, "The City Printers," Transactions Of the Bibliographical Society (1919), XIV pp. 176-8.


7 Ibid., I. 248.
Not only was John Day an excellent and industrious printer and publisher, but he was an enthusiastic Protestant. The works in the early years of the reign that bear his imprint indicate his zeal and display the important support his printing shop lent to the new regime. As if he was trying to blot out the memory of the Marian years of religious reaction, Day published works that seemed to be designed to bridge the gap between the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth. For example, he issued works by such outstanding Edwardian Protestant authors as Latimer, Ridley, Thomas Becon, Roger Hutchinson and later Cranmer. The sufferings of Protestants in the reign of Mary, however, were not allowed to be forgotten as Day published Miles Coverdale's Certaine most godly letters of such true saintes as gave their lyves ....(1563) and, of course, the well-known Book of Martyrs (1563) by John Foxe. Furthermore, in these early years Day issued works by the continental reformers who had sheltered and nourished, physically and spiritually, the Marian exiles: in 1560, Calvin's Sermons upon the Songe that Ezechias made ....; in 1561, Bullinger's A Hundred Sermons upon the Apocalips of Jesu Christe ....; in 1564, Peter Martyr's Most fruitfull and learned commentaries upon Judges .... and Martyr's commentary upon Romans in 1568; and Pierre Viret's The first parte of the christian instruction .... in 1565. A work by Zwingli entitled A briefe rehearsal of the death of Christ .... (1560?), followed later on by works of Luther, Innocent Gentillet, Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus, Guido, Bernardino Ochino, Urbanus Regius, increased still more Day's part in disseminating Reformed theology in the first half of the reign.

Although such a great propagator of the works of the continental reformers and of Puritans of the stamp of Thomas Becon, Miles Cover-
dale, John Foxe and Thomas Norton, Day gave Presbyterianism a wide berth and was a staunch supporter of the established church. The evidence to prove this is ample. He was probably the printer of Bishop Aylmer's reply to John Knox's First Blast. He published Bishop Jewel's Challenge Sermon of 1559 and the subsequent correspondence between Cole, the Roman Catholic apologist, and Jewel. Archbishop Parker was his patron. And it was John Day's imprint that appeared on A Sermon, at the Funeral solemnitie of Ferdinandus the late emperour (1564) preached by Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London.

There is further evidence of Day's strong support for the established Church. In 1572 he was not only outside the Presbyterian circle but was publicly derided and scorned by them for his part, as Upper-Warden, in trying to track down their secret press -- the press that was responsible for the offensive Admonition to the Parliament. In the Second Admonition reference is made to "certaine persecuting printers," who were lackeys of the bishops. Another Presbyterian work, printed about the same time, made explicit reference to John Day as one of these printers. Its title-page carried the following lines:

Thys worke is fynished thankes be to God/
And he only wil keepe us from the searchers rod.
And though master Day and Toy watch & warde/
We hope the living God is our savegarde.
Let them seeke/looke/ and doe now what they can/
It is but inventions and pollicies of man.

Perhaps it was indicative of Presbyterian hostility towards John Day when a printer called Asplyn, one of the secret printers who printed "Cartwrightes boke" (a probable reference to the Second Admonition), according to Archbishop Parker, attempted to murder Day and his wife and afterwards explained that "the Spryte moved hym" to do so.

Sermons concerning ... predestination and election .... (1570?) Regius, The sermon which Christ made on the way to Emaus .... (1578).

1 Although the imprint of Aylmer's An Harborowe .... (1559) refers to "Strasborowe" as the place of printing, it was probably printed by Day in London. It is attributed to John Day in STC. No. 1005. See also infra., p. 232.

2 Supra., pp. 27ff.

3 T. Cartwright, A Second Admonition to the Parlirnent (1572), sig. *4; see infra., p. 299.

4 Anonymous, Certaine Articles, collected ... out of ... an admonition .... (1572).

5 Parker to Lord Burghley, Nov. 13, 1573, Lansd. MS. 17. Art 56; printed in Arber, Transcript, I. 466.
Day's involvement with the *Admonition* controversy of 1572 may help to explain the trouble he encountered in trying to lease the "little shop" or stall in St. Paul's churchyard in the same year. According to a letter from Archbishop Parker to Lord Burghley, the lease had already been granted to Day by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's but the Lord Mayor and Aldermen would "not suffer him to sett it up in the Church yearde, wherin they have nothing to Doe." The question that needs answering is why the Mayor and Aldermen exhibited such hostility to Day at this time, especially when he was Printer to the City? An obvious answer might be that Day became involved in a jurisdictional dispute between the Cathedral and the City; or, as one historian of the Stationers' Company suggests, Day was opposed by the booksellers who were sensitive at this time about printers involved in retail trade. One other factor, however, could have entered into it: there is some indication that some aldermen might have disapproved of Day's part in tracking down the printers of the *Admonition*. Take, for example, Parker's remark to Lord Burghley in August 1572 regarding the *Admonition*: "Since the first printing it hath been twise printed," he wrote, "and nowe with addi[ti]ons wherof I send your honour one of them/ we wrote lettres to the Maior and sum aldermen of London to laie in waite for the Charectes, printer and Corrector, but I feare they deceave us, they are not willing to disclose this matter".

It is known also that John Field and Thomas Wilcox, the joint authors of the *Admonition to the Parliament*, had the backing of "some Aldermen and some wealthie citizens," according to Bishop Sandys, and were visited by Aldermen while they were in prison. That the City Council may have sympathized with the Puritan movement at this time is further suggested by Hugh Singleton, a well-known Puritan printer, succeeding John Day as Printer to the City of London in 1584. Five years prior to his appointment, Singleton had printed the infamous *Discovery of a Gaping Gulf*, a blunt and outright

---

2 Blagden, *op. cit.*, p. 165
4 Sandys to Lords Burghley and Leicester, Aug. 5, 1573, Lansd. MS. 17. 43; Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, p. 150.
condemnation of the proposed marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, which cost the Puritan author, John Stubbs, and the publisher, William Page, their right hands. ¹

The accession of Elizabeth had presented John Day with the opportunity of entering that pleasant state of advancing one's religious convictions while reaping a profit in material substance. Early in the reign Day voiced his conviction that "al felicitie helth, & prosperitie of a christen man, standeth & consisteth in the perfect knowledge of the true and living god and of himself, which knowledge every faithful man may plentifully and abundantly finde in the holy and sacred scriptures as it were in a moste pure & cleare glasse or myrrour ...." For this reason, he intended to "set forth & bring to light" the "monumentes labours and travailes of moste worthy men, who refused no paynes to advance true religion and to overthrow the false religion superstition and idolatry."² Even if Day's total output had been only the Book of Martyrs, his intention would have been largely fulfilled and his contribution to the literature of English Protestantism still great.

John Day was only one, albeit the most productive, of several printers of Protestant literature whose careers stretched back to Edward VI's reign and even to Henry VIII's. Edward Whitchurch was another such printer. Involved in the printing of the English Bible on the continent as early as 1537, Whitchurch began printing in England in the early 1540's and by 1545 had moved into Wynkyn de Worde's old shop, the Sun in Fleet Street. His business flourished to such an extent that by 1549 he had five foreign assistants working for him. He ceased to print in Queen Mary's reign and is thought to have fled to the continent. He is known to have been a friend of the Martyr John Rogers and had stood surety for him on more than one occasion. Sometime after 1556, he married Margaret, niece of Osiander, pastor of Nuremberg, and widow of Archbishop Cranmer.³ At the

²R. Hutchinson, A Faithful Declaration ....(1560), sigs. *3-4.
³Duff, op. cit., p. 169; Clair, op. cit., p. 65; Garret, op. cit., pp. 43-44. It appears unlikely that he fled to the continent as he apparently appeared in person before the Court of Exchequer in 1557 to protest against his tax assessment in St. Anthony's parish, in the ward of Cordwainer St., London. H.J. Byron, "Some Exchequer Cases
beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Whitchurch was back in business once again and advancing the Protestant cause. It was at this time, Thomas Norton later reflected, that he translated Calvin's Institutes for the commoditie of the Churche of Christ, at the speciall request of my dere frendes of worthy memory Reginald Wolfe and Edward Whitchurch, the one her Majesties Printer for the Hebrewe, Greke, and Latine tongs, the other her highnesse Printer of the bokes of common Prayer. I performed my worke in the house of my sayd frend Edward Whitchurch, a man well known of upright hart & dealing, an auncient zelous Gospeller, as plaine & true a frend as ever I knew living, and as desirous to do any thing to common good, specially by the advauncement of true religion.

Norton's other friend, Reyner or Reginald Wolfe, also had been a printer and promoter of the Reformation under Henry and Edward and was considered a friend of Henry Bullinger.

Perhaps the most eloquent statement of the attitudes and sense of religious purpose held by these zealous Protestant printers and publishers -- a zealousness fostered by first-hand experience of Marian persecution and of hospitality offered by the centres of reform on the continent -- was that written by Rowland Hall in 1561:

There be thre causes specially that moveth me to printe these sermons of maister Jhon Calvine the faithful servant of god and the apostle of our time. Th'one is the worthines of the matter set furth in these sermons. The other is the plaines and simplicitie that thyg great clarke useth in all his sermons to the people. The third is the reverent handling of the scriptures, without tauntes, skoffes, or jests, or any trifling tales, whereby our english nacion may se & judge what power the word of god hath of it self, when it is most naked & bare and void of that painted sheathe that men would put upon it.

This same point, i.e. the preoccupation with disseminating the Scriptures in the most simple and clear way possible, he again emphasized later on: "all hys sermons seme nothyng els but the swete licour of the scriptures and lively word of god set furthe before our eyes in Christaline vessels to entice us to beholde them and to provoke us to tast and to smel of these lycours of lyfe whiche he brocheth unto us of that abundance which god hath geven unto him in these our times."


1 Printed by the widow of Reginald Wolfe, 1574, sig. *3.

2 Partridge to Bullinger, April 12, 1938, Original Letters ...., Vol. 2, p. 609. Wolfe was elected Master of the Company of Stationers for the years 1560, 1564, 1567 and 1572. Arber, Transcript, I. 117, 249, 351, 463.

3 J. Calvin, Foure God-lye sermons ....(1561), sigs. A2, A2v.
exile at Geneva printing Protestant literature and was well known to
the English congregation in that city. It was from Hall's press
that the first edition of the Geneva Bible came in 1560.\(^1\) Returning
to England in the same year, Hall continued his propagation of
Calvinist literature until his death in September 1563. Of twelve
Protestant books published by Hall in the years 1561-1563, six were
written by Calvin and one explained, described, and recommended the
ecclesiastical and political system operating at Geneva.\(^2\) In this
same period, he was also licensed to print "the Confession of the
faythe in Skottlande."\(^3\)

Although little is known about Thomas Purfoot (c. 1542-1615?), it
does seem clear that he was involved in the booktrade throughout
the reigns of Edward and Mary and perhaps Elizabeth's.\(^4\) The books
he printed differed little from those printed by the other Protestant
printers, except perhaps for the fact that he only published three
translations of the reformers out of a total of at least twenty-nine
works.\(^5\) Furthermore, there is some evidence which might suggest that
Purfoot had some connection with Separatists. A note written on
the title-page of a copy of Henry Barrow's *A True Description out of
the Word of God ...*(1589) reads as follows: "I beseche your honor yt
maye be lawful to lycens this booke to Mr. Thomas Purfoot,
stacion[er]."\(^6\) Possibly this was an attempt to get approval for a
reprint of this edition which was printed abroad, probably at Dort.
There seems to be no other indications, however, that Purfoot was
involved with radical Protestants. On the contrary, he printed for
Archbishop Parker and Bishops Jewel and Woolton; and William Fulke
was perhaps the only Puritan for whom he printed, and it seems this
was only on one occasion.

\(^2\) For Calvin's works, see STC Nos. 4372, 4375, 4381, 4438, 4458, 4467; the other was *The Lawes and Statues of Geneva ....*(1562), translated by R. Fills.
\(^3\) Arber, *Transcript*, I. 175.
\(^4\) Duff mentions that Purfoot is said to have printed until 1615, making
him at least ninety-seven when he died, but that there were at least
three printers of that name and some confusion might have arisen.
\(^5\) Calvin, *A Commentarie vpon ... Galations* (1581) and *A commentarie
upon ... Colossians* (1581?); Antonio de Corro, *A Theological dialogue
....*(1575).
\(^6\) Carlson, *The Writings of Henry Barrow 1587-1590*, p. 211.
Then there was William Seres (1546-1577) who had been granted by King Edward VI the privilege to print "all manner of prymerps, psalters and psalmes," a valuable monopoly. But when Mary came to the throne his privilege was revoked, many of his books confiscated, and Seres sent to prison. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, however, and due to the intervention of Sir William Cecil, Seres recovered his patent with the additional privilege of printing "all bokes of pryvate prayers." Although Seres' contribution to Elizabethan Protestant literature of books not covered by his patent amounted approximately only to twenty-eight, yet he made up for it with the great number of Primers, Psalters, Psalmes and books of private prayer that must have come off his press. With regard to the Psalter, Christopher Barker complained to Lord Burghley that where he sold one book of common prayer, "which few or none Do buye except the minister," Seres "furnysheth ye whole parishes throughoute the Realme, which are comonly an hundred for one [of his]."

There were four other printers of Protestant literature who must have worked or served their apprenticeship in Edward's reign and who became involved in the booktrade under Queen Mary. One such printer was John Charlewood (1555? - 1593) who contributed no less than seventy-five Protestant works in the Elizabethan period. He printed works by such anti-Catholic writers as John Bale, Edmund Bunny, and Anthony Munday; and no less than twenty-five of his productions were written by Puritans of the stamp of Robert Crowley, Edward Dering, William Fulke, John Knewstub, John Northbrooke, Henry Smith and John Stockwood. It is surprising, therefore, to find Martin Marprelate insinuating that Charlewood was secretly printing Roman Catholic literature "in a place called Charterhouse in London (in Anno 1587, neere about the time of the Scottish Queens death)." Marprelate only refers to "J.C. the Earle of Arundels man" which obviously referred to Charlewood as his imprint carried the words "Printer to the right Honourable Earle of Arundell." Charlewood

---

1 J. P. Collier (ed.), The Egerton Papers (1840), p. 140.
3 Barker's report to Lord Burghley, Dec. 1582.
4 Marprelate, The Epistle ....(1588), sig. Dlv.
5 See H. Howard, A defensative against the poysom of supposed Prophesies ....(1583).
also was "almost certainly" the printer of the anti-Martinist "Pasquil" tracts which were written in reply to the Marprelate libels.\(^1\) The other printers and their contributions were John Awdley (1556-1575) with twenty-nine Protestant publications; John Alide (1555-1582), twenty-five; and Thomas Marshe (1554-1587), twenty-two. They printed much the same kind of Protestant literature drawing heavily upon translations of the works of reformers; the works of the Marian martyrs such as Cranmer, Ridley, and Bradford; and upon the writings of such rabid anti-Catholic authors as Bale, Becon and Coverdale.

The Elizabethan Printers and Publishers.\(^2\)

Sixteenth century printers in England may be divided into two general categories: there was the printer-publisher, who published and sold most of the works they printed, and the trade-printer, who printed mainly or entirely for others. This, of course, cannot be a sharp division as there were some who printed for themselves and for other publishers as well.\(^3\) Since one of the main concerns of this study is to identify the people responsible for the production of Protestant Literature, the printer-publishers and publishers are most important. In the early period of English printing the functions of printer, publisher, and bookseller were more often than not fulfilled by the same person. But as time went on and the members of the booktrade increased in numbers, a greater number of trade-printers emerged.\(^4\)

John Day was a printer-publisher who seems never to have printed for anyone else. Christopher Barker, the Queen's Printer, was another. Although connected with the booktrade since 1569, Barker did not come into prominence until 1577 when he became Queen's Printer. He procured this office by paying a "great somme" to Sir Thomas Wilkes, Clerk of the Privy Council, and by it obtained the sole right to print the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, the Statutes of the Realm, and, in his own words, "in general ... all matters

\(^2\)Those printers and publishers whose careers began in the Elizabethan period.
for the Churche."¹ He had powerful friends at Court and had close connections with the Walsingham family. He adopted the Tiger's Head, the crest of the Walsinghams, as his printer's device, the Walsingham coat of arms is found in many of his books, and a number of his early works were dedicated to members of that family.² It was probably through the influence of Sir Francis Walsingham that seven members of the Privy Council, one more than was necessary, licensed Barker to print the Geneva Bible and New Testament in 1576.³ He was not content however, just to propagate this version of the Scriptures with its Calvinistic annotations in the margin. One of his editions of the Psalms in Metre had annexed to it a thoroughly Calvinistic statement of faith.⁴

In addition to the great amount of Protestant literature that came off Barker's press in the form of Bibles, portions of the Bible, and Books of Common Prayer, there were at least fifty-four other Protestant works that carried his imprint. Of these fifty-four, only five were writings of continental reformers. It is not surprising, as Queen's Printer, to find that many of his productions were the works of bishops and Church apologists.⁵ However, lest one gives the wrong impression of Barker as a staunch supporter of the status quo, it must be pointed out that in 1578 he issued an edition of the Geneva Bible that incorporated what one scholar describes as "a travesty of the legally established Prayer Book," which used the term "minister" for "priest", refused to use names that smacked of popery as "mattins" and "evensong", and omitted the orders for private baptism, confirmation and the churching of women.⁶ In effect, this was an attempt to revise the Church of England Prayer Book in a manner acceptable to the moderate Puritans.⁷ Moreover, Barker

³A. W. Pollard, "Regulation of the Book Trade In the Sixteenth Century," The Library, Third Series, 7, 1916, pp. 33-34.
⁴See Clair, A History of Printing in Britain, pp. 96-97.
⁵He printed for Bishop Jewel, Cooper and Bilson; and for such Church of England champions as Richard Cosin, Robert Some, and Matthew Sutcliffe.
⁷Ibid., p. 165.
approached the publishing of Scripture with an evangelical zeal. Describing his "Desperate adventure" to publish four different editions of the Bible for all ages, he wrote, "I employed to the value of three thousands pound in the term of one yere and an halfe, or thereaboute: in which tyme if I had died, my wife and children had ben utterlie undone, and many of my friends greatlie hindered by disbursing round sommes of money for me, by suertiship and other meanes ...."1 By 1600 Barker and his assignes and deputies had published more than fifty editions of the Genevan version of the Bible.2

Of the group of printers who published largely their own works but who often printed for others, John Wolfe produced the greatest amount of Protestant literature. He was responsible for the publication of no less than eighty such books and pamphlets. Ten of these were by continental reformers and eight were translations of anonymous authors. Wolfe was one of the first English printers to pioneer the publication of news pamphlets, and from his press came numerous pamphlets bearing news of political and religious events in France, the Low Countries, Italy, and other parts of Europe.3 The authors of many of his publications were staunch supporters of the established Church, such as Richard Bancroft, Hadrian Saravia, and the anti-Martinist Leonard Wright.4 But his keen business acumen did not permit him to neglect such Puritan authors as Eusebius Paget, John Rainolds or Reynolds, George Gifford, Edward Bulkeley and Dudley Fenner.

Wolfe had not always been the servant of the Establishment. He served his apprenticeship with John Day beginning on March 25, 1562, after which he seems to have gone abroad and remained some time in Italy.5 By 1579 he was back in England for on May 16th of that year

---

1 Barker's report to Lord Burghley, Dec. 1582.
2 Clair, op. cit., p. 97.
3 For example, Antisixtus, An oration of Pope Sixtus the fift, uppon the death of the late French King, Henrie the third .....(1590); Credible Reportes from France and Flanders (1590); Ordinances set forth by the King of France (1590); Advertisements from Britany, And from the Low Countries (1591); Articles accorded for the Truce generall in France (1593); see also STC Nos. 13128-30, 13133, 13143, 13147, for news regarding Henry IV of France.
4 Bancroft, Dangerous positions ....(1593), and A survey of the pretended holy discipline ....(1593); Saravia, Of the diverse degrees of the ministers of the Gospell ....(1591, 1592); Wright, A friendly Admonition to Martine Marprelate and his mates ....(1590).
5 Arber, Transcript, I. 172; McKerrow, op. cit., p. 296. It seems that Florence and Frankfort were two centres which he visited. See H.R. Hoppe, "John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher, 1579-1601," The Library,
he entered a Latin book in the Stationers' register. Within about
two years, Wolfe emerged as the leader of the radical printers who
were agitating against the monopolies of the privileged printers.
These radicals were the poorer members of the Company who objected
to the few printers who were granted many exclusive licenses for
individual books or for whole classes of them. Such patents, for
example, as John Bodleigh's who was granted the sole right on January
8, 1561 to print the Genevan edition of the Bible for seven years. Or
William Seres and his son, who, on August 23, 1571, at the suit of
Lord Burghley, were granted a monopoly to print Primers and books
of common prayer for the duration of their joint lives. With such
privileges for the most valuable books being granted at the whim of
the Queen or one of her ministers, the good books that remained for
the rest of the printers were becoming fewer and fewer. The result
of all this was that the poorer members of the Company joined to-
gether in 1581 and proceeded to secretly print the most valuable
books whether they had been granted or not to other men by letters
patent. John Wolfe, along with John Charlewood and Roger Ward,
was one of the ringleaders of the rebels.

But with their own livelihoods threatened, the privileged
printers soon took action. On June 19, 1581, Wolfe appeared before
the Privy Council and entered into recognisances not to print the
Latin Grammar that was Francis Flower's. But Wolfe continued his
illegal activities and ended up in prison in 1582. Upon the inter-
cession of George Goring, however, who claimed Wolfe as his "man", he
was released. But by December of the same year he was back in the
Clink. If one can judge by the fact that in May 1583 John Wolfe
reportedly had "iii presses and ii more since found in a secret
vault," then there must have been a good market for pirated litera-
ture, presumably because it sold more cheaply. This conclusion is

1 Arber, Transcript, II. 353.
3 Ibid., 13 Eliz. Part 7.
4 Arber, Transcript, II. 19.
6 Lansd. MS. 48, fol. 186-188; printed in Arber, Transcript, II. 776.
7 C. Barker's report to Lord Burghley, Dec. 1582.
8 Arber, Transcript, I. 248.
reinforced when one considers that Roger Ward was able to print and dispose of 10,000 copies of the A.B.C. with the Little Catechism, a patent belonging to John Day.1

A glimpse of Wolfe's character during these years is given in the petition of the Ancients of the Company to the Privy Council in March 1583. Listing thirteen charges against him, the seventh read that "Wolfe and some of his confederats affirmed openly in ye Stationers hall, yat "it was lawfull for all men to print all lawfull bookes what commandement soever her Majestie gave to ye contrary." The tenth charge was even more enlightening: "Wolfe being admonished yat he being but one so meane a man should not presume to contrarie her Highnesse governemente Tush said he, Luther was but one man, and reformed all ye world for religion, and I am that one man, yat must and will refore the governement in this trade, meaning printing and bookselling."2 Wolfe might not have accomplished his "reformation," but the agitation he led did get some favourable results, especially for Wolfe himself. On January 8, 1583/84, the leading monopolists yielded up some of their privileges "for the reliefe of ye poore" of the Company.3 As for Wolfe, his reforming spirit suddenly was quenched when he accepted a share in Richard Day's patent and became himself one of the monopolists.4

From this point onwards Wolfe continued to prosper. On July 1, 1583, he was admitted a freeman of the Company of Stationers by redemption, paying the small sum of three shillings and fourpence — the fee usually paid by apprentices and not the higher one normally paid upon admission by redemption.5 In 1587 he became Beadle of the Company and was paid six pounds a year to begin with, but later received an additional four pounds when he requested an increase in pay.6 He succeeded Hugh Singleton in 1593 as printer to the City of

2 State Papers, Dom. Eliz., Vol. 15, art. 39; Arber, Transcript, II. 781-782.
3 Lansd. MS. 905. fol. 280-284; printed in Arber, Transcript, II. 786-789.
5 Arber, Transcript, II. 688.
London and on July 1, 1598 he was finally admitted to the livery of the Company.\(^1\) His output of books during these years reflects his increasing prosperity: he printed about 10 per year in the period 1581-85; this increased to 15 in 1586 and to 18 in 1587; and in the years 1587-91 the number jumped to 30 per year. In the remaining years before his death in 1601 the number never exceeds about 10 each year, except in 1599 when he published 23.\(^2\)

When all is said and done, John Wolfe was an opportunist whose convictions, it seems, were adaptable to any economic situation. He had no scruples about printing the devotional literature of the Jesuit Robert Southwell, and yet many of his publications were most anti-Catholic.\(^3\) When in the ranks of the disreputable poor Stationers, he was a Luther who would reform the booktrade; when in favour with the respectable rich of the Company, he became a tool with which they could thwart the plans of the very people with whom he once associated. Wolfe accepted the Company appointment as searcher for secret presses, and among his victims were Roger Ward, a former close associate, and Robert Waldegrave, another associate who later printed the first Marprelate tracts.\(^4\) It is little wonder that Marprelate bitterly refers to him as "John Woolfe/ alias Machivill/ Beadle of the Stacioners/ and most tormenting executioner of Waldegraves goods."\(^5\)

Another printer-publisher, Henry Bynneman who, although printing less Protestant books than Wolfe, was a much better craftsman.\(^6\) The quality of Bynneinan's work took second place only to that of John Day.\(^7\) This was probably the reason that he became one of that select group of printers patronized by Archbishop Parker, which

---

\(^1\) C. Welch, "The City Printers," p. 191
\(^2\) H. R. Hoppe, op. cit., p. 266.
\(^3\) R. Southwell, Marie Magdalens funeral tears ...(1591); St. Peters complaynt ...(1595); A short rule of good life...(1598).
\(^4\) Arber, Transcript, I. 527; Greg & Boswell, op. cit., p. 27.
\(^5\) The Epistle ...(1588), sig. Dl.
\(^6\) Referring to Wolfe, Thomas Norton wrote to George Goring as follows: "Sir, here is your mans great hinderance, when a boke was put to him to print he did it with so ill workmanship, that the partie had ben better to have given him a Clí [100] to let it alone. So he hath lost his credit of workmanship, or els he might live as Denham and other good workmen." Norton to Goring, Oct. 23, 1582, Lansd. MS. 48, fol. 186-188; printed in Arber, II. 776.
included Jugge and Day, and later in the reign was patronized by Leicester and Sir Christopher Hatton.  

It was to his patron in 1578, Sir Christopher Hatton, that he explained his philosophy of life. Remarking that the heathen philosophers believed that man's chief end was "to live well and vertuous-lye," he continued,

affirming that ... Man was therefore framed straight and upright, that he might always beholde heaven and heavenly things, and ... that albeit he were here for a season as a wondring Pilgrime uppon earth, yet his ende was to be a free Citizen and an inheritour of heaven above. And as they by reason and conjecture were led so to thinke, so we by faith and expresse commandement are moved stedfastly to beleve. If then the knowledge of God and heavenly things be the chiefest ende and marke whereat Man ought to shoote, it must needes be concluded, that those mens studies and labors deserved the greatest prize, which are employed to the attayning and directing of others hereunto.  

That Bynneman endeavored to put his beliefs into practice is witnessed by no less than fifty-six Protestant works that came off his press and five more that were printed in conjunction with other printers. Of these, twenty-one were translations of works by the continental reformers, among which the writings of Luther, Calvin and Bullinger were prominent. He also printed for Bishops Bridges, Curteys, Jewel and Whitgift; and for other English authors and translators as Robert Crowley, William Fulke, Thomas Norton, Arthur Golding and John Stockwood. It appears that the only time he ever offended the authorities was in 1580 when he was imprisoned for printing a libellous letter sent from one Member of Parliament to another. He served as constable to the parish of St. Bennett, Paul's Wharf, collected for the poor and seems to have been "a loyal and God-fearing man."  

There were five other noteworthy Elizabethan printer-publishers of Protestant religious literature: Henry Denham (fl. 1560-89) printed at least fifty-six works; Joseph Barnes, (fl. 1573-1618) forty-five; Richard Jones (fl. 1564-1602) and Thomas East (fl. 1567-1609), thirty-nine each; and Thomas Vautrollier (fl. 1562-87), twenty-eight. Of these the most important were Denham, Barnes and Vautrollier.

1E. St. John Brooks, Sir Christopher Hatton: Queen Elizabeth's Favourite (1945), p. 141; Clair, op. cit., p. 84.  
3Plomer, op. cit., p. 243.
Denham is conspicuous for publishing translations of three works by Saint Augustine and at least three editions of *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas á Kempis, translated by E. Hake and T. Rogers; and also for his publication of numerous works by Puritans, such as John Bartlett, Crowley, Dering, and Knox. Denham, it would appear, was also fined ten shillings by the Court of the Stationers' Company for printing a Puritan pamphlet during the vestments controversy of 1566. It was Denham whom Thomas Rogers commended in a dedicatory epistle to Thomas Wilson, Doctor of the Civil Laws and Privy Councillor, for encouraging him to translate and publish the writings of Saint Augustine. He carried on his work of translating, Rogers remarked, "the more willinglie through the earnest instigation of some godlie persons, especialie of the Printer heerof, whose good nature, and zeale, as it is not unknowne to your Honor, so is it wel knowne to the Church of Christ by his careful, and orderlie imprinting good bookes ...." Denham not only printed "good bookes" but he also printed them well, and for craftsmanship probably equals Henry Bynneman or is at least a good third following Day and Bynneman.

Joseph Barnes is not important for the great number of Protestant books he published or for his excellence in printing, but for the fact that he was the first and only Printer to the University of Oxford in Elizabeth's reign. From 1585, when the Earl of Leicester presented the university with a press, throughout the period, largely theological works came off the Oxford press, at least forty-five, consisting of no less than twenty-one sermons, or collections of sermons, seven expositions of Scripture, and the remainder apologetical and polemical treatises. Although not printing as many Protestant books as some of his fellow-printers, Thomas Vautrollier is noteworthy in that at least half of his religious publications in English were translations of continental reformers. He printed more works of Luther than any other

---

1 See supra., pp. 61f.
2 Arber, Transcript, I. 316; see supra., p. 61.
3 Saint Augustine, *A Precious Booke.....*(1581), sig. A7; see also Thomas á Kempis, *The Imitation or follo-wing of Christ.....*(1568), sigs. A9-10, for a similar commendation of Denham by Rogers.
Elizabethan printer, printing no less than five books that went into nine editions. Of the fifteen authors of these twenty-eight Protestant works, only six were English and one Scottish, and four of these were the Protestant extremists Thomas Becon, William Fulke, John Knox and Thomas Sampson. Vautrollier was a Frenchman who had come to England to escape religious persecution, and had been granted letters of denization by the Queen on March 9, 1562. His choice of books for publication and the evangelical fervency expressed in his dedicatory epistles indicate that he continued to hold his Huguenot convictions. Commenting on the reluctance of contemporary Christians to bear hardship for their faith, as taught in Christ's parable of the Sower, he wrote in his dedication to Thomas Randolph (Master and Comptroller of her Majesty's Posts, and one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer) that

the truth of which doctrine hath been most evident in the Church of God in all ages. Lot his wife will needes look backe to filthy Sodome, because it is a rich, and a pleasant place; and the olde sonses of Israel rather then they will suffer a little adversitie as the people of God, will returne into Egypt (an accursed land) so they may have their Leekes, the Garlike, and Onions; and many will rather returne to Caiphas, and to the pallass of the High Priest, then they will goe forth with Jesus Christ out of the Campe, bearing his reproche: refusing utterly to drinke of the cuppe of the Sonne of God, to weare his cognisance, and are ashamed of the choller of his order; and will at no hand suffer any thing with Jesus Christ (who hath suffered all things for them,) to raigne, and to be glorified for ever with him. And surely very miserable experience hereof in these laste times, may dailye be seene in the Churches about us, as those of France, and other places: so many for the heate of persecutions, and least they should beare the crosse of Christ have, and daily do returne to that spirituall Egypt, and mystical Babylon, the mother of all abhominations.

Vautrollier's excellent printing brought its own reward: on June 19, 1574, he was granted letters patent to print certain Latin books for a period of ten years, a monopoly which included Beza's Novum Testamentum and works of Cicero and Ovid. By 1580 he was importing books to Scotland and was enjoying the patronage of the young James VI, through his tutor, Peter Young, whose bill for books on one occasion amounted to £100. In 1584 he set up a printing shop in

---

1 On Dec. 1, 1578, he paid a fine for printing "Luthers Sermons in English." Arber, Transcript, II. 848, 351.
2 J. de l'Espine, An Excellent And Learned Treatise.....(1587), sig. A2v; for another dedication by Vautrollier expressing similar attitudes, see Sir Henry Balnaves, The Confession of Faith.....(1584), sig. A2.
Edinburgh and continued to print for King James. For some unknown reason, however, he returned to London in 1566, and the following year he died.  

The Contribution of Trade Printers

Without doubt the bulk of Elizabethan publications was printed by the trade-printers, i.e. master-printers who printed mainly for other people. This was also the case for the Protestant literature of the period. In addition to 14 trade printers who printed between 20 and 90 Protestant works, there were 120 who printed between 1 and 20 works. The most productive of these printers was Thomas Dawson. Out of 167 items attributed to Dawson in the STC, 90 are Protestant books and pamphlets. At least 36 of the works he printed were translations of the reformers, and 17 of this number were written by John Calvin. He printed more works of Calvin than any other Elizabethan printer. The products of his press cover the whole spectrum of Protestant literature and reflect the fact that he printed for no less than 24 publishers. Works of the reformers and Marian martyrs, of Bishops and Anglican Church apologists, of anti-Catholic polemicists and Puritans, all issued from the shop of Thomas Dawson.

To a lesser degree, similar observations can be made about many of the other trade printers. But since most of their works were printed for the publishers, it follows that they were less responsible for the final publication of Protestant literature which they printed. A survey of the 14 trade printers who produced more than 20 religious works shows that they printed for a total number of 114 publishers:


2 R.B. McKerrow, "Edward Alle As a Typical Trade Printer," p. 122. In this study a trade printer has been regarded as one who printed more Protestant books for others than for himself. Unless they have made some significant contribution, those in this survey who printed less than twenty works have not been discussed.

3 Of the 119, 14 printed outside of England.


5 "Publisher" in many cases is synonymous with "bookseller".
Dawson was followed by Thomas Orwin with 61 works for 16 publishers;¹ John Windit with 53 for 14; Henry Middleton with 48 for 10; Richard Field with 43 for 8;² and Peter Short with 41 for 13.³ Those who printed fewer Protestant religious works are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Printed</th>
<th>Works</th>
<th>For</th>
<th>Publishers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Felix Kyngston</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Roberts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Creed</td>
<td>37</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Alde</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valentine Simmes</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William How</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Robinson</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures display the truth of Edward Arber's remark that publishers were "the nourishing fathers of books."⁴

The role played by the publishers or booksellers became more and more prominent as the reign progressed, a development which was reflected in the fact that they monopolized the highest offices in the stationers' Company from 1588 to the end of the century. In this period the office of Master was held continually by booksellers except for two terms by Richard Watkins in 1589-90 and 1594-95.⁵

Who were the main suppliers then of Protestant religious literature to the trade printers? The bookseller whose name appears most frequently in the Stationers' Company register of copyrights and in colophons was Thomas Man. Of the ten publishers who owned or had an investment in no less than twenty Protestant works, Man had by far the greatest number to his credit, either owning or sharing no less than 135 titles. He dealt almost wholly in theological literature and, if a prefatory epistle signed "T.M." in one of his books is to be believed, looked upon his occupation as a means to further

---

¹This is the same Orwin whom Marprelate accused in The Epistle.... (1588), sig. D2, of printing "popish bookes in corners." Bishop Cooper replied in his Admonition to the People of England....(1589), sig. G2, "This I knowe of a certaintie, that Thomas Orwin himselfe hath upon his ... oath denied, that he ever printed ... any the like bookes."

²Altogether Field printed 150 books, of which 84 were for other publishers. Nearly one-third of his own publications were theological, while the proportion was higher in the books he printed for others. A.E.M. Kirwood, "Richard Field, Printer, 1589-1624." The Library, Ser. 4, Bol. 12, 1931-32, pp. 13, 17.

³Of some 55 of his books in the B.M., no less than 21 are theological. See S.P. Thompson, "Peter Short, Printer, And His Marks," Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, Bol. 14, 1896-98, p. 106.

⁴Arber, Transcript, II. 11.

⁵Arber, Transcript, I. 531, 559, 565, 571, 577; II. 213, 219, 229, 238, 246, 256, 265.
the Protestant faith: "There are two things especially, that be-
holdeth all good men to have regarde of in this life. The one is the
enlarging of the kingdom of Christ, to the uttermost of their
powers, in a lawfull and holy vocation. And the other is simplicity
and plainnes, in the places that God putteth men into, or in the
words or workes, that he inableth them to performe therein."\(^1\) Whether
it was his keen business acumen or enthusiasm for a more advanced
Protestantism that led him to invest heavily in works by Puritans of
various shades is difficult to document. But that he specialized in
this type of literature can be readily seen in noticing some of the
authors he patronized: William Burton, Nicholas Bowmd, John Dod,
Robert Cleaver, William Fulke, John Field, George Gifford, Josias
Nichols, Eusebius Paget, William Perkins, Henry Smith, John Udall,
Thomas Wilcox, and Andrew Willet.\(^2\)

There is evidence that seems to indicate Man's relationship with
the Puritans was more than casual. On June 22, 1590, he entered in
the Stationers' register "a sermon upon the wordes that Josyah
the sonne of Amor sayd unto Judah and Jerusalem," which was printed
under the title The Reformation of religion by Josiah ....(1590?)
and found in manuscript in the original Puritan "Seconde Parte of a
Register."\(^3\) In November 1588, when the Ecclesiastical Commissioners
were on the trail of Marprelate and suspected John Udall, John Good
of Kingston upon Thames revealed in his depositions that "Udall Doeth
frequent the house of one Thomas Manne a Stationer in Pater Noster
Rowe."\(^4\) And sometime between July 1591 and July 1592 Man seems to
have come to some grief over one of Udall's works as an item in the
Warden's financial accounts states that tenpence was "paid for a
warrant for master man about Udales booke."\(^5\) Whatever his religious
persuasions, Thomas Man became one of the most prominent and most
influential Stationers by the end of Elizabeth's reign, and went on
to be Master of the Company in the years 1604, 1610, 1614 and 1616.\(^6\)

\(^1\)T. Wilcox, A Right Godly and learned Exposition upon...Psalms....
(1591), Sig. A4.
\(^2\)See STC Nos. 4165, 3436, 69675383, 11434, 11807, 11866, 18540, 19105,
19665, 22703, 24489, 25630, 25672.
\(^3\)See supra., p.124 ; Arber, Transcript, II. 551
\(^4\)Harl. MS. 6849, fol. 159; printed in Arber, An Introductory Sketch
..., p. 82.
\(^5\)Arber, Transcript, I. 556.
\(^6\)For other biographical information on Man see McKerrow, A Dictionary
Altogether there were ten publishers or booksellers, including Man, who owned or shared the copyrights of over twenty Protestant religious works; twenty-one publishers or booksellers with between ten and twenty works, and twenty-three with between five and ten works.\(^1\) Next to Thomas Man, the name that appears most frequently is that of George Bishop. Although Bishop owned a printing press, most of his publications were printed for him and bookselling seems to have been his chief occupation. Unlike Man, he did not specialize in any one type of Protestant literature, and the eighty-six (at least) copyrights in which he invested reveal a variety of shades of Protestant opinion. He is notable, however, for the fact that he owned or shared about nineteen copyrights of Calvin's works -- an investment in Calvin not equalled by any other Elizabethan publisher.\(^2\)

Bishop provides a good example of the role played by publishers in the production of Protestant literature and how they influenced the kind of literature that was printed. About 1588 Bishop persuaded William Fulke to write his Answer To The Rhemish Testament. In exchange for the copyright of Fulke's book, Bishop maintained Fulke and two of his men and their horses for nine months. In addition he entertained any friends of Dr. Fulke who visited him while he was thus engaged and paid him £20.\(^3\) It appears that Bishop and Lucas Harrison, his partner in the early years of his career, might have made a similar arrangement with Arthur Golding for the translation of certain works of continental reformers. In his translation of the Danish theologian Neil Hemmingsen's exposition on the Gospels, Golding remarked that when "Lucas Harrison and George Bishop Stationers, men well minded towards godliness and true Religion, taking upon them to imprint this worke at theyr proper charges, requested me to put the same into English, I willingly agreed to their godly desire ...."\(^4\) Golding also mentions in his translation of David Chytraeus' A Postil or orderly disposing of certeine Epistles usually red in the Church of God.... (1570) that the publishers of Hemmingsen's work

---

\(^{1}\) These figures are based upon entries in the Stationers' register and on colophons as recorded in the STC.

\(^{2}\) See STC under "Jean Calvin".


\(^{4}\) N. Hemmingsen, A Postill, Or Exposition of the Gospels.... (1578), sig. *3.
(Bishop and Harrison) on the Gospels "have with like good meening requested me to adde some Postill or exposition upon the Epistles also ....".\(^1\) Other examples of this initial investment by the publisher were Edward Whitchurch's and John Wolfe's maintenance at their homes of their respective authors, Thomas Norton and Gabriel Harvey, while they were writing works to be published.\(^2\)

There was a great disparity in the number of copyrights of Protestant works owned or shared by Man and Bishop compared with that of other publishers. This is partly explained by their unusually long careers of about fifty years and partly, it seems, by their great interest in theological literature. The closest in numbers to them were Thomas Woodcock with 40 works, and Lucas Harrison, John Harrison and Robert Dexter each with 35. The works in which John Harrison and Dexter invested covered the whole spectrum of Protestant literature, while Woodcock and Lucas Harrison owned or shared the copyrights of many works by continental reformers and a few English radicals, e.g. Edward Dering, William Fulke, Anthony Gilby and John Knewstub. When L. Harrison died in 1578 a number of his copyrights were purchased by Woodcock which included seven works by Calvin, four by Beza, and four by other continental reformers.\(^3\)

Woodcock in particular was involved with peddling Puritan literature. On December 6, 1578, he was committed to Newgate prison for selling the *Admonition to the Parliament*, the Puritan manifesto that had gone into at least three editions within weeks of its first publication in 1572.\(^4\) He had served only six days of this sentence, however, when the Master and Wardens of the Company, along with William Seres and John Day, sent a petition to Lord Burghley requesting his release. "Dyvers of the poor mans frendes," they added, "have bin earnest suitors unto the Bisshopp of London for his libertie his Lordships aunswere unto them is, that he neither can nor will Doe any thinge without your Lordships consent signified by you[r] lres or warrant."\(^5\) Whether the petition was successful is

\(^{1}\) Sig. *2.

\(^{2}\) See *supra.*, p. 207; H.R. Hoppe, "John Wolfe....," p. 268.

\(^{3}\) Arber, Transcript, II. 331-332; see also STC Nos. 6728, 6731, 11454, 11889, 15043, 15045, 2049-50, 16985, 4454, 6776.

\(^{4}\) See *supra.*, pp. 71ff.

\(^{5}\) Lansd. MS. 27, Art. 37, fol. 76; printed in Arber, Transcript, I. 484.
not known, but by July of the following year Woodcock was back in
business and entered in the Stationers' register on the 21st, perhaps
appropriately, "ye schole of Abuse."\(^1\)

The remaining publishers in the top ten and the number of their
Protestant publications were as follows: Thomas Chard, 28; Edward
White, 25; Toby Cook, 24; and Andrew Maunsell, 22. These were
followed by 44 publishers or booksellers who owned or shared no less
than between 5 and 20 copyrights of Protestant religious works.

Not all of the members of the booktrade, however, were willing
to conform to the civil and ecclesiastical regulations of the
trade. They had various reasons for their non-conformity. As
noticed above, some engaged in illegal publishing for purely economic
reasons, e.g., the quarrel over monopolies. There were others who
posed a much more serious threat to the welfare of the state and,
consequently, commanded the attention of the authorities, both
civil and ecclesiastical. These were the printers, publishers and
colporteurs of radical Protestant literature. It is to this radical
Protestant press in Elizabethan England that we now turn in the
next chapter.

---

\(^1\) Arber, *Transcript*, II. 357.
CHAPTER VIII THE RADICAL PRESS

English Protestants who had fled abroad in the reign of Queen Mary, and a few that remained in England, soon discovered that they did not have to sit idly by and watch their homeland revert to Roman Catholicism. The printing press offered them an opportunity to fight back in a most effective manner. To avoid detection and the dire consequences of their actions, the printers of this Protestant literature used fictitious imprints and employed type of foreign character in conjunction with founts ordinarily used by English printers. In addition to bitter attacks on Queen Mary and her Council by English Protestants in exile, such as John Bale, William Turner and Miles Coverdale, works by the great continental reformers -- Luther, Calvin and Zwingli -- were published abroad or printed secretly in England and distributed throughout the country. The lessons learned during Mary's reign by Protestant printers, authors, translators and editors were not to be forgotten after the accession of Elizabeth, especially when it became obvious that she would have none of the radical changes proposed by the Puritans.

Vehicles of Puritan Propaganda

Not all of the Puritan literature, however, in Elizabeth's reign had to be printed on a clandestine or foreign press. The licensing regulations were such that they could be circumvented with a little ingenuity. It was common practice to have the text of a manuscript duly licensed and then add a preface or dedication before putting it to the press. Similarly one could take his manuscript to a licenser, or someone else in authority -- for instance, one of the Bishop's chaplains or a member of the Privy Council -- who shared his religious bias and have it authorized for printing. As long as books published in this manner were not excessively offensive, little was done about them. Rouland Hall, for example, published The Lawes and Statutes of Geneva... (1562) in which that city is lifted up as an example "whereby Gods religion is most purelie maintained". In the dedication

2 John Foxe was asked by an author and printer to write a preface to a work that had been already authorized for printing. B.M. Harl. Ms. 416. fol. 145.
to Robert Dudley, the translator equates Calvin's reformation with "Christian reformation" and expressly states that English authorities should "imitate" it. He quickly qualifies his statement, however, adding that Calvin should be followed only "as farre forthe as they see best for them." That Hall's admiration of Geneva was not shared by some of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in England is evident in a letter from Bishop Jewel of Salisbury to Peter Martyr: "Master Baldwin writes me word that he is very much pleased with our moderation in the late change of religion, and that he will use his endeavours, (for he thinks he has some influence), that a like moderation may prevail in the kingdom of France; but that your preciseness, as well as that of Geneva, is by no means agreeable to him."\(^1\) Jewel's "pleased with myself" attitude reflected the typical sentiments towards Geneva held by most of the Church of England hierarchy.

Again, Thomas Marsh openly published a book by Lawrence Humphrey, President of Magdalene College, Oxford, in which he asks Queen Elizabeth rhetorically if it can be doubted that she will bring to completion the reformation she had begun. Furthermore, he bluntly reminds her that reforming the Church is not her work but God's and that it is God's will for her to finish what her father began and her brother furthered.\(^2\) There is no evidence of action taken against the publishers or authors of those Puritan works, and others like them, in the early years of the reign.\(^3\) Ecclesiastical censorship gradually tightened, especially in the archiepiscopate of John Whitgift. Nevertheless, Puritan opinions continued to appear in print.

There were more subtle ways of spreading Puritan propaganda. One way was to translate the writings of well-known and respected continental reformers whose viewpoints coincided with Puritan aims. The writings of such authors could not easily be repudiated by the English ecclesiastical authorities. In 1580 Thomas East published a translation of Certaine Godly and very profitable Sermons ... by the Italian reformer, Bernardino Ochino, which was licensed by Bishop

\(^1\)Francis Baldwin was Professor of Civil Law at Paris and elsewhere. He was appointed by the King of Navarre to be his spokesman at the Council of Trent. Jewel to Martyr, Salisbury, Aug. 14, 1562, The Zurich Letters, pp. 118-119.

\(^2\)The Nobles or of Nobilitye .... (1563), sig. A8.

\(^3\)See William Chauncie, The rooting out of the Romishe Supremacie (H. Middleton, for John Perin, 1580); Laurence Chaderton, A fruitful sermon.... (Robert Waldegrave, 1584); Anonymous, The Reformation of Religion .... (Entered in Stationers' Register by T. Man, 1590).
Aylmer of London or one of his chaplains.1 The translator realized not everyone would agree with this work, but that was no surprise as few people respect "what the will of God is, and what may make to his glorie, but what lyketh their wills, and what their carnall friends allow, those thinges they account for Oracles, and there-upon they build their religion." He added that "true Religion is but one and the very right worshipping of God, neither dependeth it in the using or not using of Ceremonies, in the garmentes, gesture, or other things, but in pure zeale and stedfast fayth in Christ Jesus...." He lamented that only a few embraced such a religion and prayed that God would make it flourish. What the Queen had prudently and godly "begonne to doe" in building God's temple in England, he trusted that she would not "cease untill this Temple be perfectly furnished...."2

A translation which was even more openly a vehicle of Puritan propaganda was Theodore De Beza's A briefe and pithie summe of the Christian faith ... (1565?) Printed by Richard Serle, this octave volume was dedicated to the Earl of Huntington by the translator, "R.F." (probably Robert Filles). The dedication rings with condemnation of pluralism, simony, the non-preaching clergy and the "myngle mangle of spirituall and teinporall regiment" existing in England "as if no Christian Magistrat ordained of God, sufficed to redresse such abuses." The Cathedra]l churches, the translator maintained, were "a very refugee and denne of ydell, ignoraunt, and unpreaching lubbers." He concluded that, unless such abuses were removed, "nyther Englishe service, Homelies, Ceremonies, nor sacraments, do make us Christians." The same theme is continued in the printer's epistle to the reader. After stating his wish that the "King" and nobles of the land, who are informed of what the Church of England teaches, would take the time to discover the "great rytches of spiritual" teaching contained in this work, Serle states rather curiously "I beleevve they would not be so angrie, nor have so evyll opinion of us as they have," as if he were including himself in the Puritan circle. His epistle ends with typical Puritan sentiments: "nowe God which hath the hartes of Kinges in his hande, graunt them his spyrite of prudence and dyscretion to descerne the lyght from darknesse, and geve place to the King of Kinges, the Lord Jesus Christ, whose lieuetenants they be, that he

1 Entered in Stationers' Register on April 10 or 20, 1580. E. Arber, Transcript, II, p. 369.
That publishers were sometimes uneasy about issuing literature by the continental reformers is evident in Bertrand de Loque's *A Treatise of the Churche* ....(1581). Although bearing the license of the Bishop of London, the publisher felt constrained to warn the reader that his publication was written as "a rule and confirmation to forraine Churches reformed" and therefore should it fall into the hands of indiscreet readers might "trouble the happy and quiet state of the Church of England." So, the publisher endeavoured at length to explain certain aspects of the work which might prove offensive. However, in the following year the copyright of this work fell into less scrupulous hands and was published without the explanatory and qualifying note by the publisher. In fact, even the changes made in the title smacked of Puritanism. The full title of the 1581 edition was *A Treatise of the Churche, containing a true discourse, to knowe the true Church by, and to discerne it from the Romish Church, and all other false assemblies, or counterfet congregations.* But the 1582 edition, published by Thomas Man, bore the following title: *An excellent and plaine Discourse of the Church, whereby the Godlie may knowe and discerne the true Churche, from the Romish Church, and all other false and counterfet Churches, as well for matters of doctrine, as Discipline.* The significant changes were the implication that "the Godlie" would identify the true Church, the substitution of the words "false and counterfet Churches" for "false assemblies, or counterfet congregations," and the insertion of the word "Discipline" -- a theme continually harped upon by the Puritans. If "T.W.," the translator, was Thomas Wilcox, an incorrigible Puritan, and it seems probable, then it would not have been likely that he appreciated the publisher's note to the reader in the 1581 edition. Conversely, the changes in the title-page and the removal of the publisher's

1 Sigs. 2-7, A7. It went into several editions, one being published by Robert Waldegrave in 1585.
3 Man published more literature written by Puritans than any other Elizabethan publisher.
4 Ascribed to him in *STC* No. 16812.
misgivings in 1582 would have been most compatible with his Puritanism. The fact that once a manuscript was licensed it required no further authorization for subsequent editions permitted the changes in the two editions to be made with little difficulty.¹

Editing of manuscripts and printed material written during the reigns of Edward and Mary also proved to be an effective source as well as method of propagating Puritan ideas without resorting to anonymous writing and secret printing. Not all editors and publishers of the works of the Marian martyrs could be described as Puritans, but without doubt the content of their publications sustained and inspired those Puritans who were actively resisting the ecclesiastical policy of their Queen and bishops. The writings, for example, of Bishop Nicholas Ridley which were written shortly before "he suffered for the testimony of the truth";² of Bishop Hugh Latimer who, according to the editor, preached two sermons each Sunday in King Edward's time "to the great shame, confusion, and damnation of a great number of our fat-bellied unpreaching prelates."³ The writings of Bishop John Hooper⁴ and John Bradford were also published. Two of Bradford's works were used directly as vehicles of Puritan propaganda by Thomas Lever and Thomas Sampson, both well-known Puritans.⁵

¹For other examples of Puritan translations of continental reformers, see the following: P. de Mornay, A Notable Treatise Of The Church.... (1579), trans. John Field; J. J. Gryneus, Haggeus the Prophet....(1536), trans. Christopher Fetherstone; T. de Beza: The Psalms Of David.... (1581), trans. Anthony Gilby; A Discourse, Of the true and visible Markes of the Catholique Churche (1582), trans. Thomas Wilcox; Propositions and Principles of Divinitie.... (1591), trans. John Penry. The most popular reformer, of course, was Calvin. His works were translated by conservatives and Puritan, and are too numerous to discuss here. See infra., pp. 163ff.

²A Friendly Farewel.... (John Day, 1559); A Pitious Lamentation Of The Miserable Estate Of The Churche of ... Englande....(W. Powell, 1566).

³Certayn Godly Sermons.... (John Day, 1562), sig. A5. At least five different collections of Latimer's sermons were published, one of them entitled Frutefull Sermons ...., going into six editions. STC Nos. 15275-84.

⁴There were at least six works by Hooper, mostly expositions on Scripture, published in the Elizabethan period. See STC Nos. 13742-65.

⁵Godly Meditations.... (William Seres, 1567), edited and prefaced by Lever; Two Notable Sermons .... (John Awedly and John Wight, 1574), prefaced by Sampson. At least six more of Bradford's works were published, a few running into two and three editions. See STC Nos. 3477-3502.
The works of an exile, Thomas Becon, who had attacked the Marian religious reaction under a pseudonym (Theodore Basil), were thought worthy of publication in the Elizabethan period. In fact, "certaine godly and zelous brethren" persuaded Becon to edit them himself. Though he diligently corrected and removed what he considered offensive, he realized "howe easye a thyng it is to fynde a staffe, if a man by mynded to beate a dogge." But in his dedication to the bishops, written in 1564/5 at Canterbury Cathedral where he was a canon, his Puritan sympathies could not be concealed. "Bishops in times past," he observed, "were wont to be occupied in annoynthing and crossing the foreheads of infantes, in Christening bels, in hallowing churches, copes, vestmentes, altars, alterclothes, and in such like trifling tradicions of men: but all your studye, labour, and travaile is, to purge the church of Criste from the unsavere dregges of ye whore of Babilon that sinfull Sinagoge of Satan, to plant the true religion of God in the hearts of the people...."¹

That eight different works by Becon, running into twenty-five editions, were also published separately is evidence of his popularity. One work, *The sick mans salve* . . . . went into eleven editions.²

The practice of publishing a composite volume of selected works by a particular author, in this case one of extreme Protestant views, was continued by the Puritans. The first Puritan to have his writings collected and published posthumously was Edward Dering.³ The editor almost surely was John Field, the Puritan propagandist and joint author of the Presbyterian manifesto *The Admonition to the Parliament* (1572). Field on occasion had supplied information for John Foxe's martyrology and had edited an account of the examinations of the Jesuit, Edmond Campion.⁴ He was ever on the look out for material suitable for publishing and for the advancement of the Puritan cause. When William Fulke wrote a presbyterian article but refrained from publishing it, Field somehow got hold of it and put

¹. The Worckes of Thomas Becon.... (John Day, 1564), sigs. C5v, C6v.
². See STC Nos. 1757-67.
⁴. Listed in STC under Alexander Nowell and William Day, Bp., it is entitled A true report ... had in the Tower of London, with Ed. Campion ....(1583). Field states on sig. C4v that "for the arguments and answeres, I was even religious faithfully to reporte them, as they were." See also B.M. Lansdowne Ms. 982, fol. 109.
it to the press in 1584 without the author's permission.¹ There is no doubt that John Field collected and intended to publish Dering's writings to further the cause of Puritanism.²

Included in M. Derings workes (J. Roberts, 1597)³ was a sermon Dering preached on February 25 1569/70 before the Queen in her chapel. Typically Puritan, Dering had taken this opportunity of preaching before Elizabeth, not as a chance to further his career, but to upbraid and rail at her to reform her Church.⁴ Such a sermon was pure grist for Field's propaganda mill and it was quickly put into print. He explains his actions "To the Christian Reader":

Of all the outwiarde benefites that God hath bestowed uppon man...there is none more profitable unto the church of God, than to kepe by writing, those things uttered, that are necessary, precious and godly. The voyce onely heard, perisheth quickly, and though for a tyme it worke inwardely, yet such is mans weaknesse and infirmity, that it must not only be by lively voyce beaten into his heade diligently, but also by writing set before him livelye, and that continually. This sermon therefore ... is set out ... that things amisse, may be reformed, and true religion, sincerely advaunced, and against this time especially, because that a Parliament is instant and at hande: wherein (if God have not sealed us up to abide more fsareful and horrible iudgementes) knowne abuses shall be remooed and many unprofitable strifes ended.⁵

That this sermon could be one of the most reprinted of Elizabethan sermons again illustrates how readily available and useful the press was to radicals like John Field.⁶ For some reformers and revolutionaries, however, a more direct

¹Published under the title Brief and plain declaration....(R. Waldegrave, 1584). Matthew Sutcliffe later defended Fulke stating that Fulke publicly supported "the Government of the Q. Church as now it is, and albeit he was sometime of another mind, yet did he afterward retract his former sayings and when John Field contrary to his mind did publish the Pamphlet called the Learned Discourse, he was offended with him, and if he had lived he would have confuted the same himself." See B.M. Lansd. Ms. 982. fol. 109; Sutcliffe, An Answere To A Certaine Libel Supplicatorie....(1592), p. 41


³An earlier edition was printed in 1590 by Richard Schilders of Middleborough.

⁴He later wrote in a "Preface to the Queen" that "in the disfavour of the Prince, wee must feele a great over-throw of the happenesse of our life." M. Derings workes (1597) sig. *lv.

⁵Dering, A Sermon preached before the Quenes Maiestie (John Awdaly, 1572?), sig. A2. The reference is probably to the Parliament of 1572.

⁶For another example of a composite volume of writings by a Puritan, see The Works of that Famous and Worthie Minister... M.W. Perkins....(John Legate, 1603). Perkin's works seem to have been collected by the Cambridge printer, John Legate. Ibid., sig. *3.
and explicit presentation of their ideas was called for. Since going through the regular channels for publication was out of the question, they were left with two ways of getting their views into print: (1) secret printing in England by arrangement with an established printing shop or by setting up a clandestine press; (2) enlisting the services of a printer outside the country.

An Early Case of Surreptitious Printing by an Established Printer

One of the earliest attempts in Elizabeth's reign to use the press for propaganda purposes was the anonymous publication, An Harborowe For Faithfull and Trewse Subjeites ....(1559). Secretly written by a Marian exile and later Bishop of London, John Aylmer, the pamphlet attacked John Knox's First Blast of the Trumpet ....(1558). Although the imprint on the pamphlet located the place of printing "at Strasborowe the 26, of Aprill" and made no mention of printer, it was published almost surely in London by John Day. Aylmer's pamphlet contains ornamental initials (see figs. 1-2), which, according to one biographer of John Day, although "clumsy" and "grotesque", provide a "reliable key as to Day's work" from 1550 onwards.1

The pamphlet cannot be labelled with either of the later sobriquets, "Puritan" or "Anglican." Rather than outrightly condemning John Knox's First Blast, Aylmer attempted to revise and tone-down the offensive work. He repudiated Knox's condemnation of women rulers in general, but added quickly that had Knox restricted his remarks to Queen Mary "he could have said nothing too much, nor in such wise as could have offended any indifferent man."2 The main thrust of Aylmer's pamphlet seems to have been that of holding together the Protestant party in that restive period immediately following Elizabeth's accession. Puritan opinions of a decade or so later were mixed with criticism of Knox: the sharing of power between Parliament and sovereign, the assigning of a preacher to every parish and a superintendent to every city, and the need for bishops to reduce their lordly and luxurious livings and to cultivate humility.3

---

3Ibid., sigs. H3, O4, P3. See also supra., pp.56ff for previous discussion of this pamphlet.
Aylmer might have been writing at the behest of the Privy Council or Archbishop Parker. It was not unusual for Elizabethan political and ecclesiastical policy to be propagated in the form of an anonymously written and printed pamphlet. William Cecil, for example, the lord treasurer, was author of the pamphlet, published anonymously, The Execution of Justice in England (1583). In it, Cecil justified the government's harsh treatment of the Roman Catholic missionaries on the grounds that they were spreading treason. Such action was by no means extraordinary for the time.  

The Clandestine Press

The spokesmen for the radical Reformation, however, did not have the same easy recourse to publishers and presses as Church and State. During the Vestiarian Controversy (1563-67), the first crisis of the reign that separated Puritans from Anglicans, the Puritans tried unsuccessfully to use local publishers. Two London publishers were fined for putting the Puritan side of the controversy in print: John Kingston for The Voice of God and, Henry Denham for "the utter apparrell for mynesters" (probably Robert Crowley's A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparell and Ministring garments of the popishe church). A correspondent of Henry Bullinger related the prompt actions of the authorities in the controversy, suspending the non-conforming clergy and imprisoning five of them when they ignored their suspension: "One of these preachers has also caused to be printed a book against the queen's command respecting the cap and surplice: but as soon as the authorities heard of it, the book was prohibited, the printers cast into prison, and the copies destroyed." An example of the authorities in action can be seen in the Bishop of London's directive to the Stationers' Company on November 10, 1565, to search in St. Paul's churchyard for "certain evil disposed" stationers, who were privately dealing in English books of "corrupte doctrine" which hindered "the godly order of religion established by public authority," and detain

2 Ibid., pp. 29-55.
them. The alternative taken by the radicals in 1566 was to send their manuscripts abroad for publication.

It was hardly coincidence that in the midst of the Vestments controversy the Star Chamber decree of June 29, 1566, contained six ordinances "for reformation of divers disorders in printing and uttering of Bookes." The stringent measures adopted effectively curbed the publication of Puritan literature by established printers, but indirectly encouraged surreptitious printing. Puritan literature continued to be published. In a letter to Rudolph Gualter, Bishop Pilkington reminded him of the Vestiarian controversy and then lamented that such troubles were increasing: "it has now so broken out afresh, nay more, that which heretofore lurked in dissimulation has now so openly discovered itself, that not only the habits, but our whole ecclesiastical polity, discipline, the revenues of the bishops, ceremonies or public forms of worship, liturgies, vocation of ministers, or the ministration of the sacraments, -- all these things are now openly attacked from the press, and it is contended with the greatest bitterness, that they are not to be endured in the church of Christ." Pilkington was referring to the Admonition controversy of 1572.

When Parliament met in the spring of 1572 to decide the fate of Norfolk and his accomplices, it provided the Puritans with another chance to voice their grievances. This they did with characteristic fervour -- only to be frustrated once again by the intervention of the Queen, who commanded the lower House to cease its discussion of religion and took away its power to initiate bills of religion without approval of the clergy. Puritan resources, however, were not yet depleted. They still had the printing press, and to this they resorted just before Parliament ended on June 30, 1572.

Meeting privately in London, a group of Puritan leaders decided that a pamphlet addressed to Parliament might not only reach the MPs but also be an appeal to the whole country. Enlisting the services

1Records of the Stationers' Company, Liber A, fol. 9.
2See infra., pp. 248ff.
6Richard Bancroft, A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline..., (1593), pp. 54-55.
Fig. 1. John Day's edition of John 
ox's Acts and Monuments (1576), 1413.

Fig. 2. An Harborrowe (London, Day, 1559), sig. A2.

CERTAINE
Articles, collected and
taken (as it is thought) by the 21st day of October, 1571,
in a drastic muster of all servants
and evidence in the same,
Concerning a continuance of the
falserosse in partes.

Fig. 3. An Admonition to the Parliament (Strowd, et al, 1572), sig. D5v.

Fig. 4. Tit.-p. of Certayne Articles, collected (1572).
of John Strowd, a deprived Somerset clergyman turned printer, a mysterious "J.T." who has not yet been identified, and their two assistants, John Lacy and Thomas Asplyn, they set up a press and covertly published _An Admonition to the Parliament_ (1572). Written by two ministers on the extreme wing of Puritanism, John Field and Thomas Wilcox, the pamphlet stated in strong and abusive language complaints and remedies that were typical of the more uncompromising Puritans. Putting their case in a nutshell, they stated that "either must we have right ministerie of God, and a right government of his church, according to the scriptures sette up (bothe which we lacke) or else there can be no right religion, nor yet for contempt thereof can Gods plagues be from us any while differed." Before Strowd and his confreres were apprehended, at least four more attacks on the establishment came off their clandestine press (see figs. 3-6):

_A Second Admonition ...._ (1572); _Field and Wilcox, Certaine Articles collected by the Bishops ...._(1572);_ An Exhortation to the Byshops (1572); and Thomas Cartwright, _A replye to an answere made of M. Doctor Whitegift ...._(1574).

Strowd, Lacy and Asplyn seem to have maintained their clandestine activities for more than a year. They published the Admonition in June 1572, just before the end of Parliament, and were not arrested until August 1573. They were still on the loose -- though hotly pursued -- in March 1573. Towards the end of that month, the Privy Council instructed Sir John Spencer and Sir Robert Lane "to make inquerye for a booke likely to be printed in the countie of Northampton, an aunswer against Whitegifte's booke, to committ the principal doers to prison, to send up some of the books and to advertise what they finde." Presumably their search was in vain. A proclamation was issued on June 9, 1572.

---

1 It is conceivable that "J.T." referred to Job Throckmorton as Throckmorton later became involved in secret printing. See J.D. Wilson, "A Date in the Marprelate Controversy", _The Library_, 2nd Ser., Vol. VIII. pp. 354-356.

2 Field & Wilcox, _An Admonition ...._(1572), sig. Alv-A2.

3 See A.F. Scott Pearson, _Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism_, 1535-1603 (Cambridge, 1925), p. 74, for argument against the traditional view that Cartwright was the author of the Second Admonition; compare Patrick Collinson, _The Elizabethan Puritan Movement_ (London, 1967), p. 139, for suggestion that Christopher Goodman wrote it.

4 For a full treatment of this controversy, see D. J. McGinn, _The Admonition Controversy_ (New Brunswick, 1949).

1573 against "The admonition to the Parliament, and all other bookes made for the defence of the sayd admonition, or agreeable therewith ...." which gave twenty days to booksellers and all others, to turn in the illicit literature. Although none was delivered up by the end of the twenty days, later on Thomas Woodcock, a respected member of the Company of Stationers, would be imprisoned for selling "the Admonysion to the Parliament". Finally in 1573 the authorities closed in on the Puritan printers, probably in Hampstead, Essex. On August 26, John Harrison, warden of the Stationer's Company, claimed that he spent eighty-three shillings and three pence on a "journey to Hampstead", the pursuivant, and a "Carter" for the chests containing the press.

About Strowd's colleagues in crime, Lacy and Asplin, little is known. The former may have been Alexander Lacy, an active London printer made free of the Stationer's Company in April 1556. Significantly enough, Lacy is not heard of from 1571 until October 1581 when he presented his son John to the Company of Stationers. Lacy appears to have been a hard-up printer who published few books and depended mostly on printing ballads for booksellers like Henry Kirkham. Two of the three ballads he printed for Kirkham listed in the Short-Title Catalogue (Nos. 11843, 19549, 19550) are bitterly anti-catholic: "A letter to Rome to declare to ye pope, John Felton his friend is hanged in a rope" (1571) and "The pope in his fury doth answer returne To a letter ye which to Rome is late come" (1571). Thomas Asplin became an apprentice of the famous Elizabethan printer John Day on March 25, 1567 and, presumably, was still apprenticed to him when he took up with Strowd in 1572. Following Asplin's arrest and examination, for reasons unknown he was released and once again taken into Day's printing shop. Day must have spoken on his behalf and vouched for his future good conduct. Nevertheless, on November 13, 1573, Archbishop Parker informed Lord Burghley that Asplin, because "the Spryte moved hym", had attempted to murder John Day and his wife. He was imprisoned and no more is heard of him.

1See supra., p. 223.
2Arber, Transcript I. pp. 464, 467, 484; Sandys to Cecil, 2 July 1573, B.M. Lansd. Ms. 17 (37). fol. 81.
4B.M. Lansd. Ms. 17. Art. 56 (reproduced in Arber, Transcript. I. 466); McKerrow, p. 11. See supra., p. 204.
The Admonition controversy had seen the Puritans engage the services of an amateur printer like Stroud. That master-printers were persuaded to join the cause in later years clearly indicates the hardening of Puritan attitudes and the emergence of a Puritan party. Before the end of the reign, Puritan propaganda would issue from the presses of two established members of the Stationers' Company of London, Hugh Singleton and Robert Waldegrave.

Singleton is remembered most of all for printing the infamous Discovery of a Gaping Gulf (1579), a blunt and outright condemnation of the proposed marriage between Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou, which cost the Puritan author, John Stubbs, and the publisher, William Page, their right hands. The pamphlet caused such offence that a royal proclamation ordered its confiscation and the hunting down of those responsible for it.  

Surreptitious printing in the interests of reform was not new to Singleton: in Queen Mary's reign he had accepted the hazardous occupation of printing for the Protestant exiles. While Singleton escaped the severe punishment meted out to Stubbs and Page, his part in the Gaping Gulf affair ruined his business as a printer. Even the position of Printer to the City of London did not seem to improve his financial affairs: in 1585 or 1586 the Company granted twenty shillings "toward his Relief."

The doyen of all the Puritan printers, however, was Robert Waldegrave. Apprentice to William Griffith for eight years from 1568, Waldegrave found himself among the poorer members of the Stationers' Company scrambling for the crumbs left to them by the established and relatively wealthy monopolists of the Company. Monopolists, like John Day and William Seres, had monopolies on the printing of whole categories of books leaving hardly enough for survival to the less fortunate printers. When Day and Seres quarrelled over the right to print certain books of prayer, the Company made a token gesture to the non-monopolists in October 1578 by sharing the books between sixteen printers. Waldegrave was among them. The situation worsened, however,

---

2 H. J. Byrom, "Edmund Spencer's First Printer, Hugh Singleton,"The Library, Ser. 4, Vol. 14, 1933-4, p. 131. For Singleton's association with Spencer and the Puritans in the late 1570's, see ibid., p. 152.
4 Records of the Stationers' Company, Liber A. fol. 36.
and by 1581 the poorer printers had rebelled and were secretly printing the most valuable books of the monopolists.  

Things came to a head in October 1582 when the aroused printers presented their case in a petition to Lord Burghley "against ye priviledged persons". Waldegrave, once again, was one of the twenty-one petitioners.

Waldegrave's financial affairs, it seems, did not improve as time went on. In the year 1582-1583 he gave the Company of Stationers a bond of forty pounds not to print anything of Seres' patent and, later, the Company lent him five pounds on condition that it be paid back by June 24, 1584. His financial straits may have been part of the reason why he became the main printer of Puritan literature in the early 1580s. To list his publications in these years, as Dr. Collinson so ably points out, "is to give an almost complete indication of the range and character of the publications which enjoyed the imprimatur of the presbyterian movement." In the years 1580 to 1588, Waldegrave published some fifty-four works by thirty-five different authors. The fact that at least seven were written anonymously, and five with only initials, is a good indication of the type of literature he published. Of the twenty-three remaining authors, seven were staunch Puritans: Laurence Chaderton, John Davidson, Dudley Fenner, John Field, John Knox, Oliver Pigge, and John Udall. It is little wonder that in 1584 the Wardens of the Company were directed by the ecclesiastical authorities to seize Waldegrave, his workmen, presses and all unlicensed books.

Imprisonment followed imprisonment as an unrepentant Waldegrave published numerous attacks on the established Church. Martín Marprelate would later rail at the Bishops that they had apprehended and sent Waldegrave to prison so often that it seemed they "made a common

---

1 See Christopher Barker's report to Lord Burghley on "the state of the Company" of Stationers in Dec. 1582, B.M. Lansd. MS. No. 48, pp. 189-194.
4 Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement, p. 274.
5 This only includes works attributed to Waldegrave in STC. An anonymous Puritan pamphlet entitled An Abstract Of Certain Acts of Parliament, not attributed to Waldegrave, almost surely came from his press. Compare An Abstract (sig. A3) with A Fruit-ful sermon, preached at Occham ...(sig. A2), by Thomas Gybson and printed by Waldegrave "without Temple-Barre" in 1584, for an identical initial "T". Both contain Waldegrave's peculiar signature. See figs. 7-8.
6 Records of the Stationers' Company, Liber A, fol. 45; McKerrow, p. 278.
occupation thereof" and "as though he were bound by statute" unto
them. But the straw that broke the camel's back seems to have occurred
on May 13, 1588. On that day the Wardens raided his house and con-
fiscated "a press with twoo paire of Cases with certen pica Romane &
pica Italian letters with div' se books entituled: The state of
the churche of England." The author of the book was the Puritan
John Udall and Waldegrave had printed it without authority. Con-
sequently, according to the Star Chamber Decree of 1586, the books
were burnt and "the presse, letters and printinge stuffe defaced and
made unserviceable." To lose one of his two presses, of course, was a heavy price for
Waldegrave to pay, but it seems to have been the extent of his
punishment. The records of the Stationers' Company show that in
June 1588 the defaced press and equipment were returned to him --
just as he was becoming embroiled in a secret printing venture that
would end in the Martin Marprelate affair. Waldegrave, it seems,
had made up his mind to vacate his premises and go underground as
printer for the radicals John Penry and John Udall. Martin Marprelate
in Hay any worke for Cooper (sig. Cl-Clv) clearly states that Walde-
gave sold a press to "an allowed printer," a member of the Company.
Perhaps that was the reason: he would then be free to begin his
clandestine activities at the home of Mistress Crane or Elizabeth
Carleton in East Molesey, near Kingston-on-Thames. Where the new
press came from is left to speculation. It is known that he managed
to hide a box of type "vnder his Cloke" when his house was raided on
May 13, 1588, and his printing equipment confiscated and defaced.
According to the deposition of Nicholas Tomkins, he left the box of
type at Mistress Crane's house in London, which was later picked up
by Mrs. Waldegrave and brought with "a load of stuff" to Mistress
Crane's house in East Molesey. It is not inconceivable that the
"load of stuff" was the defaced press and equipment returned to him
by the authorities in June 1588 and from which Waldegrave reconstructed

---

1Hay any worke for Cooper (1588), sig. G2.
2Greg and Boswell, p. 27.
4See B.M. Harl. MS. 7042, fols. 8-9, for deposition of Nicholas Tomkins in which he claimed that Waldegrave left a case of letters at
Mistress Crane's house in London shortly after his "own letters were
defaced." That had to be between 13 May and June 1588. See Record
of the Stationers Company, Liber A, fol. 52; also B.M. Lansd. MS. 61,
Art. 22., printed in Arber, Transcript. II. 816.
his secret press.\(^1\)

By mid-October 1588 Waldegrave had printed, and Puritans were distributing, the first of the Marprelate satires, *The epistle to the terrible priests*, and had initiated the secret printing episode of the period *par excellence*. However, much has been written about the Marprelate controversy -- so much that it seems out of all proportion to the significance of the event -- suffice it is at this point to merely notice Waldegrave's involvement. Waldegrave scurried from place to place, pursued by the Wardens, until March 1589. Having finished the printing of Hay any work for Cooper ...., the Puritan printer decided he had had enough of surreptitious printing and bade farewell to his fellow-conspirators, eventually making his way to Edinburgh. He was replaced by John Hodgkins, a London printer, and his assistants.\(^2\)

For the remainder of the reign, the only secret printing heard of had to do with the Roman Catholic counter-Reformation effort and the pirating of books by renegade printers like Roger Ward.\(^3\) At the accession of King James, however, as Professor Mark Curtis has ably demonstrated, Puritan propaganda issued from the clandestine press of William Jones in what appears to have been a well-organized effort. It certainly was in the tradition of the Elizabethan fugitive press.\(^4\)

### The Foreign Press

As noticed above, in discussing the Vestments Controversy, Puritan efforts to have their viewpoint published at home were quickly

\(^1\)Ibid. For discussion of the Marprelate tracts, see supra., pp. 99ff.


\(^3\)See APC, xiii, 154, 186, 264; xix, 454; xxxI (1601-1604), 85; S.P. Dom. Eliz. 12, Vol. 189. (14), for R.C. secret presses. Also Greg and Boswell, p. 53, for Ward's clandestine activities.

frustrated by the ecclesiastical authorities. Thus, they resorted to continental printers for the remainder of their published polemics in the controversy. Rouen and Emden appear to have been the places of printing.\textsuperscript{1} It was to the Huguenot printer, Abel Clément of Rouen, that the Puritans turned for their next contribution in the Vestments controversy, An answer for the tyme ....(1566).\textsuperscript{2} Almost certainly, from the same press, in the same year, came The Fortresse of Fathers, earnestly defending the puritie of Religion, and Ceremonies ...., translated from Latin by I. B. (probably the Puritan preacher John Barhlet or Bartlett or Barthelot).\textsuperscript{3} Printed anonymously, the latter can be identified as the work of Clemence by comparing it with An Answer for the tyme .... Not only is the title-page format the same, but it contains three sizes of Roman type common to both pamphlets. (see figs. 9 and 10) Furthermore, the text of each is in very small Roman and division headings are in very small Italic. Of greater significance is the use made in both works of a lower-case "w" which does not fit with the other type face, and spelling peculiarities common to both.\textsuperscript{4}

As George Clutton suspected in his monograph on Abel Clemence -- that "many other English controversial writings of the period, light-heartedly assigned to Geneva, were really printed much nearer home"\textsuperscript{5} -- the bulk of Puritan contributions in the Vestments controversy during 1566 quite possibly did come from a press much closer to England than Geneva: from William Gailliart's press in Emden. Gailliart succeeded the famous Emden printer, Stephen Mierdman, in 1559 and was known to have printed Bibles for Mennonite use. He was suspected of being a secret member of the Family of Love sect, an offshoot of the Anabaptist movement.\textsuperscript{6} Published anonymously, but dated 1566 and place

\begin{footnotes}
\item[1]I offer the observations and suggestions on anonymous publications keenly aware of my inadequacy in the field of bibliography. However, I have examined the literature and can only hope that what conclusions I advance with some uncertainty, someone skilled in bibliography will confirm and state precisely and more fully in bibliographical terms.
\end{footnotes}
An answerere
FOR THE
TYME, TO THE EX-
aamination put in print, with out
the authours name, pretending to
mayntayne the apparsell prescribed
against the declaration of the mny-
sters of London.

Phillip. III.
As many as he perswaid, let he be thus mynded but;
if you bee otherwise mynded, god shall
reule even the same to you.
M. D. L X VI.

ACTES, IX.
Saul, Saul why perswaidest thou me.
What art thou Lord? I am Lle/us whom
thou perswaidest: It is hard for the to kick
against the pricks: &
Go into the Cite and hit shalbe told
the what thou shal do.
M. D. L X VI.

9. Title-page of An answere
the tyme .... (Rouen, Abel Clé-
xe, 1566)

11. Initials in BIBLIA (Bible in Dutch), Emden, Gailliart,
, sigs.,5-6.
of publication specified as Emden, *The mynd and exposition of* ... Martin Bucer .... was an attempt by Puritans to marshall in their support opinions of well-known continental reformers. Written in the same vein, three more works followed, with clear indications that they came from the same press: *The judgement of* ... Henry Bullinger; *a briefe discourse against the outwarde apparell* .... (perhaps another edition of the work Denham was fined for publishing); and *To my loyynge brethren that is troubllyd abowt the popishe apparell* .... The above pamphlets had the following features in common: title-page format using three sizes of black letter type-face, small black letter used throughout the text, an unusual set of initials, and octavo in size. The same type-face and the same set of initials are found in the Dutch Bible and the New Testament printed by Gailliart at Emden in 1568 (see figs. 11-17). Taken together, the evidence seems to point to William Gailliart as the main printer of the Puritan literature of 1566.¹

In similar fashion the Puritans turned to a continental printer in the next important literary skirmish with the church hierarchy. As seen above, the Admonition controversy began with the use of a clandestine Puritan press; it continued, however, when Thomas Cartwright enlisted the aid of the Heidelberg printer, Michael Schirat, and of the Basle printer, Thomas Guarinus (see figs. 18-21). Cartwright's first reply to Archbishop Whitgift came from a secret press near London. A short time later he fled the country and settled in Heidelberg. In 1575 he supervised the printing of *The second replie against Maister Whitgiftes second answer*, written by himself and printed by Schirat.² Other Puritan works came off Schirat's press at this time: Cartwright's translation of Walter Travers' Presbyterian manifesto, *A Full and plaine declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline* (1574);³ *A Brief Discourse off the troubles begonne at Franckford* (1574), usually ascribed to William Whittingham, a Marian exile and later Dean of Durham;⁴ and *The Life of the 70. Archbishop off* ...

¹For further comparison of initials, see *The mynd and exposition* ... Bucer, sigs. A2, C3, D2v; *To my loyynge brethren*..., sig. A2; *A briefe discourse* ..., sig. C5v; *The judgement of* ... Bullinger, sig. A7; and *HET NIEWE TESTAMENT* (Gedruckt Anno 1568, printed at Emden by Willem Gailliart), fols. 52, 72v, 75v, 86, and BIBLIA (Gedruckt by Willem Gailliart, 1568), fol. 209.


³Written in Latin and also printed by Schirat, Travers' book was entitled, *Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae et Anglicanae Ecclesiae ab ilia aberrationis... explicato* (1574).

⁴For a convincing argument suggesting another Marian exile, Thomas
The mynd and position of that excellent armed man martyr Burce, upon these words of St. Matthew: "Woe be to the wodle byraute of offences. Math. viii.

This fully translated into English, a faithful brother with certaine directions & answers to the same.

Matthew 15.

Surely plants that my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be pluckt up by the roots.

Printer at Emden.

1566.

12 T-p. of The mynd and position . . . . (1566).

The book of the Reader.

The Pope, at ye whereof I calle ye, I knowe to be untrue.

Wherefore some men that wittie are, rede mee will dissuade.

I would wote that such men shoulde not judgement rede me wise.

marue how great an evil it is, odo preachers to disguie.


To answer to a question, that was moued, why the godly men wold not weare a surples.

Ythough we muste nedes conffe, answere.

That we have to much contempt brotherly love, and in robbing brethren and God of his glory, may we not now in the sight of God the contemp a partner with you in adulteration of Christes sacraments, that to our consciences & knowledge, where we judge our selves only, not.

16. To my faithfull Brethren, give thankes to God (1566), sig. B2 now afflycted . . . . (1566), sig. C.

Fig. 13. T-p. of The judgement of Bullinger(1566).

Fig. 15. To my lovynge Brethren (1566), sig. A2.

Grace and peace with all manner spirit.

Fig. 17. To my faithfull Brethren give thankes to God (1566), sig. C.

To all my faithful brethren in Christ's faith, and to all other that labour to works out the works of popery. Peace in the Lord. I beseech you, and make you pestles in all good works to do his will, working in you that which is pleasant in his sight, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Gentlemen, because we are created for God's glory: the eudification one of another in Christ, and are bounde.

To my loving Brethren (1566), sig. B2 now afflycted . . . . (1566), sig. C.

Fig. 15. To my lovynge Brethren (1566), sig. A2.
Canterbury presentlye Sittinge Englishe ... (1574), a satire directed at Archbishop Parker. It was not until 1577, after he had left Heidelberg and gone on to Basle, that Cartwright arranged for the publication of The Rest of the second Replie against Maister Whitgift (1577) with the printer Thomas Guarinus.  

Unlike the Puritans, who only turned to continental printers under duress, the more radical groups like the Family of Love and the Separatists seem to have been unable to find printers at home and had to lean exclusively on foreign presses. Some fourteen pamphlets written by the founder of the Family of Love, Hendrik Niclaes, were printed by the "Family presses" of N. Bohmbargen (Bohmberg) at Cologne (see figs. 22–24) and were circulating in England by 1574. Although the Family never became a serious threat to the established religion, its literature was roundly and vehemently condemned. As one opponent of the sect imaginatively and prejudicially remarked, its "errorous bee so many, so foule and so filthy, as would force the very penne in passing to stay and stop her nose." Nevertheless, there was some cause for alarm. On April 11, 1575, Archbishop Parker conveyed his concern to Lord Burghley about the "great number of anabaptists taken on Easter-day". "Anabaptist" being a catch-all term, it would be surprising if none of this number were familists. In May 1576 we hear of Richard Curtis, Bishop of Chichester, suspending David Thickpenny, the curate of Brighthelmstone, for dabbling in the Familist heresy. Thickpenny was later reinstated on condition that he would "preach against and confute the errors of that sect"; however, within a short time he returned to his former errors.


1 Johnson, p. 286.
3 J. Knewstub, A confutation of mon-strous and horrible here-sies, taught by H.N.... (1579), sig. *4.
5 See APC, NS. Vol. VIII (1571–75), p. 398, for some evidence that Familists were included.
The Second Replie of
Thomas Cartwright toynsfigi
by Doctor Whigges second ansver
touched the Church Discipline.

He SAiL li and plese be
claration of Ecclesiastall usely
ke ower of the word of God and of
declining of the churche of
off England from
the same.

Imprinted
M. D. LXXV.
X: 65.

Ibid. ver. 6, & 7.
Ye that are the Lordes remembrancers, kepe not silence, and
gyne him no rest, vntill he reigne, and set vp Jerusalem
the praise of the world.

Imprinted
M. D. LXXIII.

Fig. 18. Tit-p. of Cartwright's
The Second Replie
(Heidelberg, Schirat, 1575).

Fig. 19. Tit-p. of Traver's
A full and plaine de-
claration (1574).
Serious threat or no, a standard form of recantation for Familists was issued in 1580, and in that year the Privy Council heard that the Family of Love was flourishing in the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge and Ely. The Council immediately ordered the Bishop of Ely to enquire diligently within his diocese "what persones are affected that waie or have anie bookees published for the maintenance of that doctrine, and to deale with them...." The same instructions were sent to the Bishops of Norwich and Winchester.  

What extant confessions there are indicate that some influential persons were familists. There was a Family of Love cell at the court of Elizabeth which, at least on one occasion, seems to have been responsible for distributing familist literature. Leonard Romansy confesses that he had been instructed by the court familists to deny before the High commission seeing or receiving any "bookes of H.N." from them. Repressive measures taken against them drove the Family underground. As late as 1592, the Puritans of Suffolk were still trying to dissociate themselves from the Family of Love and stated their position in a letter to the Privy Council.  

For the publication of their literature, the Separatists turned to a Dutch Calvinist, Richard Schilders of Middleburgh, printer to the States of Zealand. In addition to printing Separatist literature, Schilders shared with Robert Waldegrave the bulk of Puritan pamphlets and books from about 1580 to the end of the period. Schilders plied his trade in England from the time of his arrival in Lent of 1567 until his departure for Middleburgh in 1580. He was admitted to the Stationers' Company on May 3, 1568, but, being an alien, was restricted to working as a journeyman. Perhaps for the latter reason, Schilders accepted the offer of Middleburgh, the capital of Zealand, to be city printer, and once again packed his press and equipment and returned to his homeland. Having served the London printers Thomas East and Thomas Dawson and having associated with his compatriots at the Austin

1 APC, xii, 231-33, 317.
3 Address of the gentry of Suffolk to the Council, Sept? 1592, Cal. of Papers, Dom. Ser., Eliz. 1591-1594.
The rest of the second replie of Thomas Cartwriifth.
against Master Doctor Vuihtgifft's second answer, touching the Church discipline.

Nay lxiiij, versij.

For Syons sake, I vnil not hould my song, and for Jerusalem's sake,
I vnil not rest: vntil the righteousness thereof break forth as
the light, and the salvation thereof be as a burning lamp.

Ibid. vers. 6. &r. 7.

Ye that are the Lords Remembrancers, kepe not silence,
and gyue him no rest: vntil he repair, and set vp Jerusalem the praise of the world.

Imprinted
M. D. LXXVII.

20. Tit-p. of The life off the 70. shopp off Canterbury

Fig. 21. T-p. of Cartwright's
The rest of the second replie
(Basle, Guarinus, 1577).
Friars (the Dutch Church in London), he returned with an intimate knowledge of the English booktrade and religious conditions — a knowledge that would serve him well in subsequent years as publisher of illicit Separatist and Puritan literature.¹

There is no evidence that Schilders participated in Anabaptist conventicles while in England; there are indications, however, that he had Anabaptist leanings. The first book in Dutch to come off his press in Middleburgh was an Anabaptist petition while the first in English was the earliest Separatist manifesto in print. The latter was Robert Browne's *Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for anie ....* (1582). Two more works by Browne came off Schilder's press in 1582: *A Treatise upon the 23. of Matthewe* and *A Book which sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians.*² In addition to the usual Puritan complaints and demands, Browne stated the Separatist position in these works, challenging the principle of state uniformity in religious matters and arguing to some extent for the separation of Church and State.³

Separatist solidarity at Middleburgh, however, was short-lived. Internal strife resulted in Browne's departure in 1583/4 and a new leader, Robert Harrison, being chosen to succeed him.⁴ The quarrel, in part at least, was caused by a difference in theological opinion between Browne and the rest of the congregation. It was left to Harrison to put into print the congregation's side of the story and, once again, Schilders obliged them. In 1583 Schilders published Harrison's *A Little Treatise uppon the firste Verse of the 122. Psalm ....*, a work that was more an outline of the Separatist program than Biblical exegesis.

The distribution of the writings of Harrison and Browne in England brought down the wrath of the Queen upon them. On June 30, 1583, a proclamation declared their writings to be "seditious, scismaticall, and erronious printed Bookes and libelles, tending to the de-

¹Ibid., p. 71
²See Wilson, "Richard Schilders....", pp. 77-81, for a discussion of the peculiar differences in the extant copies of Browne's *Treatise of Reformation....* and the fact that all three of his works printed in 1582 are bound together under that title.
⁴For Browne's account of the squabble, see his *A True and Short Declaration, Both of the Gathering and Joyning together of Certaine Persons: and also of the Lamentable Breach and Division which fell amongst them* (1583/4). The only known copy of this work is at Lambeth Palace Library. It is reproduced, however, in Peel and Carlson, pp. 396-429.
The Prologue.

With this name hoslye of godlie Exhortation. J. N. exhorteth and hymneth many godlie documentes and fulsome Instructiones, by the Children, and the Families of Lour, unto all Gooddesse, monition, and deprecation: and not only in the name, the Epigramm Righteousness, in mures and sundry Sermones. To shew the delight of youngnesse Understanding, should before be inwarde. Soe drighit in this page to the righteousnesse of all good, and we shalme to the Epigram Righteousness.

With this Conversione, with the manifeste leading Instructiones of the same, and the papa comminon and treasuriue for all whimsicall fathers, which are commingled, as in the fourses of Lour, in furnishing themselves therunder, is a good Instructione of their Children to Youngnesse. To shew that the heart of all fathers, amongst countres, with the fame of Regimentes and the good documents thereof, are turned to the Children, and the heart of the Children, in al Concern in the soul and the generation thereof, and the Service of Lour; to these Fathers, that they may countre become taught to the patience and understanding of the Righteous, that to be prepared to and thoughte People, for the Lour.

To this holye now therefore, everyone, which bough the Righteousnesse, ought to take their purpose, and desire the knowledge of the Lour and good things, desirous to apply himselfe with his whole heart, to the right Regiments. Then shalme that almighty ought more goe in these right countres and that all thought enemie become full-killed, which is turne in the right patience, and at the right end.

Now is the Salvation, the Power, and the Kingdom, become our Gods: and the might his Children.

The First Exhortation of HN

The Preface of HN to the Spiritual Lande of Peace.

HN, desyres the good-believing Fathers, and unto all lovers of the Truth, with this Exhortation, to shew and to shew the many manneres of the Lour of Peace, that they might be prepared to be, in upright People. For the lour and taught to the Kingdom of heaven, and also to understand theorem upright Spirit and Peace, in the Christopher of the Lour, the simple Son of the true Light, the Spiritual Chore of Godly hearing, and the strength of the peace of Jesus Christ, which bringeth forth to the chrest, which beareth forth, and would be rightfully agreed according to the Spirit of the heavenly Truth, also the Wonders that shew to the lour, entered into weight, and so the true Epistle of the living and the honest, peaceful Lande of Peace, become infected with the authentic Testimonies of Peace, and the many manner of wil-
praving of the Ecclesiastical government established within this Realm," and warned that anyone who printed or wrote, sold or set forth, distributed or received them did so "at their uttermost perils."¹ This proclamation, the internal bickering, and then Harrison's death in 1585 spelled the demise of this phase of Separatism. On October 7, 1585, Browne submitted to the terms of Archbishop Whitgift and made his peace with the establishment.

The Separatists, however, were not the only English Protestant congregation in Middleburgh. Since 1574 the company of Merchant Adventurers had their own church and chaplain there. The first chaplain was none other than Thomas Cartwright, the leading Puritan of the time, and his successors tended to be of the Puritan mold. To these Puritan preachers -- out of reach of the ecclesiastical authorities in England -- Schilders' press became their instrument for advancing the cause of reformation in England. When Puritan publication attempts were frustrated in England from 1580 until well into the next century, it was widely known that Richard Schilders was always available.²

Nevertheless, Separatist writings continued to circulate and other radicals appeared and took up the torch laid down by Browne and Harrison. By the end of 1587 numbers of Separatists had been apprehended, including at least twenty-one who were caught attending a private conventicle on October 8th. Two such zealots were Henry Barrow and John Greenwood. Barrow was a gentleman of independent means who had been educated at Cambridge, had spent some time at Gray's Inn and was a relative by marriage of the Bacons. He became the leading Separatist spokesman in print. John Greenwood was also of Cambridge and had been chaplain to Lord Rich of Rochford. Between them they wrote and published some eight or nine Separatist works.³

Although a note written on Barrow's first publication, A True Description Out of The Worde Of God, of the visible Church (1589), might indicate that an attempt was made to have it printed in England,

¹Harrison, A Little Treatise....(1583), sig. *3v. For the Proclamation see B.M. Pressmark G. 6463 (225). See also B.M. Add. MSS. 29546, ff. 113-116v, for notes taken in what appears to be an official examination of Harrison's work.
²See Wilson, "Richard Schilders....", pp. 81-87, for a detailed discussion of this phase of Schilders' career.
³For further biographical information, see Dictionary of National Biography.
in the end the works of Barrow and Greenwood were printed at Dort [Dordrecht] by a printer called "Hanse" (see pp.256,258, figs. 25-27). 1 All that is known about Hanse of Dort is contained in depositions by Robert Bowle and Robert Stokes who, along with Daniel Studley and Arthur Billet, were indicted in March 1592/3 for publishing the writings of Barrow and Greenwood. Stokes confessed that he had financed the publication of five or six of their works while the two Separatist leaders were in prison. Bowle and Studley, it seems, conveyed the original manuscripts from the prison to Billet, who in turn delivered them to Hanse in Dort. 2 "Hanse of Dort" may have been John or Hans Stell, a London stationer from 1569 -85, 3 and a native of Antwerp. Before contacting Richard Schilders, the city of Middleburg had offered the position of city printer to Hans Stell. Interestingly enough, when Schilders got into trouble with the Stationers' Company of London, it was over a book he undertook to print for Stell. Since both men were compatriots and Protestant refugees in England, it is quite possible that they also shared the same attitude towards the publication of Separatist literature. 4 With regard to Separatist

---

1 The note read as follows: "I beseche your honor yf yt maye be lawfull to lycens this booke to Mr. Thomas Purfoote, stacioner," See L.H. Carlsson (ed), The Writings of Henry Barrow 1587-1590 (1962), p. 211.

2 The books were as follows: Barrows' A brief discoverie of the false church (1590), A plain refutation of Mr. Giffardes booke (1591); Greenwood's An answere to G. Giffardes pretended defence of read praiers (1590); Barrow and Greenwood, A Declaratyon off certen Letters and Conferences (1590)?, A collection of certaine sclaunorous articles (1590), and possibly A True Description ... of the visible church (1589). With regard to the latter, Stokes volunteered the information that "before all thys" he procured from Barrow and Greenwood and published The Destructyon of the vysyble Church and might have confused the word "Description". Another book, A True Confession of the Faith.... (1596), although attributed to the Amsterdam press by the STC (No. 237), seems to belong to this series of Dort publications (see Appendix, fig. 28). See B.M. MS. Marleian. 7042 fol. 61v; B.M. Lansd. MS. 808 fol. 64v.; J.P. Collier (ed.), The Egerton Papers: A Collection of Public and Private Documents Chiefly Illustrative Of The Times Of Elizabeth And James I (London: John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1840), pp. 166-179.

3 Most authorities give 1569, but a letter from the Lord Mayor to Cecil on Oct. 15, 1568 mentions the imprisonment of two Dutchmen, John Stell and Arnold Vaukyll, who came to England "because of religion" and had printed an offensive book. S.P. Dom. Eliz. 12 Vol. XLVIII. fol. 33.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

Ovving the treatizes following, know (Good Reader) that Mr. GREENWOOD's first writing concerning read prayer &c. was by the Prelates taken from him. Whereupon he desired Mr. GIFFORD, who wrote against him and had the copy of it, to publish it also to the world. But he would not do it; and so by these means it yet remaineth suppressed. For what cause, thou mayest well conjecture with thy self.

These things, Mr. GREENWOOD himself significeth here in the Treatise ensuing. Now it by any means that half of his come into thy hands, be thou entreated, for the truth's sake, either thy self to publish it, or to deliver it to such as will; That so the whole matter and carriage of it may better appear to all men, for the further manifestation of the truth in this behalf. In the meantime, there are published for thy benefit. The Lord give thee to vie them, as may be for his praye, and thy comfort in Christ: Remembering alway, that he is Mediator, not for any false worlup whatsoever, but for that only which is according to his word. Which paynt well mynded (as it ought) would sooner end the question here kontroverted, and all other the like: with all such as feare God. Mynd it therfore, and so farewelle in the Lord.

A. THE
and Puritan publications, Dort does not seem to come into the picture again until the end of the century. In 1601 the Privy Council was informed that Bonham and John Norton, stationers of London, in collusion with Andro Hart of Scotland, had contrived "to draw over the seas sondry English printers to the towne of Dort for the imprinting of the English Bible and other priviledged bookes there .... it is not unlikely but that those printers at Dort (beinge persons, as is informed, of the most disordered and worst disposed sorte) may also attempt to publish lewde and seditious bookes or phamphlette...."¹

All of the published works of Barrow and Greenwood had been written while they were in prison, a period which lasted from the end of 1587 to the spring of 1593. The free and easy prison regulations at that time allowed them considerable freedom to write and to receive visitors. Thus they had little difficulty in smuggling out manuscripts for publication. In 1593 Barrow and Greenwood were executed and the mantle of leadership fell upon Francis Johnson, another Cambridge man. The centre of Separatist printing then moved from Dort to Amsterdam.

Shortly after the executions of the Separatist leaders, imprisoned Separatists were released and, by the terms of a recent Act of Parliament, given the choice of conforming or leaving the country.² Many of them chose the latter and made their way to Amsterdam. Johnson did not join them until 1597 -- after four years of imprisonment and an unsuccessful attempt to establish a colony in Canada (probably Newfoundland.)³ By the time Johnson arrived, a church had been organized with elders and deacons, and facilities acquired for worshipping.⁴

Although it was not until 1604 that Giles Thorp supervised the setting up of their own press, Separatist publications emanated from Amsterdam before that date. Three works can be shown to have come from the same press: Francis Johnson, An Answer to Maister H. Jacob

³Johnson probably was involved in a Separatist petition to the Privy Council in which a request was made to settle "in the province of Canada where by the providence of the Almightye, and her Maj[es]ties most gratious favour, wee may not onlie worshippe god as wee are in conscience perswaded by his word, but also doe unto her Maj[es]tie and our country great good service, and in tyme also greatlie annoy that bloodie and persecuting Spaniard about the Baye of Mexico." S.P. 12. Vol. 246. (56). 1593?
To the reader with wisdom,

Above, to discern the truth, and to walk in the same right.

Copies of the BB's articles & the answers thereto, as these late conferences had in the Fleet, being commanded, I thought no less than my duty to impart unto all the view of all men that the true causes of controversies, the BB's dealing with Christ's poor enemies, and chiefly the truth yet left might the sooner be known & appeared. The causes of controversy thou art peregrine to no light or small matters concerning different or some few trifling circumstances, as they laboured to make the world believe, although even little trifles being brought into & thrust by way of law church having no warrant in the testament of Christ to be sufficed for the space of an hour, but most high things are these matters, concerning the whole building. which is affirmed to be altogether out of order, vertive foundation to the top, & not according to the testament either in the people, ministry, worship, government, order; all things out of frame, neither it & before the face of Christ, neither may children remain unto which promise of salvation, couer the BB's & their clearing & have done, to assemble unto all men to be no such deceitful work, rebuilding to be no such wood, hay, stubble, hath not their works to the griece, & to finish & set to be measured by the golden reed of God's word, laying the falses, confounding & perceiving others, ad of this, they fill impartially, all such as make any equation of there doing; yet all such as but speak them, they thrust up in close peyion, there to continue holy & mainprice, all the days of their life, except not & escape: Some they call into most noisme & vile, without aye, food, beds, or so much as straw to rest, keeping them from there vuyes, children, trades to the viter voiding & affamishment of them, their...
(1600); Certayne Letters translated into English (1602); and George Johnson, A Discourse of some troubles in the banished English Church (1603). Other Separatist works, published about the same time, bear striking typographical similarities to the above three that can be positively identified. No conclusive evidence has been brought forth to identify the printer, but he might have been Cornelis Claessonius (Claeszoon) of Amsterdam. The latter carried on his business in Amsterdam from 1582 until 1609 and had some dealings with Andro Hart of Edinburgh, the publisher mentioned above as cohort of the Nortons in a highly suspicious enterprise at Dort involving the printing of "lewde and seditious" literature (see figs. 28-31).

There was one other main source of Protestant extremist literature that bedevilled the Elizabethan authorities in their attempt to control the press and enforce religious conformity. The smuggling of printed literature into England from Scotland proved impossible to stop. Theological works by such continental reformers as Beza and Calvin and by Puritans like John Knox, John Davidson and William Perkins, for example, were printed in Scotland and sold on the English market. The most notorious printer of Puritan literature in Scotland, however, was Robert Waldegrave. After his involvement with the Marprelate Affair, Waldegrave fled to Edinburgh and was an established printer there by 1590. In fact, he was so established that he was appointed King's Printer in that year. It probably was no accident that one of Waldegrave's co-conspirators in the Marprelate

---

1Ibid.
2The same conglomeration of Black-letter, Roman and Italic type-faces in various sizes appears in A Treatise Of the Ministry ....(clearly Separatist in tone and unlikely to be the work of Arthur Hildersam, under whom it is listed in STC No. 13464), and in An Apology Or Defence [of] Brownists....(1604). The Examinations of Henry Barrow, John Greenwood and John Penry ....(1700?) also seems to belong in this series, but is in small Black-letter and very small Black-letter and not in mixed founts like the others. The same open Arabesque initial "T" on sig. A4, however, occurs in An Answer to Maister H. Jacob, sig. A2, and in An Apology Or Defence [of] Brownists, sig. A1. Furthermore, the same ornamental pieces appear on the title-pages in place of a printer's device or in the form of a head-piece, in various arrangements, in A Treatise Of the Ministery (T-p), Certayne Letters/ Translated into English (T-p), and An Answer to Maister H. Jacob (sig. A2).
3Supra., p. 28; McKerrow, p. 69.
CERTAIN LETTERS / translated into English, being first written in Latin.

Two, by the reverend and learned Mr. Francis Junius, Divinity Reader at Leyden in Holland.

The other, by the exiled English Church, abiding for the present at Amsterdam in Holland.

Together with the Confession of faith prefixed: whereupon the said letters were first written.

Esf. 33.1. Who believeth our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?

A TREATISE

OF the MINISTRY of the CHURCH of ENGLAND.

Wherein is handled this question,

Whether it be to be separated from or joined unto.

Which is discussed in two letters, the one written for it, the other against it.

Whereunto is annexed, after the preface, brief declaration of the ordinary officers of the Church of C and, A few passages.

Also in the end of the treatise,

Some notes touching the Lord's prayer.

SEVEN QUESTIONS.

A table of some principal things conteynd in this treatise.

A nd all things: keep that which is good. 1 Thes. 5.21.

(As the Prophets) had stood in my counsell; then should they have led my people to heare my words; and have turned them from the wickednes of their iniquity. Jerem. 33.22.

Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?

Esf. 33.1, Joh. 12.38, Rom. 10.16.

Fig. 28. T-p. of Certayne Letters (Claeszoom, Amsterdam, 1602).

29. 7-p. of A Treatise Of the Ministry (1602?)
fiasco, John Penry, also appeared in Edinburgh in 1590. Out of reach of the English ecclesiastical authorities, Penry continued his bitter and penetrating thrusts at the established church. Waldegrave was the printer. Three works appeared in 1590: Reformation no enemie: A Briefe Discovery Of The Untruthes And Slan-ders... contained in a Sermon; and An Humble Motion With Submission unto the... Privie Counsell....(see figs. 32-35). Penry undoubtedly penned the first and, if not author of the other two, was closely associated with them.1

The two Puritans, however, did not continue with impunity their nefarious activities for long. On May 16, 1590, Robert Bowes, The English Ambassador, wrote Lord Burghley that he had informed the King "of Penries being in this Realme, and that by the publishing of bookes for th'alteracions of the Government in England, he is faile within the case of treason, praieng him in her Majesties name to banish Penrie out of this realme."2 On August 6, 1590, by an Act of the King in Council, John Penry was banished from Scotland and given ten days to leave the country.3

It was Waldegrave's turn next. Bowes told King James that it was "marvelled" in England that "Waldegrave the printer was permitted freely to print seditious books against his native country of England." He asked therefore that Waldegrave be "prohibited to exercise his science" in Scotland. The only satisfaction the Council could get

---

1Although printed anonymously, a good case can be made for ascribing them to Waldegrave. In 1591 there appeared The Sacrifice Of A Christian Soule,..(B.M. Pressmark: 3457. aaa. 67.) bearing the date, place (Edinburgh) and Waldegrave's name in the colophon. A comparison of this work with An Humble Motion (B.M. Pressmark: 697. f. 34.) reveals that the upper case "A" in both titles is defective at the apex and both contain the same factotem on sig. A2. All three have Waldegrave's peculiar signature and are in pica Roman type. Furthermore, Reformation No enemie (sig. A2) and A Brief Discovery Of The Untruthes and Slanders (sig. A3) contain the same initial "T". There is also some evidence that M. Some laid open in his coulers.... (ascribed to Penry and dated 1590 in D. J. McGinn, John Penry and the Marprelate Controversy, 1966, p. 165.) came off Waldegrave's Edinburgh press as it contains on sig. A2 the same factotem as in An Humble Motion, sig. A2. See also Aldis, p. 7.


3SP 52. Item 46. fol. 368.
To the Christian Reader, grace and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ.

There came out of late (good Reader) two books, from one Mayster Henry Jacob, a Preist of the Church of the Pelerites. The first was against the Mohomim, and published at London, and contains many things true and good, and flowing into Hell. The latter against his name, and others like minded, attacking the Church and Ministry of England.

Now although the Pelerites could not well be offended at him, for publishing the former against the doctrine of the Church, being (long before him) Mr Carlila learned man had published a book against the Church of England, and that with great approbation of the most gud and learned at that time; yet by the former book, and knowing the hatred of the Pelerites towards it, he did present after send forth his other book, in defense of the Church of England.

He so watched the pleasure his lords the Pelerites conceived against him, that he scarce could have hope that they might suffer be approved upon view of the better. He therefore should fail out, yet what he could not could make all sure for his side, upon the first book to set the Pelerites against the Pelerites, and by the other to have both them and the Pelerites themselves stand with him against the Mohomim.

Per die some of his white coat give out, that the Mohomim draw sullen, in publishing so broad and easy a Tretise against us. And true it is indeed, that his Tretise is such, that in the publishing thereof, no wise man had so much as to turn their backs from it, much more to run the Church and Ministry of England there so plentifully of Europe to be had and read, and not a piece be found for defense of these VViship, Ministry, constitution, &c. For if you would it in his book against Ballon, about the question of a Yerlony.
this time, however, was the assurance from the King that Waldegrave had acknowledged his fault in printing for Penry and had "entered into bond not hereafter to imprint anything without the King's warrant."

Bowes explained to Lord Burghley:

The King, and such as shall be appointed by him to examine these things, will bar anything offensive to England. This realm needs a printer, and therefore upon the bond mentioned the King allowed him to use his science here; but if he be taken hereafter with any like offence, he and his sureties shall be well punished. 1

Waldegrave remained in Scotland for the duration of Elizabeth's reign and returned to London when King James acceded to the throne of England. 2

Penry's books were not the only Puritan works to cross the border into England. On June 17, 1591, the Clerk of the Stationers' Company recorded in the register a list of books seized by the Master and Wardens "which camme out of Scotland to master William Nortons house for his Cozen John Norton." Of the six titles listed, only three are identified by author. The authors mentioned were King James, Robert Bruce and John Udall. 3 There were other seizures. Towards the end of 1593, the Wardens searched for three days at Billingsgate "for bookes that came out of Scotland," and a barrel and two firkins of Alexander Hume's Christes Descention into hell were seized about December 4, 1594 "in a ship of Andrew Blakes that came forth of Scotland." 4

So much more effective than preaching -- with much less risk of detection -- the press became the main instrument for reform in the hands of the radicals. For those radicals who were content to peck away at the establishment in a preface here and a dedication there, few stringent measures worked effectively. The more revolutionary spirits, however, were usually brought to heel in quick order when they resorted to the clandestine press. But the efficient applica-

---

1 Bowes to Burghley, Nov. 20, 1590, ibid., fol. 489.
2 For further charges against Waldegrave, see Bowes to Burghley, Aug. 27, 1594, Sept. 8, 1594, ibid., Item 54. fols. 23-4, 492.
3 Arber, Transcript Vol. II. 38. Two of the remaining three can be identified: Theses Ceneuenses or principles of divinitie translated by John Penry (see B.M. Ms. Harl. 7042. fol. 19v.) and Invectives against master D. Bancroftes sermon .... by John Davidson.
To all those that sincerely love the Lord Jesus, and feake the flourishing estate of his Kingdom: and name, to the brethren throughout England, Wales, & Ireland. JOHN PENRI, with knowledge, scale and patience, with all other necessarie graces in Christ Jesus to bee multiplied.

HE God of England, (beloved in the Lorde) to wit, Peace and prosperity, have now of a long time, so bee blesed all, as bee a friend among vs for the most part, that in stead of our thankfulness unto God, for his great & undeserved blessings: they have causd our land to bring forth most strange effects, unto the dif honour of the Lords name, the hinderance of his truth, the lykely ruine of his Church, and the general griefe and discouragement of all his children. We knowe well enough, what kyndneffe the Lord hath generallie shewed vnto our kingdom at such time as wee little decried the same, and what thankfulness we have repayed him again, our praises doth evidence thereof.

It is not yet manie years about 3: since we were matched, yet and ouernatched with strangers, readie dayes and night to have the same crueltie shewed vpon vs, whiche that proude and bloudie nation the Spaniards, doth now the second time purpose to execute. But our God did foresee vs from that imminent bondage. The being it is to be remembred, excellent being the kindeenes was then shewed vnto our flate, when not onely the whole kingdom being moste flamefullie fallen from God to the worship of death, was oure crowne with the weedes of Idolatrous poperie and superstition: but even those placons graunted among vs by the diuell owne hande, were fo highly accounted off, that thei theob ut not have their ful growth in England they were watered with the bloud of the faints of God. Behold here, O England, thy deliuerance from bondage, in the day wherein thou didst confer captivitie, and have in an haruer yole, if thou continuedst to bee thankful. But what do I speake of this oure vnt-eard libertie, seeing the other freedom of the soul bestowed vpon vs at the same instant, doth verie obscure this blesseing, and make it seeme nothing in comparsion. The Lord therefore, that al the glory of his kindeines towards a

To the Reader.

Ausing this lyning by me, without any purpose to publish it as yet, I was aduertised of the taking away of Mr. Penries book by the Puritians. Whereupon, I reflected (though it should bee some of thee to my friend) not to close it up any longer, lest the adversary should too much triumph & influx. Even as it came vnto my hands, so hast I giuen it his pasage, without any addition or alteration of mine: yet of the Title I confesse is mine owne. The rest is my Oxford friends, whoe if he be thought in his pleasant sense any thing too superstitious, the reader is to sow, as with what kind of id

The preface of the author.

Ere it not (gentle reader) that the truth of the caues, & the want in the praffe, had a long time called vnto me, in reading of Gods book, and by experience of former time, drawing out before me, in the dayly edge of my conscience, the manifold necessitie of discipline: I would not have aduentured, secking owne wants, to put pen to the paper in a matter of so great weight. But knowing that by this my other might be occasion to the learned & wise, vpon very good things for the benefit of this & (if need be) to set forth more deep & felted

THE GODLIE INDIFFERENT 
rader, judgement to dscern, and scale to imbrace the truth.

Hinde it no wonderful cafe beloued, to see the church of England so out of order as this day, as our confusions are altogether more in number, then in number of our head. For those that will needs bee our Patron and spirituall fathers, are become brutes at the Prophets face, and have not sought the Lord. And therefore what marrie this, I thinke to bee the poore grope bee miserable knowing whether to turne vs for any succour. Our guides have mislaid vs, but they are become viles in the stead of shepheards. So are not theew our felues, for feare of their teeth, to feake any patience in feeding which they haue laid before vs. And it we shou d he, to doe for the true shepheards and owndears in stead of whose we ought to be committed: The rage of these viles is such (tho his endeavor would almoat be the price of our-life. For this request is granted, they wel percieue that they shou not haue so much of a doorekeeper within the shepheard of the Lord. And therefore every way laboure to keepe us in bondage. They hide the truth, & offer others to see the same. If the Lord in mercy, do open the eyes, hee must for not his life, make it knowen at he hath fene the highes, & laken the life, and with others to follow him. Time at this day, to haue greater liberty, to wond our Church, then euer the beginning of her Majesties raigne, and therefore ought to enarme themselues against them, now more then before. They of the time, and the oppertunity which they haue gotten, to keepe and the church in their bondage. Vonder not st for this is the tare power of darkenes, wherein they have liberty to do no more then he right hand of our God hath determined long before and when complicated his work, in mount Sion and Jerusalem: thelent them, beuer favour any of the offspring of Romish kisse, but their mother, vnto themselues. In the beginning of her Majesties raigne, was the God's fairest in England, filled with laughter, but al of the meta bloot out all that joy with the teares, I now with the blood of the lamb, in the meantime, her Majesty were as afficted, ignornant of the n ruching conclusions, set vp against us by these Tyro that it pleased the Lord, that our course might bee examined by

The preface of the author.

Ere it not (gentle reader) that the truth of the caues, & the want in the prathe, had a long time called vnto me, in reading of Gods book, and by experience of former time, drawing out before me, in the dayly edge of my conscience, the manifold necessitie of discipline: I would not have aduentured, secking owne wants, to put pen to the paper in a matter of so great weight. But knowing that by this my other might be occasion to the learned & wise, vpon very good things for the benefit of this & (if need be) to set forth more deep & felted

Fig. 33. J. Penry, Reformation No enemie (1590), sig. A2.

Fig. 35. J. Penry, M. Some laid open (1590).
tion of censorship had other effects. It pushed the radicals into a more intimate association with foreign Protestants by forcing them to use foreign presses for the publication of their views -- a development which could not help but foster and deepen their dissatisfaction with the established Church, as well as to deepen their own resolve for reformation and to bridge at least some of their differences with one another.

All the printers involved in the radical cause at home had at least one thing in common -- they were all economically hard-pressed. The exception is John Strowd, and he was an amateur. However, whether motivated by economic or religious considerations, in the hands of these printers the press indeed became for many, as it did for John Foxe, the most renowned propagandist of the century, an instrument "for the spirituall and inwarde supportation of soule-health, helpe of Religion, restoring of true doctrine, repayring of Christes Church, and repressing of corrupt abuses ... to revive agayne the lost lyght of knowledge of these blynde tymes ...."¹

¹The whole workes of W. Tyndall, John Frith, and Doct. Barnes .... (1573), sig. A2.
PART THREE

CENSORSHIP AND CONCLUSION
CHAPTER IX REGULATIONS AND RESTRICTIONS

Control of the Press before 1558

Control of the Press in Queen Mary's reign reminded one Elizabethan minister, Thomas Rogers, of the Roman Emperor Julian's persecution of Christians in his attempt to revive paganism in 361 - 363 A. D.

Julian the Emperour did straightlie forbid the workes of learned and good men to be perused of any Christian: But he was an Apostata, a revolter from the truth, an enemie to the Crosse of Christ, a blodie persecutor ... That politic of Julian did more abolish the truth, than all his persecutions ... destroyed moe soules, than any crueltie upon their bodies could have done: This devilish counsale of Sathans lyms hath doen more harme to the Churche of Christ in England and in other Countries, and may doe more, if it should be followed, than any feare, fagot, or force can bring to passe. 1

Although Rogers was referring to censorship of the Marian press, the truth was that no matter what faction was in power during the Tudor period, the action of each government with regard to publication was to suppress what it considered heretical, seditious, or otherwise offensive. Nor was it surprising that Tudor authorities reacted to printing that way. Censorship was rooted in a concept of society and government, (society as a harmonious "body politic"), that was not fundamentally questioned until the English revolution of the seventeenth century. 2 Strengthening the resolve to maintain the ideal of harmony within the "body politic" was the ancient law of the Church forbidding the teaching of heresy, on the one hand; on the other was the law of treason. Under these two laws statutes were formulated against unauthorized reproduction of English translations of the scriptures in the Convocation of 1408 and against heretical books in Parliament in

---

1 P. Caesar, A General Discourse Against the damnable sect of Usurers (1578), sig. *3. Translated by Thomas Rogers.

against publishing by word or writing "any false news or tales whereby discord or occasion of discord or slander may grow between the king and his people, or the great men of the realm" in the first Statute of Westminster in 1275; and, finally, against the spreading or repeating of such tales and gossip in two statutes of Richard II. Censorship of the printing press was the extension of this same principle of maintaining the status quo and harmony in society.

The earliest record of censorship of the press in England seems to have occurred in 1524, when the Bishop of London prohibited the book sellers from handling Lutheran works, and ordered that no new books were to be printed without authority. Richard Bayfield discovered that this was a serious business at the cost of his life, on December 14, 1531, when he was found guilty of importing prohibited books. Gradually other regulations were imposed. In 1538 a proclamation of Henry VIII ordered that "no person or persons in this realm shall from henceforth print any book in the English tongue, unless upon examination made by some of his Grace's Privy Council, or other such as his Highness shall appoint, they shall have licence so to do; and yet so having, not to put these words, cum privilegio regali, without adding ad imprimendum solum, and that the whole copy or else at the least the effect of his licence and privilege be therewith printed and plainly declared and expressed in the English tongue underneath them ...."

---

1 Ibid.


Similar proclamations followed throughout Henry VIII's reign, some condemning in general terms heretical and seditious book and others naming specifically the authors responsible. A proclamation was drafted in 1542 against the possession of books by Wycliffe, Tyndale, and Coverdale.1 Another proclaimed in 1546 that "no printer do print any manner of English book, ballad, or play, but he put his name to the same, with the name of the author and day of the print, and shall present the first copy to the mayor of the town where he dwelleth, and not to suffer any of the copies to go out of his hands within two days next following."2

Under Edward, in 1549, the Privy Council ordered that "no printer should print or put to vent any English book but such as should first be examined by Mr. Secretary Peter, Mr. Secretary Smith, or Mr. Cecil, or one of them, and allowed by the same ...."3 A proclamation in 1551 prohibited the publication of "any matter in the English tongue unless the same be first allowed by his Majesty or his Privy Council in writing signed with his Majesty's most gracious hand or the hands of six of his said Privy Council ...."4 Similarly, in Queen Mary's reign, in 1553, it was forbidden "to print any books, matter, ballad theme, interlude, process, or treatise, nor to play any interlude except they have her Grace's special licence in writing for the same...."5

There were other measures taken in Mary's reign for the suppression of offensive religious literature. Two acts of June 1555 were aimed at curbing heretical and seditious literature printed abroad or secretly printed in England, and the writings of the reformers and service books of Edward's reign. The failure of these to effectively reduce the trade in illicit books led to the decision to grant a charter to the Stationers' Company on May 4, 1557. The preamble of the Charter plainly states that it was granted "to provide a suitable remedy" for the illegal trade in books that contain "great and detestable heresies against the faith and sound catholic doctrine of

---

1See Steele, op. cit., pp. 214-217, for a comprehensive list of all English books prohibited by name during Henry VIII's reign; also Blagden, The Stationers' Company, p. 29.
2Hughes and Larkin, op. cit., I. 375.
3Acts of the Privy Council, N.S., II. 312.
4Hughes and Larkin, op. cit., I. 517.
5Ibid., II. 6-7.
Holy Mother Church."¹ As was noticed earlier, the Charter conferred wide ranging powers upon the Master and Wardens of the Company. They were empowered to "make search whenever it shall please them in any place, shop, house, chamber, or building of any printer, binder, or bookseller whatever within our kingdom of England or the dominions of the same" for secret presses and illicit literature. They could also "imprison or commit to jail any such person so practising or exercising the foresaid art or mistery contrary to the foresaid form, or as is stated above, disturbing, refusing or hindering, there to remain without bail for the space of three months ...."² It was with these powers that the Company entered the Elizabethan period.

Control of the Elizabethan Press: Decrees and Ordinances

The powers granted to the Stationers' Company meant that the ecclesiastical authorities now had in their service the knowledge and experience of master-printers. On November 10, 1559 Queen Elizabeth confirmed the Charter and in the same year issued her first ordinances against seditious and heretical literature. These were contained in the Injunctions given by the Queenes Majesty, Anno domini 1559. Due to some printers abusing their privilege by printing "for covetousnes Cheifly" and who "regard not what they print," stated the Injunctions, from henceforth there will be no book printed "excepte the same be first licensed by her majestie by expresse wordes in writyinge, or by .vi. of her privy counsel," or by two of the following: the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, the Chancellor of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Bishop and Archdeacon of the place of printing, whereof the Ordinary must be one. The names of the licencers were to be signed on the work so licenced. Since pamphlets, plays and ballads were printed often a separate regulation was applied to them. There were to be licensed by three members of the Court of High Commission within the City of London.³ Regarding works that were to be reprinted — works on "matters of religion, or polycye, or governaunce," whether printed at home or abroad — the new regulations required them also to be licensed by the members of the Court of High Commission in London.⁴ These Injunctions became

¹Supra., p. 14.
²Ibid.
³Printed in Arber, Transcript, I. xxxviii.
⁴Ibid., p. xxxix.
the basis of all subsequent licensing regulations throughout the period.

The next significant official pronouncement in the attempt to control the press was made in the turbulent year of 1566, when Puritan attacks on the ecclesiastical Establishment came thick and fast. In that year the following six recommendations of the Court of High Commission were approved by the Privy Council:1

1. No person shall imprint or import unlawful books.
2. Offenders shall suffer the loss of all books they imprint or import, shall be debarred from printing for life, shall be imprisoned for three months without bail, and shall be fined £10.
3. No person shall bind, stitch, sew or sell illicit books upon pain of forfeiture and a fine of £1 for every book.
4. All unlawful books shall be brought to Stationers' Hall and there destroyed and the fines shall be divided between the Queen and the person who informed the authorities or who seized the books.
5. Wardens shall be empowered to search for offenders in any 'suspected places within this Realme' and to bring them before the Court of High Commission.
6. All Stationers shall enter into recognisances to observe the abovesaid ordinances. 2

In the same year, on November 21, a Bill "to avoid divers seditious Bookes", possibly drafted by William Lambarde, author of the Perambulation of Kent, had its first and only reading in the House of Commons. 3 The Bill was directed against literature that would "lett in a maine sea of wantonnes," and would "sett up an art of making ungodly love amongst the subjects of this Realme." The author pointed out in the preamble that the source of trouble was the covetousness of certain booksellers and the desire of authors and translators for "glorie or gaine."4 There were, of course, the usual proclamations against heretical and seditious books and proclamations against heretical and seditious books as in the previous reigns. One issued on March 1, 1568/9, forbade reading, keeping or dealing in any unlawful books and ordered all persons who might possess any to turn them in to the Bishop of the diocese or Ordinary

---

1 See G. R. Elton, The Tudor Constitution, p. 105.
2 Signed by eight of the Privy Council "at the Staree Camber" on June 29, 1566, Broadside No. 57 in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London; printed in Arber, Transcript, I. 322.
4 Ibid.
of their place of residence within twenty-eight days.\(^1\) This proclamation was published in that restive period just before the outbreak of the Rebellion of the North and was primarily aimed at the writings of the English Roman Catholic exiles which were being dispersed at this time.\(^2\) A further proclamation against Roman Catholic writings on July 1, 1570, followed on the heels of John Felton's arrest for hanging the Papal Bull of Excommunication on the gate of the Bishop of London's palace. It differed from the previous proclamation in that it ordered the offensive literature to be delivered up to the Lieutenant of the Shire, the Deputy-Lieutenant or the Justice of the Peace, who were then responsible to see that the literature and the relevant information given by the person who turned it in were dispatched immediately to the Queen and Privy Council.\(^3\) In November of the same year another proclamation commanded all the Queen's subjects "to employ their uttermost diligence in the apprehension of such secret persuaders of disobedience, and breakyng of lawes, and of the sowers and stirrers of sedition, and specially such as do or shall bring into this Realme any seditious booke, wyrtynge, or such traiterous devises against the lawes or government of the Realme ...."\(^4\) A letter from the Privy Council to the Stationers' Company in 1570 placed the responsibility squarely on the officers of the Company for seeing that all publications were duly authorized and henceforth only by the Privy Council or the Court of High Commission, of which the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were members.\(^5\)

Until 1573 the Roman Catholics were the only religious group to be singled out and condemned in official statements for disseminating offensive literature. On June 11th of that year, however, they were joined by the Puritans when a proclamation carried the Queen's condemnation of the Admonition to the Parliament and all other books "agreeable therewith". It concluded with the following order: "Hir highnesse straughtly chargeth and commaundeth al and every Printer, Stationer, Booke bynder, Marchaunt, and al other men of what qualitie or condition he or they be, who hath in theyr custodie any of the sayd

---

\(^1\) Hughes and Larkin, op. cit., II. 312.  
\(^2\) See Southern, Elizabethan Recusant Prose, pp. 542-543.  
\(^3\) Hughes and Larkin, op. cit., II. 341.  
\(^4\) Ibid., p. 347.  
bookes, to bring in the same to the Byshop of the diocesse, or to one of her hyghnesse privie Counsel, within twentie dayes after that he shal have notice of this Proclamation, and not to kepe any of them without licence or allowance of the sayde Byshop, upon payne of imprisonment, and her highnesse further displeasure.\textsuperscript{1} But the proclamation seems to have had little affect on the Puritans as they continued dispersing their writings, finding printers ready and willing to work for them either at home or abroad.

One form of Puritan and Roman Catholic attacks was writing against leading personages in Church and government. On September 17, 1573, Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper, wrote to Lord Burghley and mentioned that the Queen had read certain "lewd" libels against certain members of the Privy Council "with grete myslykyng," and now wished for a proclamation in order to suppress them. Presumably this was a reference to the proclamation of September 28, 1573,\textsuperscript{2} which condemned the slanderous attacks upon two members of the Council. Three years later, on March 26, 1576, a similar proclamation was issued against "certaine infamous Libels full of malice and falshood spread abroad, and set up in sundry places about the Citie and Court ...." It went on to offer rewards for information leading to the apprehension of the authors of the offensive literature: £40 if the informer is "under the degree of a Gentleman"; £100 if he is a gentleman. Once again an appeal was made for the delivering up of the libels. This time they were to be handed over to the Lord Mayor of London, or "to some speciall officer of London, or of any other Towne where such shall be found." If found in or about the Court, they were "to be secretly brought to some of her Majesties Councellers, or other her faithfull servants attendant about her Person, upon paine, that if any bee found remisse herein, then the same to receive such like punishment" as would be meted out to the Author of such Libels.\textsuperscript{3}

Aside from the problem of heretical and seditious literature, the ecclesiastical authorities were continually being accused of turning a blind eye to the lighter and more popular publications which, said their critics, seriously threatened to corrupt the morals of the nation. "Whosoever will set pen to paper now a dayes," wrote

\textsuperscript{1}Hughes and Larkin, \textit{op. cit.}, II. 375.


\textsuperscript{3}\textit{Ibid.}, II. 400.
one critic, "how unhonest soever, or unseemly of Christian cares, his argument be, is permitted to goe forward, and his work plausibly received, friendly licensed, and gladly imprinted, without any prohibition or contradiction at all."\(^1\) It was with these "frivolous" and "wanton" books and pamphlets in mind that William Lambarde, drafted in 1577 and revised in 1580 "An Act of Parliament for the Establishment of the Government of the English Print."\(^2\)

Lambarde proposed to set up a governing body of eight members consisting of the Dean of St. Paul's in London, the Dean of St. Peter's in Westminster, the Dean of the Arches, the Recorder of London, and two lawyers from each of the four principal Inns of Court. Henceforth every work to be printed, according to this Act, would have to be approved and licensed by at least three of the above mentioned, of whom one had to be the Dean of St. Paul's, the Dean of St. Peter's or the Dean of the Arches. Offenders were to be harshly dealt with and both Stationer and bookseller, as well as printer, were to be held equally responsible: a fine of £20 and the loss of all benefit from such privileges and grants that they might have; and "thenceforth for ever disabiled, and utterly Debarred, to exercise (otherwise then as a meniall servaunte to any other) any of the trades of printing, binding or selling of Bookes." Furthermore, it would be lawful for any person or persons to seize and to keep any literature printed contrary to these regulations. Works exempted from the "Act" were those licensed by the Archbishop and those works printed officially by the Queen's Printer. Although this draft was never enacted, yet it is interesting to notice that it reflected the increasing demand in English society for more lay participation in ecclesiastical functions. When he revised an earlier draft of the "Act", the author struck out the Bishop of London and inserted a

\(^1\)P. Stubbes, The Anatomie of Abuses....(1595), sig. T2. First edition printed in 1583. Conditions had not improved, according to one writer, by the end of the century: he appealed to the publishers and printers of "idle, fruitlesse, filthie and wicked bookes" to cease forthwith and reminded "the grave and reverend fathers" who license such books "how much it tendeth to the dishonour of God, whose glorie they are appointed to set forth, and to the disgrace of the Church whereof they are overseers." Translator to the Reader in P. Merlin, A Most Plaine and profitable Exposition of the Booke of Ester....(1599), sigs. A5-A5v.

\(^2\)Lansd. MS. 43, Art. 76, fol. 187; printed in Arber, Transcript, II. 751-753; see also Greg, A Companion to Arber, p. 20, for an earlier draft of this Act.
lay officer, the Dean of the Arches. At this time John Aylmer was Bishop of London and no friend of the Puritans, while Edmund Grindal was Archbishop of Canterbury whose archiepiscopate was fondly referred to by one Puritan as "a golden time, ful of godly fruit ...." The author's revision would certainly have been approved by the "more forward" Protestants.

In addition to the problem of trying to cope with the increasing amount of "wanton woorkes", the early 1580's saw the authorities grappling with the dangers posed by Separatist publications. The two leading Separatists at this time were Robert Browne and Robert Harrison, and on June 30, 1583, a proclamation was issued against their writings. In comparison with the proclamation against the Puritan writings ten years before, this was most severe and uncompromising --- similar in terms to the one against the Roman Catholics in 1570. It described their writings as containing "false, seditious, and scismatical doctrine and matter," while it depicted them as "lewde and evill disposed persons," "evil spirits" with "malicious" dispositions. It commanded that "from henceforth no person or persons whatsoever, be so hardy as to put in print or writing, well, set forth, receive, give out or distribute any more of the same or such like sedicious bookes or libels, as they tender her Majesties good favour, and will answere for the contrary at their uttermost perils ...." The penalties for disobedience, the proclamation warned, "her Majestie myndeth to have severely executed."

It is quite possible that the circulation of the Separatist writings, along with Catholic propaganda and such scurrilous attacks on members of the Privy Council as Leicester's Commonwealth (1584), led to the initiation in Parliament at this time of two government bills designed to tighten control of the press. At the end of session of the Parliament of 1584-85 two bills concerned with printing were introduced. The first may well have been promoted by the Stationers' Company as it seems to have been designed "to preserve the priveleges of the company of the printers and the prerogatyf of her ma[jes]tes patents" and to suppress those who infringed them. An added incentive for the Stationers to promote such a bill was the fact that

---

1 Greg, A Companion to Arber, p. 20.
3 See supra., pp.105 ff.
4 Greg, A Companion to Arber, p. 139; Neale, Elizabeth and her Parliaments, 1584-1601, p. 94.
most of the Puritan and all of the Separatist literature was printed abroad. Consequently, distribution of such literature in England deprived the Stationers of a potential market for their publications. The wording of the bill, however, made it possible for one to interpret it as an anti-Catholic or anti-Puritan measure. As one member rather cryptically put it to the Speaker: "I heard a good old Parliament-man say once, that many penal statutes are very like unto nets, which being made to catch crows, do often times take pigeons."¹ The Commons displayed instant hostility and the bill seems to have progressed no further.²

The second bill was designed "for the punyshement of such as mak or dysperse Books & libells to [the] Slander off the government & Justyc of the Realme."³ The bill was introduced on March 17, 1585, and contained three clauses dealing with the writing, printing, importing, selling or dispersing of any "Book Ballet or libell" that slandered the government, the established Religion or laws, or any member of the Privy Council. For those slandering the government, the penalty would be felony without benefit of Clergy; for those slandering the established religion, praemunire for the first offence, treason for the second if the work was in English; and for those slandering a member of the Privy Council, the penalty would be imprisonment for life and a fine at her Majesty's pleasure. Once again the Commons realized that this bill could be used just as effectively against Protestants as well as Roman Catholics and rejected it on its first reading.⁴

The failure of the ecclesiastical authorities and the Stationers' Company to have their powers of censorship and control of the book-trade confirmed and furthered by acts of Parliament in 1585 quite probably led to the Star Chamber Decree of 1586, the greatest enactment concerning the press for the next fifty years.⁵ It seems certain that the Stationers' Company was at least involved, if not jointly responsible with the ecclesiastical authorities, in the drafting of the Star Chamber Decree. The financial records of the Company state

¹Ibid., quoted on p. 94.
²Ibid.
³Notes in the hand of Attorney General Popham, S.P. Dom, Eliz. I. Vol. 176, art. 34; printed in Greg, A Companion to Arber, pp. 36, 138; see also Neale, Elizabeth and her Parliaments, 1584-1601, p. 95.
⁴For similarities between this bill and Lambarde's draft, see Greg, A Companion to Arber, pp. 39-140.
⁵Arber, Transcript, ii. 807.
that the sum of £34 was "receaved by way of Contribucon of certen of the Cumpanye toward the charges of suynge out of the newe Decrees of the starre Chamber was agreed upon by order of Courte as by the Clerkes booke appeareth ...."¹ Those who contributed were those who would benefit most from the Decree — the patentees and their assigns.²

The Decree itself began by stating that though many previous decrees and ordinances had been published against trade in illicit literature "yet notwithstandinge the saide Abuses and enormyties are nothing abated: but (as it is found by experience) doe rather daylye more and more encrease ...."³ For this reason the Queen directed the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Privy Council to take steps for the "spedye and due reformacon" of the booktrade. The Decree consisted of nine clauses, the gist of which was as follows:

**Inventory of Presses:**

1. Master printers were ordered to submit an inventory of their presses and materials to the Master and wardens of the Company within ten days; those who failed to comply with these instructions would have their presses and other instruments "utterly defaced and made unserviceable for ymprintinge forever And shall alsoe suffer Twelve monethes ymprysonment without Bayle."

2. No presses were to be set up outside of London and its suburbs, except one each in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; all were to be openly displayed and accessible to the officers of the Company, and offenders were to be punished as in Clause one with the additional punishment of being "disabled forever to keepe any pryninge presse or other instrument for pryntinge, or to be master of any pryntinge house, or to have anye benefytt therebye, other than only to worke as a Journeyman for wages."

3. No new presses were to be erected (this included presses erected within the past six months) until the number of master printers had diminished to a total the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London considered satisfactory for the needs of the country; when and if the Master and wardens of the Company consider the appointment of another master printer necessary, then they were to call a meeting of the Court of Assistants and choose a skilful and well-behaved candidate suitable "to have the charge and governement of a Presse or prynting houose," and within two weeks of his election the Master, wardens and no less than four Assistants were to present him for final approval to six or more members of the Court of High Commission, of which the Archbishop of Canterbury or Bishop of London had

¹Ibid., I. 518, 524.  
²Ibid., III. 17; Blagden, The Stationers Company, p. 72.  
³S.P. Dom., Eliz. I, vol. 190 Art. 48; printed in Arber, Transcript, II 807-812; see Greg, A Companion to Arber, p. 41, for location of other copies of the Star Chamber Decree.
to be one; only the Queen's printer was to be exempted from this procedure; and punishment for offenders was to be the same as in Clause one.

Licensing of Books:

4. No books were to be printed without the proper licence as required by the Queen's Injunctions of 1559, i.e. the approval of the proper civil or ecclesiastical authorities, with the exception of the Queen's printer's official publications and the books of Common Law allowed by the Chief Justices of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, or two of them; and no books were to be printed contrary to royal Letters Patent or to the ordinances of the Stationers' Company; offenders were to receive the same punishment as in Clause two, except with a shorter term of imprisonment of six months.

5. Booksellers and bookbinders convicted of handling books printed contrary to the above regulations would suffer three months imprisonment.

Enforcement of Decree:

6. The officers of the Company were to have authority to search the premises of any member of the booktrade, to carry away books printed contrary to the Decree, to seize printing materials, and to bring the offenders before three or more members of the Court of High Commission, one of whom had to be the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London.

7. The officers of the Company were to have authority to seize and to bring to Stationers' Hall presses and printing instruments, there to deface them and render them unserviceable, and to return them to the owner within three months.

Number of Apprentices Limited:

8. From henceforth the number of apprentices employed by masters would be limited: three for those who had served as Master or Upper Warden; two for those who had served as Under Warden or were Liverymen; and one for members of the Yeomanry providing they were not journeymen; 1 special consideration was given to the Queen's printer who was allowed six apprentices.

9. The printers at Oxford and Cambridge were to be allowed one apprentice each, but they were also permitted to engage the assistance of as many journeymen who were free of the City of London as they desired.

Although this decree was the most effective enactment devised in the Elizabethan period, yet secret printing continued though on a lesser scale and other measures were taken to control the press. The most notorious case of secret printing in the Elizabethan period, of course, was the Marprelate affair and that began just two years

1The Company had come to this decision four years earlier. Blagden, The Stationers' Company, p. 72.

2For cases of secret printing after 1586 involving Ward, Stafford, Venge, and Danter -- all Stationers -- See Liber A, fol. 74; Greg and Boswell, op. cit., pp. 34, 42, 56.
after the great decree of 1586. In 1589 proclamations appeared ordering the destruction of the Marprelate tracts.\(^1\) Six years later, on March 20, 1595, the Court of High Commission wrote to the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company that "whereas ... divers copies bookes or pamphlettes have ben latelie printed and sett to sale, some conteyning matter of ribauldrie, some of superstition and some of flatt heresie, by meanes whereof the simpler and lesse advised sorte of her maiesties subiects are either allured to wantonnes, corrupted in doctrine or in daunger to be seduced from that dutifull obedience which they owe vnto her highnes ...." From henceforth, the letter continued, "any booke copie or pamphlett whatsoever to be printed" must first be subscribed in handwriting by the Arch¬bishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London.\(^2\) Another restrictive measure was taken on June 1, 1599 when Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Bancroft of London ordered the Stationers' Company to see that no "Englishe historyes" are printed without license by some of the Privy Council and no plays without the approval of "such as have authortytie."\(^3\)

The attempt to control the press in the Elizabethan period took various forms: by the Stationers' Company charter, by royal proclamations & injunctions; by parliamentary bills; and by decrees from the Privy Council and Court of Star Chamber. The guiding hands behind most of these measures were the church hierarchy, the Privy Council, and the Company of Stationers. As the reign progressed, these parties drew closer together in their efforts to control the press, culminating in the Star Chamber Decree of 1586. This Decree put more power into the hands of the Company and of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London to control the illicit trade in books than they had ever before wielded. By the last decade of Elizabeth's reign the control of the Protestant press was firmly in the grip of Archbishop Whitgift and Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London.

Control of the Elizabethan Press: Enforcement

It was one thing to draft decrees and issue proclamations in order to restrict the illegal printing and publishing of Protestant literature. It was another to implement them, and in Elizabethan

---

\(^1\)Highes and Larkin, *op. cit.* III, 34.

\(^2\)Liber A, fol. 67v.

\(^3\)Arber, *Transcript*, III. 677.
England there was many a slip betwixt law and its enforcement. In practice control of the press took various forms: the licensing of books by ecclesiastical and civil authorities and officers of the Stationers' Company; the granting of royal letters patent for the printing of single works and whole classes of books; the restriction of the number of master printers; and the day-to-day surveillance of the book trade.

Licensing

Until the appearance of Luther's writings in the early 1500's in England, there was no need for permission to print. From then on official licensers were appointed from time to time: the Privy Council in 1538; the King or six of the Privy Council in 1551; the Queen or six of the Council, or any two of the following: the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, the Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, and the bishop and Archdeacon of the place of printing in 1559; the Privy Council or Court of High Commission in 1570; the Chief Justices of Queen's Bench and Common Pleas and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer (for licensing in their special provinces) in 1586; and finally the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London in 1595. There were other licensers, however dubious their official standing. Throughout the period, though much less after the Decree of 1586, the Master and Wardens of the Company often gave permission to print. On June 3, 1588, the Clerk at Stationers' Hall recorded the "names of Certen p'chers [and others] whome the Archbishop of

1 A. W. Pollard, "Regulation of the BookTrade In the Sixteenth Century," op. cit., p. 41.

2 See supra., pp. 269-71.

3 In 1634 Archbishop Laud appointed Sir John Lambe to be one of the "Commissioners concerning the Printers of London," and in that capacity Sir John compiled notes on the practice of licensing of books. His notes contain the testimony of Felix Kingston, Master of the Company at the time, that before the Star Chamber Decree of 1586 "the master and wardens licensed all, And that when they had any Divinity booke of muche importance they would take ye advise of some 2 or 3 ministers of this towne." S.P. Dom., Charles I. Vol. 339, Art. 87; printed in Arber, Transcript III. 690; see also Greg, Some Aspects of London Publishing, p. 10.
Canterbury hathe made Choyse of to have the p[er]usinge and alowinge of Copies yt are to be printed [:] Fyrst Any one of these settinge his hand to a copie, to be suffycient Warrant for thalowance of the same to entringe into the hall booke & so to be p[re]ceded w[ith]all to printinge Viz. Dr. Cosin, Dr. Stallard, Dr. Wood, Mr. Hartwell, Mr. Gravet, Mr. Crooley, Mr. Cotten, Mr. Hutchenson, Mr. Dickens Item Any twoo of these folowinge settinge their hande to a copie to be good warrant for the purpose afore expressed Viz. Mr. Ludson. Mr. Trippe. Mr. Cole. Mr. Dickens."¹ In practice there was no distinction made between these two groups and the Company accepted the approval of any one of those named as sufficient authority for entering and printing books. Their appointment confirmed the practice of the Company of consulting clergymen in the City about questionable books, as Robert Crowley and William Cotton, rector of St. Margaret's Fish Street, had served the Company before in this capacity.² Finally, there were the chaplains to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London whose responsibilities in theory were to guide and advise their superiors regarding material suitable for the press, but whose approval in practice was accepted by the Company and by individual printers as sufficient to authorize publication.³

The kind of religious literature published, of course, tended to reflect the theological position of the Archbishop of Canterbury, even though the normal licensing channels were sometimes circumvented. Of the three Archbishops of the Elizabethan period, there is no doubt that Grindal was the most reform-minded. One method of assessing the theological impact on licensing is to notice the published writings of Puritans and Continental reformers, excluding clandestine publications,⁴

¹Greg & Boswell, op. cit., p. 28.
²Arber, Transcript, II. 403, 409; see also Greg, Some Aspects of London Publishing, p. 52.
⁴Since much of the puritan literature was published without license and since they often used dedications and prefaces in translations of the reformed divines as vehicles of propaganda, a more accurate assessment of the theological bias of the licensing authorities will be obtained by noticing the amount of literature produced by both Puritans and continental reformers.
each year for the years 1570 - 1590, a period that includes the closing years of Parker's archiepiscopate, all of Grindal's, and the opening years of Whitgift's. While the Archbishops respected and admired the Reformed divines, they had reservations, but Grindal least of all. The graph on the following page shows that, just as Protestant publications surged ahead in Edward's reign and fell back again under Mary, Puritan and continental reformist writings leapt forward during Grindal's administration and declined under Whitgift. In the overall output of religious literature, as can be seen on page 309, the peak in 1581 under Grindal was not reached again until 1590 when anti-Catholicism was still running high after the Spanish Armada.

There was another way of getting a work licensed for printing other than going to the official licensers or their chaplains, that is, by dedicating it to a prominent and reputable personage, particularly a member of the Privy Council. John Marbecke, for example, requested his dedicatee, Lord Burleigh, that if he accepted and thought his work worthwhile, then by his "Lordshippe's licence and favourable protection" he would commit it to the press.1 In a letter to Burghley, Thomas Lupton requested that his book be licensed, adding that if "you allowe yt, yt wylbe auctoryzed, yf you doo comend yt, yt whilbe confyrmed, and if you doo prayse yt, yt will be practised."2 Again Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, concluded his dedicatory epistle to Sir Francis Walsingham with the following request:

Wherefore to take my leave of you (good M. Secretarie) with the same regard wherewith I first begunne, my sute is, that according to the perfect trust, which I repose more in you then others, according to the sounde conceit which I have had, and not without good reason of your knowledge

---

1 The lyves of holy Sainctes .... (1574), sig. A3v.
2 On the back of the letter, it was endorsed "to allowe of a booke he hathe dedicated ... for ye good of ye Common wealth."
Number of works by Puritans and Continental Reformers

1570 - Years - 1590
and abilitye to judge, and by the frendly zeale which I professe, and ever will perfourme unto your selfe, that it will please you to vouchsafe this full discourse against false Prophecies and Prophets, the running over and perusing with a single ele, and thereupon to adjudge it either to the flame, or to the print, as it seemeth best in your opinion. 1

Then there was also Robert Humston who, at the behest of his friends, consented to put a sermon he had preached in print but only to the condition that his dedicatee, the Bishop of Norwich, would first "censure" it, "confirming it to the presse, or commaunding it to sylence...." 2 None of these works were entered in the Stationers' register, and seem to have been printed on the strength of the dedicatee's approval.

Theoretically Lord Burghley, and Sir Francis Walsingham, according to the Queen's Injunctions of 1559, could only license books as members of the Privy Council and at that there had to be at least six Councillors. 3 With regard to Humston's request of the Bishop of Norwich, the Queen's Injunctions explicitly state that books could only be licensed by the Bishop of the place of printing in conjunction with the Archdeacon or Ordinary. In fact the Injunctions of 1559 empower nobody to license individually but the Queen herself "by expresse wordes in writyinge." 4 Although in theory only

---

1 A defensative against the poyson of supposed Prophesies....(1583), sig. *9.
2 A Sermon Preached at Reyfham ....(1589), sig. A5.
3 Regarding Christopher Barker's license to print the Geneva version of the Bible, the records of the Stationers' Company state: "Whereas Christopher Barker citizen ... of London hathe obteyned a grant and licence in writing under the hands of seven of ye Queenes most honoroble privie counsell according to hir highnes Injunctions, for ye printinge of ... ye Geneva Byble ...." Liber A (Stationers' Hall Archives), fol. 27.
4 See supra., p. 269. An interesting example of a translator (V. Skinner) using a dedication to a prominent personage in order to avoid censure can be found in the translation of Consalvius Montanus' A Discovery and plyne Declaration of sundry subtill practises of the Holy Inquisition ....(1569), sig. A2v. Referring to the first edition of this work in 1568, (without dedication), the translator wrote in his dedication to Archbishop Parker, "since understanding that some maliciously bent against the truth, redier to cover the shame of their Idall (a straunge unnaturall tyrant) then to provide and helpe to the defence and safety of their owne naturall countrey, did not onely at the first seeke to supprese it, but others also have of like malice bene as impudent to discredit the report, as their confederates are cruell in other partes with displaed banners to maintaine and practise the deede, I have thought it convenient at this second impression to dedicate the same booke ... to your grace as chiefe of a contrary commission [that] ... it might, under the
the official civil and ecclesiastical authorities were empowered to license books, yet there seems good reason to believe that there was little risk for a printer to accept a book that had been approved by such eminent personages as Lord Burghley, Sir Francis Walsingham, or the Bishop of Norwich — especially when this power was exercised with impunity by the Master and Wardens of the Company and even by individual clergymen appointed by the Archbishop.1

To get his manuscript printed, then, an author had to secure licence from the civil or ecclesiastical authorities, whose power was either de jure or de facto. Against books printed without licence, and which contained nothing offensive to the authorities, no action it seems was taken to suppress them.2 On the other hand, there is the example of Sir John Smith's unlicenced book on the use of military arms being seized after printing and suppressed. Sir John offended the Queen in his work on military matters by casting aspersions on men "of greater account than himself." In giving the Queen's reasons for suppressing this book, however, Thomas Heneage, the vice-chamberlain, emphasizes the point that it "may breed moch question and quarrell' and only refers to the fact that it was printed without licence, it seems, as an afterthought.3

Even books that were authorized sometimes created difficulty for those involved. Adding dedications and prefaces to manuscripts after they were approved was a current practice which got at least one licenser into trouble. Samuel Harsnett was chaplain to the Bishop of London and when presented with John Hayward's essay on Henry IV,

authority and name of your grace ... be recommended to the reading and consideration of many, and have the more credit agaynst the malicious practises of the adversaries." See also Adam Hill's The Defence Of the Article ....(1592) sig. A3v, for a similar request in a dedication to Archbishop Whitgift.

1 That Lord Burghley's approval was sufficient for the printing of a book is again clear from a letter to him from Sir John Smith on March 12, 1591/2 asking for his licence to print two books: "incase that you doe allowe them that then your Lp. will confirme the same with some three or fower wordees to the printer written in each first leafe of those bookes ...." Lansd. Ms. 69(56). fol. 127; supra., p. 189.

2 Usually the Stationers' Company fined the printer a relatively small sum. See supra., p. 201 for John Day being fined 12 shillings, on one occasion, and five shillings on another, for printing "without license."

3 Heneage to Cecil, May 4, 1590, Lansd. Ms. 64(43). fol. 105. For a letter which reveals Sir John's animosity towards the Earl of Leicester, the late favourite of the Queen -- and perhaps the reason for the Queen's sensitiveness about Smith's book -- see Smith to Cecil, May 20, 1590, Lansd. Ms. 64(45), fols. 109-110.
he gave it rather hasty approval (he admitted that he read only one page of it.). The main problem, however, was that Hayward added a dedication to the Earl of Essex after it was approved, just before the ill-fated return of Essex from Ireland, which aroused suspicion and had, for some people, political connotations. The end result was that the author, Hayward, and the printer, John Wolfe, were imprisoned. Wolfe confirmed Harsnett's testimony that the dedication was added later and Hayward protested that his book only treated "generally of histories and intended no particular application to present history." ¹ There are other examples of prefatory material being added to manuscripts which had already been licensed. When John Foxe was approached by an author and printer to write a preface for their publication,² he remarked that the work had no need of further commendation since it already was "assigned and sufficiently authorized" by the Bishop of London.³ This loophole in the licensing laws, together with slackness in licensing as illustrated in the case of Samuel Harsnett, helps to explain the publication of pamphlets and books containing Puritan propaganda and yet obviously officially authorized.⁴ It was not until 1637 that the complete printed work -- "all and every the Titles, Epistles, Prefaces, Proems, Preambles, Introductions, Tables, Dedications, and other matters and things whatsoever thereunto annexed" -- had to be approved before license was granted.⁵

There were licensers, however, who diligently attended to their responsibilities. The translator of Philippe de Mornay's The True knowledge of a mans owne selfe (1602) complained to his dedicatee that a book he had written was still unlicensed due to "misinterpretation

²The practice of the author and printer consulting with each other and then deciding upon an appropriate dedicatee or public figure to write a foreword seems to have been common. John Wolfe testified that he and Hayward decided upon Essex, "he being a martial man." S.P. Dom. 275(28).
³See Harl. Ms. 416, fol. 145. for preface drafted by Foxe.
⁴See for example W. Chauncie, The Rooting out of the Romishe Supremacie ....(1580), sig. A4, a work ostensibly written to refute the supremacy of the Pope but which states clearly in the dedication that its aim is "the utter rooting out of the usurped Romish Supremacie out of all the Church of Christe, chiefly out of this Church of England ...." W.W. Greg, "Samuel Harsnett ...." p. 8.
of the worke by some in authoritie." Nevertheless, he was optimistic since "it being againe restored me, shall shortly come to aunswer for it selfe." Martin Marprelate, in his caustic style, also voiced his impatience with the licensing authorities, particularly with Dr. Wood (included in the group of licensers appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury). Before Robert Waldegrave could have a catechism printed, wrote Marprelate, "it must be authorized by the Bb. either Cate. or London/ he went to Cant. to have it licensed/ his grace committed it to doctor Neverbegood(Wood) he read it over in halfe a yeare/ the booke is a great one of two sheets of paper. In one place of the booke the meanes of salvation was attributed to the worde preached: and what did he thinke you? he blotted out the word (preached) and would not have that word printed." Censorship was sometimes applied even after printing as in the case of Hayward's "Henry IV." Although a later edition was suppressed, all except five or six hundred copies of the first edition were allowed to be sold having the offensive dedication simply cut out.

On the other hand, the authorities could be quite tolerant. The Common places of Christian Religion ....(1563), by Wolfgang Musculus, for example, contained opinions which were not strictly in keeping with the practice of the Church of England and yet was licenced for publication. The authorities apparently felt that an "Admonition to the reader" would be sufficient safeguard for the spiritual welfare of the public. The admonition is unsigned but might have been written by Archbishop Parker, or someone assigned by him, as he is the dedicatee:

Whereas this Author hath plainlie and learnedlie set out the substance of the doctrine which is avouchable by Gods worde, with the forme of celebration of the Sacraments moste agreeable to the practise of the primitive churche, which yet in Rites and Ceremonies is not so precislie to be folowed ....And whereas this author expresseth some perticularities, not agreeable to the usage of this our Churche of England .... So is it fit for thee (good Englishe Reader) to be an obedient subiecte to all orders prescribed unto the[e] in this Realme where thou dwellest, whatsoever difference thou maiest reade in writers uttering their opinions which for their countries seeme moste convenient, and be so practised in the same.

---

1 Sig. A5. The translator is only identified as "A.M." Credited to Anthony Munday in STC 18163.
2 M. Marprelate, The Epistle ...., sig. E2v.
3 S.P. Dom. 275 (28).
4 Sig. *4v.
Similarly in Martin Luther's commentary on Galations, an epistle "To the Reader" by Bishop Sandys of London explained that not only would he "allowe of it to the print, but also ... commend it to the Reader ...." A few pages later, the translators minimize the difference in doctrine between Luther and Anglicans: "though his doctrine as touching a little circumstance of the sacrament can not be throughly defended, yet neither is that any greate marvell in him, who being occupied in weightier pointes of religion, had no leisure to travell in the searching out of this matter, neither ought it to be any pre-judice to all the rest which he taught so soundly ...." Notwithstanding, the reader is exhorted to "take the best and leave the worst (although there is no such matter in this booke to be feared, forasmuch as we having a respect to the simple have purposely spurged out and omitted such stumbling places, being but few, which might offend)." Thus the licensing authorities practiced a policy which was by no means inflexible and control of the press, even at its most rigid under Whitgift, could not be described as completely effective.

After a manuscript was licensed, the owner then decided whether to enter it in the Stationers' Company register for a small fee. The decision to enter it seems to have been left entirely to the discretion of the stationer. Entrance in the register was not to legalize printing and publishing but only to safeguard copyright. On August 1

1 M. Luther, A Commentarie Of M. Doctor Martin Luther upon ... Galathians .... (1575), sig. *2, *5.
2 Before 1578 the fee usually was fourpence but in that year it was raised to sixpence. Arber, Transcript II. p. 12.
3 The petition for relief of Richard Robinson, intended for Queen Elizabeth but presented to King James after her death, contains a carefully compiled list of all his works, the persons by whom they were licensed and to whom they were dedicated, and the printers who published them. It is evident from Robinson's statement that non-entrance of a work in the Stationers' register did not mean surreptitious publication, for twelve of the nineteen books listed were not registered but were duly licensed by the authorities. B.M. Royal Ms 18A. lxvi, fols. 5-8 (printed in Studies In Philology, Oct. 1924, Vol. xx1, 629-48); W.W. Greg, "Richard Robinson And The Stationers' Regis-ter," The Modern Language Review, Vol. 50, p. 411; C. J. Sissons, "The laws of Elizabethan Copyright: the Stationers' View," The Library, Ser. 5, Vol. 15, 1960, pp. 8-21. Sissons, basing his conclusions upon a case tried in the Court of Chancery, stated that entry in the register was not to legalize printing and publishing but for safeguard of copyright, and that entrance of a book was at the will and choice of the stationer. For differing opinions of the significance of copyright, see G. Pollard, "The Company of Stationers before 1557" and "The Early Constitution of the Stationers' Company," The Library, Ser.
1597, the Clerk entered the following: "Whereas John Legat has printed at Cambridge by Authoritie of the universitie there a booke called the Reformed Catholike: This seid booke is here Registered for his copie so that none of this Company shall prynt yt from hym." Refusing to accept just Legat's word, however, he added, "provided that this entrance shalbe voyd yf the seid booke be not Authorised by the seid universitie as he saieth it is."\(^1\) Nor did the Clerk always accept without question all endorsed manuscripts as adequately licensed. When he entered the works of Flaveus Josephus for Simon Waterson, Peter Short and Thomas Adams on June 26, 1598, he stated clearly that it would "be their Copie to printe" after they brought "better and sufficient authority for yt."\(^2\) With regard to "the ballad of the tydinges and apparition" brought to him by George Shawe, he seemed to absolve himself of all responsibility for it: "entred for his Copie at his owne perill by warrante from master Warden Man."\(^3\) An exception was made for books from "beyond the Seas." Apparently it was a Company rule that nobody could claim exclusive copyright for reprinting them.\(^4\)

### Granting of Royal Letters Patent

The granting of "privileges" or the exclusive right to print or publish a certain book or class of books, although motivated primarily for economic reasons, was in effect another measure of press control. A privilege granted to a patentee was done so on the grounds of his ability and integrity and consequently books falling within his privilege were licensed in advance. Therefore, the fact that one patentee was responsible for the publication of certain religious works (Bibles, Books of Common Prayer, Primers, Catechisms, etc.) for example, reduced the scope of books to be scrutinized by the authorities and made control of the press that much easier.\(^5\)

---

4, Vol. 18, pp. 1-38, 235-260 (asserts that publication was necessary to establish copyright firmly); W.W. Greg, "Entrance, License, and Publication," ibid., Ser. 4, Vol. 25, 1944-45, pp. 1-22 (maintains that licenses to print and entries in the register were the sole basis of copyright); L. Kirschebaum, "The copyright of Elizabethan Plays," ibid., Ser. 5, Vol. 14, 1959, pp. 231-250 (claims that publication alone established copyright).

\(^1\) Arber, Transcript, III. p. 88.

\(^2\) Ibid., p. 119.

\(^3\) Ibid., p. 91.

\(^4\) Greg and Boswell, op. cit., p. 54.

\(^5\) Arber, Transcript, III. 16-17.
The practice, however, created some problems in the book trade. When the granting of these exclusive rights led to hostile actions by the unprivileged stationers, Christopher Barker suggested that "more power might be given, yea and strict commandement also, to the Master, the wardens and assistantes of the Stacioners, to oversee and correct the negligence, aswell of printers priviledged, as not priveledged."¹

Of such patents granted for the printing of Protestant religious literature, the main ones were Christopher Barker's for Bibles and the Book of Common Prayer,² John Day's for the ABC with the Little Catechism,³ and William Seres" for Primers and Catechisms for children and books of private prayer.⁴ There were also licences granted for particular books that were limited to seven or ten years, such as John Bodleigh's for the Genevan edition of the Bible in English for seven years, and Thomas Vautrollier's for certain Latin works, which included Beza's Novum Testamentum, for ten years.⁵ Most of these patents were lucrative and, consequently, the patentees kept close watch on the types of books being printed and were quick to aid the authorities in tracking down secret printing presses, especially those which infringed their patents.⁶

Restriction of the number of printers

Limiting the number of printers by restricting the occupation of printing to members of the Stationers' Company of London and to

¹Ibid., I. 144. For a discussion of the controversy regarding book patents, see ibid., II. 14-21; W.W. Greg, Companion to Arber, pp. 117-122. The whole controversy seems to have been one of the factors influencing the authorities in drafting the Star Chamber Decree of 1586. An interim measure, however, seems to have been taken on July 31, 1584. Written into the records of the Company as "The copie of ye order of my L. maior Between ye coinpanye on the one ptie and the patentees on the other ptie," it ordered the bringing in of books which had infringed upon patents to be marked, it permitted the owners of these books to sell them but made them enter into bond of £5 each on condition that they desist from printing books covered by patents or grants, it promised that the Master and Wardens of the Company would find employment for printers complaining of "wante of worke," and it concluded by directing the Master and Wardens to tighten the Company's regulations with regard to apprentices. Liber A, fol. 46v. This "order" from the Lord Mayor seems to have been overlooked by Arber and Greg in their discussions of the controversy.


⁶See supra., p.215 for John Wolfe's activity in this regard.
holders of royal letters patent also served as an effective check to trade in illicit books. The Company's charter of 1557 contained this stipulation and, in effect, it made London the exclusive centre of printing in England for the following twenty-five years.¹ But as time passed even this regulation had to be tightened as the number of printers greatly increased. The problem is reflected in the figures for Stationers' apprentices in the first two decades after the Charter: 310 for the years 1557-1566 and 363 for 1567-1576.² It is even more apparent in the number who gained their freedom of the Company in the following periods: 1557-1566 there were 82 and in 1577-86, just before the great Star Chamber decree, this had increased to 195.³ Remedial steps were taken in the decree of 1586. From this date, printing specifically was limited to London and its suburbs and the number of apprentices restricted. The decree further ordered that "no Prynter, nor other person or persons whatsoever ... shall hereafter erect or sett up any presse or other instrument of pryntinge, tyll the excessive multytude of Prynters havinge presses already sett up, be abated, dyministed, and by death gyvinge over, or otherwyse brought to so small a number of maisters or owners of pryntinge houses, being of abylity and good behavyour, As the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London for the tyme being shall thereupon thinck requisyte and convenyent for the good service of the Realme ...."⁴

To become a master printer involved a somewhat complicated procedure, at least after the decree of 1586. It seems to have involved the following steps: succession to the "place" of a master printer (i.e., to the right of being a printer), succession to a particular business (which might be only the goodwill and copyrights of previous owner), and succession to a printing shop. The candidate, who had to be "skilful and well-behaved," was then elected by the Court of the Stationers' Company. Within two weeks of his election, the Master and wardens and no less than four Assistants were to present

¹See supra., p.15 Presses were set up in Oxford and Cambridge in the early 1580's.
²Blagden, op. cit., Appendix I, p. 284.
³Ibid. There is no record of those gaining their freedom in the years 1571-1575.
him for final approval to six or more members of the Court of High
Commission, of which the Archbishop of Canterbury or Bishop of
London had to be one.\(^1\) In May 1583 there had been twenty-three
master printers and fifty-three presses; and in July 1586, just after
the decree, there were twenty-five master printers with fifty-three
presses.\(^2\) From 1586 to the end of the reign there were no more than
twenty-five master printers at any one time.

**Surveillance of the Book trade**

As in almost all aspects of government, so in the control of
the press the influence of the Privy Council predominated. This was
not less true with regard to surveillance of the book trade. The
Council received information regarding illicit books and pamphlets
from many quarters and acted promptly by sending directives both to
ecclesiastical and civil authorities. Although the latter could act
on their own initiative, yet much of their activity was prompted by
the Council. Leaving London primarily to the Bishop of London and
the Wardens of the Stationers' Company, the Privy Council concentrated
on co-ordinating the campaign against the printing and peddling of
offensive literature in the country.

The main concern of the Council was to stop the printing, im-
porting and distribution of seditious and heretical books. The
task of tracking down a secret printing press was difficult enough in
the city of London -- with all the expertise of the Stationers' Com-
pany at hand; it was even more difficult in the countryside. For
this reason the Council made use of the local inhabitants. On March
31, 1573 the clerk of the Council was instructed to write a letter to
Sir John Spencer and Sir Robert Lane requesting them "to make inquirye
for a booke likely to be printed in the countie of Northampton, an
aunswer against Whitegifte's booke, to committ the principal doers to
prison, to send up some of the books and to advertise what they
finde."\(^3\) Similarly, when it was brought to the Council's attention
that the Family of Love was flourishing in the counties of Suffolk,
Norfolk, Cambridge and Ely in 1580, the Privy Council ordered the
Bishop of Ely, "calling unto him for his better assistaunce the Lord
Northe, Sir Francis Hinde, Mr. Hutton and Mr. Greenham, preachers,"
to enquire diligently within his diocese "what persones are affected

\(^1\) For an example of the use of this procedure in Thomas Orwin's case,
see Greg and Boswell, op. cit., pp. xl, 28; Arber, Transcript, II. 809/
\(^2\) Ibid., p. xxxix (footnote).
\(^3\) APC., viii, 93-4.
that waie or have anie bookees published for the maintenance of that doctrine, and to deale with them ...." The same instructions were sent to the Bishops of Norwhich and Winchester with the names of four or five local residents they should call upon for assistance.

The cause célèbre of the period was the secret printing of the Martín Marprelate pamphlets. The tracking down of the Marprelate press has been recounted elsewhere. Here it is sufficient to notice that the Privy Council was in close touch with developments in the affair. Shortly after Hodgkins, the printer, and his helpers, Sims and Tompkin, had been arrested (on August 14, 1589) and interrogated by the Earl of Derby, the Council committed them to Bridewell and instructed Fortescue, Master of the Wardrobe, Rookesby, Master of St. Katherin's, and the Recorder of London, to examine them "upon such interrogatories as they shall thincke meet for that purpose." If they refused to confess, they were to be put "to the torture."2

On September 1589 Lord Burghley received a report entitled "Breife instructions towching the Printer and place of Printinge the. 3. first bookes of Martin ...." Sir Richard Knightly and a gentleman, Roger Wigston, were implicated in it.4 The Council acted on November 16 by selecting the Bishop of Rochester, Lord Cobham, Lord Buckhurst, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Vicechamberlain, Mr. Secretary, Sir John Perrot, Mr. Wolley and Mr. Fortescue, to examine Knightly, Wigston, and anybody they might implicate, and to report back to the Privy Council. The end result was that Sir Richard Knightly and Roger Wigston were tried in the court of Star Chamber on February 28, 1588/89 and found guilty. Knightly was fined £2,000 and Wigston 1,000 marks and both were imprisoned at her Majesty's pleasure.6

Secret printing presses operated by radical Protestants were

---

1 APC, xii, 231-33, 317; see supra, pp. 77ff for literature of the Family of Love.
2 APC, xii, 232-3.
3 Ibid., xviii, pp. 59, 62; see supra., pp. 100ff.
4 BM, Ms. Lansd. 61(22); printed in Arber, II. 816-7.
5 APC, xviii, 225-6.
6 Ms. Class A. 1090. 8. p. 206. (Caius Coll. Cambridge), printed in State Trials, pp. 1265-71; BM, Ms. Harl. 2143. fols. 48v-49. For another person, Elizabeth Carleton, accused of harbouring the Marprelate press before the Privy Council and later convicted in Star Chamber and fined £500, see Attorney-General vs. Elizabeth Carleton, P.R.O., St. Ch. Proc. 5. A30/32 (Feb 11 32 Eliz.); and for other Protestant secret presses, see supra., pp. 233ff.
only one side of the problem; surreptitious printing by Catholics was the other. A secret press operated by Catholics, apparently used by Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons, was discovered at Lady Stoner's house in August 1581 near Oxford in Oxfordshire.1 Another was uncovered in Shropshire during the autumn of 1590. It was set up in a cave and operated, it seems by William Hanmer, who subsequently escaped from the local authorities. Hanmer was probably a relative of, if not the same person as, John Hanmer of Flintshire who was accused of delivering "papisticall bookes to his kynred in the contrey" in a secret report to Sir Francis Walsingham on May 12, 1586.2 And then in the summer of 1601 Henry Oven, a Catholic printer, and his assistants John Vincent, Richard Davies and John Bird, "men that had bin practized in the printing and publishing of certaine seditious bookes," were apprehended by Walter Chetwin, gentleman, on their way to Ireland.3 Oven had been imprisoned more than once for printing "popish books" but during his last term of imprisonment, according to William Jones, a Puritan printer, he escaped and fled to Staffordshire and continued his illegal activities. Apparently when it got too hot for him to remain in Staffordshire, he decided to make his way to Ireland.4 There were at least four or five other printers convicted of printing Catholic literature: John Danter, discovered using two presses to print a Catholic psalter and "other things without aucthorite; " Edward Alide, found printing a "popishe Confession;" Edward Jarret, apprehended while printing "papisticall" books on William Wrench's press, which Jarret pretended was his own,5 and William Carter, who had been imprisoned several times for "printing of Lewde pamphlettes," was then caught with "other naughtye papystycall Bookes."6

The illicit literature coming off the secret printing presses was augmented by the importation of Puritan and Papist propaganda from the continent and Scotland.7 The early years of the reign had

1 APC, xiii, 154, 186, 264.
3 APC., xxxii (1601-1604), 85.
6 B.M. MS. Lansd. 28 (81); Arber, Transcript, II. 749-50.
7 See supra., p. 258 for discussion of Puritan publishing in Scotland.
witnessed sufficient activity in this regard to move the Queen on January 24, 1565/6 to place responsibility for supervising the entry of books into the ports upon the Bishop of London. The Queen directed the Bishop as follows:

We have gyven order to our high treasourer of England, expressly by our letters, that he shall suffer suche one or mo persons of discretion, as you shall appointe for this purpose, to resorte to our custome house of London, as any ship or vessell shall come in from tyme to tyme, and ther to syt with our customers and other of fycers for the serche and perfecte understanding of the state of suche bookes, and as any shalbe founde, to be brought to your handes.

Notwithstanding this delegation of authority to the Bishop of London, the Council still kept a watchful eye on the importation of books. On December 13, 1576 a letter was drafted to Lord Cobham instructing him to keep a sharp watch for "diverse Popishe bookes and tromperies" which might be brought into England from Louvain and Douay and to "give order that diligent regard and searche might be had." Again, when it came to the attention of the Council that an Irishman named Edward Burnell had been apprehended at Canterbury for bringing into the realm "sundrie books and munimentes of supersticion," on June 8, 1578 it directed the Lieutenant of the Tower, Thomas Randolph and Thomas Norton, to examine him and "chiefflie to learne what is become of a fardell appointed to be delivered at the howse of one Hitchcocke, at the signe of the Fryer at Billingsgate, out of the boat of one Cuppmaie, and thereof to advertise their Lordships with dilligence." And on July 8, 1597 Richard Carmerden reported to Lord Burghley that, according to his instructions "to look narrowly after all books that come from foreign parts and to stay those he thinks not fit to pass," he had "stayed a barrel of books from Zealand" and is keeping them in her Majesty's storehouse, "although it is already full of the like."

Although the long arm of the Council seemed to reach into all parts of the kingdom, it was unable to stem completely the flood of

1 Queen to Lord Treasurer Winchester, Jan. 24, 1565/6. S.P. Dom. Eliz. I, Vol. 39, art. 18 (printed in Greg, Companion to Arber, p. 114); Queen to Bishop of London, Jan. 24, 1565/6. Strype, Annals of the Reformation, p. 529. Although signed in the Queen's name, these letters were probably drafted by Sir William Cecil as most of the interlineations are in his hand.
2 Ibid.
3 APC, ix (1575-1577), 248.
4 Ibid., x(1577-8), 246.
5 B.M., MS. Lansd. 84 (29). fol. 64.
illicit literature from "beyond the seas." Preventive action was often called for. On March 11 1600/1, a letter was drafted to Mr. Gilpin, government agent in The Netherlands, informing him that there were "printed of late in those partes by the meanes of some Englishmen of factious humour a great nomber of bookes touching the succession to this Crowne" which are intended to be sent to England and "dispersed amongst such as are curious of noveltyes." Gilpen was asked to discover the printer, "and those Englishemen that did sett him on worke and were privye thereunto," and seize and suppress the books.1

Three months later, the Council took steps to prevent trouble arising from another quarter. It informed the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company that Bonham Norton and John Norton, citizens and stationers of London, were planning to infringe upon Robert Barker's privilege to print English Bibles and had already procured the services of Andrew Hart, an important Edinburgh bookseller and printer, to send English printers to Dort "for the imprintinge of the English Bible and other priviledged bookes there." To the Council, however, this was not the primary concern. Its major consideration was the fact that "it is not unlikely but that those printers at Dort (beinge persons, as is informed, of the most disordered an worst disposed sorte) may also attempt to publish lewde and seditious bookes or pamphlettes, a matter very meete to be looked unto and prevented." The Master and Wardens, therefore, were ordered to call the Nortons before them and "take their aunswere thereunto in writinge and to certifie the same unto us, that we may thereupon take such further order with them in this behalf as we shall finde cause."2

Books coming across the border into England from Scotland, especially in the later years of the reign when the Presbyterian party was in the ascendant in Scotland, further compounded the problem of illegal importation of literature. Two notorious offenders in this regard were the Puritans John Penry and Robert Waldegrave. As noticed in the previous chapter, after their involvement with the Martin Marprelate affair, Penry and Waldegrave fled to Scotland and continued their offensive against the

1Ibid., xxxi (1600-1), 216.
2Ibid., xxxii (1601-04), 14.
established Church.  

If the offensive literature could not be seized at the ports, or otherwise hindered from entering the country, the next step was to stop its distribution amongst the populace. In their attempt to accomplish this, the authorities cracked down on persons engaged in the illicit booktrade. The offenders fell into three main categories: the "contact-man" in England, the colporteur, and the reader. The "contact-man was the person who received the literature and passed it on to the distributor, but sometimes one person fulfilled both responsibilities. For example, James Watson, a merchant of South Shields (a port immediately south east of Newcastle), who traded with the merchants of the Hanseatic League in France, was discovered importing "seditious booke in trunkes and farthels" and secretly conveying them to the house of his brother William in South Shields. From there they were carried, presumably by horse and cart, hidden under fish to Newcastle and received for distribution by John Jackson, "a decaled merchant of Newcastle," and a circle of conspirators. Likewise, on May 28 1592 the Privy Council directed a letter to Clement Banks and Thomas Hurst, citizens of London, informing them that there were "divers traiterous and seditious booke brought into this realm by most lewd persons who, the better to coller their yule doinges, doe use to bring them wraped upp amongst marchandizes and after to disperce the same to bad and evell disposed persons ...." Banks and Hurst accordingly were authorized to search all vessels that "arrive into any porte of this realme." In two other instances the "contact-men" were from London, one a "woolen draper" and the other a tailor. The tailor, whose name was Jones, "had brought over certen booke and letters from one Veale" and conveyed them to "the howse of Burre and Babham of Ham." 

On other occasions offensive literature was brought into the country hidden amongst the personal luggage of travellers. Gabriel Coleford, for example, on his return "from the partes beyond the seas," brought with him "divers packettes of sedyicious booke" and

---

1See supra., pp. 258ff.

2APC, xxi, (1591), 420-1.

3Ibid., xxii (1591-2), 486.

4Richard Carmanden to Lord High Treasurer, July 8, 1597. Lansd. 84(29). fol. 64; APC, ix (1575-1577), 35, 37-8.
was committed to prison. He subsequently confessed that his instructions were to deliver the literature to "one Faulkes, a taylor in Fleet Street, where they were founde."\(^1\) Robert Stokes testified that he brought about two hundred Separatist books from Dort to England concealed in his "clokebag".\(^2\) It was precisely for this reason that the Council ordered that all passengers arriving at the port of Harwich from foreign places were to be searched for "letters, booke and suche lyke" and their business and destination in England discovered.\(^3\)

The risks taken by the distributors of the literature were as great, if not greater, than those taken by the "contact-men". The latter had to get past the authorities at the port of entry; the former had to be continually on the alert as he was exposed to numerous persons. In the Autumn of 1580 Arthur Blincow was brought before the Bishop of London and accused of being a "carier and distributer of lewde and Popishe bookees."\(^4\) Again, when Edmund Snape, a Puritan minister of Northampton, suspected or was informed that his house would be searched by the authorities "for bookees notautorized," he immediately "caried divers sortes of such bookees to one George Bevis a tanner, desiringe him to lay them up in some secret place." The danger averted, Snape returned for his books, but left about twenty-five for the tanner to sell, presumably as his reward. Snape was later apprehended and charged with, among other things, receiving and distributing seditious literature.\(^5\) In the Marprelate affair, according to the depositions of Peter Gray, Henry Sharp and Laurence Wood, it fell to Humfrey Newman, a London cobbler, to be "the dispersar of the Books." Wood testified that Newman paid him to collect a "packe of leather, at the Sarazins Head in Friday Street," but which turned out to be a pack of books that came from Warwick to Banbury and from there to London. He knew then that Newman was a "disperser" of Martin Marprelate's books.\(^6\)

---

1\(^{APC, xxvi. (1596-7), 10.}\)
2\(^{J.P. Collier (ed.), The Egerton Papers (1840), p. 174.}\)
3\(^{APC, xiii (1581-2), 300.}\)
4\(^{See ibid., xii (1580-1), 235, for Privy Council's request for explanation from Bishop of London after Blincow was released.}\)
5\(^{B.M. Ms. Lansd. 64 (16). fol. 53; for the proceedings against Snape et al. in Star Chamber, see P.R.O., St. Ch. Proc. 5. (33 Eliz.) A39/23, A 27/33, 49/34.}\)
6\(^{B.M., Ms. Harl. 7042. fols. 10-11; MS. Lansd. 61(22); Arber, Transcript, II. 816-7.}\)
For some distributors the risks were indeed great. On June 4, 1583, Elia Thacken and John Copping were hanged at St. Edmonsbury, Suffolk, "for dispersing Robert Browns book against the Common Prayer."¹

In their campaign against the trade in illicit books, the authorities reached into the homes of persons suspected of reading and possessing unlawful literature. When it was discovered that John Stow, author of the Survey of London, possessed a copy of a manifesto on behalf of the Duke of Alva circulated by the Spanish Ambassador, he was brought before the Lord Mayor on February 17, 1568/9 and then before the Master and Wardens of his own Company of the Merchant Tailors. Four days later his house was searched by the Bishop of London's chaplain, Thomas Watts, and a number of Catholic books and manuscripts discovered. On February 24 the Bishop sent a list of thirty-eight books and manuscripts to the Privy Council with the note "thatt ye maye better understande the disposition off the sayd Stowe." For some reason nothing came of this matter and apparently no action was taken by the Lord Mayor, the Company, or by the Council.² The search of Stow's house was not an isolated case. Numerous others could be cited. For example, the Council authorized John Crooke, esquire, Justice of the Peace in the county of Buckingham, to search the houses of George Browne, Robert Atkins and Henry Ferris, for "papers and writings, libels and seditious booke;" when the lodgings of Anthony Atkinson and Thomas Atkinson and the house of Gilbert Wilkenson were searched and "seditious and slaunderous writings" discovered, the Privy Council appointed a committee "to peruse the said writings, and to select such as may conceerne their lewd and scandalous disposicions, and to certifie us of the same;" and Simon Drinkwater, John Hunt, and John Lyon, butcher, were committed for trial in June 1586 for possessing "unlawfull" books.³

In all of these regulatory and restrictive measures that were often instigated and supervised by the Privy Council, the Wardens of the Stationers' Company played an important role. Upon their shoulders rested responsibility for the internal affairs of the Company and of

¹BM, MS. Lansd. 808. fol. 66.
²BM, MS. Lands. 11 (2-5), fol. 4; Arber, Transcript, I. 393-4; Greg, Companion to Arber, p. 11. Stow might have convinced the authorities that these works were necessary for his manuscript.
³BM, MS. Lansd. 160. fol. 230; APC, xiv (1586-7), 144, 210 (for other references see ibid., xiii (1581-2), 149-54, 163, 171, 184-7, 197, 201, 253, 298-9, 301, 362, 403, 433, 437).
its external relationship to the City Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, and to the Privy Council.\(^1\) The Wardens were at the beck and call of each of these.\(^2\) By virtue of the power vested in them by the Charter of 1557, they could search the premises of any printer, bookbinder, and bookseller whom they suspected of illegal practices. As the reign progressed the powers of the Wardens increased. The Privy Council decrees of 1566 further empowered them to search "in anie ports, as other suspected places within this Realme, to open and view all packs, drifats, maunds, and other things, wherein Bookes or Paper shall be conteined, brought into this Realme ...."\(^3\) And the great Decree of 1586 authorized them not only to search but to seize and deface printing presses and materials belonging to illegal practitioners.\(^4\)

That the Wardens used these powers, there is no doubt. There is ample evidence of their activities. For example, in November 1565, armed with a warrant from the Bishop of London, the Wardens searched the premises of the booksellers in St. Paul's churchyard for "bokes of corrupte doctrine."\(^5\) In 1572, the Wardens mounted a vigorous hunt for the authors and printers of the Puritan pamphlet An Admonition to the Parliament and were referred to in subsequent Puritan writings as "certaine persecuting printers", and Day and Toy were named in a piece of doggerel which began with the printers thanking God for deliverance from the "searchers rod".\(^6\) On September 3, 1576, the Company became more systematic in approaching its "watchdog" role by appointing twenty-four printers to search in pairs the premises of London printers and to submit weekly reports as to what was being printed and for whom, and the number of apprentices, journeymen and presses employed.\(^7\) The Wardens were

---

\(^1\)Arber, Transcript, I. xliv.

\(^2\)For instructions to the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company from Archbishop Whitgift (30 Aug. 1591, 11 June 1597), Bishop of London (10 Nov. 1565), Court of High Commission 2 Dec. 1584, 20 Mar. 1595), Privy Council (8 Sept. 1570), Lord Mayor (1 March 1575), see Liber A. fols. 64, 68, 9, 45, 67v, 180v; London Corporation Records, Repertory 18, fol. 350, Arber, Transcript, II. 747.

\(^3\)See supra., p. 270.

\(^4\)Supra., p. 272.

\(^5\)Liber A, fol. 91


\(^7\)The weekly search apparently ended on Jan. 11, 1585/6 when 28 printers were appointed to search "as often as nede shall require." Arber, Transcript, II. 41, 42.
instrumental in tracking down the secret press of William Carter, a Catholic printer, by identifying his books and "certayne other newe formes of letters [i.e. type] which he hath made" in 1579. On April 16, 1588, the house of Robert Waldegrave was searched and his printing press and equipment seized at the direction of the Wardens. He was convicted of printing without authority and contrary to the decree of 1586 and consequently his "presse letters [type] and printinge stuffe" were ordered to be defaced and the offensive books burned. The records of the Stationers' Company indicate the feverish activity of the Wardens in trying to locate the fugitive Marprelate press -- expenses being claimed for no less than four searches from April 12 to June 10, 1589. John Penry complained that one of his writings, though "allowed to be printed by publike authority," was called in by the Archbishop and about five hundred copies "were fastened upon by the wardens of the Stacioners, M. Bishop and Denham." And when Archbishop Whitgift received information that an offensive writing by the Earl of Essex, then in disgrace, was about to be printed, he ordered the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company to make inquiries. Their investigation uncovered both the press and the printers, "the press being in one Dawson's house, and his two servants the printers."

In all activities involved with surveillance of the booktrade, the Privy Council stood at the centre receiving and digesting information from all parts of the country, and issuing directives sometimes to local dignitaries, sometimes to ecclesiastical and civil authorities, and sometimes to the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company. To say this is not to overlook the many occasions the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Court of High Commission, and the Stationers' Company, acted on their own

---

1BM, MS, Lands. 28 (81); see also Arber, Transcript, II. 749-50, and Greg, Companion to Arber, p. 20.
2The offensive book was John Udall's The State of the Church of England .... Greg and Boswell, op. cit., p. 27.
3Arber, Transcript, I. 528.
4J. Penry, Th'Appellation of John Penri .... (1589), sig. A3v.
5Salisbury Papers x. 142; Sidney Papers, ii. 193;
initiative in combating trade in illicit books. Nevertheless, all were accountable to the Council and open to its criticism. When the Bishop of London, for example, licensed a book by John Nicols which the Council considered "light matter and tending nothing or little to edification," he was told abruptly "to use hereafter more circumspectnes, and not to trust to muche to the censure of his chaplaines."¹

¹APC, xiii (1581-2), 199-200; for another example, see pp. 156-7 when the Council ordered the Bishop to revoke a pamphlet published with his license.
CHAPTER X
CONCLUSION:
THE IMPACT OF THE PRESS ON ELIZABETHAN SOCIETY

Any assessment of the impact of the Elizabethan Protestant press upon English society must take into consideration (1) the literacy (i.e., ability to read English) of the population, (2), the availability of printed literature, (3) the relative novelty of printing, and (4) the power of print media. While acknowledging that such an undertaking is fraught with difficulties for the historian since the cause and effect relationship in public reaction is difficult to plumb at the best of times, an examination of these four aspects of the problem will shed more light on the relationship between the printing press and English Protestantism.

Literacy

Due to the piecemeal nature of the sources, quantitative certainty is out of the question when dealing with population and literacy. Yet there are grounds for some assumptions. That reading in English was an art widely disseminated in Elizabethan England is well-founded assumption based on available evidence. In fact, there are indications that this was the case during the reign of Henry VIII. Bishop Nix of Norwich complained in May 1530 that "divers" in his diocese were openly reading heretical books printed in English, especially the merchants and dwellers on the seaboard. When King Henry ordered a Bible in English "set forth to be read in all churches in England" in 1538, "divers poor men" in Chelmsford, Essex, bought the New Testament and on Sundays "did sit redinge in the lower end

of the church and many would floke about them to heare theyr redinge." In all probability, poor men having the ability to read in English would not have been confined to Chalmsford. In fact the "petty" schools made the teaching of literacy available to the bulk of the population in the sixteenth century.2

Furthermore, indications are that it was not uncommon in King Henry's reign for girls to be able to read in English. While it seems that girls did not attend the grammar schools, except in isolated cases, both sexes went to the petty schools where they learned to read English. Many were taught by private teachers.3 That girls also should be taught in the vernacular is not surprising. Printing had imputed an aura of sacredness around the vernacular by the fact that the first books printed in the vernacular were largely Bibles and religious literature. To deny girls the opportunity to learn to read was to deny them access to the fundamental teachings of the Christian faith.

Girls would grow up to be mothers, and mothers, at least in the middle and upper classes, were expected to read the Bible to their children and to conduct family worship when their husbands were not at home.4 On these occasions the mother would be responsible for the worship of the whole household, including servants and apprentices. It is quite probable that the average Elizabethan middle-class woman could read and teach members of her household both the rudiments of learning and religion.5 To help fulfill this religious duty, printers were more than willing to provide them with the necessary manuals of instruction. Catechisms were manifold and the best known was The ABC with the Little Catechism which included the

1Schofield, op. cit., p. 313.
2Stone, op. cit., p. 42
4In 1596 Josias Nichols urged four "sorts" of people to use his An Order of Household Instruction (1596). Included with the nobility, university tutors, and schoolmasters were all women, regardless of social rank, but especially ladies and gentlewomen. Sigs. B8-C1v.
5L. B. Wright, Middle Class Culture . . . ., pp. 106-107.
alphabet, prayers, the catechism and other religious teaching. A good example of publishers' reaction to the demand for this type of literature can be seen also in *A bryefe and necessary Catechisme or Instruction. Very neede-full to be knowne of al Householders....* (1577). This catechism contained the alphabet in upper and lower case letters (e.g., Aa, Bb, etc.) and in various kinds of type. It also included the vowels and numbers 1 to 20 in Roman and Arabic. It illustrates well the efforts being made to teach illiterates elementary reading in order that they might grasp the basics of the faith. Thus, teaching the rudiments of religion in effect meant teaching the rudiments of learning. So it is not surprising that publishers were quick to satisfy the demand: the greater the number of readers, the larger the market for their products. That they were helping to spread and establish Protestantism was icing on the cake.2

Due to the combined impact of the spirit of religious reform sparked by the Reformation, the strengthened vitality of the vernacular because of the sacred appeal translations of Scripture had given to it, and the vested interest of printers and publishers both religiously and monetarily, the ability to read English was widespread in the middle and upper ranks of society and not uncommon in the lower ones by the Elizabethan period.3 As early as 1533, Sir Thomas More thought he had grounds for claiming literacy for more than half the population of England: "if the havyng of the scripture in englyshe be a thyng so requisite of precyse necessitee that the peoples soules should needes peryshe but If they have it translated into their own tongue; then must these the moste part perishe for all that, excepte the preacher make farther provision besyde, that all the people shall be hable to reade it when they have it, of which people farre more than fowre partes of all the whole divided into tenne coulde never reade englishe yet, and many now too olde to begynne to goe to schole." This might well be "alarmist nonsense," yet More's

---

1 See *supra.*, pp. 157-159 for discussion of catechisms.
2 See *supra.*, p. 200 ff for expressions of piety by printers and publishers.
4 Quoted in Adamson, *op. cit.*, p. 171. Adamson conjectures that More's statement would indicate a reading population of some one and a half to two million readers. If one uses the various estimates of the Elizabethan population, from four to seven millions, then the figures for the period would fall between two and three and a half million
point was that a great number of people still could not read. If the population was overwhelmingly illiterate, it is strange that his estimate was so low. One would expect such approximation to be exaggerated in the interest of making a point. The most that can be said about More's statement, however, is that one intelligent individual thought that over half the population could read English in 1533. But it can be stated unequivocally that by the outset of the Elizabethan period more people than ever before could read English. "The short-lived educational boom of the previous eighty years helps to explain many things about the course of the Revolution of the 1640's" claims Lawrence Stone. "The increase of literacy made possible the intensive bible-reading which helped to generate extreme religious enthusiasm, the flood of pamphleteering which had such important effects in mobilizing opinion, and the emergence for the first time in history of genuinely radical ideas about equality and democracy."2

The importance of publishing in English was reflected in the substantial number of translations available throughout the Elizabethan period and the number of translators whose efforts appeared in print. An examination of 304 translations revealed that they were the work of 160 translators. With regard to frequency of publication, the breakdown was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translators of 1-2 works (including multiple editions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 &quot; 3-4 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 &quot; 5-6 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &quot; 7-8 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 &quot; 9-10 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 &quot; 11+ &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL 160

304

The large number of translators of one or two works consisted mainly of efforts by theology students, the nobility (e.g. Catherine Parr, Queen Elizabeth, Sir Philip Sidney, Lady Anne Bacon), the Gentry and the clergy -- in short, efforts by those with time on their hands and a yen for translating.3 That so many dilettantes saw their works in print


1Stone, op. cit., p. 42.
2Ibid., p. 78.
3See Bibliography III for works arranged according to translators.
again indicates a demand for vernacular literature and a readiness on the part of the publishers to meet that demand. The other twenty-seven translators who had three or more publications were almost all churchmen, and at least twelve were Puritans. However, the top three, those with eleven or more publications, were Arthur Golding (22), Thomas Rogers (15) and Richard Robinson (14). Only Rogers, chaplain to Bishop Bancroft, was a clergyman. Golding describes himself as "gentleman" and in 1563 was receiver for his nephew, Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. Robinson was a freeman of the Leathersellers' Company but best known as a hack writer. Another notable example of a layman making a significant contribution to English literature by his translations was Thomas Norton (8), translator of Calvin's Institutes, a lawyer and M.P. for Catton in 1558, for Berwick in 1562, and for London in 1571 and 1580. These efforts of publishers and translators illustrate well the demand for literature in English.

Availability

It was one thing to be able to read; quite another to be able to buy reading material. However, the spread of the acquisitive free enterprise spirit picked up momentum during the Elizabethan period, and it was clearly evident in the book trade. The quarrel over patents and pirating of books reveals the extent to which some printers would go to satisfy consumer demand. To stimulate this demand prices were set at relatively low levels. Throughout the reign, the price of ordinary books remained fairly constant at approximately one halfpenny per sheet. That meant that a pamphlet consisting of twelve sheets (about 90 pages in 4to, or 180 in 8vo) cost sixpence. Most of the religious pamphlets were of those sizes and that price. Exceptions must be made for books with pictures,

---

1 See supra. pp. 200, 213 for discussion of pirating and patents.
3 Of 2703 publications, 859 were in quarto and 1501 in octavo. The other sizes were less popular and were as follows: 36 in single-sheet folio; 69 in folio; 151 in duodecimo (12 mo); 82 in sextodecimo (16 mo); 2 in vicesimo-quarto (24 mo); 3 in tricesimo-secundo (32 mo).
illustrated books (75 to 100 % higher than other books with the same number of sheets), music books, poetical works by well-known authors, and law books. All the latter cost considerably more than one half-penny per sheet.¹

The fact that the great bulk of religious literature was printed in inexpensive pamphlet form indicates that the publishers saw a viable market in the lower economic mass of society. Catechisms, works of devotion, books of prayers, religious controversies, all were put within reach of the poorer classes. When John Stockwood learned that his publisher, John Charlewood, intended to reprint his catechism for the third time, he decided to peruse and abridge it because "not a fewe of the poorer number, with whome ... a penie or two pence, is a great deale of money, did repine and grudge at the charges." The end result was that the abridged catechism went on sale at half the original price.² It is worth noting that Stockwood and his publisher were sensitive to the reaction of such people to whome "a penie or two pence" was a "great deal of money". So too were the publishers of clandestine radical literature. One of Martin Marprelate's tracts sold for 9d and one of Barrow's or Greenwood's works for 8d.³ Significantly, Marprelate makes a point of scorning Bishop John Bridges' defence of the Established Church because it cost seven shillings to buy.⁴ Again, John Penry's pamphlet against Richard Bancroft's famous Paul's Cross sermon was priced at 4d while Bishop Bilson's Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion (1586) sold for 4s. 4d. or 3s. 10 d. unbound and Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity (1593-1597) for 6s. 6d unbound.⁵ There is no doubt that the literature of radical Protestants was more accessible to the masses than that of the Establishment. The folies of ecclesiasticism stood little chance against the pamphlets and sheets of the radicals.

¹Johnson, op. cit., pp. 90-91. See also Greg and Boswell, Records...., p. 58, for ordinance passed by Stationers' Co. for Jan. 19, 1578, fixing price at a halfpenny per sheet for normal books.
²Stockwood, A Short Catchisme for Househoulders ....(1583),sigs A2-a2v.
⁴M. Marprelate, Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges/ for it is worthy worke: Or an epitome of the fyrste Booke ....(1588), sig. F4v. Bridges' work was A defence of the gouernment established in the Church of Engelande ....(1587).
Complete statistics are not available for the period regarding the amount of literature printed, but no evidence exists of there ever being a scarcity of reading material. When demand for a certain kind of work exceeded supply, it was usually a work under monopoly like John Day's ABC with the Little Catechism. And when that happened, pirated editions usually appeared on the bookstalls. It was the cheap and popular works held by monopolists such as John Day, William Seres (Primers containing the Psalter and catechisms in English with the ABC), and Richard Watkins and James Roberts (Almanacks and Prognostications) that were most vulnerable to piracy. 1 Indications of the amount of pirated literature were the cases of Abraham Veale printing 3,000 copies of Seres' book of private prayer and Roger Ward printing and disposing of 10,000 copies of Day's ABC with the Little Catechism. 2 Nevertheless, whether printed clandestinely or above board, the demand for literature seems to have been met fairly well. In fact, one contemporary lamented that "it might seeme a needless and fruitlesse thing to write boes and publishe them in these dayes, wherein are such store that nowe bookees lacke readers, rather than readers want bookees." He then justified his own action in putting yet another book on the market by saying that "although the store of bookees in our dayes is great, yet the number of them that encrease true godlimesse, is not so great, but that it may be augmented." 3

Furthermore, as the graph on the next page indicates, Elizabethan publishers capitalized on religious controversy and on political developments of national consequence. Peaks in publication were reached in 1566 (the Vestiarian Controversy), in 1570 (the Northern Rebellion), in 1580 (largely due to increase in translations of continental divines under Grindal), 4 in 1590 (aftermath of the Spanish Armada), and in 1600 (largely due to the rumours in the late 1590's of another Armada). In all of those years anti-Catholic sentiment was widespread and is reflected clearly in the literature.

Novelty of Printing

At the onset of the Elizabethan period, printing presses had been operating for less than ninety years. 5 What is more important and

---

2 See R. Lewis, "Printers and Books In Chanceney," The Library, New Ser., 10, 1909, p. 101; Star Chamber Eliz. D3/16, Daye vs. Holmes et al; see also supra, pp. 213-214 for discussion of quarrell over patents. See also Greg and Boswell, Records ... pp. 20, 34, 53, 82, for pirating of literature.
3 J. Baker, Lectures of I. B. vpon the xii Articles of our Christian faith.... (1581), sig. A2v-A3. See also R. Mavericke, Saint Peters Chaine .... (1596), sig. A3v, "many have justly complained of the multitude of vaine and wanton bookees."
4 See Graph on p. 282.
5 Supra., pp. 12-17.
No. of Publications per year
The Short-Title Catalogue (Pollard and Redgrave)
1558 - 1603

YEARS OF PUBLICATION

All kinds of publications, excluding religious literature in English

Religious literature in English
more significant for this study, however, is the fact that use of the press to reach the public at large had occurred only within the previous forty-five years or less. Caxton, for example, did not print one original work by a contemporary English author. He produced copies of existing works or translations upon request of his patrons. This kind of patronage continued to exert perceptible influence upon printers until around 1510, and an instance of it still can be found in 1530.\(^1\) That printing began in such fashion is not difficult for a twentieth century observer to understand.

Communications media such as public address systems, telephone, radio, moving films, and television began the same way, albeit a shorter period of time elapsed before mass production set in. Each was produced for a limited market until prices and demand made mass production feasible.\(^2\)

The comparison of the invention of printing with the electronic communications media is not all that far-fetched. Printing caused a revolution in the world of books that outstripped immeasurably the previous profound changes incurred by substituting the codex for the roll and paper for vellum.\(^3\) The next revolution in communications, even more far-reaching than print because of its audio-visual characteristics, was the electronic technologies developed in this century.

H. M. McLuhan, University of Toronto Sociologist and author of The Gutenberg Galaxy and numerous other works on communications media, makes a plausible claim that

> When a society is enclosed within a particular fixed sense ratio, it is quite unable to envisage another state of affairs. Thus, the advent of nationalism was quite unforeseen in the Renaissance, although its causes arrived earlier .... That every generation poised on the edge of massive change should later seem oblivious of the issues and the imminent event would seem to be natural enough. But it is necessary to understand the power and thrust of technologies to isolate the senses and thus hypnotize society .... \(^4\)

He applied this thought to the invention of printing:

> As the market society defined itself, literature moved into the role of consumer commodity. The public became patron

---

\(^2\) See H. M. McLuhan, The Gutenberg Galaxy (Toronto; University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 242, 275, for comparison of print and electronic media.
\(^4\) McLuhan, op. cit., p. 272.
It is quite easy to establish the fact that the same means that served to create the world of consumer abundance by mass production served also to put the highest levels of artistic production on a more assured and consciously controlled basis. And, as usual, when some previously opaque area becomes translucent, it is because we have moved into another phase from which we can contemplate the contours of the preceding situation with ease and clarity. It is this fact that makes it feasible to write The Gutenberg Galaxy at all. As we experience the new electronic and organic age with ever stronger indications of its main outlines, the preceding mechanical age becomes quite intelligible. Now that the assembly line recedes before the new patterns of information, synchronized by electric tape, the miracles of mass-production assume entire intelligibility. But the novelties of automation, creating workless and propertyless communities, envelope us in new uncertainties.

McLuhan's main point is that the depth of impact made by print technology on society can only be appreciated from the vantage point of the twentieth century electronic revolution of communications media. As moving films, radio and television have immensely affected societies in this century, so the printing press revolutionized the manuscript culture of the Middle Ages.

That printing had profound social effects is an observation that has long been made by historians. The problem eluding solution has been, and still is, a quantitative analysis of those effects. However, the present age is one of mass communication and what is known today about its basic effects on society can be seen at work in the Elizabethan period. So while a quantitative analysis is still unobtainable, the basic effects of the printing press, and the Protestant press in particular, can be determined with some certainty.

Power of Print

Like all systems of mass communication, there is an indoctrinative force in a print culture, and this was especially so in the religious climate of the sixteenth century. Just as actors and entertainers moved naturally into the moving film, radio and television

---

1 Ibid., p. 275.
2 John Knox observed that after Patrick Hamilton's death "the knowledge of God did wonderously increase within this realm, partly by reading, partly by brotherly conference ... but chiefly by merchants and mariners." Notwithstanding religious censorship, prohibited Protestant books were smuggled in and left their mark on the religious life of the nation. W. C. Dickenson (ed.), Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1949), Vol. 1, p. 25. See also Stone, op.cit., p. 78.
media, so the religious leaders assumed the leadership roles when there was a demand for the mass production of literature in the sixteenth century. So far the electronic media of the twentieth century has reflected, promoted and sustained a secular outlook on life. The Protestant press of the Elizabethan period did the same for an outlook on life that was religious. Religious writings were almost exclusively what was published in the first hundred years of printing in England.\(^1\) However, by the end of the sixteenth century, an increasing amount of non-religious literature came off the press.\(^2\) This development has its parallel in twentieth century mass media in that years elapsed before religious radio and television broadcasts were being widely used. It illustrates well that one constant in mass media is that "the medium is the message."\(^3\) Man responds to the medium, not vice versa, because "it is the medium that shapes and controls the scale and form of human association and action." Not that the content is unimportant: it is another medium.\(^4\)

One of the consequences of the print medium was the stimulation and growth of nationalism. This occurred because printing fostered a commercial interest in the selection of literature and, consequently, "the publisher concerned with markets began to displace the printer concerned with production."\(^5\) The market most available for exploitation, of course, was vernacular literature. The widespread dissemination of ideas, experiences and philosophical observations in the vernacular, especially in the Elizabethan period when the number of English authors increased dramatically, brought about a unity hitherto unattainable. "Closely interrelated ... by the operation and effects of typography are the outering or uttering of private inner experience and the massing of collective national awareness, as the vernacular is rendered visible, central, and unified by the new technology."\(^6\)

---

1. H.S. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1475 to 1557, p. 195.
2. Roughly one-third of the printed output. See graph above.
4. Ibid., p. 120.
The contribution of the Elizabethan Protestant press was to weld nationalism to English Protestantism. Probably the most decisive event that cultivated that relationship was the Marian persecution and the subsequent exodus of zealous Protestants out of England. These Protestants found themselves not only cut off from their native church but also exiled from their native land. Religious convictions and nationalist sentiment conjoined in a holy crusade to purge church and state of Roman Catholicism. Thomas Lever wrote as much in 1556 from Geneva:

> When as I did perceyve that my presence and preaching in Englande, should not muche profit, then did I take a long journey or pilgremage unto holie places voyde of Images, inhabited with good Sainctes nowe living, whereas in prayer untoo God, stude of the scriptures, and counselling with godly lerned men, I did ever desire and seeke some way too helpe my native countrie. And nowe truely if any man or woman belonging untoo Englande, and abyding there or elsewhere, will reade this little Booke diligently, they shall see the way howe too please God, too profit their countrie, too discharge their duetie, too conforte their consciences, and too tourne all perilous Plagues intoo plentifull provision of all thinges necessarie and commodious for their countrie (beying Christes Churche) for themselues and for all theirs. Therfore, O Englishe man envying or bating no person, high or lowe, riche or poor, but of charitle afore God wishing to every one as too my selfe, have made, dedica and sent this little booke untoo thee, as a token to witnesse my will, and acknowledge my duetie towards thee. 1

As noticed in Chapter Two most of the "anti-Catholic" literature had for its main purpose the defence and affirmation of Protestantism. Anti-Catholicism was incidental to that main purpose and arose as a by-product of it. Furthermore, Elizabethan authors who defended English Protestantism made no distinction between that and patriotism. To be English was to be Protestant and to be Catholic was to be traitorous.2 By the end of the period, the relationship was firmly cemented. Good Protestants were good Englishman. Josias Nichols exhorted mothers to nourish their children in the faith so that "they will be made strong to confound the enemies of God and their countrie."3

And in 1601 Nicholas Gibbons offered his Questions And Disputations

1Lever, A Treatise of the right way from Danger of Sinne .... (1571), sig. A5.
2See supra., pp. 47ff.
3Nichols An Order .... (1596), sig. Clv.
Concerning The Holy Scripture for "the private benefit of this my native country" because England was the "author and maintainer" of his life and labours "next under God". 1 So while the print medium and the vernacular sketched the outline of nationalism, the literary content filled out the picture and added distinctiveness. "Nationalism depends upon or derives from the "fixed point of view" that arrives with print, perspective, and visual quantification." 2

The literary content, however, or "fixed point of view," was another medium of "messages". That indoctrination of basic Protestantism had been accomplished by the end of the period is attested by the peaceful succession of another Protestant monarch, and one whose claim to the throne was not so strong as had been that of Edward and Elizabeth. There were other indications of a widespread familiarity with Protestantism by the close of the century. Just as almost every adolescent in Britain or North America is familiar with the content of the electronic media and have their favourite radio and television channels and programmes, so the late Elizabethan sermon-reading and sermon-listening public were aware of Protestant terminology and doctrine. Roger Gostwyke, translator of Amandus Polanus' work on predestination, complained with obvious exaggeration, but nevertheless an observation of a growing phenomenon, that "our daies have hatched such pregnant wits, that learning seemes to goe a begging, so that both children and chapmen, martiall and mechanicall, that never set foote within the schoole gates can as roundly talke of Predestination and universal grace, as any point in their own trade." 3 It was no wonder that both Anglican and Puritan were Calvinists: the only literature available was diffuse with Calvinism. 4 But what was so attractive about Calvinism to entice authors, translators, and printers to publish it? Why not Lutheranism? Surely the latter would have been a more productive source for a middle-of-the-road Protestantism? It was not for a lack of printed literature because Luther's literary output was prodigious. 5 But just as the

1 Sig. al.
3 A. Polanus, A Treatise ... Concerning Gods Eternall Predestination .... (1599), sig. A3.
4 Supra., pp. 141-163.
5 Supra., p. 7; John Foxe seems to be the only well-known Elizabethan ecclesiastic who was attracted to Luther. He translated one of Luther's works and contributed prefatory epistles to no less than two others. He comments rather apologetically in one: "I wyll not say this author in all points to stand upright and absolutely, as in the sacramentes ...." Luther, A Fruitfull sermon ... upon the xviii. chapt. of Mathew; also Special And Cho-sen Sermons (1578) and A Commen-tarie Upon ...
English intelligentsia preferred Erasmas to Luther in Henry VIII’s reign, they chose Calvin over Luther in Elizabeth’s.

It is worth suggesting that the systematic and orderly approach of Calvinism to Protestantism more aptly fitted the new media of print. What Walter J. Ong observes regarding the popularity of Ramist thought on the continent and in England, a phenomenon which paralleled the development of Calvinism, might easily apply to the popularity of Calvinism.¹

My own attempts to explain the appeal of the Ramist view of knowledge and of the educational process have focused in part upon the shift in sensibility marked by the development of typography. This shift brought Western man to reach to words less and less as sounds and more and more as items deployed in space. Printing made the location of words on a page the same in every copy of a particular edition, giving a text a fixed home in space impossible even to imagine effectively in a pre-typographical culture. Printing thus heightened the value of the visual imagination and the visual memory over the auditory imagination and auditory memory and made accessible a diagrammatic approach to knowledge such as is realized in the dichotomized tables which often accompanied the typographical treatment of a subject at the hands of Ramists and, to a lesser extent, of their contemporaries. Typography did more than merely "spread" ideas. It gave urgency to the very metaphor that ideas were items which could be "spread".²

Between 1543 and 1650, some 800 editions of Ramus and his literary associate Omer Talon were in circulation on the Continent and in England. "The general pathway of this diffusion has been well known," writes Ong. "It proceeds chiefly through bourgeois Protestant groups of merchants and artisans more or less tinged with Calvinism."³

The "fixed point of view" that comes with print, however, could not only be collective but also individual or both leading

Psalmes (1577). In the Puritan pamphlet A Pleasant Dialogue, Betweene a Souldior of Barwicke, and an English Chaplaine (1581) by Anthony Gilby (?) Lutheranism is listed with atheism and papism as enemies who "strive against us fainte souldiours, hoping for the victory." Sig. Blv


²Ibid., p. 167.

to a clash of thought and diversity of outlook.¹ In this respect, a divisive influence pervaded the medium of print. Paradoxically, it unified and diversified society. Christopher Hill suggested that "the puritan movement ... is always groping towards a form of organization which will fulfill the functions of a political party, to remake society as God wished to see it."² The printing press offered the Puritans the most tangible instrument in their effort to realize such an organization. It confronted them with the opportunity to fix their viewpoint in black and white and to have it mass produced. Chapters Three and Eight indicate clearly that the Puritans were among those most aware of the propaganda potential in the printing press. That it was the works of Puritans that were most often reprinted suggests that, in addition to the attention controversy usually attracts, they possessed a competence with the printed word lacking in their opponents.³ The end result was that it vastly increased the number of like-minded people and broadened the base for a Puritan organization. To Lawrence Stone's three sources of early seventeenth century radicalism, outlined in his important article on "The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640" (Past and Present, 1964), must be added the impact of the Protestant press. Dr. Patrick Collinson has ably traced the rise and fall of the Presbyterian organization in his The Elizabethan Puritan Movement. Significantly enough, he begins the section entitled "The Grand Design" with a chapter on the "Book" of Discipline. Non-conformity went hand-in-hand with the medium of print.⁴

The printing press instigated other developments which had divisive effects on Elizabethan society. It increased the powers of the central government by forcing it to become involved in mass communication. The incorporation of the Stationers' Company on May 4,

⁴See Chapters 3, 4, and 8 for the use made of the press by the Family of Love and Separatists.
1557 has been described by W. W. Greg as a "master-stroke" of Tudor politics. It effectively restricted printing to the city of London for most of the Elizabethan period and placed at the disposal of the government a willing instrument to control the printing press. Control tightened as the reign progressed and the Stationers' Company figured prominently in all of the major decrees issued to that end.¹ So efficient had the authorities become that by the fifteen nineties there is little trace of clandestine printing by radicals in England with most of the offensive literature originating in Scotland and Middleburg.²

F. S. Siebert pointed out in Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Controls that the Tudor policy of strict control of the press inevitably led to "a large increase in the powers -- executive, legislative, and judicial -- of the Council (or Privy Council) at the expense of both Parliament and the older courts, but to the distinct advantage of the crown."³ A good example of that development is the increasingly repressive role played by the Court of High Commission during the late 1580s and 1590s and its jurisdiction in cases of printing and publishing offensive religious literature.⁴ The Acts of the Privy Council (Vols. 7-14, 16, 18-19, 21-22, 14, 26-32) is replete with instances of the Council's increasing involvement in the booktrade, almost exclusively with religious literature, and clearly shows its dominance by the end of the period.⁵ Referring to the Act of Uniformity of Elizabeth in 1559 and to its prescription of the 1552 Prayer Book for use throughout England and to the Book of Homilies issued in 1562

¹See supra., pp. 298ff. See Innis, op. cit., p. 170, for discussion of the increase in power of the executive in comparison with the legislative branches of government following the use of radio. A more up-to-date example is the use of television currently being made by U.S. Presidents and the Prime Ministers of Britain and Canada.

²The case of William Jones is an exception. See supra., p. 242.


⁴The Elizabethan representatives of authority in literary censorship were the Privy Council and Court of Star Chamber, the Court of High Commission, the Stationers' Company, and the City Corporation. P. Sheavyn, "Writers and Official Censors under Elizabeth and James I," The Library, New Ser., 8, 1907, p. 134. See also C. Hill, Society and Puritanism, p. 502, and supra., pp. 269, 277.

⁵See supra., pp. 291ff.
to be read in every pulpit, McLuhan concludes that "their content is not our concern, but rather their being uniformly imposed on the entire public. By making the vernacular a mass medium, print created a new instrument of political centralism previously unavailable." However, to the Prayer Book and Book of Homilies must be added proclamations, Paul's Cross sermons, pamphlets supporting government policy, and commissioned replies to attacks on government policy and the established Church in order to realize the full extent of Elizabethan government use of the press.

While on the whole unifying society along general lines, e.g., a sense of nationalism, acceptance of Protestantism and an established Church, the printing press encouraged the growth of individualism. As Protestantism did away with the confessional, making every man his own priest, so the printing press broke the Church and library monopoly of books, allowing every reader to be his own teacher. As mass production of the electronic media enables the illiterate to pronounce his judgment on the referee's handling of the F. A. Cup Final or the Prime Minister's latest defence of his anti-inflation policies, so the portability of the book enabled readers to peruse, ruminate on, assimilate, and form their own opinions on a vast array of topics.

Book production, moreover, brought together people of various occupations. Books were the product of an assembly line and as W. J. Ong suggests, "perhaps the earliest real assembly line." Ong goes on to point out that printing "involved not only the craftsmen and merchants, but the academic world as well. Indeed, it brought the crafts and commerce into direct contact with the world of learning more than ever before." With such a cross fertilization of theory and practical experience and competence, it is not surprising that the age of Elizabeth experienced a surge of interest in the application of knowledge. Individuals interested in various topics -- husbandry, gardening, horses, cattle, surveying, etc. -- could purchase at the bookstalls handbooks of practical instruction, counterparts of the modern do-it-yourself booklets found in every community

---

2 Supra., pp. 104ff, 165-6, 188.
3 Ong, op. cit., p. 181.
4 See McLuhan, The Gutenberg Galaxy, pp. 185, 214, for discussion of the efficacy of print in preparing the mind for applied knowledge. Also L.B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture ...., p. 121.
Nor is it surprising that the individualism thus stimulated should spill over into religion. The effort to reach the "common" multitude with doses of Protestantism suited to its learning capacity was seen in Chapter Five in abridgement of Calvin's *Institutes* and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, and in sermons, catechisms, and devotional literature.

Again, the use of the print medium in this fashion, i.e., for the practical benefit of a mass audience, has its parallel in the relatively recent adaption of radio and television for the same purposes in Britain and North America. That the present innovative spirit (e.g., public interviews on the street, phone-in programs, relaying of live parliamentary debates, etc.) pervading societies obsessed with the electronic media is a characteristic of all societies experiencing the thrill of competence in a new medium might be indicated in the practice of late Elizabethans to write down the minister's sermon and have it published without his knowledge. This pirating of sermons seems to have been common in the 1590s. William Cupper castigated the "greedie couetousnesse, and injurious boldnesse of certaine men, whose sences are so quicke to hunt after gaine, that they neither regard the dishonour which they doe unto God, nor the great wrong they do unto his Ministers. These are such to whom ...gaine is godlinesse. In this rancke, I might place certaine hungrie Schollers and preposterous noters of Sermons, who at the first pretending pietie, are in processe, beguiled with hope of gaine and vainglorie." Other indications of widespread familiarity and increasing competence in printing that stimulated individualism can also be seen in the noticeable expansion in the 1590s of publications about the voyages of discovery, news both domestic and foreign, and publication of plays. Only about ninety-two plays, for example, were printed before 1590; but between 1590 and 1602 no less than 103 were published.

Furthermore, the medium of print encouraged individualism in

---

1 See STC Nos. 10994, 11014, 13484, 13491, 5797, 5414, 17346, 17572, 17574, 17580, for examples of such handbooks.
2 A good example of such recent use is the offering of University courses via television in London and in most of the larger University cities in North America.
another way. Books were commodities that were soon monopolized by a relatively small group of no more than forty printers and publishers; a monopoly that proved to be divisive. "In opulent and commercial societies to think or to reason comes to be, like every other employment, a particular business, which is carried on by a very few people," wrote Adam Smith.¹ That such was the case in the Elizabethan period is shown in the above chapters on "The Orthodox Press" and "Restrictions and Regulations." The writing and publishing of radical Protestant attacks on the established religion were tangible evidence of a rebellion against this monopoly of thought and of the means to express it. Commercially, the rebellion against monopoly took form in the pirating of literature, and politically in the development in parliament of freedom of speech and the art of opposition. Of the latter, Sir John Neale suggested that it "might be considered the outstanding contribution of the Elizabethan period to parliamentary history" and that it was largely learnt from the Puritans or inspired by them.²

Furthermore, the most popular literature was produced by a relatively small number of authors. Of the 118 authors who had five or more Elizabethan publications, only fourteen published between eleven and fourteen and only twenty published fifteen or more. The breakdown for the whole period is as follows:³

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Works</th>
<th>Authors Published</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2 (includes multiple editions)</td>
<td>615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-14</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15+</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That an author published eleven or more books clearly indicates public demand for his work. The most popular authors were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Publications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Calvin</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Smith</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Dering</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dudley Fenner</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Udall</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas a Kempis</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²Neale, Elizabeth I And Her Parliaments 1584-1601, p. 436.
³Figures based on STC and on B.M. Gen. Cat.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Publications</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Publications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Perkins</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>John Bradford</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmund Bunny</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>King James I</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodore Beza</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Luis de Granada</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Becon</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Arthur Dent</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Gifford</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>John Norden</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Fulke</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Richard Greenham</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Jewel</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Niels Hemmingsen</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Bullinger</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Joseph ben Gorion (pseud)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Broughton</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Alexander Nowell</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Augustine</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Thomas Wilcox</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Luther</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>John Penry</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gervase Babington</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Anthony Munday</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Foxe</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>William Burton</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippe de Mornay</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Robert Crowley</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the exceptions of King James I, Joseph ben Gorion (pseud.), St. Augustine, Thomas a Kempis, and Luis de Granada, all of the above were English or continental Protestant clergymen. Of the twenty-three English authors, fourteen were Puritans. Only Calvin surpassed all of the Puritans in popularity, while three Puritans were more popular than Beza and six more than Bullinger. With the possible exceptions of Babington, Broughton, Norden and Nowel, all the English authors supported the causes of either moderate or radical ecclesiastical reform.1

The same picture of a relatively small group of influential authors emerges when literary tastes are examined. Of ninety authors whose works were published in three or more editions, fifteen had works published in five to six editions, seven in seven to eight, two in nine to ten, and three in eleven or more editions. As the following list of bestsellers shows, the Elizabethan reader of religious literature favoured the devotional and the didactic works of this relatively small band of twenty-three authors:

---

1 The remaining 734 authors of 1 to 4 works were also largely English and continental churchmen, although there was a sprinkling of laymen, mainly schoolmasters (e.g. John Stockwood and Richard Jones), noblemen (e.g. Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, and William Cecil, Lord Burghley), and noblewomen (e.g. Margaret of Angouleme and Catherine Parr). See STC Nos. 23284-87; 14729; 13858; 4901-2; 17321; 4826, 4829.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Editions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert Parson (Edited by E. Bunny), A Booke of Christian Exercise</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Ben Gorion (pseud.), A Compendious History of the Jewes</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Dering, A Sermon preached before the Queenes Maestie</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Becon, The Sicke Mans Salve</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Calvin, The Institution of Christian Religion</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>__________, The Catechisme or Manner to teach Children</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas a Kempis, Of the Imitation of Christ (Rogers' s translation)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Perkins, A Golden Chaine, or the Description of Theologie</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Wimbledon, A Sermon No lesse Frutefull than Famous</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Nowell, A catechism or first instruction of Christian Religion</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Openshaw, Short Questions and Answers ... of Christian Religion</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Dent, A Sermon of Repentance</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Dering, A short catechisme For Householders</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>__________, A Sermon preached at the Tower of London</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>__________, XXVII Lectures, or Readings, upon ... Hebrues</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>__________, Godly Private Prayers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Smith, The Sermons of Master H. Smith</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luis de Granada, Of Prayer and Meditation</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Latimer, Frutefull Sermons</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Foxe, Acts and Monuments</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Craig, A Shorte Summe Of the Whole Catechisme</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Cancellar, The Alphabet of Prayers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Calvin, Sermons upon the X Commandments</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It was the religious attitudes and doctrines propounded by this small group of popular authors that formed a seedbed for many of the radical religious ideas which appeared in the opening decades of the next century.

Indoctrinative and divisive though it was, the printing press in the hands of Protestants in England also proved to be germane. From the outset of the Reformation through the sixteenth century, English Protestantism was heavily dependent upon the writings and encouragement of the Continental reformers. In Chapter Five it was noticed that translations of their works formed the bulk of didactic literature and a substantial portion of the rest. In the last twenty years of the reign, however, a noticeable increase in the number of native authors getting into print was evident. One author, a minister, exhorted his fellows to take up writing in order to enhance their preaching: "Have not as famous men as Europ hath bred these many yeres said ye like, that have written much, and yet preached almost every day? Writing we see, unto them was no let or hindrance unto preaching: whose example therin might make many lerned men of our daies to consider what their callings do require." But Mavericke was merely reflecting the spirit of the time: the production of English verse and prose from 1588 to 1603 was three times that of

---

1 R. Mavericke, Saint Peters Chaine ...(1596), sig. A4; see also G. Babington, Certaine Plaine ... Notes vpon ... Genesis (1592), sigs. A3v-A4, for a similar exhortation.
the period 1475 to 1558.¹

"Henry VIII with Thomas Wolsey, Thomas Cranmer, and Thomas Cromwell," claimed A. F. Leache in The Schools of Medieval England (1915), "cleared the field and sowed the seed for Spenser, Sidney, Bacon and Shakespeare."² A similar claim can be made for Calvin, Bullinger and Beza dominating the field of religious literature and sowing the seed for Cartwright, Field, Travers, Whitgift, Bancroft, Bilson, Perkins and Hooker. Elizabethan sermons and theological literature are replete with references to the Reformed theologians. One minister, Charles Gibson, used Calvin as his authority for maintaining that non-preaching ministers are not "approved of God, neither hathe any right and authoritie from the Lorde, to minister his Sacramentes." Grindal wrote to Bullinger in 1567 and expressed the highest regard for his writings, acknowledged their contribution to the Church, and added a personal testimony: "I owe this to you as an individual, that by the perusal of your Treatise on the "Origin of Error," about twenty years since, I was first led to entertaining a correct opinion respecting the Lord's supper; whereas before that time I had adapted the sentiments of Luther on that subject." The anonymous author of A Second Admonition to the Parliament (1572) used Beza to support the precipitous publishing of the first Admonition in the face of criticism that it should have been withheld until a "council" met. And William Chauncie attributed to the reading of the "holy scriptures, and other good authors, and Doctours of this Church" over the past three years his revelation that a "most true perfect equal authority," was "given by our Saviour Iesus Christ, to al his Apostles, his Bishops, and godly ministers of his word and sacramentes."³ That the writings of the great reformers were not accepted uncritically can be seen in the rejection of Lutheranism and the decline in respect for Calvin evident in the 1590s.⁴

Converging with the mainstream of continental Protestant

---

¹Bennett, English Books and Readers 1558–1603, p. 248.
²Page 332.
⁴See Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tutor Cambridge, chs. 15, 17, for discussion of anti-Calvinism of Peter Baro and William Barrett. Also C. Hill, Society and Puritanism, p. 172.
thought and attitudes was the great influence of Foxe's Book of Martyrs. No other single English work in the Elizabethan period proved to be so fruitful a source for sermons and pamphlets. Six editions were published between 1563 and 1610. In addition to the complete editions, there were abridgements, abstracts, and many excerpts that appeared with or without acknowledgement in other works, such as Holinshed's Chronicles in 1577. "The Book of Martyrs set moving in English life," wrote William Haller, "a body of legend which was thought to make clear how and why the situation in which the nation presently found itself had come about, and so to justify whatever course the nation, as represented by the queen, might take in its own defence and for the accomplishment of its destiny."¹

While references to Foxe's book are legion in the margins and texts of Elizabethan religious works, they seem to show up most often in Puritan literature.² Foxe was trotted out to support ringing warnings that England was in dire peril from the Papists, Turks, and even indifferent English Protestants who have "in many places the tables and tennis in stead of the Testament, the cardes in stead of the Catachisme, the boules in stead of the Bible."³ He was used to justify such views as the condemnation of the non-preaching minister as being "no minister" and the acceptance of women as the religious leaders of the household "when their husbandes have bene backesliders, and ... have persecuted their poorewives [sic]."⁴

But more significant for the Puritan movement was the use, both overt and covert, that could be made of Foxe in the argument for a radical Reformation, that the "dregges of Poperie" should be completely eradicated. This is nowhere better seen than in the translation by John Field, the Puritan propagandist par excellence, of Foure Sermons Of Maister Iohn Caluine ....(1579). His dedicatory

¹Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs And The Elect Nation, p. 14.
²See supra., pp. 147ff.
³Calvin, The Lectures or daily Sermons of ... Caluine ....(1578), trans. Nathaniel Baxter, sigs. A2v, A3v; also W. Harrison, Deaths Ad-vantage Little Re-garded ....(1602), sig. A4; C. Gibbon, Not so new, as True Being a verie necessarie Caueat for all Christians to consider ....(1590), sig. A3.
⁴Calvin, The Commentaries ... vpon the first Epistle of Sainct Ihon, and ... Jude (c. 1580), trans. "W.H." (perhaps William Heydon or William Hubbocke), sig. B6; T. Gibson, A Fruit-ful sermon ....(1584), sigs. A6-A6v.
epistle, to Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntington, is infused with the spirit of the Book of Martyrs. He criticized the religious indifference of his compatriots:

they have not yet learned to make any difference of religion, but bend them selves to serve all times: come there falsehood or truth: light or darknesse, religion or superstition, the Gospell or the Masse ... all is one too them, so that they may live at ease, they are at a point: no Scripture so stronge, or testimonie so evident, that can convince them, too make them stand fast too Gods everlasting trueth, the seale of their adoption.

Nevertheless, there were "true Christians" who would die for their faith, who "will never bow the Knee to Baall, will never partake with the table of God and the table of devilles, will never draw in that unequall yoke together with such Infidelles." He warned against taking for granted a life free of persecution:

We will therefore in the name of our God, like wise Mariners, in this calme time provide against stormes and tempests. We are not ignorant what the order of nature setteth before us: there is no sommer but bringeth a Winter, no day but hath a night: nor any professed trueth that bringeth not a tryall. Health is always joined with sickness, and the bodily life is subject to death: so the peace of the Church is seldom without adversitie: & God forbid that we should not prepare, even to the pouring forth of our blood, to strive for the trueth of our God, yea too death itselfe, if God so appointe.

The blood of martyrs, he believed, was the seed of the Church: "And one thing I doe assure the Papistes and all of Caynes progenie, that the more they kill and persecute the children of God, the more wil Christ & his Gospell floorish. Our blood wilbe a fructifying & multiplying seede...." Field concluded with a prayer for the Earl of Huntington: "that not onely it may be geven you ... to beleive in him, but also too suffer for him. For this is true honour too suffer for righteousness."1

Foxe's Book of Martyrs, presented to the public via the relatively new medium of print, caught the fancy of the English in much the same way, but obviously to a lesser degree, as did the recent film and television productions on Henry VIII, Sir Thomas More (A Man For All Seasons), Elizabeth I, and Mary, Queen of Scots. In both instances, a relatively new medium confronted English society with a part of itself, of its history. Both media presentations of this kind were revolutionary: in one, for the first time printed

history could be seen and read in the average household, and in the
other, the first time that it could be seen and heard. The indica-
tions are that English society was fascinated by what it saw in
Foxe's book. Readers wrote to Foxe commending and criticising and
suggesting improvements for his next edition. The impact of the book
upon Elizabethan society was observed by Robert Parsons, the Jesuit
missionary to England, in his A Treatise of Three Conversions of
England published in 1603-4. In the judgement of many, wrote Parsons,
it "hath done more hurt alone to simple souls in our country by infect-
ing and poisoning them unawares under the bait of pleasant histories,
floor pictures, and painted pageants, than many other the most pestilent
books together." He pointed out that the variety of narrative, the
pictures of martyrdoms, and the "tender speeches of the sectaries"
at their deaths attracted the readers causing "infinite spiritual hurt
to many thousand souls of our country, for which this miserable man
and his abettors have, no doubt, to yield a strait and heavy account
to their Redeemer at the most dreadful accounting day ...".

As noticed above, however, there were other English authors of
influential religious literature whose works sold briskly at the book-
stalls. The more prominent authors of numerous works and of works re-
printed more than once were Henry Smith, Edward Dering, William Perkins,
Edmund Bunny, Thomas Becon, William Fulke, George Gifford, John Jewel,
Gervase Babinton, and Hugh Broughton. Thomas Gressop, a student at
Oxford, dedicated a translation to Thomas Becon in which he acknowledged
the strong influence on his life of Becon's writings. Becon must have
been proud of his student: the crudity and vehemence of Gressop's
anti-Catholicism matched well that of his mentor. Edmond Little-
ton, another student in divinity, wrote a prefatory epistle in one
of Bishop Gervase Babington's books that was a personal testimony to
the impact of Babington's works on him. He concluded by humbly
beseeking God that Babington's "faithfull travailes may prouoke
others of his calling to followe his steps in the like care of gods
people committed to their charge...." Christopher Bowman testified

1 See B.M. Lansd. Ms. 982. fols. 87, 87v, 88, 88v, 109.
3 Nilus Cabasilars, Archbishop, A Brief Treatise .... (1560), sigs.
Alv. A2, A3-A3v.
4 Babington, Certaine Plaine, breife, and comfortable Notes vpon ...
Genesis (1592), sig. Alv.
before the High Commissioners that he was "drawn" to his Separatist opinions "by the cause that the forward preachers tooke," and by Laurence Chaderton's *A fruitful sermon vpon the ... Romanes* (1584), a pamphlet thrice printed by Waldegrave. ¹ When pressed about the "forward preachers," Bowman said he meant "one Snape, and Kynge, with others, whose course made him enter into further search of the matter of the Reformation." Edmond Snape and Andrew King were deeply involved in the secret Presbyterian organization and Snape, for one, was a pedlar of the Presbyterian manifesto *An Admonition to the Parliament* (1572).² About that pamphlet, Bishop Sandys of London could well lament to William Cecil: "What boldnesse and disobedience thes new writers have alreedy wrought in the myndes of the people."³

It was significant that Bowman was "drawen" to his Separatist viewpoint by a combination of preaching and printing. Before the printing press, preaching was the most effective means of mass communication available to the Church. But the press did not displace the pulpit; rather it increased its effectiveness and widened its sphere of impact. Ideas gleaned from books found their way into sermons and stimulated in listeners an interest to read similar literature. A glance at the great number of sermons listed in the Short-Title Catalogue suffices to show that preaching and printing went hand-in-hand.

But to the Elizabethans, it was the invention of printing that was miraculously wrought by God for the purpose of establishing and sustaining Protestantism. "The Lord began to work for His Church," marvelled John Foxe, "not with sword and target to subdue His exalted adversary, but with printing, writing and reading."⁴ To them, the printing press was the "handmaiden" of the Reformation.⁵ To Miles Smith, the advantages of printing over preaching were obvious:

> though a mans lively voice moveth more, yet a mans writing teacheth more: more, throughly, because it giveth a man leave to consider of it, and doth not strike his eares onely, and then away ... more generally, because it reacheth not onely to them that are neere, but also to them that are farre off, not onely to them that are alive, but also to them that are yet unborne. In deede so it is, he that speaketh

¹ B.M. Harleian Ms. 7042. fol. 61; STC Nos. 4926-28.
² See supra., p. 29 for Snape's peddling of offensive books.
³ Sandys to Cecil, July 2, 1573, B.M. Lansd. Ms. 17°(3). fol. 81.
⁵ See A. Maunsell, *The First Part of the Catalogue ....* (1595), sig. *3; P. Merlin, *A Most Plaine ... Exposition of ... Ester ....* (1599), sigs A5-A5v.
profiteth his owne congregation, but he that writeth profiteth
for ever. 1
But it never occurred to the Elizabethan that the Reformation might
have been the "handmaiden" of the printing press. Yet that is the
way it was. The medium of print existed before the Protestant Reforma-
tion and as soon as a more profitable "handmaiden" was available --
the English Revolution, the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution,
and more recently, the antithesis of what the Reformation stood for,
the New Morality -- she was eagerly grasped.

The Elizabethan Protestant press had a profound impact upon
English society. "Two or three generations of literature," wrote
Sir James Frazer in The Golden Bough, "may do more to change thought
than two or three thousand years of traditional life." Official
religion had changed with bewildering rapidity in the first half of
the sixteenth century. But by the end of Elizabeth's reign there
was no going back; both religiously and politically, the nation was
Protestant. More Protestant literature by far was produced in the
Elizabethan period than all the Catholic literature produced since the
introduction of Christianity to Britain. More importantly, it was
in the hands of the people encouraging and consolidating the Pro-
testant spirit of reform. With such a pouring forth of Protestant
literature it would seem inevitable that the country would remain
Protestant.

On the subtle and penetrating effects of mass media, H.M. McLuhan
suggests that when the ingenuity of man has "outered" some part of
his being "in material technology, his entire sense ratio is altered.
He is then compelled to behold this fragment of himself .... In
beholding this new thing, man is compelled to become it."3 English
Protestant literature, under the thumb of the Queen and Council, spelt
out the unique form of Protestantism that eventually prevailed in
England under Elizabeth and James I. Elizabethan Puritan demands,
explicit and implicit in much of the literature, were finally realized
in the Puritan Revolution of the next century, and even beyond that.
Dr. Christopher Hill claimed in Society and Puritanism that "despite

1In the Preface to G. Babington's Certaine Plaine ... Notes vpon ...

p. xii.

the defeat of religious Puritanism in 1660, and the isolation of nonconformity even after 1689, nevertheless much of the social content of puritan doctrine was ultimately accepted outside the ranks of the nonconformists and even by the apparently triumphant Church of England.1

That Protestant ideology became religious and political practice in England is clear. However, it was not only a triumph of Protestantism over Catholicism, but also a victory of the printing press over both. Printing needed Protestantism to sanction it as the legitimate and universal purveyor of knowledge and truth, a role usurped from the Papacy. Protestantism had no index librorum expurgandorum nor an index librorum prohibitorum. Conditions could hardly have been more suitable for this ascendence of print than in Protestant Elizabethan England.

1Pp. 506-507.
BIBLIOGRAPHY I

SOURCES CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS THESIS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1. MANUSCRIPTS

Additional Ms. 29546 (British Museum)
Class A. Ms. 1090. 8. (Caius College, Cambridge)
Harleian Ms. 416. (British Museum)

Lambeth Ms. 647. (Lambeth Palace Library)

London Corporation Records, Repertory 18. (Guildhall Library)

Lansdown Ms. 9. (British Museum)

Patent Rolls, 3 Elizabeth Part 13. (Public Record Office)

Records of the Consistory Court of London: Act Books, 1565-69,
1570-72/3, 1575-77, 1577-79, 1579-81/2, 1581-84/5, 1589-93,
1599-1605; Deposition Books, 1566-1603; Vicar-General's Books,
1558-1603. (London County Record Office, County Hall).

Records of the Stationers' Company: Registers A, B, C, D, and
Warden's Account Book (Stationers' Hall archives).

Royal Ms. 18A. lxvi (British Museum)
The Seconde Parte of a Register (Dr. Williams's Library).
Sloan Ms. 851. (British Museum)


2. ORIGINAL RECORDS IN PRINT

Unless otherwise stated, published in London.

Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Levies, Elizabeth I.
D'Ewes, S. The Journals of all the Parliaments during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1682.
B. M. Pressmark: 10360. dd.25.
Peel, A. (ed.). The Seconde Parte of a Register Being a Calendar of Manuscripts under that title intended for publication by the Puritans about 1593, and now in Dr. Williams' Library, London. Cambridge, 1915.

N. H. Pressmark: 10360. dd.25.

3. ELIZABETHAN PRINTED LITERATURE

Unless otherwise stated, published in London.

R. Waldegrave (?), 1583 (?)


Advertisements from Britain, And from the Low Countries.

John Wolfe, 1591.


Alison, R. A Plaine Confutation of a Treatise of Brownisme.


Allibond, P. A Confutation of....Transubstantiation.... T. Scarlet f. TT Man, 1592.

Ambrose, St. Twoo bookes of Saint Ambrose. R. Watkins, 1561.


The Anathamie of Sinne. W. Jaggard, 1603.

An answere For The Tyme, To the Ex-amination....

Rouen: A. Clemence, 1566.

Anwick, I. Anwick his Meditations upon Gods Monarchie. G. Dewes, 1587.

Arnauld, A. The Arrainment Of The Whole Society of Jesuits In France.... C. Yetsweirt, 1594.

Arthington, H. The Seduction of Arthington by Hacket.

R. B[arker?] f. T. Man, 1592.

Provision For the poore.

T. Creede, 1597.

Articles accorded for the Truce generall in France, John Wolfe, 1593.


Augustine, St. An Introduction to the love of God.

T. Purfotte, 1574.

A. Pretious Booke, Henry Denham, 1581.

The Glasse Of vaine-glorie. J. Windet, 1585.

Avale, L. A Commemoration or Dirge of Bastarde Edmonde Boner....

J. Kingston, 1569.

Averall, W. A mervolious combat of contrarieties....


Aylmer, J. An Harborowe For Faithfull and Trewe Subjectes....

J. Day, 1559.


London (?): n. p., 1599.

B., W. (Trans.). Eight learned personages lately converted....

J[oan] B[ome], 1601.


Certaine Plaine....Notes upon Genesis.

f. T. Charde, 1592.

Bacon, F. Of the proficience and advancement of Learning.

T. Purfoote f. H. Tomes, 1605.

Baker, J. Lectures of J. B. upon the.... Articles of our Christian Faith. C. Barker, 1581.

A balade of a priest that lose his nose.... London(?):

n. p., 1560 (?).

Bale, J. The Image of both Churches.... T. East, 1570 (?).

The Pageant of Ropes.... T. Marshe. 1574.

Bancroft, R. A Sermon Preached At Paules Crosse. J. Jackson
f. G. Steon, 1588.

Dangerous Positions And Proceedings. J. Wolfe, 1593.

A Survey Of The Pretended Holy Discipline.

J. Wolfe, 1593.

Barlow, W. A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse.
F. M. Law, 1601.

Barrow, H. A True Description Out Of The Worde Of God.
Dort: H. Stell(?), 1589.

A Briefe Discovrie Of The False Church,
Dort: H. Stell(?), 1590.

A Plaine Refutation Of M. Giffards Booke. Dort:
H. Stell(?), 1591.

A Collection Of Certain Sclanderous Articles.
Dort: H. Stell(?), 1590.

A Collection Of Certain Letters and Conferences.
Dort: H. Stell(?), 1590.

The Examination.... Penned by the Prisoners.
Dort: H. Stell(?), 1593.

Barthlet, J. The Pedegrewe of Heretiques.... H. Denham f.
L. Harryson, 1566.

Barthlet, J. (Trans.). The Fortresse of Fathers... Rouen (?):
A. Clemence (?), 1566.

Bastingius, J. An Exposition.... Upon the Catechisme.
Cambridge: J. Legatt, 1589.

Bateman, S. A Christall glasse of christian reformation.
J. Daye, 1569.

T. Marshe, 1577.

Baxter, J. A toile for Two-Legged Foxes.... F. Kyngston
f, T. Man, 1600.

B[axter], I. A Position Maintained... Before The Late Earle
of Huntin gdon.... n. p., 1600.

Beatniffe, J. A Sermon Preached at Torceter. J. Charlewood,
f. R. Ward, 1590.

A beautifull Baybush to shrowd us from..... sinne.
London(?) n.p., 1589.

Becon, T. The Sycke Mans Salve, J. Daye, 1561.

The reliques of Rome... J. Daye, 1563.


The Actes of Christe and of Antichriste....
J. Day, 1577.

Bedel, H. A Sermon exhorting to pitie the poore.
J. Awdely, 1572.

Bell, T. Thomas Bels Motives.... Cambridge: J. Legate,
1593.

The Survey of Popery.... V. Sims, 1596.

The Anatomie of Popish Tyrannie.... J. Harrison
f. R. Bankworth, 1603.

Reply to the Principal Points of the Argument.... for the
Succession of Henry of Navarre. n. p., n. d.
B. M. Pressmark: 3902, i. 15.

Bernard, J. The tranquillitie of the minde.

Beza, T. A Oration made by Master Theodore de Beze.... London:
Richard Jugge, 1562 (?)..

The Second Oration of Master Theodore de Beze....
London: Richard Jugge, 1562 (?).
Beza, T. A briefe... summe of the christian faith.  
R. Serle, 1565(?).

A. Veale, 1572.


. A shorle learned... Treatise of the Plague.
T. Dawson, f. G. Bishop, 1580.

. The Judgement Of A Most Reverend And Learned Man.
London(?): Robert Waldegrave, 1580.

. A Discourse, of the Markes of the Catholique Church....
R. Waldegrave, 1582.

. Propositions And Principles of Divinitie. Edinburgh:
R. Waldegrave, 1591.

Beza, T. and J. F. Salvard (ed.). An Harmony Of The Confessions
of The Faith.... Cambridge: Thomas Thomas, 1586.


Bilson, T. The True Difference Betweene Christian Subject-ion
and Unchristian Rebellion.... Oxford: J. Barnes, 1585.

. The Perpetual Government of Chrestes Church.
Deputies of C. Barker, 1593.

Bird, S. A friendlie communication. T. East, f. J. Harrison,
1580.

Bishop, J. A Courteous Conference with the English Catholickes....
f. R. Dexter, 1598.

Boquinus, P. A Defence Of The Olde, and True Profession of
Christianities.... J. Wolf and H. Kirkham, 1581.

Boyd, N. The Doctrine Of The Sabbath. the widdow Orwin,
f. J. Porter and T. Man, 1595.


. All the examinacions of.... John Bradford.
W. Griffith, 1561.

. The Hurte Of Hering Masse.... W. Copland f.
W. Martyne, 1561(?).

. Godly Meditations uppon the ten Commandementes.
William Seres, 1567.

. Two Notable Sermons. John Awdely and John Wight,
1574.

Bredwell, S. The Rasing Of The Foundations of Brownisme.
J. Windet, 1588.

Brentius, J. A Right Godly and learned discourse upon... Ester.
J. Wolfe f. J. Harrison the younger, 1584.

Breton, N. A Divine Poeme. f. J. Browne and J. Deane, 1601.

Bridges, J. The Supremacie of Christian Princes....
H. Bynneman f. H. Toye, 1573.

. A Defence of the Government Established. J. Windet,
f. T. Chard, 1587.

A briefe examination for the tyme....Rouen(?): A. Clemence (?),
1566.

Brooke, J. (Trans.). Of two Wonderful Popish Monsters.... T. East:
1579. B. M. Pressmark C. 122. bb. 16.

Broughton, H. A Concent of Scripture. f. G. Simson and
W. White, 1590.

. Textes of Scripture Chayning the holy Chronicle.

. An Apologie In Briefe Assertions. W. Kearney,
1592.

. A Seder Olan, that is: Order of the worlde.
n. p., 1594.


• A Booke Which Sheweth The Life and Manners of all true Christians. Middelburg: Richard Schilders, 1582.

Browne, R. A Treatise upon the 23 of Matthewe. Middelburg: Richard Schilders, 1582.


• An answere to Ma-ster Cartwright. Imprinted at London, 1583.

Bruce, R. Sermons Preached.... to comfort all sick. Edinburgh: R. Waldegrave, 1591.

Bruce, M. A Briefe trea-tise concerning.... Bucer and Phagius. T. Marshe, 1562.


• The judgement of.... Henry Bullinger.... W. Seres, 1566.

• A Confutation Of the Popes Bull.... J. Day, 1572.

• The Tragedies of Tyrantes. W. How f. A. Veale, 1575.

• Fiftie Godlie And Lear-ned Sermons. R. Newberie, 1577.

• A most godly and learned Discourse.... T. Dawson f. W. Pounsonby, 1579.


Bunny, F. A Comparison.... R. Robinson f. R. Jackson, 1595.

• A Survey Of The Popes Supremacie.... V. Simmes f. R. Jacson, 1595.

• Truth and Falshood.... V. Sims f. R. Jackson, 1595.

Burton, W. Davids Evidence. f. J. Hardie, 1596.

C., E. (Trans.). A Dialogue agaynst the Tyrannye of the papistes... London(?): n. p., 1562.


Ceasar, P. A general discourse against.... usurers. J. Kyngston f. A. Maunsell, 1578.

Caldwell, J. A Sermon preached before the.... Earle of Darbie. T. East, 1577.


• Institutes of the Christian Religion. R. Wolfe and R. Harrison, 1561.

• Foure God-bye sermons. R. Hall, 1561.

• A Ve-ry profitable trea-tise.... R. Hall. 1561.

• A Little Booke of John Calvines concernynge Offences. W. Seres, 1566.


• The Lectures...of.... Calvines uppone.....Jones. f. E. White, 1578.


• Thirteene Sermons of Master John Calvine, T. Dawson f. T. Mann and T. Cooke, 1579.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Commentaries upon Saint John, and Jude</td>
<td>J. Kyngston &amp; J. Harrison</td>
<td>1580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Commentary upon Galatians</td>
<td>T. Purfotte</td>
<td>1581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Commentary upon Colossians</td>
<td>T. Purfotte, 1581(?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two godly and learned Sermons</td>
<td>T. Purfotte</td>
<td>1584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carlile, C. A Discourse, Wherein is plainly proved that Peter</td>
<td>R. Ward, 1582</td>
<td>1584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>was never at Rome. A Discourse of Peter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Two eds. by Roger Ward in 1582 under the title, A Discourse of</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter's Lyfe, Peregination and death)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter, J. A Preparative to contentation</td>
<td>T. Creed, 1597</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carr, J. The Ruinous fall of Prodigality</td>
<td>W. How &amp; H. Kirkham</td>
<td>1573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter, O. An Answer made</td>
<td>T. Dawson &amp; G. Bishop</td>
<td>1579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartwright, T. A Second Admonition to the Parliament.</td>
<td>Wandsworth: J. Stroud, 1572</td>
<td>1573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rest of the second reply</td>
<td>Basle: Thomas Guarinus, 1577</td>
<td>1577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Brief Apology of Thomas Cartwright</td>
<td>Middelburg: R. Schilders, 1596</td>
<td>1596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Confutation Of The Rhemists Translation</td>
<td>Edinburgh: R. Waldegrave, 1618</td>
<td>1618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Catholicke Apology Against the Libels published by those</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the League. A Declaration of the favourable dealing of her</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majesties Commissioners</td>
<td>C. Barker (?), 1583</td>
<td>1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Certain Articles, collected and taken by the Bishops.</td>
<td>(Attributed to T. Cartwright in B. M. Gen. Cat.)</td>
<td>n. p., 1572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaderton, L. An Excellent and godly sermon</td>
<td>C. Barker, 1578</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chamber, J. A Treatise Against Jude-cial Astrologie.</td>
<td>J. Harrison, 1601</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapman, E. A Catechisme with a Prayer annexed.</td>
<td>C. Barker (?), 1583</td>
<td>1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarke, W. An answer to a seditious pamphlet</td>
<td>C. Barker, 1580</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Replie to a Censure</td>
<td>C. Barker, 1581</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Answer for the time</td>
<td>T. Dawson and T. Smith, 1583</td>
<td>1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Treatise Against The Defence Of The Censure</td>
<td>Cambridge: T. Thomas, 1586</td>
<td>1586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauncie, W. The Rooting out of the Romide Supremacie.</td>
<td>H. Middleton, 1580</td>
<td>1580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemnitis, M. A Discoverie of the Counsell of Trent.</td>
<td>T. Purfoot and W. Pounsonbie, 1582</td>
<td>1582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Christian Confession of the last most noble and mightie Prince</td>
<td>C. Barker, 1577</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freiderich</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chub, W. A Fruitfull Sermon</td>
<td>J. Jackson, 1587</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churchyard, T. A discourse of the queenes majesties entertainement in Suffolk and Norfolk.</td>
<td>H. Bynneman, 1578</td>
<td>1578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chytraeus, D. A Postil or orderly disposing of certeine Epistles usually read in the Church of God.</td>
<td>L. Harrison and G. Bishop, 1570</td>
<td>1570</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chytraeus, D. A Soveraigne Salve For a Sick Soule.
R. Field, 1590.

Chapman, H. An Epistle.... upon the present Pestilence.
J. Newbery, 1603.

T. Man, 1603.

A Confession of Faith, made by common consent of divers reformed
Churches.... London(?): n. p., 1571.
B. M. Pressmark: 3505. bb. 5.

The Confession Of Faith, used in the English Con-gregation at

Cooper, T. An Admonition to the people of England. Deputies
of C. Barker, 1589.

The copie of a letter sent out of England. London(?), 1590(?).


Cosin, R. An Answer To.... a ceretaine factious libell.
H. Denham f. T. Chard, 1584.

________ An Apologie...For...Jurisdicti-on Ecclesiasticall.
Deputies of C. Barker, 1591.

________ Conspiracie, for Pretended Reformation. Deputies
of C. Barker, 1592.

W. Holme, 1591.


_________ A Just And Temperate Defence Of The Five Books Of
Ecclesiastical Policie. P. Short f. C. Knight, 1603.


Craig, J. A Short Summe of the whole Ca-techisme. Edinburgh:
H. Charteris, 1581.


_________ A Confutation of unwritten verities....
T. Purfotte, 1582.

Credible Reportes from France and Flanders. John Wolfe,
1590.

Crespin, J. The Estate of the Church, 1602.


Crowley, R. The opening of the wor-des of the Prophet Joell.
H. Bynneman f. J. Charlewood, 1567.

_________ A briefe discourse against the outwarde apparell....
Henry Denham, 1566.

_________ A setting open of.... Thomas Watson.... H. Denham,
1569.

_________ An Answer to sixe Recesons.... J. Charlewood, 1581.

_________ Fryer John Frauncis of Ni-geon in Fraunce....
J. Charlewood, 1586.

_________ A Deliberat answere made to a rash offer....
J. Charlewood f. T. Woodcock, 1588.


Cupper, W. Certaine Sermons Con-cerning Gods Late Visitation.
R. Field f. R. Dexter, 1592.

D., C. A Briefe Discoverie.... J. Wolfe f. F. Coldock,
1588.

A. Veale, 1586.

Darrell, J. A detection of.... Samuel Harsh-net. London (?):
 n. p., 1600.

_________ A True Narration. Lon don(?): n. p., 1600.

_________ A brief narration. n. p., 1598.

_________ An Apologie, or defen-ce of the possession of

Davidson, J. D. Bancrofts Rashnes in Rayling Against The Church of Scotland. Edinburgh: R. Waldegrave, 1590.

Davies, R. A funerall sermon...of Walter Earle of Essex. H. Denham, 1577.

Deacon, J. A Treatise, Inituled: Nobody is my name. R. Waldegrave, 1585 (?).


Deacon, J. A Treatise, Inituled; Nobody is my name. R. Waldegrave, 1585 (?) (Dialogical Discourses of Spirits and Divels. G. Bishop, 1601.


A Declaration of the Causes Mooving the Queene....to....aide....the lowe Countries. London: Christopher Barker, 1585.

A Declaration and publication of the Prince of Orange. n. p., 1568 (?).

A Defence of the Ecclesiasticall Regiment in Englande. H. Bynneman F. h. Toy, 1574.


Dent, A. Sermon of repen-taunce. f. J. Harison, 1583.

Dent, A. The Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven. R. Dexter, 1601.


Dering, E. A ser-mon preached be-fore the Queenes Majestie. J. Charlewood, 1578.

Deringe, E. Lectures, or readings, upon....Hebrewes. L. Harrison, 1576.

A Detection of damnable driftes, practized by three Witches. n. p., 1579.

A Dialogue, Concerning the strife of our Churche. R. Waldegrave, 1584.


Dillingham, F. A Disswasive From Poperie.... Cambridge: J. Legate, 1599.

The disclosing of a late Counter=feyted possessi-n. R. Watkins, 1574.

A Discovery of the....conspiracie of Scottisch Papists.... n. p., 1603.


Downame, J. Spiritual phy-sicke to cure the diseases of the soule. G. Simson f. W. Jones, 1600.

Drant, T. A fruitful and necessary Sermon. J. Day, 1572.


Elidad. A good and fruitfull Exhortation unto the Familie of Love. Cologne: N. Bohmburgen (Bohmberg), 1574 (?).


Evans, L. A brieve Admonition unto the....Ministers of Englande. Antwerp: A. E. Diest, 1565.

Evans, L. The Castle of Christi-anity.... H. Denham, 1568.

L. Evans, A Shor-te Treatyse of .... the Euchari-st.... T. Purfoote, 1569.

L. Evans, A Shor-te Treatyse of .... the Euchari-st.... T. Purfoote, 1570.
An Exhortation to the Byshops to deal brotherly with theyr Brethren.
   n. p.: n. p., 1572.
An Exhortation to the Bishops and Their clergie, n. p.: n.p., 1572.
Fabricius, J. An Oration of John Fabritius Montanus....
   Humphrey Toye, 1562.
Fenner, D. An Answere unto The Confutation of John Nicholas....
   J. Wolfe f. J. Harrison and T. Man, 1583.
Fenner, D. A counterpoysyn - R. Waldegrave, 1584 (?)....
   A Defense Of The Rea-sons Of The Counter-poysyn.
   Middelburg: R. Schilders, 1586.
Fenner, D. A Defence of the godlie Ministers. Middelburg:
   R. Schilders, 1587.
Fenner, D. Certain Bod-ly And Learned treatises. Edinburgh:
   R. Waldegrave, 1592.
Fenner, D. An Antiquodlibet, Or An Advertisement....
   Middelburg: R. Schilders, 1602.
Fenton, Sir G. (Trans.). Actes of conference in Religion,
Fenton, R. A Sermon of Simonie and Sacriledge. A. Hatfield, 1604.
Fidelitas, A Distinct De-claration. Cologne: N. Bohmbargen
   (Bohmberg), 1574. B. M. Pressmark: 697. a. 26 (8).
Field, J. A Caveat for Parsons Howlet.... R. Waldegrave f.
   T. Man and T. Smith, 1581.
Field, J. (?). A Dialogue, Concerning the strife of our Churche.
   R. Waldegrave, 1584.
Field, J. (?). A Most briefe manner of Instruction. R. Waldegrave (?)
   1585 (?) B. M. Pressmark: Mic. A. 605. (19).
Field, J. and Wilcox, T. An Admonition to the Parliament.
   Wandsworth: J. Stroud, 1572.
P[ield] or[Foxe], J. A brief exhor-tation....in....Gods
Fills, R. (Trans.) The Lawes and Statutes of Geneva....
   R. Hall and T. Hacket, 1562.
Fleming, A. A Monomachie of Mo-tives. H. Denham, 1582.
Fletcher, A. Certaine Very Proper, And Most Profitable Similies.
   J. Jackson f. I. Bing, 1594.
Foxe, J. (ed.). The Whole works of V. Tyndall, John Frith, and
   An Abridgement Of The Booke Of Acts And Monumentes.
   J. Windet, 1589.
Foxe, J. A Sermon prea-ched at the Christe-ning of a certain
   Jew. C. Barker, 1578.
Francke, C. A Conference or dialogue.... C. Barker, 1580.
Fulbecke, W. A Booke of christian Ethicks or Moral Philosophie.
   R. Jones, 1587.
Fulke, W. A Sermon preached at Hampton Court.... J. Awdeley, 1571.
Fulke, W. (?) An Examination Of M. Doctor Whytgiftes Censures.
   Two Treatises written against the Papistes....
   T. Vantrollier, 1577.
   A Retentive, To Stay Good Christians. T. Vantrollier
   f. G. Bishop, 1580.
Fulke, W. A briefe Confutation, of a Popish Discourse. T. Dawson
   f. G. Bishop, 1581.
   A rejoynder to Bristows Replie.... H. Middleton f.
   G. Bishop, 1581.
Fulke, W. A Defense of....Translations of the holie Scriptures....
   H. Bynneman f. G. Bishop, 1583.
Pulke, W. Learned discourse of ecclesiastical government. 
Issued by John Field without author's permission as 
A Confutation Of A Treatise.... n. p., 1586. 
G. Bishop, 1601. 


Gardiner, J. A briefe....Confession. f. E. Wight, 1579. 
Gardiner, S. Portraiture of the prodigal Sonne. P. S[hort] f. 
N. Ling, 1599. 
C. Barker, 1575. 

--- The Steele Glas. H. Bynneman, f. r. Smith, 1576. 

Gascoigne, G. A Delicate Diet, for daintie mouthde Droonkardes. 
R. Jhones, 1576. 

Gentillet, I. An Apology or defence for the Christians of 
France.... John Day, 1579. 

Gerardus, A. (Hyperius). The Regiment of the Povertie. 
F. Coldock and H. Bynneman, 1572. 
Gerard, P. A Preparati-on To The Most Ho-olie Ministrie. 
T. Creede, 1593. 
Geveren, S. A. Of the ende of this world. T. Dawson f. 
A. Maunsell, 1577. 
Gibbon, C. Not so new, as True. T. Orwin, 1590. 
A Work worth the Reading. T. Orwin, 1591. 

Gibbons, N. Question s And Disputations Con-cerning The Holy 
Scripture. F. Kyngston, 1601. 
Gibson, J. The Sacred Shield Of Al True Christian Souldiers. 
R. Field and R. Dexter, 1599. 
Gibson, T. A Fruit-ful sermon, prea-ched at Occham. Robert 
Waldegrave, 1534. 

Gifford, C. Foure Sermons upon....faith. T. Dawson f. T. Cook, 
1582. 
A Briefe discourse of certaine points of.... 
religion. f. T. Cook, 1582. 
A Short Treatise against the Donatists. J. Windet f. 
T. Cook, 1590. 
A Dialogue concerning Witches. J.Windet f. 
T. Cooke and M. Hart, 1593. 
A Plaine Declaration that our Brownists be full 
Donatists. f. T. Cook, 1590. 
A short Reply un-to the last printed books of 
A Treatise Of True Fortitude. J. Roberts f. 
T. Hardie, 1594. 
Fifteen Sermons, Upon The Song of Salomon. 
F. Kingston f. T. Man, 1598. 
A Godly and holsom preservatyve against disperacion. n. p., n.d. 
A godly and necessary admonition of.... The Council of Trent.... 
n. p., 1564. 
A Godlye Sermon: Preached before the Queens most excellent 
Majestie.... n. p., 1585. 

A discourse upon the Earthquake. H. Binneman, 1589. 
(Trans.). The Edict Or Proclamation...By The Frenche 
Kinge.... Thomas Vantroller, 1598 (?) E. M. Pressmark: 
C. 33. a. 22. 

Gonsalvius Montanus, Reginaldus. A Discovery.... of the Holy 
Inquisition of Spayne.... J. Day, 1568.
Greenwood, J. A briefe refutation of Mr. G. Gifford. Amsterdam (?): C. Claesssonius or Claesgoon, 1605.
Haddon, W. Against Jerome Osorius.... John Day, 1581.
Harris, E. A Sermon Preached At Brocket Hall, T. Orwin f. I. Daldern and W. Haw, 1588.
Harrison, W. Deaths Ad-vantage Little Re-garded. F. Kyngston, 1602.
Harsnet, S. A Discovery Of The Fraudulent practices of John Darrel, J. Wolfe, 1599.
Hayward, J. Gods Universal right proclaimed. f. C. Burby, 1603.


The Holy Bull And Crusade of Rome... n. p., 1588.

Hooke, C. A Sermon Preached In... The wofull time of God his generall visitation. E. Alde, 1603.

Hooker, R. Of The Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Pobitie. J. Windet, 1593, 1597.

Hooper, J. *Declaracion of Christe and His Office.* Zurich: A. Fries, 1547.


Howard, H. A defensive against the poyson of supposed Prophesies. J. Charlewood, 1583.


_____ A Short Exposition...of conscience. R. Waldegrave, 1600.


Hueber, C. A riche Storehouse....for the Sicke. R. Newberrie, 1578.

Hugh, W. The troubled mans medicine. J. Alde, 1567.

Humble Motives For Association To Maintaine Religion Established. n. p.: n. p., 1601.


Hume, A. A Treatise Of The Felici-tie, of the life to come. Edinburgh: R. Waldegrave, 1594.

Humphrey, L. The Nobles or of Nobilitye.... T. Marshe, 1563.


Hutchins, E. A Sermon Preached In S. Peters Church at West-Chester... Oxford: J. Barnes, 1586.

Hutchinson, R. The Image of God, or laie mans boke. J. Day, 1560.


I., S. Bromleion. A Discourse of...Divinitie. T. Creede, 1595.


Jackson, T. Davids Pastorall Poeme. T. Purfoot, 1603.

James, W. A Sermon Preached before the Queenes Majestie. H. Bynneman, 1578.


_____ Apologia Ecclesia Anglicanae. ap. R. Wolfium, 1562.

_____ An Apologie of private masse.... T. Powell, 1562.

_____ A Viewe Of A Seditious Bul... R. Newberie and H. Bynneman, 1582.

Johnson, F. An Answer to Maister H. Jacob. Amsterdam: C. Claesssonius or Claesgoon (?), 1600.

Johnson, F. Certayne Letters / translated into English. Amsterdam: C. Claesssonius or Claeszoon, 1602.
Keltridge, J. Two Godlie And learned sermons. R. Jones, 1581.
Kempe, W. A dutiful invective against....Ballard and Babington.... R. Jones, 1586.
Kingsmill, A. A Most Excellent....Treatise. By assignment of C. Barker, 1585.
Kneil, T. The Epitaph....of D. Boner.... J. Allde, 1569.
_________ A Confutation, of.... UN. T. Dawson f. R. Sergier, 1579.
_________ An answer to a letter of a Jesuit.... Edinburgh: R. Lekprevik, 1572.
A Lamentable Complaint Of the Commonalt. R. Waldegrave (?), 1585.
Latimer, H. The seven sermons preached before King Edward VI in 1549. J. Day, 1562.
_________ 27 sermons. J. Day, 1562.
_________ Certayn Godly Sermons. John Day, 1562
L'Espine, J. de. An Excellent And Learned Treatise. Thomas Vautrollier, 1587.
L'Espine, J. de. A.... Lear-ned Discourse, touching the Tranquilitie ... of the minde. Cambridge: J. Legate, 1592.
A Letter written by the King of Navarr, to the three estates of Fraunce.... n. p., 1589.
The Life off the 70 Archbishop off Cantebury. Heidelberg: Thomas Guarinus, 1574.
Lodge, T. An alarum against usurers. T. Este f. S. Clarke, 1584.
Luther, M. An exposition of.... Ecclesiastes. J. Day, 1573.
_________ A very comfortable sermon. J. Day. 1578.
_________ Special And Cho-sen Sermons. T. Vautroullier, 1578.
_________ A Right Comfortable Treatise. T. Vautrollier, 1578.
_________ A Treatise Touching the Li-bertie of a Chri-stian. F. Newberry and H. Bynneman, 1579.
Luther. The Alcaron Of The Care-foote Friers.... J. White, 1603.
_________ The Holie Historie of King Da-vid. H. Middleton f. J. Harrison, 1579.
Marbury, F.  A Fruitful Sermon.  P. Short, 1602.
Marinx, P. van.  The Beehive of the Romish Church.  T. Dawson
f.  J. Stell, 1579.
Marprelate, M.  Oh read over D. John Bridges.  East Molesey (?):
Robert Waldegrave, 1588.
                ————.  The Epitome.  Fawsley:  R. Waldegrave, 1588.
                ————.  Hay ha'ye any worke for the Cooper.  Coventry:
                ————.  R. Waldegrave, 1589.
Marprelate, M.  The Protestation Of Martin Marprelat.  Wolston (?):
n. p. u, 1589.
                ————.  Theses Martinae.  Wolston:  J. Hodgkins, 1589.
                ————.  The just censure and reprooфе of Martin Junior.
Wolston:  J. Hodgkins, 1589.
                ————.  More Work For The Cooper.  Manchester:
J. Hodgkins, 1589.
Marten, A.  An Exhortation to.... all her Majesties faithfull
Subjects....  J. Windet, 1588.
                ————.  A Reconciliation Of All the Pastors and Ministers.
J. Windet, 1590.
Maunsell, A.  The First Part Of the Catalogue of English printed
Mavericke, R.  Saint Peters Chaine....  J. Windet, 1596.
Melville, J.  A Spirituall Propine Of A Pastor to his People.
Edinburgh:  R. Waldegrave, 1589.
A Mervaylous discourse upon.... Katherine de Medicis.
More, J.  A Table From The Beginning of the world.  Cambridge:
J. Legate, 1593.
Mornay, P. de.  Four Booke:.... Of The Eucharist In The Old
Church.  J. Windet f.  I. Blinge, T. Man] and
W. Fonsonby], 1600.
R. Dexter, 1599.
Mosse, M.  The Arraignment And Conviction Of Usurie.  Widow
Orwin f.  T. Man, 1595.
                 ————.  Scotlands Welcome....  M. Bradwood f.  T. Man, 1603.
? A moste necessarie Trea-tise, declaring.... the popish
Kingdom.... , 1583.  B. M. Pressmark:  C 25. c. 16. (2).
R. Dexter, 1592.
Munday, A.  A briefe and true reporte....  J. Charlewood?
f.  W Wright, 1582.
                 ————.  A briefe Aunswer made unto two seditious Pamphlets.
J. Charlewood, 1582.
                 ————.  The English Romayne Lyfe....  J. Charlewood f.
N. Ling, 1590.
Musculus, W.  Common places of Christian Religion.  R. Wolfe,
1563.
The mynd and exposition of....Martin Bucer....  Euden:
W. Gaillart (?), 1566.
Nashe, T. (? or Lyly, J. (?).  Pappe with an hatchet.
n. p., 1589 (?).
                 ————.  Mar-Martine.  London (?), 1589 (?).
                 ————.  An Almond for a Parrot.  n. p., 1589 (?).
                 ————.  Martins Months mynde.  T. Orwin, 1589.
                 ————.  A Whip for an Ape.  London (?), 1589.
                 ————.  A Myrrer for Martinists.  n. p., 1590.
                 ————.  Chrits Teares Over Jerusalem.  J. Roberts, 1593.
Nelson, T.  A Short discourse of all the late pretended treasons....
A new Enterlude No lesse witty: then pleasant... n. p., 1573.

Nicholas, John. A declaration of the recantation of John Nichols....
   C. Barker, 1581.
   The Oration and Sermon made at Rome.... John Charlewood, 1581.


   The Plea Of The Innocent. London (?): n. p., 1602.

Nichols, N. A Spirituall Poseaye containyng...consolations.
   W. Williamson f. J. Harrison, 1573.

Niclaes, H. Dicta Documentall Sentences. Cologne:
   Proverbia Document. The Proverbes of Document. Cologne:
   Cologne: N. Bohmbargen (Bohmberg), 1574 (?).

Nun, T. A Comfort Against the Spainard. J. Windet f. I. Oxfordbridge), 1596.
Ochino, B. Sermons concerning...predestination and election.
J. Day, 1570?

Openshaw, P. Short questions and answeres. T. Dawson, 1580.

Ordinances set forth by the King of France. John Wolfe, 1590.

Overton, W. A Godlye...and pithie Exhortation. R. Newberry
and H. Bynneman, 1580.

P[ainter], W. (?) Fourte Great Lye... n. p.: n. p., 1585 (?)

Parsons, R. A Treatise of Three Conversions of England
St. Omer: n. p., 1603-4.

B. M. Pressmark: 109. a. 5; 858. c. 1. (1); 697. f. 14., 1593.

A particular declaration or testi-mony... n. p., 1582.


The Returne of... Pasquill. J. Charlewood, 1589.

The First parte of Pasquils Apologie. J. Charlewood, 1590.

Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1587.

An exhortation unto... Wales. Robert Waldegrave, 1588.

A defence of that which hath bin written. London (?):
Robert Waldegrave, 1588.


Penry, J. (?) An Humble Motion with Submission unto the... Privie Counsell. Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1590.

B. M. Pressmark: 697. f. 34.

A Briefe Dis-covery Of The Untruthes and Slan-ders... contained in a Sermon. Edinburgh: Robert Waldegrave, 1590.


A Treatise Wherein Is Wa-nifestlie proved. Edinburgh:
R. Waldegrave, 1590.

A Dialogue - Wherein Is Plainly Laide Open, the tyrannicall dealing of L. Bishops against Gods Children. n. p., 1589.


I John Penry Doo Heare...Answere. n. p., 1609.
B. M. Pressmark: C. 53. bb. 2. (1).


A Case of Conscience. T. Orwin f. J. Porter
and T. Man, 1592.


A Reformed Catholike.... Cambridge: John Legate, 1598.

A Warning against The Idolatrie Of the last times... Cambridge: John Legate, 1601.

How to live and that well. Cambridge: J. Legate, 1601.


f. E. White, 1600.

Pigge, O. Meditations Concerning.... the safetie of England.
Pilkington, J. Aegtes the Prophete. W. Seres, 1560.

A pithie, and most earnest exhortation, concerning the estate of Christendome.... Antwerp: n. p., 1583.

Polanus, A. The Substance Of Christian Religion., 1597.


Rainolds, J. A Sermon upon...O-badish. T. Dawson, 1584.


___ A Sermon.... to give thanks to God. Oxford:

J. Barnes, 1586.

Th'overthrow Of Stage-Playes. Middleburg:

R. Schilders, 1599.

Ratramnus, B. A Book of Ber-tram the Priest.... T. Dawson f. T. Woodcock, 1582.

The Reformation Of Religion By Josiah. f. T. Man, 1590 (?)..

Regius, U. The sermon which Christ made on the way to Emaus. J. Day, 1578.


Rice, R. An invective against vice. J. Kyngston, 1575.


___ A Pituos Lamentation Of The .... Church .... Englande.

W. Powell, 1566.

___ Certayne godly .... conferences. J. Awdeley, 1574.

Robinson, R. Certeyn Select Historyes for Christian Recreation.

f. H. Kirkham. 1576.

Rogers, J. The Summe of Christianity. O. R[ogers], 1560 (?)..

___ An Answere unto a wicked and infamous Libel.

J. Day, 1579.

___ The Displaying of an horrible secte. f. G. Bishop, 1578.

Rogers, T. The Englishe Creede. J. Windet f. A. Maunsel, 1585.

___ A Sermon upon .... the 12. Chapter of ..'the Romanes.

J. Windet, 1590.


Shutte, C. A very godlie and necessarie sermon. C. Barker, 1578.

___ A.... summe of Christian doc-trine. T. Dawson, 1581.

___ A compendious forme .... of Christian doc-trine.

T. Dawson, 1581.


A Solemne Contestation of diverse Popes .... J. Day, 1560 (?).


Sparke, T. A Sermon Preached At Cheanie. J. Day (?), 1585.

___ A Brief and short Ca-techisme. R. Newbery, 1580.

___ An Answere To Ma-ster John De Albines. Oxford:

J. Barnes, 1591

Udall, J. A Demon stration Of the truth of that Discipline. Robert Waldegrave, 1588.


The Unlawfull Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Ministers. Robert Waldegrave, 1584 (?).

Vermigli, P. N. Most fruitfull and learned commentaries upon Judges. J. Day, 1564.

_______________ The common places of Peter Martyr. H. Denham, T. Chard, W. Broome and A. Maunsell, 1583.

Veron, J. The huntyng e of purgatorye to death.... J. Tysdale, 1561.

_______________ A Stronge Defence Of The marryage of priests.... T. Marste, 1562 (?).

_______________ A stronge bat-tery against the Ido-latrous invocation of the dead Saintes.... H. Sutton f. T. Hackett, 1562.


_______________ Of the Lords supper. C. Barker, 1579.

Walther (Gualter), R. An hundred, threescore and fiftene Homelyes. H. Denham, 1572.

Whether it be mortall sinne to transgresse cruil lawes. R. Jugge, 1566.

Whitaker, W. An Answer to a certeine booke... Cambridge: T. Thomas, 1585.


Wilcox, T. Summarie and short meditations. n. p. , 1580.


Wilcox, T. Narration of the fearfull Fire that fell at Woobourne. Widow Orwin f. T. Man, 1595.


_______________ Tetrastylon Papisticum, That is, The Foure Principal Pillers of Papisterie.... R. Robinson f. T. Man, 1593.

_______________ A catholicon or remedy against the pseudo-Catholike religion.... Cambridge: J. Legate, 1602.

Wilson, Sir T. A discourse uppon usurye. R. Totlel, 1572.

Wood, T. (?) (or Whittingham, W.?). A Brief discourse off the troubles begonne at Franckford. Heidelberg: M. Schirat, 1574.


Wright, L. The Hunting of Antichrist. J. Wolfe, 1589.

_______________ A Friendly Admonition to Martine Marprelate. J. Wolfe, 1590.

_______________ The Pilgrimage to Paradise. J. Wolfe, 1591.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Unless otherwise stated, published in London.

1. BOOKS

Arber, E. An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy, 1588-1590. 1880.


Burrage, C. The Early English Dissenters. Cambridge, 1912.


Cates, W. L. R. A Dictionary of General Biography. 1881.

Clair, C. A History of Printing In Britain. 1966.


Duff, C. A Century Of The English Book Trade. 1948.


Foster, J. Alumni Oxonienses. 1891.


Frere, W. H. The English Church In The Reigns Of Elizabeth And James I. 1904.


Holzknecht, K. J. Literary Patronage In The Middle Ages. 1966.
Mozley, J. F. John Foxe And His Book. 1940.
Neale, J. E. Elizabeth I and her Parliaments. 1969.
Ong, W. J. Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology. 1971.
Peel, A. The Brownists in Norwich and Norfolk about 1580. Cambridge, 1920.
Pierce, W. John Penry: His Life, Times, And Writings. 1923.
Pierce, W. An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts. 1908.
Read, C. Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth. New York, 1961.
Sisson, C. J. The Judicious Marriage of Mr. Hooker. Cambridge, 1940.
Venn, J. A. Alumni Cantabrigienses. Cambridge, 1922.
Williams, G. H. The Radical Reformation. 1962.
Williams, R. Culture and Society, 1780 - 1850. 1958.
Wood, A. Athenae Oxonienses. 1691.

2. ARTICLES

____________. "Did Sir Roger Williams write the Marprelate Tracts?" The Library, 3rd Ser. Vol. III.


Welch, G. "The City Printers," Transactions of the Bibliographical Society (1919), XIV.


_________ "Martin Parprelate and Shakespeare's Fluellen," The Library, 3rd Ser., Vol III.

_________ "Did Sir Roger Williams write the Parprelate Tracts?" The Library, 3rd Ser., Vol IV.

_________ "A Date in the Marprelate Controversy," The Library, 2nd Ser., Vol VIII.

3. THESES


BIBLIOGRAPHY II: ELIZABETHAN PROTESTANT LITERATURE

ARRANGED ACCORDING TO DEDICATEES

(Unless otherwise stated, published in London)

OUTLINE

I. INDIVIDUAL DEDICATEES.
   1. MEN (WIVES SOMETIMES INCLUDED).
   2. WOMEN.
   3. ECCLESIASTICS.

II. GROUPS.
   1. GROUPS OF TWO OR MORE.
   2. GENERAL GROUPINGS.

III. COMPANIES, CONGREGATIONS, CORPORATIONS AND COUNCILS.

* Asterick following date indicates that date has been supplied.

** Asterick following place of publications indicates that it has been supplied.
I. INDIVIDUALS

1. MEY

M. THOMAS ALDERSEY, ESQ.

PHILLIPS, GEORGE.
The Good Sheep—Hearde's Dutie. 1597

JAMES ALTHAM, SHERIFF OF ESSEX

CHEMNITIUS, MARTINUS.
A Discoverie and Batterie of the Great Fort of
Written Traditions 1582

SUTCLIFFE, MATTHEW.
An Answer to a Certaine Li—Bel Supplicatourie 1592

SIR EDMUND ANDERSON

NORDEN, JOHN.
SINFULL MANS SOLACE. 1585

SUTCLIFFE, MATTHEW.
An Answer Vnto a Letter by M. J. THORKMORTON 1595

M. ANTONY BACON

BACON, FRANCIS.
ESSAYES, RELIGIOUS MEDITATIONS. 1597
SIR NICHOLAS BACON

GIBBON, CHARLES.
A WORK WORTH THE READING.

TWYNE, THOMAS.
THE GARLANDE OF GODLY FLOWERS

VERON, JEAN.
A STRONGE BATTERY AGAINST THE INUOCATION OF THE SAINTES

SIR NICHOLAS BACON AND HIS WIFE LADY ANNE.

ALLEN, ROBERT.
A TREASURIE OF CATCHECHISME OR CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION

SIR THOMAS BARRINGTON, KNIGHT

WALther, RUDOLPH.
THE SERMONS OF MASTER R. GUALTER VPCN THE PROPHET ZEPHA-NIAH

THOMAS BECON

A BRIEF TREATISE ... OF THE POPES USURPED PRIMACY

SIR THOMAS KENNET, LORD MAYOR OF LONDON.

HOOSE, CHRISTOPHER.
A SERMON PREACHED IN PAULES CHURCH

SIR PEPEGUINE BERTYE

BROUGHTON, HUGH.
AN APOLOGIC IN BRIEFE ASSERTRONS.
SIR CHARLES BLUNT, LORD MOUNTJOY

TOPSELL, EDWARD.
TIMES LAMENTATION OR AN EXPOSITION ON THE PROPHET JOEL

GEORGE BONDE, LORD MAYOR OF LONDON

AVERELL, WM.
FOUR NOTABLE HISTORIES APPLIED TO FOUR WORTHIE EXAMPLES

GIBSON, THOMAS, M.A.
A FRUITFULL SERMON

BEZE, THEOD.BE.
The Psalms of David.

I.S.
CERTAINE GOOLIE A LEARNED SERMONS UPON SIXE PARABLES

SIR HIEROME BOWERS, KNIGHT

GARDINER, SAM.
PORTRAITURE OF THE PRODIGAL SONNF

SIR WILLIAM BOWES, KNIGHT

PERKINS, WM.
A REFORMED CATHOLIKE CAMBRIDGE

SIR JOHN BROCKET

HARRIS, EDMOND.
A SERMON PREACHED AT BROCKET HALL.

WILCOX, THOMAS.
AN EXPOSITION UPON THE BOOK OF THE CANTICLES
SIR THOMAS BROMLEY

CALVIN, JOHN.
THE SERMONS OF JOHN CALVIN UPON DEUTERONOMY.

CHAMREPLAINE, BARTHOLOMEW.
A SERMON PREACHED AT THE BURIALL OF THE LADIE
ANNE COUNTESS OF WARRICK.

HANMER, MEREDITH.
THE JESUITES BANNER.

HANMER, MEREDITH.
THE GREAT BRAGGE AND CHALLENGE OF M. CHAMPION
A JESUITE.

MASTER HENRY BROMLEY.

HERGEST, WM.
THE RIGHT RULE OF CHRISTIAN CHASTITIE.

SIR WILLIAM BROOKE, KNIGHT

TWYNE, THOMAS.
A DISCOVERY OF TEN ENGLISH LEPPERS.

HUGH BROUGHTON

COTTON, ROGER.
A DIRECTION TO THE WATERS OF LYFE.

CUTHBERT BUCKLE, LORD MAYOR OF LONDON

STUBBES, PHILIP.
A MOTIVE TO GOOD WORKES.

SIR JULIUS CAESAR

ANONYMOUS
A DEUOTIF MANS PURPOSES.

ASKE, JAMES.
ELIZABETHA TRIMPHANS.

DENT, ARTHUR.
THE PLAINE MANS PATH-WAY TO HEAVEN.
M. O. CAESAR, JUDGE OF THE ADMIRALTY COURT.

PERKINS, WM.
A GOLDEN CHAINE, OR THE DESCRIPTION OF THE THEOLOGIE
CAMBRIDGE

THOMAS CANDISH, ESQ

WRIGHT, LEONARD.
A DISPLAY OF DUTIE

WRIGHT, LEONARD.
A DISPLAY OF DUTIE

SIR GAWEN CAREN, KNIGHT

CHARDON, JOHN, RP.
A SERMON PREACHED IN S. PETERS CHURCH

SIR GEORGE CAREY

BEZE, THEOD.DE.
A DISCOURSE OF THE TRUE AND VISIBLE MARKES OF THE CATHOLIQUE CHURCH.

BEZE, THEOD.DE.
CHRISTIAN MEDITATIONS UPON EIGHT PSALMES.

FLEMING, ABRAHAM.
THE DIAMOND OF DEVOTION

FLEMING, ABRAHAM.
A MONOMACHIE OF MOTIVES

PISCATOR, JOHN.
THE PATHWAY TO PERFECTION

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT

SUTCLIFFE, MATTHEW.
THE EXAMINATION OF T CARTWRIGHTS LATE APOLOGIE.

LORD HENRY CAREY

BATEMAN, STEPHEN.
THE GOLDEN BOOKE OF THE LEADEN GODDES.

HELLWIS, EDWARD.
A CHARVEL DECIPHERED
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calvin, John</td>
<td>Sermon the Historie of Melchisedech</td>
<td>1592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridges, John, bp.</td>
<td>A Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse</td>
<td>1571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broughton, Hugh</td>
<td>A Treatise of Melchisedek</td>
<td>1591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvin, John</td>
<td>Sermons upon the Epistle to the Galatians</td>
<td>1574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coignet, Matthieu</td>
<td>Politique Discourse upon Truth and Lying</td>
<td>1586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cope, Michel</td>
<td>A Godly and Learned Exposition vppcn the proverbs of Solomon</td>
<td>1580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifford, George</td>
<td>A Short Treatise aginst the Donatists</td>
<td>1590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifford, George</td>
<td>A PLAINE DECLARATION THAT OUR BROWNISTS BE FULL DONATISTS</td>
<td>1590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewel, John, bp.</td>
<td>Certaine Sermons Preached Before the Queens Most Excellent Maiestie</td>
<td>1603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marbecke, John</td>
<td>The Lyves of Holy Saintes Contayned in Holye Scripture</td>
<td>1574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, Henry</td>
<td>A Preparative to Marriage</td>
<td>1591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitaker, WM.</td>
<td>An Aunswere to a Certaine Boke.</td>
<td>1585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Chester, esq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland, Henry</td>
<td>The Christian Exercise of Fasting</td>
<td>1596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Robert Clapke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifford, George</td>
<td>A Treatise of True Fortitude</td>
<td>1594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifford, George</td>
<td>A Dialogue Concerning Witches and Witch-Crafts</td>
<td>1593</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GEORGE CLIFFORD, 3RD EARL OF CUMBERLAND

SMITH, JUNE.
A COMPREHENSIVE FOUNT OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

SIR ANTHONY COOKE

VERMIGLI, PIETRO MARTIRE.
A MOST LEARNED A FRUITFUL COMMENTS UPON THE EPITSTLE TO THE ROMANS.

EDWARD COOKE, ATT.-GEN

BRADLEY, FRANCIS.
A GODLY SERMON.

MASTER I.O.

FISHER, JOHN, OF CHESTER.
THE COPY OF A LETTER DESCRIBING THE WONDERFUL WORKS OF GOD.

M HENRY DAVE, CITIZEN & MERCHANT OF LONDON, BY W. GACE,

LUTHER, MARTIN.
A RIGHT COMFORTABLE TREATISE FOR THEM THAT LABOR AND ARE LADEN.

SIR WILLIAM DAMSOLL

BATeman, STEPHEN.
THE TRAVELLED PILGRIME GRINGING NEWS FROM ALL PARTS.

EDWARD DE VERE, EARL OF OXFORD

CALVIN, JOHN.
The Psalmes of David and Others.

GUIGU, HUGERIFANT WRITER.
The Staffe of Christian Faith.
ROBERT DEVEREAUX, EARL OF ESSEX

BOND, NICHOLAS. 1595
THE DOCTRINE OF THE SABBATH PLAINELY LAYDE FORTH

GIBBENS, NICHOLAS. 1599
THE SACRED SHIELD OF ALL TRUE CHRISTIAN SCOLDIERS

GIFORD, GEORGE. 1598
FIFTEEN SERMONS UPON THE SONG OF SIMEON

HARVEY, RICHARD. 1589
A THEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE OF THE LAMB OF GOD.

HOLLAND, HENRY. 1590
A TREATISE AGAINST WITCHCRAFT.
CAMBRIDGE

HUBBOKKE, WM. 1595
AN ABROGATION OF INFANTS.

LEMNIUS, LEVINUS. 1587
AN HERBAL FOR THE BIBLE, DRAWN INTO ENGLISH

MIDDLETON, THOMAS. 1597
THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON PARAPHRASED

NICHOLS, IOSIAS. 1596
AN ORDER OF HOUSEHOLD INSTRUCTIONS

NORDEN, JOHN. 1597
THE MIRROR OF HONOR

W. COVELL 1603
A JUST AND TEMPERATE DEFENCE OF THE FIVE BOOKS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLICIE

GIFFORD, GEORGE. 1596
SERMONS UPON THE WHOLE BOKE OF REVELATION.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

COTTON, ROGER. 1592
A DIRECTION TO THE WATERS OF LYFE

SIR WILLIAM DREWRIE, KNIGHT.

ANONYMOUS 1576
THE WARFARE OF CHRISTIANS
AMBROSE DUDLEY, EARL OF WARWICK

CALVIN, JOHN.
A COMMENTARIE UPON GENESIS 1578

FULKE, WM.
PREFLECTION UPON THE REVELATION CF ST. JOHN 1573

FULKE, WM.
A SERMON PREACHED AT HAMPTON COURT 1572

GIFORD, GEORGE.
A BRIEF DISCOURSE OF CERTAINE POINTS OF THE RELIGEON AMONG THE COMMON SORT OF CHRISTIANS. 1582

KETHE, WM.
A SERMON MADE AT PLANFORD FORUM. 1572

KNEWSTUB, JOHN.
A CONJUTATION OF MONSTROUS HERESIES TAUGHT BY H. N. 1579

STRIGELIUS, VICTORINUS.
PART OF THE HARMONY OF KING DAVIDS HARP. 1582

ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER

ANONYMOUS
THE BRITISH THUNDERBOLT OR RATHER FEEBLE FIERFLASH OF POPE SIXTUS THE FIFT. 1586

BARTLET, JOHN.
THE PEDEGREIVE OF HERETIQUES. 1566

BATE, JOHN, M. A.
THE REVELATION OF S. JHON REVFD. 1582
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bullinger, Heinrich</td>
<td><em>A Confutation of the Popes Bull.</em></td>
<td>1572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvin, John</td>
<td><em>Sermons Upon the Booke of JCB</em></td>
<td>1574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvin, John</td>
<td><em>Sermons Upon the X Commandmentes</em></td>
<td>1581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cancellar, James</td>
<td><em>The Alphabet of Prayers</em></td>
<td>1573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chauncie, Wm.</td>
<td><em>The Rooting Out of the Romishe Suppemaice</em></td>
<td>1580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corro, Antonio de</td>
<td><em>A Theological Dialogue Wherin the Epistle to the Romans Is Expounded</em></td>
<td>1575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cradocke, Edward</td>
<td><em>The Shippf of Assured Satement</em></td>
<td>1572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C, H.</td>
<td><em>A Godlie Treatise of Faith and Workes</em></td>
<td>1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fusariis, Pamphili, BP.</td>
<td><em>The Auncient Ecclesiastical Historiues</em></td>
<td>1585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fenner, Dudley</td>
<td><em>An Answer unto the Confutation of J Nichols His Recantation</em></td>
<td>1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fenner, Dudley</td>
<td><em>An Answer unto the Confutation of John Nichols.</em></td>
<td>1583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field, John</td>
<td><em>A Caveat For Parsons Howlet.</em></td>
<td>1581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fillis, Robert</td>
<td><em>A Treatise Containing Certain Meditaution of Trew &amp; Perfect Consolation</em></td>
<td>1564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunnis, Wm.</td>
<td><em>A House Full of Hunnye</em></td>
<td>1578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morray, Philippe</td>
<td><em>A Notable Treatise of the Church</em></td>
<td>1579</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MORNAE, PHILIPPESE. 1587
A WOORKE CONCERNING THE TREWNESSE OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

RAINOLDS, JOHN. 1588
THE SUMME OF THE CONFERENCE BETWEEENE J. RAINCLODES AND J. HAPT

VERON, JEAN. 1561
A MOSTE NECESSARY TREATISE CT FREE WLL.

VIRET, PIERRE. 1565
THE FIRST PARTE OF THE CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION

HAKE, EDWARD. 1579
NEWES OUT OF POWLFS CHURCHYARDE.

LEWES OYVE OF BROOMEHAM, COUNTRY BEDFORD

GEE, ALEXANDER. 1576
A DELICATE DIET FOR DAINTIEMOUTHDE DROONKARDES.

KING EDWARD VI.

LYNNE, WALTER. 1588
A MOST NECESSARIE TREATISE DECLARING THE BEGINNING AND ENDING OF AL POPERIE.

SIR THOMAS EGERTON

BULKELEY, EDWARD. 1602
AN APOLOGIE FOR RELIGION.
A SERMON PREACHED AT PAUL'S CROSS THE 6 OF FEBRUARY.

SPiritual Physicke

A SERMON OF SIMON AND SACRILEGE

PEARLE OF PRICE.

OF THE REDEMPTION OF MANKIND.

Lectures Upon Jonas, 1594.

A TREATISE AGAINST JUDICIAL ASTRONOMIE

SIR THOMAS EGERTON, LORD KEEPER OF THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND

A FOURTH PROCEEDING IN THE HARMONY OF KING DAVID'S

HARPE.

JOHN ERNSKIRK, EARL OF MARR

A SERMON PRECHIT BEFORE THE REGENT.

SCOTLAND'S WELCOME

TO HIS VERY LOVING FRIEND, MAYSTER M.F.

A LECTURE OR EXPOSITION UPON A PART OF THE V
CHAPTER OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBRUES.

A LECTURE OR EXPOSITION UPON A PART OF THE V
CHAPTER OF THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBRUES.
LORD FERTF, L. VYCOUNT HEREFF

FILLES, ROBERT.
GOODLY PRAYERS AND MEDITATIONS
1577

M. ROBERT FORTH OF BUTLEY IN SUFFOLK

FULKE, WM.
A SERMON PREACHED AT S. ALPHEGES CHURCH
1577

SIR JOHN FORTESCUE, CHAN. OF EX. PRIVY COUNCILLOR

LODGE, THOMAS.
The Divil Conjured
1596

EDWARD GODFREY, MERCHANT

HAYF, EDWARD.
A TOUCHSTONE FOR THIS TIME PRESENT.
1574

MASTER FRAUNCES GORGFS, GENTLEMAN

DOVE, JOHN.
A SERMON PREACHED AT PAULS CROSSE THE 3. OF NOV. 1594.

GERARDUS, ANDREAS, HYPERUS.
TWO COMMON PLACES TAKEN OUT OF HYPERIUS
1581

QUIS, URBANUF.
AN HOMELY OR SERMON OF GOOD AND EUILLANGELS
1590

QUIS, URBANUF.
AN HOMELY OR SERMON OF GOOD AND EUILLANGELS
1593
LORD ARTHUR GREY, OF WILTON

GASCOIGNE, GEORGE.
THE STEELE GLAS.

SPARKE, THOMAS.
A SERMON PREACHED AT CHEANIES
OXFORD

SPARKE, THOMAS.
A SERMON PREACHED AT CHEANIES

SPARKE, THOMAS.
A CATECHISME OF SHORT KIND OF INSTRUCTION
OXFORD

HASELWOOD, EDMUND, OF RINGSTONE, LINCOLN.

AUGUSTINE, ST.
THE GLASSE OF VAINE-GLORIE.

MASTFR FRANCIS HASTINGS, SHERIFF OF LEICESTERSHIRE

THOMAS, SAMUEL.
A BRIEF AND PITHY FIF TH'EME OF THE CHRISTIAN
FAITH MADE IN FORME OF A CONFESSION.

BEZE, THEO. OF.
A BRIEFE AND PITHY FIF TH'EME OF THE CHRISTIAN
FAITH MADE IN FORME OF A CONFESSION.

BEZE, THEO. OF.
A BOOKE OF CHRISTIAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

BRUGHTON, HUGH.
A SEVERE OAK, THAT IS, ORDER OF THE WOOLCE.

HULLINGER, HEINRICH.
COMMONPLACES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGIO.

BUNNY, EDMUND.
THE CORONATION OF DAVID, OUT OF THAT PART OF THE
HISTORIE WHEREIN WE HAVE SET FOURTH UNTO US.
BUNNY, FRANCIS.
A SURVEY OF THE POPE'S SUPREMACIE.
1595

CALVIN, JOHN.
FOURE SECTIONS WITH A BRIEF EXPOSITION OF THE
IXXXVII PSALMS.
1579

CALVIN, JOHN.
THE COMMENTARIES UPON THE ACTES OF THE APOSTLES
1585

CALVIN, JOHN.
A DISCOURSE OF PETER'S LIFE, PEREGRINATION AND
DEATH.
1580*

CALVIN, JOHN.
A DISCOURSE OF PETER'S LIFE, PEREGRINATION AND
DEATH.
1582

DANIAU, LAMBERT.
A FRUITFUL COMMENTARIES UPON THE TWELVE SMALL
PROPHETS.
CAMBRIDGE
1594

HILDEBSAM, ARTHUR.
A TREATISE OF THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH OF
ENGLAND.
1595

MARKEE, JOHN.
A BOOKE OF NOTES AND COMMON PLACES.
1581

ANDREWS, B.
CERTAINE VERIE WORTHIE SERMONS UPON THE FIFTH
CHAPTER OF THE SONGS OF SOLOMON
1583

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON

BANCRIFT, PICH, ABP.
A SERMON PREACHED AT PAUL'S CROSS.
1588

CAESAR, PHILIPPS.
A GENERAL DISCOURSE AGAINST THE CANNABLE SECT OF
USURERS.
1578
DIGBY, EVERARD.
E. DIGBIE HIS DISSUASIVE FROM TAKING AWAY THE
LYVINGS AND GOODS OF THE CHURCH.

ESTIENNE, HENRI.
THE STAGE OF POPISH TOYES

HARVEY, JOHN.
A DISCOURSIVE PROBLEME CONCERNING PROPHESIES.

JAMES, WM.
A SERMON PREACHED AT PAULES CROSSE

ROGERS, THOMAS.
AN HISTORICAL DIALOGUE TOUCHING ANTICHRIST.

STRIGELIUS, VICTORINUS.
A PROCEEDING IN THE HARMONIE OF KING DAVIDS HARPE.

WOLFGANG, M.
COMMON PLACES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION

SIR CHRISTOPHER Haulton

SARAVIA, HADRIENUS.
OF THE CIVIVERSE DEGREES OF THE MINISTERS OF THE
GOSPEL

SIR ROWLAND HAYWARD, KNIGHT & J.

FLEMIN, ABRAHAM.
THE FOOTPATH OF FAITH, LEADING THE HIGHWAIE TO
HEAVEN

SIR THOMAS HERFAGE

ALISON, RICHARD.
A PLAINE COMPUTATION OF A TREATISE OF BROWNISM.

CYPRIAN, ST.
CERTAIN WORKES OF BLESSED CIPRIANE THE MARTYR
ZUPICH.

HUNNIS, WM.
HUNNIES RECREATIONS CONTAINING FOUR GODLI AND
COMPENDIOUS DISCOURSES.

LUTHER, MARTIN.
SPECIAL AND CHOSEN SERMONS

PARSONS, ROBERT & BUNNY, F.
THE SECONDE PARTE OF THE BOOK OF CHRISTIAN
EXERCISE
ROGER HERLACKINDEN

BUNNY, EDMUND.
The Scepter of Judah

WILCOX, THOMAS.
A Right Godly and Learned Exposition Upon Psalms.

SIR BAPTIST HICKES, KNIGHT

CLAPHAM, HENOCK.
An Epistle Discoursing Upon the Pestilence.

CLAPHAM, HENOCK.
An Epistle Discoursing Upon the Pestilence.

RALPH HOCKENHULL, ESQ.

POWEL, GABRIEL.
Theological and Scholastical Positions Concerning Usurie
Oxford

SIR OWEN HOPTON

NELSON, THOMAS.
A Short Discourse—Of All the Late Pretended Treasons Against the Queen's Maiestie.

CHARLES HOWARD, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM

DAUNCE, EDWARD.
A Briefe Discourse Dialoguewise, Shewing the Spaniards Intended Invasion.

J. UDALL.
Amendment of Life Tree Sermons.

PHILLIP HOWARD, 1ST EARL OF AUNDEAL

CALVIN, JOHN.
An Excellent Treatise, of the Immortality of the Soule

STORBES, PHILIP.
The Anatomy of Abuses

HADDON, WALTER AND FOXE, JOHN.
Against Jerome Oschils.
THOMAS HOWARD, 1ST EARL OF SUFFOLK

JOHNSON, RICHARD. 1596
THE MOST FAMOUS HISTORY OF THE SEA-UEN CHAMPIONS OF CHRISTENDOM.

WILLIAM HOWARD, 1ST LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM

BERNARD, JOHN. 1570
THE TRANQUILLITIC OF THE MIND.

JOHNSON, RICHARD. 1597
THE SECOND PART OF THE FAMOUS HISTORY OF THE SEA-UEN CHAMPIONS.

THOMAS HUSEY

BREDWELL, STEPHEN. 1588
THE RASING OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF ARONNISME.

M. JOHN HUTTON, ESQ.

GIFFORD, GEORGE. 1582
A SERMON UPON THE PAPABLE OF SOWER.

KING JAMES

BRUCE, ROBERT. 1591
SEPROMS UPON THE SACRAMENT.
EDINBURGH

CLAPHAM, HENOCK. 1603
THREE PARTS OF SOLOMON HIS SONG OF SONGS EXPOUNDED.

NOVE, JOHN. 1602
A PERSUAISON TO THE ENGLISH RECUSANTS, TO RECONCILE THEMSELVES TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

DOWNHAM, GEORGE, BP. 1602
ABRAHAMS TRYALL.

FOWLER, WM. 1581
AN ANSWER TO THE CALUMNIOUS LETTER.
EDINBURGH

NAPIER, JOHN. 1593
A PLAINE DISCOVERY OF THE WHOLE REVELATION OF SAINT JOHN.
EDINBURGH

LORD JAMES, LORD LINDSAY OF THE BYRES
FENNER, DUDLEY.  
CERTAIN GODLY AND LEARNED TREATISES  
EDINBURGH  
1592

SIR ROBERT JERMYN AND HIS WIFE

CALVIN, JOHN.  
TWO A TWENTIF SERMONS, IN WHICH IS HANDLED THE  
HUNDREDTH AND NINETEENTH PSALME.  
1580

JOHN, LORD ST. JOHN.

WRIGHT, LEONARD.  
THE PILGRIMMAGE TO PARADISE.  
1591

HAGGEUS, THE PROPHET

1586

SIR RICHARD KNIGHTLEY

CALVIN, JOHN.  
THREE PROPOSITIONS OR SPEECHES.  
1580

VALENTINE KNIGHTLY, ESQ.

DOWRICHE, HUGH.  
THE IAYLORS CONVERSION  
1596

HENRY KUOCHE

LUTHER, MARTIN.  
A FRUITFUL SERMON  
1560*

ROBERT LEE, LORD MAYOR OF LONDON AND ALDERMEN

CROSSE, HENRY.  
VERTUES COMMON-WEALTH  
1603

SIR THOMAS LEIGHTON, KNIGHT

MERLIN, PIERRE.  
THE CHRISTIANS COMBAT...  
1591
M. LIONEL MADDISON

BALMFORD, JAMES. 1593
A SHORT AND PLATINE DIALOGUE CONCERNING THE UNLAWFULNES OF PLAYING AT CARDS

MASTER PETER MANWOOD, ESQ.

LYNCH, RICHARD. 1631
AN HISTORICAL TREATISE OF THE TRAVELS OF NOAH ONTO EUROPE

JOHN MARTIALL

CALFHILL, JAMES. 1565
AN AUNSWERF TO THE TREATISE OF THE GROSSE.

RICHARD MARTIN, ALDERMAN OF LONDON

MUNDAY, ANTHONY. 1582
A BRIEFE AND TRUE REPORTE, OF THE EXECUTION OF CERTAIN TRAYTOURS AT TIBORNE

RICHARD MARTIN, MASTER OF THE MINT

CHADERTON, LAWRENCE. 1589
A FRUITFUL SERMON UPON THE 12 CH. OF ROMANS

M. JOHN MFRFS, HIGH SHERIFF OF LINCOLNSHIRE

MFRFS, FRANCIS, M. A. 1597
GODS ARITHMETICKE

SIR WALTER MILDWAY

HEMMINGSSEN, NIEL. 1578
A POSTILL OR EXPOSITION OF THE GOSPELS.

MARLOTT, AUGUSTINE. 1574
A CATHOLIKE EXPOSITION UPON THE REVELATION CF SAINCT JOHNSA
SIR WALTER MILDMAY, CHANCELLOR OF THE COURT OF EXCHEQUER.

CHYTAEUS, DAVID. 1570
A POSTIL OR ORDERLY DISPOSING OF CERTEINE
EPISTLES

SIR THOMAS MOUNTAIN

CLAPHAM, HENOCK. 1601
SYNIA OR AELOHIM-TRIUNE, DISPLAYED BY HIS WORKES.

MASTER THOMAS MYLOT OR MILLOT

CLAPHAM, HENOCK. 1603
A BRIEFE OF THE BIBLE.

T.N.

P, W. 1585#
FOWRE GREAT LYERS, STRIVING WHO SHALL WIN THE
SILVER WHITESTONE.

M. HUGH OFLEY, SHERIFFE OF THE CITYE OF LONDON

GREENE, ROBERT. 1589
THE SPANISH MASQUERADO

RO. PARKER AND MISTRESS ANNE, HIS WIFE.

HALL, JOHN. 1565
THE COURTE OF VERTUE CONTAYNYNGE MANY HOLY SONGES,
SONETTES, PSALMES AND BALLETES.

TRAHERON, BARTHOLOMEW. 1573
AN EXPOSITION OF THE 4 CHAP. OF S. JACIIS
REUELATION.

SIR WILLIAM PAULET

CHUR, WM. 1587
A FRUITFULL SERMON PREACHED IN A RIGHT HONORABLE
AUDIENCE
SIR WILLIAM PELHAM

RATRAMNUS, MONACHUS.
THE BOOK OF BARTHAM PRIEST. 1582

SIR WILLIAM PELHAM

BURTON, WM.
DAVIDS THANKES-GIVING FOR THE ARRAIGNMENT OF THE MAN OF EARTH. 1602

GERARD, PIERRE.
A PREPARATION TO THE MOST HOLIE MINISTRIE. 1598

PERKINS, WM.
The Works of That Famous a Worthie Minister of Christ. 1603

SIR JOHN PINDHAM

ALLEN, ROBERT.
THE MEEKIFEROUS GARDEN OF CHARITIE. 1603

HILL, ROBERT, D.D.
LIFE EVERLASTING,... CAMBRIDGE

WILCOX, THOMAS.
A SHORT NARRATION OF THE FIRE IN WCURN. 1595

SIR JOHN PUCKERING

A DRICHOMIUS, CHRISTIANUS
A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF HIERUSALEM, ALSO A MAPPE. 1595

STRIGEIUS, VICTORINUS.
A SECOND PROCEEDING IN THE HARMONIE OF KING DAVIDS HarpE. 1593

WILLET, ANDREW.
TETRASYLON PAPISTICUM THE FOUR PRINCIPAL PILLARS OF POPISTIE. 1593

MASTER POGER PULESTON, ESG.

HUTCHINS, EDWARD.
A SERMON IN S PETRIS CHURCH AT WEST-CHESTER. OXFORD 1586
THOMAS RADCLIFFE, EARL OF SUSSEX

BALE, JOHN, RP
THE PAGEANT OF POPES. 1574

MASTER THOMAS RANDOLPH, ESC.

LESPINE, JEAN DE.
AN EXCELLENT AND LEARNED TREATISE OF APOSTASIE 1587

LESPINE, JEAN DE.
A CONFUTATION OF THE POPISH TRANSUBSTANTIATION 1592

SIR EDWARD RACCLIFFE AND WIFE, KNIGHT, HIGH SHERIFF OF BEDFORDSHIRE

POLANUS, AMNODUS.
TREATISE CONCERNING GODS ETERNAL PREDESTINATION 1599

LORD ROBERT RICH

DENT, ARTHUR.
THE RUINE OF ROME. 1603

RAPHE RODEBY, ESQ., MASTER OF ST. KATHERINES HOSPITAL

HANMER, MEREIDITH.
THE BAPTIZING OF A TURKE. A SERMON. 1586$

EDWARD RUSSEL, EARL OF BEDFORD

BOQUINUS, P.
A DEFFENCE OF CHRISTIANITIE. 1581

MUFFET, PETER.
A COMMENTARIE UPON THE PROVERBS OF SOLOMON 1592

PERKINS, WM.
AN EXPOSITION OF THE LORDS PRAYER 1592

PERKINS, WM.
AN EXPOSITION OF THE CREED OF THE APOSTLES 1595

SMITH, HENRY.
SIXE SERMONS 1594
LORD EDWARD AND HIS WIFE.

POLANUS, AMANDUS.
THE SUBSTANCE OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION

FRANCIS RUSSELL, EARL OF BEDFORD

CALVIN, JOHN.
A LITTLE BOOKE CONCERNYNGE OFFENCES

CALVIN, JOHN.
A HARMONIC VPON ... MATTHEW, MARK, AND LUKE.

GEFF, ALEXANDER.
THE BRIDEGE OF DOOMES DAY.

GEFF, ALEXANDER.
THE GROUND OF CHRISTIANITIE

VERON, JEAN.
THE HUNTYNGE OF PURGATORYE

J. UDALL
PETERS FALL. TWO SERMONS.

ALLEY, W., BP
THE POORE MANS LIBRARIE.

THOMAS SACKVILLE, LORD BUCKHURST

GODWIN, FRANCIS, BP.
A CATALOGUE OF THE BISHOPS OF ENGLAND.

OLIVER ST. JOHN, BARON OF BLETSTO

DILLINGHAM, FRANCIS.
A DISSUASIOUE FROM PAPERIE.
CAMBRIDGE

M. WILLIAM SAMMES, ESQ., OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE

LUIS DE GRANADA.
GRANADAS SPIRITUALL AND HUENLIE EXERCISES

THOMAS SAUNDERS.

LE MACON, ROBERT.
A CATECHISME AND PLAYNE INSTRUCTION FOR CHILDREN
M. George Saintpolle, Esq.

Fulbecke, Wm.
A Booke of Christian Ethicks

1587

Gerardus, Andreeas, Hypenus.
The True Tryall and Examination of a Mans Owne Selfe.

1586

Rollock, Robert.
A Tretisise of Gods Effectual Calling

1603

Sir Henry Sidney

Beze, Theod. De.
A Shorte Learned and Pithie Tretisise of the Plague.

1580

Hopkinson, Wm.
A Preparation Into the Waye of Lyfe.

1583

Sir Philip Sidney

Gossen, Stephen.
The Schoole of Abuse.

1579

Marnix, Philip's Van.
The Beehive of the Romish Church

1579

Lord Saint John Parson Slesto

Cupper, Wm.
Certayne Sermons Concerning Gods Late Visitation

1592

SIR Stephen Stame, Lord Mayor of London and Wife.

Anonymous
A Brieffe Tretisise of the Virtue of the Crosse

1599

M. Newell Sotherton, Clerk in the Court of Exchequer

Cogan, Thomas.
The Well of Wisdom.
M. THOMAS SOUTH, ESQ., OF SWALLOW CLIFFE, WILTSHIRE

MORE, JOHN.
A LIVELY ANATOMIE OF DEATH
HENRY STANLEY, EARL OF DERBY

CALDWELL, JOHN, PREACHER.
A SERMON PREACHED BEFORE THE EARLE OF CARPIE

LORD HENRY STANLEY, EARL OF DARBY, PRIVIE COUNSELLER

ANONYMOUS
A LETTER LATELY WRITTEN FROM ROME.
FULKE, WM.
A CONFUTATION OF A POPISHE LIBELLE.

LORD JAMES STEWART, EARL OF MORAY

HAY, JOHN, JESUIT.
THE CONFUTATION OF THE ABBOTE OF CROSRAQUELS
MASSE.
EDINBURGH

MASTER WILLIAM SWAN, HIS WIFE AND CONGREGATION IN WYE

CALVIN, JOHN.

MASTER JOHN SWYNNERTON, ESQ., AND WIFE

MORAY, PHILIPPEDE.
The true knowledge of a mans owne selfe

GILBERT TALBOT, EARL OF SHREWSBURY

FLETCHER, ANTHONIE.
CERTAINE VERY PROPER AND MOST PROFITABLE SIMILES
THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON

QUIS, URBANUS.
AN HOMELY OR SERMON OF GOOD AND EUILL ANGELS
1583

SIR ANTHONIF THEOLD, KNIGHT

BATE, JOHN, M. A.
THE PORTRAITURE OF HYPOCRISIE.
1589

THOMAS, BARON OF BUCKHURST

ABBOT, GEORGE, ABP.
SERMONS PREACHED IN S. MARIES CHURCH IN OXFORD.
1600

HOWSON, JOHN, BP OF OX. & DURHAM.
A SERMON PREACHED AT ST. MARIES IN OXFORD IN
DEFENCE OF THE FESTIVITIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAN
OXFORD

LORD THOMAS, EARL OF SUSSEX & HIS WIFE

MALPORAT, AUGUSTINE.
A CATHOLIKE AND ECCLESIASTICAL EXPOSITION OF THE
HOLY GOSPEL
1575

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAN

ANWICK, I.
ANWICK HIS MEDITATIONS UPON GODS MONARCHIE AND THE
DFUILL HIS KINGDOM
1587

BAKER, JOHN.
LECTURES UPON THE XII ARTICLES OF OUR CHRISTIAN
FAITH.
1581

BRENTIUS, JOANNES.
A RIGHT GODLY AND LEARNE DISCOURSE UPON THE BOOKE
OF ESTER.
1584

DADEAU, LAMBERT.
THE WONDERFULL WORKMANSHIP OF THE WORLD.
1578

FOX, JOHN.
AN ABRIDGEMENT OF THE ACTES AND MONUMENTES.
1589
FOXÉ, JOHN. 1578
A SERMON PREACHED AT THE CHRISTENING OF A CERTAINE IEW.

GOSSON, STEPHEN. 1582
PLAYERS CONFUTED IN FIVE ACTIONS.

HOWARD, HENRY, EARL OF NORTHAMPTON. 1583
A DEFENSATIVE AG. THE POYSON OF SUPPOSED PROPHESIES.

JEWFL, JOHN, B.P. 1594
AN EXPOSITION UPON THE TO EPISTLES TO THE THESSALOMIANS

KELTRIDGE, JOHN. 1581
TWO GODLIE AND LEARNED SERMONS, APPOINTED AND PREACHED, BEFORE THE IESIUTFS.

LUPTON, THOMAS. 1582
THE CHRISTIAN AGAINST THE JESIUTE

MUNDAY, ANTHONY. 1582
A BRIEF ANSWER MADE UNTO TWO SEDITIOUS PAMPHLETS.

ROGERS, JOHN. 1579
THE DISPLAYING OF AN HORRIBLE SECTE OF HERETIQUES

SOME, ROBERT. 1583
A GODLIE TREATISE OF THE CHURCH

WILCOX, THOMAS. 1580
SUMMARIE AND SHORT MEDITATIONS

J. UNALL 1577
THE CASTELL OF CHRISTIANS

M. RICHARD WARREN, ESQ.

NICHOLS, NICHOLAS. 1573
A SPIRITUAL. POSEAYF CONTAYNING

MASTER JOHN WENTWORTH

WALTHER, RUDOLPH. 1582
THE HOMLLIFS UPON THE PROPHET JOEL.
LORD THOMAS WENTWORTH

BENNET, HENRY. 1561
A FAMOUS AND GODLY HISTORY, CONTAYNYING THE LYVES OF THREE REFORMERS.

BULLINGER, HEINRICH. 1561
A HUNDRED SERMONS UPON THE APOCALYPSES.

BUTTON, WM. 1596
DAVIDS EVIDENCE OR THE ASSURANCE OF GODS LOVE.

DR. THOMAS WILSON, SECRETARY

AUGUSTINE, ST. 1581
S. AUGUSTINES MANUEL

SIR EDWARD WINGFIELD

BEARD, THOMAS. 1597
THE THEATRE OF GODS JUDGEMENT.

SIR CHRISTOPHER WRAY, LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND

TURNBULL, RICHARD. 1591
AN EXPOSITION UPON THE XV PSALM.

SIR WILLIAM Wray of GLENTORTH, KNIGHT

THE ESTATE OF THE CHURCH, WITH THE DISCOURSE OF TIMES, FROM THE APOSTLES

MISTER EDMUND YONGE, GENTLEMAN AND STUDENT OF LAW

CARR, JOHN. 1573
A LARIAT BELLE FOR LONDON

SIR JOHN YING or YONGE, KNIGHT

NORTHROKE, JOHN. 1579
A TREATISE WHEREIN Dicing, Dauncing, Are Reproved.
2. Women

lady Anne, countess of oxford

Golden Epistles. Newly Corrected and Amended 1575
Chrisostum J. Saint
An Exposition Upon the Ephesians 1582
Chrisostum J. Saint
An Exposition Upon the Ephesians 1582
lady Anne, countess of Pembroke

Innocent III, Pope.
The Mirror of Mans Lyfe 1576

Gardiner, Sam.
The Conviniance of a True Christian 1597

lady Anne, countess of warwick

Gifford, George.
Eight Sermons Upon Ecclesiastes 1589

Knewstub, John.
Lectures Upon Exodus XX, Etc. 1577

Luther, Martin.
A Right Comfortable Treatise For Them That Labor And Are Laden 1579

Dominicus, Mancinus.
a Plaine Path To Perfect Virtue 1568
LADY ANNE BACON

REZM, THEO. DE.
CHRISTIAN MEDITATIONS UPON EIGHT PSALMES. 1582

JEWEL, JOHN, RP.
AN APOLOGY ON ANSWER IN DEFENSE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. 1562

WILCOX, THOMAS.
A SHORT, YET SOUND COMMENTARIE ON THE PROVERBES OF SOLOMON. 1589

ROLLOCK, ROBERT.
AN EXPOSITION UPON SOME SELECT PSALMES. EDINBURGH. 1600

ELIZABETH BARRET, WIFE OF MORTER EDWARD BARRET ESG

MARGECEKE, JOHN.
THE HOLIE HISTORIE OF KING DAVID. 1579

LADY ELIZABETH CAREY, WIFE OF SIR ROBERT

MORTON, THOMAS.
A TREATISE OF THE THREE FOLDE STATE OF MAN. 1596

NASH, T.
CHRISTS TEARS OVER JERUSALEM. 1593

PLAYFEKE, THOMAS.
THE VYNN IN MOURNING. 1597

LADY CHEYNE.

LANT, THOMAS.
THE DAILIE EXERCIZE OF A CHRISTIAN. 1590*

LADY DENNY.

HUGHIE, WM.
THE TROUPEL MANS MEDICINE. 1560$
LADY JANE DEVOEUX, OF MERIVALE

DAYTON, MICHAEL.
THE HARMONIE OF THE CHURCH CONTAINING THE SPIRITUAL SONGES

DOUGLAS, LADY SHEFFIELD

HEMMINGSSEN, NIEL.
THE PREACHERS, OR METHOD OF PREACHING.

LADY ANNE DRURY

BRETON, NICOLAS.
AN EXCELLENT POEME UPON THE LONGING OF A BLESSED HEART.

ESTY, GEORGE.
CERTAINE GODLY AND LEARNED EXPOSITIONS UPON DIVERS PARTS OF SCRIPTURE

LADY ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF LINCOLN

FUSQUIES, PANPHILI, BP.
THE ANCIENT ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIES

VIROT, PIERRE.
A CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION

LADY ELIZABETH MAL-VILL

HUNE, ALEX., MIN. OE LOGIE.
ONE TREATISE OF CONSCIENCE.
EDINBURGH

QUEEN ELIZABETH

AUGUSTINE, ST.
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LOVE OF GOD.

HARKLEY, SIR RICHARD.
A DISCOURSE OF THE FELICITY OF MAN.

BENTLEY, THOMAS.
THE FIFTH LAMPE OF VIRGINITIE.
BEZÆ, THEODORE.
IOP EXPounded BY THEOCRE BEZA.

BILSON, THOMAS, BP.
THE TRUE DIFFERENCE BETW. CHRISTIAN SUbJECTION AND UNCHRISTIAN REBELLION.

BRIDGES, JOHN, BP.
The SUPREMACIE OF CHRISTIAN PRINCES.

BROUGHTON, HUGH.
A CONCEN OF SCRIPTURE.

CONWAY, SIR JOHN.
MEDITATIONS AND PRAIERS.

FULKE, WM.
The TEXT OF THE NEW TEST. OF JESUS CHRIST TR. BY THE PAPISTS.

FULKE, WM.
A DEFENSE OF THE SINCERE A TRUE TRANSLATIONS OF THE HOLIE SCRIPTURES INTO THE ENGLISH TONG.

HANAPUS, NICOLAS.
The FMDSAMPLES OF EUPHUE AND VICE, ENG. T. RAYNELL.

HUMPHREY, LAWRENCE.
The NOBLES, OR OF NOBILITYE.

JEWEI, JOHN, BP.
A DEFENCE OF THE APOLOGIE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

KETT, FRANCIS.
The GLORI-CUS AND BEAUTIFULL GARLAND OF MANS GLORIFICATION.

KINGHAYES, THOMAS.
The PAPISH KINGDOME, OR REIGNE OF ANTI-CHRIST.

LOK, HENRY.
ECCLESIASTES ABRIDGED AND DILATED IN ENGLISH PSEIS.

LUPTON, THOMAS.
A PERSUASION FROM PAPISTRIF.

MAUNSELL, ANDREW.
The FIRST PART OF THE CATALOGUE OF ENGLISH PRINTED BOOKS.

MORE, SIR GEORGE.
A DEMONSTRATION OF GOD IN HIS WORKES.

MORTON, THOMAS.
SOLOMON WHEREunto IS ANNEXED ANOTHER TREATISE OF THE RIGHT CONSTITUTION OF A CHURCH.
MUNDAY, ANTHONY.  
THE WATCH-WORD TO ENGLANDE 1584

NICHOLS, JOHN.  
THE ORATION AND SERMON MADE AT RCME THE XXVII DAIE OF MAIE. 1578

NICHOLS, JOHN.  
JOHN NICHOLS PRILGRIMAGE 1581

NICHOLS, JOHN.  
THE ORATION AND SERMON MADE AT RCME THE XXVII DAIE OF MAIE. 1581

NOOT, JAN VAN DER.  
A THEATRE WHEREIN BE REPRESENTED THE MISERIES THAT FOLLOW THE VOLUPTUOUS WORLDLINGS. 1569

NORDEN, JOHN.  
A CHRISTIAN FAMILIAR COMFORT 1596

SINGELIUS, VICTORINUS.  
A THIRD PROCEEDING IN THE HARMONY OF KING CAVID'S HARPE 1595

TILNEY, EDMUND.  
A BRIEF AND PLEASANT DISCOURSE OF DUTIES IN MARRIAGE. 1568

VENMIGLI, PIETRO MARTIRE.  
The Common Places of Peter Martyr. 1583

VENON, JEAN.  
A TRUTHFUL TREATISE OF PREDESTINATION. 1561

LADY FRANCIS, COUNTESS OF HERTFORD

ANONYMOUS  
A BEAUTIFUL BAY-RUSH TO SHROWD US FROM THE SHARPE SHOWERS OF SINNE 1589

BEZE, THEODORE.  
The Treasure of Truth. 1576

OCHINO, BERNARDINO.  
SERMONS, CONCERNING THE PREDESTINATION AND ELECTION OF GOD 1570
Lady Francis, Countess of Sussex

Gifford, George. 1582
Four Sermons Upon the Seven Chiefe Vertues of Faith.

Hemmingsen, Nifl. 1581
The Faith of the Church Militant.

Hunnis, Wm. 1583
Seven Sores of a Sorrowful Soule for Sinne.

Mistress Mary Harrys Widow

Fulke, Wm. 1578
A Comfortable Sermon of Faith

Mistress Anne Henfage

Crowley, Robert. 1556
A Deliberat Answere Made to a Rash Offer Which Cerberus Chargeth Wyth False Doctrine.

Lady Elizabeth Hoby, Wife of Sir Edward


Lady Catherine Howard

Hureek, Caspar. 1578
A Riche Storehouse, or Treasure, For the Sick.
LADY KATHERINE, COUNTESS DowAGER OF HUNTINGTON

BURNY, FRANCIS.
A COMPARISON BETW. THE ANCIENT FAYTH OF THE ROMANS & THE POMISH RELIGICA.

LADY KATHERINE, DUCHESS OF SUFFOLK

CALVIN, JOHN.
SERMONS UPON THE SONGE THAT EZECHIAS MADE AFTER HE HAD RENE SICKE

LATIMER, HUGH, BP.
SEVEN SERMONS MADE UPON THE LORDES PRAYER.

LATIMER, HUGH, BP.
FRUTEFULL SERMONS.

LATIMER, HUGH, BP.
FRUTEFULL SERMONS.

LATIMER, HUGH, BP.
FRUTEFULL SERMONS.

LATIMER, HUGH, BP.
The seven sermons preached before k edward

LATIMER, HUGH, BP.
FRUTEFULL SERMONS.

LATIMER, HUGH, BP.
FRUTEFULL SERMONS.

LADY LUCY, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD

PERKINS, WM.
A SALUE FOR A SICKE MAN

LADY MARGARET, BARTNESS OF DACRES OF THE SOUTH

TOPSELL, EDWARD.
The reward of religion.

LADY MARGARET, COUNTESS OF DERBY.

MORNAy, PHILIPPELD.
The defence of death, doone, into english
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LADY MARY COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAYNE, THOMAS</td>
<td>THE PITHY AND MOST NOTABLE SAYINGS OF ALL SCRIPTURE</td>
<td>1560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MISTRESS GRISSELL SHEFFIELD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLAPHAM, HENRY</td>
<td>A TRACT OF PRAYER</td>
<td>1602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GREENHAM, RICHARD</td>
<td>THE WORKES EXAMINED, CORRECTED, AND PUBLISHED.</td>
<td>1601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMITH, JUDE</td>
<td>A VERY GOODIE AND NECESSARIE SERMON</td>
<td>1578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELIZABETH PALME, WIDOW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAHERON, BARTHOLOMEW</td>
<td>AN EXPLOITATION OF A PARTE OF S. JAHANNES GSOPEL OVERSEEN AGAINE</td>
<td>1558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LADY ALISON SANDILANDS, LADY OF HUNISTOUN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BALNAVES, SIP HENRY</td>
<td>THE CONFESSION OF FAITH CONTAINING HOW THE TROUBLED MAN SHOULD SEEK REFUGE AT HIS GOD. EDINBURGH</td>
<td>1584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LADY ANNE SEYMOUR, DUCHESS OF SOMERSET</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOLLAND, ROBERT</td>
<td>THE HOLIE HISTORY OF OUI LORD JESUS CHRIST.</td>
<td>1594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LADY ELIZABETH TERWHITE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L ESPINE, JEAN DE</td>
<td>AN EXCELLENT TREATISE OF CHRISTIAN &amp; RIGHTEOUSNESS</td>
<td>1580</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LADY URSULA WALSINGHAM

MAPLOKAT, AUGUSTINE. 1578:
A CATHOLIC EXPOSITION UPON THE TWO LOST EPISTLES

LAPLACE, PIERRE DE. 1579
A TREATISE OF THE EXCELLENCIE OF A CHRISTIAN MAN.

LADY JANE WENTWORTH

HUTCHINS, EDWARD. 1601
SAMPSINE SAWBONE AGAINST THE SPIRITUAL PHILISTINE.

MISTRESS MARY WOOLTON, WIFE OF BISHOP OF EXETER

CAULIFE, CHRISTOPHER. 1599
THE SONG OF THE BELOVED

LADY MARY WROTH, WIFE OF SIR THOMAS

GERARDUS, ANDREAS, HYPERUS. 1579
THE COURSE OF CHRISTIAITIE.
3. ECCLESIASTICS

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

BEATNICE, JOHN.  
A SERMON PREACHED AT TORETEN IN NORTHAMPTON.  
1662

BEIT, THOMAS.  
THE SPECULATION OF VسورIE.  
1596

CLARKE, THOMAS.  
THE RECANTATION OF T. CLARKE  
1594

DEIUS, LAWRENCE.  
THAT THE POPE IS THAT ANTICHRIST.  
1590

LAVATER, LUDWIG.  
THREE CHRISTIAN SERMONS  
1596

LIVELY, EDWARD.  
A TRUE CHRONOLOGY OF THE TIMES OF THE PERSIAN MONARCHY  
1587

SPARKE, THOMAS.  
THE HIGH WAY TO HEAVEN.  
1597

TURNBULL, RICHARD.  
AN EXPOSITION UPON THE CANONICAL EPISTLE OF ST JAMES  
1591

TURNBULL, RICHARD.  
AN EXPOSITION UPON THE CANONICAL EPISTLE OF ST JAMES  
1592

WOLFGANG, 4.  
COMMON PLACES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION  
1563

JOHN AYLMEF, BISHOP OF LONDON

CALVIN, JOHN.  
THE INSTITUTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION  
1580

GEHARDT, ABB OF COLOGNE.  
A DECLARATION MADE BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE UPON HIS MARRIAGE  
1583
GERARDUS, ANDREAS, HYPERUS. 1577
THE PRACTIS OF PREACHING

KELTBRIDGE, JOHN. 1578
THE EXPOSITION, AND REA-DYNGES IN XI OF LUKE.

RICHARD BANCROFT, BISHOP OF LONDON

BARLOW, WM. 1601
A DEFENCE OF THE ARTICLES OF THE PROTESTANTS RELIGION.

GOSSON, STEPHEN. 1598
THE TRUMPET OF HARRE.

HOLLAND, THOMAS. 1601
D. ELIZABETHAE...A SERMON PREACHED AT PAULS. OXFORD

CHRISTS CHECKE TO S PETER.
THOMAS BENTHAM, BISHOP OF COVENTRY AND LICHFIELD

BULLINGER, HEINRICH. 1579*
A MOST EXCELLENT SERMON OF THE LORDS SUPPER.

GILBERT BERKELEY, BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS

"NORTHBROKE, JOHN. 1571
A BRIEFE SERMON OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.

REVIUS, IOANNES. 1579
A GUIDE UNTO GODLINESSE.

WILLIAM SPADBRIDGE, BISHOP OF EXETER

BULLINGER, HEINRICH. 1572
QUESTIONS OF RELIGION CAST ABROAD IN HELVETIA.
I.S.
CERTAINE GODLIE A LEARNED SERMONS UPON SIXE PARABLES
EDMUND FREKE, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

GERARDUS, ANDREAS, HYPERUS.
THE REGIMENT OF THE POVERTIE

MR. D GOODMAN, DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.

CALVIN, JOHN.
APHORISIMES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION
RHEIMS

GABRIEL GOODMAN, DEAN OF WESTMINSTER

SAVONAROLA, GIRCLAMC.
APYTHIE EXPOSITION UPON THE 51 PSALME.

EDMUND GRINDAL, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

BUNNY, EDMUND.
THE WHOLE SUMME OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION

CALVIN, JOHN.
A COMMENTARIE UPON ST. PAULS EPISTLES TO THE GOTTIANS

CALVIN, JOHN.
A COMMENTARIE UPON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANES.

OCHINO, BERNAPDINO.
CERTAINE GODLY SERMONS OF FAITHE, HOPE A CHARITIE.

TOHIAH MATTHEW, BISHOP OF DURHAM

BELL, THOMAS.
THE ANATOMIE OF POPISH TYRAANIE.
A. NOWELL, DEAN OF ST. PAULS.

ANONYMOUS
A DYALL OF DAYLY CONTEMPLACION.
1578

HUTCHINS, EDWARD.
A SERMON PREACHED AT S MARIES IN OXFORD.
OXFORD
1589

GIBBENS, NICOLAS.
AN EASIE ENTRANCE INTO THE PRINCIPALL-POINTS OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION
ALEXANDER NOWELL, DEAN OF ST. PAULS
1601

GERARDUS, ANDREAS, HYPERUS.
A SPECIALL TREATISE OF GODS PROVIDENCE.
1588*

WILLIAM OVERTON, BISHOP OF COVENTRY AND LICHFIELD

BULLINGER, HEINRICH.
THESUME OF THE FOUPE EVANGELISTES.
MATTHEW PARKER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

GONSALVIUS, MONTANUS.
A DISCOVERY AND PLAYNE DECLARATION OF SUNDAY SUBTILL PRACTICES OF THE HOLY INQUISITION
1568

NOWELL, ALEX.
A CATECHISM OR FIRST INSTRUCTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION
1577

NOWELL, ALEX.
A CATECHISM OR FIRST INSTRUCTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION
1570

EDWIN SANDYS, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

PARKS, ROBERT & QUNKY, E.
A BOUKE OF CHRISTIAN EXERCISE
1597
EDMUND SCRAMBLE, BISHOP OF NORWICH

HUMSTON, ROBERT.
A SERMON PREACHED 22 SEPT. 1588

THOMAS, BISHOP OF LINCOLN.

ANDERSON, ANTHONY.
AN EXPOSITION OF THE HYMNE BENEDICTUS

JOHN WHITGIFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

BANKES, THOMAS, PREACHER.
A VERIE GODLY LEARED A FRUITFULL SERMON.

BUNNY, EDMUND.
CERTAINE PRAYERS AND OTHER GODLY EXERCISES, FOR THE SEVENTEENTH OF NOVEMBER

COTTESFORD, SAM.
A TREATISE AGAINST TRAITORS, TAKEN OUT OF THE 40 CHAPTER OF JEREMIE

SARAVIA, HADRISIUS.
OF THE DIVERSE DEGREES OF THE MINISTERS OF THE GOSPELL

JOHN WHITGIFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

HAWARD, SIMON.
The Solace for the Souldier and Saylour.

HILL, ADAM.
The Defence of the Article Christ Descended into Hell.

MOSSE, MILES.
The Arraignement and Conviction of Usurie

WILLIAM, BISHOP OF EXETER.

NORTHERCOKE, JOHN.
The Poor Mans Garden.
II. GROUPS

1. GROUPS OF TWO OR MORE

THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON, SHERIFFS, ALDERMEN, AND W. THOMAS ALDERSAY, CITIZEN.

HOLLAND, HENRY. 1603
SPIRITUAL PRESERVATIUES AGAINST THE PESTILENCE.

MASTER ROBERT BURGAINE, J.P. OF WARWICK MASTER JOHN LIYE,
OF RUTLAND AND MASTER EDMUND TEMPLE, OF LEICESTER.

CLEAVER, ROBERT. 1603
A GODLY FORM OF HOUSEHOLDF GOVERNMENT

LADY BRIGET, COUNTESSE OF REDFORD SIR CHARLES MORISINS
AND HIS WIFE DOROTHY

BEZE, THO:DE. 1588
TWO VERY LERNED SERMONS OF M. BEZA

WOOLTON, JOHN, RP. 1596
A TREATISE OF THE IMMORTALITIE OF THE SOULE

SIR THOMAS WYCLIFFE, WM. CECIL, ROBERT DUDLEY & REST OF PRIVE
Y COUNCIL.

MUNDAY, ANTHONY. 1590
THE ENGLISH ROMANEYFF

THOMAS AND BRIAN DASCIE

BATTY, RAPTHCOLVAGVS. 1580
THE CHRISTIAN MANS CLOSET.

ROBERT SACKVILLE AND LORD BURCKHURST.

ANDERSON, ANTHONY. 1576
A GODLY SERMON PREACHED ON NEWE YEERES DAY LAST,
BEFORE SIR W. FITZWILLIAM
ELMUND GRINDOL, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND JOHN AYLMEF BISHOP OF LONDON

GEVEREN, SHEETCO
OF THE ENDE OF THIS WORLD

SIR FRANCIS HYND, KNIGHT, AND M. THOMAS WENDY, ESQUIRE, JUSTICES OF THE PEACE IN COUNTY OF CAMBRIDGE

L ESPINE, JEAN DE.
AN VERY EXCELLENT DESCOURSE, TOUCHING THE TRANQUILITIE OF THE MIND

SIR JOHN HORE, AND SIR GEORGE ROGERS

BISSE, JAMES.
TWO SERMONS PREACHED.

LADY MARGARET, COUNTESS OF CUMBERLAND & LADY ANNE, COUNTESS OF WARWICK

MUFFET, PETER.
The EXCELLENCIE OF THE MYSTERIE OF CHRIST JESUS

M. ALEXANDER NOWEL, M. JOHN MUILENS, & M. JOHN WALKER

BECKNOLL, EDMUND.
A SWORN AGAINST SWEARING.

SIR EDWARD OSBOURNE, KNIGHT, LORD MAYOR OF LONDON SIR ROWLAND HAIKARD, ALDERMAN MASTER JOHN SPENCER, ALDERMAN.

PHILLIP, JOHN.
A SOMMON TO REPENTANCE.

LORD FRANCIS, EARL OF BEDFORD, AND LORD ROBERT, EARL OF LEE CESTER.

AYLMER, JOHN, BP.
AN HANDBOOK FOR FAITHFALL AND THESE SUBJECTS AGAINST THE LATE BLOWNE BLASTE.
CALVIN, JOHN.
THIRTEEN SERMONS, ENTREATING OF THE FREE ELECTION OF GOD IN JACOB.

LADY SIDNEY & LADY WALSINGHAM

MORAN, JOHN.
A SHORT ANALYSIS OF S. JAMES

RICHARD SACKVILLE, EDWARD SASKVILE, CICILIE SACKVILLE, AND ANNE SACKVILLE.

SOUTHuell, ROBERT.
THE TRIUMPHS OVER DEATH.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, SIR JOHN BROKET, SIR HENRY COCKE.

CALVIN, JOHN.
THE LECTURES OF J. CALVINE UPON ... JENAS.

JOHN WHITGIFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON AND SIR WILLIAM CECIL

NIXON, ANTHONY.
THE CHRISTIAN NAVY.

RICHARD WALTER, MERCHANT WILLIAM CLEIBROCKE, MERCER AND THE COMPANY OF MERCHANTS

PEACON, J.
A TREATISE, INTITULED, NOBODY IS MY NAME.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY (WHITGIFT) AND BISHOP OF WORCESTER (BABBINGTON).

NICHOLS, JOSIAS.
ABRAHAMS FAITH

LORD THOMAS WENTWORTH AND MR THOMAS RICH.

ALLEN, ROBERT.
AN ALPHABET OF THE HOLY PROVERBS OF KING SOLOMON.
2. GENERAL GROUPINGS

ALL TRUE AND FAITHFUL LOVERS OF TRUE RELIGION.

BAXTER, J. 1600
A TOILE FOR THO-LEGGED FOXES FOR ENCOURAGEMENT AGAINST ALL POPISH PRACTICES.

ALL THOSE THAT WISH WELL UNTO THE LORD JESUS AND HIS POORE CHURCH WANDERING HERE UPON EARTH.

HEZIF, THEOMOE. 1591
PROPOSITIONS AND PRINCIPLES OF DIVINITIE.
EDINBURGH

TO ALL THEM THAT LABOUR AND BE HEAVY LADEN IN CONSCIENCE.

FOX, JOHN. 1578
A SERMON PREACHED AT THE CHRISTENING OF A CERTAINE JEW

BAILIFFS, ALDERMEN AND ALL THAT TRULY FEAR GOD IN CARDIFF.

JONES, RICHARD. 1583
A BRIEFE AND NECESSAFIE CATECHIAKE

TO ALL THE POPES HIS CATHCLQUES, IN ENGLANDE

CROWLEY, ROBERT. 1581
AN ANSWER TO SIXE REAONS THAT POWNDE REQUIRED TO BE ANSWERED

BULLINGER, HEINRICH. 1579
A MOST GODLY AND LEARNED DISCOURSE OF THE WORTHINESS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE.
WHITGIFT, JOHN. APP.
AN ANSWER TO A CERTEN LIBEL INTITULED AN
ADMONITION TO PARLIAMENT

THE EPISCOPATE

BECON, THOMAS.
THE WORCKES OF T. BECON

SIR JOHN PUPHAM SIR EDMUND ANDERSON SIR WILLIAM PERIAM
AND OTHER JUDGES OF THE COMMON LAWS

DEACON, J.
DIALOOGICAL DISCOURSES OF SPIRITS AND DIVELS
DECLARING THEIR PROPER ESSENCE.

WILLIAM, BISHOP OF NORWICH, AND MAGISTRATES OF NORWICH

NUN, THOMAS.
A COMFORT AGAINST THE SPARTRARD

THE KNIGHTS, ESQUIRES, AND J.PS IN NORFOLK.

MORR, JOHN.
THREE GODY AND FRUIT-FULL SERMONS.
CAMBRIDGE

TO THE PROFESSORS OF CHRIST'S GOSPEL AT NEW ABIRDENE

CRAIG, JOHN.
A SHORTE SUMME OF THE WHOLE CATECHISM
READERS OF GRAYS INN

FENTON, ROGER.
AN ANSWERE TO WILLIAMS ALARLASTER HIS MOTIVES
REV. FATHERS, LEARNED PREACHERS & GODLY BRETHREN IN THIS OUR ENGLISH CHURCH.

DEACON, J.
A SUMMARY ANSWER TO MASTER CAREL HIS BOOKS.

SOME OF THE FIRST AND MOST CIVIL SORT OF THE INHABITANTS OF S T. EDMUNDS BURY.

GIBBON, CHARLES.
THE PRAISE OF A GOOD NAME

THOSE GENTLEMEN IN SUFFOLKE WHOM THE TRUE WORSHIPING OF GOD HATH MADE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL.

KNEWSTUB, JOHN.
AN ANSWERE UNTO CERTAYNE ASSESSIONS TENDING TO MAINTAINE THE CHURCH OF ROME.

III. COMPANIES, CONGREGATIONS, CORPORATIONS AND COUNCILS

THE COMPANY OF MERCHANT ADVENTURERS

FENNER, DUDLEY.
THE SONG OF SONGS.
MIDDLEBURG

MASTERS AND WARDENS OF THE LONDON COMPANIES

FIT JOHN, JOHN.
A DIAMOND MOST PRECIOUS.

TO THE CONG OF CLEMENT DAINES.

SMITH, HENRY.
THE CHRISTIAN SACRIFICE
Lord Provost, Bailzeis, Council and Session of the Kirk of Edinburgh

Bruce, Robert. 1591
Sermons Preached in the Kirk of Edinburgh.

Edinburgh

Company of Ironmongers

Bunyan, Francis. 1693
Truth and Falseness, or a Comparison Betw. the Truth Now Taught in England and the Romish Church.

The Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Kings Linne

Gibson, Charles. 1590
Not So New as True, Being a Catechism for All Christians.

Lord Mayor of London, the Aldermen and the Commons of the Same.

Hill, Adam. 1595

The Lord Mayor of London, And to W. William Fleetwood, Recorder, and to the Aldermen.

Field, John. 1583
A Godly Exhortation By Occasion of the Late Judgement of God At Patris Garden.

Edmund, Bishop of Norwich, And Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Corporation of Norwich.

More, John. 1593
A Table From the Beginning of the World.
Cambridge.

The Privy Council

Arrington, Henry. 1592
The Seduction of Arrington.
BRUGHTON, HUGH.
Daniel His Chalde Visions And His Ephe.

MORNAY, PHILIPPE.
Four Books, of the Institution of the Sacrament
BIBLIOGRAPHY III. ELIZABETHAN PROTESTANT LITERATURE
ARRANGED ACCORDING TO TRANSLATORS.

(Unless otherwise stated, published in London)

* Asterisk following date indicates that date has been supplied.
* Asterisk following place of publication indicates that it has been supplied.

-- -- -- -- -- -- --

E AGGAS

ANONYMOUS
AN ANSWER TO THE SUPPLICATION

MORNAV, PHILIPPE
THE DEFENCE OF DEATH, DONE INTO ENGLISH

MORNAV, PHILIPPE
ON THE TRUTH OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION

MORNAV, PHILIPPE
THE DEFENCE OF DEATH, DONE INTO ENGLISH

PASQUIER, ETIENNE
THE JESUITS DISPLAYED.

P ALLIBAND

ANONYMOUS
A CONFESSION OF THE POPISH TRANSPUTSTANTIATION

G B

CALVIN, JOHN
THE LECTURES OF J. CALVINE UPON...JONAS.

G B

ROUSPEAN, YVES
A TREATISE OF THE PREPARATION TO THE HOLY SUPPER.

1591

1577

1576

1576

1594

1592

1578

1578
LADY ANNE BACON

JEWEL, JOHN, BP. 1562
AN APOLOGEF OR AunuSER IN DEFEUSE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

J BALE

BAPTIST A. SPAGNAUOLI 1560*
A LAMENTABLE COMPLAINTE OF BAPTISTA MANTUANUS.

T. BARBER

DU JON, FRANCOIS, JUNIUS. 1596
THE APOCALYPSE OR REVELATION OF S. JOHN WITH A BRIEF EXPOSITION CAMBRIDGE

W BAPLOW

LAVATER, LUDWIG. 1596
THREEF CHRISTIAN SERMONS

H BARTON

VERMIGLI, PIETRO MARTIRE. 1568
MOST LEARNED A. FRUITFUL COMMENTS ON THE EPITLE TO THE ROMANES

N. BAXTER

MARLORAT, AUGUSTINE. 1578*
A CATHOLIKE EXPOSITION UPON THE TWOG LOST EPISTLES

T BEARD

BEARD, THOMAS. 1597
THE THEATRE OF GODS JUDGEMENT.

N REFFET

GERARD, PIERRE. 1593
A PREPARATION TO THE MOST HOLIE MINISTRIE.
J FELL

FOX, JOHN.
THE POPE CONDEMNED.

FOX, JOHN.
A SERMON PREACHED AT THE CHRISTENING OF A CERTAIN JEW.

LUTHER, MARTIN.
A TREATISE, TOUCHING THE LIBERTY OF A CHRISTIAN.

J. BELL

HADDON, WALTER AND FOX, JOHN.
AGAINST JEROME OSBRIUS.

N. BROWN

HERMAN IV, ABP OF COLOGNE.
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM.

J. BRIDGES

WALTER, RUDOLPH.
AN HUNDRED, THREESCORE, AND FIFTENE HOMEYLEYS UPON ACRES.

J. BROEKE

GARDNER, JOHN.
A SPIECE A CLEARE CONFESSION OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.

GUIDO, HUGENS. NOT WRITER.
THE STAFFE OF CHRISTIAN FAITH.

VIRET, PIERRE.
THE CHRISTIAN DISPUTATION.

VIRET, PIERRE.
A FAITHFULL AND FAMILIAR EXPOSITION UPON THE PRAYER OF OUR LORDE.

H. BROUGHTON

BEKLANDUS, MATTHAES.
A SHORT VIEW OF THE PERSIAN MONARCHIE AND OF DANIELS WEEKS.
C RULKELEY

BULKELEY, EDWARD. 1588
AN ANSWEDE TO TEN FRIVULOUS REASONS BY THE RHEMISH JESUITS.

H BULL

LUTHER, MARTIN. 1577
A COMMENTARIE UPON THE FIFTENE PSALMS.

G C

MEPLIN, PIERRE. 1591
THE CHRISTIANS COMBAT...
W. CLARKE

FRANCIS, CHRISTIANUS. 1580
A CONFERENCE OR DIALOGUE DISCOVERING THE SECT OF JESUITS.

A COXE

OHINO, BERNARDINO. 1570
SERMONS, CONCERNING THE PREDESTINATION AND ELECTION OF GOD

MILES COVERDALE

BULLINGER, HEINRICH. 1580
THE OLDE FAYTH, AN EVIDENT PROBACION.

J COXE

LA ROCHE DE CHANDIEU, ANTOINE. 1583
A TREATISE TOUCHING THE WORD OF GOD

E CRANE

BODONIUS 1570
THE FORTRESS OF FAITH OFFENDED

J DANIEL

PEREZ DE MONTALBEN, JUAN. 1576
AN EXCELLENT COMFORT TO ALL CHRISTIANS.

R. DAY

FOXÉ, JOHN. 1579
CHRIST JESUS TRIUMPHANT.

T DELONEY

GEBHARDT, ABP OF COLOGNE. 1583
A DECLARATION MADE BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE UPON HIS MARRIAGE

N. DENHAM

HEMMINGSEN, NIEL. 1578
THE WAY OF LIFE

HEMMINGSEN, NIEL. 1579
THE WAY OF LIFE.
DIVERS LEARNED MEN

CALVIN, JOHN. 1581
FOUERE GODLYE SERMONS AGAINST THE POLLUTION OF IDOLATRYES.

VESPISANI, PIETRO MARTIRE. 1578
A BRIEFF A MOST EXCELLENT EXPOSITION OF THE XII AVTILES.

ELIZABETH

MARGARET OF ANGUILEME. 1568*
A GODLY MEDYTACYON OF THE CHRISTEN SCULE.

FELDING

TOSSAMUS, DANIEL. 1583
THE EXERCISE OF THE FAITHFUL SCULE.

G FENTON

CORTO, ANTONIO DE. 1570
AN EPISTLE OR GODLYE ADMONITION

C FETHERSTONE

ANONYMOUS 1537
A CHRISTIAN AND WHOIS GM ADMONITION TO FRENCHMAN REVOLTED FROM TRUE RELIGION

ANONYMOUS 1586
THE BRITISH THUNDERBOLT OR RATHER FEEBLE FIERFLASH OF POPE SIXTUS THE FIFT.

CALVIN, JOHN. 1587
AN ABRIDGEMENT OF THE INSTITUTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

CALVIN, JOHN. 1585
THE COMMENTARIES UPON THE ACTES OF THE APOSTLES

CALVIN, JOHN. 1585
AN ABRIDGEMENT OF THE INSTITUTION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION

EDINBURGH

HAGGEUS, THE PROPHET 1586
J FIELD OR FIELDE

BEZE, THEODORE. 1580
THE JUDGEMENT OF A MOST LEARNED MAN FROM BEYOND THE SEAS.

CALVIN, JOHN. 1579
FOURTEEN SERMONS WITH A BRIEF EXPOSITION OF THE XXXVII PSALME

CALVIN, JOHN. 1579
THIRTEEN SERMONS ENTREATING OF THE FREE ELECTION OF GOD

CALVIN, JOHN. 1579
THIRTEEN SERMONS ENTREATING OF THE FREE ELECTION OF GOD IN JACOB

L ESPINE, JEAN DE. 1578
AN EXCELLENT TREATISE OF CHRISTIAN * RIGHTEOUSNESS

L ESPINE, JEAN DE. 1577
AN EXCELLENT TREATISE OF CHRISTIAN * RIGHTEOUSNESS

MORNAY, PHILIPPEDE. 1579
A TREATISE OF THE CHURCH

MORNAY, PHILIPPEDE. 1579
A NOTABLE TREATISE OF THE CHURCH

OLEVIAN, CASPER. 1581
AN EXPOSITION OF THE SYMBOLE OF THE APOSTLES.

FLETCHER

AUGUSTINE, ST. 1574
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LOVE OF GOD.

AUGUSTINE, ST. 1581*
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LOVE OF GOD

J FLORIO

ANONYMOUS
A LETTER LATELY WRITTEN FROM ROME.

J FOX

LUTHER, MARTIN. 1560*
A FRUITFUL SERMON
W. Fulke

Calvin, John.
Commentaires upon the booke of Icson

W. Fynder

Anonymus
The Catechism, or maner to teach children.
Rheims*

Robert Fyll

Beze, Theod. de.
A brieff and pity summe of the christian faith made informe of a confession

Beze, Theod. de.
A brieff and pity summe of the christian faith made informe of a confession

Beze, Theod. de.
A brieff and piththie summe of the christian faith made in forme of a confession.

Beze, Theod. de.
A brieff and piththie summe of the christian faith made in forme of a confession.

Beze, Theod. de.
A brieff and pity summe of the christian faith made informe of a confession

Ngo

Sohn, George.
A brieff and learned treatise containing a true description of the anti-christ.
Cambridge

W. Gage

Hauerssen, Vele.
A learned and fruitful commentarie vpon the epistle of James the apostle.
Revisus, Joannes.
A guile unto godliness.
C. P-Rfl
FULKE, WM.
PRÆLECTION UPON THE REVELATION OF ST. JOHN
1573

A GILBIE

BÊZÉ, THEOD. DE.
THE PSALMES OF DAVID.
1580

BÊZÉ, THEOD. DE.
THE PSALMES OF DAVID.
1590

G GILPIN

BÊZÉ, THEOD. DE.
A DISCOURSE CONTAINING THE LIFE AND DEATH OF
JOHN CALVIN.
1578

MARNIX, PHILIPS VAN.
THE BEEHIVE OF THE ROMISH CHURCH
1580

MARNIX, PHILIPS VAN.
THE BEEHIVE OF THE ROMISH CHURCH
1579

MARNIX, PHILIPS VAN.
THE BEEHIVE OF THE ROMISH CHURCH
1598

C GLEMHAN

VERVIGLI, PIETRC MARTIRE.
MOST GODLY PRAYERS.
1569

T GODERIE

HUEBER, CASPAR.
A RICHE STOREHOUSE, OR TREASURE, FOR THE SICKE.
1578

J GOLBURN

VALERI, CIPRIANO BE.
TWO TREATISES.
REIMS.
1600

SIMON, VIGOR, ABB.
ACTS OF THE DISPUTE AND CONFERENCE AT PARIS.
1602

VOYON, SIMON DE.
A DISCOURSE UPON THE CATALOGUE OF DOCTORS OF GODS
CHURCH.
1598
A GOLDING

ANONYMOUS 1562
A BRIEFE TREATISE CONCERNING THE BURNYNGE OF BUCER AND PHAGINS AT CAMBRIDGE

ANONYMOUS 1576
THE WAREFARE OF CHRISTIANS

ANONYMOUS 1576
THE EDICT OR PROCLAMATION UPON THE PACIFYING OF THE TROUBLES IN FRANCE.

ANONYMOUS 1576
THE WARFARE OF CHRISTIANS.

BÉZÉ, THÉODORÉ 1577
A TRAGEDIE OF ABRAHAM'S SACRIFICE

BÉZÉ, THÉODORÉ 1572
A BOOKE OF CHRISTIAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

BÉZÉ, THÉODORÉ 1578
A BOOKE OF CHRISTIAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

RULLINGER, HEINRICH 1577
A CONFUTATION OF THE POPES PULL.

CALVIN, JOHN 1577
THE SERmons OF JOHN CALVIN UPON THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS

CALVIN, JOHN 1567
A LITTLE BOOKE CONCERNYNGE OFFENCES

CALVIN, JOHN 1583
THE SERMONS OF JOHN CALVIN UPON DEUTERONOMIE

CALVIN, JOHN 1583
THE SERMONS OF JOHN CALVIN UPON DEUTERONOMIE

CALVIN, JOHN 1574
SERMONS UPON THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATHIANS

CALVIN, JOHN 1571
THE PSALMES OF DAVID AND OTHERS

CALVIN, JOHN 1574
SERMONS UPON THE BOOKE OF JOB

CALVIN, JOHN 1570
COMMENTAIRES UPON THE PROPHET DANIcell

CALVIN, JOHN 1574
SERMONS UPON THE BOOKE OF JOB

CHYPRAFUS, DAVID 1577
A POSTIL OR ORDERLY DISPOSING OF CERTEN]' SPISTLES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chytreaus, David</td>
<td><em>A Postill or Orderly Disposing of Certheine Epistles</em></td>
<td>1570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemmingsen, Niels</td>
<td><em>A Postill or Exposition of the Gospels</em></td>
<td>1578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemmingsen, Niels</td>
<td><em>A Postill or Exposition of the Gospels</em></td>
<td>1569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marlorat, Augustine</td>
<td><em>A Catholike Exposition Upon the Revelation of Saint John</em></td>
<td>1574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polanus, Amandus</td>
<td><em>Treatise Concerning Gods Eternal Predestination</em></td>
<td>1599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td><em>An Oration or Funerall Sermon Vttepeth at the Burial of Gregorie the 13.</em></td>
<td>1585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. Gressop</td>
<td><em>A Brief Tretisf ... of the Popes Usurped Primacye</em></td>
<td>1560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvin, John</td>
<td><em>A Admonicton Against Astrology Iudicall</em></td>
<td>1561</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VIPET, PIERRE.  
AN EPISTLE TO THE FAITHFUL.  
1582

ZACCHARIAS, UPOSINUS  
A COLLECTION OF CERTAINE LEARNED DISCOURSES.  
OXFORD  
1600

CALVIN, JOHN.  
SERMONS UPON THE X COMMANDMENTS  
1581

GERAETUS, ANDREAS, HYPERUS.  
THE FOUNDATION OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION  
1583

CALVIN, JOHN.  
THE COMMENTARIES UPON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF SAINT JOHN A. UPON THE EPISTLE OF JUDE.  
1580

EUSEBUIS, PAMPHILI, BP.  
THE AUNCIENT ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIES  
1585

EUSEBUIS, PAMPHILI, BP.  
THE AUNCIENT ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIES  
1577

CALVIN, JOHN.  
SERMONS UPON THE X COMMANDMENTS.  
1579

CALVIN, JOHN.  
SERMONS UPON THE X COMMANDMENTS.  
1579

HARTWELL

HADDON, WALTER.  
A SIGHT OF THE PORTUGALL PEARLE.  
1570
T H I L L

MELAMBUS
THE CONTEMPLATION OF MANKIND.
RHEIMS*

SIR E HOBY

COIGNET, MATTHIEU.
POLITIQUE DISCOURSE UPON TRUETH AND LYING

H HOLLAND

CALVIN, JOHN.
APHORISMS OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION
RHEIMS*

ROLLOCK, ROBERT.
A TREATISE OF GODS EFFECTUAL CALLING

R HOPKINS

LUIS DE GRANADA.
OF PRAYER AND MEDITATION

R HORNE

CALVIN, JOHN.
TWO GODLY AND LEARNED SERMONS

J HORSFALL

HEMINGSSEN, NIEL.
THE PREACHER, OR METHOD OF PREACHING.

H I

BULLINGER, HEINRICH.
FIFTYE GODLY SERMONS.

T JAMES

BRUCIOLI, ANTONIO.
A COMMENTARY UPON THE CANTICLE OF CANTICLES

1571

1586

1596

1603

1599

1584

1574

1577

1597
VERMIGLI, PIETRO MARTIRE. 1580*
A BRIEF TREATISE, CONCERNING THE USE AND ABUSE OF DANCING.

M K

K. M. 1580*
The Conversion of a Sinner.

H. KERTON

INNOCENT III, POPE. 1576
THE MIRROR OF MANS LYFE

INNOCENT III, POPE. 1586
THE MIRROR OF MANS LYFE

INNOCENT III, POPE. 1576
THE MIRROR OF MANS LYFE

A. L.

CALVIN, JOHN. 1560
SERMONS UPON THE SONGS THAT EZECHIAS MADE AFTER HE HAD BEEN SICK.

E. LAGITT

LAVATER, LUDWIG. 1586
THE BOOK OF RUTH EXPOUNDED IN 28 SERMONS

N. LEIGH

ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS. 1568
MODEST MEANS TO MARRIAGE PLEASANTLY SET FORTH
J LUDHAM

GERARDUS, ANDREAS, HYPERUS. 1579
THE COURSE OF CHRISTIAITIE.

GERARDUS, ANDREAS, HYPERUS. 1577
THE PRACTIS OF PREACHING

GERARDUS, ANDREAS, HYPERUS. 1602
A SPECIALL TREATISE OF GODS PROVIDENCE.

GERARDUS, ANDREAS, HYPERUS. 1588*
A SPECIALL TREATISE OF GODS PROVIDENCE.

RICHARD LYNCH GEAT

LYNCH, RICHARD. 1601
AN HISTRICAL TREATISE OF THE TRAVELS OF NOAH ONTO EUROPE

SIR H LYNDE

RATRANVS, MONACHUS. 1582
THE BOKE OF RAPTHRAM PRIEST.

I M

RAFFEN, GOTTERIED. 1602
THE CONFESSION A. PUBLIC RECANTATION OF THIRTEEN LEARNED PERSONAGES

N MALBIE

GARNIER, JEAN. 1562
A BRIEF A. Plain CONFESSION OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH.

J MAN

WOLFGANG, M. 1563
COMMON PLACES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION.
A MARTEN

VERMIGLI, PIETRO MARTIRE. 1583
THE COMMON PLACES OF PETER MARTYR.

P MORWYNG

JOSEPH BEN GORION. 1565
A COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THE JEWS RHEIMS*

JOSEPH BEN GORION. 1567
A COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THE JEWS COMMUNE WEALE

JOSEPH BEN GORION. 1561
A COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THE JEWS COMMUNE WEALE

JOSEPH BEN GORION. 1602
A COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THE JEWS COMMUNE WEALE

JOSEPH BEN GORION. 1558
A COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THE JEWS COMMUNE WEALE

JOSEPH BEN GORION. 1579
A COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THE JEWS COMMUNE WEALE

JOSEPH BEN GORION. 1579
A COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THE JEWS COMMUNE WEALE

JOSEPH BEN GORION. 1579
A COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THE JEWS COMMUNE WEALE

JOSEPH BEN GORION. 1596
A COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THE JEWS COMMUNE WEALE

JOSEPH BEN GORION. 1593
A COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THE JEWS COMMUNE WEALE

A MUNDY

MORAY, PHILIPPE. 1602
THE TRUE KNOWLEDGE OF A MANS OWNE SELFE

T NEWTON

GERARDUS, ANDREAS, HYPERUS. 1586
THE TRUE TRYALL AND EXAMINATION OF A MANS OWNE SELFE.

LUTHER, MARTIN. 1581
A COMMENTARIE UPON THE TWO EPISTLES OF SAINT PETER
OLDWANTON

WALTER, WEDLOCKE. 1558*
A LYTTEL TREATYSE CALLED THE IMAGE OF IDLENESSE.

M OUTRED

COPE, MICHEL. 1580
A GODLY AND LEARNED EXPOSITION UPON THE PROVERBS OF SOLOMON

E P

CALVIN, JOHN. 1584
A HARMONIE UPON ... MATHEW, MARK, AND LUKE.

CRANMER, THOM, ARB. 1582
A CONFUTATION OF UNWRITTEN VERITIES

H P

LANCIFT, HUBERT. 1538
A SHORTE APOLOGIE FOR CHRISTIAN SCULDIOURS
CUPID, CAELIUS AUGUSTINE. 1566
PASQUINE IN A TRAUNCE A CHRISTIAN AND LEARNED DIALOGUE

CUPID, CAELIUS AUGUSTINE. 1584
PASQUINE IN A TRAUNCE A CHRISTIAN AND LEARNED DIALOGUE

P, W. 1591
THE TROUPELS OF GENEVA

W PAINTER

FULKE, WM. 1560
ANTIPROGNOSTICON THAT IS TO SAVE AN INVENTIVE AGAINST THE ASTROLOGIANS

H PARVIE

ZACHARIAS, URSINUS 1595
THE SUMME OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION OXFORD

ZACHARIAS, URSINUS 1591
THE SUMME OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION OXFORD

ZACHARIAS, URSINUS 1589
THE SUMME OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION OXFORD

ZACHARIAS, URSINUS 1587
THE SUMME OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION OXFORD

S PATRIKE OR PATRICK

THE ESTATE OF THE CHURCH, WITH THE DISCOURSE OF TIMES, FROM THE APOSTLES 1602

I PAYNELL

DEIT, ARTHUR. 1559
THE COMPLAINT OF PEACE.

CUTHBERT, TUNSTALL, BP. 1558
CERTAINE ONLY 4 DEVOUT PRAYERS.
J PENRY

BEEF, THEOD. DE.
PROPOSITIONS AND PRINCIPLES OF DIVINITIE.
EDINBURGH 1595

W PHISTON

VOYON, SIMON DE.
A TESTIMONIE OF THE TRUE CHURCH OF GCD. 1580*

T POTTER

BULLINGER, HEINRICH.
OF THE END OF THE WORLD. 1580*

W PRID

AUGUSTINE, ST.
THE GLASSE OF VAINE-Glorie 1600

R ROBINSON

MELANCHTHON, PHILIPP.
A GOODLY AND LEARNED ASSERTION IN DEFENCE OF THE TRUE CHURCH.

PATRIZI, FRANCESCO, BP.
A MORDL METHODE OF CIVILE POLICIE. 1576

RENICHON, MICHEL DE.
THE CONFESSION OF M. RENICHON 1594
STRIGELIUS, VICTORINUS. 1591
A PROCEEDING IN THE HARMONIE OF KING DAVIDS HAPPE.

STRIGELIUS, VICTORINUS. 1593
A SECOND PROCEEDING IN THE HARMONIE OF KING DAVIDS HAPPE.

STRIGELIUS, VICTORINUS. 1595
A THIRD PROCEEDING IN THE HARMONIE OF KING DAVIDS HAPPE

STRIGELIUS, VICTORINUS. 1598
A FIFTH PROCEEDING IN THE HARMONIE OF KING DAVIDS HAPPE

STRIGELIUS, VICTORINUS. 1596
A FOURTH PROCEEDING IN THE HARMONIE OF KING DAVIDS HAPPE.

STRIGELIUS, VICTORINUS. 1582
PART OF THE HARMONY OF KING DAVIDS HARP.

QUIS, URBANUS. 1593
AN HOMELY OR SERMON OF GOOD AND EUI[L]ANGELS

QUIS, URBANUS. 1583*
AN HOMELY OR SERMON OF GOOD AND EUI[L]ANGELS

QUIS, URBANUS. 1591
THE SOLACE OF SION AND IOY OF JERUSALEM

QUIS, URBANUS. 1594
THE SOLACE OF SION AND IOY OF JERUSALEM

QUIS, URBANUS. 1587
THE SOLACE OF SION AND IOY OF JERUSALEM

T ROEST

NOOT, JAN VAN DER. 1569
A THEATRE WHEREIN BE REPRESENTED THE MISERIES THAT FOLLOW THE VOLUPTUOUS WORLDLINGS.

ROGERS

THOMAS À KEMPIS. 1602
OF THE IMITATION OF CHRIST
THOMAS A KEMPIS.
OF THE IMITATION OF CHRIST

1596

THOMAS A KEMPIS.
SOULQUONIUM ANIMAE, THE SELF-TALKE CT THE SOULE.

1598

THOMAS A KEMPIS.
SOULQUONIUM ANIMAE, THE SELF-TALKE CT THE SOULE.

1592

AUGUSTINE, ST.
S. AUGUSTINES MANUEL

1600

AUGUSTINE, ST.
A RIGHT CHRISTIAN TREATISE ENTITULED S. AUGUSTINES PRAIERS

1591

AUGUSTINE, ST.
A PRETiOUS BOOKE OF HEAVENLIE MEDITATIONS

1581

AUGUSTINE, ST.
A PRETiOUS BOOKE OF HEAVENLIE MEDITATIONS

1600

AUGUSTINE, ST.
S. AUGUSTINES MANUEL

1591

AUGUSTINE, ST.
A RIGHT CHRISTIAN TRETrTISE ENTITULED S. AUGUSTINES PRAIERS

1600

AUGUSTINE, ST.
S. AUGUSTINES MANUEL

1581

AUGUSTINE, ST.
A RIGHT CHRISTIAN TREATISE ENTITULED S. AUGUSTINES PRAIERS

1581

EVEREN, SHELTCC
OF THE ENDE OF THIS WORL

1589

EVEREN, SHELTCC
OF THE ENDE OF THIS WORL

1582

EVEREN, SHELTCC
OF THE ENDE OF THIS WORL

1578
GEVEREN, SHELTCO
OF THE ENDE OF THIS WORLD
1577

HEMMINGSSEN, NIEL.
THE FAITH OF THE CHURCH MILITANT.
1581

REVIVUS, JOANNES.
OF THE FOOLISHNES OF MEN IN PUTTING OFF THE
AMENDMENT OF THEIR LIVES.
1583

C ROSELL

CALVIN, JOHN.
A COMMENTARIE UPON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANES.
1583

I OR J S

RFZEB, THEOD. DE.
A DISCOURSE CONTEYNING THE LIFE AND DEATH OF Iohn
CALVIN
1564

R S

MORNAY, PHILIPPE. E.
OWRE BOOKES, OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE SACRAMENT
1600

J SCORY

CYPRIAN, ST.
CERTAIN WORKES OF BLESSED CIPRIANE THE MARTYR
ZURICH
1566

J SHUTE

VIRFT, PIERRE.
OF THE LORDS SUPPER AND AGAINST YE MASSE
1579

T SHUTE

VIRFT, PIERRE.
A CHRISTIAN IUSTRUC[TION
1572
GONSAVLIVS, MONTANUS. 1568
A DISCOVERY AND PLAYNE DECLARATIION OF SUNDRIY
SUBLILL PRACTICES OF THE HOLY INQUISTION

GONSAVLIVS, MONTANUS. 1569
A DISCOVERY AND PLAYNE DECLARATIION OF SUNDRIY
SUBLILL PRACTICES OF THE HOLY INQUISTION

SMITH
THE TOLAL OF TRUETHE

SMITH, R.

E SMYTT

L EISPINE, JEAN DE. 1592
AN VERY EXCELLENT DISCOURS, TOUCHING THE
TRANQUILITIE OF THE MINUE

T. STOCKER

CALVIN, JOHN. 1581
AN EXCELLENT TREATISE, OF THE IMMORTALITIE OF
THE SOULE

CALVIN, JOHN. 1581
DIVERS SERMONS CONCERNING IESUS

CALVIN, JOHN. 1580
TWO A TWENTIE SERMONS, IN WHICH IS HANDLED THE
HUNDREDFTH AND NINETEENTH PSALME.

CALVIN, JOHN. 1592
SERMON THE HISTORIE CF MELCHISEDCH

BEZE, THEOD. DE. 1585
THE POPES CANONS.

BEZE, THEOD. DE. 1585
THE POPES CANONS.

CAUSE, BARTHOLOMEW. 1569
THE VERY TRUE SHIELD AND BUCKLER OF FAITH

VIRET, PIEPPE. 1584
THE CAUFELES CANON AND CEREMEIES OF THE POLISH
MASSE
J STOCKWOOD

BEZAE, THEOFANES.

THE TREASURE OF TRUTH.

BRENTIUS, IOannes.

A RIGHT GODLY AND LEARNED DISCOURSE UPON THE BOOKE OF ESTER.

BULLINGER, HEINRICH.

COMMONPLACES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

DANIFAO, LAMBERT.

A FRUITFULL COMMENTARIE UPON THE TWELVE SMALL PROPHETS.

CAMEBRIDGE

SEPPES, JEAN DE.

A GODLIIE AND LEARNED COMMENTARIE VPPON ECCLESIASTES.

ZACHARIAS, URSINUS.

A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE KEEPING OF THE SABBATH.

J SWAN

DANIFAO, LAMBERT.

A TREATISE TOUCHING ANTICHRIST.

J SYLVESTER

SALUSTE DU BAPTAS GUILLAUME DE.

THE TRIUMPH OF FAITH.

SALUSTE DU BAPTAS GUILLAUME DE.

THE SECONDO WEEKE, OR CHILDHOOD OF THE WORLD.

R TAVERNER

SANCERIUS, ERASMUS.

COMMON PLACES OF SCRIPTURE ORDERLY SET FORTH.

L THOMPSON

CALVIN, JOHN.

SERMONES ON THE EPITSTLES TO TIMOTHYE A. TITUS.

LAPLACE, PIERRE DE.

A TREATISE OF THE EXCELLENCIE OF A CHRISTIAN MAN.
J Tomkys

Bullinger, Heinrich. 1582
The Summe of the Foure Evangelists.

Bullinger, Heinrich. 1579*
A Most Excellent Sermon of the Lords Supper.

H Tripp or Trippe

Gerardus, Andreas, Hyperus. 1572
The Regiment of the Povertie

G Turberville

Dominicus, Mancinus. 1568
A Plaine Path to Perfect Virtue.

T Twyne or Twine

Daneau, Lambert. 1575
A Dialogue of Witches.

T Tymme

Adrichomius, Christianus. 1575
A Brief Description of Hierusalem, Also a Mappe.

Bullinger, Heinrich. 1575
The Tragedies of Tyrantes Exercized Upon the Church.

Calvin, John. 1577
A Commentarie Upon St. Pauls Epistles to the Genthians

Marlorat, Augustine. 1575
A Catholike and Ecclesiasticall Exposition of the Holy Gospell

Marlorat, Augustine. 1583
A Catholike and Ecclesiasticall Exposition of S. Marke and Luke

Marlorat, Augustine. 1570
A Catholike and Ecclesiasticall Exposition at S. Mathewne
CHEMNITIUS, MARTINUS. 1582
A DISCOVERIE AND RATTERIE OF THE GREAT FORT OF UNWRITTEN TRADITIONS

CALVIN, JOHN. 1581
A COMMENTARIE UPON THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

JEWELL, JOHN, BP. 1586*
A SERMON MADE IN LATINE IN OXEN FORDE

E VAUGHAN

PALLADIUS, PETER. 1598
AN INTRODUCTION INTO THE BOOKES OF THE PROPHETS AND APOSTLES.

R VAUX

CALVIN, JOHN. 1581*
A COMMENTARIE UPON THE EPISTLE TO THE COLLOSIANS.

GERARDUS, ANDREAS, HYPERUS. 1581
TWO COMMON PLACES TAKEN OUT OF HYPERUS

C VITELI

NICLAS, HENDRIK. 1574*
FIDELITAS. A DISTINCT DECLARATION OF THE REQUIRING OF THE LORDE.
COLOGNE

ELIDAD, PSEUD. 1574
A GOOD AND FRUITFULL EXHORTATION VNTO THE FAMILIE OF LOVE
COLOGNE

NICLAS, HENDRIK. 1574
THE PROPHETIC OF THE SPIRIT OF LOVE.
COLOGNE

NICLAS, HENDRIK. 1574
A NEW BALADE OR SONGE OF THE LAMES FEASTE
COLOGNE
NICLAS, HENDRIK.
A PUBLISHING OF THE PEACE UPON EARTH.
COLOGNE

NICLAS, HENDRIK.
REVELATIO DEI THE REVELATION OF GOD
COLOGNE

NICLAS, HENDRIK.
EXHORTATIO I. THE FIRST EXHORTATION OF H.N. TO HIS
CHILDREN
COLOGNE

NICLAS, HENDRIK.
THE FIRST EPISTLE OF H.N.
COLOGNE

NICLAS, HENDRIK.
DOCUMENTALL SENTENCES
COLOGNE

NICLAS, HENDRIK.
EPISTOLA XI CORRECTION A. EXHORTATION OUT OF
HERARTIE LOUF
COLOGNE

NICLAS, HENDRIK.
PROVERBIA HN. THE PROVERBS OF HN.
COLOGNE

NICLAS, HENDRIK.
INTRODUCTIO AN INTRODUCTION TO THE UNDERSTANDING
OF THE CLASSE OF RIGHTEOUSNES.

NICLAS, HENDRIK.
EVANGELIUM REGNI. A JOYFULL MESSAGE OF THE
KINGDOM.

NICLAS, HENDRIK.
A TRUE TESTIFICATION OF THE SPIRITUAL LANDS
OF PEACE

NICLAS, HENDRIK.
EPISTOLAE HN. THE PRINCIPALL EPISTLES OF HN.
COLOGNE
THE ACTES AT THE AMBASSAGE PASSED AT NAUMBURG.

W. W.

BEZE, THEOD. DE.
TWO VERY LERNED SERMONS OF M. BEZA

1588

CALVIN, JOHN.
THREE PROPOSITIONS OR SPEECHES.

1580

CHAVES, FRANCISCA DE.
A MIRROR OF MANS LYFE

W. W.

LUTHER, MARTIN.
A METHODICAL PREFACE PREFIXED BEFORE THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS

1594

W. WARDE

CALVIN, JOHN.
THREE NOTABLE SERMONES UPON PSALM

1562

J. WHIT

AGAPETUS
AN EXPOSITION OF CHAPTERS EXHORTATIVE

1564

T. WILCOCKS OR WILCOX

BEZE, THEOD. DE.
CHRISTIAN MEDITATIONS UPON EIGHT PSALMES.

1582

IOQUE, BERtrand de.
A TREATISE OF THE CHURCH.

1581

S. WYTHE.

CALVIN, JOHN.
A VERY PROFITABLE TREATISE.

1561