

LORD BURGHLEY AS PATRON

of

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

by

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SYNOPSIS.

The starting-point for this study of Burghley's patronage of religious literature was Franklin B. Williams's list (in An Index of Dedications) of books dedicated to William Cecil, the first Lord Burghley. The interpretation of the term "religious literature" has been fairly broad, embracing works of moral philosophy with a Christian basis, as well as devotional manuals and controversial tracts. Forty-two of the eighty-five books dedicated to Burghley are thus included. After an introductory section on Elizabethan literary patronage, especially in relation to Lord Burghley (whose career is briefly sketched), the books and their authors are considered, grouped in four chapters according to subject matter. Within each chapter the career of each writer is discussed, with emphasis on his relationship with Lord Burghley, in an attempt to reveal to what extent he can be said to have been "patronized" by Cecil. Appended are photographic reproductions of the title-pages of the religious works dedicated to Burghley, a chronological list of all the works dedicated to him, and chronological lists (with dedicatees) of the complete works of all writers discussed in the text. There is a bibliography of all the secondary sources consulted. Quotations throughout follow the conventions of the original text, except that long "s" is reproduced as "ſ".

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INTRODUCTION

"My good lord, advancement in all worlds be obtained by mediation and remembrance of noble friends."¹ The remark provides the key to an understanding of the system of patronage as it existed in Elizabethan England. Offices great and small, political, ecclesiastical and local, were obtainable only through the help of men with influence in the right quarters. The households of local gentry, no less than the Queen's court, were thronged with suitors competing for recognition and favour. Patronage was essential to success in almost every walk of life.

Literary patronage has often been seen apart from this broader system of political, ecclesiastical and indeed universal patronage. This has led to a misplacing of emphases in the consideration of literary patronage itself. Because many writers failed to find support or reward from the nobles and courtiers whom they addressed, it has been concluded that "the reigns of Elizabeth and James mark a gradual disintegration of the aristocratic system of literary patronage."² The misconception is accentuated by the concentration on literature which we find

1. The remark is quoted from Lansdowne MSS., vol.57, item 47, by W.T. MacCaffrey in his essay "Place and Patronage in Elizabethan Politics", Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays Presented to Sir John Neale (1961), p.108.
2. Phoebe Sheavyn, The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age (1909), p.10.

amusing, moving or otherwise entertaining, and the neglect of that enormous volume of didactic and utilitarian writing which formed the basis of the Elizabethan book trade, and which was much more likely to attract the good opinion of the secular and ecclesiastical hierarchy. This inevitable bias has led to misunderstandings about the nature, scope and objects of Elizabethan literary patronage. Such misunderstandings have given rise to suggestions that forty shillings was "the usual fee for a dedication."³ Such a statement may apply to the hack writers and pamphleteers attempting to earn a living by writing, but it is totally unacceptable for the clerics, learned translators and solemn social commentators responsible for most of the books with which this study is concerned. They wrote not to entertain but to instruct, to show the ideal state of a Christian commonwealth, to foster in their readers the knowledge of true piety, or to protect the English Church from enemies on either flank. They wrote in short, for the benefit of England and its government, and in addressing their works to Lord Burghley, one of the central pillars of the government for over forty years, they hoped for preferment within the Establishment, a preferment which Burghley was in a unique position to confer.

The motives of dedicators have been summarized by George Wither, Archdeacon of Colchester at the end of the sixteenth

3. The figure is quoted by Sheavyn, and also D. Nichol Smith, "Authors and Patrons", Shakespeare's England (1916), vol. II, pp.182-211, and by E. Haviland Miller, The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England (1959), Chapter IV "Patronage", pp.94-157 Miller suggests that many writers probably received a good deal less.

century. Addressing Lord Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay in an epistle before his A.B.C. for Lave-men (1585), he writes:

It is an vsuall manner (right honourable) for all those that goe about to publish any work or writing of theirs, to dedicate it to some one or other, eyther to be a Testimony to the World, of their mutuall loue and friendshippe, or else to witnesse their dutifulnesse or thankfulness for benefites receyued, or else that vnder the protection, defence and fauour of authority, their works may the better passe, and be the safelier defended against all busie reprehenders (sig.A2).

His first two reasons are straightforward and common enough; examples of dedications motivated by gratitude or friendship will appear continuously among religious works dedicated to Burghley. The notion of a dedicatee's defending a book is not so readily understandable however, and exactly how he was supposed to act in this respect is not always clear. It may be that a powerful lord's support would make it easier to obtain a licence to print, but such a view presupposes that a patron knew of the book and its dedication before it reached the printing-house. (This is a complex problem which will be discussed a little later.) The "busie reprehenders" which Elizabethan writers feared so much were frequently characterised as Momus and Zoilus. C.H. Conley discusses the hostile critics of the early-Elizabethan Inns-of-court translators of the classics, and classifies them as anti-humanists, still powerful Papists, Puritans hostile to poetry, and mere grub-street Pamphleteers.⁴ In the case of the religious works with which this study is concerned, Momus and Zoilus could appear in almost any guise from

4. The first English Translations of the Classics (1927), pp.84-119.

the ranks of those of differing religious opinion. And there was a good deal of differing religious opinion in the sixteenth century - enough to produce a large proportion of all the books published and all the dedications written in that period. The presence of Lord Burghley's name at the beginning of a volume dealing with some subject in controversy would lend a certain weight and authority which both author and reader would find reassuring. Arthur Golding expressed this neatly in dedicating his Historie of Leonard Aretina (1563) to Burghley:

Like as vines to the entent the better to prosper and preserue their fruite to the vse & pleasure of man, require the staye of trees that bee stronger then themselues: Euen so it behoueth them that mynde to put forth any worke to the behoefe and commoditie of others, to shroude themselues, vnder the fauour of some suche person, for / whose sake their doing may be the better liked and accepted of all men (sig. aii-aii^v).

Such motives are probably enough to explain many of the dedications to Burghley which will be seen to come from men almost certainly unknown to him, and perhaps with little hope of his advancing them.

Another writer who gave a list of motives for dedicating was Margaret Ascham, widow of Roger Ascham, who dedicated her husband's The Scholemaster to Burghley in 1570. She begins her short epistle with the following remark:

Sondry & reasonable be the causes why learned men haue vsed to offer & dedicate such workes as they put abrode, to some such personage as they think fittest, either in respect of abilitie of defence, or skill for iudgement, or priuate regard of kindnesse and dutie (sig.*ii).

The similarity of her list to Wither's is interesting. Neither writer, one notes, mentions hopes of preferment or of monetary reward. This was not the sort of thing of which one usually spoke in a public epistle. The supplications for favours came in private manuscript letters, appealing for increases in salary, for a better post in the Church or university, for help in a petition to the Queen or in a law suit. The frequency of such appeals must have been appalling to a man in Burghley's position; the number which have survived from even the small number of writers investigated for this study gives one some idea of just how often his help was sought. The inscribing of a book to Burghley may well have been in many cases, simply a way of demonstrating ability, a kind of self-recommendation for favour, especially in the case of clerics seeking advancement in the Church by defending it against Papist or Puritan. In several cases they will be seen to have succeeded in this aim.

To declare friendship, to offer thanks, to seek prestige for their works, to recommend themselves for advancement: these then were the basic motives of those writers who dedicated their books to a man in Burghley's position. Occasionally more particular reasons for a dedication can be seen: Barrow and Greenwood sought Burghley's aid through letters and dedications when they were in prison for their Separatist beliefs; Hoby's first work is dedicated to Burghley as an uncle who had done a great deal to help his youthful nephew; the Jesuit Father Creswell's

epistle to Burghley has half serious and half mocking undertones which probably amused Catholics as much as they angered Burghley. But for the most part the dedication was a serious and careful attempt to win the favour of the dedicatee for a cause which might more properly be made known to him in a private appeal.

From the motives of writers of dedicatory epistles, one may turn to the conditions of patronage and the position of the patron. Literary patronage had changed enormously with the invention of printing and the subsequent increase of the reading public. That most typical form of medieval patronage, the commissioning of a work for a special occasion from a writer who lived as a member of the household, had largely died out long before the Elizabethan period.⁵ Books were now written for an ever-increasing reading public which could be amused or instructed through the printed word. More important, propagandist works of a political or religious type could strengthen that public's loyalty to the established government. The writer of such a book inevitably looked to a member of the government for patronage. There was very little active encouragement of what we might call 'pure' literature or belles lettres, by members of the Elizabethan governing class. One family alone can be said

5. Samuel Moore, "General Aspects of Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages", The Library, third series, vol.IV (1913), pp.369-392, gives a brief account of medieval literary patronage. It should be noted that the commissioning of works did not end with the advent of printing: most of Caxton's books and many of Wynkyn de Worde's were printed at the request of particular patrons (see H.B. Lathrop, "The First English Printers and their Patrons", The Library, fourth series, vol.III (1922-23), pp.69-96) And of course the commissioning of works for certain special occasions continues to the present day.

to have patronized the arts to any serious extent, and that was the Sidneys, later allied by marriage with the Herberts. As practitioners and encouragers of many sorts of literary endeavour they achieved a reputation unrivalled by any other aristocratic family. The gratitude of writers who benefited from their interest and help is expressed not only in dedications but also in their laments at the death of Sir Philip Sidney in 1586.⁶ The Earl of Leicester has been shown to have encouraged Puritan writers, particularly during the period when he was seeking to promote intervention in the Dutch Civil War in the cause of international Protestantism.⁷ On a smaller scale, Sir Walter Raleigh encouraged writers on navigation and geography when he was attempting to enlist support for his Guiana ventures.⁸ During the crisis years of the Jesuit mission to England there is evidence that writers on the Anglican side were not only encouraged but even set to work by the government (see Chapter Three below). But these are isolated instances: for the most part it was the writer who sought the patron, and not the patron the writer.

One of the most striking demonstrations that the old close relationship between patron and author was dwindling is provided by the fact that many writers during the Elizabethan period addressed almost as many patrons as they wrote books. Or to look

6. The extent and influence of the literary patronage of the Sidney/Herberts is discussed by John Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance (1954).

7. Leicester's patronage is described by Eleanor Rosenberg, Leicester Patron of Letters (1955).

8. (See over.)

at the problem from the opposite angle, one nobleman might receive the homage of dozens of writers, though in only one dedication from each. The fact that a certain public figure received more dedications than another is certainly no proof that he was the greater patron. A striking example of this is the fact that Franklin B. Williams's Index of Dedications lists only about twenty-five dedications to Sir Philip Sidney, and nearly two hundred to Queen Elizabeth. And yet no-one encouraged writers more than Sidney, and probably no dedicatee was so ungenerous as the Queen.⁹ The eminence of a dedicatee's position undoubtedly attracted an epistle much more than his reputation as a patron. Dedications in short are no reliable guide to patronage.

Because of the indiscriminate practice of dedicating works to anyone in a position of authority, it is often impossible to decide how much a patron knew of a book before it was addressed

8. Eleanor Rosenberg, "Giacopo Castelvetro: Italian Publisher in Elizabethan London and his Patrons", Huntington Library Quarterly, VI (1942-43), pp.119-145, gives a brief account of this campaign.
9. B.B. Gamzue, "Elizabeth and Literary Patronage", PMLA, XLIX (1934) pp.1041-1049, has shown that the Queen's reputation as a patroness was cheaply bought. Almost all the writers who sought her aid were turned away empty-handed, and those who received reward were hardly generously treated. Gamzue of course has only a material idea of patronage in mind - he defines it as the bestowing of annuities, the granting of some official appointment, or the giving of hospitality. If one attempts to take a wider view of the influence of the Queen, her stable government and the atmosphere of her court, on the late sixteenth century flowering of English letters, the picture is drastically changed. Even with regard to the propagandist and utilitarian works with which this study is concerned, it is obvious that the affection and loyalty which writers felt for their Queen and the commonwealth was often the basic motive for their writing to protect them.

to him. It can safely be said that in the majority of cases the motivating force behind the writing of a dedicatory epistle came from the author and his desire for recognition and reward. Having written his book he would select a patron to whom he could address it. Philip Barrough makes this clear in dedicating his The Method of Phisicke (1583) to Burghley:

The chiefest thing (Right Honorable and my singular good Lord) that emboldeneth men to dedicate their labours vnto any personage, is the affinitie betweene the matter of the worke, which they offer, and the minde of him to whom it is presented (sig. ii).

Thomas Lupton draws attention to the same idea in his epistle to Burghley before The Second Part . . . of Too Good to be True (1581):

[My] Booke, as it is not to be numbred among common giftes, so I do not giue it as common giftes are giuen. For common giuers appoint the receyuers of their giftes, before their giftes be bought: but I haue made my gifte before I appointed the receyuer. And whereas they chuse a meete gifte for their receyuer: I haue chosen a meete receauer for my gifte (sig. A3).

Occasionally however the wrong patron was selected. As with Creswell's dedication to Burghley or Parsons's to Essex¹⁰ this might be done purposely for a particular effect, but more frequently it was the result of sheer stupidity on the author's part. The prime example of this is Stephen Gosson's dedication of his The Schoole of Abuse (1579) to Sir Philip Sidney. This attack on "poets . . . pipers and such like caterpillers of a cōmonweale" provoked Sidney to write his Apologie for Poetry.

10. In 1594 Father Parsons embarrassed Essex by dedicating to him his Conference about the next Succession to the Crowne of Inlande.

Such a dedication as Gosson's provides decisive proof that sometimes at least a dedicatee knew nothing of a book until it appeared in print with his name at the front. Just how frequently this occurred it is impossible now to say. Certainly it was wiser to make sure beforehand that a dedicatee would approve of what was offered him. Spenser makes this clear in a letter to Gabriel Harvey, to whom he remarks that it is "follic not to regarde aforehande the inclination and qualitie of him to whome wee dedicate oure Bookes."¹¹

The available evidence seems to point to the conclusion that a writer normally made a formal presentation of a printed copy of his book to its dedicatee (sometimes as a New Year's gift). The picture of George Gascoigne offering his Hemetes the Heremyte to the Queen is well known; so is that section of Dekker's Lanthorne and Candlelight in which the "falconers" prepare second-hand and worthless volumes to present to gullible gentry, who, by the separate printing of their several names at the beginning of the dedications of otherwise identical copies, are tricked into believing themselves patrons of the entire edition.¹² In his "Eupolemia"¹³ Richard Robinson gives another

11. Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed. G. Gregory Smith (1904), vol. I, p. 89.

12. The extreme scarcity of books with variant dedicatees (of the same dedicatory epistles in the same edition) suggests that this was an uncommon practice. On the other hand Archbishop Warham could suspect even so eminent a scholar as Erasmus of offering him a book which had previously been dedicated elsewhere (see H. W. Garrod, "Erasmus and his English Patrons", The Library, fifth series, IV (1949-50), pp. 1-13).

13. Robinson's manuscript is printed by George McGill Vogt, "Richard Robinson's 'Eupolemia'", Studies in Philology, XXI (1924), pp. 629-648.

vivid picture of how a writer made his patron aware of a dedication. He describes himself presenting his books to various noblemen, and receiving from them rewards varying from a few shillings to three pounds. His dedication to the Queen of A Third Proceeding of the harmonie of King Davids Harpe (translated from Stringelius) was received with less generosity. He presented the copy to the Queen as she left her chapel on a Sunday morning, and was graciously thanked, though informed by the Master of Requests that since the Queen had not set him to work, she would give him no reward. Sir Thomas Egerton, when Robinson presented him with A Fourth Proceeding, was not even gracious: "He answered me ... I should have made him privy to yt, before I had dedicated yt vnto him".¹⁴ But Robinson had already committed himself to print, and it appears that all surviving copies of the Third and Fourth Proceeding bear dedications to the Queen and Egerton respectively.

Sometimes then, perhaps nearly¹ always, a dedicatee knew nothing of a book until the printed copy appeared before him. A dedicatory epistle itself will occasionally make it obvious that the book had been printed before the dedication was written. Thus in dedicating his translation of The Prouerbes of ... Sir James Lopez de Mendoza (1579) to Burghley, Barnabe Googe writes:

14. Vogt, "Eupolemia", p.644.

As for such faults as have passed, as well in the title as in the notes, being as they were committed in my absence, & without my knowledge, I trust your lordship will discharge me of the blame (sig.*3).

(But such a remark of course only shows that the book was printed before the epistle was written - the possibility remains that Burghley knew all about the book long before it even reached the printer's.)

There is evidence then, sometimes clear, sometimes dubious, that a dedication might appear in print without the recipient's knowing anything about it. On the other hand it can occasionally be shown that a patron saw a book in manuscript before it was committed to the printer. Nowell's Catechismus (1570) was dedicated in manuscript to Burghley (or Sir William Cecil as he then was) seven years before it was printed, and when it finally appeared the dedication had, with Cecil's approval, been changed. William Whitaker, dedicating to Burghley his Answers to a Certain Booke (1585), writes:

This my labour I offer to your Honors good acceptation, humble beseeching you, that I may publish it vnder the safeguard of your honorable protection (sig.A5).

Perhaps Burghley first read these words in a letter accompanying the manuscript of the whole work. An even more striking example is provided by Thomas Danett, who declares, in dedicating to Burghley his translation of The Historie of Philip de Comines (1596), that

It is now, R. Honorable, thirty yeeres since I presented to your L. and the late Earle of Leicester ... the historie of Comminea rudely translated (sig.A2).

He has now, he writes, been persuaded to have the work printed, and dedicates it to Burghley by "right of suruiuor". But these are special cases; the writers were well known to Burghley, and Whitaker at least wrote under his direction. The hypothesis that many dedications came to him as an unlooked for (and perhaps indifferently received) surprise remains tenable.

On a patron's reaction on receiving a dedication there is very little evidence. Robinson's "Eupolemia" is an unsatisfactory source, since no-one can have been much delighted by the obsequious attentions of a mercenary and distinctly boring hack translator. A prompt payment, very rarely generous, sometimes insulting, or a neatly delivered snub, bear witness to the anxiety of his dedicatees to be rid of their suitor, and their frequent indifference to what was offered them. But there must have been many occasions on which a dedicatee was pleased or flattered by an author's offering. Golding's translations of the classics, the moral tracts presented by Fenton or Wolton, the works in answer to "Campion the seditious Jesuit", to these, one may be sure, Burghley was delighted to stand patron. The patronage system, when it worked properly, benefited both sides: the patron was pleased by the books inscribed to him, and the author had the prestige of his works increased, and his career advanced. Though sometimes no more than verbiouse flattery, a dedication was by no means always meaningless. Behind a style which can often obscure its meaning,

the dedicatory epistle is frequently a testimony to a mutually profitable relationship.

It has already been mentioned that variant dedications in different copies of the same edition of any book are extremely rare. No instance is known of this occurring in books dedicated to Burghley. On the other hand a change of dedicatee in a later edition of a work is by no means uncommon, and a great many examples survive. The usual cause of change was the death of the original dedicatee, and there are some examples of later editions of books originally dedicated to Burghley being offered to other patrons. But this did not always happen, though it seems probable that it was a more frequent occurrence if the author was still alive to write another epistle.

The form of the Elizabethan epistle dedicatory remains to be considered. The conventions were flexible but relatively permanent; they betray several easily recognized features. The most obvious is the flattery with which the dedicatee is addressed, and the crawling humility with which the writer speaks of himself. John Marbecke begs Burghley's "fauourable inclination ... towards so simple a worne as I am",¹⁵ while George Wither refers to his book as a "simple, sily labour".¹⁶ But the tone of flattery is an integral element in the whole business of dedicating books. A writer in an acutely class-conscious society addressing a great

15. Lynes of Holy Sainctes, dedication, sig. A1j^v.

16. An A.B.C. for Lay-men, dedication, sig. A2^v.

lord to whom he was trying to suggest himself as worthy of advancement, was almost bound to grovel to some extent. And to such a man as Burghley, for so long at the centre of the Elizabethan government, the flattery may not always have been insincere.

Dedicating his View of the Marginal Notes of the Popish Testament (1588) to Archbishop Whitgift, George Wither writes:

It is the manner, vse and custome of all that set foorth any thing to be seen and read of others, to set downe some reasons that moued them to take such pains, and to publish their labors (sig.A2).

He here outlines one of the main functions of the dedicatory epistle. This can often be seen to fall into a number of distinct sections. It usually opens with a flowery and fulsome address to the patron, and ends, especially in religious books, with a prayer for his safety. Between the two one finds the author declaring his motives for writing and for feeling his work was suitable to be offered to his dedicatee. Sometimes too one finds some biographical details, perhaps of previous connections with the dedicatee. Many writers try to find excuses for having published their work at all. The claim that they have been persuaded by friends to do^{so} is very common, and sometimes surreptitious printing or delivery of a manuscript to the printer without the writer's knowledge is offered as an excuse, not always of course insincerely. Many writers, particularly translators of religious works by continental divines (above all Calvin), while deprecating their own translations, assert the

immense value of the work they offer and half suggest that the dedicatee will fail in his duty to his religion and to his country if he neglects to protect the book (and incidentally to reward its translator). This is indeed the only bait which the writer of a dedicatory epistle can offer, and the suggestion that a dedicatee will serve Queen and country by his patronage, and at the same time gain an immortal reputation, is thus frequently to be found in epistles.

So much for the basic ingredients of the dedicatory epistle, and the background against which this study of Burghley's literary patronage has to be seen. The position of Lord Burghley himself, in particular in the context of his patronage of literature, now has to be considered. A detailed biography of Burghley would be inappropriate here; the barest outline will suffice.¹⁷ William Cecil was born in 1520 and educated at Grantham and Stamford schools, before matriculating at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was influenced by Protestant humanist scholarship. He left the university without taking his degree and was subsequently a student at Gray's Inn. He first entered government service as a member of the household staff of the Protector Somerset. He managed to avoid getting too involved in the fall of Somerset,

17. The most thorough and penetrating, as well as the most recent, biography of Burghley, is provided by the two volumes of Conyers Read: Mr. Secretary^{Cecil} and Queen Elizabeth (1955) and Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth (1960). Most of the biographical information on Burghley in this study is based on Read.

and when Northumberland took over the reigns of power Cecil rose to even greater prominence. In 1550 he was appointed one of the principal secretaries, and the following year he was knighted. The accession of Mary might have been disastrous to him had he not once again managed to dissociate himself from the falling Protector at the opportune moment. Although his education had made him a convinced Protestant he conformed under the Catholic Queen, though he had to retire from public life. He must have remained in close contact with the Princess Elizabeth during Mary's reign, for on her accession she had no hesitation in immediately appointing him her Principal Secretary. Her words on that occasion might have been prophetic:

This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted by any manner of gift and that you will be faithful to the state; and that without respect of my private will you will give me that counsel which you think best.¹⁸

Cecil served faithfully for the next forty years: until 1572 as secretary, thereafter, until his death in 1598, as Lord Treasurer. In 1571 he was raised to the peerage as Lord Burghley (his family home being at Burghley in Northamptonshire, just outside Stamford). A few months later he received a garter knighthood. Throughout this long period the Queen's confidence in him was unwavering for all but the few weeks of real or pretended anger after the execution of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587 (an event which had been hastened through by the Privy Council under

18. Quoted in Read, Cecil, p.119.

Burghley's leadership.) Burghley was never a courtier in the fashion of Leicester, but rather a civil servant, an administrator of minute care, a statesman whose ideals for the safety of England and the Queen guided everything he did in his public life. His career from his first entry into government service in 1548 shows him consistently loyal to the legitimate and effective government. Peace, order, stability, these were the objects of his administration at a time when extremists of many sorts, especially religious zealots, were struggling to impose their demands on the country, Cecil tried constantly and successfully to steer a middle course:

The only faithfull watchman of this Realme,¹⁹
That in all tempestes never quit the helme.

His ideals were sometimes higher than his methods, and his opponents accused him of subtlety, cunning and unscrupulousness. But he kept throughout his life his unswerving loyalty to the State, and through his calm and prudent policy, his careful use of the Queen's inadequate financial resources, and his astute handling of his mistress, he was able to guide the country through the crises of the early part of the reign to a unity and strength which in 1558 could never have been foreseen.

Cecil's personal character is little mentioned in discussions of his public career. Indeed he seems to have been a man who kept personal considerations and public business apart. Prudence, cool judgment and adroitness in the handling of men and affairs seem to have been his main characteristics. Beneath the hostility of

19. The couplet is from Ben Jonson's "Epigram on William Lord Burleigh", Works, ed. Herford and Simpson, vol.VIII, p.105.

Lord Macaulay's brilliant sketch, these are the qualities which one discerns:

He paid great attention to the interests of the state, and great attention also to the interest of his own family. He never deserted his friends till it was very inconvenient to stand by them, was an excellent Protestant when it was not very advantageous to be a Papist, recommended a tolerant policy to his mistress as long as he could recommend it without hazarding her favour, never put to the rack any person from whom it did not seem probable that useful information might be derived, and was so moderate in his desires that he left only three hundred distinct landed estates, though he might, as his honest servant assures us, have left much more, "if he would have taken money out of the Exchequer for his own use, as many Treasurers before have done."²⁰

John Chapham, who lived as Burghley's servant for several years, and subsequently compiled a brief history of Elizabeth's reign, wrote of the same qualities described by Macaulay, though with a different interpretation:

He was of a well tempered constitution of body, of stature rather comely than tall, in countenance grave but without authority; toward his equals in degree courteous and respectful, yet not neglecting the reputation of his place; of the popular sort neither a servile pleaser nor a careless condeigner. Quick he was of conceit, of a ready dispatch, and of a great memory; making use of present occasions for the public good, and provident in preventing inconveniences even afar off. ... Formalities and vain shows for ostentation, whereof true worthiness hath always least need, he little regarded. Such matters as he undertook, either for the good of the state or for his own private advantage, he chose to accomplish rather by patience in waiting opportunities than by open show of authority, or presumption of the Prince's favor. Yet wanted he not courage in a good cause when time and place required it, and to a bad he was not easily to be drawn either for fear or affection. True and faithful he was of his word; more ready to perform than to promise; no upbraider of benefits bestowed and in a word, to speak truly of him, he was more desirous to do good than to be seen to do it. During the

²⁰: "Burleigh and his Times" (April 1832), in Lord Macaulay's Essays and Lays of Ancient Rome (edition of 1890), pp.222-238. Quotation from p.224.

time that he was Principal Secretary, as I have heard it reported, he carried himself so temperately, as he seldom showed any outward sign of anger or discontentment.²¹

Principal Secretary and later Lord Treasurer, Privy Counsellor and administrator, these were the main offices of William Cecil. But two relatively minor posts were also important. In 1561 Cecil was appointed to the Mastership of the Court of Wards.²² He was a diligent master, and by his efforts in searching out undeclared wardships greatly increased the number at the disposal (for sale or grant) of the Crown. He also acted as guardian to several of the more important wards, among them Lord Wharton, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Surrey, the third and fifth earls of Rutland, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Southampton, and Lord Zouche. These wardships were probably granted to him directly by the Queen, and though it seems that Burghley received rather few wardships considering his long period as Master, those he did control probably brought him enormous profit. As Hurstfield points out, "Burghley was interested in quality - not quantity."²³ Burghley's enemies frequently accused him of lining his own pockets through his Mastership of the Court of Wards, and even John Clapham, in

21. John Clapham, "Certain Observations concerning the Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth", in Elizabeth of England, ed. Evelyn and Conyers Read (1951), pp.79-80.
22. Burghley's work as Master of the Court of Wards is described by Joel Hurstfield, The Queen's Wards (1958), pp.241-282.
23. The Queen's Wards, p.249.

his otherwise eulogistic biography, writes:

After Sir Thomas Parry's death, he was made Master of the Wards and Liveries, by means whereof he grew rich, and ofttimes gratified his friends and servants that depended and waited on him.²⁴

Certainly, though the number of wardships was greatly increased during Elizabeth's reign, the profits to the Crown showed a considerable fall. Nevertheless, Hurstfield's minute investigation reveal no evidence to explain Burghley's vast wealth (revealed above all in his great building operations at Theobalds and Burghley, and in his frequent and lavish entertainment of the Queen) entirely on the basis of his private profits from the sale of wardships. But there is some evidence to show that he occasionally accepted gifts from would-be purchasers of wardships. As Hurstfield points out, "Burghley found the Tudor system of perquisites and gifts at hand when he took office, and he did not change it throughout his long period of service."²⁵ Hurstfield proves from surviving records that in some years at least Burghley became more than £2,000 the richer from unofficial profits accruing from the sale of wardships. But such a figure would hardly match his expenditure for one month, and whether this was indeed the main source of Burghley's wealth will probably never be known. It is hardly a topic on which one can expect detailed documentation.

24. Elizabeth of England, p.75.

25. The Queen's Wards, p.261.

Burghley's mastership of the Court of Wards, then, may possibly have provided him with wealth which, had he wished, might have been used in literary patronage. It had a more direct effect on his patronage in another way: one of his wards was Arthur Hall, whose translation of part of Homer's Iliad was dedicated to Burghley's son Thomas Cecil, while Oxford's uncle Arthur Golding, who lived with his nephew at Cecil House in the Strand for several years, dedicated four of his translations to Burghley.

Far more important (as far as literary patronage is concerned) than Burghley's Mastership of the Court of Wards, was his Chancellorship of Cambridge University. He was installed as Chancellor on 21st February 1559, and held the office until his death. The month after taking office he was called upon to intervene in the first university dispute of his Chancellorship. During the next forty years he must have settled (or attempted to settle) hundreds of disputes, important and petty, civil and ecclesiastical, which broke out with monotonous regularity in Elizabethan Cambridge.²⁶ Hardly a week went by without some appeal or other from the university to its Chancellor;²⁷ in

26. H.C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (1950) gives a most readable account of the controversies in sixteenth century Cambridge, with frequent attention to Burghley's part in them.

27. Some idea of the significance of Burghley's dealings with the university may be gained from the two volumes of Heywood and Wright, Cambridge University Transactions during the Puritan Controversies of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (1854) The earlier part of this work consists almost entirely of transcriptions from the Lansdowne Manuscripts, ^{the} Great collection

short, as a former Cambridge man himself, and as Chancellor of the university for almost forty years, Cecil was always in close touch with university life. "Any study of Elizabethan Cambridge," writes H.C. Porter, "must bear witness to his moderate, wise and unselfish guidance."²⁸ This is reflected in his literary patronage: of the thirty-one writers who dedicated religious books to him, fifteen had been educated at Cambridge (as against nine at Oxford), and these include almost all those to whom Burghley afforded any real patronage. Burghley's Chancellorship of Cambridge was by no means a sinecure; on the contrary it was a heavy responsibility which caused him much anxiety, and on several occasions he expressed a desire to resign. In 1562 it seems that he almost did so. But if the dedications of learned books brought him any consolation, he might have come to regard his Chancellorship with fewer misgivings.

Burghley's connections with scholarship were not confined to the contacts he made through his Chancellorship of Cambridge. He numbered among his friends such famous humanist scholars as Sir John Cheke, Roger Ascham and Sir Thomas Smith. He had himself a complete command of Latin and a deep interest in Greek. His first wife, mother of Thomas Cecil, later Earl of Exeter, was the sister of John Cheke; Cecil married her in Cambridge in 1541. She died some two years later, and in 1545 Cecil married Mildred Cooke, one of the famously learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke of Gidea

28. Reformation and Reaction, p.113.

Hall. She was described by Roger Ascham as one of the two ^mmost learned women in England - the other being Lady Jane Grey. Mildred's son Robert Cecil followed in his father's footsteps, and later became Principal Secretary and Earl of Salisbury. Mildred's knowledge of Greek apparently rivalled her husband's. An unknown biographer of Cecil, who lived for many years as a member of his household, writes of her thus:

She was excellently learned: her Perfection in the Greek being so greate, as she translated a Peece of Chrisostome, out of Greeke into Englishe.

Of Burghley himself he writes:

His diligent studie was also such, as, besides his exquisite Knowledge in the Greek, he was not meanelly sene in all other manner of Lerninge.²⁹

Further testimony to Burghley's love of scholarship is provided by the contents of his library. The evidence for this is scattered and various. Books with his signature or armorial binding stamp have been found in several libraries; many of the books at present at Hatfield House must have belonged to Burghley, and a library list dated 26th January 1614 (i.e. 1614/15) of the books then at Salisbury House (and most of them now at Hatfield) also gives a picture of the reading habits of William Cecil and his son; finally, a ninety page sale catalogue of 1657 claims

29. This anonymous biography, the manuscript of which is now lost, is printed in Desiderata Curiosa, ed. Francis Peck (1732), vol. pp.1-66. The above quotations are respectively from pp.7 & 5.

to contain "the main part of the library of that famous secretary William Cecil, Lord Burghley."³⁰ The 1687 catalogue is an unsatisfactory source in several ways, chiefly of course because there is no way of differentiating between books from Burghley's library and books from elsewhere. The 1615 library catalogue is similarly frustrating, since many of the books may have been added by Robert Cecil. Even the books printed before 1598 mentioned in either catalogue may well have never belonged to Burghley. Nevertheless, both convey a similar impression of the literary tastes of the man who owned the books they mention, while the books which Burghley is known to have possessed are all

30. The compilation of a list of books belonging to Lord Burghley has been made possible by the kindness of several librarians. Lists of books known to have been Burghley's were provided by the following: A.F. Allison (British Museum); G. Lee (St. John's College, Cambridge); F.C. Morgan (Hereford Cathedral); Paul Morgan (Bodleian and several Oxford Colleges); J.C.T. Oates (Cambridge University Library). Miss Clare Talbot, the librarian at Hatfield House, kindly supplied a transcript of the 1615 library catalogue, and permitted an inspection of the original, as well as of the catalogue of books now at Hatfield. She also drew attention to several books at Hatfield which bear Burghley's signature, and pointed out that Burghley's books now at Hatfield almost certainly came from Theobalds. What happened to the library at Cecil House in the Strand is not clear. It was bequeathed to Thomas Cecil, and may now be at Burghley House. The Marquess of Exeter is at present engaged on a thorough survey of the muniments at Burghley, but books may not be checked for several years. On the other hand it may well be that the books bequeathed to Thomas Cecil were sold in 1687. The sale catalogue, issued by Bentley and Walford, is entitled Bibliotheca Illustris, sive Catalogus variorum librorum in quavis lingua & facultate insignium. It lists 390 manuscripts, and approximately 3,500 printed books, many of them post-1598.

of a similar type. From the combined evidence of these lists, as well as an account which Cecil kept with a London bookseller in 1554-55,³¹ some general conclusions about Burghley's reading habits may be drawn.

The most obvious is that his overwhelming interest was in books in Latin. None of the books with his signature or armorial binding stamp, and only a small proportion of pre-1598 works in the later lists, are in English. The Greek and Latin classics form by far the most prominent section in all the lists, with the works of continental Protestant divines also numerous. Such English theologians as Jewel, Humphrey and Whitaker appear in the later lists. The Early Christian Fathers are strongly represented in editions frequently listed as "opera omnia". There is an extraordinary number of Latin Bibles in both the later catalogues. Scientific and judicial treatises in Latin are mentioned in many of the lists. History, one gathers, was another subject which attracted Burghley, though this too he preferred to read in Latin. The 1687 sale catalogue lists 210 volumes in Greek, all but twelve of them printed before 1598. This surely represents one of Burghley's consuming interests. In both the 1619 and 1607 catalogues pre-1598 works in languages other than Greek or Latin are about equally divided into English, French and Italian, with a few Spanish. Their subject matter is closely akin to that of the Latin works, except that the ancient classics do not appear - Burghley obviously preferred to read these in the original. Pre-1598 works in English

31. Quoted by Read, Cecil, p.114. The original is in Salisbury MSS., cxliii, 9.

in the 1687 catalogue for example, comprise twenty-nine religious works, ten legal, eight historical and geographical, four scientific and six miscellaneous, including works on war, armoury etc. It should be emphasised that the number of works in English is extremely small, and that what we should now call 'Elizabethan Literature' is not represented by any volume in any of the lists. Burghley's constant watch on the Catholic opponents of his government is indicated by the mention in both the 1615 and 1687 catalogues of works (in English and Latin) by English Catholic refugees.

So far as books dedicated to Burghley are concerned these lists establish some interesting facts. Of the eight-five works dedicated to him, Burghley's ownership of only one can be proved: the Hatfield copy of Whitaker's Responso to Sander (1583) has Burghley's signature on the title-page.³² On the other hand, twenty-seven of the books dedicated to him may well once have been in Burghley's possession: thirteen are listed in the 1687 sale catalogue, and fourteen others are now at Hatfield. (Some twelve of the latter are mentioned in the 1615 list.) If the practice of an author's presenting a copy of his book to his dedicatee was as widespread as is supposed, then many of the books which Burghley received must have been lost since. Perhaps he was not interested enough to take care of them himself. Certainly those which remain

32. The Hatfield copy of John Baret's Aluearie (1573) is inscribed "W. Burghley for my son Robert Cecill." It is also autographed "Robert Cecyll". There is no positive evidence to show that Burghley ever possessed any of the other books dedicated to him.

contain an unusually high proportion of Latin titles - nineteen of the twenty-seven.³³ When one considers that he was dedicatee of only twenty-eight works in Latin altogether, the fact that nineteen appear in the seventeenth century catalogues is even more remarkable. One wonders why two-thirds of the Latin books presented to him (if indeed books were always presented to their patron) should have survived, and only nine of the other fifty-seven in English. The evidence points so strongly to Burghley's great affection for books in the classical languages, that the idea of the English books having been destroyed by excessive use can safely be discounted. One may tentatively conclude that Burghley kept the books he was interested in.

Burghley's literary tastes undoubtedly influenced the writers who dedicated their works to him. One wonders if they knew as well as his household biographer that he "never read any Books or Praiers, but in Latin, French or Italian: very seldome in English."² The twenty-eight Latin books out of eighty-four dedicated to Burghley make an interesting comparison with the figures for the Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of Oxford. Of ninety-four works dedicated to him, only twenty-one are in Latin.³⁵ The difference may be coincidental, though Leicester's classical scholarship was

33. All eleven of the religious works in Latin dedicated to Burghley are listed in either the 1615 or 1667 catalogue, although only one religious work in English (out of thirty-one religious books in English dedicated to him) is mentioned in either.

34. Peck, I, p.55. Conyers Read also notes (Burghley, p.534), that Burghley "seems always to have preferred the Latin Bible before any English version."

35. The figure is based on the list of works dedicated to Leicester in Rosenberg, Leicester Patron of Letters, pp.355-362.

never one of his main claims to fame, whereas Burghley's tastes and accomplishments in this field seem to have been well known. Richard Reynoldes even went so far as to write a special epistle in Latin when dedicating an English book, A Chronicle of all the noble emperours of the Romaines (1571), to Burghley. Many dedications mention Burghley's interest in learning. The following tribute from Margaret Ascham's dedication to The Scholemaster may represent them all:

Well remembering how much all good learning oweth vnto you for defece thereof, as the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, of which my said late husband was a member, haue in choosing you their worthy Chauncellor acknowledged, and how happily you haue spent your time in such studies & carried the vse therof to the right end, to the good seruice of the Queenes Maiestie and your contrey to all our benefites ... (sig.*ii).

In other ways too, Burghley's literary tastes as indicated in the contents of his library seem to have influenced those offering their works to him. Almost half the works dedicated to Burghley (forty-two out of eighty-five) are religious. (The term is used to include a few works of moral didacticism of a Christian type.) The remainder fall into groups similar to others mentioned in discussing the contents of his library: Burghley's interest in history is witnessed by twelve dedications of historical and geographical books; there are eight scientific works, mathematical and medical, mostly in Latin; classical scholarship is represented by three dictionaries of the classical tongues (including Thomas Thomas's Dictionarium (1538?), which went through ten editions before 1640), five volumes of Latin poetry, a Latin treatise on the classical poets, and five translations from the classics. Roger

Ascham's The Scholemaster also belongs in this group: the dedication was undoubtedly the result of Cecil's friendship and common classical interests with the great humanist scholar. The miscellaneous group remaining includes William Damon's two books of church music, three works on horticulture (Burghley's gardens at Theobalds were reputed to be among the finest in Europe), and two practical treatises - one on heraldry, the other on wine-making. Among all the original works dedicated to Burghley only one can reasonably be classed with the imaginative literature of the period. Pottenham's The Arte of English Poesie was dedicated to him in 1589 with an apology for offering such a slender trifle so out of keeping with Burghley's years and position.

Burghley's patronage then seems to have been confined almost entirely to works of learning or for the benefit of the State. In two fields his patronage was active. In the 1560's a group of scholars, including Arthur Golding, Barnabe Googe and Arthur Hall, were living at Cecil House in the Strand, and producing translations of classical and modern Latin works. Burghley undoubtedly encouraged their work, and almost certainly suggested Golding's 1565 translation of Caesar's Commentaries. Later in the reign he played an important part in anti-Jesuit propaganda of the 1580's, and himself published a pamphlet in justification of the execution of Campion.³⁶ His part in this campaign bears witness to that

36. See Chapter Three below. Burghley played an active part in official propaganda throughout the reign, though most of his published efforts are in the form of government proclamations.

.....continued.

faith in the power of the printed word which he kept throughout his life.

Apart from the translators and the anti-Jesuits, few writers enjoyed Burghley's active encouragement^e in the business of producing books. He appears to have given some help to both John Norden and William Camden in their historical and geographical studies, and his employment of John Gerard as gardener for many years made possible the greatest of Elizabethan herbals, as well as a comprehensive catalogue of trees. For the most part however, Burghley's assistance to writers was given in areas outside their literary activities. His patronage in fact was expressed in the preferment of some of the writers who sought his aid:

For he intirely loved Learning & lerned Men, whome he ever held in Reverence and Regard: Ever using all his Credit, & Authority to releve & advance Men of Learning & Desert.³⁷

Despite his great wealth, all the evidence suggests that Burghley was a far from generous man. Lord Macaulay emphasises this:

His recorded maxims ... are indeed, neatly expressed reasons for exacting money rigorously, and for keeping it carefully.³⁸

John Clapham explains it thus:

Continuation of Footnote 36.

Conyers Read's essay "William Cecil and Elizabethan Public Relations", Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays presented to Sir John Neale (1961), pp.21-55, shows Burghley drafting a considerable number of pamphlets in support of the government's policies at various crises during the reign, though very few of these saw print. He also prompted Bishop Jewel's Apologia (1562), the first printed justification of the Anglican settlement.

37. Peck, I, p.34.

38. "Burleigh and his Times" (ed.1690), p.223.

To his kindred Cecil was not altogether so liberal as many times they expected, either for that he imagined they did presume of his favor in accounting as duty whatsoever he did bestow upon them, or else, that the world might know that in bestowing benefits he respected more the merit of the receiver than proximity of blood or private inducement.³⁹

The fact remains however that even "merit" was not enough to inspire largesse in Cecil: William Whitaker, whose six dedications to Burghley outnumber those of any other writer, and some of whose anti-Catholic tracts were written at Burghley's instigation, died in great poverty.

To "advance Men of Learning" was Cecil's way of expressing his approval of books dedicated to him. To none of the religious writers with which this study is concerned can he be shown to have made any financial gift, but many of them were grateful to him for help in their careers. Henry Dethick, Hadrian Saravia, Laurence Humphrey and John Wolton he preferred to church livings; Geoffrey Fenton, Barnabe Googe, Edward Hoby, Raphe Robinson and George Whetstone were all employed in government service through his intercession; while William Whitaker certainly, and Robert Some possibly, owed their masterships of Cambridge colleges to Burghley's good offices. In an age of religious intolerance and doctrinal argument however, protection could be as valuable as active patronage, especially for those who deviated from the middle way of Anglicanism. Among those of Puritan leanings who had reason to thank Burghley for protecting them from the episcopal

39. Elizabeth of England, p. 84.

power were Laurence Humphrey, Hugh Broughton, George Wither, Henry Smith and George Gifford. Burghley even made a belated attempt to save the congregationalists Barrow and Greenwood from execution, and his assistance to Robert Browne, the founder of Elizabethan Separatism, was probably decisive in saving that hot-headed young man from the gallows. Burghley in fact exercised his patronage in a typically Elizabethan manner: the granting of annuities and the bestowing of generosity, so often emphasised in studies of patronage, were probably exceptional.

As Chancellor of the University of Cambridge Cecil was bound to attract dedications from scholars anxious to find advancement in the University or in the service of Church or State. His political offices gave him immense power in the disposal of royal patronage. W.T.MacCaffrey has written: "No one enjoyed the confidence of the sovereign in so large a measure as Burghley, and no one was so well placed to guide the flow of patronage."⁴⁰ MacCaffrey shows Burghley's influence in the choice of officials in the household, in the regional councils, in the ordnance and in the army. He was involved in the appointment of sergeants-at-law and J.P.'s, and writes MacCaffrey "in the appointment of bishops his choice was decisive." It must have been in the hope of securing the sort of patronage which Burghley could offer that many of the dedicatory epistles to him were written.

40. "Place and Patronage in Elizabethan Politics", Essays Presented to Sir John Neale, p.109.

It has already been shown that one occasionally gets a hint of Burghley's promoting a book during or before its composition. But it is almost impossible to come to any conclusions about his acquaintance with most of the books dedicated to him before they appeared in print. One line of investigation might be of assistance here: several works dedicated to Burghley carry some part of his arms, either on the title-page, the verso of the title-page, comprised in the initial letter of the dedication, or at the end of the dedication. Bossewell's Workes of Armorie, dedicated to Burghley in 1572, is a special case, with the Burghley achievement as one of a great many textual illustrations. Since it is scarcely to be supposed that each Elizabethan printer had at hand a block bearing the arms of every nobleman to whom books were likely to be dedicated, a careful study of the arms in books dedicated to Burghley appeared worthwhile. Burghley is known to have kept an armorial stamp for the binding of books, and it seemed possible that he also kept blocks of his crest and armorial achievement which he might loan to printers for books dedicated to him.

In all, twenty-five of the eighty-five books dedicated to Burghley bear his arms. Four of these can be dismissed at once as of no value for this study. The elaborate title-page of Baret's Aluearie (1573), with Burghley's crest in the lower centre, was obviously prepared specially by the printer for that book. It was used again in Thomas Danett's translation of The Historie of Philip de Commynes (1596), dedicated to Burghley, and then, still

with the Burghley crest, in the anonymous Historie of France (1595),⁴¹ dedicated to the Countess of Warwick, and in Robert Jones's Second booke of songs and ayres (1601), dedicated to Henry Leonard. Sir Thomas Chaloner's De Republic Anglorum, dedicated to Burghley in 1579, has, around an engraved portrait of Sir Thomas, several shields, including Burghley's. The whole decoration was obviously specially prepared for the book. The same applies to an elaborate initial 'B', encircling Burghley's shield, crest and motto, which begins Richard Grafton's dedication to Burghley of his Chronicle at Large (1569).

When these three examples (in four books) have been left aside, some interesting facts emerge from the remaining twenty-one books which have Burghley's arms. Eleven have his full armorial achievement (nearly always on the verso of the title-page), nine his crest and one both crest and achievement. Investigation has shown that four distinct blocks were used for the achievements and two for the crests. The achievements (called types 'A' to 'D') are illustrated on pages 36 to 39. The books in which they occur are listed below, each with their printers. The crests similarly illustrated, and called Types 'I' and 'II', are on pages 40 and 41. The evidence revealed by these lists and illustrations almost certainly proves that it was the printers and not Burghley who provided the blocks for these armorial decorations. It is impossible to be certain, but several factors point to this conclusion. One is that hardly any of the writers closely patronised by Burghley use his arms in their books - the works of Whitaker, Golding,

41. STC 11276.

TYPE 'A'.



Measurements: Height at centre: 152 mm. maximum width 110 mm.

This appears in the following:

- i) Bossewell: Workes of Armorie(1572). (A textual illustration on folio 106.) Printed for Totell.
- ii) Palingenius, translated Googe: The Zodiacke of Life(1576 - Only). (Verso T.P.) Printed by Middleton for Newberie.
- iii) Harvey: Gratulationum Valdinensium(1578). (Third book, verso T.P.) Printed by Binneman.
- iv) Lupton: Second Part of Too Good to be True(1581). (Verso T.P. - lacks motto.) Printed by Binneman.

TYPE 'B'.

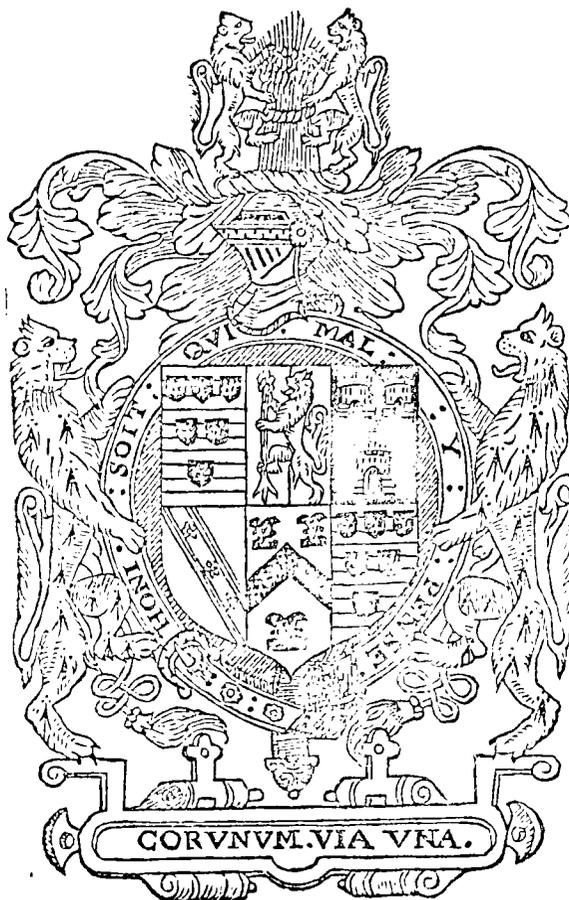


Measurements: Height: 150 mm. width: 107 mm. Other small differences from type 'A'.

This appears only in the following:

Digges: Alae, seu scalae mathematicae(1573). (Verso T.P.)
Printed for Marsh.

TYPE 'C'.

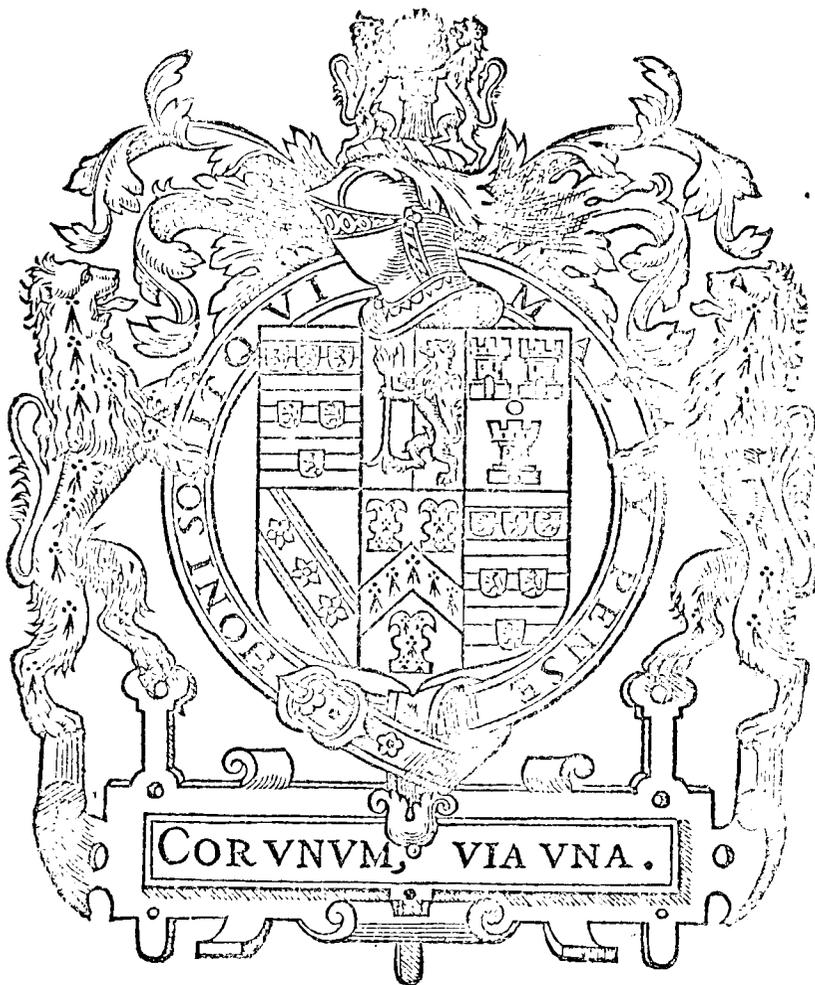


Measurements: Height 117 mm. width: 75 mm.

This appears in the following:

- i) Willes: Poematum Liber (1573). (After dedication - sig. A7^v.)
Printed by Totell.
- ii) Fulwell: The Flower of Fame (1575). (Verso T.P.) Printed by Hoskins.
- iii) Whithalk: Christiane Fidei ... Compendium (1575). (Verso T.P.)
Printed by Marsh.

TYPE 'D'.



Measurements: Height: 130 mm. width: 110 mm.

This appears in the following:

- i) Damon: Former Book of Musick(1591). (Verso T.P. - all parts.)
Printed by Este for William Byrd.
- ii) Damon: Second Book of Musick(1591). (Verso T.P. - all parts.)
Printed by Este for William Byrd.
- iii) Gerard: Catalogus Arborum(1596). (Verso T.P.) Printed by
Robinson.
- iv) Gerard: The Herbal(1597). (Verso T.P.) Printed by Bollifant
for Norton.

TYPE 'I'.



Measurements: Diameter: 43 mm.

This appears in the following:

i) Marbecke: Lyues of Holie Sainctes(1574). (On T.P.) Printed by Denham and Watkins.

ii) Lopez de Mendoza, translated Googe: Prouerbes(1579).
(Verso T.P.) Printed by Watkins.

iii) Guicciardini, translated Danett: Description of the Low Countries(1593). (Verso T.P.) Printed by Short for Chard.

TYPE 'II'.



Measurements: 37 mm. by 37 mm.

This appears in the following:

- i) Grant: Græcæ Linguae Spicilegium(1575). (In decorative initial 'C' of dedication.) Printed by Coldcock for Binneman.
- ii) Wolton: Armoure of Proufe(1576). (Verso T.P.) Printed by Shepherd.
- iii) Dethick: Verise Sacrae(1577). (On T.P.) Printed by East for Toy.
- iv) Dethick: Oratio(Nd.) (On T.P.) No printer.
- v) Hill, ed. Dethick: The Gardeners Labyrinth(1577). (In decorative initial 'C' of dedication.) Printed by Binneman.
- vi) Holinshed: Chronicles(1577). (In decorative initial 'C' of dedication.) Printed [by Binneman] for Harrison.
- vii) Harvey: Gratulationum Valdinensium(1578). (Third book, on T.P.) Printed by Binneman.

Camden, Henry Smith, Wither, Norden and many more appear without them. Indeed it almost seems that the qualification for having Burghley's arms in one's book was to be scarcely known to him. (The exceptions are Barnabe Googe and John Gerard.) Other points too are fairly obvious. The block for the achievement called Type 'A' was quite probably specially cut by Tottle, with many other armorial illustrations, for Somerwell's Works of Armorie - the first book in which it appears. Other printers who used it afterwards could well have borrowed it from Tottle.⁴² It is also interesting that Tottle was the first printer to use the block of achievement 'C' - perhaps he employed a specialist in the cutting of blocks of this sort. Type 'B' is so close to 'A' that it must have been copied from it; there is only a slight difference in measurement and some minute differences in design between the two. The blocks for the crests too were almost certainly produced by the printer. The circular one called Type 'I' seems to have belonged to Watkins, and the square one, Type 'II' was surely Binneman's: it appears first in one of his printings, and is used by him on three subsequent occasions. It is interesting to note that on three of the four occasions on which Binneman uses this crest, he inserts it into the same ornate initial 'C' at the

42. A close examination shows that the letters of Burghley's motto were separately added for each book in which the block was used. Binneman appears to have forgotten to add them for Lupton's The Second Part . . . of Too Good to be True, in which the achievement appears without the motto.

beginning of the dedication. One wonders whether he gave the authors instructions to begin their epistles with a 'C'.

The evidence then strongly suggests that the printers prepared the blocks of Burghley's arms for printing in some of the books dedicated to him. Though many factors remain unaccounted for, especially why some books have armorial decoration and others do not, the hypothesis that it was Burghley who loaned the block to a printer seems untenable. Whether permission was needed to print a nobleman's arms does not appear. One would suspect that it was. This may suggest Burghley's approval of books which bear his arms. Certainly there is nothing of which he might have disapproved in any of them, though (with one or two exceptions) neither is there in any of the books dedicated to him. It is remarkable that most of the books which do carry his arms appeared in the 1570's - seventeen (perhaps eighteen, since Dethick's undated Oratio was probably printed about the same time as his Feriae Sacrae (1577)) out of the twenty-five. Burghley's elevation to the peerage in 1571 probably has some connection with this. But whether it was Burghley's vanity which insisted that the new arms to which he was entitled should be displayed, or whether printers and others were trying to flatter him, it is impossible to decide. There seems to have been a renewed burst of enthusiasm for Burghley's arms in the 1590's., Achievement block 'D' first appears then, the Aluearie title-page reappears after twenty years, and crest Type 'I' is used again after a lapse of fourteen years.

To explain these and the many other problems raised by this question would require a full study of Elizabethan printers using armorial decorations, and of their relations with each other and with authors and patrons. But even from this brief survey it seems obvious that the printer was responsible for producing the block, and that in Burghley's case at least, the presence or absence of the dedicatee's arms is no argument for or against his enthusiasm for the book, though it might suggest his approval of the work before printing.

Since this study will be concerned with Burghley as a patron of religious writers, it may be worthwhile to try to place him in the religious context of Elizabethan England. If one sees the Elizabethan Church as a middle way between Rome and Geneva, with the opposition on both sides sometimes more enthusiastic and self-assertive than those at the centre, then one must imagine Burghley doing his utmost for forty years to protect that middle way. He had himself been largely responsible for the Church settlement of 1559.⁴³ He remained hostile to the Papists throughout the reign, though his attitude was based more on fear of their political danger than on any religious considerations.⁴⁴ In public affairs at least he seems always to have subordinated religion to political expediency. Under Edward VI he followed the drastic Protestant

43. Cecil's part in the settlement of 1559 is discussed by Read, Cecil, pp.133-4.

44. Cecil's attitude to Catholicism is discussed in Chapter Three of this study.

policy of Northumberland as easily as he later kept to the middle way of the Elizabethan Church. And though he lost his government post under Mary, he certainly conformed to Catholicism during her reign. There can be no doubt that with Cecil political considerations came first: the safety of the realm and of the Tudor government were the objects of his policy throughout his life. Thus almost on the eve of the Jesuit mission of 1580 he was conducting negotiations for the marriage of the Queen to a Catholic prince of France - with the hope of course, of ensuring a Tudor succession to the English throne.

Hostility to Rome on political grounds goes far towards a complete explanation of Cecil's religious attitude. Clapham writes of him that:

In matters of religion Cecil dissented from the Papist and the Puritan, disliking the superstition of the one and the singularity of the other; holding the midway between both, as a mean between two extremities.⁴⁵

But to keep the "mean" Cecil appears quite frequently to have lent his weight to the Puritan side as a counter-balance to the power of Catholics. This will be seen clearly enough in considering the religious writers who dedicated their works to him. Many of them received his assistance in quarrels with the bishops. But since most of the learned members of the clergy during the early and middle years of Elizabeth's reign were in favour of a further reformation on Genevan principles, it was

45. Elizabeth of England, p.80.

perhaps inevitable that a man who "intirely loved Larning and lerned Men" should give them his patronage. Nevertheless there are hints that Cecil's private religious inclination was towards Puritanism. The anonymous biographer records that he "most precisely and duly observed his Exercise of Praier, Morninge and Eveninge",⁴⁶ and the atmosphere of his household was undoubtedly austere, presided over as it was by Mildred, that "tiresome blue-stocking" and "furious heretic", as two of the Spanish ambassadors called her.⁴⁷ The Presbyterian leader Walter Travers was, for a short period after 1580, Burghley's household chaplain, and tutor to his son Robert. Burghley later secured him a lectureship at the Temple Church, where his classes with Hooker ultimately produced the latter's Ecclesiasticall Politie. Travers's appointment as Provost of Trinity College, Dublin in 1595 was also gained through Burghley's recommendation.⁴⁸ But though Cecil privately befriended many Puritans, and though his whole attitude to court life and entertainment (reflected in the books which writers found suitable to dedicate to him) was austere, he had little time for Puritans who threatened the Establishment which he had so carefully guarded. This is seen most clearly in his

46. Peck, I, p.45.

47. Read, Cecil, p.35. Read here makes it clear that Mildred brought a strong Puritan influence into Cecil's life, and points out that men of Puritan leanings often sought her intercession for favour or protection from her husband. Mariel St. Clare Byrne, "The First Lady Burghley", National Review, ciii (1934), pp. 356-363, in an account of Mildred's character, conveys the same impression of Puritanism expressing itself in carefully planned benefaction.

48. S.J.Knox, Walter Travers: Paragon of Elizabethan Puritanism (1962), gives an account of Travers's life and connections with Burghley.

dealing with Cambridge disputes. Here he was quick to uphold authority and good government against those who attempted to disturb them, and even William Whitaker, for many years Burghley's closest protégé, almost lost the Chancellor's favour when he arbitrarily expelled from his college a young man suspected of Popery.⁴⁹

One final point must be mentioned in connection with Burghley's religious attitude. In 1584 Whitgift, recently appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, formulated certain articles to test the loyalty to the Established Church of ministers suspected of Puritanism. Many were deprived, and several Privy Counsellors voiced their objections. Burghley wrote to the Archbishop on 1st July, informing him that he had read the articles, and found them

so curiously penned, so full of branches, and circumstances, as I think the Inquisitors of Spain use not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their preys. I know your canonists can defend these ... but surely under your Grace's correction this judicial and canonical sifting of poor ministers is not to edify or reform.

Now, my good Lord, bear with my scribbling ... I favour no sensual and wilful recusants. But I conclude that, according to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too much savouring of the Romish inquisition, and is rather a device to seek for offenders than to reform any.⁵⁰

The letter is important in showing not Burghley's attachment to Puritanism, but his concern for peace within the Establishment. He later came to see the wisdom of the Archbishop's aims, though

49. The 'Digby case' is discussed by Porter, Reformation and Reaction, pp.185-6.

50. Quoted in P.M. Dawley, John Whitgift and the Reformation (1555), p.170.

he continued to dislike the High Commission's method of examining suspects under oath. But the affair is just one more example of Burghley's overwhelming concern for the safety of the Elizabethan Establishment which he did so much to create and to preserve. The following chapters will indicate the recognition of his work in this sphere by a number of religious writers.

CHAPTER ONE

THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH

William Cecil was a prominent member of the English government from his appointment to the office of Principal Secretary in 1550 until his death in 1598. Throughout this period, apart from the five years of Mary's reign and a few months of semi-disgrace after the execution of King Stuart in 1567, his presence at court and council was conscientious and steady. Perhaps he was never so dazzlingly in the public eye as the Earl of Leicester, or so conspicuously courtly as the Earl of Essex, but his power was steadier, less subject to the caprices of the royal will, based more directly on personal ability. In a very real sense he was an "anchor of the commonwealth." It is not surprising therefore that he was considered an appropriate patron of several books dealing with the nature of government and society, and the duties of a ruler, in a Christian commonwealth. These books are typical of an age acutely conscious of the pattern of the public weal, of the reciprocal duties of ruler and subject, of the need for maintaining the established order under God. Although not "religious" in the narrowest sense of the term, they are essentially the products of a deeply religious society which took Christian values for granted, and which on occasions could indeed see "sermons in stones." Studies of this sort supplied

in abstract the same lessons as an Elizabethan would have expected to learn from the study of history. They provide a convenient bridge between "religious" and "non-religious" writing, and therefore an appropriate point of entry to a study of Lord Burghley's patronage of religious literature. They are also important in providing the background of basic values against which must be seen the more specifically religious books to be considered in later chapters of this study.

By a curious and rather pleasing chance, the first book to be dedicated to William Cecil was by far the most significant as literature, probably the only work of all the eighty-five dedicated to him which is at all widely read today. This is Ralph Robinson's translation, published in 1551, of Saint Thomas More's Utopia, fully entitled A fruteful and pleasaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Vtopia. Although More's work had been first published in Latin at Louvain in 1516, and several times reprinted, the 1551 translation was not only the first into English, but the first edition in any language to be printed in England. It remains today the standard English version of Utopia. The translator in his dedicatory epistle addresses Cecil as "his verie singular good maister," and from the little which is known of Robinson's life it is obvious that he was closely connected with Cecil at this time. Robinson¹ was born of poor parents in Lincolnshire in 1521, and was educated

1. The information on Robinson is from Sidney Lee's article in ... Other sources are separately noted.

at Stamford and Grantham grammar schools, at both of which he was the contemporary of William Cecil. He entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford in 1538, graduated B.A. in 1540, and was elected fellow in 1542. He later came to London where he obtained the livery of the Goldsmiths' Company, and also a small post as clerk to his former school fellow Cecil. In 1551 he addressed two long epistles to his master: one is a long manuscript letter in Latin, the other is the dedication to Utopia. The Latin letter,² which is endorsed "May 1551" is an appeal for help in his poverty. He mentions that both his parents are still living, and needing help from him, and that he has moreover been lately saddled with the maintenance of two brothers, which has resulted in his running into debt. This private appeal for help makes an interesting contrast with the public show of gratitude for Cecil's generosity which Robinson makes in his printed epistle:

this my poore present is of such simple and meane sort, that it is neyther able to recompense the least portion of your / great gentlenes to me, of my part vndererued, both in the tize of our olde acquayntance, and also now lately again bountifully shewed (sig.*5^v - *6).

Later evidence suggests that Cecil's generosity was on a severely limited scale.

The main part of Robinson's dedication is concerned with the nature of the work and of the translation which he is offering to his master. He describes the book as "a work not only for ^e matter ^t y it conteineth fruteful & profitable, but also for ^e y

2. Lansdowne Mss., vol.2, item 57.

writers eloquēt latine stiele pleasaunt & delectable," and mentions the "good, & holtsome lessons, which be there in great plēty & aboundānce" (sig. *iijj). The history of More's resistance to the anti-Catholic policies of Henry VIII causes Robinson a little difficulty, and he finds it necessary to make the following apology:

it is much to be lamēted of al, & not only vs English men, ȳ a man of so incomparable witte, of so profounde knowlege, of so absolute learning, & of so fine eloq̄nce was yet neuerthelesse so much blinded, rather w̄ obstinace then w̄ ignoraūce ȳ he could not or rather would not see the shining light of Moses holy truthe in certein principal pointes of Christiā religion: but did rather chouse to perseuer, & continue in his wilfull & stub-/bourne obstinace euē to ȳ very death (sig. *iii^v - *iijj).

With regard to his own translation he shows a conventional humility:

I feare greatly ȳ in this my simple translatiō through my rudenes & ignoraūce in our english tonge all the grace & pleasure of ȳ eloquence, wherwith ȳ matter in latine is finely set forth may seme to be vtterly excluded, & lost: & therefore the frutefulnes of the matter it selfe such peradventure diminished, & appayred (sig. *iijj).

Because of the shortcomings which he finds in his work Robinson makes the claim, repeated ad nauseam in sixteenth century dedications, that he had no intention of printing it until persuaded to do so by friends and acquaintances. On this occasion the scapegoat is, rather unusually, specifically named, even the title-page proclaiming that the work was translated "at the procurement, and earnest request of George Tadlowe Citezein & Haberdascher". Robinson states that Tadlowe

ceased not by al meanes possible cōtinually to assault me, vntill he had at y^e laute, what by y^e force of my pitthie argumentes & strong reasons, & what by his authority so persuaded me, that he caused me to agree & consente to the impryntyng herof. He therefore, as the chiefe persuadour, must take vpon him the daunger, whyche vpon this bolde, and rashe enterpryse shall ensue. I, as I suppose, am herin crierly acquytte, and discharged of all blame (sig.*5).

It may be that Robinson protects rather too much, especially for a man whose appeal to Burghley in the same year for relief from poverty suggests that the small profit which the printing of his work might have brought would have been welcome to him, but this sort of modesty is entirely in keeping with other dedications of the period, and Robinson is here writing strictly within the conventions of the form.

The dedication gives a few details of Robinson's own life. He describes himself as a man "at y^e becke, & cōmaundement of others" (sig.*iii), and at the end of his epistle, after requesting Cecil to defend his work against "thē, which can say well by nothing" (sig.*5^v), he expresses the following wish:

that by the meanes of this homely present I may the better renewe, and reuew (which of late, as you know, I haue already begonne to do) y^e old acquayntaunce, that was betwene you and me in the time of our childhode, being then scolefellowes together. Notdoubting that you for your native goodness, and gentleness will accept in good parte this poore gift, as an argument, or token, that mine old good wil, and hartye affection towardes you is not by reason of long tract of time, and separation [sic] of our bowles any thinge at all quayed and diminished, but rather (I assuer you) much augmented, and increased (sig.*5^v).

It is probable that Robinson became some sort of clerk to Cecil after the latter's appointment to the secretaryship in 1550 (when Cecil's need for such a servant would have increased), his qualifications being presumably his knowledge of Latin, his ability to write a very clear hand (that is apparent from only a glance at the letter to Cecil of May 1551, which is in a most pleasantly legible italic) and the fact that he had been at school with Cecil, who was only one year his senior. The fact that Robinson's anxiety to revive a long-past acquaintance with Cecil dates only from Cecil's appointment to high office, perhaps detracts a little from the touching picture of school-friends re-united in manhood, but one can hardly blame Robinson, whose efforts as a goldsmith appear not to have brought him any great success, for seeking to guard against poverty by every means at his disposal. And despite all his protestations of unwillingness to publish, and his claim that his work was part of his "bouden duetic to God, & to my countrey" (sig. 'iii), it may well be that Robinson's translation of Utopia was a product of his financial difficulties.

The Utopia itself is a work far too well-known to require much analysis here. Its inclusion among books on the Christian commonwealth is perhaps rather questionable, since More's island is not Christian. The religion of Utopia is in fact a sort of broad pantheism, the Utopians believing that

there is a certayne Godlie soure vnder, ecclesiastynge, incomprehensible, inenueiciable, farre aboue the capacitie and retche of mans witte, dispersed through out all the worlde, not in bynes,

but in vertue and powre. Hym they call the father of all. To hym allone they attribute the begynnynge, the encreasynges, the decreasynges, the chaunges, and the endes of all thynges (sig. 41).

But although not strictly speaking Christian, Utopian society is ordered according to principles which more obviously believes to be closer to the Christian ideal than the principles governing the society of western Europe. The community of goods, equality of opportunity, abhorrence of war, cultivation of the intellect through leisure, rather than the ceaseless quest for wealth through labour, these are all sharply contrasted with the situation in England as described in the narrative sections of the first book. One section here is particularly well known, and of interest in drawing attention to the perennial problem of depopulation through the enclosure of arable land for pasture. This problem gave rise to More's outburst in 1516, and had been occupying the Protector Somerset and his secretary Sir William Cecil probably even while Robinson was making his translation; it was to occupy Cecil at intervals throughout his long career. One imagines the following passage striking an immediate chord with him: /e

that one covetous and vnassatiabie covarousite and verye plague of his natyue contrey may compass bowte and inclose many thousand acres of grounde to gether within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne, or els other by covynse or fraude, or by vyolent oppression they be put besydes it, or by wronges and injuries they be so worried that they be compelled to sell all; by one meanes therfore or by other, other by howke or crooke they must nedes departe awaye, pore, sylle, wretched soules men, women, husbandes, wyves, fatherles chyldren, widowes, wofull mother. with their yonge babes, and their hole household smal in substance, and muche in number, as husbandrie requireth many handes. awaye they treade they set

of their known and accustomed notions, finding no place to rest (sig.C7-C7^v).

Robinson's prose has a warmth and vigour of idiom which have caused it to remain the standard English version of More's classic despite the later renderings. The long series of editors have managed to compile only a short list of direct errors by Robinson, and though his 'loose' translations have been shown to be more numerous, there is really small cause for complaint about the work of Cecil's clerk. The one fault which has been emphasized³ is his constant effort to express the sense of the Latin by an accumulation of partial equivalents in English, which inevitably results in verbal redundancy. At times however this can give a certain vividness: thus Robinson translates More's "plumbeus quippiam" (a man of lead) as "a lumpyne blockheaded churle" (sig.Lii).

Cecil undoubtedly knew More's Utopia long before it was translated (early foreign editions are among the 1627 sale catalogue of his library), but there is little doubt that it would be especially gratifying to a rather junior government official of only thirty one years of age to be addressed as patron of the first English translation of so important a work. But though the translation proved popular and was reprinted several times, the dedicatory epistle appears only in the first edition. The second (revised) edition was printed

3. See for example, The Utopia of Sir Thomas More, ed. J.L.Hupton (1935), p.lxxiii.

in 1556, after the beginning of Mary's reign, and Cecil's temporary retirement from court life. To reprint an epistle which attacked More for his Catholicism, and linked Cecil with such sentiments, would have been the height of folly on Robinson's part. The other explanation which has been advanced⁴, that Robinson removed the dedication because he was disappointed by Cecil's failure to respond to his plea for some relief to his poverty, is pure guesswork and far less convincing than the obvious explanation just noted. Since the third edition of 1597 was printed from the second⁵ and the other editions of 1624 and 1639 have new dedications from the printer to Saint Thomas's descendant Cresacre More, the fact that the dedication to Cecil is found in only the first edition, is not very difficult to explain.

The translation of Utopia is Robinson's only literary effort which survives in print. Some undated Latin verses⁶ presented to Cecil (and addressed to "patrono suo singulari"), as a New Year's gift, provide a little more biographical evidence about him. Though they were written apparently before Cecil became Lord Burghley in February 1571, Robinson (who was born in 1521), mentions the approach of old age, which suggests a date of composition a good deal later than the Utopia dedication,

4. Utopia, ed. Lupton, p.lxxiv.

5. It has the marginal notes from 1556 which are not present in 1551.

6. Lansdowne Mss., vol.2, item 58.

and presumably after Cecil's return to public life at the accession of Elizabeth; perhaps some time during the 1560's is the most likely date. The verses show that Robinson is still in Cecil's employ, still poor, still appealing for relief. His life apparently was neither eventful nor easy. The last evidence of him which survives is a manuscript letter⁷ to his master which must have been written after July 1572 since Cecil is addressed as Lord Treasurer. The hand has lost a good deal of the firmness and neatness which distinguish it in 1561, but the short Latin letter is once more on the same theme, reminiscing of school-days together, and pleading for some relief from poverty. After twenty years in Burgley's service, Robinson's position has not improved in the least. The letter is drily endorsed: "Rodolphus Robynsonus. For some place to relieve his poverty." After this there is no further record of Robinson and no way of knowing if Burgley's generosity towards him increased. But from the evidence available, it seems that the first man to dedicate a book to Cecil enjoyed far from lavish patronage at the hands of his noble master.

More's Utopia is a Catholic humanist's description of the "beste state of a publyque weale." Forty years after its translation had been dedicated to him, Cecil was addressed as patron of a work which described another imaginary land, the

7. Manuscript, vol.2, item 55.

ideal Christian commonwealth as seen by a Puritan moralist.

Thomas Lupton, the writer of the Second part and Knitting vp of the Booke entituled Too good to be true, is a man of whose life even less is known than of Robinson's. He is described as a "miscellaneous writer",⁸ and his works, of which seven survive in print, were all published within the period 1570 to 1584. . Apart from a popular book of nostrums and recipes of a varied but almost unfaillingly grotesque nature, first printed in 1579 with a dedication to Lady Margaret Stanley, Countess of Derby⁹, his works can be divided into two groups. The first consists of two books of straight forward anti-Catholic invective. The

8. Enc. B. The article (by Thomas Seccombe) gives no dates of birth or death, and no biographical information of any sort. The only Thomas Lupton entered at either of the universities in this period went up to King's College, Cambridge in 1517, aged sixteen (Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses). This can hardly have been the author of Too Good to be true, since it would make Lupton seventy-seven years old before his first work was published. The only sources for Lupton's life are therefore his published works, and one manuscript letter.
9. The dedication to this work (which is entitled A thousand Notable things, of sundry sortes), is short and formal, and gives no hint that Lupton had received any sort of patronage from the countess. He describes her as a lady "whose Affabilitie hath allurde mee: whose Curtesie hath compoised mee, and whose Fame hath inforst me to seek her protection for this booke. The work proved extremely popular; six further editions before 1640 survive, and there are several others after that date.

earlier of these appeared in 1561, with the title A Persuasion from Papistrie: written chiefly to the obstinate, determined, and disobedient English Papists, who are herein named & proved English enemies and extreme Enemies to Englande. It was dedicated to the queen, with the royal arms on the reverse of the title-page. When a reply to this was "privily printed, covertly cast abroad, and secretly solde", as Lupton indignantly declares on the title page of his answer, he published The Christian against the Jesuite (1582), with a dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham. The second group of his works consists of didactic treatises, the products of an illiberal, and it must be admitted, singularly boring mind. Sin and chastisement, the corruptions of modern society, the exposure of vice, are his favourite themes. Two of these works are direct complaints against the times. The first, the play General and pitiful Comedie, intituled, All for Money. Plainly representing the manners of men and fashion of the world now-a-days (1575), is an attack on avarice in which the characters are given such morality names as "Pischieuous Helpe", "Pleasure", "Money", etc. The grossness of Lupton's imagination is vividly revealed in a scene in which "Money shall make as though he would vomit, and with some fine conueyance pleasure shall appeare from beneath, and lie there apparelled" (31.31). The prose tract A Dreame of the Dinell and Diues (1564), dedicated to Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, renews this attack on the quest for money

and does so by showing the horrors which the future life has in store for rich men, compared to the joys which the poor will enjoy.

Between these two last mentioned works come Lupton's most important publications. In 1550 his Too good to be true was printed for the first time,¹⁰ The book "shewed by way of Dialogue, the wonderful maners of the people of Mauqsun, with other talke not friuolous" (title-page). It is presented in the form of a conversation in which Siuquila (Aliquis, somebody), from Ailgna (Anglia) hears Omen (Nemo, nobody) from Nauqsun (Nusquam, nowhere) recounting stories which illustrate the social, judicial and political systems of his country; a country which Siuquila is not allowed to enter for fear he will prove a source of contamination. It seems perfectly obvious that Lupton got his idea from More's Utopia, even the name of his imaginary land using the Latin for 'nowhere' as More had used the Greek. But the society in these two "Utopias" is as different as the qualities of mind and intellect of their respective authors. Whereas More's Utopians devote themselves to the liberal pursuit of peace and culture, Lupton's Mauqsunians' main interest is in the exposure of vice by all possible means, and its punishment with the maximum cruelty; theirs is a land where sin and crime are synonymous. The contrast between the

10. The work was popular enough to be reprinted twice - in 1584 and 1597.

two works is an example in sixteenth century terms of the conflict of Hebraism and Hellenism.

The first part of Too good to be true was dedicated in 1580 to Sir Christopher Hatton. The following year Lupton published The second part, dedicated to Lord Burghley, and with the Lord Treasurer's full armorial achievement on the reverse of the title-page. The book follows the same pattern as the first part, and has almost as little of interest to offer the reader. The country of Mauqsun again appears as a land devoted to the exposure of vice, with the system maintained by informers whose work is made profitable by the government. The moral tales continue for more than two hundred pages. One of them has some interest in being a possible source for Measure for Measure.¹¹ But though the delights of the tales themselves are few, the long dedication to Burghley is of unique interest and importance as far as a study of patronage is concerned. The epistle has little interest in itself, but is significant because of the existence of a manuscript letter¹² from Lupton to Burghley, which for the greater part of its length

11. The story runs from L4 to C4^v. Mary Lascelles, Shakespeare's 'Measure for Measure' (1953), concludes that if Shakespeare did use this tale (and there are many other stories of a similar type which have an equal claim to consideration as sources) then he wrote more in revulsion against Lupton's "merciless morality" than in imitation of his narrative.

12. Langdowne Mss., vol. 122, item 2.

agrees almost verbatim with the printed dedication. Such a situation appears to be unique so far as dedications to Burghley are concerned. The greatest of the many difficulties in using this evidence is that the manuscript is undated. Only one factor is of help here, and it is possible that this is completely misleading. The book is dated September 6th 1561, and the heading to its dedicatory epistle reads thus:

To the Right Honorable, Sir William Cecill, of the Noble Order of the Garter Knight, Baron of Burghley, Lord high Treasurer of Englande, and one of our Maiesties most honorable privie Counsell.

The undated manuscript is headed:

To the Right honorable Sir wylliam Cecill, knight, Lord Burley, one of the queens ma^{ties} pryvie counsayll, master of the courtes of wardes and lyveries, and Chaunceloure of the univ^{ersitie} of Cambridge.

That the manuscript should omit Burghley's Garter knighthood and his most important title of Lord Treasurer would be quite extraordinary in a letter carefully written in a laboriously neat hand, especially as Lupton mentions Burghley's other less important titles. It is worth noting, that of the thirty-eight references to books dedicated to Burghley after his appointment as Lord Treasurer, there is not one dedication which fails to address him by that title. Since Lupton in this letter does address Cecil as Lord Burghley, there is a strong probability that the letter should be dated between Cecil's elevation to

the peerage and his appointment as Lord Treasurer (that is between February 1571 and July 1572). The objection to such a dating is that it puts the letter seven years before Lupton is known to have published anything. But although (in using negative evidence of this sort) one has to allow for the possibility of a major lapse of memory on Lupton's part, the most likely date for the manuscript seems to be 1571-72.

The two epistles, printed and manuscript, are not, as already remarked, particularly interesting in themselves. There is no need therefore to give them both in full. For more than three quarters of their length they follow a parallel course, the main difference between them being in the manuscript's tendency to greater tedium in the number of examples it gives to illustrate every point. The purpose of both epistles is to persuade Cecil to help promote a book of Lupton's which the author believes is for the good of the commonwealth. Lupton begins by showing that the world is nowadays devoted only to "wicked praise and private profit", and in the printed dedication this topic is introduced by showing its origin with Adam and Eve. After only four sentences in this vein however, the printed dedication repeats the first sentence of the manuscript, and then for sentence after sentence for nearly two and a half very closely printed quarto pages and three and a half sides of the manuscript, the two are almost identical. For some lines examples are given of the woeful results of the pursuit of private praise and profit.

The two epistles then go on to discuss the very different results when public rather than private interest is observed by rulers. The method here is exactly the same as in the first part - the quotation of numerous examples, mostly from classical history. The passages which link these two sections can be quoted to illustrate the similarity of the two versions.

The manuscript letter reads:

but if this wycked pleasure (which hurtes many and dooth good to none) were cheynged in to honest pleasure (which hurteth/ none though yt proffyt but fewe, or into godlie pleasure (which helpeth other, though he hynder hym selfe) or if private proffyt, which vndooth manye to make a fewe rych, were turned in to comon comodytie (which enrycheth many & empoveresheth none, and yf wicked prayse (which makes trowth be troubled, and much wronge to be wynkt at, were altered in to honest and godlie reporte (which Iudgeth vprightlie, and favoereth no falshood, then manye displeasurd shoold lyve more in quyet, many that wante shoold then have enughe, and thousandes much wronged shoold soone have ther right. which godlie chaynege, is smally regarded, not much procured, and a great deale lesse practised (Folio 7 verso to b recto).

The printed dedication reads:

But if this selfe pleasure (which hurteth many & doth good to none) were chauged into godly pleasure which helpeth other though it hinder it selfe: and if wicked praiſe, which maketh truth be oft troubled, and much wroꝝ to be winned at, were altered into honest and godly report, which Iudgeth vprightly, and favoereth no falshood: and if priuat profit, which vndoeth many to make a fewe riche, were turned into common comoditie, that enricheth many and impouerisheth none: then many displeasurd should live in quiet, many that want should then have enough, and thousandes that are wronged should then have their right. Which godly chaynege (most meete for Christians) is smally preferred, not much procured, and a great deale lesse practised (Sig. Aii^v).

After the section of examples of ancient rulers benefiting their states by virtuous actions, Lupton points out that

Christian governors ought to be much more willing to do so than their pagan predecessors. Immediately after this the two epistles diverge sharply; the end of both therefore has to be given in full. First the manuscript letter:

Such a thinge (Right honorable) agreeence in all poyntes with the former woordes is alreddie devised and framed. whereof god is the fyrst mover and chieffe woorker. for as the axe dooth cut but where how and when the carpenter pleaseth, even so I (as godes vnwoorthy Instrument) have wrought herein as yt pleased hym to move me. And nowe as Themistocles, (when he had devised a thinge as he thought woorthy to be allowed and auctoryzed, dyd chuse Aristides only to knowe his secret, thinkinge he was the most woorthy to have such a thinge revealed to hym (even so, right honorable, I have thought yt meete, cravunge p^udon for my bolnes, to offer this woork to be p^uvsd of youre honoure, / as one that can thrughe learninge wisdom & knowledge, right perfectlye iudge thereof, yet thoughte Aristides myslyked Themystocles devise in one poynt, saynge yt was necessarye but not honest, wherby yt was neyther allowed nor auctoryzed (such was his auctorytie and credyt with the Athenyans, yet I trust, Right honorable, you shall have no such occasyon to myslike this my symple devise, wherby yt should not be auctoryzed, whos estymacon credyt and auctorytie ys such with the queens maiestie (and not vnwoorthy) that if you allowe yt, yt wylbe auctoryzed, yf you doo conend yt, yt wilbe conyrmed, and if you doo prayse yt, yt will be practised. Assured it is honest, necessarye proffyttable and very godlie. if the magistrates of Athens had got a great dispraise (which altogether they feared) by doinge of an vn honest act, then they must needes be discouraged that anyder good thinges to be doon. but if they avoyded a great shame and notable slaunder by not doinge the same (althoughe yt was necessarye and proffyttable to them) then what a fame will yt be to the queens maiestye, what a commendacon to her woorthy counsayllours, and what a good report to this Realme of England, if this devise be graunted auctoryzed and accomplished, which is to the dis pleasure, disproffiet and dispraysse of none. but to the reat pleasure of many, to the proffet of thousandes, and to the prayse of a great sorte. not onse but for ever, and not in one plase but thurgh the hole Realme. besychinge yo^e honoure notonly to reade this my booke made to the queens highnes (if I may be so bowlie to crave yt) but also be a medyatoure to her grace, wherby she may more wyllinglie accept yt, more glaulier graunt yt & more speedely auctoryze yt. And nowe most honorable, as you are rightly thought a meete staffe for the queens maiestie to leane or stay on (as scipio was to Roome, for therto his name may be aptlie applyed) even so I humblye besych yo^e honoure, to be a master post or pillar of this woork lest yt

fall & coom to ruine. which beinge vpholden, buyelded, practysed, and fynyshed, through yo^r lordshipps good meane and procurement suerly your godly fame will therby shien forever. besydes that yt will cause poore prisoners pray for you, poore maydes to remember you, poore husbandmen to honoure you, poore Scollers to reverence you, poore prentyses to prayse you, poore Sowldyers to say well of you, poore gentlemen to comend' you, travelloures to thanke you, and all England to favoure you. Thus ceassing to molest yo^r hono^r through tedyousnes, doo pray vnto god, notonly to styrre and move you, to embrace and set forward this rare worcke, but also to gyed you in godlynes, to defend you from daynger, and to lend you longe lyeff to his pleasure. Yo^r honoures most obedyent to cōmand.

Thomas Lupton. (Folios 8 verso
to 9 verso).

The printed dedication ends as follows:

But that pleasure, prayse, and profite, were vsed as they ought (not as they are) I haue with some paines and studie facioned and framed, not onely of late a worke for that purpose, called Too good to be true, but also now newly compiled and finished a Seconde parte thereof. Wherby it may appeare if my will were to my wishe, the same three frequented vices, should be changed into three vnaccustomed vertues. But seing I can not performe it, I woulde faine procure it; and therefore for that I can not profite my countrie with my purse, as I wishe: yet I meane to pleasure the same with my penne, as I may. Which Booke, as it is not to be numbred among common giftes, so I do not giue it as common giftes are giuen. For common giuers appoint the receyuers of their giftes, before their giftes be bought: but I haue made my gifte before I appointed the receyuer. And whereas they chuse a meete gifte for their receyuer: I haue chosen a meete receauer for my gifte. And that is your Honour: allured there-to through the common fame of your great wisdom, affabilitie and clemencie. Protesting vnto you: that I haue dedicated it to your Honour, not to rewarde, but to know me: and not to do for me, but to thinke well of me. And though this gifte is to simple for you to receyue: yet it is the best that I am now able to giue. Trusting you will not respect the workeman but the worke, not the pēning but the meaning, and not the defect but the effect. The Methode and meaning whereof, is plainely described in the Epistle of the first parte: which if you haue not seene already, then I beseech you at leasure to peruse the same. And if your Honor shall take in good parte this my simple gifte: I shall thinke my selfe better recompenset, than if I had a bountifull rewarde of many other. Thus ceassing any further to trouble your Honour: I wishe you here a prosperous long life, and an endlesse life in the kingdome of Heauen.

Your Honour most faithfull and humble to commaunde

THOMAS LVPTON (sig.A3).

The manuscript is endorsed, in what seems to be a contemporary hand: "Thomas Lupton. To allow of a booke he had dedicated to y^e Queene for y^e good of y^e common weathe." The problem is to decide exactly what Burghley is being asked to do. According to the endorsement, the book is dedicated to the queen, and it seems probable that when, near the end of the letter, Lupton says his book is "made to the queene highnes", he too means that it is dedicated to her. But is Burghley to persuade Elizabeth to accept the dedication, or to ask her to allow the book to be printed? The language which Lupton uses seems to suggest that he wants Burghley to do the latter: "what a good report to this Realme of England, if this device be graunted auctoryzed and accomplished." The situation would appear to be that Lupton sends to Burghley a book in manuscript, with a dedication to the queen already written; this is accompanied by a letter, carefully composed and meticulously written, with the purpose almost of begging Burghley into promoting the book - if he fails to do so, he, a Christian ruler, will fall short of the standard set by pagans.

One other piece of evidence adds a little to the picture. In 1581 Lupton did publish a book dedicated to the queen. This is the anti-Catholic work A Persuasion from Papistrie, which has the royal arms on the reverse of the title-page. The dedication begins with a passage which, from the all-too-familiar phrasing,

seems almost certainly to refer to the book which Burghley had been asked to promote:

As heretofore (my most gracious Soueraigne) I troubled your Highnesse (not without some trauell to my selfe) in a thing that was necessarie, reasonable and commodious to many, and hurt to none: Euen so I haue now (not troublingly, but louingly) framed an earnest persuasion to suche of your subiects as feare not God as they ought (sig. aii).

After a brief exposition of the Catholic menace, he again mentions his earlier work:

that which before I made to your Maiestie, was by your grace onely to be authorized, for the greate releefe and succour of youre subiects (sig. aii).

The second of these remarks, together with the fact that Lupton's description of his book is not applicable to any of his surviving works, makes it clear that the book was not allowed, and that therefore it was never printed.

To explain the sequence of events from the evidence available is no easy matter. But if one accepts the most likely date of 1571-1572 for the letter, a set of circumstances to fit the known facts may be suggested: the letter was accompanied by a manuscript book which, in view of the terms in which Lupton describes it, was probably a piece of Puritanical social criticism; his extravagant claims about its benefits to the commonwealth probably hide his fear that it would be banned. Venturing further out on this limb of speculation, one might suggest that Burghley showed this manuscript book to the queen¹³, who, as Lupton feared,

refused to allow it. It is possible that Burghley then informed Lupton of the Queen's disapproval, and the long gap before his first publication may suggest that Lupton was discouraged from further literary effort; the success of his book of nostrums and of his short moral play, followed by Sir Christopher Hatton's acceptance of the dedication of Too Good to be true, perhaps encouraged him to seek royal patronage again, this time with a work in so safe a genre as that of anti-Catholic invective. From here one is on firmer ground: the Queen's acceptance of the dedication of A Persuasion from Papistrie, entered in the Stationers' Register on 22nd February 1530/31, was followed at the end of the summer¹⁴ by the dedication to Burghley of The Second part of Too good to be true; in addressing the Lord Treasurer he used the original letter of request to him, a letter which, although ten years old, was still, to Lupton's mind at least, far too fine a piece of prose to be wasted. (Perhaps he was even reminded of its existence by his recently renewed approach to the Queen.) Burghley, impressed perhaps by

13. Lupton's reference to his earlier work in the dedication to A Persuasion from Papistrie shows his certainty that the Queen knew of the book which he had asked Burghley to promote. In the course of the same dedication he writes: "if there be any thing therein that shall mislike your Maiestie, I most humbly beseech you therefore to pardon me" (sig. a1iv); a remark which perhaps suggests that he had had previous experience of his work being "misliked."
14. The work was entered in the Stationers' Register on 11th August 1531 and has the date 6th September on the title-page.

the success of the first part, even allowed his arms to be used. Such an explanation, although based in places on rather flimsy evidence, does at least take the few definite facts into account. If one could be completely certain of the date of the manuscript, the problem would be a little more simple.

Lupton, whose compositions have so little to recommend them, but whose importance in a study of patronage is much greater than that of many a more interesting writer, makes two other interesting points in the section of his printed dedication to Burghley which has already been quoted. His statement that he has chosen a "meete receauer" for his gift is what one would expect from him: he has an exaggerated idea of the importance of his work, and therefore chooses an important statesman as its patron. But one would normally expect a writer to choose a dedicatee after he had written his book, and though most dedicatory epistles are far more modest than Lupton's about the significance of what is being offered, no dedication to Burghley suggests that the choice of patron preceded the composition of the work. Lupton's remarks therefore confirm what one would expect of all writers, and his statement that "common piners" appoint the receiver first is obviously to be taken in the broadest sense as referring to society in general, and not to that select band of dedication writers and patron seekers.

The other point in the epistle draws attention to one of Lupton's idiosyncrasies. He refers Burghley to the first part of Too good to be true, and adds: "I bes ech you at your leasure

to peruse the same." It will be remembered that in his manuscript letter he had also asked Burghley to read the work he was sending. The request that a patron should read the book offered to him is extremely uncommon, and yet Lupton makes it in his epistles to the Countess of Derby, to Burghley, to Sir Francis Walsingham, and even to the Queen, to whom he writes: "And though there might seeme in mee, too much boldnesse, to craue of your Maiestie to reade this presently: yet I beseech your Highnesse to view and peruse it at your leysure conueniently" (sig.A11). The reason for this may be his own confidence in the delights of his work, which would be quite in character; but perhaps it may mean that Lupton was sending his books in manuscript to various patrons, and asking them to read them and sanction their printing with the dedication included. Certainly it is difficult to understand a writer's suggesting to the Queen that she should read a book which had already been printed with her name at the head of the dedication and her coat-of-arms on the reverse of the title-page - Lupton's position would be, to say the least, embarrassing if her Majesty objected at this late stage. But such hints as these are all the evidence available about what happened before a dedication appeared in print. The problem must necessarily remain obscure, and we can only be grateful to Lupton for providing so much information on the topic as he does.

The third book to be considered in this group of works dealing with the Christian commonwealth leaves behind imaginary

lands with classical names, and gives a description of the ideal state in direct theoretical terms. Printed in 1574, it is entitled A forme of Christian pollicie drawne out of French by Geffray Fenton. In the words of its title-page it is "A Worke very necessary to al sorts of people generally, as wherein is contrayned doctrine, both vniuersall, and special touching the institution of al Christian profession: and also conuenient perticularly for all Magistrates and gouernours of common weales, for their more happy Regiment according to God." The significance of the phrase "drawne out of French" is difficult to determine: neither the Short-Title Catalogue, nor the catalogues of the Bodleian Library, the British Museum or the Bibliothèque Nationale suggests any source for the work, and it may well be that Fenton has made an adaptation rather than a translation (as was common enough in the Elizabethan period), perhaps even from more than one source, as he had done in other publications. Not much is known of Fenton's early career. Born about 1539¹⁵ a member of an important Nottinghamshire family, he seems not to have entered either university, though his education gave him knowledge of Latin and French which he was later to reveal in his published works. His knowledge of French was probably gained through travel, and it is from Paris that the dedication to his

15. The information on Fenton's life is from Lionel Cust's article in DeLia. Other sources are separately noted.

first published work, Certaine Tragical Discourses written oute of French and Latin, was addressed to Lady Mary Sidney (the sister of the Earl of Leicester) in June 1567. The work here dedicated is a collection of stories from Boaisteau and Belleforest (and often ultimately from Bandello) which was to have a considerable influence on Elizabethan literature as source material. A dedication from Fenton to Sir Henry Sidney in 1570 was followed in 1571 and 1572 by two dedications to Burghley's sister-in-law, Lady Hoby¹⁶. The first of these, the dedication to Actes of Conference in Religion, Holden at Paris, betweene two Papiet Doctours of Sorbone, and two godlie Ministers of the Church (a translation from S. Vigor, Archbishop of Narbonne), reveals a fairly close connection with Mildred Cecil's sister; Fenton mentions that Lady Hoby's society was edified "with publike Lectures and sermons this last winter in London" and that her "boarde (which I did often assist) was seldom without the felowship of deepe Deuines and Preachers." (sig.Aii^v). A year later, in dedicating to Lady Hoby his Monophylo ... A philosophical discourse and diuision of loue (1572), Fenton showed a greater indebtedness and more enthusiastic devotion:

16. Now a widow, Sir Thomas Hoby having died at Paris in 1566.

beseeching you to receyue this seconde exercise not as a recompense worthe your last liberalitie, but as a simple testimonie to continue the reuerent duetie I owe you, vntill I bring fourth my great woorke, which I hope will more worthilie resemble your highe vertues (sig.Aiiii^v).

But his "great woorke" was to be dedicated to a far more important lady than Lady Hoby.

There is no record of any direct connection between Fenton and Burghley before the dedication of A forme of Christian pollicie in 1574. Here Fenton ascribes the reason for his dedication simply to "the dutifull affectiō I haue alwaies borne to your Honor" (sig.**1). The epistle ends on a similarly formal note, but with the suggestion that Fenton had "long professed" his service to Burghley:

I humbly beseech your Honor, receiue this poore testimonie of my good will, not with any iudgement of the merit or worthines of the worke, but as a simple interpretor of the dutie I owe to your rare and reuerent vertues: in which, I am bolde to repose much for the protection of this my small labour, and therewithall (according to my long profession) I humbly dedicate my selfe and seruice to your Honour (sig.**ii).

A forme of Christian pollicie is a substantial work (406 pages), the nature and scope of which are described by Fenton in his dedication. He begins with a statement of the principle underlying the entire conception of the work:

There is nothing in this world more worthie than to hold soueraintie ouer people and nations, nor any thing more happie then where a whole common weale is disposed in conuersation of iustice and pietie: which, yet if they bee not ioyned with true Religion can holde no long continuance (sig.**ii).

Justice and religion are seen as "the two estates which the scripture names the true foundations and pillars of comon weales" (sig.*ii), an idea which Fenton expands thus:

Much is required in the Magistrat to support these two pillars which holde vp the whole; which then he dooth best performe, when, both in the councill, and action of things, hee brings the one to consult with the other, as vpon whose vnitie dependes the safetie of all (sig.*iii^v).

The place and duty of magistrates, and of all members of the commonwealth, are, he believes, revealed in the Bible; his present treatise sets them out for the benefit and instruction of all. He eulogizes

the very course and purtraite of the present gouernment vnder hir most Gracious Maiestie, by the carefull direction of a most graue and wise counsell, amongst whom it seems^{to} God hath dispersed the very vertues and spirite of Moyse, leading this Realme in such reuerence to God, and obedience to hir Highnes, that al nations confesse that here the mightie holy one of Israell hath chosen his Sanctuarie (sig.*i).

The treatise itself is divided into seven books. The ten chapters of the first book are concerned with the necessity for a proper balance of the civil and ecclesiastical power in the government of a commonwealth; they ought to be "knit together in vn^tie of friendship, as the soule and body without difference" (sig.B4^v). The church is seen as the purifier within the state, preventing such diseases as rebellion from breaking out; on the other hand the civil governor is to correct any faults of the clergy, and see that proper preaching ministers are appointed. The emphasis placed on preaching is suggestive of a Puritan outlook:

that Pastours are bounde to preache the Gospell, and the people ought to heare it, is without question, as well by the commaundment of Iesus / Christ, as by his Apostles and instruction of his Church (sig.D1^v-D2).

"Wherefore", he demands, "are they Pastours if they feede not their flocke with the foode of Scripture?" (sig.D3^v).

At the end of this book the office of the physician in the Christian commonwealth is discussed.

The second book, containing ten chapters, deals mainly with the administration of justice. The work of judges is to be based on "sobrietie, chastitie and wisdome" (sig.H3^v). The distinction between public and private sins is denied, and as in Lupton's Mauqsun, sin and crime are seen as the same thing:

Gouernors ought to punishe by death such as God condemnes to eternall and temporall death, and whome the Gospell detesteth and pronounceth worthy of eternall fire: So that all sinnes committed against the ten commandments ought to be so punished, ... but aboue all such deserue greuous punishment as are done contrarye to the three preceptes of the fyrst table (sig.L2).

The death penalty in various forms is advocated for nearly every crime, from blasphemy and the practice of magic, to whoredom and bearing false witness.

Book Three, which has thirteen chapters, deals with the proper use of leisure through recreation to develop both mind and body in godly pursuits. The misuse of leisure is seen as sinful, and several ways of misusing it are mentioned.

Dancing is condemned, especially by men and women together, when the eyes are "led with the gaze of impudent iesture, with many other like substitutes of filthinesse" (sig.S2). Minstrels and stageplayers "ought not to be suffered to prophane the Sabbath day in such sportes, and much lesse to lose time on the dayes of trauayle" (sig.S3^v), but "all comicall and Tragical shows of schollers in Morall doctrines, and declamations in causes made to reprocue and acuse vice, and extoll vertue, are very profitable" (sig.S3^v). Failure to use leisure is considered as wicked as its misuse; idleness is a disease in the state, for it is "great hurt to a common weale, to nourish mouthes that eate and labour not" (sig.X1^v). The problem of vagabonds is touched on here, and the interesting suggestion made that men should be prevented from haunting taverns by entrusting their wages to their wives. The gibbet, the galley, or at the very least the whip, are suggested as punishments for the sturdy poor.

Book Four is shorter, containing only seven chapters, and further considers the problem of poverty in the Christian commonwealth. The "simple, impotent and true needy poore we ought to holde in very deere care" (sig.Y2^v). For the strong and able, work has to be found; for poor women and girls, a serving position in some large household. The Presbyterian idea that

deacons and widows should have charge of the care of the poor is advocated, and in a brief discussion of prisons Fenton finds it a waste of everyone's time to imprison in idleness those who have a skilled trade. He also shows disapproval of the futile imprisonment of men for debt.

The fifth book (of fourteen chapters), deals with education. Great emphasis is placed on the responsibilities of the schoolmaster, who must therefore be a godly and learned man. The value of education in later life is made much of; the building of many schools and colleges is called for, so that "there bee not so poore a younge childe in the towne, which is not constrained to goe to the schoole" (sig.Eeiii).

The eleven chapters of the sixth book deal with ~~the~~ problems of a more domestic nature: the duties of husbands and wives to each other, of parents to children and children to parents are described in conventional Elizabethan terms. Fair and godly dealing is demanded between masters and servants, landlords and tenants, lawyers and clients, and merchants and customers.

The seventh and last book has nine chapters which present the general conclusions to which the whole work has led. That commonwealth is seen as happy which has godly magistrates presiding over estates who know and keep their rightful positions. To maintain this system, vice has to be destroyed immediately upon its first appearance. The final chapter repeats the point made in Fenton's epistle to Burghley - that all things necessary

to the governing of a godly commonwealth are to be found in the Bible.

One cannot help feeling that this is just the sort of book of which Burghley would have strongly approved. Firm in its support of the civil and ecclesiastical system of England, it has nevertheless a streak of rather Puritanical austerity with which he would have felt in harmony. Fenton must surely have gone up in the Lord Treasurer's estimation after this dedication.

A year later (in 1575) Fenton dedicated his collection of translations "gathered as well out of the remaynder¹⁷ of Guevarnes workes, as other Authors, Latine, French, and Italian" (title-page), entitled Golden Epistles, Contayning varietie of discourse both morall, Philosophicall, and Diuine, to Cecil's daughter the Lady Anne, Countess of Oxford. Fenton is here full of praise for Burghley:

for textes and precepts whether morall, ciuill, or of diuinitie, your Ladiship, in al the workes you shal read, can not find better doctrine then in the life of your honorable Father, in whose maner and actions is fulfilled a more ful example of vertue, then in all the rules and similitudes which my pen can deliuer (sig.**1^v).

At the end of the epistle, Fenton again declares his devotion to the Cecils: His "desire and will" are "wholly dedicated to the seruiice of your right honorable Father and his house" (sig.**2^v).

17. Many of Guevara's epistles had been published in the translation by Hellowes in 1574.

In 1579 came the "great woorke" which Fenton had mentioned to Lady Hoby in 1572. This was his translation of The Historie of Guicciardin Containing the Warres of Italie, which he dedicated formally and flatteringly to the Queen, "Humbly beseeching your right excellent Maiestie, ... to let it passe vnder the happy name of your Maiestie, and vnder your gracious authoritie to giue it defence and fauor" (sig. 4^v). This vast work, containing twelve hundred pages disposed into twenty books, was Fenton's last. Like almost all his translations it is from French¹⁸. In 1580 he quitted the sphere of literature, and crossed to Ireland, from where, on 22nd July 1580, he wrote telling Burghley that he had been appointed the Queen's secretary in Ireland through Burghley's recommendation.¹⁹ From this date onwards there are literally hundreds of letters among the Irish state papers from Fenton to Burghley (as also to Walsingham and the Privy Council), about Irish affairs; they are hardly relevant to a study of Burghley's literary patronage. Fenton remained principal secretary in Ireland until his death in 1608, enjoying the firm confidence of the home government, and the high

18. Rudolf B. Gottfried, Geoffrey Fenton's Historie of Guicciardin (1940), p.11, shows that Fenton's translation is from the French of Jérôme Chomedey.

19. C.S.P. Ireland, 1574-85, p.236. Gottfried (p.11), on the other hand suggests that the appointment may have been a favour from the Queen following the dedication of the Historie.

favour of the Queen. He was knighted in 1589, and during his occasional visits to London he increased the high opinion which the Queen had of him. Burghley too retained a regard for him, which is sometimes revealed in small favours done by the Lord Treasurer for the Irish Secretary.²⁰ His success in two different careers, and the remarkable way in which he was able to make his name in Ireland (where the reputations of so many English statesmen have been sullied), make Fenton a character worthy of some admiration. As far as literary patronage is concerned however, his career tells us little; his own abilities seem to have been such as to make "patronage" almost unnecessary to him.

Another writer whose career took him at one stage to Ireland, and who was acquainted with Fenton there, was Barnabe Googe. Throughout his life Googe was more closely connected with Cecil than the Irish Secretary ever was. Googe²¹ was born in Lincolnshire in 1540, a distant relative of the Cecils. After a period of study at Cambridge which did not result in any kind of degree, he entered Staple Inn, and at the same time became one of Cecil's retainers. In 1560 his first work was published -

20. For example, just before his death Burghley busied himself in trying to renew the copyhold for Fenton on a Staffordshire property belonging to the Fenton family. (H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.9, p.58).

21. Information on Googe's life is from A.H. Bullen's article in D.N.B. Other sources are separately noted.

a translation into English verse of the first three books of Zodyake of lyfe of Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus. In his dedication to his grandmother Lady Hales, Googe writes:

The which my labours, yf I shall perceave to be thankfully taken, I doe entende (God willyng) to finish the rest, as shortlye as I maye. ... these as the first frutes of my study, I wholly dedicate to your good Ladiship (sig.*iii).

The work apparently was well received, for in 1561 six books appeared, with a dedication to Sir William Cecil, who is addressed as "his singular good Master". The epistle is a long exposition of the value of poetry in rebuking vice; not until near the end does Googe mention Palingenius, and then he continues as follows:

Whiche Poet [Palingenius] for hys vertuous workes and godly zeale with no lit^{le} la-/bour of mine, though rudely translated, I hear geue vnto your honor, as parcell of my service, token of my good wyll, and acknowledgement of my duetye.

Humbly requesting that throughe your honors learned protection and graue authority, the simple frutes of a yōg head, may strongly be defended from the seuer reprehensions of Romus, and the malitious iudgements of zoilus, wherby the common people shall not only receiue a great commodity, but also I receaue greater encoraging to the finishinge (at al times) of the like attemptes" (sig.*6^v-*7).

In fact Googe was not to finish his translation for four more years; the eventfulness of his life in the mean time is however quite sufficient excuse for him. After this dedication (written in January 1561) he travelled abroad until early in 1563, when, according to his epistle dedicatory, he returned to find that his small collection of original verses had been sent to the

printer by his friend Blunderstone. Googe did however give permission for their printing, and soon afterwards his Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes appeared with a dedication to William Lovelace. In the same year (1563) he was appointed one of the Queen's gentlemen pensioners, a position which Cecil may have helped him to obtain. At some time during the summer of this year he was betrothed to Mary Darrel of Scotney in Kent. The episode of his courtship and marriage reveals the extent to which he was indebted to Cecil.²² Googe seems to have been for some time a visitor at Scotney, and to have become engaged to Mary Darrel between his return from the continent in the spring of 1565, and the following October. Her parents however had already promised her to Sampson Lennard, son of John Lennard a wealthy neighbour. On learning of Miss Darrel's new attachment John Lennard objected and Googe apparently requested his master's help in the case. On 1st October Cecil wrote to John Lennard as follows:

Mr Lennard I haue ben certified by Googe who being my servant is also my kinsman that whereas there hath of late passed an agreement between him and the daughter of Mr. Thomas Darrell in Kent as concerning marriage having her friends consent herein as I understand by her fathers letters written vnto him which I have read and being thoroughly at a poynt for all things between them he hath of late by your means been hindered to his great grief as also against all due order of well using whereby he hath declared vnto me that minding to do vnto him so great an iniury your opinion is that he is vtterly destitute of friends and that I make no other

22. The course of events is recounted in the introduction to Googe's Eglogs, Epytaphes, & Sonettes, ed. Arber (1871), pp.8-13. The relevant letters are there printed.

account of him but as of one of my men. Whereas I esteeme him as my near kinsman and so he shalbe sure to find me in any reasonable case Wherefore I pray you herrin to vse him no otherwise than one whom I well esteem. I haue seen the letters that haue passed between her father and him as also her own letters whereby the matter is made clear vnto me that she hath fully assured herself vnto him.

On the same day Cecil wrote to Mr. Darrel, who, tempted perhaps by the wealth and influence of the Lennards in Kent, had also opposed Googe's suit. Cecil wrote in favour of the match with Googe, and required Darrel

not to go about to break the bond so perfectly knit between them, thereof you have been so long a favorer. Considering that you knew as well his estate for living at the first as at any time since and allthough his living be not great ye shall not need to fear that he lacketh friends and wellwishers. Being both my kinsman and my servant. Thus I require you to show him such friendship as you have done before as you would require any friendship ay my hands. I haue thought to haue written to my Lord of Canterbury to have made an end of the matter but I trust my letters to you in this case shall be sufficient.²³

On 10th November following John Lennard sent a long reply to Cecil, with a full account of his son's contract to Mary Darrel, claiming that Googe had been an interloper in the affair. The girl's parents had assured him, he declared, that Googe had "no holde of her except that by secrete intysement against their wills he hath caught some worde of her, a thyng e odious to god and not to be favoured by man." But the letter ends with Lennard rather proudly disdaining the match:

23. This and the preceding letter are quoted from Letters, ed. Arber, p.9. Both are abstracted in Q.S.P. Rom., 1947-50, pp.230-231.

sithens suche encumbrance is wrought as I perceyue there ys on the maides part who as I here wavereth in this case I and my sonne may with honestie geue vp our sute therein for I were to madde to matche my eldest sonne where any entangling is and no stedfastnes at all I pray you thyncke not that I woulde so do as surely I wold not for any treasure in this worlde And so I knytte vpp that though she woulde my sonne surgly he will not haue her and I say that he shall not haue her.

Enclosed with this letter to Cecil were a letter which Darrel had sent to John Lennard protesting his daughter's obedience to him in keeping her engagement to Sampson Lennard; a letter from Mary Darrel to Googe asking him to forbear his suit because of her parents' disapproval (this dated 20th October); and an insulting letter from Googe to George and Edward Darrel (Mary's cousins). It seems that Darrel's desire to marry his daughter into one of the important families in his own county was strong enough to make him defy Cecil's letter of 1st October. Cecil therefore carried out his threat to Darrel in the letter of that date, and called in Archbishop Parker. On 19th November 1563 the Archbishop wrote to Cecil as follows:

ye wryght for your cosyn and seruaunt Barnaby Goge to haue his matter heard according to Lawe and equitye which matter as yesterdaye I haue examined advisedly, having not only the yong Gentlewoman before me to vnderstond of ner self the state of the cause, who remayneth fyrme and stable to / stond to that contract which she hath made, as also her father and mother whom I find the most earnest parents against the bargain as I could see.

24. The quotations are from Eglogs, p.11. The letter (and its enclosures) is in the Lansdowne Mss, vol.7, item 38.

In fyne I haue sequestered her out of both ~~the~~ their handes into the custodie of one Mr. Tufton a right honest gentleman. vntyl, the precontract, which is by hir parents alleged for one Leonards son, a protonotary be induced But this maye giue occasion to bryng it in to the Arches to spend moneye how be yt I meane to dull that expectation and to go plane et summarie to worke, to spare expences, which Mr Leonard and the wilful parents wuld fayne incur to wery the yong Gentleman, paradventure not superfluously monyed so to sayle the seas with them.²⁵

There is no record of the next stage in this interesting story, but the combination of Cecil and Archbishop Parker was obviously too strong for Darrel, and Googe was married to Mary in 1564 or 1565. He was apparently never reconciled with his wife's parents, and as late as 1582, he referred in a letter to Burghley to his "lewd mother-in-law."²⁶

Cecil's help to Googe in a matter of such importance is one of the more striking examples of patronage at work.

In 1565 Googe dedicated to Cecil his complete translation of the Zodiacke of Life. His epistle does not allude specifically to the service which Cecil had just done him, though Googe does mention that he has not recently been "enjoying all the while so quiet a minde as had bene nedefull for such a labour" (sig.*1). He begins his long epistle with a reference to his earlier dedication:

The fauorable accepting of my simple trauayles lately dedicated vnto your honor, hath so much boldened and thorowely encouraged me, that mawgre the despite of most reprochfull tonges, I haue not feared to finish the course of my long pretended race (sig.*6).

25. Quoted from Eglogs, pp.12-13. The original is in Lansdowne Mss, vol.6, item 31.

26. H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.2, p.522. See below p.98.

The epistle ends thus:

I moste humbly beseeche your honoure to take in good parte this so simple and slender a gyfte, which al-/though it hath escaped at the firste impression with a number of faultes, I truste hereafter shall perfectlye be purged. God long preserue your honour in prosperous estate.

Your Honours humble and faythfull seruaunt
Barnabe Googe. (sig. **1-**1^v).

This reference to the state of printing at the first impression makes it obvious that this part of the dedication at least was written after the book was printed. It would however be unsafe to take this as evidence of the normal practice of dedicators. Googe after all was living in Cecil's household as his servant and kinsman; Cecil had already accepted the dedication of Googe's translation of the first six books, and almost certainly knew the whole in its original. He would not therefore have hesitated to accept the dedication of the entire work, and would thus have no reason to see it before it appeared in print. This does not however mean that he would allow any work to be printed and dedicated to him without previously having some idea of its contents. Googe's remarks also make it perfectly clear that he had completed his work before choosing his patron.²⁷

The translation of the Zodiacke of Life was undoubtedly Googe's most important work. The poem is of encyclopaedic scope, much larger than the bounds suggested by the title of this chapter.

27. This rather obvious conclusion was reached in discussing a remark of Lupton's on page 71 above.

The author of the original has usually been identified with Pietro Angelo Banzoli, though this is by no means certain. The poem was first printed in Latin at Venice, probably in or soon after 1534.²⁸ It is difficult to describe the work briefly. Googe himself, on the title-page of the edition of 1565, characterizes it as

twelue Bookes disclosing the naynous Crymes & wicked vices of our corrupt nature: And plainlye declaring the pleasaunt and pernit pathway vnto eternall lyie, besides a nombre of digressions both pleasaunt & profitable.

Strype lists it among the most important religious works printed in 1576 (the year of the second edition), and describes it thus:

a piece of natural philosophy, which aimeth at the drawing of men to morality and piety, and the fear of God, taking its argument from the immortality of the soul, and a future state.²⁹

It is a moral and didactic poem of great length: in the edition of 1576, Googe's translation, which is in fourteeners printed as single lines, occupies 242 pages. In the course of its twelve books named after the signs of the zodiac, it shows the author

28. The date of the first edition must be between 1534 and 1539, since the author's dedication is to Hercules II, Duke of Ferrara, whose reign is bounded by those dates (Clopperle Biographie Universelle).

29. Annals, II ii, p.81.

dreaming and arguing his way through to truth. In its Latin form it was extremely important as a school-book in Elizabethan England.³⁰ Rosamund Tuve describes the poem as "an example of the interdependence between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance which makes the two periods almost inextricable."³¹ The popularity of the work in England can be at least partially explained by the fact that the book was placed on the Index by the Inquisition in 1558, and its author's body exhumed and burned for heresy. Although Palingenius (in his dedication to Hercules II) submitted his poem to the authority of the Catholic Church, his attacks on the power of the Papacy and the corruptions of the monastic orders made his work an immediate success in Protestant countries. For the most part however, he wrote as an orthodox Catholic, and the faithfulness of Googe's translation occasionally necessitates a marginal note warning, for example, against prayer to the saints. It is nevertheless the "heretical" aspect of Palingenius of which Googe writes to Cecil in the long dedication of 1565:

I haue many times much mused wyth my selfe, howe (liuing in so daungerous a place) he durst take vpon him so boldly to controll the corrupte and vnchristian liues of the whole Colledge of contemptuous Car-/dinales, the vngracious ouerseings of bloudthyrsty Bishops, the Paunchplying practises of pelting Priours, the manifold madnesse of mischeuous Monkes, wyth the filthy

30. See Foster Watson, The Zodiacus Vitae: an Old School Book described (1900).

31. The Zodiake of Life, facsimile edition (1947), p. xxi.

fraternitie of flattering Friers. Which surely he durst neuer haue done, but onely that he was heartened wyth a happy and heauenly spirite (sig. *7-*7^v).

It would be tedious to give a book by book summary of the Zodiacke of Life.³² It poses and discusses in the course of its considerable length many of the great metaphysical questions; the problem of evil for example is considered again and again. It rarely dismisses any topic without the sort of concise epigrammatic line so dear to the sixteenth century. The poem reveals a vast classical knowledge put to the purpose of the attractive presentation of virtue, and though in one way it is a satire of life "disclosing the haynous Crymes & wicked vices of our corrupt nature", in its widest sense it is a great moral and religious treatise, combining variety of matter with a deeply religious attitude and a great breadth of thought. The work was translated into German in 1564 and into French in 1569. The first Latin text to be printed in England is dated 1572. For his translation Googe had a large number of European editions of the Latin to choose from; that printed at Basle in 1557 seems to be the latest before he began his work. His translation was highly thought of by contemporaries, and prefixed to it are several commendatory poems, including one by William Chadderton, later Regius Professor ^{of} Divinity at Cambridge. A few brief quotations will give the flavour of the work.³³

32. Such a summary can conveniently be found in Foster Watson's work.

33. Quotations are from the (slightly revised) edition of 1576.

Book Five (Leo) has one of the attacks on the corruptions of the Catholic clergy which made the book so popular in Protestant countries:

The bauld religious fryres
(Who should bee chast) abroad with whores or close with boyes do ly,
To widdowes graue, or tender maydes, the holy priestes do creepe,
And some within their kinsfolkes beds haue great delight to sleepe
(sig.95^v).

In Book Nine (Sagittarius) is one of the book's characteristic moral maxims:

But if of poore estate thou arte, then beare it paciently,
And in good part sustayne the lotte, of this thy pouerty (sig.81^v).

In Book Eleven (Aquarius) there is a distinctly alchemistic section in which the existence of the Philosopher's Stone is firmly stated. This is followed by some interesting passages of speculation about life on the planets, one of which may here be quoted:

for creatures doth the Skies containe, and euery Starre beside
Be heauenly townes & seates of saints, where kings & Commons bide,
But perfect kings and people eke, all things are perfect there:
Not shapes and shadowes vaine of things, (as we haue here)
Which death soone takes, and time destroyes, defiles, and driues away.
There, wise and happy folkes, and such as neuer do decay
Do liue, here misers dwell and men that certaine are to die (sig.05^v)

At the end of the last book (Pisces) comes a statement of the idea on which the whole poem is based, and to which it has led:

Therefore it is no fable fonde, but doth with truth agree,
That men may come to speake with Gods, and them in presence see:
Which I suppose the chifest good and finall ende to bee,
Of all good things that vnto man, may any waies arise,
While as of this his present life, the troublous seas he tries.
And when escape from mortall chaine, y^e soule hath passage strait,

Conueying with hir selfe these three, that alwaies on hir waite,
The Minde the Sense and Mooueing force vnto the heauens hie,
Shall ioyfull go, and there remaine, in blisse perpetually (sig.^v8^v).

Googe's translation of Palingenius was followed by a four year gap in his literary activity. Perhaps his great effort had exhausted him; this might certainly be inferred from his 1565 dedication to Burghley, where he remarks rather ruefully "if I had knowen at the firste, as much as since I haue perfectly vnderstoode, neyther had I as then taken vpon me so great an enterprise, nor since so rudely finished the translation" (sig.*6). In 1569 he dedicated his only other original work, a short book of Christian allegorical verse, to his sisters-in-law "as an earnest token" of his good will. Perhaps it was a sort of peace offering to the still hostile Darrels. The following year his verse translation of The Popish Kingdom, or reigne of Antichrist, a work of some interest because the fourth book describes many of the customs and recreations of the period, was dedicated to the Queen.³⁴

It may well be that after nearly ten years as a gentleman pensioner Googe found the position too expensive for his resources

34. ~~This work is Cecil,~~ Sullivan's D.N.B. article on Googe records the dedication of this work to Cecil, and also notes that only one copy is known - that at Cambridge University Library. Both statements are erroneous; all known copies are dedicated to the Queen, including that at Cambridge.

to maintain. There must certainly be some such reason for his leaving so comfortable a position for the hardships and difficulties of service in Ireland. In 1573 however, he crossed to Ireland, apparently as an observer and reporter for his master Lord Burghley, to keep him well informed on all the proceedings of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, in his hopeless attempt at the complete reconquest of Ulster for the Queen. From Ireland Googe wrote fairly frequently to the Lord Treasurer,³⁵ occasionally even sending him a sketch of an Irish town or chieftain. None of these letters has much significance as far as patronage is concerned, except in showing the closeness of the relationship between Burghley and Googe. Thus on 15th April 1574 Googe wrote to the Lord Treasurer as follows:

I would not wyllyngly suffer any messengar to passe from hence without mye deutye to your Lordshypp, and yett, when I consyder off howe small importans the matters bee I wryt off, I am altogyther ashamed to troble your Lordshypp wyth any. I coulde well occupye mye self in deschargyng mye thankfulle mynde ffor your Lordshypps great and manye goodnesse towards mee, ffor whych I doe and ever shall account mye self bound unto your Lordshypp. Butt I hadd rather a great deal mye deades, iff ever abylyty myght serve, shoulde showe itt, then mye woordes should vaynly vaunt itt. And I trust your Lordshypp dothe so conceave off mee, as I neede nott so expresse itt. ffor such newes as are here thys bearer, Mr Carye, a gentleman thatt seemes to beare greate goodnesse towards your Lordshypp can better reporte then I am able to wryte.³⁶

35. These letters were transcribed from among the Irish State Papers by William Pinkerton, and printed in Notes and Queries, 3rd Series, vol.III (1863), various pages.

36. Notes and Queries (1863), p.183.

Of similar interest in showing the close relationship between Googe and Burghley is the following letter of 27th August 1574:

Your L. letters to the master and ffellowes of Allsoles College, in the behaff of my poor boy, were nott so well received as I liked they shoold have been. (Notes and Queries, p.241).

In 1576 Googe's revised translation of The Zodiacke of Life was published with a new dedication to Burghley replacing that of 1565. Burghley's full armorial achievement appears on the reverse of the title-page. The dedication is much shorter than Googe's earlier epistles to Cecil. He regrets that he has not had time to make a full revision of his translation, but adds that he "thought it best in ouerpassing a great number of iarring discordes, to set the whole in as good tune as I could." Googe continues the epistle with the statement that once again he has presented his work to Burghley, with

good and assured hope that your Lordship will in no worse sort accept it then heretofore you haue done, wherein your L. shall so farre encourage me as I may hereafter peradventure, appempte some matter worthie so Noble a personage (sig.*ii^v).

It must have been during his stay in Ireland that Googe prepared his next two publications. The first of these, the translation of the Foure Bookes of Husbandry from Conrad Heresbachus appeared in 1577 with a dedication to Sir William Fitzwilliam the Treasurer of Ireland. The second of the two works is a translation from the Spanish, entitled The Prouerbes of the noble and woorthy souldier Sir James Lopez de Mendoza

Marques of Santillana, with the Paraphrase of D. Peter Diaz of Toledo, which was published in 1579 with a dedication to Lord Burghley and with his crest on the reverse of the title-page. The book can conveniently be classified with this group of works relating to the Christian commonwealth. Googe himself describes its purpose in the epistle to Burghley:

the chiefe intent of his [Lopez's] writing was for the institution and behaiour of a Prince, yet are his rules and instructions so generall, as they may verie well serue for guides in good demeanour, to euerie man of what degree soeuer he be (sig.*2^v).

In commending his translation to the protection of Burghley as one who is "perfectly able to iudge, whether I haue followed my pa-/terne, or no" (sig.*2^v-*3), Googe makes it clear that part at least of the book was printed during his absence, presumably in Ireland, and that the epistle is being written later:

As for such faults as haue passed, as well in the title as in the notes, being as they were committed in my absence, & without my knowledge, I trust your lordship wil discharge me of the blame (sig.*3).

The book itself consists of one hundred eight-line verses of rather trite moral maxims with a learned commentary, generalizing and adding examples, interwoven. The verses were originally written by Lopez de Mendoza as advice for his son. They were first printed at Seville in 1494, with the commentary by Doctor Diaz, and were later reprinted several times in Spain.

Lopez de Mendoza (1390-1458)³⁷ was a Spanish nobleman descended from el Cid, who achieved distinction in the re-conquest of Southern Spain from the Moors. His introduction of the Spanish and Italian poetic forms to Spain is said to have had a great influence on the subsequent development of Spanish literature. The commentator on the proverbs, Doctor Pedro Diaz de Toledo was at one time his chaplain, and afterwards bishop of Malaga.³⁸ It is a little surprising to find Googe translating so Catholic and Spanish a work after some of his earlier publications. Comparison with a Spanish edition of 1553 (Np.) at the British Museum shows that Googe's translation omits only a prologue and introduction, and adds a short life of Lopez; its text appears otherwise to be a direct translation from the original. The titles of the fourteen chapters reveal the breadth of the work, though the treatment is far from thorough: of Loue and Feare; of Knowledge and Wisdom; of Iustice; of Pacience and moderate Correction; of Temperance; of Liberalitie and Frannesse; of Truth; of Continence; of Enuie; of Thankfulness; of Friendship; of Duetie to Parents; of Age; of Death. Frequent references to the Virgin Mary and the Saints leave no doubt about the Catholicity of the work. The quotation of two stanzas will adequately show its nature. From Book One (of Loue and Feare):

37. The biographical information is from the article in Nouvelle Biographie Universelle.

38. Information from the article on Diaz in Diccionario Enciclopedico Hispano Americano, Montaner y Simon editores (1890).

O sonne, be milde and amiable,
lay loftie lookes aside:
The hautie and disdainfull man
the Lorde can not abide.
Of wicked and malicious men
auoide the companie,
For all their doings tende to strife,
and ende with villanie (sig.B3).

The last stanza of the last book (of Death):

And heare to make an end, I say,
the onely remedie
In all extreames, is for to keepe,
the perfect meane with thee:
Which if thou takest for thy friend,
a long and happie life
Thou shalt be sure to leade, and liue
without offence or strife (sig.P2).

The translation of the Proverbes was Googe's last publication.

The dedication appears to have been written in England, but by 1582 Googe was back in Ireland as Provost-Marshal of the Court of Connaught. On 26th February 1582 he wrote to Burghley beseeching him not to think that his return to Ireland was the result of lightness or inconstancy, but rather of carefulness for his estate. The letter continues:

Your lordship knoweth I have in England a lewd mother-in-law living, whose life keepeth me from the greatest part of my poor inheritance. I have on the other side a poor wife and a great sort of children. Mine own portion in possession being very small for the maintenance of so many, causeth me to try what honest means I may, if not to augment, yet to preserve the little living my father left me; and this is the only reason of my coming into Connaught, where, as I look not to be any great gainer, so, lose I not my head, I trust to be no great loser. And though the place be painful, yet will it be some abatement of my charges, till such time as it shall please God to send my own living into my hands. Otherwise, I would have been loth to have left my own

country, and most loth to have forborne my daily attendance upon your lordship.³⁹

During the next few years there are several letters from Googe to Burghley mainly about Irish affairs. In 1584 his "lewd mother-in-law" at last died, and he was no longer forced through financial necessity to remain in Ireland. The Lord Deputy however would not at first give him leave to depart, and he was forced to return to Connaught to "moyle among the bogges."⁴⁰ A request to the Lord Treasurer secured him permission to leave; about the same time he received (perhaps through Burghley's intercession with the Queen) the long-sought patent for his office which he was thus able to sell. He returned to England in 1585. There is no further record of his life or relations with Burghley before his death in 1594. In 1583 the Zodiake of Life was reprinted without Burghley's arms which had appeared in the edition of 1576. (This is clearly the result of a printing economy, which, by various such omissions, saves a sheet). Googe died in Lincolnshire about the 7th February 1594. His career is a fine example of the patronage system working closely between master and servant.

Three years before Burghley was addressed as the patron of Googe's translation of a Spanish nobleman's advice for the

39. H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.2, p.522.

40. The phrase occurs in a letter from Googe to Burghley of 10th August 1583, printed in Notes and queries (1863), p.302. It was apparently this letter which secured Googe's permission to leave Ireland.

"institution and behauiour of a Prince", an English clergyman had dedicated to him a treatise on a similar topic. John Wolton's An Armour of Proufe (1576), was according to its title-page "Very profitable, as well for Princes, noble men, and gentlemen, as all other in authoritie, shewing the firme of defence, and haue of rest in these troublesome times and perilous dayes." John Wolton,⁴¹ born in Lancashire about 1535, was the nephew of that almost permanent member of the Elizabethan ecclesiastical hierarchy, Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's. After a career at Oxford cut short by the accession of Queen Mary, Wolton went into exile in Germany with his uncle. His return at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign was followed by his ordination and his appointment to various Devon rectories, mainly through the patronage of Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford. In 1575 he received a canonry at Exeter where, according to Strype, he "read the Divinity Lecture twice a week for four years, and preached twice every Lord's day. He only with one more remained in the said city of Exeter, in the great plague, preaching publicly, and comforting privately such as were infected with that disease."⁴²

His six surviving published works all appeared within a few months of each other in 1576 and 1577. Apart from Lord

41. The information on Wolton is from W.P. Courtney's article in D.N.B. Other sources are separately noted.

42. Whitgift, vol.I, p.419.

Burghley and local landowners in Devon, his dedicatees included Sir John Gilbert the explorer (whose "great loue and intire affection"⁴³ towards him is noted), Sir Francis Walsingham, and Lady Bridget Russell, Countess of Bedford. His books are all short treatises of practical Christianity; his dedicatory epistles on the other hand tend to be of such inordinate length that they require marginal headings and Biblical references.

The epistle (dated "the last of Februarie 1576") in which Wolton dedicates his Armaure of Proufe to Lord Burghley is no exception to this tendency to write at length. For fourteen closely printed pages it discloses the dangers to which godly men are exposed at this time, the certainty that Christ's enemies will at last be punished, and the need for patience and trust in God. In the face of the dangers around them, Englishmen must obey the prophet's injunction: "In silence and in confidence shall be your strength." Wolton's expansion of this maxim is of some interest; it seems to contain a thinly veiled attack on the seeking of allies in Catholic Europe, and perhaps even on the idea of the Queen's marrying a foreign prince:

What is this silence? and what is this confidence? First it is our duetie to suffer afflictions patiently. Secondly, not to busie our selues out of our vocation. Thirdly, not to mistrust Gods helpe, and so carnally to enter into vngodly leagues and vnlawfull friendships, as the kings of Iuda learned sometime vppon the Egyptians, nowe vppon the Syrians, and in the ende were made alaues vnto them, and cast out of Gods fauour (sig.A5^v).

43. Of the Conscience. A Discourse (1576), sig.Aiii^v.

Not until near the end of his epistle does Wolton say anything directly about the nature of his work or his reasons for offering it to Burghley. Then, after showing that Satan's wiles are particularly turned against the Christian magistrate whose need of "armoure" is thus great, he writes:

I thought good to publish this commonefaction or instruction, which I most humbly offer & present vnto your honourable Lordship, not as a matter needful to put you in remembrance of any thing that should be wanting in your honor apperteyning to the dutie of a wise counsellor and iust magistrate, but rather to be as it were a glasse for you to see and behold, to youre great comfort, howe God hath by his mighty hand always kepte and defended all such Princes, Couंसellers and Magistrates, as haue aduāced his glory in setting forth true religion, and executed iustice in their vocations and callings, wherin with what great study & care of minde your honor hath labored nowe many yeeres, God & good men can tell & are euident witnesses, & yourself recording the diuelish deuises of your enemies to thwart and frustrate your proceedings, to preiudice your pru-/dent policies, and to bring youre honor to vtter ruine and destruction: and on the other side, how God, of his greate goodnesse hath giuen good euent to al your enterprises, and preserued your honor from tyme to tyme, euen miraculously in great perilles and dangers, must needes acknowledge Gods gracious fauor (and that I may so speake) his approoued and vnperceable armor, wherwith he succoureth and saueth al iudges and magistrates that are learned in his lawe, kisse his son Christ, and become fosters and nourcing fathers of hys spouse the Church (sig.A8-A8^v).

The treatise itself is an expansion of these ideas. Four great strengtns and consolations of the Christian magistrate are described. First there is the dignity of his calling which is from God; kings, magistrates and judges are God's representatives, and are guided in all their actions by him, so long as they fulfil their duty. This leads to the second consolation which is that God has promised to help and defend his magistrates: "The magistrate that setteth God before his eyes, cannot perish" (sig.Ciii). A ruler must put his trust in God alone; here again

Wolton seems to glance at the political situation: "Leagues and truces with wicked and godlesse princes haue euill euentea" (sig.C5^v). Neither is material strength enough: "Munition without religion is destruction" (sig.C7^v). The third consolation is that God has commanded the people to honour and obey the magistrate. This section contains a long passage on the wickedness of rebelling against, or resisting God's lieutenant. We must "restrayne our thoughts, tongs & hands, frō doing any thing against those y^t be placed in authority ouer vs" (sig.Eii). Only if the magistrate's commands are contrary to God may the subject disobey, and then only in passive resistance, never in open rebellion: "A Christian must suffer with a good and quiet conscience iniustice, but he cannot in like sort practise and execute vnlawful things" (sig.Eiii). The last of the four consolations is found in the many examples from biblical and pagan history, of God's help to good princes and magistrates, and of his punishment of rebels. The treatise occupies only ninety-six pages in all.

There is no evidence of any contact between Burghley and Wolton before the dedication of this work, though a letter written two years later makes it clear that the two men had been acquainted for some time. The letter is from the Earl of Bedford to Burghley about the appointment of a new Bishop of Exeter. The Earl suggests Wolton for the post, describing him

in these words:

a canon of this church, a man well learned, of honest life and conversation, wise in government, and a very good and diligent preacher. He has often attended you for causes between the Queen and the Church. He is well thought of in this country, and was brought up under the Dean of St. Paul's.⁴⁴

The unpunctuated endorsement to this letter is annoyingly ambiguous: "Mr. Wolton to be preferred to the bishopric of Exeter",. Another letter to Burghley dated on the following day also requests Wolton's preferment. This is from Lady Russell, and the fact that husband and wife write to the same man about the same topic on subsequent days argues either that their regard for Wolton was uncommonly high, or that they were not in the habit of consulting about their correspondence. Wolton it seems realized the value of the Russells as patrons: in 1576 he wrote to Lady Russell that her husband was his "singular good Patron & master, vnto whom for his manifold benefites, and large liberalitie so often & many wayes bestowed vpon me, I owe all duetie & seruice."⁴⁵ Burghley must have responded to this double request, for on 2nd August 1579, Wolton was consecrated Bishop of Exeter. He reigned until his death in March 1594. He seems to have been a diligent bishop, being characterized by Wood as follows:

44. H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.2, p.21b. The letter is dated 10th October 1576.

45. A Treatise of the Immortalitie of the Soule (1576), sig.*ii.

He was a person of great piety and reason, and an earnest assertor of conformity against the opposers thereof, for which he was blamed by many, but commended by more."

Two letters to Burghley are recorded during this last period of his life. On 6th June 1581 he wrote justifying his proceedings against one Anthony Randal, a member of the Family of Love, explaining to Burghley that he had written "for your better resolution of my doings, and the saving of my credit with you."⁴⁷ Another letter on 20th May 1582 about routine diocese affairs⁴⁸ is the last recorded contact between Wolton and the Lord Treasurer.

Burghley's connection with Wolton appears to have been far less close than with many of the writers already discussed. The dedicatory epistle of the final work in this chapter came from a much nearer relation. Sir Edward Hoby,⁴⁹ whose dedication to Burghley of Politique Discourses vpon Trueth and Lying. An Instruction to Princes to Keepe their Faith and Promise, is dated 10th December 1585, was the son of Lady Hoby, Mildred Cecil's sister (the same Lady Hoby to whom Geoffrey Fenton addressed two of his works in 1571 and 1572 - see pp.74-5 above). Born at the family home of Bisham (Berkshire) in 1560, he enjoyed a brilliant career at Oxford, where the dramatist Thomas Lodge was "servitour or

46. Athenae Oxonienses, ed. Bliss, vol.I, col.601.

47. Strype, Annals, III ii, p.180.

48. C.S.P. Dom. 1581-90, p.55.

49. The D.N.B. article by Gordon Goodwin is the source of information for Hoby's life, except where otherwise stated.

scholar under him."⁵⁰ He rose into high favour at court in the later 1570's and in 1582 married the daughter of Lord Hunsdon. In the same year he was knighted. His earliest surviving letter to his uncle Lord Burghley, written on 24th March 1584, is concerned with the martial state of the Isle of Wexpey, where Hoby had a military command. He ends this letter "crauing the continewance of yo^r honorable accustomed good faoures towarde me."⁵¹ In August of the same year he addressed to Burghley several letters relating to his mission to Scotland undertaken with his father-in-law. They deal mainly with affairs at the Scottish court, and have no bearing on a study of Burghley's literary patronage.⁵² Two letters from Hoby to Burghley, both dated at Berwick in November 1584, show that Hoby's popularity at the English court was by no means general, and that he depended upon his uncle a good deal for support. In the first of these, dated 10th November 1584, Hoby tells Burghley that he has heard that he is to be recalled from his post, and asks his uncle to contradict any hostile talk concerning him at court, if that is the case.⁵³ Three days

50. Wood, ed. Bliss, Athenae Oxonienses, vol.II, col.194.

51. Langdowne Mas., vol.42, item 11.

52. These letters are abstracted in H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.3, pp.67 & 71; and C.S.P. Scottish, 1509-1603, pp.463 & 465. There is also a letter to Hoby from King James (C.S.P. Scottish, p.469), dated 24th October 1584, which shows that Hoby had succeeded in making himself very popular with the Scottish king.

53. H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.3, pp.72-74. The same letter also reveals one of Burghley's small kindnesses to his nephew: in a letter of 1st October 1584 (Salisbury, 3, p.67), Hoby had said that he was worried at not having received news from his mother; in this letter of 10th November he thanks Burghley for his great kindness in going down to Berkshire to visit Lady Hoby.

later he again asks Burghley to be his sponsor at court, to make excuses for his continued absence, and to contradict the enmity of Mr. Secretary Walsingham.⁵⁴ It is only to be expected therefore, that Hoby's first literary work should be dedicated to his uncle.

Hoby's Politique Discourses vpon Trueth and Lying (1566) is a translation from Instruction aux Princes pour garder la foy promise. contenant un sommaire de la philosophie Chrestienne & morale. & deuoir d'vn homme de bien. En plusieurs discours politiques sur la verité & le mensonge, published at Paris in 1564. Its author, Matthieu Cointet (1514-1566)⁵⁵ was a French statesman who had been ambassador to Switzerland during the reigns of Henri II, François II and Charles IX. Although secretly a favourer of the Huguenot party, he had followed the political course of the moderate 'politique' party, and had supported the policies of the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici, to whom this, his only published work, was originally dedicated. Hoby does not translate this dedication, but substitutes his own to Cecil. For the rest, the translation appears to be complete and direct, even the marginal headings of the French being transferred into English. The English lacks the alphabetical table which follows the French text, and differs also in having Hoby's arms on the reverse of the title-page.

54. S.P., 1561-60, p. 213

55. Biographical information on Cointet is from Nouvelle Biographie Universelle.

The dedicatory epistle to Burghley⁵⁶ expresses Hoby's apprehension at the way in which his venturing on a course so foreign to his training will be received. There are consolations however:

But howsoever these my endeouours may lye in the consideration of the enuious or ouercurious, with which two humors this age most aboundeth, yet if by your Lo. they may be esteemed worthie of your honorable protection, I shall not onely thinke it my greatest happines to haue employed my time herein, but also with the like opportunitie and leasure shalbe encouraged to wade into some argument of greater paines and moment (sig.*2^v).

He describes his receiving a copy of Coignet's work a year ago, "when, through the thicke mistes and vnhoalsome aires of this solitarie Island ... hindred of other recreation" (sig.*3), he decided to translate it. He makes the all too common protestation that he has published his work only at the request of a friend, "as a matter necessarie, as he thought for the time" (sig.*3). He declares what is apparent from even a brief perusal of the French and English texts together:

56. The epistle is dated at Sheppey on 10th December 1585; the work had been entered in the Stationers' Register on the previous 21st November. This would therefore seem to be another example of what had happened in the case of Barnaby Googe - a dedication being written after the main body of the work was already with the printer. It is interesting that both Googe and Hoby were closely connected with Burghley.

I haue like a most iust and faithfull translator no whit swarued from the course or almoste phrase of the Author, the iudgement whereof I referre wholie to your honorable consideration, and will leaue it for some recreation to your Lo." (sig.*3^v).

The dedication ends on a note of fitting respect:

Most humbly beseeching your honor, that among all the riche Newyeres giftes, which of aboundance shall this yeare bee bestowed in/court, this simple one among the rest may find some place in your honorable acceptation, wishing as manie yeres to be encreased to your former, with continuall health and honour, as it is, or euer was possible in the course of Nature to be yeilded. And so I most humbly take my leeu. From the Isle of Sheney the tenth of December. 1585. Your honors most bound Neuwe.

EDWARD HOBY.

(sig.*3^v-*4).

The text itself falls into two sections which are described by Hoby as follows:

in the first, all vertues handled, the trueth, as it were the genus vnto them, and thereby is shewed howe necessarie they are in mans conuersation: in the other, is intreated of all kinde of vices, and lying accounted as genus thereunto, and so is set down what discommodities insue thereof, and how much they are to be auoyded (sig.*3^v).

The work for the most part consists of general moralizing substantiated by biblical and classical quotations, with the frequent drawing of practical examples, oiten with reference to the conduct of state affairs. The integrity with which Hoby has followed his original is shown in a few lines about the French nation: "Frenchmē ... giue place to no nation vnder the Sunne whatsoever, but rather excelleth it" (sig.87^v). (One can imagine many Elizabethan translators quietly omitting such a sentence). The work frequently recalls Fenton's Forme of

Christian pollicie, and is indeed in a similar genre. Thus here too dancing and play-acting are condemned:

how can we name our selues Christians, & keepe holy dayes, if we prophane them with dansing, banqueting, masking, spending excessiuey, & playing dissolutely, prouoking the wrath of God vpon vs (sig.C4^v).

Rules are informed that "conuersation with the Muses, and studie of good letters, would render the nobilitie more aduised and constant" (sig.C8^v). In this connection, the study of history is put forward as being particularly valuable for princes. The power and the duties of a prince are expressed in terms similar to those used in other works in this chapter: "Princes were ordained of God, to be fathers, protectors, and shephardes ouer the people committed to their charge" (sig.F4). The duty of subjects to follow their allotted vocation, the need of a prince for good counsellors, the importance of calmness and fairness in judges, the indispensability of mercy in the Christian governor, these are all expressed in conventional sixteenth century terms.

After twenty-five chapters exploring the application and desirability of truth in all public and private affairs, the author similarly considers the horrors of lying. Untruth in religion is regarded as the worst of faults; its remedy is knowledge of the scriptures, which are called the "square, balaunce, iudge of all nations, the Canon, and rule to liue well by, and the very touchstone which discerneth truth from

falshoode" (sig.I7). For a prince it is "a greeuous sinne and errour, to raygne ouer mens consciences" (sig.K1^v).

Lying is explored in all its aspects, plays being one of them:

As touchinge Playes, they are full of filthie wordes, which would not become verie lacqueys, and courtisanes, and haue sundrie inuentions which infect the spirite, and replenish it with vnchaste, whorishe, cosening, deceitfull, wanton, and mischeeuous passions (sig.L4).

The areas of behaviour covered by the book extend to diet, sex, education (where, like Fenton, the author advocates the building of more schools and colleges), and disease. The conclusion to the fiftieth (and last) chapter seems to sum up the whole book:

To the end that that we may rest beloued of God, and of good men, and haue a good conscience, a peaceable life, a guide in all affaires with hope of eternall life, and heape of blysse, we must walke wisely, and be founde true in all our thoughtes, wordes, and actions: and so to accustome our selues thereto, that we giue no place to any lye, though it be the lightest which may be made (sig.Q5).

Following this dedication the relationship between Burghley and his nephew continued on a friendly basis. On 24th December 1586 Hoby wrote from Sheppey thanking Burghley for his concern about his health in advising Hoby to leave that misty island. Hoby speaks of "hauinge receaued y^e chifest & greatest benefit of any liuinge creature from y^r handes & fauour",⁵⁷ and as

57. Lansdowne Mss., vol.51, item 23.

usual signs himself "your honors most bounde neuewe." In the late 1580's Hoby lost favour at court and with the Queen; Burghley was responsible for reinstating him in the royal favour.⁵⁸ A letter from Hoby to his uncle on 24th November 1591 indicates this, and also shows that Burghley himself was temporarily annoyed with his nephew. Hoby writes that he has had

y^e honour to haue ben borne in y^r aliance, bred vp in your loue, hetherto protected bye y^r care from mie insolent & mightie aduersaries, benefited onlie bie y^r sole selfe, and latelie by y^r onlie meanes reconciled to the hed fountaine of mie fortune, onlie thorough your self to expecte y^e aduancement of mie life.

He begs forgiveness, and declares himself "more sorowed then euer I knewe mie selfe".⁵⁹ The appeal was obviously successful, since on 28th January following Hoby wrote to Burghley requesting his help in securing the stewardship of the manor of Milton. Burghley is addressed as the man "whose loue I esteame more than anie gaine, whose aduise shal eu^e be to me a resolution, and satisfaction, & whom while I liue, I wil eu^e be thankful to".⁶⁰

This appears to be Hoby's last surviving letter to his uncle. He was however a frequent and often amusingly informal correspondent of Sir Robert Cecil's. The relationship between

58. The reasons for Hoby's disgrace and the whole episode of his disfavour at court are obscure. But there can be no doubt that he was firmly re-established in the royal favour by 1592 when he entertained the Queen at Bisham.

59. Lansdowne Mss., vol.68, item 103.

60. Lansdowne Mss., vol.69, item 9.

these two cousins was apparently of the friendliest nature. Their correspondence reveals an aspect of Hoby's character not apparent in his respectful letters to his uncle. The matter is extremely complicated and undoubtedly requires a fuller exploration than is possible within the bounds of this study, but it appears that Hoby was not quite morally blameless. He made several enemies among the clergy, in particular Dean Nowell, who charged him with misappropriating funds belonging to Brasenose College. During an illness in 1594 and 1595 he wrote often to Sir Robert seeking his protection in this affair. He ends one such letter: "So humbly beseeching you to bless me from the clergy and send me to the Turk."⁶¹ It is just possible that his unpopularity in several quarters both within and outside court circles may be explained by the enthusiasm with which he appears to have "played the wag."⁶² Hoby's heir Peregrine was his natural son by Katherine Pinkney, and in more than one letter to Sir Robert he mentions another lady companion called Winerride, once asking his cousin to "assure her that I am a true man to

61. H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.5, p.216. The letter is dated 23rd May 1595.

62. In a letter of 31st May 1596 (H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.6, p.202), written on board ship before setting off on the Cadiz expedition, he asks Sir Robert to do various things for him if he is killed and then ends by asking why he is thinking in this way, for "I mean to return home and play the wag once more."

her peradventure."⁶³ His boredom with his wife, with whose "melancholy humour" he tells Sir Robert in a letter of 28th September 1596 he is "a little too much troubled",⁶⁴ is the last link in a chain of characteristics which might well provide sufficient explanation for the hostility of the Puritanical Walsingham and the aged Dean Nowell. It was against this opposition that Burghley advanced the fortunes of his nephew. One can hardly imagine the Lord Treasurer approving of Hoby's conduct, but family ties were apparently stronger than moral condemnation.

Hoby's only other publication during Burghley's lifetime was a translation from the Spanish of Bernadino de Mendoza, entitled The Theorique and Practise of Warre (1597). The dedication, in Spanish, is to Sir George Carew. During the reign of King James (who showered favours upon him, and whom Hoby frequently entertained at Bisham), Hoby published three original anti-Catholic works, which suggest that even in a literary way he could not resist the temptation to "play the wag." The first

63. H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.5, p.236. The letter is dated 7th June 1595, and also informs Sir Robert that he (Hoby) "will yield caution of a privy chamber lady to be with you before the first of the term, if that may suffice." The obscurity of this statement makes it impossible to say whether Hoby was acting as some kind of procurer, which is the hasty conclusion one is tempted to reach.

64. H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.6, p.407.

of these, A Letter to M^r T.H.⁶⁵ Late Minister Now Fugitive (1609), is dedicated to "all Romish Collapsed Ladies of Great Britaine". In 1613 his Counter-snarle for Ishmael Rabshacheh A Cecropidan Lycaorite (another anti-Catholic piece) was dedicated to the students of the Inns-of-Court. In 1615 he published, under the name of "Nick-groome of the Hobie-stable", A Curry-Combe for a Coxe-Combe. Or Purgatories Knall, a work which he dedicated to "the gentle, gentle Reader". In spite of the apparent frivolity of these works, he was highly regarded as a scholar by his contemporaries, in particular by Camden who dedicated his Hibernia to Hoby. Wood writes of him as follows:

He was a person of great reading and judgement, especially in the controversies between Protestants and Papists, a singular lover of arts, substantial learning, antiquities, and the professors thereof.⁶⁶

It is obviously a mistake to lay too much emphasis on Hoby's "waggery"; Burghley perhaps could see more reason than mere family ties for advancing his nephew.

The writers discussed in this chapter provide some good examples of the patronage system in operation. Personal gratitude, desire for favour, respect, appropriateness of a work to Burghley's position, these and other motives are seen as underlying the dedication of books to him. The nature of the works here grouped together leaves little doubt of Burghley's pleasure at receiving them all. There seems to be nothing in any of them which would have jarred with his conception of "the Christian Commonwealth."

65. Thomas Higgins, an English minister who was converted to Catholicism and subsequently fled abroad.

66. Athenae Oxonienses. ed. Bliss, vol.II, col.194.

CHAPTER TWO

DEVOTIONAL BOOKS

The sixteenth century was an age of faith. This is the simple explanation for the enormous volume of religious literature produced in that period. Books ranging in subject from the application of general Christian principles in social life, to examinations of the finer points of doctrine, or the intricacies of religious controversy, poured from the presses with abundant regularity. Nearly half the entries in the Short-Title Catalogue refer to religious works. This situation is reproduced in miniature in the list of books dedicated to Lord Burghley - of the eighty-five works addressed to him, forty-two can be classed as religious.

The diversity of sixteenth century religious literature makes some sort of classification desirable. Controversial works are readily separable, though the frequency with which apparently non-controversial writers will turn aside to attack Catholicism may partially upset this division. After the separation of controversial works, the remainder can be further divided into two classes: practical treatises and devotional books. The preceding chapter examined those books which deal with the

practical application of religious principles in the Christian commonwealth. The present chapter will discuss a number of works which can be included under the heading of "devotional books."

Devotional books of a non-controversial type probably provided the greater part of a layman's religious reading; the intricacies of doctrinal controversy lay outside the province of the general reader.¹ The devotional works dedicated to Burghley fall conveniently into three main types: catechetical works; biblical studies; and printed sermons.

The most important of all the Elizabethan catechisms was that of Alexander Nowell, the long-serving Dean of St. Paul's. His Catechismus, sive prima institutio disciplinae pietatis christianae (1570) takes the form of a dialogue between schoolmaster and pupil and is a lengthy work in four sections: 1) Of law and obedience, which is an examination of the Ten Commandments, emphasizing man's duty of obedience, especially to the Christian magistrate; 2) Of the Gospel and faith, which is an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, firmly stating the doctrine of salvation by faith alone, and the predestination of only the Elect to such salvation; 3) Of prayer and thanksgiving, which analyses the Lord's Prayer, and emphasizes that all prayer must be to God and never to the saints; 4) Of the Sacraments, which are seen as only

1. For a discussion of religious literature and its readers see Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (1935), pp.228-296.

two - Baptism and the 'Supper of the Lord'. The doctrine on Communion is Calvinist; any sacrificial element is denied. The Catechism is indeed almost uncompromisingly Calvinistic in every respect. It had an enormous influence, and was widely used in schools.² The first edition in Latin appeared in 1570, and there were six further editions before the end of the century. An English version was also published in 1570, and reprinted three times within the next five years. There were also shortened versions of both the Latin and English which enjoyed numerous editions. The Catechismus was dedicated in 1570 to the archbishops and bishops of the English Church. It has been mentioned here however because a letter from Dean Nowell to Cecil, dated 16th June 1570, makes it clear that the work had been dedicated in manuscript to Secretary Cecil. The letter also partially explains the long delay between the Catechism's first appearance before Convocation in 1563³ and its publication in 1570. It reads as follows:

After my humble commendations unto your honour. These are to certifie the same that the Latine Catechisme, which aboute seaven yeres agoo I dyd write and dedicate unto your honour in the fyrst writen copie, is now at laste putt in printe, by my Lords of Canterburie and Yorkes appoynctment, and with your honours consent, as my lord of Canterburie informed me. The occasion of the dedicating of it now unto the byshopps, as men most mete to judge and allow, or disallow of such matiers, was inforced that about syxe yeres agoo, it was offred unto them,

2. See Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture, p.239.

3. See W.H. Frere, The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I (1904), pp.96-98.

beinge assembled in Convocation, and by them allowed, and by the whole cleargie of the Lower Convocation-House subscribed unto, as is to be sene in the copie remaininge with me.

Notwithstandinge I sent a copie of it, beinge fare written ageine, unto your honour, with whom it remayned above one yeare, and then was delyvered me ageine by your honour, and withall certen notes of some lerned man uppon it. Wheruppon it hath ever synse remayned with me, untyll my lora of Canterburie his grace called for it, after that I had altered manie places in it, acordinge to the notes which your honour delyvered unto me, as your honour shall well perceyve, had yow leysure to compare the saide notes (which I have sent ageine to your honour, even the verie copie it selfe which your honour delyvered me) with the printed booke, which I have alsoo sent unto your honour. And after the copie had remayned a while with my lord of Canterburie, he demaunded of me whie I dyd not put it in printe. I tolde his grace that without your honours consent, to whom I had in the fyrste written copie dedicated it, I wold not printe it: and within a fewe dayes after he sending for me ageine, tolde me that your honour had consented that it shuld be printed, and that it was to your honour no matier were it dedicated unto the byshopps; and soo hym selfe allowinge it to the printe, by the subscription of his name and my lorde of Yorke doing the like, it came to the printe at the laste, syx yeres and more after it was fyrst wryten. Wherof in case your honour shall have good liking, I shall be verie gladde. And thus I commend your honour unto Allmightie Godde, who have yow and all yours in his blessed kepinge.

16 Junii, 1570.

Your honors to commande,
ALEXANDER NOWELL, 4

This letter is important in showing that manuscript books were occasionally sent to patrons (the practice may indeed have been common), and when the patron was as learned as Cecil, changes were sometimes suggested as a result of this. Nowell's anxiety about changing the dedicatee on printing his book possibly indicates that even so eminent a statesman as Cecil might be

4. The letter is quoted from A Catechism written in Latin by Alexander Nowell, edited by G.E. Corrie (Parker Society, 1853), p.vi. It is abstracted in C.S.P. Dom. 1547-80, p.382.

expected to covet the dedication of such an important work as the Catechismus. But though he lost the dedication in 1570, three years later a Latin and Greek version of the Catechism was dedicated to Burghley by Nowell's nephew William Whitaker.⁵ His connection with the work did not, after all, end with its publication.

In 1575 Burghley received from Nicolaus Whithalk the dedication of a catechetical work of small importance compared with that of Dean Nowell. Nevertheless it was one which the Lord Treasurer considered worthy to bear his armorial achievement on the reverse of its title-page. It also appears that he may have owned the book, since a copy of it is offered for sale in the 1687 sale catalogue of his library. This Christianae Fidei ac Verae Religionis Compendium was, according to its dedication, printed from an anonymous manuscript long in the editor's possession. Its title-page is interesting in recording the work's presentation to "Sir William Cecil, Baron Burghley, that most illustrious and truly pious man, and patron of all good letters" ("Ad Illustrissimum virum verae pietatis, omniumq; bonarum artium Patronum, D. Guilielmum Cecilium Baronem Burghleium"). Rarely is a patron thus mentioned on the title-page of a book. Of the editor and dedicator of this work almost nothing is known. The only source of information is Anthony Wood who describes Whithalk as

5. Consideration of Whitaker's Greek epistle has been left until Chapter Three (pp. 223-4) where Whitaker's other dedications to Cecil are examined.

A theologian of Losanne who studied several years in Merton Coll. for the sake of the warden thereof Dr. Bickley, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance while he was an exile in the time of Queen Mary, but whether he took a degree, tho' supplicate he did for one, it appears not.

He mentions his dedication to Burghley, and adds

No doubt it is but he published other things, but such I have not yet seen. In 1577 I find him sacrist of Corpus Christi College, but how long he continued there I cannot tell. He was alive in 1582, much respected by Mr. Camden, and Tho. Savill for his learning.

Despite Wood's suspicions however, there is no evidence to suggest that Whithalk published anything else.

The fact that a stranger in England, unconnected with and probably unknown to Burghley, should dedicate his only work to the Lord Treasurer, rather than to any of the more active patrons of literature at Elizabeth's court, is a useful hint in assessing the motives of many of Burghley's dedicators. What attracted them was probably not his munificence towards writers, or gratitude for past or hope of future favours, but the power and eminence of his position as a statesman, and the peculiar dignity which his name as dedicatee would lend to a work. Beneath the elaborately complimentary style of Whithalk's dedication one can see these motives at work. The beginning of his epistle is worth quoting at some length since it contains one of the more convincing tributes to Burghley's piety and statesmanship. Coming from an outside observer this is even more striking:

Many people have published it abroad, most noble Sir, that of all those who inscribe their works to your most glorious name, those who devote all their efforts to things divine and pertaining to GOD, receive from you the highest approbation for their industry. This of course should astonish nobody who casts even the slightest glance at the much praised course of your life up to now. For from your early youth, as I have heard, you followed those teachers who vied with each other in their efforts not so much to polish your mind with every branch of literature, as to fill it full with the seeds of all the virtues, especially piety, which embraces all the virtues. These seeds have grown and produced virtues which have carried your Excellency to such a pinnacle of honour that I think that you could hardly be placed in a higher seat of dignity. It cannot be doubted, since your son the most honourable Sir Thomas Cecil from childhood has similarly followed the path of virtue, that following the same footsteps he will easily reach the same level of nobility. But what is more, that passion for great objects, most noble Baron, which is implanted in you along with that your true nobility, has caused you, first, to be most dear to God almighty, since you have always preferred His most pure service to any wealth or honours, and because you have never been willing to lend your ears to men involved in papist superstition; secondly, you are highest in the favour of QUEEN ELIZABETH (a Prince excelling in letters and the knowledge of languages, and of all who ever were in this Realm the most serene, most sacred, most sapient); because you have omitted no duty or service which seemed to belong to the honour or glory of her Royal Majesty. Lastly, that singular kindness of your nature, conjoined with your great exaltation of mind, has made you so beloved of all men, especially men of letters (whose sole Maecenas you are) that some feel themselves wonderfully refreshed and cheered by the mere mention of your most noble name.

7. This and other translations from Latin included in this and the following chapter have (except where otherwise noted), been kindly supplied by Mr. David Butler of the University Library, Birmingham. The

continuation of footnote 7:

original of the passage quoted above, reads as follows:

MVLTORVM sermone disseminatum est, nobilissime vir, inter eos omnes qui clarissimo tuo nomini suos libros inscribunt, eorum industriam a te praecipue probari, qui diligentiam omnem in rebus diuinis & ad DEVM pertinentibus tractandis & explicandis ponunt. Quod sane mirum nemini videri debet, vel leuiter in anteaetae tuae vitae cursum laudatissimum intuenti. Nam ab ineunte aetate (vt accepi) eos paedagogos consecutus es, qui certatim elaborarunt, non tam vt omni literarum genere metem tuam expolirent, quam vt eam omnibus virtutum seminibus, pietate praesertim, (quae virtutes omnes complectitur) abunde cumulatam & consertam redderent. Quae quidem semina menti tuae tum penitus insita, ex eo tempore tam alte radices egerunt, pectusq; tuum diuinum tam praecellenti pulcherrimarum virtutum choro compleuerunt, quae Amplitud. tuam ad tantum dignitatis fastigium extulerunt: vt te in sublimiori ho-/noris sede locari vix posse arbitrer. Eandem similiter virtutis viam, cum filius tuus Thomas Cecilius Eques ornatissimus, ab ipse pueritia fuerit ingressus, dubitandum non est, quin iisdem vestigijs ad eundem nobilitatis gradum sit facile peruenturus. Sed excellens porro illa magnarū rerum cupiditas, ornatissime Baro, quae tibi vna cum ista tua vera nobilitate innata est, effecit, vt primum Deo Opt. Max. sis charissimus, quod purissimum illius cultum omnibus opibus & honoribus semper anteposuisti, & quod hominibus pontificia superstitione implicatis aures praebere nunquam voluisti: deinde apud ELIZABETHAM Reginam (& litteris & linguarum cognitione praecellentem Principem, atque omnium quae vnquam fuerunt in hoc Regno serenissimam, sanctissimam, sapientissimam) acceptissimus: quod nullam obseruantiam, nullumq; obsequium praetermisisti, quod ad Regalem Maiestatem vel decorandam vel exornandam pertinere videretur. Postremo, singularis illa naturae tuae bonitas, eximia cum ista animi celsitudine coniuncta ita te omnibus hominibus, praecipue literatis, (quorum vnicus es Moecenas) amabilem reddidit, vt nonnulli se, vel nominis tui nobilissimi mentione mirabiliter recreatos & exhilaratos sentiant (Sigs. A2-A2v).

In view of all this, how, asks Whithalk, could I have dedicated my book to anyone else?

The Compendium itself is not particularly significant. It occupies some one hundred pages and puts forward an orthodox Calvinist account of the Christian religion. Beginning with an examination of the nature of God and the persons of the Trinity, it recounts the story of the Creation, and then moves to a discussion of man, the nature of sin and of free will, and the laws, divine, natural and moral, by which man must live. The Ten Commandments are expounded at some length, and equated with the Law as revealed in the New Testament. In the long and significant section on Faith and Grane, salvation is shown to depend on Faith alone, and the Catholic conception of salvation by Faith and good works is specifically rejected. The book ends with a consideration of the Church, the Elect in all ages according to Whithalk's Calvinistic definition, and the Sacraments, two in number, Baptism and Communion, again a strictly Calvinist view. The work was not reprinted, and Whithalk's name never again appears in connection with Burghley.

Two years after the Compendium, in 1577, another catechetical work, entitled A briefe and cleare Confession of the Christian Fayth, was dedicated to Burghley. The work is described on its title-page as "Containing An hundreth Articles, after the order

of the Creede of the Apostles. Made and declared by Iohn Gardiner. Translated out of French into English by Iohn Brooke of Asshe, next Sandwich." Its scope is thus considerably more limited than that of the major catechisms of the period, which deal with the Apostles' Creed among several other basic statements of Christianity. The original French of the work is not to be found in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library or the Bibliothèque Nationale, nor does Gardiner's name appear in any of the major biographies. The only information about him must therefore be gleaned from Brooke's translation, where it appears that Gardiner underwent a quick conversion to the Calvinism he had once persecuted, and that he served as pastor to the "little French church at Strasbourg". Even the translator is an obscure figure: he was a native of Ashe-next-Sandwich, in Kent, the son of John Brooke of that village.⁸ He was appointed a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge by the foundation charter of 1546, and proceeded B.A. in 1553-54. His published works (seven in all, of which that dedicated to Burghley is the third) are all translations from Protestant writings in French. His choice of works to translate is indicative of a rather extreme Protestant position. In his Faithfull and familiar exposition vpon the prayer of our Lorde Iesus Christ (1582), translated

8. The small amount of biographical information on Brooke is from the article by William Hunt in D.N.B.

from Pierre Viret, there appears an epistle to the Reader by John Field, one of the most important organizers of the London Presbyterian classis. This is a further indication of the strength of Brooke's Protestantism. In addition to Burghley his dedicatees include the Earl of Oxford, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Edmund Grindal) and Burghley's daughter, the Lady Anne, Countess of Oxford. Only in the dedication to the Earl of Oxford of The Staffe of Christian Faith (a translation, printed in 1577, from the Huguenot writer Guido), does Brooke give any hint that he has enjoyed the 'patronage' of any of his dedicatees. He reminds Oxford of "howe much and many wayes I am by dutye bounde vnto your honor, as also howe vnable I am to discharge the same" (sig.Aiii). His other dedications are all formal requests for protection of his work.

This is true also of his dedication to Burghley. He tells the Lord Treasurer that, having completed his translation, he dared not

of my selfe, or in myne owne name, launch foorth my silly barke into the troublesom waues, not doubting (saile she neuer so sure & true) but somtimes shee shalbe countermet with Churlishe / byllowes, and puffed at with outrageous blastes and violent tempestes (sig.Aii^v-Aiii).

Brooke continues this metaphor, telling Burghley that he has therefore sought to

ancor in your harborough, being very desirous that this my vnsmoothed and roughe hewen workemanshippe might haue free passage and safe conduct vnder your Honors fauorable protection and defece (sig.Aiii).

The Christian nature of his work has emboldened him to

craue that this my small peece of trauaile, whatsoeuer, maye receyue that hope hath promysed, and with my good will would gladly deserue (sig.Aiii^v).

He does not manage to ask Burghley's acceptance of his work any more directly than this. This dedication is the first and only record of any connection between Brooke and Lord Burghley. In dedicating his work to the Lord Treasurer the translator was undoubtedly motivated solely by the desire to give his book extra dignity and authority.

In its one hundred articles the treatise deals with the clauses of the Apostles' Creed under four headings: beliefs about the Trinity, the Son, the Holy Ghost, and the Church. Justifying his translation of the work, Brooke declares it "vnder a poore habite and litle showe, to beare and importe great and waighty effect" (sig.Aii). He adds that he finds also therein "singuler ground of profound learning and rare wisdom, and therewithall... firme approbations and inexpugna-ble defences, with authorities of holy writ" (sig.Aii-Aii^v). In the course of its ninety-six pages it gives a strongly Calvinistic exposition of the Creed, and finds time for several attacks on Catholicism. One such attack may here be quoted:

the papisticall Masse is an inuention and ordinance of man, a sacrifice of Antichrist ... it is a stynking and infectious sepulchre which couereth and hydeth the merite of the blood of Christ. And therefore it ought to be abolished, and the holy Supper of the Lord restored and set agayne in his fyrst estate (sig.D5).

Apart from such flashes of invective there is very little to enliven this singularly uninspiring little treatise.

Although catechetical works formed an important part of the total volume of Elizabethan religious literature, a much larger proportion was made up of works expounding, explaining, abbreviating and sometimes even versifying the Scriptures. Louis B. Wright has shown that the abundance and cheapness of printed Bibles placed them within the reach of every citizen.⁹ The popularity of works of biblical scholarship is explicable only by assuming that there was widespread reading of them among the laity. Their abundance in the period is reflected in the number which were dedicated to Burghley,

One of the most unusual of these books is Henry Dethick's Feriae Sacrae octo libris Comprehensae (1577) which can best be described as an abridged Bible in Latin verse. The first book runs from the Creation to the Flood; the second continues the story as far as Heber; the third book ends with the arrival of the Israelites in the Promised Land; the fourth continues as far as Isaiah and the fifth runs from here to the story of

9. Middle-Class Culture, pp.236-239.

Elias; the sixth book, which has numerous digressions into Greek and Roman history, ends at the time of Herod; the seventh book describes the Annunciation and the ministry of St. John the Baptist, and the last abridges the New Testament, ending with the Apocalypse.

The author is described on the title-page as "Henry Dethick of Oxford", and it seems obvious that this is the work of a university man showing his prowess in Latin verse, and choosing the safest of subjects to do so. His short dedication gives no hint of anything but the most formal connection with the Lord Treasurer. The general purport of his epistle is to emphasize the truth of the subject of his poem, and to express the wish that although his verse is not good, Burghley may derive some pleasure from it. Only at one point does he address his patron in more than general terms:

I certainly had nobody to whose patronage I could more confidently and safely commit this simple and brief compilation, than to you. You were the sole person who could kindly, through your affability, and truly, through your judgement, discern the whole sense of this my little offering.¹⁰

Despite the apparent distance between them however, there is some reason to suspect a closer relationship between Detnick

10. The original Latin reads as follows:

Quarum facilem, & breuē colligatione, cuius certe quidem patrocinio, fidelius, & tutius, committerem, quā tuo, habebam neminem.

Tu vnus eras, qui propter facilitatē humaniter, & vere, propter iudicium decernere posses, huius omnem munusculi mei rationem (sig.Aij^v).

and the Lord Treasurer. All three of Dethick's dedications are to Burghley, and all three use his crest and motto. Although undated, the Oratio in laudem Poëseos was probably Dethick's earliest work. It is a twenty page pamphlet in praise of the classical poets, and its address to the Lord Treasurer is even more formal than Dethick's other epistles to that statesman. His only mention of Burghley is in fact to speak of his "mentem vere generosam" (sig.*1^v). One may assume that the 1577 dedication of the Feriae Sacrae followed this, since in his only other epistle to Burghley, also dated 1577, Dethick writes that he has "craued herein (as heretofore in all mine affaires) your honours protection" (sig.Aii^v). It seems likely that by "affaires" Dethick means writings; there is certainly no record of Burghley protecting him in any other way, and since Dethick was an Oxford rather than a Cambridge man, the opportunities for him to do so would be few. This third dedication prefaces Thomas Hill's The Gardeners Labyrinth (1577), a work which Dethick had promised to complete for his deceased friend. "Otherwise", he remarks, "I had not so willingly attempted to sollicite your honour wyth this vulgare stile" (sig.Aii). He seems to have known Burghley's predilection for Latin works, but even in this epistle nothing Dethick writes suggests any more than formal relations with the Lord Treasurer. And yet, as if to underline the fact that some evidence is missing, both of Dethick's Latin works are now in the Cecil

library at Hatfield House.¹¹

The tiny amount of biographical information available on Dethick¹² gives no further clue to his relations with Burghley. Henry was the brother of Sir William Dethick the Garter-king-of-arms, and took a B.A. from Oxford in 1569 and an M.A. in 1572. He left the university in 1581, and subsequently became Chancellor of the diocese of Carlisle (1586) and Archdeacon of the same see in 1588. Not till 1594 is there any evidence of his even meeting Burghley. In that year the Bishop of Durham, informing Sir Robert Cecil and Sir John Woolley about affairs in the diocese, writes: "The bearer, Mr. Dethicke, shall attend upon my Lord Treasurer and your honours."¹³ After this one seeks in vain for any further record of Dethick before his death in 1613. It seems obvious that he enjoyed some kind of patronage from Burghley, but of the nature of this there is no evidence whatsoever.

Dethick's Latin verse Bible might well be regarded as a demonstration of a classicist's virtuosity. Marbecke's Lyues of holy Sainctes, dedicated to Lord Burghley in 1574, is, on the other hand, the product of a scholar's painstaking cataloguing. John Marbecke (d.1585) was a musician and

11. This is made even more remarkable by the fact that the Oratio is an extremely rare work, only one other copy (in the library of Westminster Abbey) being known.
12. The main source is Foster, Alumni Oxonienses (1891).
13. H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.5, p.49. The letter is dated 29th Dec.

theologian with a passion for putting things into alphabetical order.¹⁴ His first two works, both published in 1550, reveal these two distinct areas of his talent. His Concordāce, published in July 1550 with a dedication to King Edward VI, is a vast work of nearly nine hundred folio pages, divided into three columns of very small print. It was the first English concordance of the whole Bible. In the course of his dedication to King Edward Marbecke tells the King that he was "altogether brought vp in your highnes College at Wyndsore, in the study of Musike and plaiyng on Organs, wherin I consumed vainly the greatest part of my life" (sig. aij). Evidence of this appeared the same year with the publication of The booke of Common praier noted. This is a musical version of parts of Cranmer's prayer book of 1549. Marbecke belongs to the first generation of English reformers. As early as 1544 he was arrested for being in possession of writings by ^{He} Calvin, ~~sent for trial at Windsor and convicted of heresy.~~¹⁵

14. The account of Marbecke is based mainly on the article by Sidney Lee in D.N.B.. E.H. Fellowes's article in Grove's Dictionary of Music deals with Marbecke as a musician.
15. Marbecke himself gives an account of the episode in dedicating his Concordāce to King Edward. Acts of the Privy Council, 1542-47, p.98, records his imprisonment. It appears that Marbecke's almost completed Concordance was confiscated at his arrest, and that after his release he was forced to begin again - this seems to make the epithet 'monumental' even more appropriate to his work on that book. Fuller (Worthies of England, ed. Freeman, 1952, p.30), explains Marbecke's pardon by the fact that "Bishop Gardiner bare him a special affection for his skill in the mystery of music." In the first edition of his Actes and Monuments (1563) John Foxe overlooked this pardon, and sent Marbecke to the stake with the rest of his fellow Windsor Protestants. Although the error was corrected in later editions, this provided the opportunity for the casting of the first of many aspersions on Foxe's historical accuracy.

Despite these early Protestant extremities, Marbecke retained his position in the Royal Chapel at Windsor right through the reign of Mary. Although he calls him "a very zealous Protestant", Fuller describes Marbecke as a man "of so sweet and amiable nature, that all good men did love, and few bad men did hate him."¹⁶ Perhaps he was able to concentrate on music rather than theology during the Marian reaction.

Marbecke's four surviving works from the reign of Elizabeth are all the products of his biblical scholarship. Three are arranged in alphabetical order. The exception is The Holie Historie of King David (1579), which is a rendering in English verse of the David story. A Booke of Notes and Common places (1581) is an alphabetical arrangement of many scriptural words and ideas with their expositions by various Christian writers from the Fathers to Calvin. It occupies 1104 printed pages. Examples drawn out of holy Scripture (1582) is a much shorter alphabetical arrangement of various subjects (abstinence, adultery etc, etc) recording their occurrence in the Bible and their application to modern life. The lyues of holy Sainctes (1574) is a biographical dictionary of biblical characters. It seems obvious that Marbecke made full use of his own Concordāce in preparing these works.

The lyues of holy Sainctes, Prophetes, Patriarches, and others, contayned in holve Scripture appeared in two editions in 1574. The first is a quarto of 328 pages, the second an

economically printed folio of only eighty-two pages. Both have the Cecil crest and motto on the title-page. Marbecke's dedication to Burghley is among the most cringing the Lord Treasurer ever received. It begins thus:

Albeit (right Honourable) it were good Reason, and moste conuenient, that nothing shoulde come before your Honourable presence, but that which were moste perfect and excellent: yet bearing my selfe bolde vppon that incomparable goodnesse, which all men knowe to reast within your Noble nature, I haue here presumed to/offer a taste vnto your good Lordship, of such simple fruite as my poore Orcharde coulde yeelde. Most humbly beseeching your Honour as well to pardon my rude boldnesse herein, as also to accept my simple Present. My meaning hereby, is not (my good Lorde) to seeme to craue anye thanks or prayse where none is deserued, but onely to seeke some such meanes as my poore abilitie will serue, to leaue a Testimoniall of the dutifull good will and single heart, which I beare vnto your Honour.

Marbecke explains that he has been moved to dedicate his work to Burghley by "the fauourable inclination I haue alwayes perceyued in your good Lordship to remaine towards so simple a worme as I am" (sig.Aij^v). From this last remark one gathers that Marbecke was known to Burghley - as one might expect of a royal organist at Windsor. The epistle ends in the same vein of humility:

I besech your Honor in fauourable wyse to accept this my good meaning, who being desirous to labour in the Lordes haruest, and yet not able to holde tacke with strong and lustie labourers therein, neyther wortnaie to bee accounted in the number of good workemen: am contended to come after, as it were a gleaning: and as mine olde age, and other mine imperfections will giue me leaue, fayre and softly to creepe after the Carte, picking vp

17. Sig.Aij-Aij^v of the quarto edition (STC 17303) whence all quotations here are taken.

such scattered corne, as is fallen out by the waye in the Lordes fielde: and yet to good to bee lost, or troden vnder foote, but rather, now being gathered togither, worthy in my simple iudgement, to bee sorted into sheaues: / humbly desiring your good Lordshippe to suffer them to be placed in your Barne, if your Honor shall thinke them woorth the threshing (sig.A11j-A11j^v).

Despite what Marbecke here says about his age, he still had eleven years to live, though there is no record of any further contact with the Lord Treasurer during that period. The text of the Lynes gives a concise account of the career of each character, with biblical references in the margin. Some of the names are explained - e.g. Abraham is glossed as "Father of a great multitude". Both the Old and New Testaments are covered, and there is even a short life of Christ. The writer confines himself exclusively to the facts given in the Bible - there is thus no mention of St. Peter's martyrdom. This is a work to which Burghley cannot possibly have objected, and his positive approval is suggested by the presence of his crest on the title-page. One imagines him concurring with the sentiments expressed by 'R.M.' in addressing the reader:

the Booke is of God, and his holy Saintes, and therefore to be reuerenced; collected out of Scripture, and therefore no vaine fable: written briefly, and therefore not tedious: set forth in playne and simple wyse, and therefore the better for thy capacitie: / ... All that is written therein, is written for thy helpe and instruction. Vse it then to that ende that the Author meaneth, that is: Not onely to increase thy knowledge, and so to be made more learned: but also to increase thy vertuous life, and so to become the better Man (sig.A5-A5^v).

In 1585 Burghley shared with Sir Walter Mildmay the dedication of another piece of alphabetical biblical scholarship entitled An A.B.C. For Laymen otherwise called the Lay-mans Letters. This work, by Dr. George Wither, is further described on its title-page as

An Alphabet for Lay-men, deliuering vnto them such Lessons as the holy Ghost teacheth them in the worde, by thinges sensible, very necessary to be diligently considered.

The author had enjoyed a checkered career.¹⁸ Born in London around 1540, he matriculated at Cambridge in 1556. He first achieved fame in the university in January 1565 when, as "a man of parts and zeal", he preached a sermon calling for the reformation of all stained-glass windows in the university, urging the superstition of the stories they depicted. A great destruction of such windows followed. Wither was sent for by Archbishop Parker, who told Cecil that Wither had appeared "cum magna confidentia, vultu senatorio". Wither's preaching licence was found defective, and as a result Cecil, as Chancellor of the university, was forced to investigate the whole matter of preaching licences at Cambridge.¹⁹ Later the same year Wither was again in trouble, deprived by Parker of his living at Bury St. Edmunds

18. There is no life of Wither in D.N.B., though there is material and interest enough to merit one. The outline of the account here is from Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, and other sources are separately noted.

19. The account is from material in Strype, Parker, I, pp.382-383.

because he refused to wear the square cap. He later agreed to conform, though only at the request of his parishioners.²⁰ In 1567 he was again linked with those seeking further drastic reforms of the English Church. In a letter to the Elector Palatine (the political figure-head of continental Calvinism) written some time during this year, Wither describes the imperfect state of the English Reformation. His main complaints are against the regulations regarding vestments, and against the Book of Advertisements which had been published the previous year to enforce conformity. His attack on English ministers is scathing: they are "popish priests ... and the far greater part of the remainder are most ignorant persons." The ministry is dismissed as

nothing at all. For those persons cannot be said to be ministers of Christ, but servants of men, who can do nothing according to the prescript of the word, but are obliged to act in every respect at the nod of the Queen and the bishops.²¹

In 1567 Wither visited Geneva and Zurich at the request of those dissenting over vestments. He was assured by such eminent reformers as Bullinger and Gualter of the acceptability of the English Church in the brotherhood of the Reformed Churches, and on his return to England appears to have conformed.²² He became

20. Strype, Parker, I, pp.374-5. Wither's letter to Archbishop Parker agreeing to conform is in the Petyt Mss. (H.M.C. Second Report, p.154, column 2).

21. The letter is without place or date. It is quoted in full in The Zurich Letters, ed. Hastings Robinson (Parker Society, 1845), vol.II, pp.156-164. The above quotations are from p.163.

22. Strype, Parker, I, p.396.

Archdeacon of Colchester in 1570, and Rector of Danbury (Essex) and Doctor of Divinity in 1572. Despite the trouble he had caused Burghley at Cambridge in 1565, he was obviously on good terms with the Lord Treasurer by 1582 when, on 19th November, he wrote from Danbury to thank Burghley for the friendship and favour he had shown to himself and other ministers of Essex in their late law suits. He also asks that those ministers who were indicted at the Assizes in Essex by occasion of a sermon of one Dr. Walker, the indictments having since been removed to the King's Bench, may have Burghley's word or letter to Her Majesty's Attorney to confess their indictments false, and that they may be discharged of the bonds of good bearing imposed upon several of them.²³ Such a letter argues great confidence in Burghley's friendship, a confidence which is revealed in a much longer letter to the Lord Treasurer, dated at Danbury on the 19th February 1583/84.²⁴ The letter was occasioned by Archbishop Whitgift's order of September 1583 that all ministers should subscribe (among other things) that the Book of Common Prayer contained nothing contrary to the Word of God.²⁵ The number of deprivations which resulted from this

23. H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.II, p.532.

24. Lansdowne Mss, vol.40, item 19. The letter has been accurately transcribed and printed, alone, without date, place, or name of editor. There are copies at the British Museum and the Bodleian Library, catalogued under Wither. Quotations here are from the printed version.

25. See W.H.Frere, The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I, pp.224-227.

even called forth a complaint from Burghley,²⁶ and Wither wrote against it in no uncertain terms:

the cheefe occasion of this mie letter ... is the present subscription to the booke of common praier nowe vrged. I doe thinke reuerentlie of the booke and of the authors thearof and yet notwithstandinge I thinke with Augustine, that it is a reuerence due onlie and alone to the canonicall bookes of scripture, to thinke that the authors of them in wrightinge of them erred in nothings, and to none other Bookes of men of what learninge or holinesse so euer. The thinges in the Booke which I wishe to be amended be of two sortes. The ffirst sutch as can not be defended. The seconde be sutch as though with faorable exposition thei may stande and remaine, yet geeue to the adversarie shrewde advantage aswell to confirme in Poperie them whom thei haue alreadie wonne as also to allure and entise others thearunto, besides some other inconveniences.

He goes on to analyse these two types of fault, citing among the former baptism by women and private communion; his objection to the second group of faults is that they give to the Papists the opportunity to claim that their doctrines are upheld by the English Church. But Wither's main attack on Whitgift's injunctions derives from the results which they have produced:

thei that omitte the cheife dueties of good ministers laied vpon them both by lawe of God and man scape ffreelie vnpunished, the onlie sticking at trifles is seuearelie punished as though that onlie and alone weare disobedience.

Secondlie the maner of the punishment is sutch, as that the innocente people not offendinge are rather punished then the person ffaultie, ffor he, reteininge his charge is suspended ffrom exequing his office, which is all one, as yf a man beinge angrie with his shephearde fforbidde him to deale with his sheepe

26. Burghley's reaction to Whitgift's articles was mentioned in the Introduction; see above p.47.

and appointe none other, and so thei sterue in the ffolde afore thei be let fforth to pasture.

More remarkable than the contents of this letter however, is the outspoken confidence with which it is addressed to the Lord Treasurer. Wither explains his motives at the beginning:

You maye justlie maruell what toye hathe taken me in the hedde to troble you (who are so greatlie pressed with waight & multitude off the common affaires) with thease also our ecclesiasticall contentions. But the generall care of the churche which you haue euidently declared vnto the whole worlde, together with youre speciall good will towards my selfe which by good experience I haue ffounde, haue partlie encouraged me, but cheiflye the importunietie of some of my Bretherne sufferinge no repulse nor takinge anie naye, hath enforced me thus to passe my boundes, and to be to bolde with your Lordshippe in writinge thease ffeawe lines concerninge our church controuersies.

The dedication of the A.B.C. for Lay-men becomes more understandable when seen against this background of Burghley's help to Wither.²⁷ The epistle begins with a remarkable statement of the motives of dedicators in general and of Wither in particular:

It is an vsuall manner (right honourable) for all those that goe about to publish any work or writing of theirs, to dedicate it to some one or other, eyther to be a Testimony to the World of their mutuall loue and friendshippe, or else to witnesse their dutifulnesse or thankfulness for benefites receuyed, or else that vnder the protection, defence and fauour of authority, their works may the better passe, and be the

27. There are no such records of Mildmay's helping Wither, though as a favourer of the Puritans it is quite probable that he did so.

Safelier guarded and defended against all busie reprehenders. Wherefore I vnwilling to break the receiued custome, & looking amongst the Honourable, to whom for / benefites I am bound: As I confesse that amongst them I haue founde many and great welwillers, so you two, whome my estate hath compelled to trouble and vse moste, for your constant good will and continued fauour shewed and benefites bestowed, I am aboue all others most bounden and therefore as a thankfull remembrance haue dedicated this simple sily labour vnto your honors (sig.A2-A2^v).

The rest of the dedication is an explanation of the purpose of his work. He describes the labours of godly ministers in preaching, catechizing, and confounding the adversary, but asserts that none haue laboured to help man find salvation from the creatures and things about him. He declares that

Men, ignoraunt of the good Lessons which the Holy Ghoste giueth by them, for want of further and deeper consideration, are detayned vppon earth, and drowned in earthly thinges, and doe not possesse but are possessed of their possessions (sig.A3).

To supply this want his book was compiled:

I haue collected into the order of an Alphabet these fewe Lessons giuen by the spirite of God: Wherein, as I haue cheefly respected the benefite of the ruder sorte, so to accomodate my selfe vnto them, I haue endeouored with playnesse as much breuitye and shortnesse as I possibly could, and therein for the moste part, I haue deliuered the very wordes of the Holy Ghoste, worde for worde: And wheresoeuer I haue gone a little from them, yet there the very wordes giue manifest occasion of the collection. Which that it may of all men the better and with lesse payne bee seene and viewed, I haue in the Margent noted not onely euery Chapi-/ter but also euery verse whence I haue gathered the note set downe. If then any may be occasioned by meane hereof, by the sight and vsing of earthly blessings, to lift vp their minds to heauenly contemplation, and thank full consideration of the Power, Wisdom, and goodnesse of God; then haue I my desire, and that which I onely seeke for (sig.A3-A3^v).

After so interesting a preface, and the previous turbulence of its author's career, the book itself is something of a disappointment. It consists of 172 octavo pages in which words

from "Abundance" to "Yolkes" are considered. The order is not perfectly alphabetical, though almost so. Under each word scriptural references are given, and some sort of general lesson drawn. The quotation of a few examples will illustrate the nature of the work:

Cloutes. Foule, filthy, mattery and stinking cloutes, do liuely and aptly represent vnto vs our righteousnesse and goodnesse that is in vs [Margin: Esay.64.6] (Sig.C3^v).

Ditch. As a man that falleth into a deepe ditch besides the perrill of his fall is not able by him selfe to get out any more: So he that is entangled in loue with a Whoore, is no more able to vnwrap him selfe out of the snares wherewith she hath entangled him [Margin: Prou.23.27] (Sig.Di^v).

Silence. Silence in open places, is to be obserued of women, as a token of their dutifull subiiection where vnder God hath put them. Men also ought to be swift to heare, and slow to speake, for in much speaking, sinne cannot be wanting [Margin: I Cor.14.34. Iames 1.19] (sig.K7).

Wither's only other surviving publication, A View of the Marginal Notes of the Popish Testament (1580), was dedicated, perhaps a little unexpectedly after Wither's earlier attacks, dedication it becomes obvious that Wither's antipathy had been to Whitgift as an Archbishop rather than as a man. Explaining the motives for his dedication he writes of Whitgift's "loue, wherwith you haue imbraced me these thirtie yeeres and vpwards" and of his "learning and iudgement" and "power and authoritie, wherewith God hath indued you" (sig.A2). After this work (a lengthy refutation of the Catholic arguments in the commentary to the Rhemish New Testament) Wither disappears

from the literary scene. Nor is there any further evidence of his connection with Lord Burghley. He died, still as Rector of Danbury and Archdeacon of Colchester, in 1605.

Following this group of works based on the whole Bible, several which deal with certain parts of Scripture are to be considered. The writer of the first cannot be shown to have received anything like the close patronage from Burghley which George Wither enjoyed. Andrew Willet's De Vniuersali et Nouissima Iudaeorum Vocatione (1590)²⁸ is a detailed exposition and expansion of the following verses from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (Chapter 11, verses 25-27)F

For I would not have you ignorant, brethren, of this mystery, (lest you should be wise in your own conceits) that blindness in part has happened in Israel, until the fulness of the gentiles should come in./ And so all Israel should be saved, as it is written: There shall come out of Sion he that shall deliver, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob. / And this is to them my covenant: when I shall take away their sins.

Willet was not a man of Burghley's generation, as is indicated by the fact that this, his second work, was written only eight years before Burghley's death. Andrew Willet²⁹ (1562-1621) was born at Ely where his father was ^aprebendary He entered Cambridge in 1577, and enjoyed a brilliant career at the university. In 1585 (when his first work was published)

28. This is one of the books offered for sale in the 1687 catalogue of Burghley's library.

29. Biographical information on Willet is from J.F.Wilkinson's article in D.N.B.

he took orders and quickly achieved renown as a preacher. His learned study of the question of the salvation of the Jews is one of his comparatively few Latin works. Its dedication to the Lord Treasurer is probably explicable simply by Burghley's chancellorship of Willet's university. The first section of the epistle, after disclaiming any intention of doing so, does however elaborate a little on Willet's motives in dedicating his work as he has:

What impelled me, most honoured Sir, to inscribe these lububrations to your name, I deliberately pass over in silence, because that is the vulgar method of writing a preface which I would not willingly use in writing to your reverence, partly because the remembrance of your good deeds towards all scholars is greater and more pleasant to myself, than can be gathered up in a short address... But to avoid astonishing you, or incurring the just charge of adulation myself - from which I know myself to be free ... to avoid, I say, suspicion which I might incur because I ventured to invoke your honour on my writings when I was hardly known to you by sight, may your honour know that two causes have inspired me. I did not think I should pass over and neglect him upon whom our glorious English nation has long relied as wise preserver of its peace and strong defender of its religion - and may it long continue to enjoy - in whose praises the pens of all should be sharpened. Secondly, Cambridge University for many years has been linked to you by many benefits; under your protection and patronage our studies flourish, our wealth increases. (In this company I desire myself to be reckoned, even if in the last place.)³⁰

30. The original is as follows:

Quid me impulerit (Honoratissime Vir) vt tuo nomine has lucubrations meas inscriberem, silentio certo consilio praetereo, tum, quia vulgaris illa est praefandi ratio, qua lubens ad grauitatem tuam scribens, vti nollem, partim quod maior est meritorum tuorum in omnes studiosos, & iucundior apud me recordatio, quam quae possint breui oratiuncula perstringi, atque etiam quia hominis verecundi est, omnia vel assentandi suspicionem devitare, quae blando fortassis verborum praetextu pareretur. Sed ne tibi mirum videatur, aut ego adulationis crimen merito incurrerem, a quo tam longe me abesse scio, vt homo iam planus, & prensandi ignarus, & alijs videar, & meo iudicio sum: ne(inquam) suspicione non careat, quod tuum honorem scriptis meis interpellare perrexerim, cui vix notus de facie fuerim, mouerit dignitas tua rationem animū meum huc impulisse duplicem. Quo enim gens nostra Anglorum florentiss,

...continued

Apart from this, the dedication has little of interest. Its heading is remarkable in providing one of the very few occasions on which Burghley is given the title of Maecenas, the great patron of literature at the court of Augustus Caesar.³¹ The lengthy epistle otherwise consists of no more than a very full summary of the topic treated in the text, which, Willet believes, will whet the appetite of his readers, though in fact it leaves them wondering what else he can possibly find to say on the subject. In the middle of this long epistle he finds time to turn aside for a sharp attack on Popery:

There is indeed one great obstacle which delays and postpones the conversion of that race [the Jews]. As long as the tyranny of Antichrist ravages and despoils the church, imposing the yoke of ceremonies, straining and corrupting religion by differences of clothing, observance of days, prohibition of flesh, use of sacrifices and other Jewish and superstitious rites, what wonder is it if the Jews remain faithful to their own worship, when they see the streams of

continuation of footnote 30. haec & pacis suae conseruatore prudentiss. & religionis propugnatore fortiss. freta iam diu sit (frui & amplius vtinam possit) in cuius laudes omnium stylos & calamos acui & aptari oportuit, insalutatum a me praetereundum non censi. Cum porro tota studiosorum Academiae Cantabrigiens. Vniuersitas tibi multis beneficijs non paucos annos devinctiss. fuerit, sub cuius tutela & patrocinio, & florent studia nostra, & augentur res (in quo numero, me licet postremum, aliquo tamen in loco censeri gestio) (sig.Aij).

31. Willet addresses his work to "Illustrissimo viro, D.Guilielmo Cecilio, Domino de Burghley, Reginae Maiestati ab intimis consilijs, totius Angliae Thesaurario summo, Cantabrigiensis Academiae Cancellario dignissimo, & studiosorum omnium Maecenati optimo."

Christian profession, as falsely boasted by the Papists, deriving from Jewish sources.³²

The work itself is of no great length, occupying only eighty quarto pages, though these are very closely printed. It examines Jewish history from the age of the Prophets to Elizabethan England. Willet quotes every possible scriptural text suggesting the ultimate salvation of the Jewish people, and strengthens his evidence with the testimonies of early Christian Fathers and modern European reformers. The Jews were the first people of God, and will not, he believes, be repudiated. He likens them to the elder brother in the parable of the Prodigal Son. He asserts that at some indefinite future time they will be called to Christ.

As he had done in his epistle, Willet aims a few blows at Catholicism during the course of his treatise. This may be an indication of his future theological concerns, for he subsequently became an important anti-Catholic writer. There

32. The original reads as follows:

Vnum vero grande impedimentum est, quod istius gentis vocationem retardat & remoratur. Quamdiu enim Antichristiana tyrannis Ecclesiam vastet & populetur quae ceremoniarum imponens iugum, vestitus differentia, dierum discrimine, carniū prohibitionē, sacrificiorum vsu, & alijs ritibus Iudaicis & superstitiosis religionem commaculat & corrumpit: quid mirum est, si Iudaei suū adhuc addicti cultui pertinaces maneant, cum a suis fontibus, Christianae, qua falso Pontificij gloriantur, professionis rivulos diduci & deriuari intelligent (sig. A³).

is no record of his having further dealings with Burghley. In 1599 he became rector of Barley, Cambridgeshire, where he seems to have lived up to the Puritan ideal of the "godly pastor". Fuller writes of him as

A man of no little judgement and greater industry, not unhappy in controversies, but more happy in comments. [Willet's biblical commentaries far outnumber his controversial works], and one that had a large soul in a narrow estate. For his charge being great (may his children remember and practise their father's precepts) and means small, as more proportioned to his desires than his deserts; he was bountiful above his ability, and doubled what he gave by cheerful giving of it.³³

His literary output was formidable. It is recorded of him that he made it his practice to produce some biblical commentary or theological work every half year. His magnum opus was the Synopsis Papismi, that is a General View of Papistry, first published in 1592, and republished, with increasing additions and an accretion of superfluous dedications, on five occasions before 1634. The last edition has preliminary epistles to King Charles, Jesus Christ, King James and Queen Elizabeth (in that order), as well as separate dedications before many of the subdivisions of the text. Only one of these many epistles is of interest here, and that is the one to Sir Robert Cecil which precedes the third book of the first edition. Willet here writes of Burghley in similar terms to those he had used to the Lord Treasurer himself in 1590:

Both that general house (right honorable) which the Church of God doth beare to your worthie and honorable Father, for his sincere and sound affection to religion, and the dutifull reuerence which our vniuersitie of Cambridge, and generally the whole company of Students doth owe him as their singular good Patrone, haue moued and caused me at this time, to comend this last part of my worke to your Honor his sonne (sig.Kk8).

33. Church History of Britain, (Oxford, 1845), vol.5, p.502.

For thirty years after his dedication to Burghley, Willet studied diligently and wrote voluminously. As well as his literary work, he ministered to his parishioners in Barley and was also chaplain to Prince Henry. His dedicatees in this period include many members of the royal family and most of the English prelates. He died in 1621 following a fall from his horse,

It is at once apparent that Willet's dedication to Burghley was motivated by no more than the scholar's distant respect for the chancellor of his university. It recorded no gratitude and apparently produced no favours. This is not true of the next biblical study to be dedicated to the Lord Treasurer, A treatise of Melchisedek (1591), by Hugh Broughton. Broughton, another Cambridge man, was one of the most extraordinary theologians of his age. Born in Shropshire of Welsh descent, in 1549,³⁴ Broughton went up to Cambridge in 1569. Here he acquired a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew unrivalled in his generation. This combined with his mastery of Latin and his later accomplishments in Chaldee and even in Aramaic to make him one of the most formidable biblical scholars of his own or any other age. At Cambridge he received the patronage of the Earl of Huntingdon and Sir Walter Mildmay, and made his name as a lecturer in Greek. Broughton's first recorded contact with Burghley was in 1579 when he was deprived of his fellowship at Christ's College after

34. Biographical information on Broughton is from Alexander Gordon's article in D.N.B. Other sources are separately noted.

accepting a prebendary at Durham. On 15th March 1579/80 Broughton wrote to Burghley complaining of his unjust deprivation, and seeking the Chancellor's help in his cause.³⁵ As a result of this appeal Burghley ordered Dr. Hawford, the master of Christ's, to reinstate Broughton. This was duly carried out, much against Hawford's will, though it seems that Broughton did not again return to Cambridge. There is no record of further contact between him and the Lord Treasurer before 1590, by which time Broughton was in London, enjoying a high reputation as a preacher of rather Puritan sympathies. About 1588-89 his first book was published under the title A Conccent of Scripture. He presented a copy to the Queen on 17th November 1589. The work set the pattern for many of Broughton's later treatises: by a minutely scholarly investigation of the biblical evidence, a comparison of sources, and an amazing grasp of his material, Broughton attempted to settle the highly complicated question of scriptural chronology, asserting that this could, by a proper use of the evidence, be harmonised into a unified and comprehensive pattern. The work was attacked both in Oxford and Cambridge, and in self-defence Broughton began lectures on the subject in St. Paul's. These lectures however were soon discovered by the Bishop of London to be "dangerous conventicles", and Broughton, who seems to have been in some fear of the High Commission, therefore went to Germany early in 1590. On 9th April of that

35. Lansdowne Mss., vol.29, item 49. The letter is in Latin.

year a Mr. Peter Osborne wrote to Burghley with a request that Broughton might have the Queen's commendatory letters to gain his access to foreign libraries.³⁶ By September Broughton was back in England, and on the 24th of that month he wrote to Burghley in Greek pointing out that he had made a previous application for the Queen's letters authorizing him to leave the realm. He records that he was referred to Secretary Walsingham, but in the end was forced to leave without the letters. He has, he writes, spent some time in Germany increasing his Hebrew knowledge, but his lack of the necessary letters made his position impossible, and he has therefore returned to seek the requisite letters once and for all. In his earnest request to Burghley he asserts his faithful ministry of fifteen years' duration, always without the reward of an adequate living to support his studies.³⁷ In March of the following year Broughton again addressed Burghley in Greek, with a similar request for the Queen's letters authorizing him to travel, and in particular, to gain admission to Duke Casimir's library.³⁸

Probably soon after this letter (written on 27th March) Broughton addressed the Lord Treasurer for the only time in print. The dedicatory epistle to A Treatise of Melchisedek is a lengthy piece which, after a preliminary statement of the purpose of the book, describes in great detail a three hour conversation which Burghley accorded to Broughton when "Five yeeres ago your L.

36. Lansdowne Mss., vol.64, item 33.

37. H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.4, pp.63-64.

38. Lansdowne Mss., vol.68, item 27.

requested me to repair to the Court, concerning the Graeke translation of the Hebrew Propetes" (sig.*3). Broughton's account of the discussion reveals a remarkable depth of scholarship in both participants. There are long passages in which the meaning of Greek words is balanced against their Hebrew equivalents, as well as other indications of immense learning. The epistle ends with a more comprehensible section which may be quoted to show the tenour of what has gone before and also to explain Broughton's motives in dedicating his work to Burghley:

Vpon mention of Daniel, your L. requested an opening of the whole Booke, and examined the particularers: what tymes or yeeres it conteyned, what Empires; and how the Image legges, which were to be made dust, before the Stone was made a Mountayne, might not be taken for the Romans. For so we shoulde conclude with/ Iewes, that Christ is not yet come: as also by the fourth Beast: yf we made it the Romanes. And for the golden text of Daniels Seauens, your L. had read some that I then had not, of great accompt. It woulde be too long to runne now through all. I coulde not faster runne then through any part of myne owne studies, then you pursued in demaundes for the chiefe matter. Your shortnesse in propounding questions, readinesse in conceyuing a full answer, diligence in trying Scriptures, dexteritie in replying vpon colour of doubt, quicknesse in trying what confidence I had in myne assertions: and lastly, singuler gentlenes of encouraging my studies, with entreatie to repaire often to you: these partes do assure me of a Iudge fitte for wyll and skylle. Wherefore I willingly reuiue the memory of your Lordshyps spech: to liue through all memory: and to ende as I began: to your Lordshyppes protection I commit this Treatise, to finde intertaynement: but so farre as trueth shall be seene to require (sig.*3^v - *4).

The treatise is, as one might expect, a learned work, attempting to prove, as its title-page proclaims, Melchisedek

to be Sem, The father of all the sonnes of Heber, the fyrst king, and all kinges glory: by the generall consent of his owne sonnes, by the continuall iudgement of ages, and by plentifull argumentes of scripture. Heb.7.4. Now consider how great HE is.

At the beginning of his epistle to Burghley Broughton outlines the purpose and importance of his subject:

The heauenly sayinges of Moses ... concerning Melchisedek Gen.14 and the commaundement of considering howe great the party is Heb.7. can not well take place in our hartes, vnlesse the person be knowen: that all spoken of hym may be taken in due sense. For eyther we shall clymbe three steppes too hygh with Melchisedekians, Hierex, or yet Origen, who make hym more then a mortall wight: or we shall fall too low, with the common Greekes, who make him eyther a Chanaanite, or leaue him to be an obscure man. But when we find out certaynely who the person is, then we may safely examine all that is spoken of hym (sig.*2).

He puts forward the assertion that "Sem the father of all the sonnes of Heber, must needes be the man" (sig.*2^v). The treatise is his appempt to show this common identity of Melchisedek and Sem. A lengthy analysis of Broughton's arguments in support of his theory would be extremely tedious. What is interesting is the attitude which underlies the theories: the author asserts the perfection of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and bases much of his argument on complicated calculations (often expressed in charts) deriving from the ages of men whose years are expressed in hundreds. Having demonstrated to his own satisfaction the truth of his theory, Broughton points out how important a figure Melchisedek thus becomes - he is a direct verbal link from Adam to the post-deluvian period.

One can imagine Burghley being flattered by Broughton's epistle, but it is difficult to envisage him with enough leisure to do justice to the arguments of the main body of the work. The stand which Broughton made here (and in his earlier Concent) on the absolute incorruptness of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and the Greek of the New, is fundamental to much of his later work. Soon after the publication of this Treatise Broughton returned to Germany, this time, perhaps, with the necessary commendatory letters. He spent much of the remainder of his life abroad. In 1593 he wrote to Burghley about his plans for a new translation of the Bible, seeking his support in the project:

And yo^r Lordship I held one of the worthiest to be a contributor to the maintenance of some six of vs, the longest studentes in the tongues.

The aims of the translation would be to correct errors in previous versions, amend any obscurities, but leave untouched that which was satisfactory. Maps, charts and notes would also be provided. The letter ends "To this, yf if please yo^r Lordship to be a ready helper, yo^r example will stir others."³⁹

In 1595 it appears that Broughton was back in London. On 16th May he addressed the following letter to Burghley:

My duty remembred to yo^rh. I haue two petitiones to yo^r L. but such as neither, I trowe nede greatly to troble you. I haue bene requested by others for my self to make motion for the Archbyshoprick of Tomon ... in Ireland. By reason that

39. Lansdowne Mss, vol.75, item 4.

Broughton's hopes of preferment were not however fulfilled, despite the fact that even Sir Walter Raleigh tried to help him.⁴² The reason for Broughton's failure to advance his fortunes in the English Church is not difficult to discover: at some stage in his career he incurred the enmity of Archbishop Whitgift, and also apparently of the Queen herself. The reason for Whitgift's hostility may be partly explicable on theological grounds, but Fuller's description of Broughton probably gives a more convincing explanation on the human level:

Broughton ... so famous for his skill in Hebrew; a great ornament of the university, and who had been greater, had the heat of his brain and the peremptoriness of his judgement been tempered with more moderation; being ready to quarrel with any ⁴³ who did not presently and perfectly embrace his opinions.

The theological explanation is based on Broughton's extraordinary views on the clause in the Creed about Christ's descent into hell.

M.M. Knappen has summarized his views on the subject:

42. In a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, dated 3rd May 1596 from Ireland Raleigh writes: "I desire you will be a mean to prefer unto the bishopric of Lismore and Waterford my very good friend Mr. Hugh Broughton, a man well known to his Grace of Canterbury, my Lord Treasurer, and all learned doctors and scholars of England, beseeching you to have conference with my cousin Goring about the same, wherein Mr. Broughton is able to do much good and be a great comfort to all our English nation thereabouts, and increase of religion." (H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.6, pp.166-7.)

43. Worthies of England, ed. Freeman, p.693.

The choleric Hebraist Hugh Broughton ... joined the fray [concerning Christ's descent into hell] in 1594, with the ingenious suggestion that in this passage "hell" was to be taken to include the entire future world, and so he made the phrase refer to Christ's going into Paradise. The theory received no great support, but added to the confusion, and soon there were half-a-dozen different interpretations of these words.⁴⁴

"Choleric Hebraist" seems a remarkably apt caricature of this scholar.

Whatever the reason for the antipathy of Whitgift it seems that around 1596 it forced Broughton to leave England again, at least until after the death of Queen Elizabeth. In a long letter without date or place which was almost certainly written about this time⁴⁵ Broughton describes in detail exactly what occurred between himself and Whitgift before his leaving England. Broughton's attempt at rational self-justification does not hide his underlying anger and indignation towards the Archbishop, who had failed to help or even enthuse about his proposed new translation of the Bible.⁴⁶ It is clear from the letter that Broughton was called before the High Commission, where, as he tells Burghley, "Dr. Bancroft did scoffe my studies." A large proportion of his anger is quite obviously due to a scholar's injured pride. After his appearance before the High Commission it appears that Broughton was pleased to be able to

44. Tudor Puritanism (1939), p.371.

45. Lansdowne Mss, vol.107, item 30.

46. Broughton must have discovered Whitgift's lack of enthusiasm for the new translation after 18th June 1595, since in the letter to Burghley of that date (see above p.154) he mentions his intention of dedicating the whole work to the Archbishop.

leave the country. He would, he writes, "rather liue out of the Realm then vnder hym [Whitgift]." He is somewhat consoled by the fact that he has heard that "in mine absence yo^r Lp. doth defend me. so this 20 yeres I found yo^r Lp. of an other spirit then his g. [race] ". Broughton ends with the hope that Burghley will realize the justness of his cause, and see that Whitgift receives a copy of the letter.

On 14th April 1597 Broughton wrote again to the Lord Treasurer. The letter, dated at Leyden, makes it clear that Burghley had responded to his correspondent's earlier request:

My duty remembred to your Lp. I receaued letters from England, w^{ch} tell me that the copy of a letter I wrote to yo^r Lp. touchynge iniuries by my L. of Canterbury, were deliuered vnto his g. with an other w^{ch} I wrote vnto him selfe: and that his g. is very desirous of agreement and reconciliatiō, as I gladly wold haue wth him and all men.

The letter continues with an account of Broughton's quarrel with Andrewes over the meaning of Hades, and ends with Broughton's claiming that his treatment in England has been savagely ungrateful.

The last of Broughton's surviving letters to Burghley is a wildly outspoken complaint against Whitgift. The prospect of his being reconciled with the Archbishop (mentioned in the last letter) did not, apparently, last for very long. Broughton writes:

I pray yo^r Lp. to aduise him [Whitgift] to take hede lest he bringe the realme to eternall shame.

He speaks of "his graces graceless vngratefulnes toward my studies". Whitgift is accused of forgetting "lerninge, humanity and comō witte." The end of the letter is almost hysterical; Broughton threatens to see that every country in Europe gets a Bible translation "by a linguist" before England, and ends praying Burghley to

cōsider my spite to all o^r gentry well ... I wish his g. had some good⁴⁸ advise. I may not giue him leaue to destroy all o^r religion.

After Burghley's death Broughton continued his career of quarrelsome scholarship. With the accession of King James he had high hopes of taking part in the new version of the Bible. But his name was not included in the list of translators, and, bitterly disappointed, he later attacked the translation with ferocity. The long list of his works published between 1600 and 1612 is an extraordinary mixture of biblical scholarship, and the most vicious attacks on members of the English ecclesiastical hierarchy. Two of his letters from this last period of his life are of interest here. One, written to Whitgift from Hanaw on 18th August 1602 accuses the Archbishop of continually blacking any preferment proposed for Broughton. He declares Whitgift to be "past hope of all colour of defence."⁴⁹ The other, written from Middelburgh on 1st November 1604, is addressed to Sir Robert Cecil. It begins with the following

48. Lansdowne Mss., vol. 85, item 13.

49. H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol. 12, p. 306.

significant statement:

When my Lord your father was desirous that I should have been Bishop of London, John Cant, picked a quarrel for Hell.⁵⁰

Not until 1611 did Broughton finally return to England. The following year he died of consumption in London, unable to reach his native Shropshire. The long record of his confidence in Burghley's aid is a clear indication of the extent to which he enjoyed the patronage of the Lord Treasurer. There can be no doubt of Broughton's remarkable accomplishments as a scholar. Perhaps in admiring them, Burghley was able to overlook the "choleric Hebraism" which so many found insufferable.

The last two books in this group of exegetical works are translations from continental sources. The first to be considered, A Godly and Learned Exposition vppon the Prouerbes of Solomon; Written in French by Maister Michael Cope, was printed in 1580. The translator of the work, one Marcelline Outred, is a completely obscure figure. According to modern convention, "Marcelline" ought to be the name of a woman, though in the seventeenth century Anthony Wood was able to refer to Outred's translating this work "for the benefit of his countrymen".⁵¹ Whatever Outred's sex however, the name does not appear in any of the standard biographical sources for the

50. H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.16, p.344.

51. Athanae Oxoniens@s, ed. Bliss, vol.I, col.192.

Elizabethan period.⁵²

Of the original writer of the Exposition a little more is known.⁵³ Cope was in fact an Englishman who fled abroad in the reign of Mary. He achieved a reputation as a preacher in French in Geneva, where in 1557 he published an Exposition of Ecclesiastes. The original French of his work on the Proverbs is not available at the British Museum, the Bodleian Library or the Bibliothèque Nationale. However, a clue to its date is given by the fact that in 1564 Luke Harrison received a licence to print "An Exposition upon the fyrste chap. of ye proverbis of Salomon by Mygshell Cope". It may be that the work was in process of composition or translation at this time. In 1580 George Bishop was the printer of the Exposition of the whole book of Proverbs.

Outred's dedication to Burghley is concerned mainly with extolling the beauty and comprehensiveness of the Proverbs - "for therein shal euerie man finde, from the highest to the lowest, his duetie prescribed most notably" (sig.*ij) - and

52. There is no record of any person with the name of Marcelline Outred (under any spelling) at Cambridge, Oxford or the Inns-of-Court. Neither does the name appear in the catalogues of the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, or the Bibliothèque Nationale, except in connection with the work under consideration. It may be that the translator was related to the Thomas Oughtread who was fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge in 1534 (Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses). There was an Oughtread family in Buckinghamshire, but consultation of histories of that county gives no further information as to the identity of Marcelline.

53. The information is from William Hunt's article in D.N.B.

the virtue of Cope's work upon them. One passage however concerns Burghley more directly:

I thought it vnmeete, that so sweete a nourishment [Cope's work] should be withholden from my countryemen: & therefore haue bin bold vnder your honors protection to communicate it as well as I coulde for their profite and commoditie, which I am bolde the rather to dedicate to your honour, because you liue those that liue to others because you are a Patron, & so haue shewed your selfe of al honest labors, who albeit you vnderstande the tongue, yet are you glad to haue it made known vnto others. These things considered, & for that also I haue receiued benefit heretofore at your honors hands, I thought it my bounden duetie, to dedicate the translation of this Comentarie vpon the Prouerbes of the wise King Solomō to your honor (sig.*ij^v).

This formality of address to Burghley is repeated at the end of the epistle:

most humblie beseeching your honour to take in good part this my rude labour & bold enterprise, the which if it shal please your honour of your accustomed clemencie to doe, you shal not onely incourage me to greater thinges, but also shew your selfe a comfort to al the godly (sig.*ij^v).

Whether or not Burghley did receive Outred's work "in good part" is not recorded; but this seems to have been the translator's only literary effort; not does it appear that Outred had any further dealings with the Lord Treasurer. This is presumably another of those dedications inspired rather by the eminence of Burghley's position than by motives of personal gratitude.

A Godly and Learned Exposition vpon the Prouerbes is a vast work of 1280 quarto pages. Even the alphabetical table, the work of Alexander Fleming, later to be editor of Holinshed, occupies eighty pages. Every verse of the thirty-one chapters of the Proverbs is discussed at great length and with minute

care. From a strongly Protestant standpoint, Cope expounds the meaning of, and the lessons to be drawn from, the Proverbs. Addressing Burghley, Outred writes that Cope, "painfully traueiling in the Prouerbes of Solomon, did not onely read them for his owne delight, but also sucked out of euerie flower of the same Garden, moste sweete honie" (sig.*ij^v). The process was so thorough that one cannot help feeling that the Proverbs were sucked dry.

The second of these two translations is a work of similar scope, length and treatment to the above, though the translator is by no means so obscure a figure as Outred. Arthur Golding's translation of the Sermons of M. Iohn Caluine vpon the Epistle of Saincte Paule to the Galathians was dedicated to Burghley in 1574. Arthur Golding (1536-1605)⁵⁴ was educated at Cambridge where he entered in 1552, at a time when the university had a strongly reformist complexion. He was resident in London during his early twenties, and may then have been studying at one of the Inns-of-Court. He was one of the most important of Elizabethan translators, and his work must have been well known to Cecil, who was dedicatee of four of his translations. Only one of these is religious. But as uncle to the young Earl of Oxford,⁵⁵

54. Biographical information on Golding, except where otherwise noted, is from L.T. Golding, An Elizabethan Puritan. Arthur Golding (1937).

55. Golding's half-sister Margery had married John de Vere in 1548. Edward de Vere, later seventeenth Earl of Oxford, was born in 1550. The Golding and Vere families were close neighbours in Essex, and it is likely that Arthur Golding received his early education in the Vere household.

who after the death of his father became a royal ward, Golding was in even closer contact with Cecil. John de Vere died in 1562, and his twelve year old son entered the household of Secretary Cecil, also Master of the Court of Wards. With him moved Arthur Golding, appointed 'receiver' for the young Earl during his minority. The appointment was undoubtedly Cecil's and is explained by L.T. Golding on the basis of the Principal Secretary's acquaintance with Golding during the latter's residence in London around 1561. The responsibilities of a receiver were considerable, particularly so for estates so enormous as those of the Veres, and Cecil's appointment of Golding argues great confidence in the young scholar's ability. Cecil also left Golding the responsibility of defending the Veres from an attack on their legitimacy by their half-sister the Lady Windsor. (This began in 1563, but was quickly smothered without legal proceedings, mainly through Golding's tactful efforts.)

Golding's first work, the translation A briefe treatise concerning the burnynge of Bucer and Phagius (1562) appeared without a dedication. It was followed the next year by The historie of Leonard Aretine. concerning the warres betwene the Imperiales and the Gothes, with a dedication to Sir William Cecil. In his epistle Golding suggests that it was no great decision to choose a patron for his work:

to whō rather ought it to present it selfe then to hym vnder /
whose rooffe it hath beene harbroughed and fostered frō infancie
(sig. aii^v - aiii).

The epistle is dated at Cecil House in the Strand, 2nd April 1563, and comes "partly in cōsyderation of my dutye, but more vppon confydence of your clemencye" (sig.Aiii).

For many years after this Golding produced translations of religious and classical works. The list of his dedicatees includes many of the more important nobles of his age: Cecil; Leicester; Edward de Vere; Sir Francis Russell; Sir Walter Mildmay; Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon; Sir Christopher Hatton; Sir Thomas Bromley; and William Brooke, Lord Cobham. His works divide fairly evenly into two groups: the first consists mainly of translations from the classics, including Caesar's Commentaries, Ovid's Metamorphoses (four books in 1565 and the complete work in 1567, both with dedications to the Earl of Leicester), and Seneca's Benefiting; the second of translations from European reformers, especially French, including six lengthy translations from Calvin, and two from Beza. There are a few miscellaneous translations which do not fit into these two groups, and also two topical original works, A briefe discourse of the late murther of master George Sanders (1573), and A discourse vpon the Earthquake that happened throughe this Realme of Englande, and other places of Christendom, the sixt of April, 1580 (1580).

Golding lived at Cecil House until just after the departure of his nephew to Cambridge in 1563. (Golding probably left early in 1565.) During his residence there the second of the

books he dedicated to Cecil was prepared in rather interesting circumstances. It appears from the dedication to this work, The Euyght bookes of Caius Iulius Caesar conteyning his martiall exploitcs in the Realme of Gallia (1565, reprinted with the same dedication in 1590), that Cecil was taking an active interest in Golding's efforts as a translator. Golding records that he received from Cecil a manuscript translation by one Master Brend of the first five books of the Commentaries, with the suggestion that it would be worthwhile to complete the work. (In fact Golding claims that he has re-translated the whole.) The dedication reveals a certain confidence in Cecil's good will:

The whiche my doinges I submit vnder your fauourable protection: not doubting but that youre Honour of your accustomed goodnesse and gentlenesse towards me, will patiently beare with myne errours where any happen, and so regarde my paynfull trauell, as that my boldnesse maye no whit offend you (sig.*3^v).

It was after his departure from Cecil House that Golding's series of religious translations began to appear. Their mere bulk is astounding, some of the translations from Calvin occupying more than a thousand pages. The first, John Caluin his Treatise concerning offences, was printed in 1567, and during the next ten years a spate of religious translations by Golding appeared. In 1571 he dedicated The Psalmes of David and Others. With I. Caluins Commentaries to the Earl of Oxford urging him to virtue and good behaviour, and to a firm Protestant faith. The warning was timely but unheeded - Oxford soon afterwards became a Catholic, though he did not long remain one.

It is interesting that one of Golding's strongest arguments to his nephew is the example of the Earl's guardian and father-in-law. He expresses the hope that Oxford will not only be virtuous himself, but also the cause of virtue in others, and adds:

To the furtherance whereof, God hath by householde allyance lincked vnto your Lordship a long experienced Nestor: whose counsaile and footsteps if you folowe, no doubt but you shalbee bothe happie 'n your selfe and singularly profitable to your common welth (sig.*v).

Seven years after the publication of his first religious translation, and nine years after his previous dedication to Cecil, Golding prefixed the translation of the Sermons of M. John Caluine vpon . . . Galathians with an epistle to the recently appointed Lord Treasurer. The epistle, dated 14th November 1574, is long, though much of its length is taken up with a recitation of the virtues of Calvin's work. It is the first section of the dedication which is of interest here. Golding begins with an outright statement of his indebtedness to Burghley, very different from the stylized flattery of many Elizabethan dedications:

Your lordships great goodnesse diuerse times shewed towards mee, abiding still fresh in my remembrance, to my no small comfort, calleth vpo me continually to shew some token of thankfulnessse for the same. For needs I must confesse that it hath vttered it selfe many and sundrie wayes, and that, (if I may with your Lordships good leaue say as I think,) not without a certaine freendly or fatherly care of my weldoing (sig.*ij).

It appears that the most recent of Burghley's kindnesses to Golding had been in a law suit which had proved long and

difficult.⁵⁶ Golding writes that Burghley's

iust fauour (I meene in respect of the iust case, and not of any desert of mine) procuring mee credit and helpe to the furtherance of my matter, hath bin the very maintenance and safetie of my right, which else had ben troden vnder foote by the ouermightinesse of mine aduersaries (sig.*ij).

A little later Golding is more explicit about the results of Burghley's aid:

about the first enterance of your honour into the office of high Treasurer, it was by consent of the court put in cōpromise to such persones as both parties are very well contented with. By meanes wherof being discharged of my former continuall cares, trauels, expenses and troubles, I had the freer libertie to followe this mine accustomed exercize of translating, which mee thought was too mee a singular benefite (sig.*ij^v).

This dedication, Golding explains, is to show his gratitude to the Lord Treasurer; he has therefore prepared a gift which he hopes will fulfil the standards set by Seneca for "the thing which is done or bestowed too vtter thankfulnessse withall", namely that it should be "very good, very durable and very acceptable to the partie that is to receive it" (sig.*ij^v).

This is the cue for a long analysis of the work and its virtues. The biblical origin of these sermons, and the reputation of their preacher are the chief arguments leading to the final

56. The nature of the case, an Exchequer affair, is not made clear, though it seems likely that it related to one of the Golding properties in Essex, concerning which the translator was almost continually at law. In 1591 the debts which he incurred through legal expenses finally resulted in Golding's imprisonment.

assertion that "this worke (like as all other of the same authors) tendeth to the benefite of the Christen cōmon weale" (sig. *4^v). It is for this reason, writes Golding, that he doubted not that it should be the better accepted of your honour, whose whole care and trauel is cōtinually employed to the welfare of this Realme, through the maintenance of sound Religion and the conseruation of publike tranquillitie (sig. *4^v).

The text of this enormous work consists of fifty-three sermons, each of which expounds three or four verses from the six chapters of the Epistle to the Galatians. The sermons are notable chiefly for their powerful exposition of the doctrine of Justification by Faith. Unlike Golding's translation of Calvin's sermons on Job, which, though equally long, enjoyed four editions after the first of 1574, these sermons on Galatians were not reprinted.

After 1574 there is an eleven year gap before the fourth and last of Golding's dedications to Cecil. During this period Golding was permanently occupied with legal battles over his lands in Essex, many of them left to him by the death of his brother in 1575. He found himself almost always on the losing side in these law suits, and lost a great deal of money through them. His literary output declined rapidly, though rather more in the bulk than in the number of his publications. There is one other record of Cecil's coming to his assistance. On 25th June 1583, Golding's friend and creditor Henry Gardiner wrote to Burghley in Latin seeking his aid in an attempt to

relieve the Golding property of its inherited debt to the Crown.⁵⁷ Burghley obviously responded quickly to this appeal, for on the 5th July following Gardiner wrote again to him, on this occasion in terms of rapturous gratitude:

I cannot yet in truth discover with what words I am to thank your honour or just what kind of speech I am to use. And yet I confess that I am not so lacking in words nor altogether destitute of the faculty of speech, though nevertheless no word occurs to me, which either is equal to your divine merits towards me or seems to attain to the least part of your merits.

The letter concludes with a remark suggesting Burghley's acquaintance with the effusiveness of his correspondent:

Since your honour bade me be brief, the rest, my good friend Golding will tell, speaking face to face.⁵⁸

It is remarkable that no letters from Golding to Burghley survive (except of course the printed epistles). Perhaps, as in this case, Golding was in the habit of addressing the Lord Treasurer in person rather than in writing.

Golding's last epistle to Burghley was written on the 6th February 1584/5. The book which it offered to the Lord Treasurer is entitled The worke of Pomponius Mela the Cosmographer, concerninge the Situation of the World (1585).

Golding's tone seems to be less certain than in his earlier

57. The letter is in Lansdowne Mss, vol.39, item 25. The question of Golding's lands and the legal difficulties they brought him, is a complicated one beyond the scope of this study. The history of his struggles is given in the biography by L.T. Golding, chapters VI to VII, pp.71-112.

58. The original letter (in Latin) is in Lansdowne Mss, vol.39, item 26. The above quotations are from L.T. Golding, pp.87-88.

dedications to Burghley. He certainly has much less to say, though he pays a pleasant enough tribute to Burghley's patronage of literature when he asks that

it may please your good Lordshippe (according to your accustomed good wyll towardses such as any way indeuour, eyther to further others or to profit themselues, in the knowledge of lyberall Artes) to permitte thys my trauell to shroude it selfe vnder the shadow of your protectyon (sig.*1).

This dedication failed to produce the aid in an Exchequer case which it may have been designed to win.⁵⁹ Within six years Golding was in gaol for debts incurred in his legal battles, though he was released after a little over a year through the good offices of William Brooke, Lord Cobham. Golding's losses at law, however, continued unabated, and though he avoided further imprisonment, he was deeply in debt at his death in May 1606. There is no record of Burghley's aiding him again in this period, or indeed of any contact between them.

Burghley's connection with Golding, a man curiously combining Puritan religious zeal with classical scholarship, was probably as close as with any of the writers from whom he received dedications. Their relationship is a good example of the mutual profit which could ensue from the successful working of the patronage system; on the one hand it gave Golding the

59. The suggestion is made by L.T. Golding (p.132) as a way of explaining the unaccustomed flattery of Golding's address to Burghley.

obvious benefits of Burghley's assistance in his law suits; on the other hand it gave Burghley the prestige resulting from the elegant epistles prefixed to four important and weighty books.

From a collection of the sermons of the most important of continental Protestant divines, the step is not great to the last of the groups of books to be considered in this chapter. The part played by the sermon in Elizabethan England has been frequently emphasized.⁶⁰ The sermon was a source of both entertainment and intellectual exercise to large numbers of people, and the pulpit could frequently be an important instrument of propaganda. This was particularly so in the case of the weekly sermons given at Paul's Cross. The most recent historian of the Paul's Cross sermons has described them as "always potentially and often in fact, the mouthpiece of the administration."⁶¹ Appointment of the preachers was in the hands of the Bishop of London, and in times of crisis there would always be advice and direction from the Privy Council. The Paul's Cross pulpit was in fact nothing less than "the popular voice of the Church of England in the most turbulent period of its history."⁶²

60. Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture, pp.269-292, for example has an account of the part played by sermons in Elizabethan life.

61. Millar Maclure, The Paul's Cross Sermons, 1534-1642 (1958), p.14.

62. Maclure, p.167.

dedication, of any contact between Garbrande and Burghley, and the editor's choice of dedicatees was undoubtedly dictated by the formal motive of linking Jewel's work with the names of the chancellors of both universities. The long epistle to Leicester and Burghley, which aims to demonstrate the virtues of Jewel and his work for the English Church, reveals Garbrande's motives quite clearly:

because euery where in these sermons hee [Jewel] commendeth the necessary vse of godly learning, and is an humble suter for patronage thereof; I can not but present them vnto your honours, our patrones, and fathers, & right honourable Chancelours of both the Vniuersities (sig.*iv).

The collection is of six substantial sermons, followed by a Treatise of the Sacraments with a separate verse dedication to Thomas Randolph, Ambassador in Scotland. The object of most of the sermons is described by Garbrande in his preface:

that all particular Churches may bee furnished with sufficient learned, and godly Ministers; and therefore that tender & due care be had, to encrease the number of them (sig.*iii^v).

He has chosen to publish them because of "the state of Gods Church amongst vs in these dayes" (sig.*iii), and believes that if only

the ministers be mindefull to perfourme their duetie; if the Lordes haruest be not neglected; if the defence for the Gospel finde vpright Iudges; if all that giue outward shew of zeale be in deede zealous, and worke the frutes of zeale; what hope may they of Iericho haue, that their cursed dwellings shall stand? (sig.*iv).

The mention of Jericho derives from the first and most powerful of the sermons, which describes the destruction of the Church of Rome as symbolized by the City of Jericho. To prevent the

restoration of Jericho, Jewel prescribes:

first, Maintenaunce of schooles and learning. Second, vnderstanding of the cause / that is that euey man may consider what hee hath left, and what he hath receyued. ... Thirdly, kindnes towards God, and thankfulness. Fourthly the discipline of the Church (sig.C6-C6^v).

The sermon ends with a fervent appeal for a learned and efficient ministry to preserve the newly-won Jerusalem. The other sermons are similar combinations of anti-Catholic propaganda and vigorous attack on the corruptions in the English Church. Appeals for reform are made to the Queen herself in those sermons preached before her.⁶⁴ The attacks on Rome are delivered sometimes violently but usually scornfully. The following is a typical comment:

These 900 yeeres, I say, since Gregory, the first of that name, it can hardly be found that euer any bishop of Rome was seene in a pulpit (sig.L3).

The attack on Rome was continued by John Bridges in a vigorous and colloquial Sermon preached at Pauls Cross on the Monday in Whitson weeke Anno Domini. 1571. The sermon was later augmented and printed⁶⁵ with a dedication to Burghley. The augmentations must have been considerable, since the printed sermon covers 182 pages, a length which would have far exceeded

64. It appears from internal evidence that two of the six sermons were preached at Paul's Cross, the other four "before the Queenes Maiestie". Garbrande gives no indication of the date or place of any of the sermons, and only one can be exactly dated: the sermon on the destruction of Jericho was preached at Paul's Cross on Queen's Day (17th November), 1567 (See Maclure, p.206).
65. No date of printing is given, but it was almost certainly before July 1572, since in the dedication-heading Burghley is not addressed as Lord Treasurer.

the maximum two hours' preaching time at the Cross.

John Bridges⁶⁶ was at this time a canon of Winchester. He had been educated at Cambridge, and was elected fellow of Pembroke Hall in 1556. The 1571 sermon was his first publication. Bridges' explanation of his motives in dedicating his work to Burghley gives no indication of any previous contact between them. But the reasons he gives for the dedication are unusually explicit:

I craue pardon, to attempte to dedicate so meane a treatise to your Lordship, but the reason that moued me herevnto was this: Where once before the Queenes Maiesties Court (her highnesse beeing then in progresse at Titchefield in Hampshire) an acquaintance of myne did preache somewhat aboute this argument of Iustification, your honour then being present, it pleased you so to accept the same, that ye desired eftsoones to heare at Southe Hampton somewhat more theron, which he to his abilitie (as the streight-/nesse of the time permitted) did performe. ... he priuily tolde me since, howe he more esteemed your iudgement, than if all Cambridge had giuen that verdicte on him. ...so with this zeale of your L. (whose censure I alwayes drad before) I was nowe so emboldened that I durste presume to clayme patronage of your honour to this my Pamphlet (sig.Aiii-Aiii^v).

His final appeal to Burghley addresses him as

a singular succourer and especiall setter forth of... truth and al good letters, ... a publike patrone therevnto, and euen a father to our moother and nourice of learning, the renoued vniuersitie of Cambridge, that now (God be praysed for it) flourisheth vnder your protectiō (sig.Aiii^v).

The remainder of Bridges's long epistle explains his aims in the sermon and his reasons for printing it. He makes the all-too-common assertion that his work has been published under

66. Biographical information is from Sidney Lee's article in D.N.B.

pressure from some of his hearers, and claims that he yielded to them only upon learning that

divers noters of it were inquired of their notes thereon, and that an extraction of their notes and sentences was collected, and so they would rawely set it out (sig.Aij^v).

He believes that those who urged him so vehemently to have the sermon printed, will not be so enthusiastic when they see it in print - its length has increased a good deal:

For where I had nothing then but certayne imperfect notes to directe my memorie, nor coude so well remember (many things passyng betweene) to followe the track of my selfe woorde for woorde as I spake it: I was contente to record it as I could, and so to furnish my former notes with further prouision, that I haue made nowe, I dare not say for shame a Sermon, but euen a volume thereon (sig.Aiii).

He hopes his readers will

when they are wearie, lay me aside a gods name, and make foure Sermons (if they please) of one: so may I perhaps not be irksome to them, where had I spoken in the pulpit as I haue written in the paper, I sholde haue ben a great deale more than tedious (sig.Aiii).

He follows this with a remark which might be held to imply that there is no objection to being tedious in a book:

But sithe that is allowable in a Booke, that is not sufferable in a Sermon, it made me the bolder somewhat the more to amplifie (sig.Aiii).

The idea expressed here obviously appealed to Bridges for the rest of his literary life.

Bridges's text in this sermon is from the third chapter of St. John's Gospel, the sixteenth verse: "For God so loved the world, as to give His only begotten Son; that whosoever believeth

in him, may not^h perish but have life everlasting." The text is used as the basis for a statement of the doctrine of Justification by Faith, and a violent attack on Catholicism, undoubtedly provoked by the Bull excommunicating Elizabeth, which had been published the previous year. "The world" is interpreted to mean only the elect; any other meaning is denied. Bridges describes as a huge error the interpretation of the text as a statement of the possibility of salvation for all who live according to its precepts:

This doctrine being a very plausible doctrine to the itching eares of manne, tickled wyth the pride and loue of his owne freedome and abilitie, was by and by so snatched vp for a iewel, that almost there was no part of Christendome that had it not, yea that was not so infected with sutche a spice of it, as neuer could be puld out since (sig.Eiii^v).

"Man", he asserts, "is not sauēd any whyt by works at all" (sig.Lii). Charity must wait on Faith, and not vice versa. The patriotic tone of the sermon, preached just after the meeting of a parliament which had enacted a good deal of anti-Catholic legislation, is revealed in an outburst of prayer that

she our louing prince & we her louing subiects, maugre al Gods, hers, and our enemies, may long time liue and loue in God together: Amen for Iesus sake. Amē (sig.Qii^v).

There is no evidence of further contact between Bridges and Burghley after the publication of this sermon, though after the Lord Treasurer's death Bridges was an occasional

correspondent of Sir Robert Cecil's.⁶⁷ In 1577 Bridges became Dean of Salisbury, and in 1604 Bishop of Oxford. He died in 1618. His published works are few, but very substantial. His later dedicatees include Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford (whom he thanks for giving him the means to spend three years of study on the continent), Queen Elizabeth, and King James. But it was Bridges's extraordinary belief that a writer could develop his ideas to almost any length, which finally secured his fame. In 1588 one Martin Marprelate demonstrated his fundamental disagreement with Bridges on this point, and subjected to merciless ridicule the 1409 pages of the Dean's Defence of the Government Established in the Church of Englande for Ecclesiastical Matters (1587). It was an unexpected and unwelcome, though not entirely unmerited way to ~~make~~ a reputation.

The fame of the last of the preachers in this chapter rests securely upon his own ability. Henry Smith (1560?-1591)⁶⁸, whose sermons were dedicated to Burghley in 1591 and 1592, was the most distinguished and most popular of Elizabethan preachers.

67. See H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.9, p.143; vol.10, p.143; and vol.12, p.109. In the last of these letters, dated 15th April 1602, Bridges thanks Sir Robert for securing him a benefice in Hereford.

68. The biographical material on Smith is from Thompson Cooper's article in D.N.B. except where other sources are noted. The article erroneously states that Smith was born about 1550. All other authorities (including Cooper himself in Athenae Cantabrigiensis), agree that Smith was born about 1560. The year of his admission to university is a clear indication of the correctness of the later date.



Henry Smith: the engraving in Nichols's History of Leicestershire (1795),
a copy of that which appears in the 1657 edition of Smith's sermons.

Smith was born in Leicestershire, the son of a wealthy landowner of that county, Erasmus Smith. The latter was later to marry Burghley's sister Margaret, widow of Roger Cave. Smith's career at Oxford, where he was admitted in 1576, was cut short by his father's unwillingness to allow him to remain long at the university. Smith then officiated for some time at his 'home' church of Husbands Bosworth, Leicestershire. He went on to preach with great success in London, and in 1587 was elected lecturer at St. Clement Danes. Burghley, whose London home was within this parish, aided his candidature, partly perhaps because of his rather distant family connection, but quite probably also through a genuine confidence in the young man's ability. This is suggested by a letter to Burghley from Richard Greenham, the celebrated Puritan vicar of Dry Drayton, Cambridgeshire, with whom Smith had at one time studied. The letter, written some time in 1587, mentions the unsuccessful efforts which both Greenham and the Lord Treasurer had made to secure the consent of Erasmus Smith to his son's continuing his studies at Oxford.⁶⁹

Smith's sermons at St. Clement's quickly won him enormous popularity. Thomas Nashe, writing in 1592, calls him "Siluer tongu'd Smith, whose well tun'd stile hath made / thy death the generall teares of the Muses". Nashe ends his 'Encomium' thus:

69. The letter is quoted (without source or date) by Strype, Aylmer, pp.100-101.

If a simple mans censure may be admitted to speake in such an open Theater of opinions, I neuer saw abundant reading better mixt with delight, or sentences which no man can challenge of prophane affectation sounding more melodious to the eare or piercing more deepe to the heart.⁷⁰

It seems likely that Nashe was the first to apply the phrase "silver-tongued" to Smith. Thomas Fuller later developed the idea:

he was commonly called the Silver-tongued preacher, being but one metal in price and purity below St. Chrysostom himself. His church was so crowded with auditors, that persons of good quality brought their own pews with them, I mean their legs, to stand thereupon in the alleys. Their ears did so attend to his lips, their hearts to their ears, that he held the rudder of their affections in his hands, so that he could steer them whither he was pleased; and he was⁷¹ pleased to steer them only to God's glory and their own good.

The extraordinary popularity of Smith's preaching led to the pirating of many of his sermons. Several of these were, according to the title-pages of pirated editions, "taken down by characterie". H.T.Price, in a careful study and comparison of the pirated and authentic versions of one of Smith's sermons, concludes that the pirated edition is indeed a short-hand version.⁷² Smith's success as a preacher was undoubtedly based on the plainness and vigour of his language. The heavy logic and tedious pedantry of many Elizabethan preachers are almost entirely absent from his strong and direct prose. The homely simplicity

70. Pierce Penilesse. His Supplication to the Diuell. In The Works of Thomas Nashe, ed. R.B.McKerrow, re-ed. F.P.Wilson (1958), vol.1, pp.192-193.

71. Fuller's Life of Smith, in Works Of Henry Smith, ed. Thomas Smith (1866), p.ix.

72. Henry Smith, A Fruitful Sermon upon part of the 5.chapter of the 1st Epistle of Saint Paul to the Thessalonians, ed. H.T. Price (1922). Price's conclusions are obviously relevant to the problem of Shakespeare's 'bad' quartos.

of his language is revealed in such a passage as the following from the sermon entitled "A Preparatiue to Marriage":

If thou bee learned, chuse one that loueth knowledge; if thou be martial, chuse one that loueth prowes; if thou must liue by thy labor, chuse one that loueth husbandrie: for vnlesse her mind stand with thy ⁷³ vocation, thou shalt / neither enjoy thy wife nor thy calling.

In the same sermon he declares that "If a man long for a bad wife, he were best to go to hell a wooing that he may haue choise" (sig.C8^v). A little later he blames "frisled locks, nacked breasts, painting, perfume & speciallie a rolling eye" (sig.Eiiiij), for the recent increase of adultery. Perhaps the height (or depth) of simplicity is reached in the sermon entitled "A Treatise of the Lords Supper":

Euerie one which receiueth this sacrament, shall feele himselfe better after it, like the Apostles: or ~~like~~ he shall find himself worse after it, like Iudas. Hereby you shall know whether ye haue receiued like the Apostles, or like Iudas (sig.L7).

Though he was apparently not connected with the extreme Puritans in the Presbyterian movement, Smith's preaching was undoubtedly of a strong Puritan tone. He was certainly dissatisfied with the state of the Church of England, and his sermons contain frequent references to its corruption. In the "True Trial of the Spirites" he makes the following attack:

If we bee not of Antichrists religion, yet we are of Antichrists fashion, so long as we haue the same vestures, & the same orders, and the same titles that Antichrist knoweth his ministers by (sig.X8).

73. This (and other quotations from Smith's sermons) are from the complete edition of 1593 (STC 22719), sig.C3-C3^v).

It is hardly surprising therefore, that in 1588 Smith was deprived by Bishop Aylmer, charged with having no preaching licence, with having spoken against the Book of Common Prayer, and with not subscribing to the articles of the Church of England. Though it bears no heading to suggest for whom it was intended, Smith's vindication of himself is now among the Burghley Papers, and was almost certainly prepared for the Lord Treasurer. The document⁷⁴ is meticulously written and most carefully set out. The "reasons objected and alledged" against Smith are first given, followed by his answers to them. In answer to the charge of not holding a preaching licence, Smith asserts that Aylmer himself had called him to preach at Paul's Cross without questioning his licence to do so. The second charge is simply denied, and in answer to the third Smith claims that he does not refuse "to subscribe to any Article which the lawe of the realme doth require of men of my callinge." Smith's parishioners also applied to Burghley on their preacher's behalf; the Lord Treasurer interposed with Aylmer, and Smith was restored to his ministry. This may have been the only occasion on which Burghley helped Smith out of trouble, though Fuller suggests that there were others:

William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and Treasurer of England, to whom he [Smith] dedicated his Sermons, very favourably reflected upon him; and he was often the screen who saved Mr. Smith from the scorching, interposing his greatness betwixt him and the anger

74. Lansdowne Mss., vol.61, item 26.

of some episcopal officers. And it is argument enough to prove the eminency of Mr. Smith, that so great a statesman as this Lord Treasurer set a character of his peculiar respect upon him.⁷⁵

In 1589, during the last illness of William Howard, rector of St. Clement's, the parishioners petitioned Burghley that Smith might be appointed to the benefice. In view of the extent to which the Lord Treasurer had already helped Smith, it is unlikely that he refused their request, and the fact that one Richard Webster was appointed in May 1589 suggests that Smith was offered and refused the position. Perhaps the preacher was already conscious of the failing health which in 1590 forced him to retire. He returned to Husbands Bosworth and prepared the corrected texts of his sermons for the press. Many of these sermons had already appeared in pirated versions, and this is why the authentic editions usually proclaim that they were printed according to the author's "corrected copies in his life time". Three of the sermons ('A Preparatiue to Marriage', 'A Treatise of the Lords Supper', and 'A Treatuse of Vsurie') were printed in 1591 (entered in the Stationers' Register on 4th February, and reprinted twice within the year). The following simple dedication to Burghley appeared on the reverse of the title-page:

Nobilissimo Viro Guilielmo Cecilio, Equiti Aurato, Baroni Burghleiensi, summo Angliae Thesaurario, & Cantabrigiensis Academie Cancellario, Henricus Smithus haec tria pignora in

75. Fuller's Life, in Works of Henry Smith, p.viii.

grati animi testimonium consecrauit.⁷⁶

On 4th July 1591 Henry Smith died, at the age of only thirty-one. His collected sermons, containing the three works just listed with a further thirty sermons added, appeared the following year. The dedication to Burghley remained as before, except that "haec tria pignora" became "haec pignora". The collection proved immensely popular, and was reprinted on at least seventeen occasions before 1640. The same dedication to Burghley appears in all editions, though the collection itself was augmented considerably. By 1635 it included forty-three sermons as well as Smith's prose tract "Gods Arrow against Atheists".

Thomas Man, the publisher of the first collected edition of Smith's works in 1592, also prepared a selection of thirteen of the same sermons. These he published the same year, with his own dedication to the Lord Treasurer. From this it appears that Burghley's good opinion of Smith was fairly general knowledge:

the Author, as in other respectes, so especially for his giftes and godlynesse, was a man whome your Honor did worthily regard.⁷⁷

Thomas Man therefore begs Burghley's "accept the patronage" of these sermons "seeing they bee left as a young orphan after the fathers decease" (sig.A4).

76. This is Smith's only dedication: all other epistles preceding editions of his works are either by publishers or editors.

77. Thirteene Sermons vpon Seuerall Textes of Scripture (STC 22717), sig.A3^v.

Smith's sermons form one of the most popular volumes ever dedicated to the Lord Treasurer. A century after their author's death they were still widely read. The "screen" provided by Burghley to save Mr. Smith from the "scorching" was the screen of protective patronage which could be of such enormous value to any writer, particularly one whose religious conformity was questioned. As the relative and protégé of Lord Burghley the "silver-tongued Smith" was one of those writers who owed their position and consequently their fame to the patronage system.

The twelve writers discussed in this chapter show the diversity of motives which could lie behind the dedication of a book to Burghley. For some writers, Hugh Broughton and Henry Smith for example, the dedicatory epistle was an expression of gratitude for very considerable help received from Burghley. Golding and George Wither likewise enjoyed Cecil's friendship and patronage. In the case of such writers as Willet or John Garbrande on the other hand, the dedication was a purely formal gesture, deriving from the eminence of Burghley's position. When this was the motive it was frequently Burghley's Chancellorship of Cambridge rather than his higher offices, which attracted the writer. A dedication might lead nowhere, or it might produce enormous encouragement and help. One thing however is clear: that at its best the system could bring considerable prestige to the patron, and great benefits to the patronised.

CHAPTER THREE

THE JESUIT MISSION OF 1580 AND SUBSEQUENT

ANTI-CATHOLIC PROPAGANDA.

On the 18th of April 1580 a party of fourteen priests and laymen left Rome for England.¹ The group included Goldwell, the aged Bishop of St. Asaph, four elderly Marian priests, three young graduates of the English college in Rome, as well as lay sympathizers. But most important of all were the two Jesuits who led the expedition, Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons. In ultimate control was Parsons, an enigmatic figure whose sinister reputation is based largely on the reports of his enemies. The part he played in ecclesiastical and secular politics during his later life has branded him to posterity as the 'subtle Jesuit' of popular superstition; even in his own age he succeeded in antagonizing a large number of the Catholic secular clergy. But at the same time he enjoyed the confidence of so perceptive a man as Cardinal Allen; he produced a Book of Christian Exercise which, with slight modifications by Edmund Bunny, became an extremely popular devotional book among English Protestants; and he founded

1. The account of the Jesuit mission, which provides the framework of much of this chapter, is based on Richard Simpson, Edmund Campion: Jesuit Protomartyr of England (1907), and Evelyn Waugh, Edmund Campion (1935), except where other sources are noted.

and encouraged a Catholic boys' school at St. Omer which is the direct ancestor of Stonyhurst College.

Although Parsons was a little-known figure in England in 1580, his fellow Jesuit Edmund Campion already had a remarkable reputation there. Campion's early career is in fact an extraordinary example of the limits of the patronage system. He had had a brilliant career at St. John's College, Oxford, where his oration on the occasion of the Queen's visit to the university in 1566 had led to private interviews with Leicester and Cecil, in which they both promised him their patronage.² In 1566 he was the most popular man in Oxford, and his offices of proctor and public orator were the highest possible for one of his standing in the university. Campion's fame was based on personal charm and brilliant rhetoric, and during his later ministry in England it was to hear him preach that Catholics travelled miles and risked their freedom. The fact that these were qualities of which we can now know nothing makes it difficult to assess his reputation among contemporaries. For five years after his impressive performance before the Queen he enjoyed the active patronage of the Earl of Leicester;³ it appears that he had accepted the Earl's offer in preference to Cecil's. In 1571 the manuscript of Campion's Historie of Ireland⁴ was

2. Simpson, p.20.

3. See Eleanor Rosenberg, Leicester Patron of Letters (1955), pp.80-90.

4. The work was not printed until 1633, in Sir James Ware's Two Histories of Ireland (STC 25067). Parts of it were used in Holinshed's Chronicle.

dedicated to Leicester in terms of enthusiastic gratitude. But by this time Campion's major decision had been taken: in 1570 he had left Oxford and the possibility of a dazzling academic or ecclesiastical career, to become tutor in the household of Richard Stanhurst, the Recorder of Dublin. Cecil seems to have still had a high opinion of Campion: he is reported to have remarked to Stanhurst on Campion's departure that "it was a very great pity to see so notable a man leave his country, for indeed he was one of the diamonds of England."⁵ Ireland however failed to provide the religious freedom for which Campion had hoped, and within a year he was forced to leave the country. He went to Douai, where he arrived in June 1571 and immediately entered the English College. The following year he became a member of the Society of Jesus, and in 1578 was ordained priest. His first assignment in the Society was in Bohemia in the Jesuits' school at Brunn. It was from here that Campion went to Rome in the spring of 1580 to join the group of missionaries preparing to leave for England. The preparations for the departure were by no means secret, and included an audience with the Pope and a farewell from almost the whole of the English colony. Walsingham's agents knew exactly what was happening, and the English government was well aware of what was on hand long before the missionaries, travelling by way of Milan and Geneva, reached the Channel ports early in June.

5. Quoted (without source) by Simpson, p.20.

The object of the mission, as revealed in the instructions given to the Jesuits on their departure,⁶ was basically "the preservation and augmentation of the faith of Catholics in England." The primary duty of the missionaries was to minister to those who remained constant to the old faith; conversions were to be of secondary importance. The missionaries were forbidden to involve themselves in political affairs, or to write to Rome about political matters. Neither were they to speak, or allow others to speak in their presence, against the Queen - except perhaps in the company of those "whose fidelity had been long and steadfast, and even then not without strong reasons." This last point is fundamental to an understanding of the attitude of the English government towards the missionaries. To clarify this a brief survey of the previous history of Catholicism in the England of Elizabeth is necessary.⁷

The settlement of 1559 had been designed for a primarily Catholic country, and was made so broad as to give the least possible offence to Catholics. For the first part of the reign the English Catholic had little to fear but a one shilling fine if he did not attend the Established Church. It was hoped that this policy of moderation, enforced, often against the wishes of strongly Protestant parliaments, by the Queen's own desire

6. Quoted by Simpson, pp.139-142.

7. The following remarks are based on material in W.H.Frere, The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I (1904), and A.O. Meyer, England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth (1916).

not to "make windows into souls", would bring English Catholics to a gradual acceptance of Anglicanism. The policy was remarkably successful: whereas Catholics formed the vast majority of the population in 1558, their numbers had fallen to a hard core of probably no more than 200,000 twelve years later. The scarcity of Catholic priests in England (most priests took the Oath of Supremacy in 1559) made many prefer to accept a comprehensive national church which was not condemned by Rome, rather than have no religion at all.

After the first decade of Elizabeth's reign this situation was brought rapidly to an end by a series of basically political events. In 1568 Mary Queen of Scots arrived in England to provide a Catholic alternative to the reigning Protestant Queen. The following year the northern counties rose in the last great feudal rebellion of English history, a rebellion with the declared objective of re-establishing the Catholic faith in England. In 1570 came the papal bull Ragnana in Excelsis which completely altered the position of Catholics in England. Pius V, acting on the advice of Englishmen who had for years lived abroad, excommunicated Elizabeth as a "heretic and favourer of heretics". She was deprived of her title to the English Crown, and her subjects released from any oath they had sworn to her, as well as from "all manner of duty of dominion, allegiance and obedience". The bull went on to command "all and every the noblemen, subjects, people and others aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her

orders, mandates and laws, and those that shall do the contrary we do include them in the sentence of anathema". The bull made the position of Catholics in England extremely difficult; they were forced to choose between loyalty to their country and loyalty to their faith. After twelve years of sound government many were disposed to declare for the state, especially as certain canonical errors in the bull technically allowed them to disregard it.⁸ Nevertheless, the bull made every English Catholic a potential traitor, and the government was forced to sterner measures. The Ridolfi Plot of 1571, the first of a series of great Catholic plots against the state, seemed to justify the harsher policy which had resulted in the execution of Felton on a charge of treason for publishing the bull, and in the harsher laws against recusancy passed in the parliament which met in the spring of 1571. The new laws made it treason to bring in any papal bulls, Agnus Dei, or "such like vain and superstitious things", and also enacted that the goods of those who stayed as fugitives abroad without licence should be forfeited to the Crown. The attitude of Englishmen was undeniably hostile to Rome, and there can be no doubt that the 1570 bull caused a great deal of hardship to English Catholics. The sermon which John Bridges preached at Paul's Cross about this time is indicative of the mood of the country as a whole.⁹

8. For example, Elizabeth was not given the year to recant her heresy which she was allowed by canon law.

9. Bridges's sermon was discussed in Chapter Two above, pp. 176-7

The execution of Felton in 1570 was the first of a long series of executions for what the prosecutor described as treason and the defendant called religion. In 1572 the greatest nobleman in England, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, went to the block for his complicity in the Ridolfi Plot. During the following decade the Catholic minority hardened, strengthened after 1574 by priests coming in increasing numbers from the seminary at Douai and later at Rheims. Suffering growing hardship from recusancy laws much more harshly enforced, English Catholics tried to remain loyal to the old faith, without obeying the implicit injunction of the 1570 bull to rebel against Elizabeth.

It is against this background of inextricably mixed religious and political considerations that the Jesuit mission of 1580 must be seen. The factors at work are revealed most clearly in the modifications to Pius V's bull which Gregory XIII made for the purposes of the mission. It was declared that the bull should always bind Elizabeth and the heretics, "but that it should in no way bind the Catholics, while things remain as they are; but only when public execution of the said bull shall be possible."¹⁰ This 'sic rebus stantibus' clause was seen as a way of focusing attention away from political considerations and on to the main religious motives of the mission. But as the English government

10. Simpson, p.141.

interpreted it, it was ^{a way} of allowing Catholics to simulate loyalty until the time was ripe for rebellion. In England Jesuitism and sedition became synonymous.

To add to the complication of political and religious factors working simultaneously, another expedition had departed from Rome shortly before the Jesuit mission. This was conceived as a military invasion of Ireland under the leadership of James Fitzgerald and the direction of Dr. Nicholas Sander, though it turned out to be no better than a motley collection of friars with a few ill-trained soldiers accompanied by a papal banner. The invasion attempt petered out almost at once; Fitzgerald was killed immediately, and soon afterwards, Sander, a distinguished theologian, died pathetically from exposure in the cold and damp of an Irish wood. Nevertheless, the invasion's coming at almost the same time as the Jesuit mission, and provoking the wrath of the English government, could only make the position of such priests, as Campion doubly difficult. Parsons himself wrote that the missionaries, on learning of the Irish expedition when they reached Rheims, "plainly foresaw that this would be laid against us and other priests, if we should be taken in England."¹¹ From the start, the religious purposes of the mission were clouded by political issues.

This rather lengthy survey of the background to the Jesuit mission has led a long way from William Cecil. He was however

11. Quoted by Simpson, p.146, from Parson's manuscript Life of Campion.

vitaly concerned throughout his career with the Catholic menace. Cecil's own religious inclinations, and the influence of family and friends, made him hostile to Catholicism from the beginning. He was undoubtedly one of the guiding spirits behind the religious changes of 1559, and might well have desired a further reformation at that time.¹² But his later hostility to Catholicism was dictated more by political than by religious motives. As Conyers Read has written, Cecil "felt much more strongly than his mistress that Mary Stuart's claim to the throne, the potential strength of latent Roman Catholicism in England, and the continuing efforts of the Papacy to organize a religious crusade against England were, taken together, the most serious menace to England's peace and security."¹³ The crucial factor in Burghley's attitude to Catholicism was his fear that invading Catholic forces would unite with rebellious sympathizers in England. He never seems to have been interested in a campaign against the Catholic faith as such. The extent of recusancy among the powerful gentry, especially in the North, worried him a great deal more than any attachment to the old faith among the lower classes. Protestantism was to him a matter of national survival, and though he might privately regard the rebellion in the Low Countries as part of

12. Conyers Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth (1955), p.130.

13. Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth (1960), p.109. The brief summary of Cecil's attitude to Catholicism is taken from material in the two volumes of Read's biography.

the universal struggle against the powers of Antichrist, he was quite willing to compromise on matters of religion to obtain the Queen a husband from the French royal family. In the early part of the reign he was concerned with the danger that Catholicism in Scotland and France might combine with the Catholic nobility in England to overthrow the government. He employed his energies in organizing opposition to the Council of Trent, which he feared would unite the Catholic world against Protestantism. In a letter of 19th January 1561 to Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Ambassador in Paris, he suggests an attack on the Catholics through the press as the most effective form of opposition.¹⁴ He was to retain his faith in the propagandist value of the press for many years to come. Throughout the period of Cecil's power one sees that harsher measures against English Catholics were instituted when danger threatened from Catholic powers in Europe. Cecil was particularly apprehensive about Mary Stuart's presence in England after 1568, and would have liked to have her executed after the Ridolfi Plot, but Elizabeth's opposition was too strong. At the end of the Northern Rebellion he showed himself in favour of the sternest possible measures against the rebels, advocating execution and attainder on an enormous scale. For ten years he had been worried by the menace of the Northern Catholics, and he now seized the opportunity to bring them to their knees. Throughout the rebellion he was

14. The letter is quoted by Read, Cecil, p.241.

apprehensive lest the rebels should receive help from a foreign Catholic power. In 1570 he began to correspond with a merchant named John Lee, then resident in the Netherlands, by means of which he gained information about the doings of English Catholic refugees in the Low Countries.¹⁵ It appears also that he kept a close watch on recusant books printed abroad. There are works by Sander, Allen, Bristow and Harding in the 1687 sale catalogue and in the library at Hatfield House. Various English ambassadors in France sent him books by English Catholic writers in exile on the continent. It is likely that Cecil was responsible for having Dr. Story brought back to England where he was subsequently executed.¹⁶ In 1572 Burghley allowed his former friend the Duke of Norfolk to be executed for his part in the Ridolfi Plot. This too was part of his campaign against the political menace of Catholicism.

For many years Cecil sought to counteract what he saw as the Catholic menace, by sterner measures against recusants. In 1563 he

15. Read, Burghley, p.142.

16. Story, who had played some part in the persecution of heretics during Mary's reign, had fled from England to the Low Countries where he had entered Spanish service and taken Spanish nationality. He was employed as a censor of books sold in the Netherlands. In 1570 he was lured by Cecil's agents on board an English ship that was to carry over a cargo of books. The ship set sail and Story was soon in England and on trial for treason. He was found guilty and executed despite his claim that as a Spanish citizen he was immune to English justice (Meyer, England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth, pp.246-7.)

had been instrumental in getting a bill through Parliament which increased the severity of the penalties for refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy. In 1572 he wrote a memorandum complaining that the Queen's policy towards Catholics had been too lenient, and that recusancy had in consequence increased.¹⁷ Four years later, arguing in support of the Dutch rebels, he indicated the danger to the government which would result from a coordinated Spanish invasion and Catholic rising. The following year he expressed similar fears. In a memorandum of 1579 he has in a column headed "Perils" the item "Comfort of Obstinate Papiats"; opposite, in a column headed "Remedies" appears "Penalties increased upon Recusants". The following year he again advocated this policy.¹⁸

Cecil's role in the promotion of anti-Catholic measures not unnaturally made him the object of attack in many Catholic tracts. Among the most offensive was A Treatise of Treasons, printed at Louvain in January 1572. This was almost certainly the work of John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, one of Mary Stuart's most trusted advisers.¹⁹ The book strongly attacked both Cecil and his brother-in-law Bacon, accusing them of abusing Queen Elizabeth and her people by seeking to destroy Mary Stuart and her son, and then Elizabeth herself, so as to establish the Suffolk claim to the

17. Quoted by Read, Burghley, p.110.

18. Cecil's memoranda on the Catholic problem are discussed by Read, Burghley, pp.235-236.

19. The authorship of the work is discussed by A.C.Southern, Elizabethan Recusant Prose (1950), pp.446-7.

threne. Cecil is designated as Sinon who betrayed the Trojans:

For basenes of parentage, for ambition of minde, for
suttlety of wit, for smothnes of tung, for shamelesse face,
for litle honestie & no conscience: looking vpon olde Sinon,
you see the right retract of the new: yea their very names
doe so concurre and resemble eche other, that both beginning
with one syllable, and eche of them hauing but two in al,
containing also like number of letters, and vewels ...

After this comparison the satirist attacks more fiercely:

doth not euery man see that with an impudent, and brassen
face, he abuseth, & outfaceth, bothe his owne Prince at home,
and al the worlde bisides almost, with lyes vpon lyes, thicke
and threesfolde, one in an others necke, & euery one lowder
& lewder then other, to feede & vpholde the fier and flame
of Robberie, Rebellion, and of al other mischief, wherewith
he hath infested al Countries adioining.

In another onslaught Cecil is described as a man

whose insolency is intolerable, whiles Authority fawneth
on him: & for euery one least thwart of his Superior, faineth
either to be sicke for sorow, or lame of the goute: and falleth
to sighing and sobbing, crouching and kneeling, weeping and
whining, like a boye and a babe, til his head be stroked, and
he comforted and called a good sonne againe.²⁰

Strype notes that this book "was not the first that he had
felt the malice of".²¹ Cecil was undoubtedly stung, and
remained throughout his life exceptionally sensitive to personal
attacks.²² A closer consideration of such Catholic attacks on
Burghley, many of which, especially after his part in Campion's
execution, were extremely scurrilous, is not relevant here. But
the existence of such pamphlets as A Treatise of Treasons should

20. A Treatise of Treasons against Q. Elizabeth, and the Crowne
of England (Louvain, 1572) (STC 7601). Quotations are from
sig. 11^v, 12 and 12^v.

21. Parker, II, p.297.

22. Read, Burghley, p.96.

be remembered when assessing the mood of England and the English government, and of Lord Burghley in particular, as they waited for the arrival of Campion and his fellow-priests.

The reception awaiting the missionaries was indeed liable to be a warm one. Before 1580 it had been the recusant gentry who had attracted the anxious attention of Cecil and his colleagues. The few wandering Marian priests constituted no threat and were lightly regarded. But with the arrival of young, well-trained and active missionaries, ready, often indeed hoping, to die for their faith, the situation changed rapidly. Burghley was also particularly alarmed by the invasion of Ireland. In a letter to Ormond of January 1580 he spoke of Sander as "that viper", and about the same time denounced him as "that odious, unnatural and pestiferous traitor against his country".²³ In England the policy of the Council towards recusants harshened suddenly. On 10th June 1580 the Council of the North received orders to proceed against parties fallen away in matters of religion, to reduce them to conformity, or else to punish them. Three weeks later more specific orders were sent from the Privy Council, ordering the arrest of likely recusant leaders, and their detention in special recusant prisons.²⁴ It was in this atmosphere that Parsons and Campion reached England, slipping through ports closely watched for their

23. Read, Burghley, p.243.

24. Read, Burghley, pp.245-6.

arrival, Campion disguised as a merchant jeweller, Parsons as a soldier.

A few days after their arrival a proclamation was issued, composed by Burghley himself. It ran to two folios, and its sentences were long and tedious. It was meant to stir Englishmen against the foreign invaders, but its style was hardly suited to the purpose. As Read points out "Burghley believed in the power of the press, and undertook to exploit it, but he lacked the art". Nevertheless it is interesting that this call to Englishmen to "continue in the dutiful and true service of Almighty God ... and to remain constant in courage with their bodies and substance to withstand any enterprise that may be offered to this realm"²⁵ should come from Burghley. The patron of anti-Catholic propagandists, he was himself the first to take up the pen against the Jesuits of 1580. The following year he achieved his long-sought objective of increasing the penalties for recusancy. The Parliament of 1581 raised the fine for non-attendance at the Established Church from one shilling to £20 per month. By the same act it was declared that those who tried to win Englishmen from their allegiance to the Queen were traitors. The act imposed a penalty of two hundred marks and a year's imprisonment for the saying of Mass, and one hundred marks and a year's imprisonment for hearing Mass.

On arriving in England Campion and Parsons made directly for London. Here, at the so-called Synod of Southwark in July

25. Read, Burghley, p. 245.

1580, the aims of the mission were clarified for the benefit of English Catholics. Parsons declared that the missionaries knew nothing before they reached Rheims of the expedition to Ireland, and the Jesuits also declared that they had come for religious reasons and not at all for political ones. But the most important action of the Synod was to forbid English Catholics under any circumstances to attend Protestant services. The 'occasional conformity' which had allowed Catholics to keep their faith in secret and at the same time avoid the recusancy fines, was henceforth forbidden. The position of both sides had hardened.

It was on his departure from London to begin his ministry in the provinces that Campion composed his famous letter to the Lords of the Council. Written in the hurry of a journey and without preparation, it nevertheless sparked off a great controversy. The letter, which quickly became known as "Campion's Brag," was designed to act as a brief declaration of the true purposes of the mission, and to be kept by a friend until such time as it might be needed in the event of Campion's capture. It was entrusted to Thomas Pounce, a Catholic then in prison in the Marshalsea (though free apparently for this day). Pounce, impressed by the letter, was emboldened to challenge the Lords of the Council himself. His audacity secured his removal from the Marshalsea to Bishop's Stortford, on 18th September. Before his removal Pounce gave the paper or a copy of it to his neighbour

Titchbourne from whom knowledge of it spread quickly. About 18th November several people were imprisoned by the Bishop of Winchester for offences connected with the letter, and a copy of the "seditious supplication" sent to the Lords of the Council to whom Campion had originally addressed it. By December the letter was known in several parts of England, and several people were imprisoned for being in possession of manuscript copies.

The letter makes nine points concerning the reasons for the Jesuit mission to England. Campion describes his being sent into England, his charge being

of free cost to preach the Gospel, to minister the sacraments, to instruct the simple, to reform sinners, to confute errors, and, in brief, to cry alarm spiritual against foul vice and proud ignorance, wherewith many my dear countrymen are abused. (Paragraph 3).

The fourth point is also highly relevant:

I never had in mind, and am straitly forbid by our fathers that sent me, to deal in any respects with matters of state or policy of this realm, as those things which appertain not to my vocation, and from which I do gladly estrange and sequester my thoughts.

He begs three sorts of public disputation: before the Councillors, with the doctors of the universities, and before the lawyers.

In all of them he is confident of success because he believes his evidence "so impregnable". He hopes the Queen and council will listen to such disputation, and feels certain that they would thus be converted to truth. He ends commending both his own and their cause to God, having previously declared that

we have made a league - all the Jesuits in the world, whose succession and multitude must overreach all the practices of England - cheerfully to carry the cross that you shall lay upon us, and never to despair your recovery while we have a man left to enjoy your Tyburn, or to be racked with your torments, or to be consumed with your prisons. The expense is reckoned, the enterprise is begun; it is of God, it cannot be withstood. So the faith was planted, so it must be restored. (Paragraph 8).²⁶

Such a challenge was not allowed to remain long unanswered. The first reply, which bears the date 17th December 1580, was entitled An answer to a seditious pamphlet lately cast abroad by a Jesuite. It was the work of William Charke, a Puritan divine who had been expelled from Cambridge for non-conformity. Whether he wrote under Council orders does not appear. Read states without authority that he was employed by the government.²⁷ Charke was certainly later appointed by the government to take part in debates with Campion, and it is therefore possible that his pamphlet was officially inspired. There is less doubt about Meredith Hanmer's reply which was entered in the Stationers' register on the following 3rd January. The work is entitled

The Great bragge and challenge of M. Champion a Jesuite, commonly called Edmunde Campion, lately arrived in Englande, containinge vnye articles here severallye laide downe, directed by him to the Lordes of the Counsaill cofuted & answered by Meredith Hanmer, M. of Art. and Student in Divinitie.

It is dedicated to

Sir Thomas Bromley Knight, lord Chaunceler of Englande;
William L. Burleigh and Lord Treasurer, Robert Earle of Leicester;
Edward Earle of Lyncolne, with the rest of her Maiestyes most
honourable Counsaile.

26. The letter is quoted in full by Simpson, pp.225-228, whence the above quotations are taken.

27. Burghley, p.248.

The epistle is dated 2nd January 1581.²⁸ Without affirming it directly, Hanmer makes it clear that his work has official support:

I thought it my duty vnder your Lordships fauoure and correction to peruse the same [Campion's Brag] to scanne his drift, and to answere his bragges & challenge as far forth as it concernes my degree, & the cōmonweale of the Clergie of England ... Vnto your honours he directed the Challenge to be receiued; and vnto your honours with al humility I send it answered / submitting my selfe and the whole to your wisdomes, & fauourable interpretations (sig.A2-A2^v).

The entire dedication reads like a piece of government propaganda, with Hanmer, on behalf of his brethren of the clergy, praying for the safety of the Queen and of the Council. The end of the epistle conveys even more strongly the tone of a man obeying instructions:

in brotherly loue I am to desire of her Maiesties louing subiects, not lightly to credite such insolēt brags: not vnaduisedly to receiue such wandrers from Rome: but in the feare of God to beholde, what is and hath bene sayd for the truth, and to cleaue fast vnto the word of God (sig.A3)

Hanmer's biography²⁹ gives no suggestion of any close relationship with Burghley. He had been educated at Oxford, whence he had graduated M.A. in 1572. But his supplication for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity was refused in 1575, which explains his calling himself "M. of Art and Student in Diuinitie". His first work, entitled The Auncient Ecclesiasticall

28. The date 2nd January 1581 appears at the end of the epistle, though the year is quite obviously 1580/81.

29. The source is Robert Dunlop's article in D.N.B.

Historia of the First Six Hundred Yeares after Christ,
written in the Greeke tongue by three learned Histori-
ographers, Eusebius, Sozrates, and Euagrius (1577), was
dedicated to the Countess of Lincoln. The epistle indicates
that Hanmer was indebted to the Earl and Countess for early
patronage. (This is presumably why he specifically mentions
the Earl of Lincoln, a rather obscure member of the Privy
Council, in the heading of his dedication.) But it was the
contest with Campion which saw the beginning of Hanmer's success.
The Great bragge takes each of Campion's nine points in turn,
and then, section by section, and with generous quotations from
Campion's letter, attempts to refute every detail of his claim.
Scorn as well as biblical quotation are used in the fifty-two
page pamphlet which emphasises the implicitly treasonous
intentions of any emissary from the Pope to England.

The Catholic party was quick to respond to the dual attack
of Charke and Hanmer. From a secret press in England, though
with a Douai imprint, came, within a fortnight of Hanmer's work,
the reply composed by Father Parsons. This was entitled A Brief
Censure vpon two bookees written in answer to M. Edmonde Campions
offer of disputation. Charke and Hanmer were here dealt with
together; they replied separately. Charke's Replie to a Censure
written against the two answers to a seditious Pamphlet was not
entered in the Stationers' Register until the 3rd July following.

Like his earlier pamphlet, it appeared without a dedication. Hanmer was quicker to respond to the challenge. His epistle preceding The Jesuites Banner. Displaying their original and successes ... with A Confutation of a late Pamphlet ... entitled A Briefe Censure ... is dated the 3rd March. Hanmer's dedicatees are precisely as in his earlier work. His epistle shows his awareness that the Brief Censure was printed in England. He writes also that

As heretofore in mine answer to the / challenge so now also with all humilitie I thought good to direct vnto your honours a further view of this Iesuiticall sect and wandering Romanistes (sig.*2-*2^v).

He appeals to the Lords, quite possibly at their own prompting, to follow a course on which they had already decided and which was soon afterward accomplished:

to bee a meane vnto the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, that at this present summons and noble assembly, in the most honorable and high court of parliament, there be a vew had of this dangerous sort of people, that their rouing bee restrained, that their religion may be reformed (sig.*2^v).

The epistle continues with a ferocious attack on the subtle practices of Jesuits, and ends with an appeal to the Counsellors to root out all "sects, schisms and heresies" from the "most Christian Realme of England".

The text of this work, occupying eighty pages, examines the history of the Society of Jesus since its foundation, and the aims and methods of its members. The emphasis is placed on the treasonous and subtle policies of the Jesuits, against which

Hanmer makes a direct appeal to Campion:

You are an Englishman borne, God hath endued you with sundry good giftes, let not your nature be estraunged, neyther goe yee about to thrast into this land forreine power, and such people as curse not only y^e ground wee tread vpon, but also our bodyes and soules, and are ready to cut all English throates if they might haue accesse vnto vs (sig.C1^v).

Every aspect of the Jesuits' life is attacked, nothing about them is to be trusted by loyal Englishmen. The pamphlet ends with an examination and refutation of several points of Jesuit doctrine.

After the publication of this work, Hanmer retired from the controversy.³⁰ His work against the Jesuits was followed by an immediate improvement in his fortunes. He was granted his Bachelorship of Divinity at Oxford, and appointed vicar of Shoreditch, where he made himself notorious by displaying his zeal in the destruction of the brasses in the parish church. There is nothing to indicate that Burghley was involved in Hanmer's preferment, and it may well be that it was Leicester who showed the Council's gratitude by securing for Hanmer, at the university of which he was Chancellor, the degree which opened the way to brighter prospects.³¹ Certainly it was to Leicester that

30. The pamphlet war continued without him. In 1582 Parsons published in France A Defence of the Censure gyven vpon two bookes of William Charke and Meredith Hanmer. Charke's first reply followed a year later with the title An Answer for the time vnto that Defence of the Censure. This was much expanded by 1586 into A Treatise against the Defence of the Censure. This was the last work in a controversy begun by a letter of some four pages.

31. Rosenberg, Leicester Patron of Letters, pp.110-111, supports this view.

Hanmer, in 1585, dedicated the second edition of his Auncient Ecclesiasticall Historie, mentioning the Earl's "great goodnesse proceeding from right noble disposition, heretofore shewed towards me" (sig. *ii). In 1591 Hanmer crossed to Ireland where he lived till 1604, holding various benefices and gaining a reputation as a preacher. During his residence in Ireland he occupied himself with researches into Irish history. His "Chronicle of Ireland" was later published - ironically enough with Campion's "Historie of Ireland", in Sir James Ware's Two Histories of Ireland (1633).

After the composition of his letter to the Council Campion travelled about the country in disguise, visiting the homes of trusted Catholics to say Mass and to preach. The circulation of the letter to the Council had prompted a much sterner government policy towards recusants, and several castles, some of them selected for the purpose as early as 1572, were used as prisons for Catholics arrested on suspicion of an impending conspiracy. The search for the wandering Jesuit priests was intensified, and many of those who had come over with Campion were captured towards the end of the year, and in the first few months of 1581. Campion himself had some narrow escapes, but he eluded capture for over a year, travelling all over England in doing so. Finally on the 17th July 1581 he was taken at Lyford House in Berkshire, and brought bound to London, his hat bearing the motto "Campion the seditious Jesuit". Four months intervened between his capture

and his trial, months spent mostly in the Tower where he was the object of the frequent attention of the torture master. To have captured such a prize was a great triumph for the government and the priesthunters. Their object^{now} was publicly to discredit Campion in every possible way. Exactly what happened during these three months is difficult to assess, since all sources are violently biased one way or the other. It does however appear that after only four days in the Tower Campion was taken by boat to the home of his former patron, the Earl of Leicester, where, before Bedford, Leicester, and probably the Queen herself,³² he was offered liberty and preferment if he would forsake his faith and attend the Anglican service. He refused. There is nothing to connect Burghley with this offer, though it was a tactic presumably planned in Council, and one which, had it succeeded, would have given the government enormous prestige. After its failure Campion was returned to the Tower, where the rack was used in an attempt to gain information from him about the Catholic families he had visited. Although there is no evidence to prove it, it may well have been Burghley who instigated this line of investigation. His fears about the recusant gentry have already been emphasized, and there is a letter of 10th August 1581 from Burghley to Walsingham stating that "we have gotten from Campion knowledge of all his peregrination in England".³³ State~~m~~ents about how much Campion gave away have

32. Read, Burghley, p.249, recording this incident, notes that at his trial Campion spoke of an interview he had had with the Queen. Presumably this was the occasion.

33. Quoted by Read, Burghley, p.249.

always depended on the sympathies of the historian. There is no evidence to show that Campion's confessions brought disaster to any of the families he had visited.

In August the government began a second line of attack in its attempts to discredit Campion. The public disputations for which Campion had asked in his letter to the Council were arranged, though in circumstances which the Jesuit can hardly have foreseen. Altogether four disputations were held between August and October, with the Anglican disputants named by the Bishop of London with the Council's assistance. Two speakers on the government side were named for each conference, and their topics decided in advance. Campion on each occasion was brought from his cell minutes before the disputation, and required to defend himself, alone, without notes or preparation. Whether or not Burghley played any personal part in the organization of the conferences is not clear, though some of the Anglican disputants had been connected with him in the past, among them Dean Nowell, Doctor Goode and William Charke. At the first conference one of the notaries was William Whitaker, later an extremely important figure in controversy with the Catholics. By October it was clear to the government that all hopes were gone of gaining a victory for the Protestant side through these debates. The prisoner was only winning pity and credit through them. The idea was therefore abandoned, and in mid-November Campion was brought for trial on a charge of treason. The charge was that he had "conspired to compass the death of the Queen and to raise sedition in the

realm".³⁴ To complain of the stupidity of the charge is to miss the point. Treason was the charge always brought against captured priests, and throughout the reign not one of the hundreds of Catholics tried was ever accused of heresy. Those who died suffered as representatives of the temporal power claimed by the Papacy, and because of the English government's fear of the Catholic might of Spain.

Having caught Campion, however, the government's problem was to find evidence even remotely connecting him with treasonable activities. Just as he had proved a source of embarrassment in the disputations, so he was to do in the trial. There is no doubt that under the terms of his indictment, Campion's trial failed to prove his guilt. Conyers Read remarks on the government's dilemma at this point:

It might have been better policy had he been acquitted. But, having gone so far, Burghley probably felt, Walsingham certainly felt, that conviction and execution as a traitor was the safest course, leaving out of account considerations of justice and mercy, the issue at stake was the security of the Queen, the realm and the Protestant faith.³⁵

Catholic sources then and since have blamed Burghley for the unfairness of Campion's trial, claiming that he had decided the date of Campion's execution before the trial began. But there

34. Read, Burghley, p.250, points out that this charge was adopted in preference to one which accused Campion of "winning subjects from their allegiance", in order to avoid the religious issue. Burghley, he believes, would have preferred Campion to be tried under the rejected indictment.

35. Burghley, p.250.

is no evidence to show that the Lord Treasurer was more responsible than any other member of the Council. Having gone to such lengths to capture Campion, the government had no alternative but to execute him, since, although he repeatedly acknowledged Elizabeth as his Queen, he would not make the public disavowal of the bull of excommunication which was demanded.

There is no point in giving a long analysis of Campion's trial. Burghley had no direct connection with the proceedings. All authorities are agreed that the evidence against Campion was quite insufficient, though there were undoubtedly grounds for believing that conspiracies involving Mary Stuart were being hatched against the Crown. What proved impossible was to connect Campion with any of them. The chief witness used in the attempt to do so was Anthony Mundy, at this time an obscure young man of just over twenty.³⁶ He had recently returned from a short residence at the Jesuit College in Rome, where he had arrived in February 1579 and remained until the following May.³⁷ Whether Mundy went to Rome as a convert or a spy has

36. Recent research established Mundy's date of birth in 1560. The new light which this threw on Mundy's early career prompted Celeste Turner Wright's article "Young Anthony Mundy Again" (Studies in Philology, vol.56 (1959), pp.150-168. It is on this and her earlier work (Celeste Turner, Anthony Mundy, An Elizabethan Man of Letters, 1928), that most of the biographical information here used on Mundy is based. Other sources are noted.

37. The dates of Mundy's presence in Rome were recently established from original documents. See Anthony Kenny, "Anthony Munday in Rome", Recusant History, vol.6 (1961-62), pp.158-162.

for some time been a source of contention.³⁸ There is no evidence to suggest that he went as any sort of government agent, not on the other hand can it be proved that he underwent any genuine conversion, however short-lived, to the Catholic faith. Perhaps it was simply idle curiosity and the desire to travel which made him accept the assistance of Catholic agents in getting across the Channel. He had earlier been advised by his patron the Earl of Oxford, that travel would improve his skill in the translation of romances. As it happened his

38. In 1928 Celeste Turner's view seems to have been that Mundy, anxious to broaden his education by travel, but as a printer's apprentice quite without the means to do so, was only too pleased to accept the help of Catholic agents in London in order to fulfil his ambitions. In 1959 she argues for a more definite conversion on Mundy's part, showing his employer's (Alde's) connection with Catholics, and his patron's (Oxford's) crypto-Catholicism. She concludes (p.155) that "there is little doubt that he went as a convert, not a spy". M.St.Clare Byrne ("Anthony Munday and his Books", The Library, 4th Series, vol.I (1921), pp.225-256) believes him to have been a spy, though not an official government spy. Beatrice H.Thompson ("Anthony Munday's Journey to Rome", Durham University Journal, vol.XXXIV, No.1 (1941), pp.1-14) believes Mundy to have visited Rome not as a convert, but with the idea of "making literary capital in the Protestant interest out of what he could see of English Catholic life on the continent" (p.4). I.A.Shapiro writes: "In 1578 he was on the continent, ostensibly to learn languages but in all probability acting from the very first, as certainly later, as a spy on the English Catholic Refugees in France and Italy." ("Shakespeare and Mundy", Shakespeare Survey 14 (1961), pp.25-33. Quotation is from p.26). No authority is given for the view that Mundy was a spy. During his trial Campion claimed that Mundy was not a creditable witness, having already changed his religion once. Campion, it seems, would agree with Mrs. Wright. Mundy himself later tried to give the impression that his loyalty to Protestantism was never shaken, and that in leaving England his first motive was to learn languages. He never claims that he was acting for the English government while abroad. A desire to travel and perhaps a half-hearted conversion, followed by a violent enthusiasm for Protestantism on his return to England, when he saw that advantage lay that way, might be near the sequence of Mandy's motives.

experience as "the Popes Scholler" provided him with a good deal of literary capital on his return to England.

Mundy deposed that he had heard treason planned against Elizabeth by English Catholics on the continent. His accusations against Campion were particularly vague, though he found more to say against some of the priests tried with him. The prisoners denied all his charges, and cast doubt on his credibility. The short duration of Mundy's stay in Rome makes it extremely unlikely that he would have been made privy to any such plots against the Queen as he alleged at the trial, and none of his evidence has a very firm ring of truth. It was the best that could be found however, and on the 20th November Campion and his fellow-priests were found guilty. On 1st December 1581 Campion, Briant and Sherwin were taken on hurdles to Tyburn, where they were hanged, drawn and quartered, after repeating their loyalty to the Queen and refusing an opportunity to recant their 'errors'. Mundy was there to watch the execution.

The execution of Campion provoked a storm of protest. A spate of Catholic pamphlets exalted Campion as a martyr, and retaliatory works appeared on the Protestant side.³⁹ Some of these Protestant works may have been issued by authority. The Crown witness Anthony Mundy published in January 1582 A Discoverie of Edmund Campion, and his Confederates, their most horrible and

39. Simpson, pp.494-501, has a useful bibliography of works (on both sides) connected with Campion's life and death.

traiterous practises, against her Maiesties most royall person,
and the Realme. The work was dedicated to

Sir Thomas Bromely Knight, Lord Chancellor of England;
William, Lord Burleigh, and Lorde Treasurer: Robert, Earle
of Leicester, Thomas, Lord Chamberlaine, and, Fraunces, Earle
of Bedforde, with the rest of her Maiesties moste Honourable
Councill.

Such a dedication, like those of Hanmer in 1581, strongly suggests
official sanction. The fact that Mundy's Breefe discourse of the
taking of Edmund Campion (1581), his only pamphlet in the Campion
controversy produced before he served as a Crown witness, was
published without a dedication, gives an extra significance to
this imposing list of dedicatees. Mundy's epistle contrasts
the peaceful and prosperous government of Queen Elizabeth with
the seditious intentions of the Jesuits. He mentions his own
part in securing Campion's condemnation:

It is not vnknown to your Honours, how not long since I
witnessed my faithfull seruiue to Her Maiestie, to the disproouing
of such, as were bothe her professed and sworne aduersaries
(sig.Aiii).

He also claims that Campion and the other defendants were
approoued guiltie of euerie obiection, bothe by their owne
writings, sufficiēt euidence, & vnreprouable witnesses (sig.Aiii).

Mundy goes on to mention the many pamphlets which have appeared
in support of Campion, some of them accusing him of untruth.
He makes it clear that he is writing partly at least in self-
defence:

Wherefore, at the earnest intreatie of diuers, godlie and
well disposed men, as also to discharge my selfe of the manifest

vntuethes (to such as haue heard and seen them published against me:) vnder your Honours fauour I haue beene so bolde, to discouer these Traitors, and their tretherous practises, that it maye be seene / and knowen, howe falselie and vntuelie they haue accused me, and that they maye well vnderstand, howe I haue beene in those places, where I haue heard and seene more then I will heere report, to the confounding of them, and all such as they are, though in their Libels, they giue foorth otherwise of me (sig.A4).

Almost at the end of his epistle Mundy writes

My request is therefore to your Honours, vnder whose fauours I cofesse my selfe bothe safelie and sufficientlie defended: that this my good intent maye attaine your Honourable liking (sig.A4).

Mundy's own version of Campion's trial follows this dedication. His main intention is to identify the activities of the Jesuits with subversive practices. He accuses them at several points of planning to murder the Queen. His own evidence is defended, and the attempt made to portray Campion as a vain and shallow man. To cater to the tastes of a sensation-seeking public, Mundy appended to this seventy-five page extract his own eye-witness account of the executions of Campion, Briant and Sherwin.

During the Discoverie Mundy made frequent references to his journey to Rome, and the Jesuit plots and treasons he had discovered through it. He promised, while making these revelations, to describe the journey more fully in "a booke, which by the grace of God shall come foorth shortly, intituled, The English Romaine life" (sig.Ciiij). The book was licensed a few months

later.⁴⁰ With the promised title, The English Romayne Lyfe (1582), it was also dedicated to the Privy Council, although only Bromley, Burghley and Leicester are mentioned by name. In ^{his} short epistle Mundy records the efforts he has made to be truthful in the present work. Again he gives a vague hint of some sort of official protection:

as when I presented your Honours with my booke, called the Dis-/eouaria of Caapion, I promised, so now in my English Romayne life, I haue performed: thinking my selfe in as safe securitie, vnder your Honourable fauor, as Vliassas supposed himselfe vnder the buckler of Aiax (sig.Aii).

The English Romayne Lyfe is a fairly short work (seventy-five pages) describing the details of Mundy's journey and his contacts with Catholics in Europe. It is embellished with a few crude woodcuts showing Catholic rites and tortures. The attitude behind the work is clearly indicated by the heading at the beginning of the text:

The English Romayne Lyfe Discoursing the liues of such Englishe men, as by secret escape, leaue their owne Countrey, to liue in Roome, vnder the seruile yoke of the Popes gouernment. Also after what manner they spend their time there, practising, and daylie looking for, the ouerthrowe and ruine of their Princesse and Countrey (sig.Bi).

Mundy depicts every Catholic centre in Europe as a seething hot-bed of intrigue against the Queen. Insults directed against members of the English Privy Council are dutifully recounted;

40. The Discoverie was dated 29th January 1582, and The English Romayne Lyfe was entered in the Stationers' Register on the 21st June following. There was a second edition in 1590.

a description of the working of the English College in Rome is given and the course of the disturbances there is traced. There is a full description of all the "paltrie Reliques" in Rome, and finally an account of the execution of the Englishman Richard Atkins. The book ends with a patriotic appeal to the reader:

let vs defie the Pope, his hellish abominations, continue in our duetie to God, faithfull obedience to her Maiestie, and Vnity among vs all as Brethren: and then no doubt but we shall enter the land of the liuing, to our eternall comfort and consolation (sig.L2).

This was by no means the last of Mundy's anti-Catholic pamphlets⁴¹ but it was the last he dedicated to the Privy Council. There is one other piece of evidence supporting the idea that Mundy was, in these two pamphlets, writing as an official government apologist. In dedicating his Breefe Answer vnto

41. Apart from these two works dedicated to the Privy Council, and the Breefe Discourse of the taking of Edmund Campion already mentioned, Mundy published: i) A breefe Answer made vnto two seditious Pamphlets (1582), dedicated to Walsingham, (this was in answer to two short defences of Campion, printed in 1582, one in English, the other in French - see Simpson, p.495-6); ii) A breefe and true reporte of the Execution of certain Traytours at Tilborne, the xxviii and xxx dayes of Maye, 1582 (1582), dedicated to Richard Martin, Sheriff of London; iii) A Watch-Word to Englands to beware of traytours and tretcherous practises (1584) with two dedications, one to Queen Elizabeth, the other to the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London.

two seditious Pamphlets (1582) to Sir Francis Walsingham, Mundy mentions his part in the campaign against Campion:

For which seruice, beyond my desert, I haue found the plentifull measure, of my Princesse fauoure and goodnes, as also the noble goodwill of her Honourable Counsell (sig.A4^v).

The fact that Mundy soon afterwards entered government service as an assistant to the arch priest-catcher Richard Topcliffe, further suggests that his position in the controveray was an official one.

Mundy's account of the fairness of Campion's trial proved inadequate to silence the outcry against his execution which came from Catholic writers. In so important a matter it appears that Burghley decided that none of the writers at his disposal was capable of properly defending the government's position. He therefore wrote a pamphlet himself which appeared in 1583 with the following title:

The Execution of Justice in England for maintenaunce of of publique and Christian peace, against certeine stirrers of sedition, and adherents to the traytours and enemies of the Realme, without any persecution of them for questions of Religion, as is falsely reported and published by the fautors and fosterers of their treasons. xvii. Decemb. 1583.

This was published anonymously, but it is accepted as Burghley's

by Conyers Read, who draws attention to the presence in the Public Record Office of parts of the pamphlet in Burghley's hand.⁴² The thirty-eight pages of the Execution of Justice provide the official justification of the policy of the English government towards Catholic priests. There was a second edition the same year; Latin, Dutch and French translations followed in 1584, and there was an edition in Italian in 1589.

Burghley deals with the papist problem in political terms, never attacking Roman Catholicism as a religion, but concerning himself with the papal claims to supremacy over temporal rulers, and the consequent treacherous potential of all English Catholics.

The rebellions in England and Ireland caused by papal claims are mentioned on the first page of the discourse. This sets the pattern for the remainder of the pamphlet. Burghley claims that

42. Another pamphlet of the same type, also published in 1583 under the title A Declaration of the fauourable dealing of her Maiesties Commissioners appointed for the examination of certaine traitours, is usually ascribed to Burghley. Conyers Read (Burghley, p.251) has argued that there is no reason to suspect Burghley's authorship other than the fact that in a Latin translation of 1584 it was published with The Execution of Justice. Read believes it to be more probably the work of Thomas Norton, one of the commissioners who examined Campion, though he has no doubt that Burghley sanctioned its publication. The purpose of the work was to show the legality of torture and to demonstrate that it was only applied to Campion to obtain evidence of treasonable activities. The fact that such an apology was necessary for what had, after all, been a perfectly legal and not altogether unusual proceeding, indicates the force of opposition caused by the Campion case.

such Catholics as the leaders of the 1569 rebellion only pretended religion to cover their traitorous motives. The bull of 1570 plays a fundamental part in Burghley's arguments, and he sees the seminaries founded at Douai and Rheims as being solely for the purposes of achieving the aims of that bull. Seminary priests, Burghley claims, are trained to implement the papal bull; for this purpose alone they come to England, and for this reason only have some of them been executed. He declares it to be the duty of the Queen and her government, their responsibility to God, to destroy rebellion. Those priests who will give up their treasonous intentions (by which he means those who will repudiate the papal claims to supremacy) are, he writes, never executed. This is one of his strongest points. Burghley goes on to emphasize the fact that the treatment of English Catholics has always been singularly mild; they have been left unmolested so long as they remained loyal and obedient subjects. (Burghley, one notes, does not mention the much harsher measures passed against Catholics in the parliament of 1561, though his claims about the mildness of the treatment of even Marian bishops in the early part of the reign are accurate enough.) The bull of 1570 was, Burghley thinks, after such clemency, nothing short of an unprovoked declaration of war. He attacks Dr. Sander for his upholding the bull, and blames it for the Northern Rebellion and the invasion of Ireland. Parsons and Campion are branded as maintainers of the bull in just the same way as Sander. To

prove this Burghley prints (in both the original Latin and in English) the papal dispensation on the bull, asked for and given to Campion and Parsons, declaring that it was not binding for the moment ('sic rebus stantibus'). "Hereby", he writes, "is it manifest, what authoritie Campion had to impart the contents of the Bul against the Queenes Maiestie, howsoever he himselfe denied the same" (sig.Ci^v). The number of persons executed for treason by Queen Elizabeth is contrasted with the number burned for heresy by Queen Mary. A strong appeal is made to all the princes of Europe to resist the papal claim to authority in temporal affairs. Burghley follows this with a brief sketch of the history of the Papacy, the long medieval struggle with the Empire culminating in the sack of Rome by Charles V in 1527, which Burghley claims as an example of God's judgement against the Pope's usurpations. No king in Christendom, he points out, has ever allowed the Pope to usurp his authority; even Queen Mary resisted the efforts of the Pope to replace Cardinal Pole by a Cardinal Pietro, who was thus "forced to goe vp and downe the streetes of Londō like a begging Frier" (sig.Dii^v). The Queen of England is therefore only fulfilling her rights and duties in opposing the papal tyranny. Burghley then draws attention to the prosperous estate of England despite the Pope's curses. After this there is an important section in which he sets out the reasons for his assertion that the executions of the priests have been for treason rather than religion; first, that before the bull Catholics were never molested; second, that

the importation of papal bulls is prohibited by English law; third, that the Pope was entirely responsible for the Northern Rebellion; fourth, that the invasion of England was directly planned and financed by the Pope. Burghley then answers the fairly obvious objection that the priests executed were unconnected with these events, being merely unarmed scholars. He is of course here on the weakest ground in the government's case, and makes no attempt to show any direct link between Campion and the treasonous plots. Instead he asserts that "Many are traytors though they haue no armour nor weapon" (sig.Eii). He goes on vehemently

Shal no subject, that is a spial and an explorer for the rebell or enemie, against his naturall Prince, be taken and punished as a traitour, because he is not found w^t armour or weapon, but yet is taken in his disguised apparell, with writings, or other manifest tokens, to proue him a spie for traitors, after he hath wandered secretly in his soueraigns campe, region court or citie? (sig.Eii).

This most vigorous section of the pamphlet ends with the assertion that

if they wil denie, that none are traitours that are not armed, they wil make Iudas no traitour, that came to Christ without armour, colouring his treason with a kisse (sig.Eii^v).

With yet another assertion that the government had acted justly in thus condemning traitors to death, the pamphlet ends.

Inevitably the work was answered. In 1584 Cardinal Allen published his True and modest Defence of the English Catholics that suffer for their faith both at home and abroad, against a

slanderous libel entitled the Execution of Justice in England. This ran to 250 pages in reply to Burghley's thirty-eight, but firmly made the point that no proof of treason was shown against Campion or against many of the priests executed during the previous fourteen years. No reply from Burghley is recorded, though he did have the Execution translated into Latin in 1584. His personal entry into the controversy is however remarkable. One would have thought that he could have found some writer able to defend the government's cause. The explanation must be that his belief in the importance of the press, coupled with the extreme significance of the question at issue, made him unwilling to trust anyone's ability but his own.

Two areas of controversy, one beginning with Campion's letter to the Council, the other with his trial and execution, have so far been considered. There was a third, originating with a short Latin tract written by Campion and addressed to the members of the two universities. It was entitled Rationes Decem, quibus fretus certamen Anglicanae Ecclesiae ministris obtulit in causa fidei Edmundus Campianus, and had been composed by Campion during the spring of 1581. The ten reasons were Campion's justification for his confidence in challenging the Anglicans to disputation, his answer to the charges of over-weening pride brought against him by Charke and Hanner. Campion's confidence is indicated by the fact that his original plan was to write a work entitled "Heresy in Despair".⁴³ After careful

43. See Simpson, pp.253-254.

checking of the marginal references (where errors would give the refuters an immediate advantage) the work was printed on Parsons's secret press, now moved to a lodge in the park of Dame Cecilia Stonor's estate at Henley-on-Thames. Some copies were made ready for distribution at the Oxford commencement on the 27th June. The extraordinary elegance of Campion's Latin style, as well as the confident strength of his arguments, caused an immediate sensation. Because of the extent of the controversy produced by this little volume, a brief sketch of its contents is essential.

Campion began with an epistle to the men of Oxford and Cambridge in which he complains that his offers of disputation have been met by Charke and Hanmer with cries of "sedition, Jesuit", etc. He claims that it is not his own strength, but the inherent strength of his cause which gives him confidence. He goes on to expound the ten 'reasons' or topics of argument on which he is ready to prove the falsity of the Protestant position. First, the Scriptures, which the heretics have mutilated to protect their ideas. Second, the Protestants' evasion of the direct meaning of texts which make against them. Third, the authority of the Church, which Protestants try to escape by their definition of the "invisible Church" - which he says is as inaudible as invisible, and incapable of bearing testimony of the truth. Fourth, the General Councils, of which the English Church admits the first four - thus, Campion claims,

implicitly accepting clerical celibacy, trans-substantiation, and papal authority. Fifth, the authority of the Fathers. (Here he makes the telling point that Jewel's famous challenge at Paul's Cross was eagerly accepted by the men of Louvain - Sander, Stapleton, Harding, - and the importation of their replies immediately banned by the English government.) Sixth, the consent of the Fathers in the Catholic interpretation of Scripture. Seventh, the history of the Catholic Church. Eighth, the "paradoxes" or most offensive sayings of Protestant authors. Ninth, the Protestants' "fighting with shadows" - his example is their arguing against clerical celibacy with the text "marriage is honourable". Tenth, a whole list of items supporting the Catholic position, including almost everything which has a history extending back beyond the Reformation.

The work was no more than a summary of heads of argument, by a preacher rather than a theologian, but it caused an immediate stir. Burghley wrote about it to Aylmer Bishop of London, shortly after its appearance.⁴⁴ The Bishop replied: "I have not Campion's book, and yet I have sent to Oxford and searched in other places for it." He complains of ill-health, but promises to do what he can when he obtains Campion's book. His letter is dated 25th July

44. The correspondence between Aylmer and Burghley is given in Simpson, pp.357-360, whence quotations used here are drawn. Unfortunately only Aylmer's replies have survived, though the gist of what Burghley said can be gathered from them.

1581 - a week after Campion had been captured in Berkshire.⁴⁵

Burghley's anxiety is indicated by the fact that he must have written again to Aylmer on the same day, for the Bishop addressed another letter to him also dated 25th July. In the second letter Aylmer has a definite plan to propose:

to have a letter sent from the Lords of the Council to my Lord of Canterbury or to me, to enjoin the deans, archdeacons and doctors to make some collections for these matters. For such as have not great dealings in the Church, as they have not, - yea, and some bishops also, - might, having their leisure, help well to this building: wherefore else have they their livings? And for books, it were not amiss to point such a number as should serve for that purpose.

A list of suitable divines to prepare works against Campion is annexed:

The Deans of Paul's (Nowell), Winton, York, Christ Church, Windsor, Sarum, Ely, Worcester, and Canterbury; the Archdeacons of Canterbury, London, Middlesex, Essex, Lincoln, Coventry, Sudbury; and three more "doers in writing", Dr. Fulke, Dr. Goode, and Dr. Some.⁴⁶

Two days later Aylmer wrote again to thank Burghley for sending Campion's pamphlet. He promised to read it and to set some to work against it. He declares that no Anglican will defend the "paradoxes" of Luther mentioned by Campion in his eight reason, and states that Anglicans do not agree with everything written by Calvin and Beza. He adds:

If this toil of mine were not, I could gladly occupy myself in searching out his vanities. Truly, my Lord, you shall find them but arrogant vanities of a Porphyrian or a Julian.⁴⁷

45. The letter is in Lansdowne Mss., vol.33, item 17, and is quoted by Simpson p.357.

46. Simpson, p.358. The original is in Lansdowne Mss., vol.33, item 18.

47. Simpson, p.359. The original is in Lansdowne Mss., vol.33, item 19.

The list of writers mentioned by Aylmer must have been disregarded. At all events, nothing by them appears to have been published on this topic, though of course some of them figured in the public disputations in which Campion was given the opportunity to defend his ten reasons. For the written answers the government decided that more substantial artillery was needed. The Regius professors of Divinity at both universities were instructed by Aylmer to answer Campion's Rationes. It seems very probably that here too the Bishop was prompted by Burghley.

The reply of the Regius Professor at Oxford, the Iesuitismi Fars Prima of Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, did not appear until 1582 (it was entered in the Stationers' Register on the 28th March.) In a dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Leicester, who had been his particular patron throughout his Oxford career⁴⁸ Humphrey excuses himself for his tardiness on the ground that he entered the contest unwillingly, preferring gentler studies. The rather checkered career of Lawrence Humphrey (1527?-1590)⁴⁹ had brought him into fairly frequent contact with Burghley. He had gone abroad during Mary's reign, and his earliest works were published in Switzerland. He returned to England in 1560, to his old college (Magdalen) at Oxford, of which he soon afterwards became President. He was appointed Regius Professor in 1560 at a time when several of his books were dedicated to the Queen. His exile

48. See Rosenberg, Leicester Patron of Letters, pp.129-131 and 261-265.

49. Biographical information is from Thompson Cooper's article in D.N.B.

Had given him advanced Protestant opinions, and during the 1560's he played a prominent part in the vestiarian controversy. It is interesting that his appeals for assistance during this period are all directed to Cecil - Leicester at that time had not yet achieved his reputation as the friend of Puritans.⁵⁰ Humphrey's later advancement at Oxford however, was brought about entirely through the Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of the university. In 1571 he secured Humphrey's election to the Vice-chancellorship, which he held for the next five years.

50. Humphrey wrote several times to Cecil during the 1560's. It seems obvious that during this period he regarded the Principal Secretary as his best hope of advancement. On 25th January 1562 (C.S.P. Dom. 1547-80, p.193), he wrote requesting Cecil's help in his efforts to secure a prebend in Christ Church, Oxford. On 23rd April 1566 he wrote again to Cecil, with mention of the Secretary's "accustomed goodnes towardes me" (Lansdowne Mss., vol.9, item 43). The same letter attacks rather sharply the recently published Book of Advertisements for conformity of clerical apparel. An undated letter probably written in the same month begs Cecil to do what he can to mitigate the Archbishop's articles for conformity (C.S.P. Dom. 1547-80, p.271). Strype records that "Doctor Humphrey was one for his learning much esteemed by sir William Cecil" (Annals, I ii, p.144), and in 1577 it appears that Burghley was responsible for securing for Humphrey the deanery of Gloucester. He must have written to Humphrey at Oxford suggesting that his failure to conform over vestments alone stood in the way of his preferment, for on 6th February 1576/77 Humphrey wrote to Burghley, thanking him for his "care for bettering of my state", and showing that he had conformed and would continue to do so "in that place where my being and liuing is". He ends the letter wishing that some proclamation could be made that the regulations about vestments were instituted from civil rather than ecclesiastical policy (Lansdowne Mss., vol.24, item 25). Thus without seriously compromising his conscience, Humphrey had been able to maintain and even improve his position. This was at least partly due to Cecil's help, and Strype records (Annals, I ii, p.144) that in 1574 Burghley had made an unsuccessful attempt to get him preferred to a bishopric.

Humphrey's Isaquitiani Para Pring, with its long and elaborate dedication to the Chancellor of Oxford, had, as its writer was only too well aware, taken a long time to prepare. This was not the case with the work of Humphrey's equivalent at Cambridge, the Regius Professor of Divinity, William Whitaker. Campion's 'Ten Reasons' had been distributed at Oxford on 27th June; the dedication of Whitaker's reply is dated 12th September. At the beginning of the epistle Whitaker tries to give the impression of even greater topicality: "Within the last few days there has appeared a little book by Edmund Campion".⁵¹ The treatise, which occupies some 250 pages, is entitled Ad Rationes Decem Edmundi Campiani ... Responsio Guilielmi Whitakeri.⁵² Like Humphrey's work it is dedicated to the Chancellor of its author's university - which in this case of course means Burghley. Whitaker owed a great deal to the Lord Treasurer; perhaps no writer enjoyed Burghley's patronage so consistently. Neither did any writer so frequently address his works to the Lord Treasurer: six of Whitaker's books are dedicated to Burghley. William Whitaker (1548-1595)⁵³ was born in Lancashire, the nephew of Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's. He went up to Cambridge after an early education financed by his uncle, and graduated B.A. from Trinity College in 1568. At Cambridge too he was much indebted to his uncle for generosity.

51. The translation of this and Whitaker's next epistle to Burghley has been supplied by Mr. G.F. Pullen, the librarian at St. Mary's College, Oscott. The original of the passage above is "Prodiit diebus hisce proximis Edmundi Campiani quidam libellus" (sig.^oii).

52. There is a copy of this work in the library at Hatfield House, which of course strongly suggests Burghley's ownership.

53. The source of biographical information on Whitaker is J.B. Mulinger's article in D.N.B.

Doctor William Whitaker: portrait by an unknown artist
at St. John's College, Cambridge.

In 1571 he graduated M.A. and was elected to a major fellowship of his college. His earliest publications testify to his skill in the classical languages. In 1569 he published a translation into Greek of the Book of Common Prayer, with a grateful dedication to Dean Nowell. The first evidence of any connection between Burghley and Whitaker is in the year 1573, when Whitaker dedicated to the Lord Treasurer a Greek and Latin version of his uncle Dean Nowell's Catechismus.⁵⁴ The dedication is in Greek, presumably as a compliment to Burghley's skill in that tongue. Whitaker addresses Burghley in just the finely balanced and formal tones which one might expect of an accomplished scholar writing to the Chancellor of his university. He declares the purpose of his book to be to combine religious instruction with practice in the classical languages, and to enliven the study of the latter by providing a chance of comparing the same text in more than one language. (In the main body of the work, the original Latin and Whitaker's Greek translation appear on opposite pages.) He mentions Burghley's kindness and goodness as his motives for thus dedicating his work, though he does not suggest that he has been the recipient of them. He praises the care and solicitude which Burghley has shown towards Cambridge, as well as his guardianship of the university's scholars. More particularly, Whitaker praises the skill and interest which Burghley and his wife, the learned

54. The nature of the work was briefly discussed in Chapter Two, (p.117-8) above. A copy is offered in the 1907 sale catalogue.

Mildred, have always shown in Greek scholarship. The epistle ends with a eulogy of Burghley's greatness and mightiness, which, Whitaker believes, are all his book needs to ensure its success.

Whitaker followed this translation of the longer Catechism with Greek and Latin versions of the shorter Catechism in 1574 (which Nowell dedicated to Archbishops Parker and Grindal, and Bishop Sandys) and of Nowell's Christianae pietatis prima institutio ad vnum scholarum, which he dedicated to his uncle Nowell. During this period Whitaker's ability was making his name well known in Cambridge. He gained a high reputation for his studies of Scripture, the Fathers, and the schoolmen, and was early singled out by Whitgift (then Master of Trinity) for special favours. Although there is no evidence of any contact with Burghley during this period, Whitaker's successful public lectures and disputations in Cambridge must certainly have given the Chancellor a favourable impression of him. In 1578 Whitaker gave further indication of his skill as a translator by putting into Latin Bishop Jewel's Replie vnto M. Hardinges Answers. This he published with a dedication to Archbishops Grindal and Sandys, Bishops Aymer, Whitgift and Freke, and his uncle Dean Nowell. The first surviving letter from Whitaker to Burghley (apart from the printed Greek epistle) is dated 11th September 1580. It thanks the Lord Treasurer (in Latin) for his preferring Whitaker to the Chancellorship of St. Paul's. Strype gives the following synoptic translation of the letter:

For this last benefit especially, as for former expressions of favour, he Whitaker returned him [Burghley] all possible thanks. For what his lordship's mind long since towards him was, and his judgement of him, he had sufficiently understood by marks, and the speeches of many. Whence he took as well the greatest pleasure that he could please his Lordship, being a person altogether most worthy praise, and most wise, and in a sort divine; and also he became much more cheerfully to follow those studies, for which he once began to be known unto him. But he passed over his former and old good turns, and came to that which was the greatest of all, and lately conferred to him. Wherein indeed were, as he proceeded, many things, for which it ought deservedly to be most grateful and most desirable to him. For that it happened at that time to him, when he could neither think nor imagine any such thing. And it the most delighted him, that it came from his lordship almost before it was heard of by him; and was brought into the society of that college and church, in which his best uncle, Dr. Alexander NWell, had lived now many years with singular praise. But certainly, added he, to confess ingenuously, although in this favour were many great things, yet nothing seemed greater and more joyful to him, than that it proceeded from his lordship. For the remembrance of his judgment delighted him more, than the greatness of the fruit accruing from it.⁵⁵

Whitaker's reference to Burghley's "former expressions of favour" indicates that the Lord Treasurer had "long since" been aware of the talents of this very learned theologian. It seems probable that Burghley had secured Whitaker's appointment as Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge earlier in 1580.⁵⁶ His position as Chancellor makes this a more likely appointment for Burghley to secure for Whitaker than that at St. Paul's. Perhaps it was even Burghley who had been responsible for finding Whitaker a prebend at Norwich in February 1578. At all events, from 1580 onwards Whitaker's attitude to Burghley, as revealed in letters

55. Strype, Annals, II ii, p.391. The original is in Lansdowne MSS, vol.30, item 62.

56. In a letter of 4th October 1579 Dr. John Still of Cambridge wrote to Burghley that Whitaker was the only remaining candidate for the divinity professorship. (S.S.P. Dom., 1547-80, p.634). Perhaps this prompted the Lord Treasurer to look no further before making the appointment.

and dedications, was one of gratitude and trust. His Responsio to Campion's "Ten Reasons" could hardly have been dedicated to anyone else.

Whitaker's epistle mentions only briefly his reasons for dedicating his book to Burghley. At the end of the epistle he writes:

It was necessary for me to offer you this reply made by our University, and that I should give to our Chancellor an exposition of that faith and religion which your Cambridge professes and which the adversary tries to subvert by publishing his writings and inviting to defection. I beseech the Lord, that he keep you, a peer of this realm and of our university, safe and sound.⁵⁷

It is interesting that Whitaker makes no public acknowledgement of his debts to Cecil; he is writing here on behalf of his university and of the English Church, and so personal an acknowledgement would be unfitting. Whitaker leaves no doubt about his official position in the controversy:

This little book [Campion's "Ten Reasons"] was shown to me by my lord the Archbishop of Canterbury on the first of August, and I was ordered to relate it, since it was written for and aimed at University men, and it was clear that I ought to answer on behalf of our University. In addition it was arranged that I should be free from unnecessary interruption [on account of public business] until this work was done. Therefore, the authority of so great a man urging me on, and moved as I was by the matter in itself, I set to work. Then it happened that letters arrived

57. The original Latin reads as follows:

Mihi quidem necessarium fuit, vt hanc pro nostris Academicis responsionem tibi afferem, nostrosq; Cancellario fidei illius ac religionis, quam tua Cantabrigiensis Academia profitetur, quamq; aduersarius literis missis tentauit, atque ad defectionem inuitauit, reddere rationem. Dominum obtestor, vt te Principi, reip. nostraeque Academiae quam diutissime conseruet incolumem (sig. iv^v).

for our University from the Bishop of London, laying upon me the same duty.⁵⁸

Much of the rest of the epistle consists of an attack on Campion and his works, some of it in rather vindictive terms.

He calls Campion

young, a mere amateur in theology, not particularly learned, and very well known to us all, who only dares lay claim to such knowledge as is available in the Pope's realms.

Whitaker also notes that

Campion was opposed by two of our learned men, William Charke and Meredith Hamner, who fell upon his vain writings with such vigour that his spirit was broken, the authority and credence of the man much reduced, and now Campion and those fearful challenges of his that he threw out are seen to disappear like smoke.⁵⁹

58. The original Latin is as follows:

Hunc mihi libellum Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, Dominus meus singularis, Calendis Sextilibus primus ostendit, authorq; fuit, vt illum ego refutarem, quia & erat scriptus ad Academicos, & ego pro nostris ei respondere videbar debuisse. Inuitis feci vt id in me reciperem, quandoquidem publica professione satis occupatus, nouas & mihi non necessarias molestias accersere minime cupiebam. Tamen & tanti viri autoritate, & ipsius rei consideratione commotus, annui, atque hunc in me laborem suscipi. Huc vero accessit, vt deinde literae ab Episcopo Londinensi ad nostram Academiam venerint, quibus eadem mihi prouincia imposita fuit (sig. *iii).

59. The original Latin of these two passages is as follows:

iuuenem, & in Theologia tyronem, & non magnopere eruditum, & nobis omnibus praeclare notum, qui tantum scientiae auderet profiteri, quantum in omni Pontificio regno minime reperitur. Exceptus est Campianus a duobus doctissimis viris, Guilielmo Charco, & Mereditho Hamnero, qui Scripti illius vanissimi sic neruos inciderunt, spiritus fregerunt, auctoriatatem fidemq; minuerunt, vt iam & Campianus iacere, & illae terribiles minae, quas proiecerat, in fumum abijsse viderentur (sig. *ii^v).

On 29th September 1581 (seventeen days after Whitaker had signed his epistle) Bishop Aylmer wrote to Burghley: "The translating of Whitaker's book and the publishing thereof I mean to stay, if it come to my hands."⁶⁰ Aylmer's reasons for not wanting a translation of Whitaker's work are not easily explicable. Simpson (p.359) suggests that he found it too abusive, though the passage from the epistle quoted above is as near as Whitaker ever gets to personalities. It may be that Aylmer felt that Whitaker's reply was inadequate; it was certainly refuted at some length later. But whatever his reasons, Aylmer was able to block for many years any translation of the Responsio.⁶¹

The treatise itself is a logical reply to each of Campion's reasons. Whitaker prints each reason in full, and then refuted every part of it in detail. There is no point in examining minutely the theological arguments. It is sufficient to state that Whitaker shows himself a learned and subtle theologian of a strongly Calvinistic persuasion. At one point he makes the following comment:

60. Simpson, p.359, quoting Lansdowne Mss., vol.33, item 24.

61. A translation by Richard Stocke was finally published in 1606, though the dedicatory epistle to Burghley was not included. Other editions of the Latin were as follows: 1581, a second edition (with index) at London; 1585, La Rochelle; 1601, Licha (Germany), with new title Rabscacas Romanus; 1612, Geneva (in the complete edition of Whitaker's Opera).

the controvērsie is about the word of God. You contend that you haue it; I contrariwise defend that we haue it; if you like not my iudgement, why may not I dislike yours?⁶²

For a man who was to spend much of his life in theological controversy, this seems a rather disillusioned recognition of the futility of it all.

Although Campion was executed shortly after the appearance of Whitaker's Responsio, the controversy was not allowed to end at once. With both Regius Professors presumably assuming that the adversary had been permanently silenced, John Dury, a Scottish Jesuit of Clermont College, Paris, published his Confutatio Responsionis Guilielmi Whitakeri . . . ad Rationes Decem . . . (1582).⁶³ The work begins with an address to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and then, taking Campion's ten reasons in turn, confutes Whitaker's answer in each. The thoroughness and learning of this reply, which fills a fat volume of over eight hundred pages, constituted a challenge which both Humphrey and Whitaker accepted. Once again the Cambridge theologian was the quicker in replying. His Responsionis ad Decem illas Rationes . . . Defensio contra Confutationem Ioannis Duræi Scoti, Presbyteri, Iesuitæ, was entered in the Stationers' Register on 10th June

62. The quotation is from sig. Mm^v of Stocke's 1606 translation. The original Latin reads as follows:
De Verbo litigatur: id tu esse vestrum contendis, ego contra nostrum esse defendo. Si tu iudicium non probas meum, cur ego non recusem tuum? (sig.Oijj).

63. Originally published at Paris. A second edition followed in 1585, published at Ingoldstadt.

1583, although his dedicatory epistle to Burghley is not dated until the 31st August.⁶⁴ The epistle gives a clear indication of Burghley's concern with the controversy. Mentioning the stir which his Responsio had provoked, Whitaker writes as follows:

Only last year there appeared a certain Dury, a Scot, a priest and a Jesuit, a man not only very learned in his own opinion, but also, in the judgment of some other persons, not without talent. This individual was to confute my Responsio to Campion's "Reasons", in a volume of no small size. This book came into your hands the moment it was issued from the Jesuit College in Paris, and you sent it to me, who thought nothing of it as it did not come up to my expectations, and I should have despised it rather, knowing that Dury is read by many and widely esteemed and so the more dangerous, so that our own men desire that the University should challenge Dury, a work that would not be wasted, if so our religion might be defended against the calumnies of the Pope.⁶⁵

64. As in the case of Whitaker's original Responsio, there is a copy of this work in the library at Hatfield House, suggesting that it may once have been in Burghley's possession. STC erroneously records a single copy (at Cambridge) of a 1581 edition of this work. No such book exists, and indeed cannot possibly ever have done so, since Dury's work to which Whitaker here replies, did not appear till 1582. Other editions of Whitaker's Defensio appeared at La Rochelle in 1585, and in the Geneva edition of his Opera in 1610. Stocke's 1606 translation of the Responsio includes translated extracts from the Defensio.

65. The original Latin is as follows:

Prodiit enim superiore anno Duræus quidam Scotus, presbyter ac Iesuita, homo & suo iudicio doctissimus, & aliorum opinione non ineptus, a quo mea ad Campiani rationes brevis responsio volumine plusquam modico confutatur. Eum librum tu primum nactus allatum Parisijs e collegio Iesuitarum, ad me mittis, qui quanquam nihil habuit, quod expectationi mee satisfecerit, aut non contemni potius merito debuerit, cum tamen scirem legi a multis laudarique Duræum, / & meam a nostris hominibus, praesertim Academicis defensionem desiderari, non inuitus istum laborem subij, vt cum Duræo confligerem, & nostram contra pontificias calumnias religionem iterum defendere (sig.°2°-°3°).

In a letter of 13th August 1583, written in Latin to Burghley, Whitaker had submitted his work to the Lord Treasurer's approval, and informed him that he had defended Luther, Calvin and Beza against the Catholic attacks.⁶⁶ Here then is proof of Burghley's intimate concern with this work: he not only instigated its composition, but also approved its suitability for publication. One imagines that Burghley must have seen it in manuscript form, since there would be little he could do if he found it inadequate after it had been printed. He presumably signified his approval to Whitaker, whose dedication was written just over a fortnight later. At the end of this epistle Whitaker, now writing for the public view, repeats this seeking of his patron's approval:

If, most noble Cecil, what I have said appears sufficient according to your wisdom, I shall pursue it no further.

Secure in the knowledge of his patron's earlier acceptance of his work, Whitaker could afford to make this public show. He adds a comment which would have pleased Burghley:

There have been too few books written and too few laws made against popes and bishops, on the basis of which a native clergy could be securely established in our church.

The epistle closes on a confident note:

I return to Duraeus, whom I now hand over to your charge, not a free man, not an unfettered citizen, as he came into my hands, but bound and a perpetual prisoner, that he may do no more harm. If my labours may benefit the church, that is what I desire: if there be any merit in my work, I can ask no better thanks of you than that you make use of that merit and my powers

66.C.S.P. Dom. 1581-90, p.117.

for the service of the church in the place where I am living at this moment.⁶⁷

The remainder of Whitaker's rather short epistle to Burghley consists of general anti-Catholic propaganda, expressing the writer's desire to convince the Papists of their errors. This is the purpose of his book as he conveniently states it:

For in this book of mine I shall show to all who are capable of right judgment, that the superstitions of the Pope are unworthy of Christian men, being grounded in childish arguments; our holy religion is entirely drawn from holy Scripture, and proves our faith by the most strong authority of God, being supported by superior reasoning.⁶⁸

In a volume of 887 pages Whitaker then takes each of the "Reasons" of Campion, and defends his Responsio to them against

67. The end of the epistle, comprising the three quotations given above, reads as follows:
Id cum tu satis pro tua sapientia videas, Mobilissime Cecili, non persequar: hoc unum dicam, contra pontificios parum aut libris aut legibus profici quousque firmum atque idoneum ministerium in ecclesijs constitutum fuerit. Redeo ad Duracum, quem ad te nunc nō liberum & solutum, qualis ad meas manus peruenit, sed vinctum & perpetuo custode, ne nocere possit, comitatum remitto. Sed quod ecclesiae labores mei prodesse possunt, illud est quod cupio: tibi pro-/meritis in me tuis nullam referre gratiam possum ampliorem, quam vt ecclesiae in eo loco, in quo positus sum, pro viribus meis diligenter inseruiam (sig.°5-°5v).
68. The original is as follows:
Erit autem in hoc libro cuius manifestum, qui potest aliquid/recte iudicare, pontificiam omnem superstitionem indignam esse homine Christiano, & niti puerilibus argumentis: nostram vero, quam ex diuinis scripturis totam hausimus, sanctam religionem certissima Dei ipsius autoritate, & optimis rationibus comprobari (sig.°4-°4v).

Dury's Confutatio. Frequent quotations from Dury are given and all his arguments are refuted in detail. Much of the same ground is traversed as in the Responsio, though at greater length. At one point the old controversy about Campion's trial flares up again, Dury having accused the English government of cruelty. To this Whitaker replies:

If Campion was by publicke proceeding condemned for treason, and put to death; who will accuse our cruelty, and not the greatness of his offence.⁶⁹

On Campion's fifth reason it is interesting to find Whitaker speaking of the "vitiosum exemplum" (sig. Bb5) of the early Christian Fathers: his position seems to be that for the most part the Fathers support the Protestant side, though at times they may err. During the course of his ten chapters Whitaker covers many of the main areas of controversy between Catholics and Protestants, in particular the doctrines of Communion, predestination, justification by faith, and papal supremacy. As one might expect in so lengthy a work, the discussion is extremely thorough.

Lawrence Humphrey's reply to Dury from Oxford did not appear till 1584. With the title Iesuitismi Pars Secunda⁷⁰ it was entered

69. Sig. G3^v of Stocke's 1606 translation. The original Latin is as follows:
Si Campianus publicis regni legibus de laesa maiestate damnatus mortem effugere non potuit, quis id nostrae potius crudelitati, quam ipsius criminis magnitudini tribuat? (sig. G5).

70. The work appears for sale in the 1687 catalogue of Burghley's library. One may therefore suspect his ownership of this, as well as several other anti-Catholic works discussed in this chapter.

in the Stationers' Register on the 1st June. It covers similar ground to Whitaker's Defensio and is of almost equal bulk, occupying nearly seven hundred pages, divided into chapters after the pattern of Campion's "Reasons". To give his work added dignity Humphrey dedicated it to the chancellors of both universities. Leicester and Burghley are jointly addressed in an epistle, dated 1st April 1584, which extends to some thirty-five pages. This is a formal piece, expounding the subjects in controversy, though at one point Humphrey does say something of his motives in dedicating his work as he has:

In part because it cannot be denied that where one and the same office is held by two persons, namely that of providing for and bearing the burden of a university, the said two persons may fitly be joined in one and the same letter; and in part because Edmund Campion and John Dury, both being Jesuits, hailed the one from Oxford, and the other from Cambridge, and since I shall address all the rest of my book to them according to their own example; I had no wish to pass by you, who are the rectors and heads of our colleges, mainly because I myself was formerly at both universities, and am for many reasons indebted to you both, I desire by means of this preface, such as it is, to show myself not ungrateful.⁷¹

71. The original Latin is as follows:

partim quia non dissentaneum est, quos Vnum iungit Officiū, quibus vna nostrarum Academiā procuratio & eadem sollicitudo incumbit, eosdē vna coniungere Epistola: partim quia Edm. Campianus & Ioan Duraeus Iesuitae Academicos Oxonienses & Catabrigienses simul consalutarunt, & ego illorum exemplo adductus reliquum sermonem omnem meum ad eos direxi: vos, qui Rectores & Cardines nostrorum gymnasiolorum estis, praeterire nolui: maxime quia ego vtriusque Academiae alumnus, & vtriq; vestrum multis no-/minibus deuinctus, hac qualicunque, dedicatione animus non ingratius testari debui (sig.*2^v-*3).

Humphrey goes on to indicate the errors and evils of Catholic doctrine, the seditious intentions of all Jesuits (on which he writes eloquently and at length), the disorder and misery caused and still being caused by the papal claims to supremacy and the need for a firm and godly resistance to them all. Near the end of his epistle comes the request to the chancellors

That you should at last of your kindness and wisdom grant, or that you should of your authority and grace not object to requesting, that those people's most vain opinions should in your schools be examined and confuted by learned men in a free and public disputation.

He shows his confidence of victory in the final outcome of the struggle:

But our Truth, as it ought to be believed, so it desired to be defended, and rejoices to be displayed and blushes to hide; nor can it be doubted that the Lord, the Rector of all schools, who sits above the Cherubim, will give the victory to His cause.⁷²

Humphrey's work brought the controversy to a close. Dury did not publish a reply. With over fifteen hundred pages ranged

72. The Latin of the last two passages quoted is as follows:

i) pro facilitate & prudentia vestra concedere, aut pro autoritate & gratia impetrare ne grauemini, vt in vestris scholis libera & publica disputatione illorum vanissimae opiniones ab hominibus eruditis examinentur & confutentur (sig.**7^v).

ii) Sed enim & nostra Veritas, vt credi debet, ita defendi cupit, & ostendi gaudet, & latere erubescit: nec dubium est, quin Dominus scholarum omnium Rector, quique sedet super Cherubim, daturus sit causae suae victoriam (sig.**8).

against him, and only three years to live, perhaps time was the decisive factor. The short stay of Edmund Campion in England had produced three major areas of controversy, and in all of them Burghley played a conspicuous part as a statesman, as a patron and even as an author. The end of the last and most learned of these controversies did not however mark the end of Burghley's patronage of anti-Catholic literature. In 1583 Whitaker dedicated another anti-Catholic tract in Latin, entitled Ad Nicolai Sanderi Demonstrationes Quadraginta . . . quibus Romanum Pontificiam non esse Antichristum docere instituit. Responsio.⁷³ The previous year Whitaker had taken for his thesis at a commencement disputation in Cambridge that "Pontifex Romanum est ille Antichristus quem futurum Scriptura praedixit". His 1583 publication on the same theme was presumably a development from this. The forty demonstrations of Dr. Sander that the Pope was not Antichrist occur (as Whitaker notes on his title-page) in the eighth book of his great work De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae. This had appeared in 1571, and its strong ultra-Montanist position, its long justification of the papal bull of 1570, and its approval of the 1569 uprising, mark Sander as the most extreme and uncompromising of English Catholics. Whitaker's reply to these demonstrations follows the usual minutely logical method of sixteenth century controversy. Each of Sander's demonstrations

73. There is a copy of this work at Hatfield House, with Burghley's signature on the title-page.

is given in turn, followed by Whitaker's refutation of his every point, with copious biblical quotations. Two of Whitaker's shorter tracts on the same theme are appended. In this way an octavo volume of more than three hundred pages is filled. The dedicatory epistle to Burghley contains an exposition of the subject, with an attack on Sander as one of the most vicious and dangerous of papist theologians. Whitaker indicates (sig. ii^v) that he has no idea whether Sander is alive or dead: the Catholic doctor's death in Ireland in 1580 had been too obscure for certain news of it ever to reach England. Whitaker's chief purpose in this epistle is to show that Sander's conception of the "Visible Monarchy of the Church" rests entirely on the position of the Pope: to prove the Pope to be Antichrist would thus destroy the basis of the whole of Sander's book. The epistle ends with the only direct address to Burghley:

However? I hand these Demonstrations of Sander together with our Refutation to you, most noble Cecil, and ask you to accept this second reply of ours on behalf of religion, and defend it with your patronage. But if you cannot yourself, by reason of your manifold and weighty occupations, spare time for reading them, I still hope this will be a not entirely unwelcome guest, especially since I have included in its instructions not to be a nuisance and distract you too much, but show itself a modest client. I pray the Lord Jesus to shower the gifts of His spirit upon you more and more from day to day and to preserve you long safe for our

church and state.⁷⁴

In his epistle to the Christian Reader before his Responsio to Sander, Whitaker had attacked the Rhemish New Testament, which had been published, with controversial marginal comments in support of Catholic theology, in 1582. William Rainolds, a former English clergyman, and now Professor of Divinity at Rheims, who had collaborated with Gregory Martin in the translation, immediately sprang to its defence in A Refutation of sundry reprehensions, by which M. Whitaker Laboureth to deface the translation of the New Testament (Paris, 1583). In 1585 Whitaker published An Answer to a Certain Book, written

74. Whitaker's reference to "this second reply of ours" would seem to place this work between the Responsio and the Defensio, and the date 9th January which appears at the end of his epistle presumably refers to the year 1582/83. Alternatively he may be using "ours" to refer to all Anglicans (this is less likely in the context), in which case he may have in mind the reply to Sander's De Visibili Monarchia which John Bridges had published in 1573 under the title The Supremacie of Christian Princes ... against Nicolas Sanders his Visible Monarchie of the Romaine Church - Whitaker's work coming "second" after this. The original of the passage quoted above is as follows:

Has autem Sanderi Demonstrationes cum nostra Refutatione coniuncta tibi, Nobis-/lissime Cecili trado, petoque vt alterum hoc nostrum pro religione responsum accipias, tuoque patrocinio defendas. Si vero ipse minus potes, propter multiplices tuas & grauissimas occupationes, legandis istis vacare, spero tamen non hunc omnino tibi ingratum hospitem fore, praesertim cum ei dederim in mandatis, ne te molestius interpellat, & se clientem verecundum praebat. Dominum Iesum obtestor vt te spiritus sui donis magis indies, magisque cumulet, atque Ecclesiae nostrae, reiue publicae incolumem diutissime conseruet (sig. *7-°7v).

by M. William Rainolds.⁷⁵ The dedicatory epistle to Lord Burghley suggests that Whitaker was here again presenting his work to the Lord Treasurer before publication:

This my labour I offer to your Honors good acceptation, humbly beseeching you, that I may publish it vnder the safegard of your honorable protection (sig.A2).

The epistle ends on a note of formal praise:

as you haue been alwaies a zealous louer of Christes Gospell, and by your godlye wisdoms haue done your endeouour to aduance greatly / the Lords cause from time to time, and to hinder the practises of the enemie, so I beseech the Lord to encrease in you all those Christian vertues, to the benefit of Christes Church, and the common wealth of this Realme (sig.A5-A5^v).

The remainder of this long dedication expounds the question under discussion, and vigorously attacks the Catholics. Rainolds himself comes in for some very ferocious comment:

who hauing been late not onlie a common professor of our religion, but a publick minister and preacher of the same in our Church, hath not onlie reuolited from vs, through some worldly tentations, & run ouer into our enemies camp, but hath also lifted vp his heel against vs, and in open writing most maliciously and bitterly railed at vs (sig.A2^v).

Whitaker goes on to describe Rainolds' work as prompted by

a certaine Preface of mine before the anwere to M. Saunders demonstrations of Antichrist, which being not verie long, and handling no great varietie of matter, I neuer thought could haue prouoked the Aduersarie so much, or procured so long and large a confutation. I looked rather that the substance of my booke concerning Antichrist, should haue been answered by some that would maintaine Saunders arguments, ... / Neither could

75. There were three separate issues of this work in 1585, and another edition in 1590. A translation into Latin by Henry Jacobson was published at Oppenheim (Germany) in 1611, and reprinted there the following year.

I otherwise suspect, but seeing I had written in latin against a latin Aduersarie, he whosoever should take in hand to set foorth anie thing against me, would haue done it in the latine toong (sig.A2^v-A3).

The epistle then launches into a prolonged discussion of some of Rainolds's arguments, and of Whitaker's debating about whether or not to reply. He finally asserts that

because such bookes doe harm abroade, and it is expedient to haue the aduersaries follie and weaknes detected, I haue vndertaken this labour of answering M. Rainolds, and that in english, for the same consideration that caused him to leaue the latine, and write in the english toong: which I thinke he hath not done so much for want of skill therin, as that his writings might commonlie be read and vnderstood of englishmen (sig.A5).

The seventeen chapters (250 pages) of the text cover a wide range of controversy. The Scriptures, the Fathers, the Sacraments, the priesthood and justification by faith are all dealt with in a manner similar to that of whitaker's earlier publications. At Chapter XI the discussion of biblical translation begins. The Rhemist use of the Vulgate is severely criticized on the basis that it is "absurd to translate a translation of Scriptures rather than the fountaines" (sig.H8). The disadvantages of the Vulgate as compared with the Hebrew and Greek texts are demonstrated at some length, before the Rhemish translation itself is considered in detail. Whitaker quotes a number of what he considers errors in the translation. The main areas of his criticism are summarised as follows:

for leauing the Greeke, and followinf the latine, translating onely a bare, (I will not speake as you do, a bald) translation, and for translating it after such a fashion, as neuer scripture was translated, nor any other booke I suppose: and for applying

the text most absurdly and violently to some colorable maintenance of your Antichristian Church and religion (sig.N3^v).

On 25th February 1586/87 Whitaker was appointed to the mastership of St. John's College. There can be no doubt that Burghley was mainly responsible for this appointment. The vacancy was created by the elevation of the former master Dr. Howland to the Bishopric of Peterborough. Although Howland was consecrated in 1585, he did not give up his post at St. John's until 1587 and during those two years one gets occasional glimpses of what went on behind the scenes before Whitaker was ultimately elected to the mastership. There are two letters from Whitaker to Burghley seeking his favour in his candidature for the mastership. The first is a short Latin letter of 30th November 1584 in which Whitaker tries to recommend himself to Burghley with the wish that as his "labours heretofore had not been, as he hoped, unprofitable, they might be more profitable hereafter by his lordship's benefit."⁷⁶ The second letter is again in Latin, dated 1st February 1584/85, and written by Whitaker in defence of himself against the reproaches of enemies who had sought to damage his reputation and thus ruin his hopes of the mastership. In reporting this letter Strype notes Whitaker's pointing out that

76. The original is in Lansdowne Mss, vol.42, item 64. It is printed in Heywood and Wright, Cambridge University Transactions (1854), vol.I, p.390, and translated by Strype, Annals, III i, p.386, whence the above quotation is taken.

it was not unknown to his honour what he had done; how he had lived; what labour he had undertaken for the sake of the church ... That indeed he had consecrated his whole selfe, and all his life, to those academical studies; for this purpose, that he might do his endeavour in the behalf of the church, in those contests with the adversaries.

Whitaker goes on to mention the many favours he has received from Burghley, who he hopes will continue to be his patron.⁷⁷

The Lord Treasurer responded to these requests some time afterwards. Near the end of 1586 Dr. Howland wrote to inform Burghley that he had done what he could to make the fellows of the college favourable to Whitaker,⁷⁸ and in the same year Burghley wrote to Dr. Andrew Perne ordering him to desist from his efforts to secure the election of another candidate.⁷⁹ Early in February 1587 the visitors of St. John's College (among them Burghley) sent a formal letter to the President and fellows of the college, recommending Whitaker to succeed Howland.⁸⁰ Strype records that on the 25th "with much difficulty and chiefly by the interest of the Lord Treasurer" Whitaker was elected to the mastership, Strype goes on to give the following account of Whitaker's Latin letter written to Burghley on the following day:

77. The original is in Lansdowne Mas, vol.43, item 39. Strype's translation, the source of the above quotation, is in Annals, II 1, p.387.

78. Strype, Annals, III 1, pp.642-3.

79. Strype, Whitgift, I, p.454. Perne, it appears, denied the accusation while suggesting that Whitaker ought to proceed D.D. before offering himself for the mastership.

80. H.C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (1958), p.183.

He acknowledged his Lordship's good will towards him; and beseeched him to defend with his authority him whom he had brought into that college; to aid him with his help, to fortify him with his patronage.

The election must have been a close one, with this request from Whitaker that Burghley use his authority to put down any rumours about the authenticity of his appointment. It was probably on Burghley's advice that the new master soon afterwards took the degree of D.D.

After his appointment to the mastership Whitaker became a fairly frequent correspondent of the Lord Treasurer's. His letters however are mainly concerned with college affairs, and give little information about patronage. From 1587 there are two further letters surviving. Both are in Latin. In the first, dated 30th March, Whitaker requests money for the college, and states that it was only by Burghley's authority and good will that he was elected to the mastership. The second is merely a request for Burghley's aid in the enforcement of the statute by which fellows were required to receive holy orders after six years as M.A.'s.⁸²

Early in 1588 Whitaker expelled from St. John's one Everard Digby, a fellow of the college whom he suspected of Popery. Archbishop Whitgift disapproved of this arbitrary action, and an

81. The original is in Lansdowne Mss., vol.51, item 56. Strype translates the letter in Whitgift, I, p.458.

82. Lansdowne Mss., vol.54, items 1 & 19. Both letters are given in translation by Strype, Annals, III 1, pp.714-716. The second of these two letters, written in September, is the last surviving letter in Latin from Whitaker to Burghley. In all his many letters after this he addresses his patron in English.

inquiry was instituted. On 18th February 1587/88 Whitaker wrote to Burghley against the appointment of Dr. Legge as a commissioner in the case, declaring that he was sure of Legge's hostility to him.⁸³ In April there are three letters from Whitaker to Burghley, defending his expulsion of Digby.⁸⁴ On 30th April Whitgift wrote to Burghley, severely criticizing Whitaker's conduct of the matter. He shows his awareness of Burghley's patronage of the Cambridge theologian:

I did not think that M^r Whitaker, who hath receaved so many and good tournes from yo^r Lo. especialy, would haue so vsed himself.

He attributes Whitaker's behaviour to "the violence of Praecisenesse which desiereth a rule and gouernment absolute without controllement, bee it neuer so vehement and vniust."⁸⁵

83. Lansdowne Mss., vol.55, item 48. This appears to be one of the few letters of Whitaker to Burghley not available in print.
84. i) Lansdowne Mss., vol.57, item 78 (printed in Heywood and Wright, vol.I, pp.506-520) enclosing a copy of the statute under which he expelled Digby, and dated 4th April.
ii) Lansdowne Mss., vol.57, item 80 (Heywood and Wright, vol.I, pp.521-3), dated 13th April, and calling Burghley the man "upon whom alone in this earth I most relye".
iii) Lansdowne Mss., vol.57, item 81 (not printed), dated 18th April, and indicating that Whitaker travelled to London to see Burghley (and afterwards Whitgift) in connection with this case.
85. Lansdowne Mss., vol.57, item 70. The accusation of "precisenesse" (i.e. Puritanism) must be based on Whitaker's uncompromising Calvinism, rather than any attachment to the party of Presbyterian Puritans.

According to Strype's report of the case⁸⁶ Burghley sent this letter of the Archbishop's to Whitaker, and Whitaker went so far as to seek Leicester's aid. Whitaker must have realised that in this matter he could not count on the Lord Treasurer's usual patronage. Burghley's attitude is interesting: his failure to support Whitaker, for whom he had done so much, is indicative of a belief in authority and statutory government as more important than personal considerations or perhaps even religion. On 1st June 1588 Whitaker wrote again to him trying to justify his action. He writes:

I perceve your lordship is offended, one whom, of all men, I endeavored to approve myself in all my actions and in the whole course of my lyfe, trusting your lordship will accept in good part this my just and lawfull apologie.

He ends his letter thus:

I aske nothing in respect of my self: I desire onely to retaine your honors favour: for any thing that I have done or can doe acceptable to your honor, I acknowledge my self sully recompensed.⁸⁷

Whether Whitaker was able to show further evidence in his own favour, or whether it was discovered upon further investigation that Digby's remaining longer in his fellowship was not desirable, is not indicated, but when Whitgift and Burghley finally sat in judgement on this case Digby was not readmitted.

In the middle of this affair Whitaker dedicated a sixth book to Burghley. It was entitled Disputatio de Sacra Scriptura. Contra

86. Annals, III iii, pp.106-113.

87. Heywood and Wright, vol.I, pp.533. (The original is in Lansdowne Mas., vol.57, item 87).

Huius Temporis Papietas. Inprimis Robertum Bellarminum ... & Thomam Stapletonum (1588).⁸⁸ This was the product of lectures which, as Regius Professor Divinity, Whitaker had been giving in Cambridge. It was the first of four disputations against Bellarmine.⁸⁹ The great Jesuit theologian Bellarmine had published his Disputationes de Controversiis Christianae Fidei adversus huius temporis Haereticos at Ingoldstadt in 1587. In his epistle to Burghley, dated 30th April 1588, Whitaker mentions this fact in the following passage on Robert Bellarmine:

Amongst these Jesuits, Robert Bellarmine, a native of Italy, hath now for several years obtained a great and celebrated name. At first he taught scholastic divinity in Belgium; but afterwards, having removed to Rome, he treated of theological controversies in such a manner as to excite the admiration and gain the applause of all. His lectures were eagerly listened to by his auditors, transcribed, transmitted into every quarter, and treasured up as / jewels and amulets. After some time, for the sake of rendering them more generally useful, they were epitomized by a certain Englishman. Finally the first volume of these controversies has been published at Ingoldstadt, printed by Sartorius; and the rest are expected in due time. Now, therefore, Bellarmine is cried up by his party as an invincible champion, as one with whom none of our men would dare to engage, whom nobody can answer, and whom if anyone should hope to conquer, they would regard him as an utter madman.⁹⁰

88. A copy of this work is offered in the 1687 sale catalogue. There were several later editions: i) 1590, Herborn (Germany); ii) 1600, Herborn; iii) 1610, Geneva (in Whitaker's Opera).
89. The other three - De Ecclesia, De Conciliis, and De Romano Pontifice - were edited and published after Whitaker's death by John Allenson.
90. Whitaker's Disputation on Holy Scripture, translated and edited by William Fitzgerald (Parker Society, 1849), pp.5-6. The original is: Hoc inter Iesuitas magnum & celebre nomen Robertus Bellarminus, homo Italus, aliquot iam annos obtinuit, qui primum in Belgio Scholasticam Theologiam docuit, post Roman profectus, Controversias Theologicas summa omnium admiratione, acclamati- que tractavit. Cuius Dictata sic erant studiose ab auditoribus excepta, transcripta, varieque transmissa, vt quasi ... quaedam vel ... haberentur. Post vero, vt huius laboris fructus ad plurimos pervenerit, in Epitomen etiam ab homine Anglo redacta

....continued.

It appears however, that Whitaker did not use the printed version of Bellarmine's work; describing his motives for publication he indicates the importance of his adversary's work, and then writes:

Knowing, therefore, how much our party desire that these Jesuits should be answered, and having fallen in with a manuscript copy of Bellarmine's Lectures, I thought it worth my while to handle these same controversies in the schools in the discharge of the duties of my office, to discuss the new sophisms of the Jesuits, and to vindicate our unadulterated truth from the captious cavils with which the popish professor had entangled it. Afterwards, being often requested by many persons to publish some of my disputations against our adversaries, and let the whole church share in the benefit of my toil and studies, I determined to commit to the press this controversy concerning SCRIPTURE, which is the first of them; and which, forming as it does a sort of vestibule to the rest, and sufficing of itself to fill a reasonable volume, seemed as it were, to demand that I should not wait until I had completed the remainder, but publish it by itself, and separate from all the others.⁹¹

continuation of footnote 90.

sunt: postremo, harum Controversiarum Tomus primus typis Sartorianis Ingoldstadij prodiit, reliqui expectantur suo tempore. Et nunc Bellarminus tanquam athleta invinctissimus a suis celebratur, quocum nostrum memo congredi ausit, cui respondere nullus possit, quem vincere si quia se posse speret, ab his insanus habeatur (sig.A)

91. Disputation, p.12. The original is as follows:

Cum igitur scirem, quam foret hominibus nostris optatum, vt Iesuitis istis responderetur, & Bellarmini Dictata nactus essem manu-scripta, putavi me facturum operae precium, si Controversias easdem in Scholis nostris pro muneris mei ratione tractarem, & nova Iesuitarum sophismata diluerem, nostramque syncerissimam veritatem a captiunculis, quibus eam Pontificius Professor implicasset, vindicerarem. Deinde, rogatus a multis saepe, vt eorum, quae contra Adversarios disputassem, aliquid in lucem emitterem, totamque Ecclesiam laborum meorum studiorumque participem facerem; hanc de SCRIPTURA, quae prima fuit, Controversiam typis mandare atatum: quae cum esset vestibulum quodammodo reliquarum, possetque modicum volumen conficere, visa est a me quasi petere, vt non expectarem dum reliquas absolvissem, sed solam illam ab ilijs secretam ederem perse (sig.B1).

Much of the rest of the epistle deals with the evils of Popery as maintained by the Jesuits, and the particular danger and subtlety of Bellarmine. It does however, seem that Whitaker has a high opinion of his adversary's ability, and that he had communicated this opinion to Burghley:

When you, honoured sir, demanded my opinion of this writer, I answered, as indeed I thought, that I deemed him to be a man unquestionably learned, possessed of a happy genius, a penetrating judgment, and multifarious reading; - one, moreover, who was wont to deal more plainly and honestly than is the custom of other papists, to press his arguments more home, and to stick more closely to the question.⁹²

Whitaker adds a little later:

I remember too, that in the course of that same conversation between us, I allowed Bellarmine the merit of dealing less dishonestly with the testimonies of the fathers than is customary with others, and of not captiously or maliciously perverting the state of the question; a fault which, I found, had particularly disgusted you in certain writers; whereas religious disputes and controversies should be managed in such a way as to eschew all craft, and seek truth, and truth alone, with a holy earnestness.⁹³

92. Disputation. p.6. The original is as follows:

De quo homine, cum meam, Vir honoratissime, opinionem quaererem, respondi, quemadmodum sensi, me illum iudicare virum sane doctum, ingenio faelice, iudicio subtili, lectione multiplici praeditum, qui soleret etiam apertius ac simplicius agere, quam reliqui consueverunt Papistae, & argumentum pressius vrgeret, & arctius ad causam adhaeresceret (sig.A3).

93. Disputation. p.6. The original is as follows:

Id etiam in illo sermone nostro memini a me tributum Bellarmino, quod Patrum testimonia minus, quam ali consueverunt, corrumpat, nec statum Controversiarum tam cupide malicioseque pervertat, quod tibi intellexi magnopere in quibusdam displicere, cum disputationes controversiasque religiosas sic tractari deceat, vt nihil callide dicatur, solaque veritas sanctis studijs investigetur (sig.A3^v).

The long epistle also contains a request to Burghley (as one accustomed to think of such matters, and to hear opinions expressed on them) to help arrange a formal disputation with the Catholics, for which he believes there are men at the English universities able and sufficient to defend the Protestant side. He ends this section thus:

The determination rests with those who are at the helm of church and state; - with yourself especially, in regard of that singular wisdom which hath ever distinguished you in every judgment and deliberation.⁹⁴

At the end of this epistle Whitaker addresses Burghley for the last time in print. He also shows that in spite of past and future disagreements, he was on good terms with Archbishop Whitgift:

In all this I did nothing without the approbation of the most reverend father, the archbishop of Canterbury, - a man of the greatest wisdom and the greatest learning, who, having read and thoroughly considered this whole controversy, declared it worthy of publication. Now that it is published, I dedicate it to you, most noble Cecil, whom I have ever esteemed the great patron and Maecenas of my studies; you, in whom this college prides herself/ as a member of her body, and will always, as long as she stands, challenge to herself on this account a just prerogative; you, whom our university respects as chancellor; whom the whole state celebrates as the father of your country; whom the church recognizes as a son serviceable both to its interest and safety. I pray God that he may preserve you ever in safety and prosperity to our church,

94. Disputation, p.11. The original is as follows:
stature ij possunt, qui ad Ecclesiae Reique publicae
gubernacula sedent, tuque inprimis pro tua singulari
sapientia, qua semper in omni iudicio, ac consultatione
polluisti (sig.B1).

state, university, and college.⁹⁵

The work is an example of the depth and weight of Whitaker's theological learning. Its 550 pages (720 in translation) comprise six questions, each divided into chapters, thoroughly examining the controversies between Catholics and Protestants over Scripture and its interpretation. The six questions are i) Of the number of the canonical books of Scripture. ii) Of versions of the Scripture and sacred rites in the vulgar tongue. iii) Of the authority of Scripture. iv) Of the perspicuity of Scripture. v) Of the interpretation of Scripture. vi) Of the perfection of Scripture.

The first of these questions attempts to justify the Protestant rejection of the books of the Apocrypha and some lesser

95. Disputation, pp.12-13. The original is as follows:

Qua in re faci nihil, quod non Reverendissimus Pater, Vir sapientissimus, & doctissimus, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis probasset: qui postquam Controversiam totam perlegerat, & penitus cognoverat, edendam judicavit. Eam nunc editam tibi, nobilissime Cecili, commendo, quem ego magnum semper habui meorum studiorum patronum, ac Maecenatem; in quo hoc Collegium alumno suo gloriatur, & perpetuo, dum stabit, sibi jure optimo praerogativam vendicabit; quem Academia nostra Cancellarium colit; quem tota Respublica Patrem patriae preadicit; quem Ecclesia Christi sibi vtilem, ac salutarem filium agnoscit. Deum Opt. Max. precor, vt te Ecclesiae, Reipub. Academiae, Collegio nostro nobisque omnibus saluum, semper/perque florentissimum conservat (sig. Bl-Bl^v).

passages in certain of the Old Testament books. Reasons and authorities of all sorts are quoted, the strongest being that the books do not exist in Hebrew, and that nowhere in the New Testament is their use enjoined. The treatment is thorough and lengthy, each disputed book or passage being discussed in minute detail. It is strange to find Whitaker rejecting the Book of Macabees because it condones the 'error' of prayer for the dead - the very reason for the Catholics' wanting it accepted.

The second question examines in great detail the subject of the authentic version of the Scriptures. Whitaker argues strongly for the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and the Greek of the New, and utterly rejects, with arguments of great length, the Catholic claims for the authenticity of the Vulgate. The second part of this question deals with the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, which Whitaker highly recommends, while claiming that the Catholics oppose it. He also writes against the Catholics' conducting prayers and services in Latin.

The third question deals with the authority of Scripture and with the problem of who is to interpret it. Whitaker denies the Catholic idea of the Church being the only possible interpreter of Scripture, and asserts the view that the Scriptures, being the word of the Holy Ghost, will speak for themselves, and should thus be interpreted by all who read them.

The fourth question argues the topic of the perspicuity of Scripture, Whitaker denying that certain difficult passages are enough reason to prevent the laymen from understanding the Scriptures without guidance.

The fifth question covers similar ground, in particular the problem of the interpretation of Scripture. Whitaker believes that there is only one meaning in Scripture, and argues against the method of allegorical interpretation. Not the Church, but the power of the Holy Ghost within the individual, is put forward as the only authority for interpreting Scripture. Scripture in short can only be interpreted by Scripture.

In the sixth and last question Whitaker asserts the perfection of Scripture against all human traditions. He puts forward the Protestant view that every thing necessary to salvation can be found in the Bible, against the Catholic view that Scripture has to be supported by tradition. Some of the chapters here are extremely long, particularly Chapter XII in which Whitaker denies in detail all the testaments of the Fathers brought forward by Bellarmine in support of his views. In discussing a passage from Dionysius which Bellarmine has alleged in support of the tradition that the Virgin Mary's assumption into heaven was witnessed by all twelve Apostles, whitaker allows himself a rare flash of honour. He denies the presence of James, son of Zebedee and adds:

He died therefore at least six years before the death of Mary, and could not be present at her departure, unless indeed he dropped from heaven specially to attend her funeral.⁹⁶

The question ends with Whitaker citing the testimony of a large number of the Fathers in favour of his own position, and claiming that he had sufficiently expounded his original text, "search the Scriptures" (John, V, 39).

This vast disputation was the most significant theological work ever dedicated to Burghley. Its author was already beginning to enjoy a reputation throughout Europe, a reputation which, in 1610, produced a folio edition of his works at Geneva. Perhaps no sixteenth century English divine stood so high in the estimation of his contemporaries. There is a story that even Bellarmine so respected his great adversary that he kept a picture of Whitaker in his study. This reputation was enhanced by Whitaker's later disputations, spoken first and later printed, against the Papists. Only one more of Whitaker's works was published during the author's lifetime. This was the Pro Autoritate S. Scripturae (1594), written in answer to Stapleton. By dedicating the book to Archbishop Whitgift, Whitaker changed his patron for the first time in thirteen years. But though Whitaker's last dedication to Burghley was in 1588, university affairs kept him in close contact with the Lord Treasurer for the rest of his life.

96. Disputation, p. 579. The original is as follows:

Ergo ille sex annos ad minimum ante obitum Mariae mortuum est: nec igitur adesse potuit Mariae morienti, nisi forte e coelo delapsus est, vt Mariae sepulturam celebraret (sig.Ff2).

On 3rd February 1589/90 he wrote to ask Burghley to make sure that a proposed visitation of the university was fairly carried out, and that no-one (he surely means himself) who had the courage to speak against abuses would be removed.⁹⁷ On 14th May following he wrote again to his patron denying a rumour that he had prevented a sermon on Queen's Day, and when another rumour was spread that he had allowed a presbytery to meet in his college, it was once more to Burghley that he wrote to clear himself.⁹⁸ One sees in these repeated applications Whitaker's anxiety to keep the good opinion which Burghley had of him. It is also obvious that he regarded the Lord Treasurer as a "very present help in trouble". In a letter of 15th December 1591 he tells Burghley of the opposition which some of the fellows of the college have shown to his choice of president. He refers the case to Burghley and adds:

I humbly entreate yo^r L. as heretofore vpon lyke occasions I have had refuge vnto yo^r honorable defense, so I may at this tyme open my grieffe vnto you and crave your assistance.⁹⁹

One gets some idea of the closeness of Whitaker's relationship with the Lord Treasurer from a friendly letter of 24th November 1591 to Michael Hicks, Burghley's secretary. Whitaker refers to a book he has lent to Burghley, and says he will collect it next time he is at Cecil House.¹⁰⁰ In a letter of 19th February

97. Lansdowne Mss., vol.62, item 41. Printed in Heywood and Wright, vol.II, pp.3-5.

98. Lansdowne Mss., vol.63, items 86 and 93. Both letters are printed in Heywood and Wright, vol.II, pp.12-13 and 15-16. The letter about the presbytery is dated 24th October 1590.

99. Lansdowne Mss., vol.68, item 35.

100. Lansdowne Mss., vol.68, item 33.

1594/5 Whitaker invites Sir Robert Cecil to stay at his home, which he regrets is "but mean", during Sir Robert's forthcoming visit to Cambridge.¹⁰¹ It seems that Whitaker was on friendly terms not only with Burghley, but also with his family and servants. There is a hint of an explanation for this in a letter of 19th November 1595 (see below p.266) where Whitaker signs himself as Burghley's chaplain. This seems to be the only occasion on which he does so, and it is difficult to see how, with all his commitments in Cambridge, he could have found the time to serve in that capacity. But/having once done so ^{his} would certainly explain his familiarity with the members of Burghley's household.

The last months of Whitaker's life were occupied by the Baret controversy and the subsequent formulation of the Lambeth Articles. The complications of the theological points involved are irrelevant here,¹⁰² and it will be sufficient to note that in April 1595 William Baret preached in Cambridge a sermon against the Calvinist doctrines of justification by faith and predestination and that the sharpness of the proceedings taken against him by the college heads provoked Archbishop Whitgift to intervene. The result of the controversy, the Lambeth Articles, came as near

101. H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.5, p.114.

102. For a full discussion of the Baret affair, its background and results, see H.C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge, pp.277-391.

as the Church of England ever approached to a full endorsement of Calvinist theology. William Whitaker played a leading part in drawing them up. In Cambridge on 9th October 1595 he preached a sermon in full support of the Calvinist position, before travelling to London for the discussions at Lambeth. While staying with his uncle at St. Paul's, Whitaker sent a copy of this sermon to Burghley with a letter explaining his presence in London, and promising to inform him of the results of the deliberations at Lambeth. The letter, dated 19th November 1595, ends with the following appeal:

Now lett me recommend the consideracion of my poor estate to your honor: I have bene hir majesties reader of divinitie now theis 16 years, wherin I have spent myne age and strengthe, and am yet unprovided; and yow know I have relied upon your lordship, to whom also I have done the best service that I was able to afforde. My desire is, to be dismissed of this wearisom burden with some one of theis rewards in her majesties hands to dispose, which I doubt not might easilie be obtained, if your Lordship would aforde me your honorable help, without which I have no hope of better preferment. I desire not to lyve more idely, but more at libertie, wherin I might be as well, and perhaps much more profitablie, employed, in setting furth my readings and studies against the enemies of the truthe, and applying my selfe otherwise to the occasions of the church. This place doth in a maner occupie me wholly, of great toile and small profite, besides the discouragement that I must nedes receive to be thus long and alwaies forgotten in the great preferments of soe many. Thus, againe humblie recommending my self to your honorable consideration, I take my leave. From the dean of Pauls howse in London, November 19, 1595.

Your honors most unworthie chaplain.
Willm. Whitaker. 103.

When Whitaker was appointed Burghley's chaplain, and how he could fulfil the office as well as those he held in Cambridge,

must remain unsolved problems. Perhaps the position was a sort of honorary one, with Whitaker serving only during his occasional visits to London. The remainder of this appeal indicates the trust which Whitaker had in Burghley, and the service he had already given. It also shows that the Lord Treasurer's patronage was by no means a guarantee against poverty.

Whitaker, it appears, did inform Burghley of the results of the conference at Lambeth, calling at the Lord Treasurer's home on his return to Cambridge.¹⁰⁴ This was the last meeting between them; on 4th December, perhaps through the intense cold of the journey home, Whitaker died in Cambridge at the age of forty-seven. On 12th January following, his uncle Dean Nowell wrote to Burghley to ask him to give some relief to Whitaker's widow and eight children.¹⁰⁵ There is no indication of whether or not Burghley gave any help to the family, one of whom later went as a preacher to Virginia where he was responsible for the conversion to Christianity of the Indian princess Pocahontas, whom he also baptised.¹⁰⁶

The relationship between Whitaker and the Lord Treasurer provides the longest and most significant episode in the history of Burghley's patronage of religious writers. It is interesting

104. H.C.Porter (p.373) quotes a letter from Tyndall to Archbishop Whitgift, written on the 19th December following, in which he reports that Burghley, in very poor health, appeared not to agree with some of the articles, though admitting that such matters were "too deep for him".

105. Lansdowne Mss., vol.80, item 61.

106. For an account of Alexander Whitaker's ministry in Virginia, see H.C.Porter, pp.233-4.

that both parties benefited from it; Whitaker, though he did not escape poverty, achieved advancement in the University of Cambridge, and the help of the Chancellor in the problems which he had to face there; Burghley had a theologian of major importance dedicating his works to him, and on occasions even writing as he required him. This was a case of the patronage system working to perfection - a state of affairs far from common with writers who sought the Lord Treasurer's patronage.

The last three dedications to Burghley to be considered in this chapter illustrate other phases of the literature produced by the Catholic problem in Elizabethan England. None of the writers can be said to have enjoyed very serious patronage from Burghley.

In an epistle dated 6th February 1584/85, Thomas Stocker dedicated to Burghley a book entitled The Cateches, Canon, and Ceremonies, of the Most Blasphemous, abhominable, and monstrous Popish Masse (1584). This was a translation from Pierre Viret's work Les Cateches, canon et Ceremonies de la Messe, published at Lyon in 1563.¹⁰⁷ Very little is known of Thomas Stocker's life. He seems to have specialised in translations from the French, and most of the works he renders are of a militantly Protestant kind.

He usually signs himself "Thomas Stocker, Gent." and may have been connected with an important Bedfordshire family of that

107. There was a second edition in 1564, also at Lyon, and a translation into Dutch published in London in 1568.

name.¹⁰⁸ Stocker's translations, which appeared between 1569 and 1592 are dedicated to a variety of noblemen; it is remarkable however that he never addressed the same patron more than once. Ambrose Dudley, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, Robert Dudley, and Lady Walsingham, as well as less important London gentry, are all addressed in formal epistles, none of which gives any hint that Stocker was particularly indebted to any of them. An epistle of 6th May 1581 to the Earl of Oxford, dedicating to him Diuers Sermons of Master Iohn Caluin is however more informative. Stocker writes:

I haue the rather dedicated this my rude translatiō vnto your Lordship, partly, for that I would shew some peece of my humble dutie vnto your honour, as a publike testimony therof, in respect of being sometimes, as then verie young, brought vp in your L. fathers house: but especially & chiefly, because (Syr) you seeke by al means possible, ... to vse conference with a certeine godly learned man, for the better reforming of your self and your whole family, to the obedience of the word (sig.⁴).

Stocker's dedication to Burghley is much more vague. He begins with a rough sketch of the value of his work in attacking the wickedness and superstition of Popery, and then continues:

I haue therefore in a Christian boldnes presumed on your honorable curtesie, to offer & present it vnto your wise and graue consideration, as to a most honourable personage worthy & meete to stand the Patrone & defender of so notable a work, most humbly beseeching you not so much to regard the basenes of the Translation, as the sounde dealing of myne Author in the discovering & confuting of their most monstrous & palpable dolteries. In doing whereof, your L. shall not binde me alone in myne owne particular, but all the whole Church of God also in generall, within all her Maiesties Realmes and dominions, dayly to pray for the prosperous estate of your L. long to continue (sig. *iiv).

108. The suggestion is made in E.I. Carlyle's article on Stocker in D.N.B., though there is no positive evidence to support it.

There is nothing here to suggest that Stocker regarded Burghley with any more than the most distant respect; neither is there any later evidence that he was ever patronized by the Lord Treasurer. Dedicating A Sermon of M. Iohn Calvin on the Historie of Melchisedech (1592) to Sir Robert Cecil, Stocker expresses the hope that Cecil will

be as excellent a Magistrate in this commonweale as your honourable and most wise father hath of long time been and stil is (sig.A2^v).

His attitude here is precisely similar to that which he had revealed eight years before; his dedication had obviously not stirred Burghley to improve their acquaintance in any way.

Stocker's translation of Viret is a singularly virulent antiCatholic tract. Viret himself was a French reformer of the first generation, who had preached Protestantism in Geneva before the arrival of Calvin. He afterwards ministered in Lausanne and Lyon.¹⁰⁹ The Cateches is basically no more than an attack on the Mass, but its form and style render it much more interesting. The whole of a Catholic Missal, together with instructions for the priest, is reprinted in its original Latin and in translation. Each section of this is followed by Viret's comments. These comments usually ridicule what has gone before, such names as Sir John, Sir Rowley Rownsie or Sir Squibble Squabble being given to the priest. Occasionally

109. Information on Viret is from the Nouvelle Biographie Universelle.

the attack is more indignantly righteous. A good deal of the comment is ribald, and one of its main intentions is to liken the Mass to some sort of play or dance. Hence the comment

Now, we are further to vnderstand, that there is neuer a one tricke in the daunce, not yet euer a mopping and ~~making~~ whatsoeuer, that hath not many ielly misticall and spirituall senses (sig.I7).

Stocker's translation follows the outline of the original exactly, but frequently increases the sharpness and vulgarity of the satire. The quotation of a few passages in both the original French¹¹⁰ and in the English translation will illustrate both the tone of the work and the nature of the 'improvements' which Stocker has seen fit to make

i) Describing the priest's turning to the people to say 'Dominus vobiscum', Viret writes:

"Voicy vne autre salutation, en laquelle messire Roulet fait vn petit tordion, tournant le ventre deuers le peuple" (sig.II). Stocker translates this as:

"Here is another salutation, wherin Sir Rowley, drudg of the pudding house, fetcheth another pretty turn, shewing his foule paunch vnto the people" (sig.II).

ii) On the priest's reading the Gospel, Viret writes:

"Si le prestre dit ou chante l'Euangile luy-mesme, il salue le peuple ayant le dos tourné deuers luy" (sig.Hii).

Stocker translates this:

"If the Prist himself say or sing the Gospell he / saluteth the people with his arse alwaies towards them" (sig.Kii-Kii^v).

iii) Commenting on the instructions given in the case of a priest's forgetting what to do next, Viret explains the forgetfulness by the fact that

"il peut aduenir (combien qu'il ne leur semble facile) que ces gros souppliers entreront quelquesfois si profond en contemplation de la cuisine" (sig.C6^v).

110. The quotations from the French are from the Lyon 1564 edition, the earliest available at the British Museum.

Stocker's translation is:

"these fat swinish bollers will sometimes enter so deepe into contemplation of the kitchin" (sig.Di).

iv) On the fact that a priest does not break his fast by receiving Communion, Viret writes:

"Le prestre ne laisse d'estre tousiours a ieune: non pas quand il auroit mangé de ses oublies conuerties en dieux iusques a creuer: & beu de son vin conuertiy en sang, iusques a en estre yure comme vne souppe, & iusques a tout tuer & tout rompre" (sig.B2^v).

Stocker translates this as

"And the Priest hath neuer broken his fast, no though he eate neuer so many of his round singing cakes which are turned into Gods, vntill he be ready to burst withall: and drinke as much wine turned into blood, as that he be as dronke as a pissepot, and so be ready to burst and kill him selfe withall" (sig.Bii).

v)As a last example may be quoted Viret's description of the priest in his vestments coming to say Mass:

"Car sans nulle faute messire Jean est vn plaisant espoux, ioly & mignon, acorne & repare comme vn muguet, pour aller a ses nopces" (sig.F4^v).

Stocker translates this as

"For questionlesse this tricksie Sir Iohn is a pleasaunt bridegroom, and ioly minion, apparelled & garnished like a comely paramour to go to a wedding" (sig.G6).

One wonders whether Burghley was amused by this satire; it certainly did not please him enough to win from him any conspicuous favours to the translator, and on the whole it seems likely that an anti-Catholic tract dedicated to him in 1587 by George Whetstone would have been much more to his taste. Whetstone's book The Censure of a loyall Subject attacks the Babington conspirators who had planned to assassinate the Queen and put Mary Stuart on the throne. The "censure" is, as the title-page points out, directed against "certaine noted Speech and behauours, of those fourteene notable Traitors, at the place of their executions, the xx. and xxi. of September last past." George Whetstone, "Gent." was born in London, the son of a wealthy

haberdasher and land-owner.¹¹¹ He apparently had no university education, though he may have been at one of the Inns-of-court around 1576. In 1578 he accompanied Sir Humphrey Gilbert on a naval expedition which ended in failure, and in 1580 he travelled in Italy. His home was at Waleot in Northamptonshire, only about five miles from Burghley House at Stamford. Whetstone's first work, The Rocks of Regard (1576), a collection of allegorical tales in prose and verse, shows two Cecil connections. The third section has a short poem in praise of "My Lady Cecil of Burghleigh", while the fourth section is dedicated to Burghley's son Thomas. The short epistle to Sir Thomas begins:

Righte worshipfull, waying howe deeply bothe my good mother, and all her children are bounde vnto you for receiued friendships, among the rest (acknowledging your desire of well doing) I haue sought howe (for suche benefites) to auoyde the vile vice of ingratitude (sig.Kii).

He later mentions (Kii^v) the "faithfull zeale" which he bears towards his patron. Whetstone's later works are mainly collections of stories in prose or verse, urging loyalty to the commonwealth, and indicating the inevitable end of traitors. The most important is The English Mirror (1586), which Whetstone dedicated to the Queen, and which has the royal arms on the reverse of its title-page. It is a long collection of examples from ancient and modern

111. Biographical information on Whetstone is from Thomas C. Izard, George Whetstone, Mid-Elizabethan Gentleman of Letters (1942), pp.1-34. Whetstone's date of birth is usually given as 1544?; Izard shows that it could just as easily have been 1551, or any date between the two.

history of what the author calls 'envy', - the term is used to include most political crimes. The success which comes to rulers who quickly crush rebellion is shown, as are the unpleasant ends of those who oppose the rightful government. As well as these civil treatises, Whetstone produced elegies for six famous Englishmen, including Sir Philip Sidney, and an unwieldy ten act play, Promos and Cassandra, which, as an important source of Measure for Measure, provides Whetstone with his main claim to fame. Apart from the Queen, his dedicatees include Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Thomas Bromley, Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, Edward Russell, Earl of Bedford, and several officials of the City of London. The Censure of a loyall Subject was the last of his works to be published in his lifetime.

Whetstone's dedicatory epistle to Burghley is in very general terms, though it does indicate that its author had already received some help from the Lord Treasurer. Whetstone writes that he was

desirous to honour (with all dueitfull affection) your godly vertues, as the comforte of all good men; and also to acknowledge some especiall fauours shewen vnto my selfe, vnder your sound protection (sig.A2^v).

This is the reason for his offering the present work. He hopes that it will "merite the acceptance of my former bookes, which hetherto haue escaped the disgrace of publique reproofe (sig.A2^v). The main function of the epistle is to reveal the purposes of the book. Whetstone declares that his

desire hath euermore bene, to instruct all men, and not to iniure the worst of the wicked. And now to conclude, that vertue may haue her sample by your Lordship, and vice her shame by these traitors, in the name of experience, I aduise all men, whose heades cline about the height of their present conditions, to make loyall and honest actions, the ladders of their aduancement: which will commend them with a beloued life, or an honorable death: whē treason is the hatchet that seuereth life, and royneth infamie vnto death (sig.A2^v).

The text of this short treatise (it occupie less than fifty pages) is in the form of a dialogue between three men: "Walker, a godlie deuine, Weston, a discreet Gentleman, Wilcocks, a substantial Clothier." Wilcocks is recounting what he has seen in London, and gives details of the executions of fourteen of the Babington conspirators. The religious aspect of their treason is emphasised as little as possible, and Whetstone's main intention is obviously the political one of proving the statement that

There were neuer people gouerned with more mercie, then the people of England vnder the raigne of our most gracious Queene (sig.A3^v).

Between the account of the executions of the first seven conspirators on the 20th September and of the second seven on the following day, Whetstone gives a brief account of all the successes of the Queen against her Catholic enemies. The Northern Rebellion, the Norfolk, Felton and Story executions, Stukely's planned attack on Ireland, Sander's invasion of Ireland, the Jesuit invasion of England, the Ridolfi, Throgmorton and Parry Plots are all enumerated. It is interesting to find the execution of Campion still being defended in 1587:

Gods prouidēce hath deliuered their Champion Campion, and diuers others of the, into the hands of Iustice, & Iustice by orderly trial afterward condemned Campion, and some of the most malitious of the Iequits to the Gallowes (sig.D2).

Following the account of the execution of the second batch of conspirators, comes the assertion that Mary Queen of Scots was the source of all the trouble. She lives, the speakers conclude, "onely by the mercy of God and her maiesty" (sig.G2).¹¹²

Whetstone's work, recounting without the slightest compassion the executions of these mostly very young men, identifies Protestantism with patriotism, and is hostile to Popery on political grounds. It would thus have agreed with Burghley's own views, and may have prompted him to find Whetstone a post with the army in the Netherlands. Some sources suggest that Whetstone had earlier served as a soldier, but Izard believes that his 1587 commission was his first taste of the military life. In a letter of 16th August 1587 Thomas Digges, famous as a mathematician but then serving as muster master, wrote to Burghley, informing him

In accordance with your desire, I have received George Whetstone as a commissary of musters under me (although all places were furnished) and I hope to have contented him for his entertainment.

The letter continues as follows:

112. This makes it certain that the work was composed, and possibly printed before the 8th February 1587, when Mary Stuart was executed at Fotheringay. There was another edition, undated, which by slight changes on this page, records Mary's execution.

My place here purchases me great hatred, both from the captains, whose abuses I may not tolerate, and from the States, whom I have plainly told of their ungrateful dealings with her Majesty. But notwithstanding my pressing them to perfect accounts with her, I cannot draw them to it, or get from them any commissaries to act with those on her part to pass the musters.¹¹³

This hostility of the captains to interference with their accounting, was the cause of Whetstone's death. He must have been over-conscientious in fulfilling his functions as a commissary, and on 12th September Digges wrote again to Burghley, lamenting the death of Whetstone, who had been killed in a duel following a quarrel with one of the captains.¹¹⁴ His one dedication to Burghley had procured not only his promotion but also his death. It is interesting however that Whetstone does seem to have been very promptly rewarded for the book he dedicated to the Lord Treasurer: there were many other dedicators who failed to secure such rewards. Whetstone seems most skilfully to have foreseen what would appeal to Burghley's taste in anti-Catholic literature.

Ironically the last of the works to be considered in this chapter would have been far from pleasing to Burghley. In 1592 a book from the Catholic side was dedicated to him. Entitled Exemplar Literarum Missarum e Germania. Ad. D. Guilielmuu Cecilium, this was the work of Father Joseph Creswell, a Jesuit here writing under the pseudonym of John Perne. Joseph Creswell (1557-1623)¹¹⁵

113. C.S.P. Foreign, April-December 1587, p.244.

114. S.S.P. Foreign, April-December 1587, pp.311-2.

115. Information on Creswell is from Thompson Cooper's article in D.N.B.

had entered the Society of Jesus at Rome in 1583. His first important mission was to accompany the Jesuit Father Holt to Flanders in 1588 in readiness to take part in the Armada's invasion of England.¹¹⁶ Creswell was later the rector of the English College in Rome (1589-92), a post in which he succeeded Father Parsons. He was subsequently instrumental in the founding of the English College in Madrid, and spent most of his later life in Spain. He was well known to the English government and its spies as a Jesuit of the Parsons type. His name appears frequently in State Papers between 1590 and 1620, and he obviously had an evil reputation in England, as a dangerous figure in the background of Catholic plots. As early as 1594 he is mentioned in a letter from W. Waad (an important government agent) to Sir Robert Cecil, in connection with a plot to kill the Queen.¹¹⁷

Creswell's dedication to Burghley is a masterpiece of double entendre. It is short enough to be quoted in full:

116. Catholic Record Society, vol.39 (1942), p.313, prints a letter from Father Parsons at Rome to the secretary of the Duke of Parma, mentioning that Creswell and Holt have been sent to Flanders. The same volume (pp.362-3) has their instructions. Burghley certainly knew of their mission; in a letter of 11th April 1588, Richard Hakluyt, writing from Paris to the Lord Treasurer, tells him of the arrival of Holt and Creswell at Rheims in connection with the Armada preparations. (C.S.P. Dom., Addenda, 1580-1625, p.249). In 1592 he had further evidence: James Young, a priest, writing his confession to Burghley on 27th August of that year, mentions the fact that Holt and Creswell arrived in Flanders just before the Armada. (C.S.P. Dom., 1591-94, p.259.)

117. H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.5, p.114.

I know well enough what care and solicitude keep you looking out for the safety of our commonwealth and freely embracing whatever is offered for its preservation and defence, above all by those who apart from their knowledge of domestic matters have taught about the customs and institutions of other peoples and princes as well. I know in addition how important it is in order rightly to judge any controverted question to learn what the adversaries on either side say; and that it is the mark of a man of judgment and deliberation to accept good advice from anybody, even from an enemy.

For this reason when there chanced to come to my hand certain letters on English affairs containing a great deal of not only pleasant and useful but also absolutely essential information, for the Prince, the Senate, you, and all true and honest Englishmen, I decided to send them to you first and foremost, from whom I desire the highest gratitude, and with good reason.

You will learn from them much which (because you were never out of England) you must either be unaware of, or at least somewhat hazy about. You will see what Catholics say and think about English affairs, and what courage foreigners take from them. You will learn, finally, what must be seen to, what must be done, if you are to look after the interests of yourself, your friends, and your posterity.

Accept therefore in a grateful and kindly spirit this little offering which a ready spirit brings. About the author I have nothing definite, and so make no statement; in my next communication, if, as I hope, I shall have found out, I shall tell you.

Leipzig, 15th March 1592

John Perne.¹¹⁸

118. The original Latin is as follows:

Sat scio, quanta cura, quantaq; solitudine, Reipub. nostra incolumitati, inuigilare tenearis, illaq; libenter amplecti, quae pro ea tuenda, atque propugnanda offeruntur: maxime ab ijs, qui praeter rerum domesticarum scientiam, aliorum quoque Populorum ac Principum, mores & instituta didicere. Scio praeterea, quanti sit mo-/ menti ad recte in quacunque re controuersa iudicandum, intelligere, quid ab vtroque aduersario dicatur: & prudentis, ac considerati hominis esse, bonum consilium a quocunque (imo vel ab hoste) admittere.

Qua propter, cum mihi fortuito venissent in manus, quaedam literae de rebus Anglicanis scriptae, in quibus plurima habentur, & Principi, & Senatui, & tibi, & omnibus veris & ingenuis Anglis, no modo iucunda & perutilia, sed etiam scitu plane necessaria: mihi visum est eas ad te inprimis transmittere de quo, non sine causa, optime merere cupio.

Ex ijs multa addisces, quae (quod extra Angliam non fueris) aut ignorare, aut saltē minus perspecta habere tibi necesse est.

.....continued

A copy of this book is at present in the library at Hatfield House, and it is probable therefore that Burghley read this epistle. Whether or not he recognised its author it is impossible to say. The work was attributed at the time to both Creswell and Parsons.¹¹⁹

The Exemplar Literarum, despite its dedication being signed as from Leipzig (this is certainly another piece of trickery), was printed at Rome.¹²⁰ The work, which purports to be a collection of letters from an English Catholic abroad to a friend at home, was occasioned by a proclamation against the Jesuits

Continuation of Footnote 118.

Percipies, quid de rebus Angliae dicant, quid sentiant Catholicici: quosque spiritus ab ijs ex-/teri sumant. Intelliges postremo, quid curandum, quid faciendum, vt tibi ipsi, amicis, & posteris tuis consulas.

Grato itaque, & beneuolo animo munusculum hoc accipias, quod propensa voluntas offert. De auctore quia nihil certi adhuc habeo, nihil affirmo: proximis tabellarijs, si vt spero exploratum fuerit, ad te perscribam. Lipsiae Idibus Martij. 1592.

Ioannes Pernius. (sig.*2-*3).

119. The examination of Henry Walpole in July 1594 produced the statement that "He has seen a book called Pernius, written, as some think, by F. Creswell." (C.S.P.Dom., 1591-94, p.534). On the other hand, a declaration of March 1602 of Thomas Bluet, English priest, attributes to Father Parsons "Two books in Latin, Pernius and Philopater, full of ill words against the Queen." (C.S.P.Dom., 1601-03, p.170). The work by "Philopater" here mentioned is the Responsio ad Edictum Elizabethae (1592), written by Parsons under the pseudonym of Andreas Philopater. A synoptic translation was made the same year by Creswell and published (under the pseudonym of John Philopatris) with the title An Advertisement written to a secretarie of my L. Treasurers.
120. No printer or place of printing is named in the book. Allison and Rogers, A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England (1956), state that it was printed at Rome by Vincenzo Accolti.

of 18th October 1591. But in fact it deals more broadly with the whole problem of English Catholicism. In 180 pages of close argument substantiated by frequent biblical quotations, Creswell praises the fortitude of English Catholics and declares that however much they are persecuted, the Queen will never succeed in destroying their faith. Their suffering is held up as an ideal to other lands and peoples. The English Reformation is reviewed in hostile terms, its destruction of the old English nobility lamented. The state of England is considered, and the danger which the zealous Calvinism of some of her subjects will bring to Elizabeth and her successors is emphasised. This is contrasted with the security which his Catholicism gives to that "bonus vir" (sig.C5), Philip of Spain. There is a lengthy section in justification of Philip's making war on England, with mention of the injuries he has had to suffer from English heretics and their Queen whose throne he saved in the first decade of the reign, when it was threatened by French power. The ways of achieving peace between England and Spain are then considered. Creswell shows that Catholic arms could easily and quickly overwhelm England, where, he believes, heresy is already on the wane. He emphasises the number of priests ready to come to England to continue the battle with heresy, and defends the part played by Parsons and Allen in seeking the safety of their country. The desirability of a Catholic succession to the English throne is mentioned, and the claims of the Spanish royal family asserted.

Such a succession would, Creswell claims, produce no fighting in England, as the natural propensity of Englishmen towards the Catholic faith made itself felt. The last section of the book links the English persecutors of religion with the persecutors of old: the fate of Catholics in England is likened to that of the Christians under Diocletian - and Creswell is quick to emphasise who gained the ultimate victory on the earlier occasion. In a triumphant tone he ends his book declaring that the conversion of England is planned and well under way. The only wise course for Elizabeth to adopt is to listen to the counsel of peace, and to allow her Catholic subjects the freedom to practise their religion.

One may easily imagine that Burghley would have been considerably annoyed to find his name at the front of such a work. He was probably equally annoyed by a book which Creswell published later the same year under the pseudonym of John Philopatis, and entitled An Aduertisement written to a secretarie of my L. Treasurers of Inzland. The title-page states that this was written

By an Inglishe Intelligencer as he passed throughe Germanie towards Italie. Concerninge An other booke written in Latin, and published in diuerse languages and countreyes, against her Maiesties late proclamation, for searche and apprehension of Seminary priestes, and their receauers.

It was in fact based on Parsons's Responsio to the 1591 edict against the Jesuits. Creswell here keeps up his disguise of an Englishman in exile on the continent writing to a Protestant friend at home. He addresses the "secretary" in a sort of dedicatory epistle:

From Colen I sent you one [a book against the proclamation] written in Latine by Ihon Perne Englishe man, as he nameth himself, & it goeth by way of a letter, or discourse, written to a frinde of his that desired his opinion and iudgemente aboute the saide proclamatiō, and it is directed to my L. Treasurer himself (sig.A3^v).

He describes another Latin book on the same theme as "the moste sharpe, bitter, and odious thing that euer was written by the papistes" (sig.A4). He is indeed "ashamed that it sholde be giuen vnto his honor [Burghley]" (sig.A4^v).

He goes on to give a report of Parsons's book. His translated extracts contain some fierce abuse of Burghley, rather after the fashion of Bishop Leslie's book of twenty years before. Creswell writes of "My L. Treasurers pedegrie, and how Cecil his father was grome of the wardrop, and was neuer called maister in all his life vnles it were in iest" (sig.A8). Cecil's conduct under Edward VI and Mary provides a further handle for abuse:

S^ming Dudley the Earle of Warwick to be more cunning and potent then the duke of Somersett his maister, he secretly forsooke and betrayed him..../ Vnder Q. Mary he frequented Masses, said the Litanies with the prieste, laboured a paire of greate beades" (sig.A8-A8^v).

Burghley's position under Elizabeth provokes another outburst:

My L. Treasurer hath gotten into his owne power, al the great offices almost of the courte, and countrey, and now he playing the Aman as he doeth with the Catholiques, may iustly feare the greate, and high galowes prepared by himself for Mardocheus, and the children of Israel, for that God is as iuste now as he was then and as potent (sig.B1).

After this early section come an analysis and a refutation of the various articles of the anti-Jesuit proclamation.

None of Creswell's later works is relevant here. His one dedication to Burghley is of no value as far as a study of the Lord Treasurer's patronage of literature is concerned, but it does add an interesting new motive to the list of those already noted as inspiring dedications. To the desire to seek or acknowledge Burghley's help, or to gain prestige for a book by the presence in it of the Lord Treasurer's name, must be added this obvious attempt not only to amuse Catholics by the incongruity of such a dedication, but also to abuse the Lord Treasurer through it. Of all the works dedicated to Burghley, one may be sure that this was the least welcome.

Burghley's patronage of anti-Catholic works was more active and enthusiastic than in any other field of literature. The assistance which he gave to William Whitaker over a considerable period is a fine example of Elizabethan literary patronage at work, and several of the other writers discussed in this chapter were occasionally grateful for his help. It is an indication of his preoccupations as a man and as a politician that his most active patronage was exercised in a cause which he believed vitally affected the safety of England.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SEPARATIST CONTROVERSY

By the later 1580's the Elizabethan Church Settlement seemed more securely established than it had ever been before. The great menace of Rome, in 1570 in the form of the Bull of Excommunication, in 1580 as the Jesuit Mission, in 1588 as the Armada, had been for the moment overcome. On the other side, the pressure from the Puritans for further reform on Genevan principles had been successfully resisted, and the Puritan movement, especially since the harsh measures taken against it after the appointment of John Whitgift to Canterbury in 1583, had been forced underground into secret synods and classes. With the end of the decade however, two developments provided another source of disturbance:- the publication of the Marprelate Tracts, and the emergence of a vigorous Separatist movement, mainly around London.

The vigour and wit of the Marprelate attack on the Established Church caused an immediate stir¹. From the time of the publication of the first of the tracts, The Epistle, in 1588, several writers had attempted to defend the Church of England against this new and devastating offensive. Simultaneously with the Marprelate Tracts came the rapid growth of the London Separatist groups, and the

1. An account of the tracts and their publication is given in Edward Arber, An Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy (1879).

continued development of the Puritan "classical" organization². The defenders of the Anglican Church, the great controversy with Rome relaxing somewhat, found another adversary on the opposite flank.

In 1590 Burghley was among the dedicatees of two works which belong in this pattern of the defence of the Church of England from the leftist attacks. The first of these is A Sermon Preached at Torceter, in the Countie of Northampton the 8. of June. Anno Dom. 1588. at the visitation of the right reuerend Father in God, the Bishop of Peeterborow. By Iohn Beatniffe Preacher of the woord of God in Brackley (1590), dedicated to "the most reuerend Father in God, my Lords grace, Archbishop of Cāterbury: Sir Christopher Hatton knight, Lord high Chaunceller of England: Sir William Scicil Knight Lord Burgleigh, Lord High Treasurer of England: Sir Christopher Wray Knight, Lord Chief Iustice of England: and to al other which sincerely fauour the word of God". The dedicatory epistle puts forward the ecclesiastical situation with vehement clarity:

Amongst the manifold calamities and griefes of hart that fall vpon the Church in this old age of the world (right Honorable and welbeloued in the Lord) this is not the least, that the peace of the Church, is daily broken in peeces, and that by such as challenge to themselues the name of the Churche, which crie as did the Iewes, The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord: but I feare me, be as Christ sayeth, The / congregation of Sathan, for they dispise Rulers, and speake euill of such as be in aucthority. They delight in questions and endles genealogies, which gender strife rather then Godly edyfing, which is in Faith. These men as they trouble the publique State of the Church, with Schismes: so doe they also disquiete the consciences of many good Soules by making doubtts and ambiguities in matters that be most plaine and easie. They draw so many as they can frō obedience

2. The aims and failures of the Puritans in the last quarter of Elizabeth's reign are investigated in M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism (1939), pp.283-302.

of the Godly Magistrate, denouncing all those to be execrable, cursed and abominable, which bee not of their faction, yea they be growen to such grosnesse, which they call Puritie, that as they say, they dare not defile their cleane vndefiled and regenerat Soules, by ioyning in Praier with such as hold of the reformed state of / this Realme. So by this means they deface so much as in them is our Church, our Ministry, our Orders, and Praiers in the Church. That which they say is good, that order which they obserue is godly howsoever it bee: they dislike all others but themselues and their followers. But what is this? truly euen the verie practise of the false apostles in the time of Paul: for they to maintain gentilisme among the people, defaced Paul, and made them beleue that hee was not the apostle of Christ: euen so these men by the instigation of Satan, to ouerthrow our Church, and the godly gouernment thereof, disgrace Paul, and deface our Preachers, and al to wound weake consciences, and to make comendable themselues and their new-fangled deuises. This their sinister dealing hath done, yea and doth at / this day much harm in the church: for besides the thinges forenamed, it hindereth many good and godly men from dooing that good which they would³.

The short sermon, on the text "Feed ye the flock of the Lord" (Peter, v.2), hardly fulfils its stated purpose "resolutely to defend that which they so greatly dislike, that is, our church and Ministerie, the order of our excommunication, and our praiers."⁴ It deals with the nature of the food, the feeders and the fed in its original text, and during its thirty pages says nothing specifically applicable to the contemporary situation in England. It seems obvious that two years after preaching it, Beatniffe had the opportunity of publishing his sermon and wrote the rather striking dedication to give it a more topical flavour.

No connection whatever can be shown to have existed between Beatniffe and Lord Burghley. This sermon is Beatniffe's only publication. He was installed as vicar of Brackley in October 1587 as M.A. and resigned in 1590⁵. A John Beatniffe had matriculated as

3. Sigs A2 - A3^v.

4. Dedicatory epistle, sig A3^v.

5. Longden, Northamptonshire & Rutland Clergy (1938), vol.II, p.35.

sizar at Trinity College, Cambridge at Easter 1573⁶. Nothing else is known of the author's life. One imagines him as an obscure country parson composing his own modest defence of the ministry to which he belonged, and dedicating it to the four most prominent English statesmen he could think of.

The writer of the second of these two 1590 works is a very different figure. Adrian (or Hadrian) Saravia⁷ (1531-1613) was a Flemish Protestant who had first come to live in Britain in 1564, in Guernsey. He returned to Leyden in 1582 as Professor of Divinity, but in 1587 came back to England after being implicated in a political plot. In 1590 he published his De Diuersis Ministrorum Euangelii Gradibus, republished in English the following year. The work is dedicated to three of the four peers whom Beatniffe had addressed - Archbishop Whitgift, Sir Christopher Hatton and Lord Burghley. Saravia mentions favours received from all of them, but unfortunately fails to specify who is responsible for which:

One of you (vppon my repaire into England) disdained not to entertaine me a stranger with no straunge countenance, and straunge courtesie: The other also dained to accept me (vnworthy) into his owne family: And the other of his especiall fauour brought to passe, that by her Maiesties priuiledge and preferment, I might be made of a forreiner a freeman, of an alien a Cittizen.⁸

6. Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses.

7. The account of his life is based on the article by G.W. Sprott in D.N.B. A copy of the De Diuersis is offered in the 1687 sale catalogue.

8. Sig.A1. The original Latin reads as follows: "Alius enim vestrum me, post meum in Angliam reditum, summa humanitate & beneuolentia complecti non destitit: alius etiam inter domesticos numerare dignatur: alius vero fauore suo effecit, vt Regiae Maiestatis gratia & beneficio ex hospite fierem ciuis." (sig.*2).

Burghley's was most likely the last of these favours. His is in fact the third name to be mentioned in the dedication heading, and one might therefore logically assume that he would be mentioned third in the list of services rendered. The possibility is strengthened by the fact that Cecil had been asked several years before to arrange for the naturalization of Saravia by letters patent⁹. There are a few hints of a certain closeness of trust between the Lord Treasurer and the Dutch scholar, though no evidence of Burghley directly helping Saravia. The suggestions however are clear enough. In a letter of January 31st 1567 about his remaining in England, Saravia addresses Burghley as his "patron"¹⁰, while after his return to Leyden, it is to Burghley that Saravia writes on June 9th 1585 with suggestions on how the English government should act with regard to the Dutch revolt, and particularly requesting that Queen Elizabeth should be persuaded to accept the sovereignty of the Netherlands¹¹. Perhaps Burghley helped to secure for Saravia the rectory of Tattenhill in Staffordshire soon after the latter's arrival in England. (It was from here that Saravia moved in 1595 to Lewisham in Kent where he became the close friend of Richard Hooker).

The work addressed to these three eminent patrons in 1590 is a theological document of some importance. It is concerned with

9. C. S. P. Dom. Addenda, 1566-79, p.17. A letter from Chamberlain, the governor of Jersey, to Sir William Cecil.
10. C. S. P. Dom. Addenda, 1566-79, p.27.
11. Lansdowne MSS. Vol.45, Item 21.

the ecclesiastical situation not only in England, but also in the Low Countries, and provoked a reply¹² from no less a person than Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor in Geneva.

Saravia set out to justify the ecclesiastical hierarchy which existed in England against those who sought a more austere reformation. He deploras the views of the extremists:

For now a / daies (for sooth) no Church is thought reformed, vnlesse First all Church dignities, be either thrust out at the Church porch, or thrust downe to the belfry, and then all the Church goods, be either put in their great bagge, or giuen to the greedy baggage. The which error if it doe proceed (as it will if it be not nipt in the head) it will one day reuele, not only upon the church, but also vppon the whole state a greater misery, then can easely be driuen into euery common mans head.¹³

The work is divided into three parts: "Of the diuerse degrees of the Ministers of the Gospel"; "Of the honor which is due vnto Priestes and Prelates of the Church"; "Of Sacrilege, and the punishment thereof". Saravia defends the institution of bishops and archbishops as divinely appointed and originating in the Apostolic Age of the Church. He claims that there have always been differences in the power of the various ministers of the Gospel, and upholds the idea of the apostolic succession in the ordination of bishops. In the second section of his work, Saravia appeals for that reverence towards priests and pastors, which has

12. Ad Tractationem de Ministrorum euangelii gradibus, ab Hadriano Saravia editam. Theodori Bezae Responsio. (Geneva, 1592).

13. Sig. A2-A2^v. The original reads as follows: "Error in causa est, quod nulla Ecclesia hodie satis reformata esse a plerisque creditur, nisi Ecclesiastica dignitas infra infirmiae plebis sortem deiiciatur, & quidquid quocunque nomine aliquando possedit Ecclesia, diripiendum exponatur. Qui error sic pergat, non tantum Ecclesiae, sed toti reipublicae maiorem aliquando adferet cladem, quam hominum vulgo persuaderi possit." (Sig.*3).

been shown since the time of Moses, to be continued. He defends the payment of "oblations" to pastors, and indeed asserts it as part of the Christian's duty. He even defends the appointment of ecclesiastical persons to civil offices, and finds it important that bishops should be addressed as 'My Lord', and should have large retinues to maintain their true dignity. The book's last section, against sacrilege, is perhaps more closely connected with what had been happening in the Dutch church¹⁴ than with the situation in England. Saravia claims that the possessions of the Church are sacred property which no man has the right to destroy.

This careful defence of the system of ecclesiastical hierarchy established in England was so well received that on July 9th 1590 Saravia was incorporated D.D. at Oxford. As a vindication of the degree of "Reformation" which the Elizabethan government had seen fit to concede, it can conveniently take its place beside Beatniffe's more modest defence of the same establishment. These two works are representative of the ecclesiastical scene in 1590, a scene which had been disturbed and complicated by the rise to prominence of the religious views of the Separatists.

Separatism, of course, means separation from the Established Church¹⁵. It is a more general term than Congregationalism, which implies not only Separation, but belief in the all-sufficiency of

14. The destruction of church finery and decorations had gone on almost ceaselessly in the Calvinistic areas of the Netherlands since the beginning of the revolt against Spain.
15. This account of the history of Tudor Separatism is based on M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism; Champlin Burrage, Early English Dissenters (1912); and R.W.Dale, History of English Congregationalism (1907).

the single congregation as the religious unit. In fact however, the majority of Elizabethan Separatists were Congregationalists. The Separatist had a conception of religious reform quite different from that of the Puritan. Both had similar ideas about doctrine and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and both believed the Church of England to be in a state of corruption, with further reform essential. But to the Separatist this corruption of the Established Church invalidated its claim to being a member of the Body of Christ, and the only way to find salvation was to separate oneself from it. To the Puritan, separation meant schism, and schism meant confusion and chaos. The Church might be corrupt, but it must be reformed from within, purged of the relics of Rome, and brought into line with the perfection of the Genevan system. Despite its corruption, it was still a part of the true Church of Christ; to condemn it as false and anti-christian was an appalling heresy. It has been frequently observed that Precisians or Puritans were the keenest members of the Anglican clergy during the reign of Elizabeth, the men who, though dissatisfied with its present condition, had the highest hopes and ideals for the future of the English Church. It is therefore not surprising that they were the first and the most vehement in replying to the disruptive threats of the Separatist doctrines, the first to protect the church organization which they had themselves attacked. From this background come the next four books to be dedicated to Burghley.

The congregational idea was an old one even in 1590. It

is after all to be expected that men with deep religious convictions opposed to those of the establishment should meet in secret to put their beliefs into practice. The Separatists themselves never tired of showing their likeness to the persecuted Christian congregations of Asia Minor under the Roman Empire, while in England, Lollard groups had frequently met in secret after the statute 'De Haeretico Comburendo' of 1401. More recent examples were the isolated English congregations on the continent during the reign of Mary, and in particular in the same period, the small congregation which met in secret in London to worship according to the Prayer Book of 1552. It is interesting to note that in the early 1590's, the followers of Barrow were using some of the same meeting places formerly frequented by that Marian congregation, and they make a point of this in their many complaints of unchristian dealing against them; they were apparently conscious of the continuity.

Elizabethan Separatists are usually called Brownists, though in fact Robert Browne was not the first whose discontent with the settlement of 1559 led him to break away from the Established Church. In 1567, a congregation meeting at Plumbers' Hall in London was captured and examined. R..W.Dale¹⁶ quotes a letter of Archbishop Grindal to Martin Bullinger about this group:

Some London citizens of the lowest order, together with four or five ministers, remarkable neither for their judgement nor learning, have openly separated from us; and sometimes in

16. History of English Congregationalism, p.92.

private houses, sometimes in the fields, and occasionally even in ships, they have held their meetings and administered the Sacraments. Besides this, they have ordained ministers, elders, deacons, after their own way, and have even excommunicated some who had seceded from their church ... The number of this sect is about two hundred, but consisting of more women than men.

There were other arrests in 1568 and the years following, and there is no doubt that in these London groups can be seen the germs of Barrowism, the history of these congregations being almost continuous from the reign of Mary. The details of their development are confused and their beliefs obscure, though there is no doubt that they worshipped according to the Genevan Order, and that their congregationalism was seen only as an enforced temporary step in the setting up of a Presbyterian national church. It is important to note that some of the names appearing on court depositions and prison lists relating to these congregations re-appear in the 1590's in connection with the followers of Barrow.

In view of all this, it is perhaps hardly accurate to continue to term Robert Browne the "Pioneer of Modern Congregationalism." But the extreme importance of Browne in the history of the movement can hardly be denied. This is not the place for a potted biography of Browne (this can be found in F.J.Powicke's pamphlet¹⁷), but something of his importance has to be noted. His violently Puritan preaching around Cambridge had already made him widely known before he began his work in East Anglia with Robert Harrison in 1580. Persecution and imprisonment eventually led to emigration, and the end of 1581 he and his congregation settled in Middelburg. After disagreement within the group had upset the settlement there, Browne

17. Robert Browne: Pioneer of Modern Congregationalism (1910).

crossed to Scotland with a handful of followers and thence returned to England; after further violent preaching, Browne was excommunicated, a step which shook him into conformity. He made a humble submission before Whitgift in 1585, and after five years of lay work was admitted to the living of Achurch, where he retired to comparative orthodoxy and almost complete obscurity. But in 1582, while at Middelburg, Browne had published a volume of three treatises which is one of the most significant ecclesiastical documents of the whole period. The title of the first of these sums up in a phrase the exact Separatist position: "A Treatise of reformation without tarying for anie." This is not only an attack on the Church of England, but also upon those preachers who hesitate to proceed to the necessary reforms in defiance of the authorities. The English Church is so corrupt in his view that true Christians must withdraw themselves from it, and establish the type of religious society described in the next treatise, "A Booke which Sheweth the life and manners of all true Christians." This pictures the church as gatherings of believers brought together by their own wish and bound by a covenant. The church is seen not as an all-embracing institution, but as including "only the worthiest, be they never so few." Browne denies the ecclesiastical authority of the magistrate, and is vehement in his denunciation of reforming preachers who fear to maintain their own ecclesiastical authority in defiance of the civil magistrate. To what extent Browne envisaged a permanent separation it is difficult to say, though in the religious atmosphere of the period it would be more likely for him to hope that

the separation would be only temporary, and that ultimately a new state church according to his own principles would be established.

The works of Browne¹⁸ are the first important formulations of Separatist doctrine in the period. They contain all the essentials of later "Brownist" teaching, especially the condemnation of Puritan reformers who refuse to leave the English Church. It is interesting to note that one of the first to attack these views was the Puritan leader Cartwright in a letter which Browne answered in 1583¹⁹. In 1583 also, two men, Coppin and Thacker, were hanged for distributing Brownist books. The pattern for later events was set, and the statute under which Coppin and Thacker were executed was the one under which Barrow and Greenwood were tried nearly ten years later. The act in question is 23 Eliz. Cap.2:

if any Person shall devise, write, print or set forth any Book, Rhime, Ballad, Letter or Writing, containing any false, seditious and slanderous Matter, to the Defamation of the Queen, or to the stirring or moving of any Rebellion; or shall cause any such Book, Rhime, Writing, &c to be written, printed or published ... every such offence shall be adjudged Felony. (Statutes at Large, Vol.II, p.625).

The statute, originally passed as a measure against the Catholics, proved extremely useful in dealing with the Brownists for several years.

18. They have been re-printed: The Writings of Robert Harrison and Robert Browne, edited by Albert Peel and Leland H. Carlson (1953).
19. An answers to master Cartwright his letter for ioyning with the English Church. (London, nd).

By 1586 there was a convinced though very small Separatist minority in England, consisting of the remnants of Browne's congregation around Norwich (which survived throughout the reign) and also of the London groups. It must have been some time in 1586 that two men who were to become the most important leaders of the movement in the reign of Elizabeth, began to frequent the London congregation. Henry Barrow and John Greenwood²⁰ were both former Cambridge men. Barrow had matriculated as a fellow-commoner of Clare Hall in 1566, and Greenwood as a sizar of Corpus Christi College in 1578. (Greenwood's time in Cambridge had coincided with Browne's early vigorous preaching in the area, though this may be quite unconnected with Greenwood's later views). Greenwood was ordained minister and went to East Anglia as chaplain to Lord Robert Rich, the declared Puritan leader, while Barrow entered Gray's Inn in 1576, and is alleged to have lived a dissolute life about the court, but to have reformed on hearing a Puritan preacher. There is no evidence for the date or the exact nature of his conversion, though it was apparently abrupt. In 1592 Bacon (in "Observations on a Libel") wrote: "He made a leap from a vain and libertine youth to a preciseness in the highest degree, the strangeness of which alteration made him very much spoken of."²¹ Bancroft makes a similar accusation:

20. The details of the lives of Barrow and Greenwood are taken from F.J.Powicke, Henry Barrow and the Exiled Church of Amsterdam (1900). Other sources are cited.

21. Francis Bacon, Life and Letters, ed. James Spedding (1862), p.166.

When Barrow by roisting and gaming had wasted himselfe, and was runne so far into manie a mans debt, that he durst not shew his head abroad: he bent his wits another waie to mischief. (Surnay of the Pretended Holy Discipline (1593), sig. Rh4).

Greenwood meanwhile had been left without employment by the death of Lord Rich, and apparently came to London where both he and Barrow joined the Separatist congregation. The exact date of their doing so is unknown, but by the autumn of 1587²² they were obviously close friends and also leaders of the Separatist group. On October 8th of this year Greenwood was arrested with twenty-one others at a conventicle, and committed to the Clink. The following 19th November Barrow visited him there, and was himself arrested. Barrow himself tells the story and the fact that he says "November 19th, being the Lords Day"²³ again establishes the date as 1587 beyond question. On this day Barrow was examined before the Archbishop, the Archdeacon and Dr. Cosins. He set the pattern for all his later examinations by refusing to take the oath. What is interesting about this first examination is that Barrow is accused of remarks made against the Church of England, many of which are contained in "A Briefe Summe of the Profession of the Brownists" printed by Gifford as a preliminary to his Short Treatise against the Donatists of England in 1590, where he (Gifford) states that he had seen and answered this "more then two yeares past" (sig.a2). It is therefore quite probable that

22. The year used to be taken as 1586 until Champlin Burrage (Early English Dissenters, Vol.II, p.19) brought forward evidence to establish the year beyond doubt.

23. The Examinations of Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood and John Penrie. Penned by the prisoners themselves before their deaths. sig. A11.

an early manuscript form of this had circulated in 1587, and had been the direct cause of Barrow's arrest.²⁴

After his first examination, Barrow was committed to the Gatehouse. With the two Separatist leaders in prison, the stage was set for the next five years. The Barrowist challenge had been made, and though the main leaders of the Presbyterian movement had failed to respond as Barrow would have wished, there were adversaries with whom to argue, and despite the extraordinary difficulties of their position, the imprisoned leaders managed to keep up a more or less continuous stream of writings in justification of their views.

Barrow and Greenwood remained respectively in the Gatehouse and the Clink for some six months, after which they were brought for trial at Newgate sessions, accused under the act 23 Eliz.Cap.1.²⁵ Unable to find sureties in the sum of 260 pounds each, they were committed to the Fleet. Sir George Paule, who as controller of

24. The "Brieve Summe" which Gifford prints in 1590 contains the following four reasons for separation from the Church of England: 1. They worship the true God after a false manner ... 2. the prophane vngodly multitude ... are retained in the bosome and body of their Church. 3. they haue a false and Antichristian ministry imposed vpon them. 4. their Churches are ruled by ... an Antichristian and vngodly gouernment. (sig.B1^v). These four points remained the basis of the Barrowist position for the next few years.

25. Barrow and Greenwood were accused under paragraph 5:
"That every Person above the Age of sixteen Yeares, which shall not repair to some Church, Chappel or usual Place of Common Prayer ... and so forbearing by the Space of twelve months, shall, for his or her Obstinacy, after Certificate thereof in Writing made into the Court commonly called the King's Bench ... be bound with two sufficient Sureties in the Sum of two hundred Pounds at least, to the good Behaviour, and so to continue bound until such Time as the Persons so bound do conform themselves and come to the Church" (Statutes at Large, vol.II,p.624). Like other statutes^{used} against the Separatist, this had originally been passed as a measure against the Catholics.

Archbishop Whitgift's household may be credited with a close acquaintance with the case, lists the following accusations brought against their teaching:

That our Church is no Church, or at the least, no true Church; yeelding these reasons therefore. First, that the worship of the English Church is flat Idolatrie. Secondly, that we admit into our Church persons vnsanctified. Thirdly, that our preachers haue no lawfull calling. Fourthly, that our government is vngodly. Fiftly, that no Bishop of Preacher, preacheth Christ sincerely, and truely. Sixtly, that the people of euery Parish ought to choose their Bishop, and that euery Elder, though hee be no Doctor nor Pastor, is a Bishop. Seauenthy, that all the precise, which refuse the ceremonies of the Church and yet preach in the same Church, straine at a Gnat and swallow a Cammell, and are close hypocrites, and walke in a lefthanded policie; ... that set Prayer is Blasphemous.²⁶

This is a complete summary of the position taken up by Barrow and Greenwood from then until their deaths in 1593.

The main work of the two imprisoned Separatist leaders was in writing. As opportunities presented themselves in prison their books were composed on scraps of paper which were then smuggled out and printed in the Netherlands. In this way some of the most important works in the history of English Separatism were first printed. Barrow went further than Browne had done in seeing the English Church quite explicitly as the "false church," equating it in a quotation from Ezekial with that of Rome: "As the mother, such the daughter is."²⁷ The object of his work throughout is to destroy completely the claims of the English Church to be considered a true church. Greenwood undertakes the

26. The Life of the Most Reverend and Religious Prelate, Iohn Whitgift (1612), sig.G2^v.

27. A Briefe Discoverie of the False Church, Title-page.

more modest task of answering the smaller arguments of opponents, and attacking the practice of reading set prayers in church. The reports of the examinations they underwent show clearly that Barrow is the chief target of the authorities, and this is confirmed by Bancroft who remarks: "Greenwood is but a simple fellow, Barrow is the man."²⁸ Barrow underwent five examinations in the course of his imprisonment, and Greenwood one; in all these they both refused to take the oath, and demanded a lawful trial or a public disputation. They continually refused to recognize the authority of the Court of High Commission which tried them.

Barrow remained in prison until his execution in 1593, but Greenwood enjoyed a short period of freedom late in 1592 and established a well-organized congregation in London with the help of Francis Johnson,²⁹ who had been the minister to the Merchant Adventurers in Middelburg, but who had adopted Separatist views on reading one of the works by Barrow printed in the Netherlands. Johnson was pastor and Greenwood teacher, and to this congregation came John Penry, whose connection with the printing, if not with the composition, of the Marprelate tracts is beyond doubt. Penry³⁰ joined the congregation early in 1593, and preached frequently at their secret meetings in the countryside around London.

By the spring of 1593, after more large scale arrests including those of Greenwood, Johnson and Penry, there were more than one hundred people in prison in London for their Separatist beliefs, and the problem was rapidly becoming an acute one for

28. Suruay of the Pretended Holy Discipline (1593), sig.Hh4.

29. The account of Francis Johnson is based on the article in D.N.B. by

30. Information is from the D.N.B. article by Sidney Lee. [Alexander Gordon.]

the government. A speech made at this time in parliament by Sir Walter Raleigh states that "there are near twenty thousand Brownists in England,"³¹ The estimate is either a gross exaggeration or is meant to include all Puritan non-conformists, but it was obvious that some new measures had to be taken. In April Barrow and Greenwood were hanged under the statute 23 Eliz.Cap.2 under which Coppin and Thacker had suffered ten years before; in May Penry came to the same end. After these executions however, a new policy towards Separatism was heralded by an Act to retain the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due Obedience, (35 Eliz.Cap.1)³². By interposing the sentence of banishment between imprisonment and execution, it had a profound effect on the history of English Separatism. From this time

31. Quoted in R.W.Dale, History of English Congregationalism, p.166.

32. "For the preventing and avoiding of such great Inconveniencies and Perils as might happen and grow by the wicked and dangerous Practices of seditious Sectaries and Disloyal Persons. Be it enacted &c, That if any Person above the Age of sixteen Years which shall obstinately refuse to repair to some Church, Chapel or usual Place of Common Prayer to hear divine Service ... and shall forbear to do the same by the Space of one Month ... or shall come to be present at any unlawful Assemblies, Conventicles or Meetings, under Colour of Pretence of any Exercise of Religion ... shall be committed to Prison, there to remain without Bail or Mainprise, until they shall conform and yield themselves ...

If any such person shall not within three Months next after they shall offend against this Act, conform themselves, they shall abjure this Realm of England and all other the Queen's Majesty's Dominions for ever, and thereupon shall depart out of this Realm at such Port or Haven, and within such Time, as shall in that Behalf be assigned and appointed by the Justice before whom such Abjuration shall be made." (Statutes at Large, II, p.671).

there were no more executions, and most of the imprisoned Barrowists were liberated. A great many of them went into exile in the Netherlands, and though some of the leaders were kept in prison a little longer, all were ultimately released, including Francis Johnson, who joined his congregation at Amsterdam in 1597. For a time there was amity, but dissension quickly arose, with disagreements between Johnson and Henry Ainsworth the new teacher, and considerable hostility to the fashionable apparel of Johnson's elegant wife. At the end of the reign it seemed as though the ideals for which Barrow and Greenwood had died had disappeared in a sea of petty dissension, and become little more than a suitable object for the ridicule of Ben Jonson in The Alchemist. In fact however, the congregational idea had penetrated a good deal deeper, and was destined to play a part of enormous importance in English (and American) history during the next century, and after.

The leading figures in the history of Elizabethan Separatism were, then, Browne, Barrow and Greenwood, Penry and Francis Johnson. It is remarkable that Burghley had personal dealings with all of them at one time or another, and an examination of these dealings will give a deeper understanding of the motives of those writers who dedicated works to him on the topic.

Robert Browne³³ was, in Burghley's words, "a young kinsman" of the Cecils. The relationship was a very distant one, since

33. The material here is from F.J.Powicke, Robert Browne, Pioneer of Modern Congregationalism.

Robert Browne was the great-grandson of Christopher Browne by his first wife, and a son of the same Christopher by his second wife had married the aunt of William Cecil. Probably of more significance was the fact that the Brownes were an important family in Burghley's home district of Stamford, and the grand-fathers of both Browne and Burghley had served together as M.P's for the borough. Presumably on the basis of this relationship, Burghley came to the rescue of Browne on a number of occasions throughout the latter's stormy career. The first of these interventions came in April 1581, after Bishop Freke of Norwich had complained to Burghley about Browne's conduct in his diocese.³⁴ Burghley replied in a letter to the bishop that his young kinsman's errors were the result of "zeal rather than malice," expressed the hope that he would be "charitably conferred with and reformed," and proposed that he might be sent to London "to be further dealt with as I shall take order for upon his coming"³⁵. A second letter from Freke to Burghley the following August complained more strongly about Browne, and asked for the Lord Treasurer's help in suppressing him.³⁶ Shortly after this Browne and his congregation moved to Middelburg, quite possibly on Burghley's advice. After Browne's removal from there to Scotland and from Scotland to England, Burghley again became

34. The letter is quoted by Strype, Annals, III (i), p.22.

35. The letter is quoted in Dale, History of English Congregationalism, p.124.

36. Strype, Annals, III (i), p.22.

active on his behalf. He seems to have been at least partially responsible for Browne's submission to Whitgift, and soon afterwards sent Browne (now in his thirty-fifth year) home to his father at Stamford with a letter pleading Browne's cause with his (Browne's) own father:

I thought good, considering he was your son, and of my blood, to send unto my lord of Canterbury on his behalf that he might find what reasonable favour he could show him, before whom I perceive he hath answered in some good sort, ... and, for that he purposeth to repair to you, I have thought good to accompany him with these letters, and to pray you for this cause, or any of his former dealings, not to withdraw from him your fatherly love and affection; not doubting but with time he will be recovered and withdrawn from the relics of some fond opinions of his, which will be the better done if he be dealt with in some kind and temperate manner.³⁷

The following June, Burghley furnished Browne with a letter to the Bishop of Peterborough:

Although it might seem somewhat strange that I should write to your lordship in the favour of this bearer, Robert Browne, who hath been so notably disliked in the world for his strange manner of writing and opinions held by him; yet seeing how he hath now a good time forsaken the same, and submitted himself to the order and government established in the Church, I have been the rather moved to recommend him to your lordship's favour, and to pray you if haply any conceit may be in you, that there should remain any relics in him of his former erroneous opinions, your lordship would confer with him, and finding him dutiful and conformable, as I hope you shall, to receive him again into the ministry, and to give him your best means and help for some ecclesiastical preferment: wherein I am the more willing to do him good, and am not a little glad at the reclaiming of him, being of kindred to me, as your lordship, I think, knows.³⁸

37. Thomas Fuller, Church History of Britain, vol.v, p.65-66.

38. Benjamin Hanbury, Historical Memorials Relating to the Independents or Congregationalists (1839), vol.I, p.24 (quoting Landsdowne Mss, vol.103, item 60).

In April of the following year, Browne wrote to Burghley about a project he had for "a new establishment of learning" solely on the basis of the Bible. He requests permission to "read publique lectures and make profession according."³⁹ As Browne here suggests a complete revolution in English education, involving the disappearance of the universities as they then existed, it is hardly surprising that nothing was done to implement his suggestions. The next year however, (June 1591) Browne received the rectory of Achurch-cum-Thorpe, a living in the gift of Burghley himself, and retired to obscurity.

The extraordinary record of Burghley's aid to Browne, to whose religious views he showed frequent antipathy, can only be explained by the rather tenuous relationship between them, and also perhaps by their common local origin. The first of the Separatists, and the man who gave his name to the whole movement, Browne can be seen to have enjoyed Burghley's protection over a long period, and it is likely that he would have suffered the same fate as some of those who later adopted his ideas had it not been for the Lord Treasurer's aid. This is an obvious case of very close patronage, and yet not one of Browne's books is dedicated to his noble kinsman and protector.

From 1589 onwards, Burghley received a number of requests and letters from imprisoned Separatists, perhaps because they knew of the assistance he had given to Browne, perhaps because, after the deaths of Leicester (September 1588) and Walsingham

39. The Writings of Robert Browne and Robert Harrison, ed. Peal and Carlson, p.530.

(April 1590) there was no other Privy Counsellor but Burghley from whom they could hope for aid. The attempts of Barrow and Greenwood to secure his intercession will be considered later, together with the book they dedicated to him, and so the first of these requests to be considered is a rather pathetic letter from one Christopher Bowman to Burghley of March 1590. He tells him that a year ago he was one of those who carried a Barrowist petition to the Queen, for which he had been imprisoned. He continues: "In consideration wherof your orator, beinge a very poor man, havinge charge of wief and children, maie it pleas your Lordships of youre lenitie and abundant pittie, to taikē corinzavacon [consideration or commiseration] of your orator's lamentable case, and to vouchsafe forthwith to enlarge him of his said impresonment, and he shall praie to the almightie for youre Honor's preservacon."⁴⁰ Burghley apparently ignored the letter, for two years later Bowman was still in jail. In April of the same year (1590) Burghley received a petition from fifty-nine Barrowist prisoners in eight jails, which also gives the names of ten prisoners who had already died. It is more than likely that, as the recognized leader of the prisoners, Barrow composed this petition himself. Both his and Greenwood's names appear on it. There are the usual requests

40. The Writings of John Greenwood, 1587-90. Edited by Leland H. Carlson (1962), p.284. (from Lansdowne Mss, vol.109. item 8). The square brackets are Carlson's.

for a fair trial or a public conference, and the petitioners foresee the possibility of their being executed and finish almost threateningly: "Your honorable commisseration may prevent God's wrathe from your self and this whole lande by tymelie redresse thereof."⁴¹

During the early months of 1593 John Penry wrote a number of letters to Burghley which survive in Penry's notebook. Some of these letters were written before his imprisonment on 23rd of March, as the following extract from one of them shows:

Yet not well understanding by my wife whether your Lordships pleasur bee that I shold repayr unto you; I have agayn directed hir unto your H. to know your mynd more fully in that poynt.⁴²

He goes on to ask how to reach Burghley without having to give his name, and even to ask Burghley to give him a pledge not to hand him over to the authorities. It is interesting and remarkable that Burghley should (as the extract shows he did) ask such a man to visit him, a man strongly suspected of being Martin Marprelate himself. In other letters Penry's appeals are for a just trial before an impartial court, and he suggests in more than one that God will judge Burghley severely if he fails to show mercy and justice to the imprisoned brethren. On 28th May he wrote his last letter to the Lord Treasurer, protesting his loyalty to the Queen, and his innocence of the

41. Writings of Greenwood, ed. Carlson, p.286 (quoting Lansdowne Mss, vol.109, item 15).

42. The Notebook of John Penry, 1593, edited by Albert Peel, (1944), p.71.

charges brought against him, and informing Burghley that he has taken the advice of his (Burghley's) "last speech used unto mee," and written to the Queen.⁴³ It becomes obvious that Burghley had in fact done a great deal to help Penry, including giving him at least one personal interview. Here again is a clear example of patronage without a dedication, and it may well be that Burghley had every intention of saving Penry had the High Commission not moved too quickly for him. The young Welshman was hustled out of jail on the 29th of May and hanged secretly, being given only a few hours to prepare himself.

The last of the Separatist leaders of the reign of Elizabeth followed the example of his predecessors in appealing to Burghley when he found himself in jail. On 18th January 1594 Francis Johnson wrote to Burghley from the Fleet. This was not the first time he had sought the Lord Treasurer's aid: in 1589, before allying himself with Barrow and Greenwood, he had been expelled from Christ's College Cambridge for preaching a violent sermon at Great St. Mary's in favour of a Presbyterian hierarchy, and a request to the Chancellor had resulted in his being advised to appeal.⁴⁴ (In fact the appeal was unsuccessful, and Johnson went abroad). In January 1594 he wrote to Burghley, obviously not for the first time since his imprisonment, as follows:

43. Champlin Burrage, Early English Dissenters, vol. II, p.93 (quoting Egerton Mss, fol.49).

44. H.C.Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (1958), pp.159-161.

Unto your lordship therefore I am bold, in the name also of my brethren, once again to make this complaint: humbly praying your good Honour to shew that love unto Christ at this time, in us his poor afflicted children, which he requireth at your hands, accounted as done or denied unto himself; and therefore will according recompense in that great day.⁴⁵

There is nothing to suggest that Burghley did anything to help Johnson, since the latter remained in prison until 1596, by which time Separatism had ceased to be a major problem to the English government.

This then is the background to the dedication to Burghley of four books about Separatism. Four writers are involved in the contest:- Doctor Robert Some of Cambridge; Master George Gifford, Preacher of Maldon; and Henry Barrow and John Greenwood, Separatists. In a dramatic scene on 18th March 1589⁴⁶ two of these were brought together before Burghley. The occasion was the third of the examinations of which Barrow later composed accounts⁴⁷ It followed five days after the presentation of a Barrowist petition to the Queen, and took place before the Lord Treasurer, Burghley; the Lord Chancellor, Hatton; the Lord Buckhurst; Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury; Aylmer, Bishop of

45. Strype, Annals, vol.IV, p.187.

46. The date is established by Leland H. Carlson, ed. The Writings of Henry Barrow 1587-90 (1962), pp.173-177.

47. The Examinations of Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood and John Penrie before the high commissioners and Lordes of the Counsel. Penned by the prisoners themselves before their deaths (Nd.).

London; with Dr. Some and Justice Young also present. Barrow is here virtually standing trial before the Privy Council, and therefore by implication before the Queen herself. The parts of the examination in which Burghley takes an active part are worth quoting at length:

the L. Treasurer began and asked me my name: which when I had told him, he asked me if I had not been sometime of the court: I answered that I had sometime frequented the court: he said he remembred me not./

.

L. Treas. Why are you in prison Barrows?
B. I am in prison my Lo. vpon the statute made for recusantes.
L. Treas. Why will yow not goe to church?
B. My whole desire is to come to the church of God.
L. Tre. Thow art a fantastical fellow I see, but why not to our churches?
B. My Lo. the causes are great and many, it were too long to shew them in particuler: but briefly, my Lo. I can not come to your church, because all the profane and wicked of the lande are receiued into the body of your church, 2. Yow haue a false and Antichristian ministry set ouer your church, 3. Neither worship yow God aright, but after an idolatrous and superstitious maner: 4. And your church is not gouerned by Christes Testament, but by the Romish courtes and canons, etc.
L. Tr. Here is matter ynough in deed: I perceiue thou takest delight to be an author of this new religion.
The Lord Chanc. said he neuer heard such stuffe before in al his life.

.

The Lo. Buck. then said, I was a proud spirit. The L.Treas. said I had a hotte braine; and taking into his hand a book of common prayer, which lay on the boord, read certain of the collectes for the / Saintes, and shewed that the Epistles and Gospels were part of the Scripturee
B. The circumstances make euil thinges, of themselves good, as in the masse book from whence this stuffe is fetched, there are sundry good collectes and places of scripture, which their superstitious abuses make abhominable and euil.

.

L.Tr. Yow complained to vs of iniustice, wherin haue yow wrong?

B. My Lo. in that we are thus imprisoned without due trial.

L.Tr. Why, yow said yow were condemned vpon the statute.

B. Vniustly, my Lo. that statute was not made for vs.

L.Tr. There must be streighter laws made for yow.

B. O my Lo. speak more comfortablie, we haue sorrowes ynough.

L.Tr. In deed, thow lookest as if thou hadst a troubled conscience.

B. No I praise God for / it: but it is a woeful thing that our Princes sword should thus be drawn against her faithful subiectes. The L.Tr. answered that the Queenes sword was not as yet drawn against vs. Then, in a word or two, I complayning of the misery and lingring close imprisonment which we suffer: the lord t. demaunded, if we had no conference: The B. of Lond. answered that sundrie had bene with vs, as D. Some, Grauiat, and others, but we mocked them that came vnto vs.

B. That is not true, the Lord knoweth. We mock no creature. Neither doe I know, or haue euer seene, to my remembrance, that Grauiat yow speak of. But miserable phisitions are yow al, for Mr. Some he indeed was with me, but neuer would enter disputation. he said, he came not therefore, but in reasoning manner, to know some what of my minde more cleerly. Some was then by the Arch B. called, and demaunded whither we had conference or no? Some shewed how that at our last Conference before Sr.A.G. ther arose a question betwixt vs, whither the Prince might make a positieue law, de rebus medijs, of things indiferent: I denying it, he [ie. Barrow - Some is speaking here] asked me whither she might make a statute for the reforming excesse of apparel? I graunted that she might. He then said it was a doctrine of Diuils to forbid meate, by a positieue law: he shewed me then that the Princes law did not binde the conscience, and that there is a difference betwixt forum civile and forum conscientiae.

Then I beseeched the Lls. to graunt a publicke conference, that it might appear to all men, what we held, and where we erred. The ArchB. in great choller said, we should haue no publicke conference, we had published to much already, and therefore he how committed vs close prisoners.

B. But contrary to law.

The L.Tr. said, it might be vpon some occasions done by law; and asked whither I had any learning. Cant. and Lond. with one consent answered together that I had no learning. ... The L.Tr. then taking vp a paper of Somes abstract questions, which lay among the Bs euidence against me, read this: That I held it vnlawful to enacte a lawe that the ministers shal liue by tithes, or the people pay them: and demaunded of me whither I held tythes vnlawful?

B. My Lo. they are abrogated and vnlawful.

L.Tr. Why, thow wouldest / haue the minister liue of somewhat, whereof should he liue?

B. Ex pura eleemosyna, of clere alms as Christ in his testament hath ordeyned and as he and his Apostles.

L.Tr. But how if the people will not giue?

B. Such are not the people of God.

L.Tr. But what shal the minister doe in the mean time?

B. Not stand a minister to such, neither take the goods of the prophane.

This discussion continues for several lines and then Barrow is asked who Whitgift is. His reply ends the examination:

The lord gaue me the spirit of boldnes, so that I answered: He is a monster, a miserable compound, I know not what to make him: he is neither Ecclesiastical nor ciuill, euen that second Beast spoken of in the Reuelation.

Burghley's reaction is to ask for the biblical reference ("where is that place, shew it/"), which in view of some sharp disagreements he had had with Whitgift, especially in connection with the powers of the court of High Commission, during the previous years, might be taken as evidence of a rather dry sense of honour. The account of the examination ends with the following significant passage:

The L.Treas. admonished me and said that I took the Lords name often in vaine: I haue forgotten vpon what occasion he spake it. But I beseech the Lord that I may not forget this his good admonition, but may set a more careful watch before my lippes: for such no doubt, I am greatly guiltie that way, and neuer vse holy name with that reuerence I ought.

The examination of March 1589 was followed by the dedication to Burghley of the first in the group of four books concerning Separatism. This was the work of Doctor Robert Some whose close connections with Barrow and Greenwood at this time were made obvious during the course of the examination. His work^{is} entitled A Godly Treatise, wherein are Examined and Confuted many execrable fancies, giuen out and holden, partly by Henry Barrow and Iohn

48. The quotations from the examination of Barrow are from The Examinations of Henry Barrowe etc [Dort? 1593?] (STC 1519), sigs. Biii - Ci^v.

Greenwood: partly by other of the Anabaptistical Order.⁴⁹

It was entered in the Stationers' Register on 24th May 1589 and has a dedicatory epistle dated 12th May of the same year. Robert Some⁵⁰ was a Cambridge man of whom Burghley must have known for several years. He was the second son of Thomas Soame of Bentley in Norfolk, the brother of the Sir Stephen Soame who became Lord Mayor of London in 1598.⁵¹ Some's Cambridge career had begun in 1559 at Burghley's old college of St. John's, but he later moved to Queen's and was elected fellow of that college in 1562. When the Queen visited the university in 1564, Some was one of the two members selected to speak Latin verse on her arrival.⁵² Since the Chancellor was also present on this occasion, this is the first evidence of any contact between Some and Burghley; the occasion would have served to bring the scholarly young man before the Chancellor's eyes. This is certainly the beginning of a long series of contacts between them. Some was clearly associated with the reforming party in Cambridge, and in 1570 preached a sermon at Great St. Mary's which shows him in firm accord with the ideas of the Puritan leader Cartwright. Cooper lists the following points as being considered amiss in this sermon:

49. Franklin B. Williams's Index of Dedications fails to record the dedication of this work to Cecil.
50. The account of Some is based on the article ^{by W.A.J. Archbold} in D.N.B. Other sources are separately noted.
51. John Burke, The Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England (1844), p.495.
52. The short verse is printed in Nichol, Progresses of Queen Elizabeth (1788-1805), vol.III, p.34.

i) That the court of faculties was damnable, detestable and devilish, and that he hoped to see it trodden underfoot and overthrown; ii) That the Queen's laws did permit and determine many detestable, devilish and damnable things; iii) That he liked well of bishops, but as they were then chosen and usurped authority and governance over the clergy, he could not but away with them, neither were they according to the Acts of the Apostles; iv) That those who had pastoral charges were bound to be always resident unless with the consent of their parish ... v) That excommunication as then used was not allowed by Scripture.⁵³

On June 11th of the same year, William Chaderton, Regius Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, wrote to Cecil requesting that some effectual means be taken for a reformation of the disorders in the university, which were "encouraged by the evil doctrine and conduct of Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Chapman and Mr. Some."⁵⁴ Shortly after this, Some was one of thirty petitioners to the Chancellor against the dismissal of Cartwright, Lady Margaret Professor and Puritan leader.⁵⁵ During the 1570's Some's name was frequently before Cecil's eyes on various petitions to him in connection with university affairs.⁵⁶ By 1581 Some seems to have been much less attached to the Cartwrightian ideas, for in that year he was recommended to Burghley by Bishop Aylmer as a suitable person to answer Campion.⁵⁷ By this time he had joined the Leicester circle. In 1580 he dedicated a translation

53. C.H. and T. Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigienses (1658-1861), vol.II, p.511.

54. C.S.P. Dom., 1547-80, p.381.

55. See H.C.Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge, p.213.

56. See for example C.S.P.Dom., 1547-80, p.494; H.M.C., Salisbury Mass., pp.131 & 162.

57. Strype, Aylmer, p.33.

of A Godly Sermon preached in Latin to William Killigrew, mentioning the fact that he had previously dedicated the Latin version, now apparently lost, to "the Right honourable the Earle of Leicester, my singular good Lorde and Master." (sig.A11). In this year too he gained the degree of Doctor of Divinity, but for the next few years his name rarely appears in connection with university affairs. There can be no doubt that he was Leicester's private chaplain at this time, as the dedication to his next surviving published work, A Godly and Shorte Treatise of the Sacraments, shows. This is dated 15th May 1582, and is to "his very good Lord & master, the Lord Robert Dudley." He signs himself "Your Lordships most humble Chap.[lain]" (A4^v). Leicester at this time can safely be called the leader of the reforming Puritan party, and the dedication itself adds further evidence that some still held a few of the reformist views he had expressed in 1570. He appeals to Leicester to keep up the good work he has been doing for the church; for this it is essential that suitable men are chosen for the ministry, and that they be given maintenance and defence. The cause of the corruption in the church comes from "great corruption in them which do preferre, & are preferred to ecclesiastical livings." (sig.A2^v). He complains of the great difficulty which many excellent men have in finding livings. One section of the work deals with the fact that "The Church livings may not bee taken from godly and learned

ministers, but must be freely bestowed vpon them." (sig.A5), a comment which seems to refer to the deprivation of incumbents for too obvious Puritan sympathies. In November of the same year, Some dedicated his Godlie Treatise of the Church to Sir Francis Walsingham, thanking him for the kindness he had shown him "both at, and since my wayting on my Lord and maister, the Earle of Leycester in the Courte." (sig. A2). Walsingham too it must be remembered was a strong favourer of the Puritans, though undoubtedly from more sincere religious motives than the Earl of Leicester.

When Some entered the lists against the Separatists therefore, he can be described as a man of distinctly Puritan leanings, though not so Puritan as to prevent Aylmer from regarding him as a suitable person to defend the Church of England against Rome. Instead he chose to defend it against the opposite faction.

In May 1588 Some published his first anti-Separatist work, entitled A Godly Treatise containing and deciding certaine questions. moued of late in London and other places. touching the Ministerie, Sacraments and Church. In the course of its thirty-seven pages, it makes nine points contradicting some of the main tenets of the Barrowists, including the following:
"5 The childe of God is not polluted, though he be present at, and partaker of the publique prayers, Sacraments, &c. at such time as wicked men are present at, and partakers of them.

7 They are the Sacraments of Baptisme and the holy Supper, which are deliuered in the Church of England, by vnpreaching ministers. 8 The godly are not polluted who receiue the Sacrament at the hands of an vnpreaching minister." (sig.Aiii^v). The points he is making here seem to be in answer to Barrow's early manuscript manifesto containing the four causes for separation. In September of the same year the treatise was re-published with the addition of a further proposition of considerable relevance in view of the large number of Barrowists then in prison for their beliefs: "A godly Prince may not suffer any Religion but the true Religion, either publicquely or privately in his Dominions." (sig.Aii^v). He also answers some of the points made by Penry in his treatise entitled A Defence of thet which hath bin Written in the Questions of the Ignorant Ministerie, and the Communicating with them.⁵⁸ The additions make this second edition more than 160 pages longer than the first. Neither of these two works is dedicated more specifically than "To the Reader", but they do have a singular relevance to the controversy under consideration, since Barrow obtained a copy of the first of them and wrote answers in the margins of all thirty-seven pages.⁵⁹

58. Rather curiously this work of Penry was entered in the Stationers' Register on the same day (6th May) and to the same printer (George Bishop) as the first edition of Some's Godly Treatise containing ... certaine questions

59. The account of Barrow's annotations in the first edition of Some's Godly Treatise containing ... certain questions is from The Writings of Henry Barrow, ed. Leland H. Carlson, pp.151-153.

This was seized some time before January 1589, for at an examination on that date Barrow was questioned about a comment he had made on the penultimate page of the work. There is in the library of Lambeth Palace a copy of Some's work with notes by Barrow interleaved for the first twelve pages. This was presumably seized first, and Barrow, eager to complete his work, began again in the margin of another copy. The significant point about these notes is that they are at least partially responsible for Some's writing the book which he dedicated to Burghley, since (as Carlson notes), verbal parallels can be shown between the twelve pages of notes which survive, and a few of the accusations which Some makes against Barrow in his next work. (For example, in one note Barrow denies the right of anyone to use the title of Doctor of Divinity, and this is one of the points which Some deals with the following May).

A Godly Treatise wherein are examined and confuted many execrable fancies appeared in May 1589. Before this, however, Some had had further contacts with Barrow and Greenwood, visiting them at least once in prison. He was present at an examination of 1st January 1589, and at the big examination already quoted of 18th March 1589. It is on the foundation of these personal contacts, as well as on his use of the manuscript marginalia and notes, that Some builds his treatise of May 1589. The work is dedicated to "The Right Honourable Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight, Lord Chancellour of Englande, and Sir William Cecill,

Knight, Baron of Burleygh, Lord high Treasurer of England, of her Maiesties most honourable priuie Counsell, Knights of the most Honourable order of the Garter, and Chancellours of the Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford." It is not difficult to see the reasons for this dedication: both Burghley and Hatton were present at the big examination of 18th March 1589, when Some also played an important part, and on this occasion they had shown themselves to have very little sympathy for Barrow's ideas; Some's old patron Leicester had died the previous September, and he not unnaturally turned to the Chancellor of his own university, and to Hatton, whose hostility to Puritanism was well known, and who was sometimes spoken of as a secret favourer of the Catholics.

Some's dedication begins with a reference to the Barrowists' petition presented to the Queen on 13th March 1589, which had resulted in the imprisonment of several Barrowist leaders, but may also have prompted the examination before the Privy Counsellors five days later:

The Anabaptistical sort, Right honorable, were very bolde of late. They preassed into her Maiesties presence: they complayned to her Highnes of great persecution: how iustly, your Lordships knowe, which by the Queenes commandement did examine and commit them. Henry Barrow and John Greenwood are the masters of that Colledge: men as yet, very wilfull and ignorant. The way to cure them, if God will, is to teache and punish them. So were Heretikes dealt with in the Primitiue Church: so were the Arians in Constantinus time: so were the Donatists in Augustines time. And, this is Gods order. If they will not be wonne, they may and / ought to be repressed, lest mens soules be poysoned, the Church rent in

pieces, and the Commonwealth disturbed. They which will preserve the sheepe, may not spare the wolfe. Melius vnus parcat, quam vnitas. These men pretende great knowledge, great zeale, great holinesse. So did the Pharisees in Ierusalem; the Donatists in Afrique: the Electi among the Manichees, but their knowledge is ignorance, their zeale madnesse, their holiness hypocrisie. Ex pede Herculem. Their writings, speeches, behauiour, are cleare demonstrations of this. It is high time, my Lords, to looke vnto, and to meete with this mischiefe. It is out of the swadling cloutes. Claudenda causa, antequam aues auolauerint. The cage must be shutte before the birdes be flown. If one sparke bee able to burne a house, great flames will consume a forest. A worde is enough to your Lordships, whose fidelitie and wisdomer her Maiestie and this Noble land hath singular experience of. You haue already very honourable care of this. I doe thanke God very humbly for it: so doe and will many thousands besides. The reasons which made me bolde to present this Treatise to your Lordships, are: First, you loue, honour, and defende the Church of Englande, which these men account very basely of. Secondly, you are honourable Patrons and Chancellours of the most famous Vniuersities / in Christendome, I meane Cambridge and Oxforde: which Vniuersities, Barrow and Greenwood would haue abolished by QUEENE ELIZABETH. Thirdly, you are enemies vnto, and are able to repress the Anabaptisticall crewe, which haue giuen out, that onely the Bishops and Cleargie are carryed against them. Lastly, I doe owe a particular duetie to your Lordships for your honourable fauour to me. (sig.Aii-Aiii).

This dedication gives an excellent picture of the attitude of the average English churchman to the teachings of the Barrowists. The threat which Some detects to the English Church causes him to seek the aid of the secular arm in suppressing the imprisoned Separatists. But it is his last sentence which is really of most interest here. The epistle is dated the 12th of May from "My Lordes Grace of Canterburie his house in Lambeth." On the 11th of the same month Some had been appointed Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. Because the see of Ely was at this time vacant, the appointment was made by Whitgift, who chose Some from three

nominations submitted by the fellows of the college. Whitgift however had been closely involved in the Cartwright controversy in Cambridge in and after 1570, and he must certainly have remembered Some's open support for the great Puritan leader. A few years later, the two men were again at loggerheads. In view of this it is not unlikely that the "honourable favour" to him, shown by Hatton and Burghley, was in persuading Whitgift to accept him for the Peterhouse Mastership, perhaps rather against Whitgift's personal inclination. This is particularly likely in the case of Burghley who, as Chancellor, would obviously have considerable influence over appointments. Some's referring, in an unusual metaphor, to Barrow and Greenwood as "the masters of that Colledge" would also seem to suggest a certain preoccupation with that office.

It is worth noting that soon after the publication of this treatise, Barrow complained of Some's "privileged, poisoned writings."⁶⁰ The accusation is an interesting one, and may

60. The phrase occurs in A Brief Discoverie of the False Church, reprinted in The Writings of Henry Barrow, 1587-90, ed. Leland H. Carlson, p.379. Other occasions on which Barrow and Greenwood refer to Some as a "privileged" writer are i) Collection of Certain Letters and Conferences, in Writings of Greenwood, ed. Carlson, p.179; ii) Collection of Certain Sclaunderous Articles, in Greenwood, ed. Carlson, p.142; iii) In the petition of fifty-nine prisoners to Burghley of April 1590, in Greenwood, ed. Carlson, p.287.

throw light on the dedication to the work. There can be no doubt that Some's position in the controversy was at least partially official. All three of his "godly treatises" against the Separatists (May and September 1588, and May 1589) were printed by George Bishop, "Deputie to Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie." Barker had a patent, granted in 1578, for certain official publications, as well as for Bibles and catechisms. The fact that Some is published by Barker is no proof that his work can definitely be regarded as official, but it is an interesting hint in that direction, a hint which is strengthened by the fact that the dedication to Burghley and Hatton is dated at "My Lordes grace of Canterburie his house." Some's close connection with the examinations of Barrow and Greenwood has already been noted, together with the use he made of material collected in his personal interviews with the prisoners. In the course of the treatise dedicated to Burghley and Hatton, Some spends a good deal of space in refuting the Barrowist suggestion that the clergy should live "of mere almes," one of the points over which Burghley had argued at some length with Barrow in the examination of March 18th 1589. This and the other circumstances suggest the far from remote possibility that this treatise was written at the request of some of the officials present at the examination of 18th March 1589.

The treatise itself is not a very substantial work, occupying only forty quarto pages. It sets out at the beginning fourteen

"grosse and Anabaptisticall fancies, giuen out and holden by the Anabaptisticall recusants," and follows this with twelve positive points opposed to these. In the latter, topics dealt with include "1 The Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxforde ought not to bee abolished by Queene Elizabeth. 2 The teachers of Gods religion ought to bee prouided for, in very good sort. 3 The reformation of publique abuses in a Kingdome, belongeth onely to the Prince of that Kingdome. 7 That no man howe able soeuer, may preach without an externall calling. 8 It is lawfull for a Christian to vse the Lordes prayer either publiquely or priuately as a prayer. 9 A prescript forme of prayer may bee imposed vpon the Church. 10 That the Discipline required by Anabaptisticall recusants, is not an essential part of the Church. 11 That excommunication cannot be without a Minister." (sig.A4^v). The method of argument is regular throughout the work; he takes each of his own propositions in turn, and supports it by biblical reference; he then takes the opposing point of the Barrowists and denies it, with a different interpretation of the Barrowists' scriptural 'proof'. Their last two points (that there is no worship of God in the Church of England, and that the man who calls himself 'Doctor of Divinity' blasphemes) are simply denied without any opposing positive point. This could not be called a profound or even a very thorough work, and a good deal of Some's argument rests mainly on the strength of his own assertions. At times however his grasp of the points at issue is very firm, as

in the following passage from his third proposition (that reformation can only be in the hands of the prince):

If euerie particular congregation in England might set vp and put downe at their pleasure, popish and Anabaptisticall fancies would ouerflowe this land. The consequents would be dangerous, viz. the dishonour of God, the contempt of hir maiestie, the ouerthrow of Church and Vniuersities, ciuill warre, and the vtter confusion of this noble kingdome. (sig. Cii^v).

This attitude is manifest at several points in the treatise.

At other times however, he is almost amusingly naïve:

All dutiful subjects in this land, desire with all their harts, the continuance of Gods Religion, the preseruation of Queene Elizabeth, and the good successe of the English nauie. These particulars, I graunt, are not expressed in flatte termes in the Lordes prayer; but they are conteined within the compasse of, and may be deduced from the petitions of that excellent prayer. (sig. Eiii^v).

In one passage of argument against Barrow's ideas, he makes a pun for which Barrow understandably later ridiculed him:

Weake buildings haue for the most part Greene wood for their groundsils. (sig. Ei^v).

This work is significant in setting out several of the arguments for and against the Separatist position, and in associating them for the first time in print with the names of Barrow and Greenwood. But it is far from being a learned piece of theological argument, seeming rather to have been written throughout as clearly and as briefly as possible. Since Some had already proved his capacity for being verbose, this was obviously done deliberately, and presumably points to the fact that the work was meant for as wide an audience as possible.

This may be another argument in favour of the work's being officially sponsored.

After the publication of this treatise, Some returned to Cambridge and remained closely connected with university life until his death in January 1609. He rose to considerable importance there, and was Vice-chancellor in 1590, 1591, 1599 and 1608. His relations with Burghley during the nineties are all in his official capacity as Vice-chancellor or Master of Peterhouse. There are several letters signed by him, sometimes alone, sometimes with other heads, to Burghley in both the Lansdowne and Hatfield Mss., dealing with such topics as the encroachment on university privileges by the town authorities, the question of plays within the university, and a dispute between the university printer and the Stationers' Company. During the theological disputes which split Cambridge around 1595⁶¹ he supported the stricter Calvinists, publishing in 1596 his Three Questions, Godly, Plainly and Briefely handled, which stated very briefly and concisely the full Calvinist position on the questions then at issue in Cambridge, particularly that of predestination. The book was written as a result of the Barret affair, Barret having questioned several of the Calvinist assertions. This dispute had occasioned a further personal meeting with Burghley, for Some was chosen by the other heads to

61. See H.C.Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge, pp.277-376.

confer with the Chancellor, and in a letter dated 16th June 1595, Burghley writes of his "having been made acquainted with Dr. Some at good length with perusing of the retraction [of Barret]"⁶² This dispute in fact gave Some an opportunity to reveal a sense of humour a good deal deeper than one might guess from his earlier work. He preached a sermon in Cambridge against Barret, before proceedings against the latter had begun. For this he was sent for to Lambeth, and "gently reproved" by Whitgift. On his return to Cambridge, he preached a sermon on the text: "And it came to pass on the morrow, that their princes, and ancients, and Scribes were gathered together in Jerusalem. And Annas the high priest, and Caiphas, and John, and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high priest. And setting them in the midst, they asked: By what power, or by what name have you done this?" (Acts, IV, 5-7). Six months later, Whitgift, in a letter to Dr. Neville, had still not forgotten "Dr. Some's foolery," for which Some had been forced to appear before the heads.⁶³ We get another picture of an old man with a rather "crusty" humour in 1601, when Some was responsible for losing his college a considerable legacy from Lady Mary Ramsey because he refused her stipulation that the name of St. Mary should be coupled with that of Peter in the name of the college:- "Peter had been overlong a bachelor to think of now taking a mate."⁶⁴

62. H.M.C. Salisbury Papers, vol.5, p.247.

63. The episode is recounted in T.A. Walker, Peterhouse (1935), p.52.

64. Walker, p.64.

Some's relations with the Cecils continued after Burghley's death, and there is some evidence that he enjoyed a closer patronage from Robert than from William. There are several letters from the Master of Peterhouse to Robert Cecil in the Hatfield MSS. On 26th February 1602 for example, Some wrote to Cecil as follows:

May it please you to favour me in some such particular for my maintenance as my Lord Grace of Canterbury shall like, with her Majesty's favour, to respect me in. The reasons I present to your Honour are my service and expense in Court, and in the city of London by commandment, my continuance above 42 years in the University, and the want all this while of so much as a competent clergy living. All I crave is that, while others have their child's part in very good sort, I may not be a step-child.⁶⁵

He gives no hint as to when he performed his "service at court", and it may be that he is referring to the service he did to Cecil's father by writing against the Barrowists.⁶⁶ It is therefore just possible that thirteen years after dedicating to Burghley an important treatise, perhaps written at an official suggestion, Some was still seeking a reward for his services from the latter's son. Despite further appeals to Cecil in November 1604,⁶⁷ and February 1606,⁶⁸ Some never received the bishopric he sought, and died in Cambridge in January 1609. Undoubtedly this was entirely appropriate, for he belongs very much to that academic centre of religious ideals and theological controversy of which Burghley was for so long Chancellor.

65. H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, vol.12, p.62.

66. Some's only other service at court of which there is any record is his service as chaplain to the Earl of Leicester, for which he is unlikely to have expected a reward from Robert Cecil.

67. H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, vol.16, p.355.

68. H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, vol.18, p.43.

The next writer to oppose the Barrowists is an altogether different figure. In the Spring of 1590, Burghley was the dedicatee of a treatise against Separatism by George Gifford, "Minister of the Word of God in Maldon." We have seen that, at least in the early part of his career, Gifford was enough of a Puritan to support Cartwright and publicly preach against corruption in the Church of England; but he was never associated with Cartwright in his later career as head of the Presbyterian "classis" movement, and by no stretch of imagination could he in 1590 be called a Presbyterian. Gifford⁶⁹ on the other hand undoubtedly was. Little is known of Gifford's early life. In the dedication to his Sermon vpon the Parable of the Sower (1582), he addresses a Mr. John Hutton with the words: "seeing I was born & brought vp vnder you, my parents receiuing benefites daily frō you, ... the greatest blessing which all my kindred haue enjoyed by you now so long, in prouiding and procuring their spiritual instruction." (sig.Aii^v). Another small piece of information about Gifford's early career is supplied by Anthony Wood:

He was a student in Hart Hall several years before 1568, at which time did also study there several of his surname, ... But whether our author George was originally of this university, or that he took a degree in arts, law, physick, or diuinity herein, it doth not at all appear.⁷⁰

His first published work appeared in 1573, and is a translation from the Latin of William Fulke's Praelections vpon Reuelations.

69. The account of Gifford is based on the article by E.T. Bradley in D.N.B. Other sources are noted.

70. Athenae Oxonienses, ed. Philip Bliss (1813-1820), vol.II, p.291.

The work is dedicated to Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and in the epistle Gifford makes his first recorded complaint against the shortcomings of the English ministry, who are often "raueninge wolues, or els suche lewde vnskilfull blinde guides as are not able to gouerne themselues, instead of true pastors." (sig.*iii). He also shows his early connection with the Dudleys, mentioning Warwick's "great beneuolence and good will" towards himself "and to all other that are godly learned." (sig.*4). This translation appears to be Gifford's only published work before 1581, when his Countrie Diuinitie was first printed. The full title explains the nature of the work more fully: A brieue discourse of certaine pointes of religion, which is among the common sorte of Christians: which may bee termed the Countrie diuinitie; with a plaine and manifest confutation of the same. The dedication is again to Ambrose Dudley and by an interesting coincidence shows remarkable similarity to the ideas which Robert Some was to express to that nobleman's elder brother a year later. Gifford declares his aim of exposing the faults in the English Church which those in authority have to put right:

Among which the want of a sincere ministerie of the woorde is the greatest; through absence of which, there is a flood of ignorance and darkness, ouerflowing the most part of the land. .../ The Diuell hath elbowe roome to spreade abrode. (sig.*3-3^v).

These two dedications to Warwick, who acted with his elder brother as the greatest patron of the Puritan writers, as well as the ideas the books express, link Gifford immediately with the reforming party. It may have been as a result of the success of

the Countrie Diuinitie (which was popular enough to be reprinted in the following year, and again in 1598), that Gifford was presented to the living ^{of} Maldon in Essex. He was appointed on the 30th August 1582.⁷¹

In the same year as his appointment to Maldon, Gifford published his Dialogue betweene a Papist and a Protestant, applied to the capacitie of the vnlearned. Its being dedicated to Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex is a little surprising in view of Gifford's earlier patrons. Sussex is known as the most consistent of the opponents to Leicester in the English government and a close supporter of Lord Burghley. His name is never connected with Puritanism, but sometimes (by his opponents) with the Catholic party, though his loyalty to the Queen can never be questioned. It is difficult to reconcile this dedication with Gifford's known connection with the Dudleys, and it seems a little incongruous to find him addressing Radcliffe in the same terms about the English ministry as he had used to Ambrose Dudley: "Many ... studie most how to clime high, & to satisfie their ambitious desire of honour; raking together liuings, couetously and greedily: not caring who feed the flocke, so they come by the fleese. Moreouer the doore hath beene opened also to./ riotous dicers, gamesters, quauffers, adulterers and such like." (sig. *4 - *4^v). The only explanation of this extraordinary mixture of dedicatees is that Sussex had helped Gifford in some more personal way. There is a hint of this in the epistle:

71. Richard Newcourt, Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londoniense (1705-1710), vol.II, p.398.

"that great ayd & honorable assistāce which I haue receiued from your Lordship in the furtherāce & maintenance of the Gospel." (sig.*3). Such an explanation is made more plausible by the fact that Radcliffe's main house, New Hall, was in Essex not far from Maldon. Certainly this explanation fits the facts better than any attempt to show an early link with the Burghley circle, or to suggest that Gifford saw Radcliffe as a better hope for Puritanism than the Dudleys.

During the course of his ministry at Maldon Gifford seems to have done a large amount of preaching. From the frequency with which his sermons were reprinted, there can be no doubt that he was an extremely popular preacher. This is supported by Strype's statement that "This man was a great and diligent preacher, and much esteemed by many and of good rank in the town, [Maldon] and had brought that place to more sobriety and knowledge of true religion."⁷²

Gifford's Puritan sympathies have already been made clear, and it is therefore not surprising to find him joining a synod of non-conformist Essex ministers meeting in London in 1584. Bancroft quotes a letter from nine Essex ministers to Field and Clarke, the main organisers of the classic movement in London, about whether "the brethren meant to be exercised, in prayer and fasting, & vpon what day," which states: "We haue elected two godly and faithful brethren, Maister Wright and Maister Giffard,

72. Aylmer, p.72.

to loyne with you in that businesse."⁷³ It must have been at this synod that Gifford formally refused to subscribe any longer to the articles of the Church of England. He was suspended from his ministry by Aylmer, and deprived in June 1584. Some of his parishioners petitioned the Lord Treasurer on Gifford's behalf, informing Burghley that they "never received from him any but true and sound doctrine to their judgements, ... and that he used no conventicles; and that in his life he was modest, discreet, and unreprouable"⁷⁴ Burghley can hardly have failed to acquaint himself with the nature of Gifford's offence, if he did not already know it, but nevertheless he wrote to Whitgift, probably at some time in May. The letter has not survived and even Strype does not quote from it. Whitgift's reply is dated 29th May 1584, and reads as follows:

My singular Good Lord, vppon the receipt of your letters in the behalfe of one Mr. Gifiard a minister in Essex, suspended for not subscribing to the articles, I sent to my Lord of London, in whose diocese he is, and by whom he was suspended: his Lordships answer I receaved this day which I sende vnto your L. herein closed. It appeareth that the said Gifforde is a ringeleader of the rest, against whom also I haue receaved certen complaynte, to the answering wherof I here mean to call him by vertue of the Highe Commission. In the mean tyme I thinke it not conuenient to grant hym anye further libertie, or release of his suspension: vntill the same haue purged him self, his deserts may be such as will deserue deprivation.⁷⁵

Burghley's attempt to mediate on behalf of an obviously extreme Puritan is interesting and perhaps a little surprising, though bearing in mind his

73. Dangerous Positions, sig.Lii.

74. Strype, Aylmer, p.71 (The letter was signed by fifty-two of the most important citizens of Maldon, including two bailiffs, two J.P.'s and four aldermen).

75. Lansdowne Mss., vol.42, item 43.

known hostility to Whitgift's High Commission methods, it is not inexplicable. Whitgift's rather curt answer, perhaps indicative of a certain indignation at Burghley's interference, seems to have precluded any further attempt to help Gifford, though soon after this Gifford's was the first signature on a petition from twenty-seven Essex ministers to the Privy Council. The petitioners complain that they have been deprived, not for "any slanderous life, but because we refuse to subscribe 'that there is nothing contained in the Book of Common Prayer contrary to the word of God' ... we refuse from the necessity of conscience, and in the fear of God, ... how much should we incur the displeasure of the Lord, and justly deserve his wrath, if we should subscribe, being fully persuaded that there are some things in the book contrary to his word."⁷⁶

Gifford was not, however, completely removed from his ministry at Maldon, for he was allowed to hold the office of lecturer, and continue his preaching. This explains his continually styling himself "Minister (or Preacher) of God's word at Maldon." Apart from a brief suspension from even this office by Aylmer in 1587, he held the post until his death about 1620. But he never regained his full ministry, despite another petition from his parishioners, this time to Parliament, in March 1587.

After his deprivation, and before his first work against the Brownists, Gifford was closely connected with the Presbyterian movement, based on the local classis and provincial synod, as organized under Cartwright and Travers. He was obviously the leader of the Essex non-conformists, and was important enough for Bancroft to have collected some information about

76. Quoted in Brook, Lives of the Puritans (1813), vol. II, pp. 274-5.

him. In September 1587 he represented the Essex Puritans at a synod presided over by Cartwright in Warwick or Cambridge, and he and Rogers were given the responsibility for dispersing the orders of the synod. In 1589, he was present at the synod held in St. John's College, Cambridge, where, as Bancroft says, "they did correct, alter, and amend diuers imperfections contained in the booke called Disciplina ecclesiae, verbo Dei descripta; and ... did ... agree that so many as would should subscribe;" Gifford was there alongside Cartwright, and is described as "vsually" present at such meetings.⁷⁷

In 1589 Gifford published his Eight Sermons vpon Ecclesiastes, with a dedication to the Countess of Warwick. This re-establishes his link with the Dudleys immediately before his first dedication to Burghley. He took arms against the Barrowists as a convinced Presbyterian, and after a series of connections with a family noted for their patronage of Puritan writers. Here once again is proof that the Elizabethan Puritans, for all their classes and synods, regarded themselves as loyal members of the Church of England, seeking to reform it and bring it into closer alignment with what they believed to be Christ's wishes, but certainly not to destroy it. From what might thus be thought a rather unlikely background comes the dedication of a Short Treatise against the Donatists of England, entered in the Stationers' Register on May 4th

77. Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, sig.N1.

1590. 78

The dedication to Burghley then, probably belongs to the spring of 1590. It is important in several ways, and can be quoted in full:

I am (right Honourable) to excuse my selfe in two thinges: the one, that I take vpon me to write against the Brownists, seeing there be so many great learned mē in our land, which doo refraine: the other that I doo offer so slender a peece of woorke vnto your Honour. Touching the former, the truth is, I haue beene vnwares drawne vnto it, not purposing any such matter. For more then two yeares past, there were brought vnto me certaine articles which the Brownists doo call, A breefe sum of their profession, which diuers arguments against read prayer. They were brought vnto me by a Scholemaister in Essex, who of a godly minde, did desire me to write my iudgement of the same, which when I refused, hee vrged me with this, that diuerse of the people about them were troubled, and did hang in suspense, and for their sakes he did require it, I did graunt his request, and when they had my writings, they were carried to the cheefe men of that sect. Not long after, I receiued large replies, where I perceiued that which before I did not so much as dreame of, namely, that they had made challenge, and looked to be encountred by the learnedest in the land. They take it grieuously, and reprehend me, as hauing intercepted this businesse, and taken it from the hands of the learned. Heerevpon I stayed long, purposing to giue them but shorte answeres to their chiefe matters. But when I saw that aduantage was taken, as if I had receiued matters vnanswerable, and that Brownisme did begin to spread in manye places of the land:/ I thought it not amisse, seeing the burthen thus to haue light vpon me, though I be not able to deale so sufficiently as such a matters requireth: yet to publish to the world some of their heresies, and frantike opinions, which are to be gathered from their writings. I haue not set downe the whole of the discourse of wordes, which hath passed betweene vs, for it would be somewhat tedious. But if any shall thinke that I haue passed any reasons of theirs vnanswered, or wrested their wordes from the sence, to gather heresies: let them shew any particular, and I will be able to cleere my selfe. And

78. The entry reads as follows: "Tobie Cooke. Entred for his Copie & booke intytled, an Aunsweare to the Browneists by master George Gyfford. Allowed vnder the Bisshop of London and the wardens hand. "(Arber, Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers, vol.II, p.256Y) S.T.C. erroneously gives this entry to Gifford's later Plaine Declaration that our Brownists be Full Donatists, but this latter work does not mention the word 'answer' in its title, whereas the Short Treatise has a running title which agrees verbatim with the Register entry: "An Aunsweare to the Brownists". There can be no doubt that the entry refers to the Short Treatise.

let men consider, whether the Brownisme can be supported by any pillers, but those heresies which I haue noted. I meddle not with the controuersies of our Church, but deale by way of admission. I neuer receyued the names of any subscribed to the writings I receiued, and for that cause I do name none.

And now for the other point, why I presume to offer it vnto your honour. God hath giuen your honour to be an auncient graue Connellor, and which many yeares haue borne, and still doo heare, a great part of the waight of this our common wealth, vnder her right excellent Maiestie: and for that cause I iudge it meete your Honor should see such things as any way touch the general estate. I trust therefore, that although it be not for the slendernesse worthy to be offered to so honorable a person, yet it shall be accepted in some sort. (sig. a2-a2^v).

This dedication is particularly important in giving several clues to the early history of the Barrowist writings. One gathers that Gifford began his controversy with Barrow and Greenwood sometime near the Spring of 1588, and that two early Barrowist works ("A breefe sum of their prof^ession" and "diuers arguments against read prayer") were in existence before that period. Gifford prints the first of these at the beginning of this Short Treatise, and one finds the arguments therein similar to those of which Barrow had been accused in his first examination in November 1587. It may well be that the "Breefe Sum" was written before the imprisonment of Barrow in the autumn of 1587, and was one of the causes of his being arrested. Since Greenwood was responsible for all the later Barrowist writing against read prayer, it is reasonable to assume that the "diuers arguments against read prayer" which Gifford mentions, were his. These too must be dated before the Spring of 1588. To both of these manuscript pieces Gifford replied "more then two yeares" before

the Spring of 1590, and he in turn received "large replies." (These too were almost certainly in manuscript, since the Barrowist printing venture in the Netherlands had not yet begun). Three years later these "large replies" were printed at Dort as "A Breefe sum of our Profession, withstood by G.G. Defended by H.B." - the first part of A Plain Refutation of M. Giffards Book (1591). Barrow here refers to the Presbyterians remaining twenty-nine years under the 'yoke of Antichrist', by which he means the Book of Common Prayer, established in May 1559. By strict computation therefore he is writing in May 1588, which agrees very well with the chronology suggested by Gifford's epistle. One thus arrives at a date for the first round of the Barrow/Gifford controversy which may just antedate Dr. Some's first work against the Separatists. It seems from this dedication that Gifford also received "large replies" on the subject of read prayer. Upon realizing the magnitude of the points at issue, he wrote a combined reply to all the Barrowist manuscripts he had received, and printed it with the dedication to Burghley.

This epistle also makes it clear that the challenge of Barrow was against the leaders of the Presbyterians, who saw the corruption of the English Church but refused to leave it. Gifford suggests he was thought an intruder in the place of such of "the learnedest in the land" as Cartwright or Travers. But such men as these never took up the Barrowists' challenge, and they were left to do

battle with Robert Some for the Anglican party, and George Gifford for the Presbyterians.

The last point to note in this dedication is that Gifford in his final paragraph alludes to no personal debt to Burghley, or favour from him, though he could have mentioned the Lord Treasurer's efforts on his behalf in 1584, and it is fairly obvious that this book is dedicated to Cecil as the most powerful man in the English government at the time, and one who had already had public dealings with Barrow and was acquainted with his views, quite probably with the object of reminding Burghley of the danger represented by these schismatics, and thence indirectly suggesting to him that something ought to be done about them.

The treatise itself occupies 110 quarto pages, and begins with a highly significant preface in which Gifford states his own position quite clearly. He makes the point strongly that he is not challenging perfection for the Church of England; it has its faults, "But whether there be such heynous enormities, as destroy the verye life and being of a true Church," (sig.A1), is another question. He names his opponents Brownists since they have adopted the ideas of Robert Browne. (This must have been a particularly irksome appellation to Barrow and his followers, since Browne had made his submission to Whitgift quite recently, and had followed this with a treatise against Barrow). Like Some, Gifford shows his fear of the chaos which

would be let loose on Church and State if the Barrowist ideas were to be implemented:

the end of Brownisme is infinite Schismes, Heresies, Atheisme and Barbarisme ... What else can followe from immoderate outragous rash furie, wrath, and bitter zeale? (sig.A3).

The Brownists' own zeal is one cause of their wickedness, but the present state of the Church of England is another. Here Gifford's Presbyterianism is clearly seen as he prays that "in our most noble Queene, and in all her Gouvernours, both ciuill and ecclesiasticall, ... there may be feruant zeale to purge the house of God, and to take away the causes of contention." (sig.A3). The main part of the treatise consists of an answer to each of the four causes of separation of the Barrowists. But before this he sets out the whole of the "Breefe summe of the Profession of the Brownists", which is in six points:-

1. We seek the kingdom of God.
2. We seek to worship aright.
3. We seek the fellowship of the faithful, and a godly, free and right choice of ministers.
4. We seek to establish and obey Christ's law without any additions or alterations.
5. We will thus lead our lives.
6. The Church of England errs in:
 - i. They worship God after a false manner;
 - ii. Their ministry is false and anti-Christian;
 - iii. Evil men are accepted by them into the bosom of Christ;
 - iv. Their churches remian under an anti-Christian and ungodly government, contrary to God's will.

Each of the four points from the sixth section is dealt with in turn by Gifford.

There is no need to linger over the actual text of the treatise. Gifford deals very thoroughly, and with more scholarship than Dr. Some, with each of these four objections. A large portion of the first section is taken up with a long and complicated answer to the Barrowists' views on read prayer. He brings the inevitable accusation that by condemning read prayer in the English Church, they condemn it in all the reformed churches in Europe. He admits that some of his points cannot really be proved, but comments, "is not my bare denyall as good as your bare affirmation?" (sig.F2^V). Perhaps the most significant passage in the whole book, since it shows not only the general Elizabethan feeling towards Separatism, but also the special attitude of a convinced Presbyterian, is the following:

Who is able to imagin the innumerable diuisions and offences which would arise in the practise of Anabaptisticall freedome, in which, yee denye the Church to haue power to ordeyne and impose any orders? I would the Ministerie of England were better then it is. If by tearming it a franticke Ministerie, you meant but to speake against the vnlearned and vngodlie men, you should haue leaue for me; but you comprehend all the learnedest and godly, which you could not bee bolde to doo, vnlesse yee were taken with a frensie, seeing there bee many whome yee are neuer lyke in any measure of giftes and graces, eyther for knowledge, or Godlynesse, to approach neere vnto. (sig.Gi).

On frequent occasions throughout the book he betrays the difficulty of his position, defending that which he has himself already attacked, or been dissatisfied with. Thus he remarks on the government of the Church:

There hath of long time in our church been controuersy about Discipline Ecclesiasticall; one part doth hold, that the manner of executing this power by Presbyteries, consisting of Pastors, teachers, and Elders, as it was in the Apostles times ought to be perpetuall and inuariale. The other part doo affirme that this forme is variable, and that it is the most safe and quiet way, that the power belinging to the Presbyterie, be committed into the hands of the Byshop: now one part must needes erre, and

falt about the executing of this power. (sig.N1).

As Some had done already, Gifford defends the keeping of fastdays in the Church of England as being for the benefit of the fishing industry, or the observation of the saints' days as being a way of honouring the God rather than of remembering the saints. The last part of the book consists of Gifford's comments on the first five points in the Separatists' "Breefe summe." He has little difficulty in accepting some of these, but utterly denies an assembly of private men the right to ordain a minister, and fiercely attacks the denial of princely and magisterial power which this implies. The book ends with an appeal for unity within the Church; Gifford exhorts all Christians:

not in rigour and presumption to iudge, to condemne, and to treade downe. But with mercie, with pittye, and compassion, to supporte the weake. Gal.6. This is the plaine, straight pauer, and holye way of God: and whosoeuer maketh account of saluation, let them take heede they bee not drawne out of it into crooked by wayes, and into myrie slowes, by presumptuous Heretikes, and Schismatikes. (sig.P3^v).

This work, appearing in May 1590, was obviously brought to Barrow and Greenwood in prison, and Greenwood published a reply to it in the same year. This must have appeared soon after the Short Treatise, since another reply from each side appeared within the year. Greenwood's reply is entitled An Answer to George Giffords Pretended Defence of Read Prayers and devised litourgies with his vngodlie cauils & wicked sclanders comprised in his last vnchristian & reprochfull booke entituled A Short Treatise.

Like other Barrowist works it was printed abroad, probably at Dort in the Netherlands, though the title-page gives no hint of the place of printing or the name of the printer. In a preliminary address to the reader, Greenwood mentions his former treatise against read prayer which Gifford obtained and answered (thus confirming the information given by Gifford himself in the dedication to Burghley). He also accuses Gifford of defending read prayers for reasons of personal gain, and of being false to himself in defending the Church of England:

MR GIFFORD ... being a marchant of such ware, fynding the gayne of the prksthod to depend herevpon ... hauing made shipwrack of that conscience he sometimes was though to haue, ...

The rest of the book is a denial of the charges brought by Gifford, an objection to being called a Brownist, and of course a detailed answer to Gifford's views on read prayer.

The work produced from Gifford a speedy reply, again dated 1590.⁷⁹ Greenwood's denial of the charge of Donatism⁸⁰ and of Brownism is answered by A Plaine Declaration that our Brownists be full Donatists, by comparing them together from point to point

79. It is impossible to date the work more closely except from internal evidence, since it does not appear to have been entered in the Stationers' Register, the entry on 4th May 1590 (whch S.T.C. gives to this work) undoubtedly referring to Gifford's Short Treatise, as already discussed. (See p.336).
80. In view of the frequency with which Gifford refers to the Barrowists as "Donatists," some definition of the term may be useful. The Donatists were a sect of Christians which arose in North Africa in the year 311, out of a dispute about the election of Caecilian as bishop of Carthage, in place of whom they elected Marjorinus; they maintained that their own party was the only true and pure church, and that the baptisms and ordinations of others were invalid. (O.E.D.)

out of the writings of Augustina. Greenwood's continued attack on read prayer is countered by a replie to Master Greenwood touching read prayer, wherein his grosse ignorance is detected.

Once again Gifford dedicates his book to Burghley, in a short epistle which can be quoted in full:

I Published a Booke (Right Honourable) against the Brownists, who complaine of hard dealing, and not only they, but others, in that I haue termed them Donatists, and charge them with sundrie foule matters. And hauing now receiued from them an answer vnto one part of that my booke; I haue also framed this replie: In which I first set downe the Donatisme out of the writings of the holie Father Augustine, with what Scriptures & arguments it was defended, and so compare our mens writings and doings with the same. They must for this, chuse either to affirme, that the Donatists had the truth, and the chur/ches were perished; or else shew some materiall points of Donatisme, which they doo not hold. And then in the latter part of this my book, I answer to that which is published now by them against read prayer. As I was bold to present the former vnto your Honor, so do I also humblie offer this, presuming vpon your Honors fauourable acceptation. And thus I beseech the Lord God to blesse and prosper your Honor. Amen. (sig. *2-*2^v).

A section "To the Reader" states explicitly Gifford's position in this controversy, which has already been seen in the Short Preatise. He does not "stand to cleere _ iustifie al thinges, not onlie in the Booke of Common praier, but also in the calling and ordination of our Ministers and in our/Church gouernment." (sig.*3-*3^v). He is not denying that there are faults in the Church of England, but does contend that these do not destroy the being of a true church.

The work falls into two parts. The first, occupying sixty-nine quarto pages, is a careful exposition of all the coincidences of the views of the Brownists and Donatists, with

frequent quotations from St. Augustine. The basis of this section is a belief in the evil of separation, and its destruction of the unity of the church. The former charge that their position condemns all the churches of Europe is again brought against the Barrowists, and emphasis is laid on the fact that both Brownists and Donatists doubt the efficacy of sacraments administered by evil ministers. Gifford here finds one of the weakest links in Barrow's armour, for he rightly accuses him of being illogical in thus not advocating re-baptism. (In fact the horror in which Anabaptism was then held probably prevented Barrow from pursuing his ideas to their ultimately logical conclusion). The second part of the book, occupying fifty-six pages, is a thorough and minute answer to Greenwood's remarks on read prayer. The old arguments are again brought forward, the strongest of course being that Christ himself laid down a prescript form of prayer for us. (On this point the argument rests on the interpretation of the Hebrew word for 'thus' in 'when you pray, say thus', one side contending that it signifies 'according to this general model', the other that it means 'in these words'). The argument occasionally widens into more general principles, and at one point shows Gifford's belief that some set rules are necessary to avoid complete chaos, an argument which he has put forward before.

The Plaine Declaration was the last work which Gifford dedicated to Burghley. He wrote a further reply to the Barrowists in 1591, again published by Tobie Cooke, but printed without a

dedication. The reason for this is a little puzzling. Perhaps Gifford suspected, following the dedication to Burghley of Barrow's reply to Gifford, that the Lord Treasurer had some sympathy with the Barrowists, and therefore decided that a further dedication to him would be a waste of time, especially as his two earlier epistles had failed to stir Burghley to any apparent action against the imprisoned Separatists.

From 1590 until his death in or about 1620, Gifford appears to have had no further contact with Burghley. His next book, the Dialogue concerning Witches (1593) was dedicated to Robert Clarke, an exchequer and assize judge, who had shown some favour to John Udal, Gifford's fellow Puritan, when trying him in 1590. From 1593 onwards Gifford's dedications link him with the rising star of Essex. In 1594 his Treatise of True Fortitude was the first of his works to be dedicated to Robert Devereux, with an epistle in rather formal terms. In 1596 his Sermons vpon Revelations were dedicated to Essex more enthusiastically, the epistle seeing him as the champion of the Church against the power of Antichrist. In 1598 comes the last of his publications - Fifteen Sermons vpon the Song of Salomon, once more dedicated to Essex and hailing him as the true protector of the Gospel.

This long association with Essex during the 1590's is a clear indication of Gifford's total dissociation of himself from the Cecil influence. The hostility between Essex and Robert Cecil is well known, and though the former's relations with Burghley were

on the surface smooth, the two men had wide divergencies of purpose. To some extent Essex can be said to have inherited Leicester's position, and this would explain why such a man as Gifford should dedicate his works to the successor of the recognized figure-head of the Puritan party. The career of Gifford in fact shows quite clearly that his two dedications to Burghley are no more than a brief interlude in a literary life in which for the most part he sought to identify himself with the Dudley circle. Unlike Robert Some's, his dedications to Burghley appear to have gone unrewarded, as one suspects they came uninvited. Some was the 'professional' among the anti-Barrowist writers; Gifford's part in the affair, despite his three books on the subject, seems to have been more that of an outsider.

The last work in this group to be dedicated to Burghley was Barrow and Greenwood's Plaine Refutation of M.G. Giffordes reprochful book, intituled a Short Treatise against the Donatists of England (1591). From the examination of 18th March 1589, Barrow had returned to prison, where, with the assistance of Greenwood, he maintained a steady stream of anti-Anglican literature. Barrow's rashly outspoken manner at the examination can hardly have made a very favourable impression on Burghley, but the two prisoners seem to have had extremely high hopes of his assistance. The basis for these hopes is impossible to define. Barrow can surely not have expected very enthusiastic support from the man who, in

the course of the examination, tells him "you delight to be an author of this new religion", and that "streighter laws ought to be made for you," and who calls him a "fantasticall fellow," a man with a "hotte braine." During the whole course of the examination, Burghley seems to have given Barrow no cause whatever for hope. Perhaps Barrow's future confidence in him was based on no more than the realization that he was the only Privy Counsellor from whom help might be expected, a kind of self-deception arising from the respect in which Barrow held Burghley; a respect which is obvious in Barrow's remarks at the end of the big examination about "taking the Lords name in vain." This and the desperate situation of the Separatist prisoners would be quite sufficient to explain the willingness with which Barrow and his followers placed their hopes in the Lord Treasurer.

The circulation in manuscript form of the ideas of Barrow and Greenwood had made them menace enough to the ecclesiastical authorities, but from 1589 to 1591 a series of their books appeared in print, a circumstance which immediately made their menace far greater. The facts behind the printing of these books are revealed in a series of examinations which took place in March 1593.⁸¹ It is interesting to see the diligence with which the examiners seek out all the information they can about how the books came to be printed, - a definite indication of their

81. These are printed in The Egerton Papers, ed. J.P. Collier (1840), pp.166-179.

recognition of the power of the printed word, and of their anxiety to keep the press censorship as secure as possible. Barrow and Greenwood admit their authorship of the books about which they are questioned, and also reveal that these were sent out sheet by sheet in the hands of servants and friends who visited them in prison. (The freedom of visitors seems to have been quite considerable). But both deny any knowledge of how these books in fact got into print. It is left to Robert Stokes, who had given up his earlier Barrowism to re-enter the Church of England, and whose memory of the events is therefore more trustworthy, to tell most of the story. In an examination dated 19th March 1593, he gives a fairly complete picture of what happened:

He sayeth whyles he held that opynyon, he was at the pryson with the sayd Henry Barrow and John Grenewood, and they moved this Examynat fyrst to procure the booke intituled a Collection off certen slanderous Articles, &c, and one other booke intituled an aunswere to George Giffordes pretended defens of redd prayers, to be prynted about thys tyme three yeares, which thys Exam^t did cause to be done accordyngly, at this Exam^{ts} owne charges; and there were prynted about five hundred of eche of those bookes at Dort, which thys Exam^t conveyed over to England after they were prynted; some of which bookes the sayd Henry Barrowe and John Grenewood had the dysposysion off to the matter of two or thre hundred.

.....

He sayeth also that the booke intituled a Brieff Dyssection of the false Church, and the booke intituled a playne refutation of Mr. G. Giffordes Book, &c, thys Exam^t procured, at hys charges to be prynted at Dort about Christmas last was two yeares; which was lykewyse don by the perwasyon of the sayd Mr. Barrow and Grenewood, all which were taken at Flushing and Brill: and there were of these thre thowsand prynted, as this Exam^t understood.⁸²

82. Egerton Papers, p.174.

The examination of Greenwood himself on 11th March adds a little to this:

He sayeth he remembreth not to whom they [the Mss] were delyvred after they were thus collected and sett downe, whether yt was this Exam^ts wyffe or not, he doth not well remember. / He sayeth the cause why they so sett the same downe was, that the L. Chief Justices, and those in authoryte, myght se what they held concernyng the crymes wherewith they were charged. ... He sayeth he hath hard there shold be a thowsand off them prented, or therabouts; the pryce, as he harde, was viijd a pece.⁸³

Between 1589 and 1591, when the conversion of Stokes brought the printing to an end until after the deaths of Barrow and Greenwood, six Barrowist books were printed in this way. These are, A True Description out of the word of God of the Visible Church, (1589); Greenwood's Answer to G. Giffords Pretended Defence of Read Prayer, (1590); A Collection of Certain Sclaunderous Articles lately gyven out by the Bishops against such faithfull Christians as they nowe deteyne in their prisons, (1590); A Collection of Certaine Letters and Conferencas lately passed betwixt certaine Preachers & two Prisoners in the Fleet, (1590); A Briefe Discoverie of the False Church, (1590); and A Plaine Refutation of M. Giffordes Booke, (1591).⁸⁴

83. Egerton Papers, pp.171-172.

84. The book M. Some laid open in his Colours (1590), which the Short-Title Catalogue lists with the works of Greenwood, is certainly not by him, despite the fact that the initials I.G. appear at the end. The book is written in defence of Penry, who had not yet joined the ranks of the Separatists, against Dr. Some, and specifically defends him from charges of Brownism, and concurs with Some's views of the acceptability of Roman baptism, against which Barrow and Greenwood had written. If one adds to this the fact that Gifford, in his Short Rebbie vnto the last printed books of H. Barrow and I. Greenwood, refers to the book with no suggestion that it is the work of Greenwood, and also that Barrow makes a point of rejecting some of its ideas in the course of his Briefe Discoverie of the False Church (see for example, The Writings of Henry Barrow, ed. Carlson, pp. 426-453), then the case against Greenwood's authorship becomes overwhelming.

By 1590 the imprisoned Barrowist leaders were becoming a serious nuisance to the authorities, and though their books were only just being printed, it is clear that their ideas had already begun to pass into wider circulation, since Whitgift, at the examination of 18th March 1589, accuses Barrow of having "published to much already". (One of his works had reached Gifford in Essex as early as the Spring of 1588, which is a clear indication of the considerable circulation which, even in manuscript, his ideas had enjoyed). It is not surprising therefore that when the True Description was printed in 1589, Archbishop Whitgift was alarmed into instructing Bishop Aylmer to organize conferences in an attempt to persuade the Separatists out of their 'errors' and if this failed, then to allow the law to take its course. It is interesting that the men chosen to confer with the Barrowists were London preachers of the strongest Puritan leanings. This inevitably strengthened Barrow's disgust at those who refused to leave the church they so severely criticized, and the conferences, and the "Collection" of them published soon afterwards, only served to confirm the Barrowists in their isolated position.

It is worth noting a few of the basic tenets of this Barrowist position in order to understand what were likely to be Burghley's reactions when Barrow and Greenwood sought his aid. Basing their ideas on the Bible and the practice of the Apostolic age only, and refusing to recognize any other authority whatever, they

expressed their belief in an ecclesiastical hierarchy similar to that which the Presbyterians sought (pastors, teachers, deacons, elders etc.), with this important difference, that the minister had to be chosen by his congregation, and for as long as they wanted him, at the end of which time he automatically became a layman again. There can be no doubt that Barrow saw the congregation as the basic unit of ecclesiastical power, responsible for all the major decisions in the life of the church, in particular the excommunication of offending members, and, though he did admit that the local or provincial synod, which was such a significant part of the Presbyterian scheme, had some value, he would not under any circumstances allow it to interfere with the freedom of jurisdiction of the parish assemblies. It is thus quite appropriate to term such a conception of ecclesiastical power 'congregational', while within the congregation each member had an equal voice, the power of the ministers being entirely dependent on the good will of their parishioners. In advocating this ecclesiastical organization, Barrow inevitably condemned the Church of England, calling it, in his most important work, "the false church", and maintaining that all true Christians must remove themselves from its communion. He thus rejected the idea of a universal nation-wide church, and saw the Church as the means whereby the faithful withdraw themselves from the world, and not as the means whereby the world may be saved. Although doctrinally he was, as were almost all sixteenth century English Protestants, a Calvinist, his position

over baptism was equivocal. In describing the English Church as "false", he inevitably condemned all its sacraments as false also. At the same time he denied the need for re-baptism. His position here is obviously a symptom of the sixteenth century's horror of Anabaptism, and it is almost certain that, had the events of Münster⁸⁵ never occurred, Barrow would have strengthened the logic of his thought by advocating re-baptism.

This sketch of the Barrowist position in and after 1590 explains a good deal of the attitude of contemporaries towards Separatism. Gifford had seized on the weakness of Barrow's views on baptism, while some had roundly termed his ideas "Anabaptisticall fancies". At a time when the distinction of church and state was undreamed of, it was inevitable that the principles of separation and of congregationalism should be seen as revolutionary, schismatic and anarchic. All this must be clearly seen before an attempt is made to analyze Burghley's relations with Barrow and Greenwood in the early 1590's.

After the spectacular personal meeting between Barrow and Burghley in March 1589, there is no record of further contact between the Lord Treasurer and the two prisoners until the

85. In 1535, a group of fanatics had seized power in the town of Münster and attempted to establish the "New Zion." For a few months they had ruled the town on vaguely Communistic principles. The horrors and chaos which resulted were remembered throughout the sixteenth century.

petition from fifty-nine Separatists in April 1590. One is justified in suspecting that Barrow composed this document, since he was obviously the leader of the 'imprisoned brethren.' There is no evidence of Burghley's giving any direct help to his petitioners, but the following September he received from Barrow and Greenwood a letter written as though he had given them some definite reason to hope for his assistance. The letter (which is among the Salisbury Papers at Hatfield House) is dated "the 13th of this ninth month" and endorsed in a different hand "7br 1590." There can be no doubt therefore that September is meant.⁸⁶ The letter begins with the statement that they have compiled an "unperfect discourse" of their ideas, and continues with a clear hint that Burghley had given permission for them to send him such a document:

And now by your Honor's special desert and gracious allowance occasioned, we most gladly relate and present the same unto your good lordship onely: as to one, whose rare wisdom we know most able to discern, whose care to defend and preserve the innocent accordinge to the right.

After this preliminary matter the letter becomes another forthright statement of the Barrowist views:

86. H.M.C., Salisbury Papers, vol.4, p.73, erroneously dates the letter the 13th November. It is printed complete in The Writings of Greenwood, ed. Carlson, pp.265-270.

And howsoever these high causes of God, which have not bene hetherto looked into since the first defection from the sincere practise of the gospel in the primitive church, may seme strange unto your Honor at the first vew, especilly if thei be weighed with humane reason; yet beinge examined by that arch type and true patterne of Christe's Testament, we doubt not but your Honour shall see with us how far the present state is swarved from the inviolable order prescribed, especially if yoŭr Honour vouchsafe but to looke into the office, entraunce, and administration of ministry, you shall see it, as some of their owne writers have confessed and none can deny, to be derived by / succession from the pope. Who, though he were expelled with many of his enormities, out of this land by her majestie's most royall progenitour, yet remained these offices, lawes, courtes, worship, etc, untaken away or suppressed. ... It is then our purpose, right Honourable, to make plaine in our treatise, that when the pope was expelled, his ministry and orders which came out of the smoke of the bottomles pitt were still reserved and set up in stead of Christes ministry and ordinances, and so still remaine. Which their ministry beinge found antichristian must by the prince be abolished and suppressed, that God's wrath be not kindled, against this whole land for the wilfull violating and defacinge of God's ordinances, bowinge downe unto, endowing and mainteninge of such bitter plantes of antichriste's graftinge. Neither nede this matter now trouble us, seinge that all countries about us have now suppressed the bishops and their courtes with all that rable and many other abhominations which flow from those fountaines, and remaine still with us. The learned of the cleargie of this land also have written and cried out for the utter abolishinge of these offices. So that it is of all confessed that the prince ought to suppress and abolish all such offices and orders, as cannot be approved by the word of God.

Shall this famous land, then, right honorable, lye still in the knowne dregges of popery under God's wrath for the same? Shall a few pompeous prelates for their owne private lucre, pride, and idlenes, with hold the practise of Christe's Testament and mislead the whole land to eternall judgement? Shall her majestie's most loyall subjectes be persecuted and miserably made away in prison for not bowinge downe to these confessed abhominations? Shall her majestie and her most honourable counsell be thus made guiltie of innocent bloud by sufferinge the bishops in this unchristian proceedinge? / If this [the treatise] be not now received, it will be received in the age to come, what soever become of our miserable bodies, beinge put thus by God's providence into your Honor's handes, it will be looked upon. It is God's word that hath now discovered it, which goeth not out in vaine, nor returneth fruitles, but surely effecteth his owne will in his appointed tymes. ...

The other part of our treatise, how this should be effected, what the true ministry of Christ is, how it should be erected and brought in, we have purposely reserved till we know your Honour's pleasure, for the discussinge of these which must be agreed upon, before we can procede to the other. And then upon your honour's gracious acceptation (though we are more willinge and have more nede to hear and learne, than to instruct and spæke), we shall to the utmost of our power make your Honour pertaker of that truth God giveth us to see.... / If any thinge shalbe objected against the pointes we have written, we besech your Honour their reasons may be set downe, and be discussed either by publicke conference under notarie, or in private before your Honour with whom your lordship shall thinke mete, or by writinge. Yea, if your Honor shall be willinge to hear any of the doctrines discussed by the Scriptures, your lordship may procure some of the learned, whom your Honour may best trust in such business, and call us to trial in your owne audience, without making them acquainted with the end of the question, least thei deale partially, and so seke to trouble and not to edify, as their custome is.

In the meane tyme, by reason of our longe imprisonment, we (having had no exercise to our bodies, aire, or thinges nedefull even for the preservinge of life allowed us now this three yeares in effect, our bodies weake, and our memories impaired and greatly broken, as also in no smale perill to be indirecly hastened to our grave by our adversaries in this prison, as they have theretofore endeavoured), most humbly besech your Honour, we may be placed at some honest man's howse, where your Honour please to appoint, or we can provide, puttinge in sufficient bondes [for our appearance] when and where we shall be called to any lawfull triall.

Thus craving pardon for our boldnes, and givinge humble thanks for your honourable compassion alredie shewd, we in all due / reverence take our leave, untill we further understand your Honour's will.⁸⁷

The optimism of Barrow, the certainty that, if only his and Greenwood's ideas could be given a fair hearing at an impartial trial or an open conference, they would be universally accepted, is the most striking thing about this letter. This was an attitude which Barrow kept, rather pathetically, to the end of his life.

87. The Writings of John Greenwood, ed. Carlson, pp.266-270. Square brackets are Carlson's.

The letter was accompanied by a treatise in manuscript, entitled "The first part of a platform."⁸⁸ Its tone is anything but moderate, and undoubtedly pleased Burghley as little as the ideas in the letter. His reply is lost, but its tenour can easily be gathered from a second letter of Barrow and Greenwood, dated the 18th of the same month. The letter is a great deal shorter than the preceding, and reads as follows:

Having received your lordship's aunswere in dislike of our writings and causes, together with your refusall to have any thinge to doo with us, it brought no small dismaye and heavines unto our sorowful soules, thus to have offended your Honor, and deprived our selves of your lawful helpe and defence. Wherby we are nowe lefte and exposed to the violent hands of our adversaries, who wille nowe sone shorten our mortall lives, and make speede to devowre the pray thei have taken. But yet our chiefest grief is to behoulde this moste heavenly and blessed cause, which the Lorde by our weake and contemptible bodies hath offred to your Honor and this whole lande, to be, peradventure through our defaltes and insufficient handeling, rejected and caste away with out furder inquirie or trial. As to our selves, Right Honorable, we moste humblie, even with all submission, crave your Honor's perdon for any thinge we have offended you, being of no worldly thing more lothe than to give your lordship or any of our honourable magistrates the leaste cause of offence or dislike. And as to our writings or any thing we houlde wherein your lordship is not of one judgment with us, we no furder houlde them than thei shall be founde consonant to God his holy worde, neither furder or otherwise perswade them, than upon that trial they shall be approved, moste humbly and gladlie submitting our whole faith and lives in all that we have saied, written, or doone unto any christian trial or censure by the worde of God. ... Wherfore, Right Honorable, in the tender care and love you have of our soules, as the laste petition ever we are like to make to your lordship, / we most humblie and instantly, even in the name and mercy of that greate sheapherd that sought us all out when we ran astraye, beseeche of your Honor, before our weake bodies retourne to duste (which through the inhumane usage we have indured are not likely long to continue in this life). That we might yet

88. This was printed in 1611, probably at the instigation of Francis Johnson, and given the sub-title "A preparative to purge prelatism."

be allowed some peacable and christian conference in loving and sober maner, where these hie and weighty matters in controversy may by the worde of God be discussed and decided, our reasons be duely expended and auswered, our doubttes by the Scriptures assayled, and we by the evidence of God's worde convinced and instructed and not by such hostilitie, slaunder, reproche, persecution, close emprisonment, cruel commissions and judgements, which are meanes rather to abalienate than any waye to perswade the soule+consciense. This christian course have we in all meaknes sought even by all meanes at our adversaries' hands: if so be thei would graunte us this conference in the lande, or to live in peace by them under baile as other her majestie's loial and faithful subjects, that yet for the peace and comforte of our sowles and bodies thei woulde soffer us to depart the land to some foreigne churche. This peaceable course as the uttermoste thing that we with good conscience can any way devise or consent unto, we stille moste humbly beseeche of your lordship. That all former hostilitie, violence, quarels, complaints, etc, layed aside, we may at length with one accorde meete together in christian loving and reverent maner to enquire the wille of our God, which being brought to lighte we may all both high and lowe as the children of our heavenly Father peaceably and joyfully condiscent therunto, and reste in the same. Thus may your Honor easely quenche and appeace much unnatural strife and debate, reduce such as erre, unite us all in the truthe, and moste highly advance the gospel of our Lorde Jesus Christe to the glory of God, the unspeakable benefite of this whole lande, and to the endles comfort of your own soule and praise, both with God and men: which that your Honor may happely accomplish, as also to continue your accustomed favoure and mercy to Christe's poore afflicted servants, /we shall not cease to praye even whilst we have breathe.⁸⁹

The letter introduces a new request into the Barrowist repertoire: to the pleas for a fair trial or a public conference, is added the suggestion that Barrow and Greenwood should be allowed to go abroad to worship as they wish. Barrow is forced into accepting the impossibility of converting Burghley, but still sees him as the best hope of fair treatment, and mentions his "accustomed favoure and mercy" to them. There is no evidence whatever to explain their remarkable confidence in him, and this

89. The Writings of Greenwood, ed. Carlson, p.271-273.

1590. It has already been shown that Gifford's first work, the Short Treatise, was printed about May 1590; it therefore appears that between May and December were composed and printed Greenwood's Answer to Gifford, Gifford's Plaine Declaration, and the various sections of the Plaine Refutation. From this one gets some idea of the extraordinary heat of the controversy, and of the speed with which publishers got works printed and on sale.

The dedication to the Plaine Refutation is the only dedication to be found in any of the works of Barrow and Greenwood. Here again is clear indication of the extravagant hopes they had in Burghley. They begin with the usual complaints about the treatment they have received:

Hitherto (Right Honorable) haue our malignant aduersaries had their full scope against vs with the lawe in their owne handes, and haue made no spare or conscience to accuse, blasphemee, condemne and punish vs, to the eares & eies of all men openly in their pulpits, and in their printed bookes, published by the consent and approbation of their Church. No triall all this while vpon anie sute or complaint graunted vs: Either ciuile, that we might know for what cause & by what lawe we thus suffer, which is yet not denied the most horrible malefactors & offenders: Or ecclesiasticall by the word of God, where place and freedome might be giuen vs to declare & pleade our owne cause in sobristie & order.... But in stead of this christian course, they haue shut vs vp now more than three yeares in miserable & close prisons from the aire, from all exercise, from all companie or conuersation with anie person, from all meanes so much as to write, yncke and paper being taken & kept from vs, / and a diligent watch both by our keepers held ouer vs, and also continuall searches vpon one pretence or other made, where we were rifled from time to time of all our papers and writinges they could find. (sig. *ii-*ii^v).

The complaints about being denied the means to write seem quite unfounded when one remembers that this was their sixth

publication in a little over a year, though there is no doubt that their books and papers were occasionally seized. The next passage of the dedication is of some interest in that it shows them extremely conscious of the books which have been written against them, and of the possible effect which the dedication of these books to Burghley might have had on the man from whom they hoped for so much:

they suborned (amongst sondrie others) two special instruments, M. Some and M. Giffard to accuse and blaspheme vs publiquellie to the viewe of the world, etch to them in two booke, the one labouring to proue vs Anabaptists, the other Donatists in the same. Which Bookes they haue preferred especially to your Honor, as the chiefe obstacle that hindered them from their violent and bloudie course. ... Yet euen all this, we hope, the Lord hath disposed to the further manifestation of his truth, by directing our aduersaries to bring our criminations before Honor. Of whose wisdom & equitie we haue so great experience and assurance, as we cannot frō henceforth doubt to be condemned vnheard, or to find there in worse vsage than our Sauour & the Apostles found at those heathe Rulers. (sig. *ii^v).

After further complaints about the difficulties under which they have laboured, they describe the scope of their book:

[We] haue here vndertaken Mr. Giffards two reprochfull blasphemous Bookes: Shewing the true causes of our separation from the parish assemblies, confirming and approving the same to be both true and sufficient/by sondrie weightie reasons & expresse scriptures: Refelling by the like all the friuolous caulls and iniurious sclanders which M.G. hath brought to hide their sinnes, deface the truth, and to defame vs. As also shewing such apparent dissimilitude betwixt the Donatists and vs, both in the causes of our & their separation, and in the maner of our & their proceedings, and in sondrie errors they held, as no man of anie knowledge or iudgemēt before attempted, or shall

hereafter be able (with anie truth or conscience) to compare vs vnto them herein, or to excuse M.G. for this his vnchristian dealing with vs. We held it our dutie to present it [the book] ... vnto your honorable view & graue cōsideratiō. That both sides being heard according to equitie, and our answeres as well as their criminatiōs duly expended, your sentence, or at the least approbation, might proceede according to the truth. Crauing herein no furder fauour, then according to the equitie of our cause & innocencie of our doings: Nor yet shunning any furder triall of the one or the other, that your Honor shall appoint or thinck meet; whether with these our aduersaries, or anie other that shall be contrarie minded, whosoever. Beseaching your Honors perdō for this our bould presumption, the rather because such necessitie was layed vpō vs by the hand of God, through the importunate challenges and insolent prouocatiōs of these our accusors. (sig. *ii -*iii).

After a passage of anti-episcopal invective and exposure of the "enormities" of corruption in the English Church in their usual style, Barrow and Greenwood continue in a manner which shows clearly the extent of their optimism. They hope to see:

the mightie hand of God working in the heart of our Soueraigne Prince & Nobles, especiallie through your Honors faithfull counsell and furtherance; and also in the heartes of all the Commons, when the truth of these things shall be shewed vnto them, a general and sincere conuersion to the Lord may be made, euen from all things that now are, or hereafter shall be found contrarie to his holie will, whither in the publique estate of all, or in the priuate estate of anie. ... / Then should the Lords dreadful iudgements, which now hang ouer this whole land for these sinnes, be auoided, and his blessings in stead thereof be multiplied. We haue not with holden our vtmost indeuours to the discouerie of the publique enormities and sinnes of these times, in all truth and freedome, being readie yet furder to witnesse and approue the same, if such neade be, to the face of our greatest aduersaries and gainsayers, by the euidence of Gods word: So now it remaineth that we instantly beseach your Honor, euen in the name of God, before whom we shall all of vs shortly appeare to our accompt and iudgement, bo whome this chardge is layed vpon you (the cause being ... before your Honor) that you would now be a meanes to her right excellent Maiestie that these

weightie and dangerous matters may be no longer wrapped vp or put off in securitie and silence (lest these soffrings and testimonies rise in iudgment with this generation) but may rather be further inquired and discussed, and order and redresse taken according to the will of God. Which shall no doubt torne to the high ghorie & most acceptable seruice of God and your Prince, to the vnspeakable / benefite of this whole land, and to the happie discharge of your dutie and conscience to your eternall praise in this life and the life to come. Your Lordships most humble and addict in the Lord. Henrie Barrowe & Iohn Greenwood for the testimonie of the gospel in close prison. (sig. *iii^v - *4^v).

The epistle can hardly have left Burghley in any doubt as to the nature of the work here offered to him. But Barrow is even more explicit in the section entitled "Wisdom to the Reader." Here he points out that the Church of England has "not one pinne, naile, or hooke according to the true patterne" (sig. A1^v) and that the bishops practise "vnsufferable peruerting & abusing the Scripture to hide, tollerat or defend the anti-christian forgeries, abominations, disorder & enormities of their Church and ministrie" (sig. Aii^v). He mentions the two books of Gifford in terms which show that he was well acquainted with them, and claims that both are here answered. The extremity of the Barrowist position is left in no doubt: "Neither refreigne we their worship for some light imperfections as he [Gifford] saith, but because their worship is superstitious, deuised by men, idolatrous, according to that patched popish portesse their seruice book" (sig. Aiii^v). Finally Gifford is accused of apostacy, in that he was at one time an "ernest suitor to Parliamēt" for the reform of the church which "for filthy lucre and feare of the world" he is now defending (sig. Aiv).

After this introductory matter the work is divided into a number of sections. The first of these, "A briefe summe of the causes of our separation, and of our purposes in practise, withstood by G.G. defended by H.B. as followeth", has already been shown to be an early document from the controversy between Gifford and Barrow, composed some years before printing had begun on either side. The next section is the main body of the work, bearing the title "A plaine refutation of Mr. Giffard his reprochful booke, intituled, a short treatise against the Donatists of England." It examines again the four principal transgressions of the Church of England, dealing with each in turn at considerable length. Under the first heading, the English Church is charged with worshipping in a false manner, which obliges true Christians to withdraw themselves from it. Gifford had defended the faults as merely "spots and blemishes"; on the contrary, they are "the olde ruīing issues, & incurable botches of Egipt, which they haue deriued from their mother of Rome." (sig.E4^v). The manner of observing the Saints' days is condemned, and a festive Christmas is decried as follows: "garnishing your earthlie houses, decking your bodies with gaye clothes, great cheare in gluttonie, excesse, ryot, idle games, dicing, daūsing, mumming, masking, wassaling, ... / Is this to keepe the feaste with the vnleavened breade of sincerity and truth?" (sig.Fii^v-Fiii). The list of the remaining "popish superstitions" in the English Church is lengthy. English communion, baptism and confirmation

are all condemned, the last of these mainly because it is performed by the bishops, those "verie synkes & draynes of al abhominacion, corruption, idolatrie, superstitiō, blasphemie, and open transgression of al Gods lawes." (sig.G4^v). To Gifford's argument that the best reformed churches of the continent have a pattern of worship similar to the Church of England's, Barrow replies, "his owne conscience knoweth and iudgeth, that the best Churches doe erre in so doing." (sig.Giii^v). The book of Common Prayer is described as "a piece of swynes flesh, an abhominacion to the Lord." (sig.Hii). The whole idea of set prayers, set passages of Scripture for certain days, and a set liturgy, are all condemned according to the old arguments.

Under the second transgression of the Church of England, that all without discrimination are allowed into the church, Barrow states: "There ought none to remayne in the Church, but such as are by outward profession and obediēce, members / of the Church. Neither ought the childrē of anie be baptized, except one of their parents be a member of the Church." (sig.K4-k4^v). He denies that the English Church has the true power of excommunication: "their Church doth caste forth Sathan by the power of Sathan, to which power the whole Ministrie and people stand and contynue in subiection." (sig.Liii). During the course of this section Barrow gives an important explicit definition of his conception of the Church: "By the Church we vnderstand euery particular Congregation subsisting of al the members." (sig.Mii). He finishes the section with a description of the English Church, which is made up of

"confused parish assemblies consisting of all sortes of ignorant, prophane, vngodlie people, worshipping God after an idolatrous maner; and liuing in al disorder and vngodlines." (sig.Pl).

The third transgression is that the ministry of the Church of England is false and antichristian. Barrow puts forward the normal Puritan view of ^{what} the organization of a true ministry should be, and opposes this to the ministry of the English Church, which he divides into "Reigning gouerning, 2 collegiate or idle, and 3 serulle or mercenary." (sig.Piii^v). The lives of the bishops he describes as "most vnchristian, fleshly and vnholly." (sig.Qii). The university men are condemned for the "schole learning, vayne artes, philosophie, rhetoricke, and logique," which they use against "the truth and seruauntes of God." (sig.Rl). The ordinary parish clergy are condemned for ignorance and vice. Barrow is quick to seize on Gifford's title of "Minister of Gods word in Maldon" - "Pastor of that Church he is not; because they haue another allowed by lawe. He was sometime a Vicare, (a Pastor he saith) from which his ministrie & place he is nowe depriued, departed, and apostate, as also from all grace and feeling." (sig.Tii). Barrow again makes his usual suggestion about the payment of the clergy by the benevolence of their congregations, and finishes the section with a sweeping denunciation of the English ministry:

Thus nowe haue we summarily perused al this rable of the Ministry of the Church of England, and haue not founde anie of them right, or almost in anie one poynte according to the rules of Christes Testament, they are all strangers there, they belonge not

to Christes bodie his / Church, neither are they knit as members vnto that heade. But out of the smoke of the bottomlesse pit they came when that fallen Starre Antichriat had the key thereof giue him. (sig.V4^v-X1).

The fourth section is against the antichristian ggovernment of the Church of England. One of the chief butts for Barrow's invective is the 'unchristian and unconstitutional' Court of High Commission. The section dismisses Gifford with the words "he began his booke without counsel, cōtinued it without grace, and ended it without truth." (sig.Bbi^v).

Barrow concludes his examination of the English Church with an assertion that it is the duty of all true Christians to proceed to reformation even against the will of the magistrate: "When the prince shall in anie thinge be founde contrarie to God, God is then to be obeyed before man." (sig.Dd4). He reveals his belief that the Church is fundamentally outside the civil jurisdiction: "the Prince may aswel make a new religion, as newe lawes for religion." (sig.Eei). His work, which occupies nearly two hundred quarto pages, is a remarkable piece of argument, clear, thorough, copiously substantiated by biblical reference, and completely outspoken. It stands in fact as an example of theological learning far superior to anything produced by Dr. Some, and because Barrow's position is less equivocal than Gifford's, his arguments are stronger than those of his Puritan opponent.

At the end of the book appear two smaller pieces by John Greenwood. The first is a "Briefe refutation of Mr. George

Giffard his supposed consimilitude between the Donatists and vs, wherein is shewed how his arguments haue bene and may be by the Papists more iustly retorted against himself and the present estate of their Church." The basis of the argument here is that separation from what is false cannot be called schism. Many of Gifford's comparisons with the Donatists are refuted in detail. The second of these 'addenda' continues Greenwood's more personal argument with Gifford over read prayer. It contains no new material, and is in fact the answer to Gifford's reply in the Plaine Declaration, as its title shows: "A few observations of Mr. Giffards last cauills about stinted read prayers, and deuised leitourgies."

There can be little doubt that to be the dedicatee of so amplee and thorough a condemnation of the English Church, so lear a rallying cry to forsake its falsity, was a considerable embarrassment to Burghley. There is no indication in the epistle that he had given his permission for the book to be dedicated to him, and as Barrow and Greenwood make a point of mentioning this in their earlier letter, this would seem to be a fairly definite suggestion that no such permission was given. In any case, the appeals which the Separatist leaders make in their dedication went unanswered, their hopes unfulfilled. As Robert Stokes's testimony has shown, most of the copies of the Plaine Refutation were seized at Flushing and Brill. This was the work of Francis Johnson, who, as minister of the Merchant Adventurers at Middelburg, had secured a commission to destroy Barrowist books printed in the Netherlands. He is said

The dedication⁹² and the first three sections of the book remain the same, but Greenwood's "A few observations of Mr. Giffards last caulls"⁹³ is replaced by a new piece from Barrow with the title "A few observations to the readers of Mr. Giffard his last Replie." From a complaint in this that they have been "four yeares and three moneths" in jail, the piece can be dated about January 1592, that is only a few weeks after the appearance of Gifford's Short Reply. The heat of the controversy had obviously not abated in the least. The "observations" are simply a restatement of the old arguments against the Church of England, and an answer to many of the charges brought by Gifford. The twenty-eight points are all dealt with, and either denied or claimed as truth. The last word in the controversy belongs to Henry Barrow: "Let M.Giffard first cast out the beame out of his owne eye, and then he shal more thoroughly see to take the mote our of his brothers eye."

Despite the fact that most copies of the Plaine Refutation are said to have been burned in 1591, the book was used against Barrow and Greenwood at their trials in March 1593⁹⁴ Before the final trial Greenwood had enjoyed a short period of freedom in

92. Burghley had been dead for seven years when this second edition was printed, and the dedication may well have been allowed to stand simply because it is such a clear and consise statement of the Separatist position.
93. This had been reprinted in 1603 in the second edition of Greenwood's Answer.
94. See The Egerton Papers, pp.166-179.

the autumn of 1592, when he established a fully organized congregation with Francis Johnson. Both were arrested on 5th December, and the following March began the examinations which led quickly to the executions of Barrow and Greenwood. Although they strenuously denied all the charges of treason, they did admit the authorship of their books, and in consequence were brought in guilty on March 21st. On the 30th they were taken to Tyburn, and the ropes placed around their necks; but they were reprieved at the last minute, only to be huddled out of prison on the 6th April and hanged at Tyburn with obvious haste.

Exactly what happened during those last few days of their lives is still a mystery. It seems that at the last minute Burghley decided to do something to help them. A letter from Thomas Phelippes to William Sterrell supplies the evidence for this. Phelippes was a secret agent who had been used by Walsingham in uncovering the Babington Plot,⁹⁵ and he had also done some deciphering work for Burghley and worked for Robert Cecil. Algernon Cecil describes him, a little melodramatically, as "an obscure, yet powerful presence, ... the brain of a great system of espionage."⁹⁶ The letter is to one of Phelippes's own confidential agents, which makes it more valuable and trustworthy, and is dated April 7th [?] 1593. It deals with the passing of the Conventicle Act in April 1593:

95. Conyers Read, Mr. Secretary Walsingham, vol. III, pp. 9-11.

96. Life of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury, p. 92.

Barrow and Mr. Goodman [surely Greenwood] with others condemned upon the Statute for writing and publishing seditious books, were to have been executed last week, but as they were ready to be trussed up, they were respited; but the day after the Lower House had showed their dislike of this bill, they were hanged early in the morning. The reprieve was through a supplication to the Lord Treasurer, that in a land where no Papist was put to death for religion, theirs should not be the first blood shed who concurred about faith with what was professed in the country, and desired conference to be convinced of their errors. The Lord Treasurer spoke sharply to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was very / peremptory, and also to the Bishop of Worcester, and wished to speak to the Queen, but none seconded him. The executions proceeded through the malice of the bishops to the Lower House, which makes them much hated by the people affected that way.⁹⁷

It is remarkable that in a letter to an unidentified lady, written after the reprieve of March 30th, Barrow had no idea that it was Burghley who was responsible for saving his life. He attributes the whole affair to "her Maiesties princely hart, ... and singular wisdom."⁹⁸ It seems that it was not the prisoners themselves who had made this final "supplication" to Burghley. The episode is of great importance nevertheless, for this is the only evidence of anything done by Burghley to justify the extravagant hopes and confidence which Barrow and Greenwood had in him. Ironically, the Lord Treasurer bestirred himself rather too late.

The strange history of the attitude of Barrow and Greenwood to Burghley, their certainty that he was their one chance of fair treatment, their early hopes of converting him, and thence the

97. C.S.P. Dom., 1591-1594, p.341-342.

98. Champlin Burrage, Early English Dissenters, vol.II, p.106. The letter was originally printed in An apologie or defence of such true Christians as are commonly called Brownists, (Amsterdam [?] 1604).

whole English government, to Separatism, does little to clarify one's ideas of his attitude towards them. The only hint one gets is his apparent invitation to them to send him some sort of brief treatment of their ideas, but his reply to this was quite obviously a 'plain refutation', and despite all their hopes, and their dedicating one of their most important works to him, he seems to have done nothing for them until it was obviously too late. His motives are impossible to understand. One can say however that as far as actual patronage is concerned, none of the writers discussed in this chapter, except Robert Browne, owed much to the Lord Treasurer. Once again it is apparent that a writer did not dedicate a book to a statesman of Burghley's rank simply to thank him for previous help or to secure his personal aid in the future, though both might often be involved; the basic motive was often a desire to influence government policy. And as far as this is concerned, not one of the dedications in this chapter can be said to have been successful. It seems likely that, had Burghley never been addressed by any one of these writers, the main course of events which we have been following would not have been altered in any particular.

This study of religious works dedicated to Burghley has demonstrated that dedications are an unreliable guide to patronage. Several writers who dedicated their books to Burghley failed to secure any conspicuous assistance from him, while others who received his aid never declared their gratitude in a dedication. It seems certain that the motive of many writers dedicating their works to Burghley (or any great statesman) was the desire for the prestige which his name would give to a book. Probably his approval was all the reward they hoped for. Where Burghley's active patronage of a writer can be proved, it seems that the dedication was more often a recognition of assistance than a request for it.

Burghley's patronage was usually expressed in the preferment of writers to positions in the Church or State. To writers of Puritan sympathies he frequently afforded protection from the ecclesiastical authorities, though to extremists he was not sympathetic. He was apparently not a generous man, and there is no record of his making a financial gift to any of the writers discussed in the preceding chapters. Neither is there any hint of his being deeply interested in the books offered to him, except those anti-Jesuit works which he saw as a protection of the English commonwealth against the threat of European Catholicism. His only enthusiastic literary interest was in the Greek and Latin classics, and in the early years of Elizabeth's reign he encouraged translators of these. But his part in the stimulation of literary activity was insignificant compared with that of many Elizabethan nobles; it was his prominent position

in the English government rather than his reputation as a patron which prompted writers to dedicate their books to him. He rewarded some of them, and others he ignored. But he was influenced always by his concern for the welfare of England rather than his enthusiasm for literature.

APPENDIX I.

RELIGIOUS BOOKS DEDICATED TO LORD BURGHLEY.

Photographic reproductions of the title-pages of the forty-two religious works dedicated to Burghley, and considered in the main text of this study, are given in the pages which follow. The plates are arranged in the order in which the books are discussed in the text. The earliest known edition has been used in each case.

A fruitfull

and pleasant worke of the
 best state of a publique weale, and
 of the newe ple called Utopia: written
 in Latine by Syr Thomas More
 knyght, and translated into Englyshe
 by Raphe Robynson Wyzein and
 Goldsmith of London, at the
 procurement, and earnest re-
 quest of George Cadlowe
 Wyzein & Haberdassher
 of the same Citie.

(..)

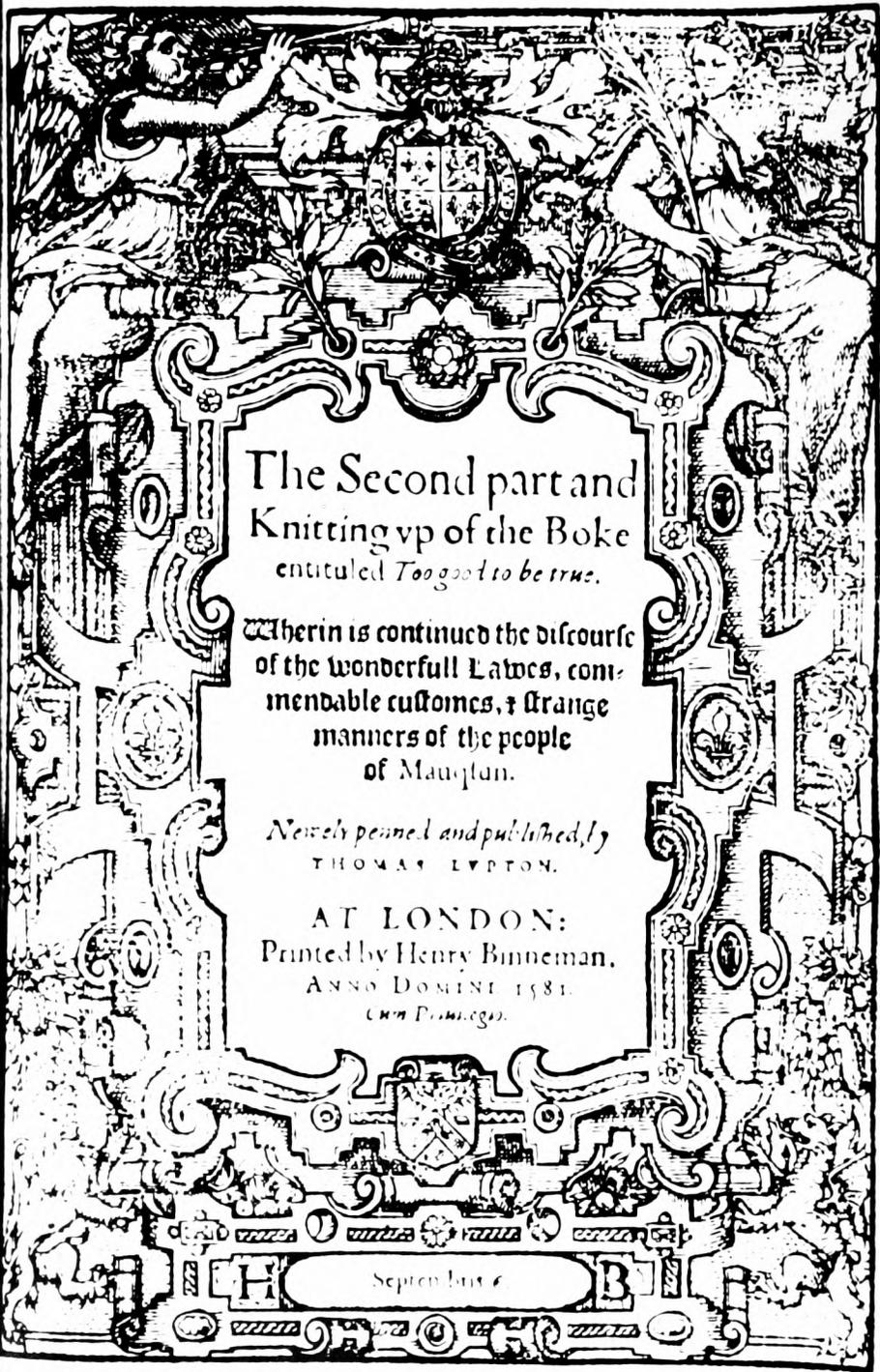
Printed at London

by Abraham Weic, dwelling in Pauls
 churchparke at the sygne of
 the Lambe. Anno.

1551.

Utopia
1554





The Second part and
Knitting vp of the Booke
entituled *To good to be true.*

Wherin is continued the discourse
of the wonderfull Lawes, com-
mendable customes, & strange
manners of the people
of Maugton.

Newely penned and published, by
THOMAS LYPTON.

AT LONDON:
Printed by Henry Binneman,
ANNO DOMINI 1581.
(Cum Privilegio.)

Septem bus e

¶ A forme of
Christian pollicie gathe-
red out of French by Gef-
fray Fenton.

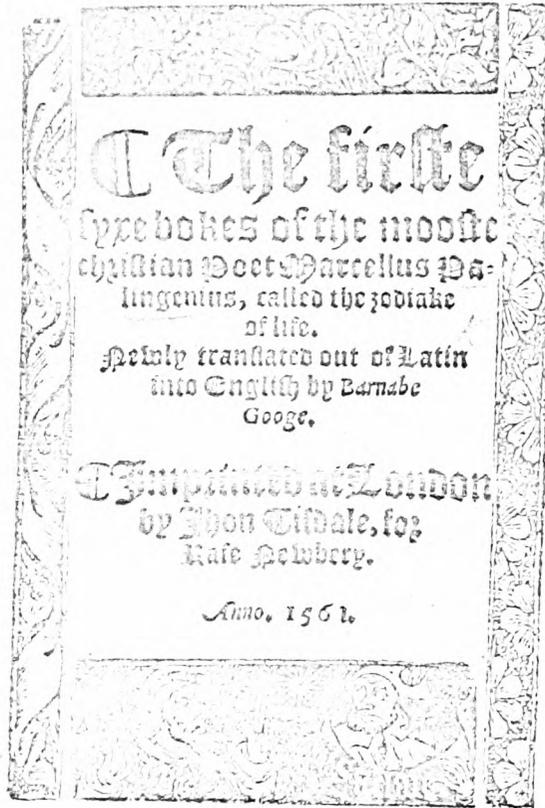
A worke very necessary to al sorts
of people generally, as wherein is con-
tayne'd doctrine, both vniuersall, and spe-
cial touching the instruction of al Christian pro-
fession : and also conuenient particularly for all
Magistrates and gouernours of common
weales, for their more happy Regi-
ment according
to God.

Also, this booke may serue for Preachers, and
Curates, when they aduertise euery estate
of his perricular dutie.

Mon heur viendra.

¶ *Imprinted at London by*
H. Middelton for Rafe Newbery,
dwelling in Fleetestreat a little
aboue the Conduit.

Anno. 1574.



The firste
booke of the moost
Christian Doct Marcellus Pa-
lingenius, called the zodiacke
of life.

Newly translated out of Latin
into English by Barnabe
Googe.

Printed at London
by Iohn Cisdale, for
Rafe Newbery.

Anno. 1562.

The Zodiake of Life

Written by the Godly and
zealous Poet Marcellus

Pallingenius Stellatus,
wherein are conteyned twelue
Bookes disclosing the haynous

Crymes & wicked vices of our
corrupt nature: And plainlye

declaring the pleasaunt

and perfit pathway vnto

eternall lyfe, besides a

numbre of digressions

from both pleasaunt

and profitable,

fitable,

newly translated into English verse

by Barnabe Googe.

Probitas laudatur & alget.

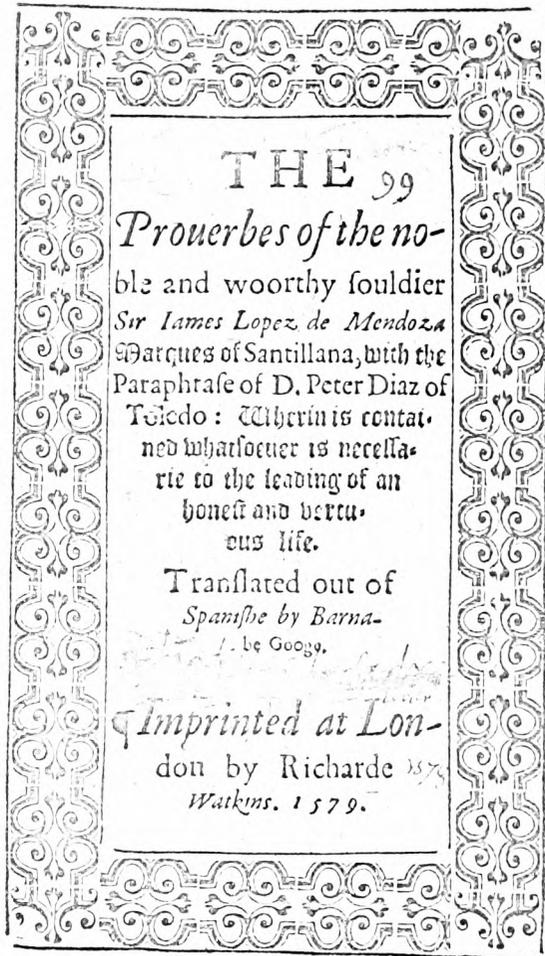
IMPRINTED AT LONDON

by Henry Denham, for Isaac Iewes

berye dwelling in Fleet

streete.

Anno. 1565. Aprilis. 18.



THE 99
Prouerbes of the no-

ble and woorthy souldier
Sir Iames Lopez de Mendoza
Marques of Santillana, with the
Paraphrase of D. Peter Diaz of
Toledo: Wherin is contat-
ned whatsoever is necessa-
rie to the leading of an
honest and vertu-
ous life.

Translated out of
Spanishe by Barna-
be Googe.

Printed at Lon-
don by Richarde 1579.
Watkins.

¶ AN ARMOVRE
of Proufe:

Very profitable, as well for
Princes, noble men; and gentle-
men, as all other in authoritie, shewing the
firme fortresse of defence, and ha-
uen of rest in these troublefome
times and perilous dayes.

Made by Iohn Woolton Quiller
of the Gospell.



¶ IMPRINTED AT LONDON
by Iohn Shepperde. Anno
1576.

POLITIQUE DISCOURSES VPON
TRUTH AND LYING.

AN INSTRUCTION TO
PRINCES TO KEEPE
THEIR FAITH AND PROMISE:

Containing the summe of Christian and
Morall Philosophie, and the ductie of a good man in sun
drie politique discourses vpon the truth and lying.

First composed by Sir Martyn Cognet,
Knight, one of the Kings privie Councell, master of re-
quettes of his houthold, and lately Embassadour
to the Cantons of Zwitzers & Grizons.

Newly translated out of French into English, by
Sir Edward Hoby, Knight.

*As the Author's name is not known, it is
It is better to trust in the Lord, than to put any confidence
in Princes. Psal. 118. 9.*



AT LONDON,
Printed by Ralfe Newberie.

Cum gratia & Privilegio Regia Maiestatis.
1586.

2

CHRISTIANÆ

FIDEI AC VERÆ RE-

LIGIONIS COMPEN-

DIUM, IN LOCOS COMMV-

NES DIGESTVM, ET NVNC

primùm in vulgus

emissum:

AD ILLVSTRISSIMVM

virum veræ pietatis, omniumq̄ bona-

rum artium Patronum, D. Guili-

elmum Cecilium Baronem

Burghleium.

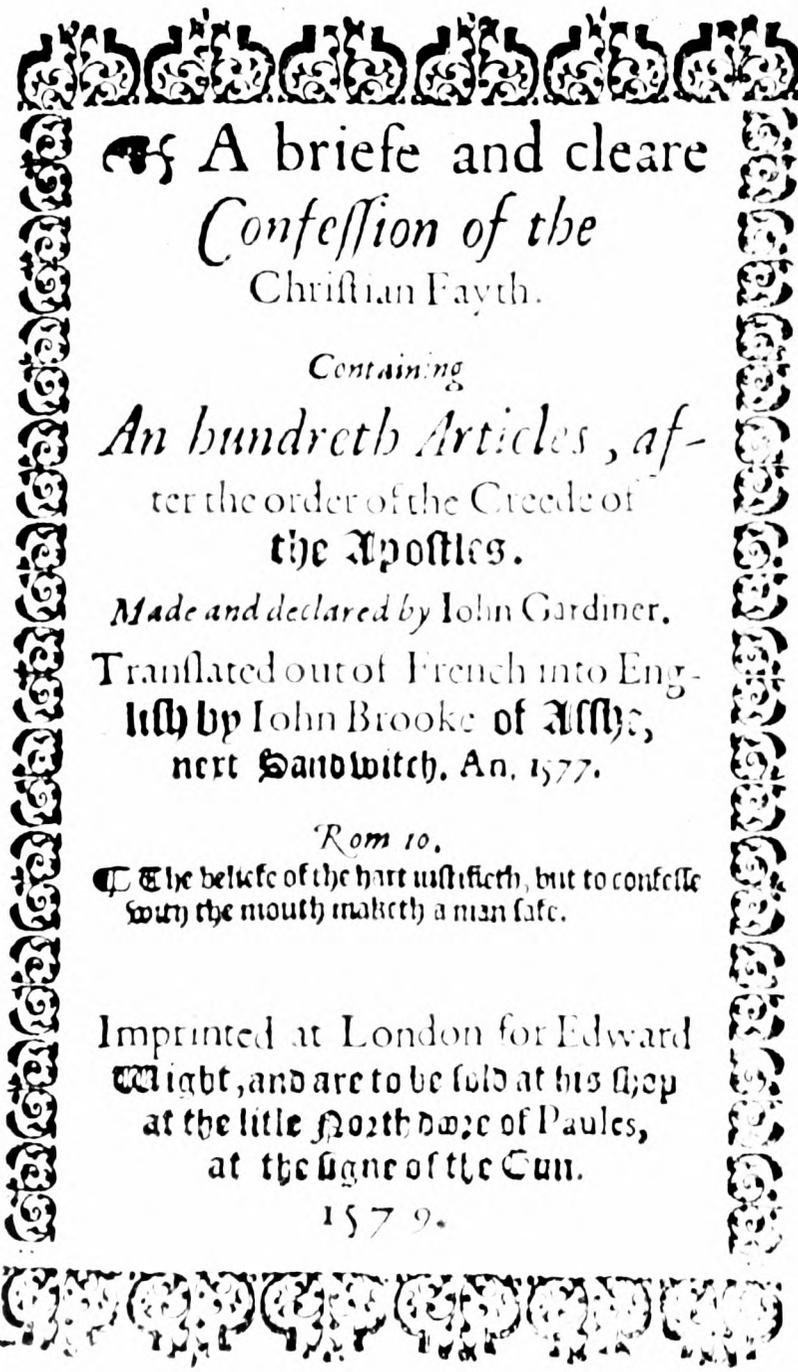


LONDINI

Ex officina Thomæ Marshi.

Anno. 1575.

¶ Cum Privilegio.



A brieve and cleare
Confession of the
Christian Fayth.

Containing

An hundredth Articles, af-
ter the order of the Creede of
the Apostles.

Made and declared by John Gardiner.

Translated out of French into Eng-
lish by John Brooke of Asshe,
next Sandwich. An. 1577.

Rom 10.

The belife of the hart iustificeth, but to confesse
with the mouth maketh a man safe.

Imprinted at London for Edward
Wright, and are to be sold at his shop
at the litle North dore of Paules,
at the signe of the Sun.

1579.

FERIÆ SACRÆ

octo libris comprehensæ,
IN QVIBVS, NATVRÆ,
tabularum, & gratiæ leges ex-
primuntur.

AVTHORE HENRICO
Detrick Oxoniensi.

LEVIT. 23

¶ Quando congregaveritis omnes fructus
terre vestre, celes habitis feras domini.



EXCUSVM LON-
DINI PER T. E. PRO
Humfredo Toy. Anno Do.
1577.

L. 10. 10.

THE
lyues of holy Sainctes,
Prophetes, Patriarches, and others, con-
tayned in holye Scripture, so farre forth as ex-
presse mention of them is delyuered vnto
vs in Gods worde, with the interpretation of
their names: Collected and gathered
into an Alphabetical order, to
the great commoditie of
the Chrystian
Reader.

By Iohn Marbecke.

Psalme. 97. vers. 10.

O ye that loue the Lorde, see that ye hate the thing which is euill: the Lord
preferueth the soules of his Sainctes, hee shall deliuer them from the hande of
the vngodly.



*Seene and allowed, according to the Queenes
Maiesties Iniuictions.*

Anno. 1574.



An A. B. C.

FOR LAYE-
men, othervvise

called, the Lay-mans

James

Letters.

Embroid

2

AN ALPHABET

for Lay-men, deliivering vnto them

such Lessons as the holy Ghost teacheth them

in the worde, by thinges sensible, very ne-

cessary to be diligently

considered.

AT LONDON;

Printed by Robert VValde-

graue for Thomas Man, and Wil-

liams Brome. 1585.

DE
VNIVERSALI
ET NOVISSIMA IV-
DÆORVM VOCA-
TIONE, SECVNDVM A-

peritissimam Divi Pauli propheti-
am, in vltimis hisce diebus
præstanda Libervnus.

Vbi demonstratur, tum quem in modum

illius gentis conversio expectanda sit, tum quid eam
maximè adhuc impediatur & remoretur, &
alia explicantur quæ ad huius
rei cognitionem necessaria
videri possint.

Rom. 11. 25. *Volo ut sciatis fratres mei, mysterium hoc, quod
charitas cordis ex parte aliqua facta fuit Israeli, donec in-
grediatur plenitudo gentium.*

26. *Et tunc universus Israel servabitur, sicut scriptum est, &c.*



*Ex officina Johannis Legati Canta-
brigienſis Typographi. 1590.*



A treatise of
MELCHISEDEK,
prouing him to
be SEM,

The father of all the sonnes of
Heber, the fyrst king, and all
kinges glory : by the generall
consent of his owne sonnes, by
the continuall iudgement of
ages, and by plentifull argu-
mentes of scripture.

Heb 7. 1.

Now consider how great *HE* is.

Imprinted at London for
Gabriel Simson and
William White.

1591.

OMNE BONV SVPERN E

90.7
L.C.



A
Godly and learned
Exposition vppon the Pro-
uerbes of Solomon

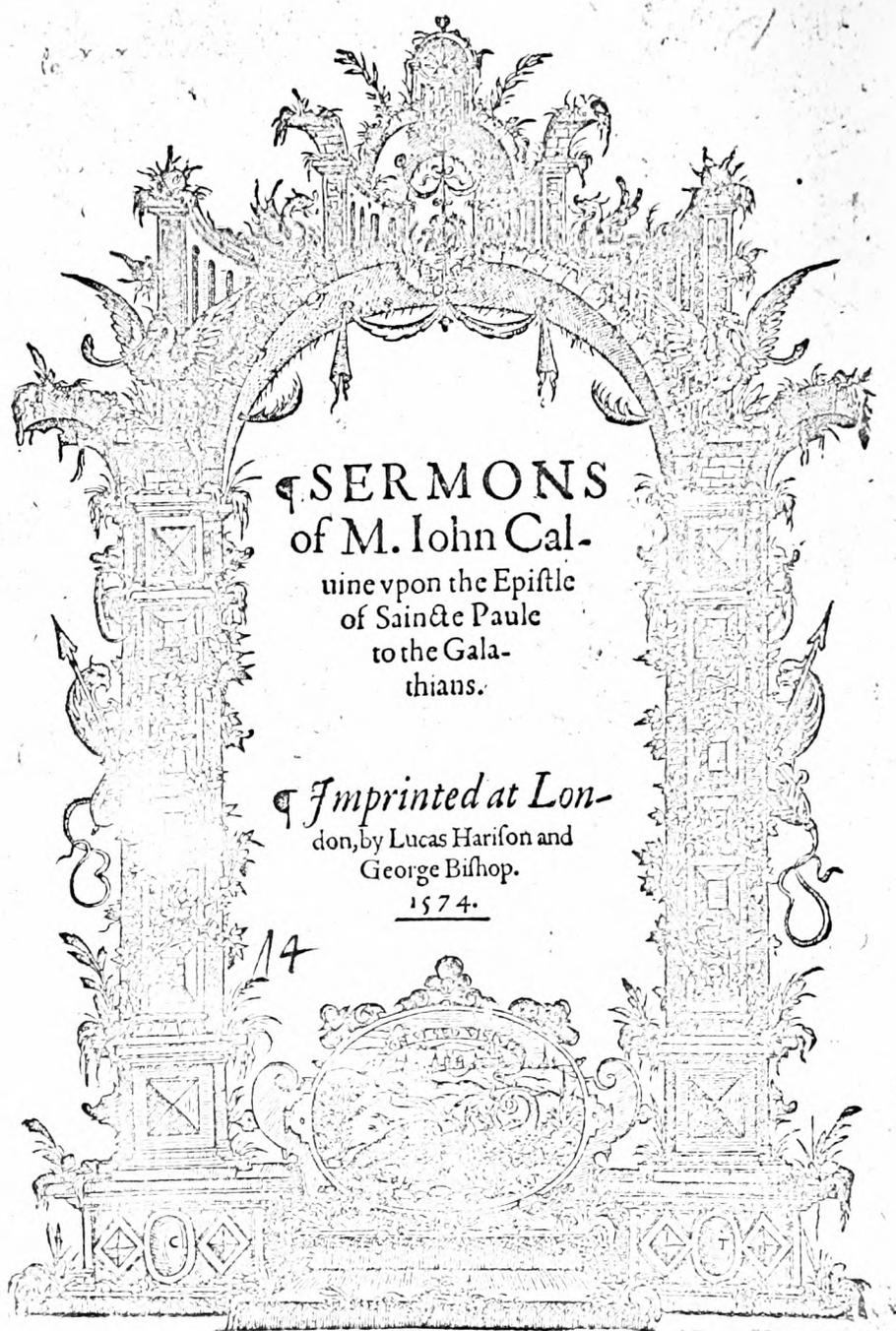
Written in French by Mai-
ster Michael Cape, Minister
of the woorde of God, at
Geneua

And translated into English,
by C. G. O.

Imprinted at Lon-
don for George Bi-

shop
1890
WASHINGTON, D. C.

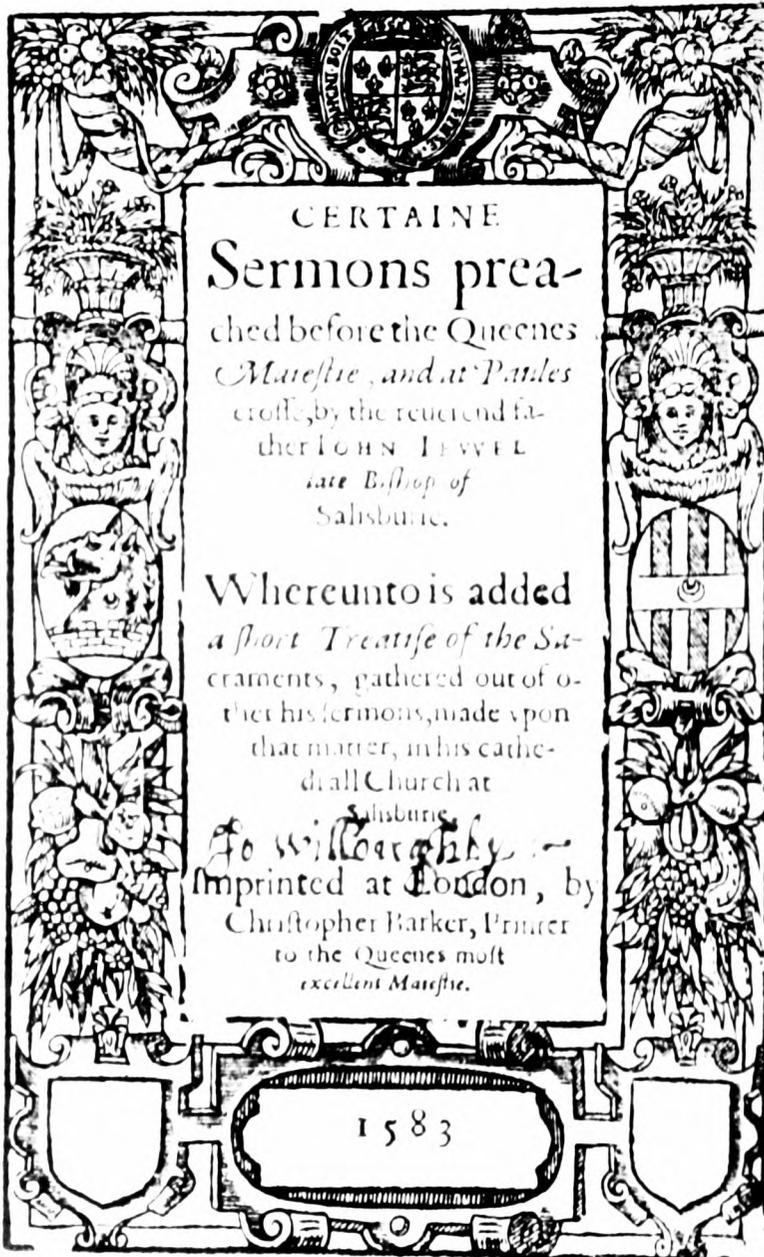




SERMONS
of M. Iohn Cal-
uine vpon the Epistle
of Sain&e Paule
to the Gala-
thians.

Imprinted at Lon-
don, by Lucas Harison and
George Bishop.
1574.

14



¶ A SERMON,
preached at Paules Crosse on
the Monday in Whitson weeke
Anno Domini 1571.

Entreating on this Sentence

*Sic Deus dilexit mundum, ut daret
unigenitum filium suum, ut omnis
qui credit in eū non pereat, sed ha-
beat vitam eternam.*

So God loued the worlde, that he gaue his
only begotten sonne, that al that beleue on
him shoulde not perysh, but haue eternall
life. *John. 3.*

Preached and augmented by Iohn Bridges.

AT LONDON,
Printed by Henry Binneman
for Humfrey Toy.

A
PREPARATIVE
TO MARRIAGE.
(1)

* The summe whereof was
spoken at a contract, and
inlarged after.

Whereunto is annexed a Treatise of the
Lords Supper: and another
of Usurie.

BY HENRIE SMITH.

About him see Ath. Oxon. Vol. 1. col. 100.
By the first edit.



So Newly corrected, and augmented
by the Authour.

AT LONDON,
Printed by J. Charlewood for Thomas
M.M. dwelling in Paternoster row, at the
signe of the Talbot.
1591.



SERMONS OF
MASTER HENRIE
Smith, gathered into
one volume.

Printed according to his corrected Copies in his life time.



AT LONDON
Printed by *Thomas Orwin* for *Thomas Man,*
dwelling in Pater Noster row, at the signe of
the Talbot. 1692.



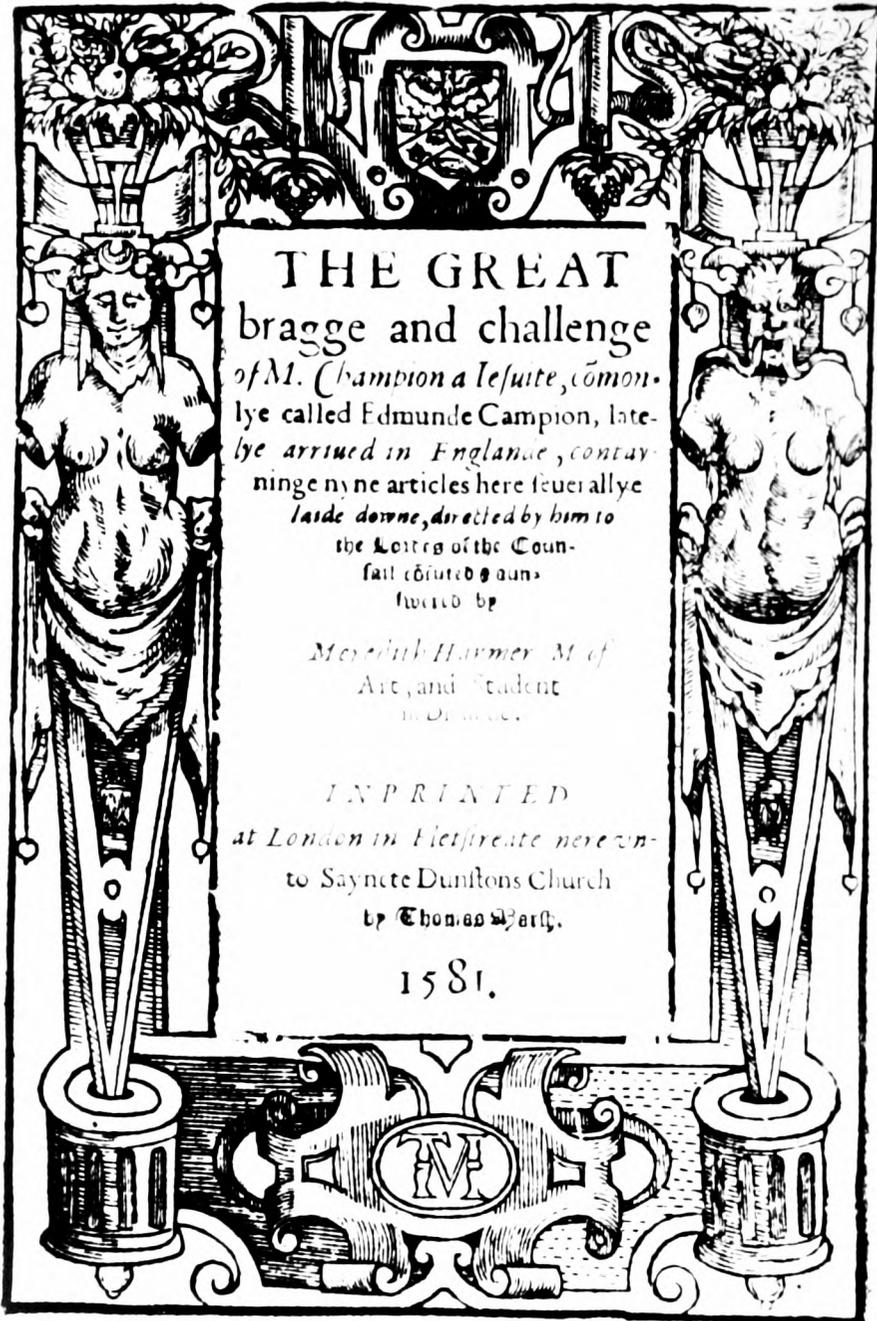
THIRTEENE
SERMONS
Vpon SEVERALL
Textes of Scripture.

CONTAINING NECESSARIE
and profitable doctrine, as well for the reformation of
our liues, as for the comfort of troubled con-
sciences in all distresses.

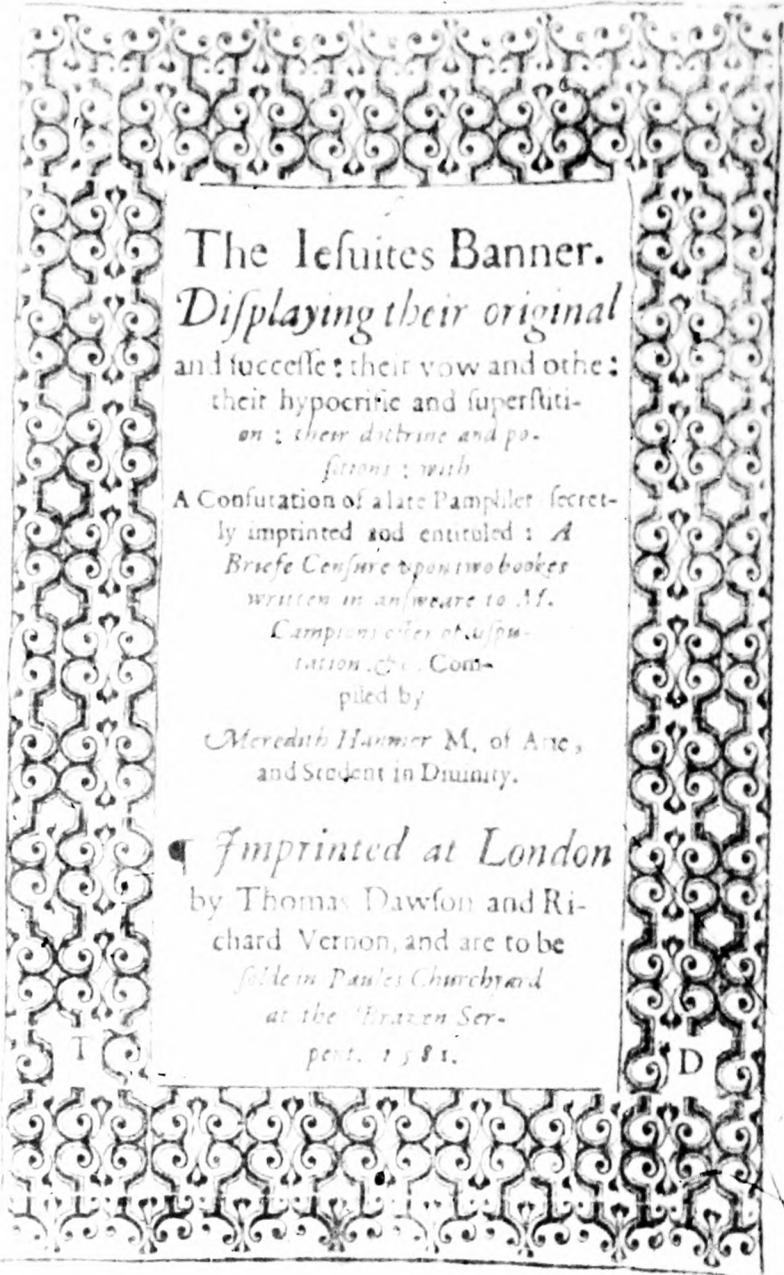
BY HENRIE SMITH.



LONDON
Printed for *Thomas Man*, dwelling in
Pater Noster-row at the signe of
the Talbot. 1 5 9 2



817



The Iesuites Banner.
Displaying their original
 and success: their vow and othe:
 their hypocric and superstition:
their doctrine and positions: with

A Confutation of a late Pamphlet secretly
 imprinted and entituled: *A*
Briefe Censure upon two bookes
written in answer to M.
Campions esse of a Confu-
tation. &c. Com-
 piled by

Meredith Hamner M. of Arts,
 and Student in Divinity.

Printed at London
 by Thomas Dawson and Ri-
 chard Vernon, and are to be
 sold in Pauls Churchyard
 at the Brazen Ser-
 pent. 1681.

Copy 1920

¶ **A Discouerie of *Edmund
Campion*, and his Confe-
derates, their most horrible and traite-
rous practises, against her Maiesties most
royall perton, and the Realme.**

*Wherein may be seene, how
thorowe the whole course of their
Araignment: they were notably
conuicted of euery cause.*

*Whereto is added, the Execution of
Edmund Campion, Raphe Sherwin, and
Alexander Brian, executed at Ts-
borne the 1. of December.*

Published by *A. M.* sometime the
Popes Scholler, allowed in the Seminarie
at *Roome* amongst them: a Discourse
needfull to be read of euery man,
to beware how they deale with
such secret seducers.

Seene, and allowed.

¶ Imprinted at London for *Edwarde
White*, dwelling at the little North
doore of *Paules*, at the signe of
the Gunne, the 29. of Ianua. 1582.

THE ENGLISH Romayne Lyfe.

Discovering:

The liues of the Englishmen at
Roome: the orders of the English Semi-
minarie: *the dissention betweene the English-*
men and the Welshmen: the banishing of the Englishmen
out of Roome: the Popes sending for them againe: a re-
porte of many of the paltie Reliques in Roome:
their Causes vnder the grounde: their holy
Pilgrimages: and a number other matters,
worthy to be read and regarded
of every one.

(..)

There vnto is added, the cruell tyranny, used
on an English man at Roome, his Christian suffering and
notable Martirdome, for the Gospell of Iesus Christe,
in Anno. 1581. VVritten by A. M. sometime
the Popes Scholler in the Semina-
rie among them.

Honos alit Artes.

Scene and allowed.

Imprinted at London, by John Charle-
woode, for Nicholas Ling: dwelling in Paules Church-
yarde, at the signe of the Maremasse.
Anno. 1582.

ΚΑΤΗΧΙΣΜΟΣ,

ἡ πρώτη παιδεία τῆς Χριστιανικῆς
ἀνδραγαθίας, τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς
καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων Διαλέκτου
ἐκδοθεῖσα.

*

CATECHISMVS,

*sive prima Institutio, disciplina
pietatis Christianae, Graece &
Latine explicata.*



LONDINI.

Anno Domini 1573.

Whitakeri, Guilielmi DD

AD RATIONES
DECEM EDMVNDI
CAMPIANI IESVITÆ,

QVIBVS FRETVS CERTAMEN,

Anglicanæ ecclesiæ ministris obtulit

in causa fidei, Responso Guilielmi

Whitakeri, Theologiæ in Aca-

demia Cantabrigiensi pro-

fessoris Regij.

Luc. 7. 35.

καὶ ἐδείξω ἡμῖν τὴν σοφίαν διὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν



LONDINI.

Excudebat Thomas Vautrollerius,
impensis Thomæ Chardi.

1581.

Responsionis ad ^{1000*}

Decem illas Rationes, quibus

fretus *Edmundus Campianus* cer-
tamen Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ ministris

obtulit in causa fidei, Defensio contra

Confutationem *Ioannis Duræi* Scoti,

Presbyteri, Iesuita :

Authore *Guilielmo Whitakero* Theologiæ

in Academia Cantabrigiensi

professore Regio.

*In hoc libro controuersia pleraque omnes, qua inter
nostras & pontificias Ecclesias intercedunt, bre-
uiter ac dilucide pertractantur.*



LONDINI

Excudebat Henricus Middletonus

impensis Thomæ Chardi.

Anno 1583.

IESUITISMI

II Pars Secunda:

PVRITANOPAPISMI,

seu doctrinae Iesuiticae aliquot Rationi-
bus ab ED. CAMPIANO comprehense,
& à IOAN. DUBARO defensa,

CONFUTATIO:

Et ex iisdem Fundamentis Reformatæ
nostræ Religionis

ASSERTIO:

Autore LAURENTIO HUMFREDO

S. Theologiae in Acad. Oxoniensi
Professore Regio.

August. sup. Ioannem Tract. 48.

*Sua illi si velint docere, nolite audire, nolite facere, certe sales sua que-
runt, non quæ Iesu Christi.*

Hieronymus in Præfat. in Iesaiam.

*Legens prius & postea despiciant, ne videantur non ex iudicio,
sed ex odij presumptione ignorata damnare.*

LONDINI

Excudebat Henricus Middletonus

impensis Georg. Byshop.

Anno 1584.

A D
NICOLAI SANDE-
RI DEMONSTRATIO-

NES QUADRAGINTA, IN OCTAVO
libro visibilis Monarchiæ positas, quibus Ro-
manum Pontificem non esse Antichristum
docere instituit, responsio Guilielmi Whita-
keri, Theologiæ in Academia Cantabrigiensi
professoris Regij.

*Accessit eiusdem Thesis de Antichristo, defensa
in Comitibus Cantabrigiensibus.*

Apocal. 18. 4.

Εξέλθτε ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁ λαὸς μου.



LONDINI,

Excudebat Thomas Vautrollerius impensis
Thomæ Chardi. 1583.



A N
ANSWERS TO A
CERTAINE BOOKE, WRIT-

ten by M. William Rainolds Stu-
dent of Divinitie in the English
Colledge at Rhemes, and
Entituled,

A Refutation of sundrie repre-
hensions, Cautels, &c.

By WILLIAM WHITAKER professor
of Divinitie in the Univerſitie of
Cambridge.



Printed at London.

1585 R

DISPV TATIO

DE SACRA SCRIPTVRA, CONTRA HVIVS TEMPORIS

PAPISTAS, INPRIMIS ROBERTVM BELLARMI-
NVM Iesuitam, Pontificium in Collegio Romano, &
THOMAM STAPLETONVM, *Regium in Schola Duacena*
Controversiarum Professorems:

SEX QVÆSTIONIBVS PROPOSITA ET TRACTATA,
à *Guilielmo VVhitakero* Theologiæ Doctore, ac Professore Regio,
& Collegij D. Ioannis in Cantabrigiensi Acade-
mia Mágistro.

Whitaker (M.) K

Bafilus in Epistola ad Eustathium medicum,

Ἡ δὲ πειρασὸς ἡμῶν διαπιστάτω γραφῆ: καὶ παρ' ἑσὶ ἀνελυθεῖ τὰ
θεύματα. Συμφερεῖ τοῖς θεοῖς λόγοις, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡξέει πάντως
τὸ ἀληθεύειν ἢ ψεῦθε.

CANTABRIGIÆ,

H. G. d. p. No. 1297.
Ex officina THOMÆ THOMASII, florentissimæ Cantabrigiensis
Academiæ Typographi. Maij 2. 1588.

Thomas: Power.

C. 37. 6. 18 pr. 18.

THE
CAVTELES,
CANON, AND CEREMO-
NIES, OF THE MOST BLA-
phemous, abhominable, and monstrous
Popish MASSE.

*Together, The MASSE intituled OF THE
BODY OF IESVS CHRIST.*

Fully and wholly set downe, both in Latine and Englishe,
The Latine faithfully taken out of the MASSE
B O O K E after the Romish vse. Imprinted at Lyons
by Iohn Cambry, In the yeare a thousand sixe hū-
dred and twenty, The title whereof hereafter ensu-
eth on the next page.

*With certaine Annotations for the understanding of the text, set forth by
that godly and learned Minister in the Church of God Peter Paris,
and translated out of French into English by Tho. Sco. Genr.*



Handwritten notes or signatures in the right margin.

Imprinted at London by Thomas Vautrollier for Andrew
Maunsell, dwelling in Paules Churchyaide at the
signe of the brazen Serpent. 1584.

The Censure of a loyall Subiect:

*Upon certaine noted Speech and
behaviours, of those foure teene notable
Traitors, at the place of their execu-
tions, the xx. and xxi. of September last
past.*

Wherein is handled matter of necessarye
instruction for all dutifull Subiectes: espe-
cially, the multitude of ignorant people.

Feare God: be true to thy Prince:
and obey the Lawes.

At LONDON.

Printed by Richarde

Jones, dwelling at the Signe of the
Rose and Crowne, neere Hol-

borne bridge. 1587.

Permissus K

*599. b. 4
2*

EXEMPLAR

L I T E R A R V M ,

M I S S A R V M , E

G E R M A N I A ,

Ad D. Guilielmum Cecilium,
Consiliarium Regium .



Impressum Anno Domini .

M. D. X C II ,

A
SERMON PREA-

ched at *Torceter*, in the Countie of
Northampton the 8. of Iune, Anno Dom. 1588.

at the visitation of the right reuerend
Father in God, the Bishop of
Peeterborow,

BY *JOHN BEATNIFFE*
Preacher of the word of God
in *Brackley*.

2. *Cor.* 22. 28.

Beside the things which are outward I am cum-
bred daily, and I haue a care ouer all the Chur-
ches.

LONDON.
Printed by *John Charlewood*
for *Roger VVard*.
1590.

Citavi Ricardum Hayn. Anno: 1623



**DIVERSIS MINISTRO-
RVM EVANGELII GRA-
DIBVS, SICVT A DOMINO**

*fuertint instituti, & traditi ab Apосто-
lis, ac perpetuo omnium Ecclesiarum
usu confirmati, liber vnus:*

CVI

Duo alij additi, alter de Honore qui debe-
tur Ecclesiarum Pastoribus, alter de
Sacilegijs & Sacrillegorum
pccatis.

Auctore HADRIANO SARAVIA
Belga.

Iob cap. 8.

- 8 *Interroga obsecro aetatem priorem, & sollicito animo inuestiga
patres eorum.*
- 9 *Hesterni enim sumus, & ignari, ut umbra quaedam dies no-
stri super terram.*
- 10 *An non ipsi docebunt te, & ducent tibi, atque ex corde suo
proferent verba?*

[Handwritten notes and signatures]

LONDINI
Excudebant GEORGIUS BISHOP
& RODOLPHVS NEWBERIE.

An. Domini.

1590.



**GODLY TREA-
TISE, WHEREIN ARE
EXAMINED AND CONFV-
ted many execrable fancies, giuen out and**

**holden, partly by *Henry Barrow* and *John
Greenwood*: partly, by other of the
Anabaptistical order.**

Written by **ROBERT SOME** Doctour
of Diuinitie.

Titus Chap. 3. Vers. 10. 11.

*Reiect him that is an Heretike, after once or twise ad-
monition, knowing that he that is such, is peruer-
ted, and sinneth, being damned of his owne selfe.*



IMPRINTED AT LONDON
*by G.B. Deputie to Christopher Barker, Prin-
ter to the Queenes most excellent Maicstie.*

1589.

A
SHORT TREATISE
against the Donatists of England,
whome we call Brownists.

Wherein, by the Answeres vnto certayne Writings
of theirs, diuers of their heresies are noted,
with sundry fantastickall
opinions.

By *George Giffard*, Minister of Gods holy Word
in Maldon.



AT LONDON

Printed for Toby Cooke, dwelling at the Tygers head
in Paules Churchyard. 1590.

A
Plaine Declaration

that our *Brownists* be full *Dona-*
tists, by comparing them together
from point to point out of the wri-
tings of Augustine.

Also a replie to Master Greenwood touching
read prayer, wherein his grosse ignorance is de-
tected, which labouring to purge himsef
from former absurdities, doth plunge
himsef deeper into the mire.

By George Gyffard *Minister of Gods word*
in Maldon.



AT LONDON,
Printed for *Toby Cocke*, dwelling at the Tygers head,
in *Paules Churchyard*. 1590.

**A PLAINE
REFVTATION
OF M.G.GIFFARDES
reprochful booke, intituled**

a thort treatise against the Donatists
of England.

Wherein is discovered the forgery of the whole Ministrie, the confusion, false worship, and antichristian disorder of these Parish assemblies, called the Church of England.

Here also is prefixed a summe of the causes of our seperation, and of our purposes in practise, which M. GIFFARD hath twise sought to confute, and hath now twise receiued answer, by **HENRIE BARROVE.**

Here is further annexed a brieve refutation of M. Giff. supposed consimilituda betwixt the Donatists and vs. Wherein is shewed how his Arguments haue bene & may be by the Papists more iustly retorted against himself & the present estate of their Church, by **J. GRAY.**

Here are also inserted a few observations of M. Giff. his caulls about read prayer & deuited Leiturgies.

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APPENDIX II

BOOKS DEDICATED TO WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY.

This is a list in chronological order of all eighty-five books dedicated to Lord Burghley. It is based on the list in Williams's Index of Dedications, although one addition has been made - Robert Some's Godly Treatise, wherein are Examined and Confuted many Execrable Fancies (1589). The works are grouped under years; within each year books are placed chronologically where evidence (such as dedication date or Stationers' Register entry) is available, and otherwise alphabetically, under authors. Unless otherwise stated the date has been taken either from the title-page or colophon. The place of printing has been mentioned only when it is not London. All later English editions up to 1640 are recorded, and the survival or disappearance of the dedication is indicated. (Foreign editions of the religious works in this list are recorded in Appendix III.) The presence of Burghley's arms in works dedicated to him is noted. In the case of shared dedications, the other dedicatees are recorded. A brief description of the nature of each book is given. Books dedicated to Burghley and at present in the possession of the Cecil family at Hatfield House are indicated in this list by a single asterisk. (Most of these are included in a library list of January 1615 now at Hatfield.) Books dedicated to Burghley and included in the 1687 sale catalogue of "the main part" of his library are marked by a double asterisk. (Neither of course is certain evidence of Burghley's having owned a book.) No attempt at a precise transcription of the title-pages of these books has been made in this list; 'i', 'j', 'u', and 'v' have been normalized to modern usage, contractions have been expanded, and several of the longer titles are given in an abbreviated form.

BOOKS DEDICATED TO LORD BURGHLEY.

1551.

1) MORE, Sir Thomas. Translator: ROBINSON, Raphe.

A fruteful and plessaunt worke of the beste state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Utopia. (STC 18097).

The first English translation of More's work, and also its first publication in England.

Further editions in 1556 and 1597 (both WITHOUT dedication), and in 1624 (with new dedication from printer to Cresacre More) and 1639 (with the dedication to Cresacre More rewritten).

2) WINGFIELD, Henry.

A Compendious or shorte Treatise .. conteynyng certeyne preceptes necessary to the preservacion of healte. (STC 25852).

(Undated on title-page: the date 1551 appears at end of dedication.)

A short (65 pp.) study of various aspects of human health.

1561.

3) PALINGENIUS, Marcellus. Translator: GOOGE, Barnabe.

The firste syxe bokes of the zodiake of life. (STC 19149).

The first half of Googe's translation of this long philosophical poem.

1563.

4) BRUNI, Leonardo. Translator: GOLDING, Arthur.

The historie of Leonard Aretine, concerning the warres betwene the Imperialles and the Gothes for the possession of Italy (STC 3933).

A 400 page history of the barbarian invasions.

1565.

5) CAESAR, Julius. Translator: GOLDING, Arthur.

The eyght bookes conteyning his martiall exploytes in the Realme of Gallia and the Countries bordering upon the same (STC 4335).

The second published translation of the "Commentaries" (first in 1530).

Another edition in 1590 has the same dedication.

6)PALINGENIUS, Marcellus. Translator: GOUGE, Barnabe.

The Zodiacke of Life (STC 19150).

Googe's complete verse translation of this poem, which was much used as a school book in sixteenth century England.

A further edition in 1576 has a new dedication to Burghley, and also (verse T.P.)his armorial achievement. This was reprinted in 1588 with the same dedication, but without the arms.

1566.

7)SENECA, Lucius. Translator: STUBLEY, John.

The Eycht Tragedie of Seneca Entituled Agememnon (STC 22222).
The first published translation of the play.

1567.

**8)HADDON, Walter. Editor: HATCHER, Thomas.

G.Haddoni Legum Doctoris, lucubrationes passim collectae & editae
(STC 12596).

The dedication to Cecil is from the editor Hatcher.

A series of pieces in Latin, divided into "Orationes" and "Epistolae".

9)HIPPOCRATES. Translator FEYER, John.

Hippocratis Colomnis Medicinae parentis Aphorismi (STC 13520).

The aphorisms in Latin verse.

1568.

10)TURNER, William.

A New Booke of the natures and properties of all Wines (STC 24360).

A short discussion (56 pp.) of the medicinal properties of wine.

1569.

11)GRANTON, Richard.

A Chronicle at large and meere History of the affayres of Englande and Kinges of the same (STC 12147).

Cecil's shield and crest are in the initial letter of the dedication.

A chronicle beginning with Adam and continuing to the first years of Queen Elizabeth. (1500 pp. - the second half of them a reprint of of STC 12146.)

1570

12) ASCHAM, Roger.

The Scholemaster or plaine and perfitte way of teachyng children to understand, write, and speake, in Latin tong (STC 837).

The dedication to Burghley is from Ascham's widow Margaret.

A treatise in two books, one on the bringing up of children, the other on the teaching of Latin.

Further editions in 1571 (2), 1573 and 1589 all have the same dedication.

13) DEMOSTHENES. Translator: WYLLSON, Thomas.

The Three Orations of Demosthenes (STC 6578).

Three orations in favour of the Olynthians, four against Philip of Macedon, and a short life of Demosthenes.

1571.

14) REYNOLDES, Richard.

A Chronicle of all the Noble Emperours of the Romaines (STC 20926).

Dedication to Burghley in Latin, although the text is in English.

450 pages, beginning with Julius Caesar and ending with Maximilian, the reigning emperor.

15) BRIDGES, John.

A Sermon preached at Pauls Cross .. in Whitson Weeke A.D.1571 (STC 3736).

No date of printing, though dedication suggests not long after preaching.

190 page sermon dealing mainly with justification and predestination.

16) FULKE, William.

Oxpanomaxia, hoc est, astologorum ludus (STC 11445).

Complicated astrological game in Latin with many diagrams.

Editions of 1578 and 1584 which STC attributes to Bodley are 'ghosts'.

1572.

** 17) BOSSEWELL, John.

Workes of Armorie devyded into three bookes (STC 3393).

A copiously illustrated treatise on heraldry and arms.

An edition of 1597 has the same dedication.

*18) BART, John.

An Alvearie or Triple Dictionarie, in English Latin and French (STC 1410).

Burghley's crest appears on the highly ornate title-page. The dedication is in Latin.

A 750 page dictionary of the three languages.

An edition of 1580 is entitled An Alvearie or Quadruple Dictionary, and adds Greek to the original three languages.

The Hatfield copy of the first edition is inscribed "W. Burghley for my son Robert Cecyll."

**19) DIGGES, Thomas.

Alae seu Scalae mathematicae (STC 6871).

Burghley's full armorial achievement is on the verso of the title-page.

A short mathematical and astronomical treatise with many diagrams.

**20) NOWELL, Alexander. Translator: WHITAKER, William.

Catechismus, sive prima Institutio, Disciplinae pietatis Christianae, Graece & Latine explicata (STC 18707).

The dedication from Whitaker to Burghley is in Greek.

A Greek and Latin version of Nowell's semi-official catechism for the English Church, originally published in Latin in 1570.

21) PRICE, Sir John.

Historiae Brytannicae Defensio (STC 20309).

A Latin history of Britain defending many of the legendary sources against the attacks of Polydore Vergil.

**22) WILLES, Richard.

Ricardi Willei Poematum Liber (STC 25671).

Burghley's full achievement is at the end of the dedication (sig. A7^v).

A series of mostly Latin poems (some English, French and German) followed by a formal defence of poetry "De Re Poetica", with a separate dedication to the teachers and pupils of Winchester School.

23) PENNEN, Sir Geoffrey.

A forme of Christian pollicie drawne out of French (STC 10793a).

A lengthy work (400 pp.) describing the ideal Christian society.

24) CALVIN, John. Translator: GOLDING, Arthur.

The Sermons upon the Epistle of Sainte Paule to the Galatians
(STC 4449).

Forty-three sermons of some fifteen pages each on this epistle.

25) MARBECKE, John.

The lyves of holy Sainctes, Prophetes, Patriarches, and others,
contayned in holy Scripture (STC 17303).

Burghley's crest is on the title-page.

A biographical dictionary of every scriptural character.

Another edition in folio (first in quarto) the same year.

1575.

**26) WHITHALK, Nicolaus (ed.)

Christianae Fidei ac verae religionis compendium (STC 5159).

Burghley's achievement is on the verso of the title-page.

An examination (in the style of a catechism) of some of the basic principles of Christianity. Edited from an anonymous manuscript.

27) FULWELL, Ulpian.

The Flower of Fame. Containing the bright Renowne, & moste fortunate
raigne of King Henry the viii (STC 11475).

Burghley's achievement is on the verso of the title-page.

A short history in prose and verse, of King Henry's reign.

The edition of 1591 which STC attributes to Bodley appears to be a 'ghost'.

28) GRANT, Edward.

Graecae Linguae Spicilegium (STC 12188).

Burghley's crest and motto in the initial letter of the dedication.

A Greek grammar and dictionary, presumably for use in schools.

1576.

29) VOLTON, John.

An Armour of Proufe (STC 25974).

Burghley's crest on the verso of the title-page.

A brief consideration of the office of the magistrate in the Christian commonwealth.

1577.

*30) **DETHICK, Henry.**

Feriae Sacrae octo libris comprehensae (STC 6787).

Burghley's crest is on the title-page.

A rendering of the Bible in Latin verse.

31) **HILL, Thomas. Editor: DETHICK, Henry.**

The Gardeners Labyrinth: Containing a discourse of the Gardeners life, in the yearly travels to be bestowed on his plot of earth, for the use of a Garden (STC 13485).

Burghley's crest and motto in the initial letter of the dedication.

A comprehensive manual of gardening.

Further editions in 1578, 1586, 1594 and 1608 all have same dedication.

32) **HOLINSHED, Raphael.**

Chronicles of Englande, Scotlande, and Irelande (STC 13568).

The dedication to Burghley appears at the beginning of the first volume, and has his crest in the initial letter. Other parts are separately dedicated.

The most important of the Elizabethan chronicle histories.

The second edition in 1587 has only the third volume dedicated to Burghley, though the dedication itself is the same as in 1577.

1578.

33) **FALCKENBURGK, Jacob.**

Jacobi a Falchenburgk Britannia, sive de Apollonica Humilitas, virtutis, et honoris porta (STC 10674).

The book is dedicated jointly to Burghley and Leicester.

The history of Apollonius of Tyre in Latin verse.

34) **HARVEY, Gabriel.**

Gratulationum Valdinensium libri quatuor (STC 12901).

The third book is addressed to Burghley, and has (as in other parts of the work) the dedicatee's crest on the title-page, and his achievement on the verso of the title-page.

Latin verses in praise of the dedicatee, some by Harvey, and some by other writers.

1579.

*35)CHALONER, Sir Thomas. Editor: MALIM, William.

De Republica Anglorum Instauranda Libri Decem (STC 4938).

Burghley's shield (with several others, around portrait of Chaloner) on verso of title-page. One epistle to Burghley from the editor Malim, and another from Chaloner himself. Also some Latin verses by Burghley in memory of Chaloner.

A description of England in Latin verse.

36)GARDINER, John. Translator: BROOKE, John.

A briefe and cleare Confession of the Christian Fayth (STC 11565).

A brief exposition of the articles of the Apostles' Creed.

37)LOPEZ DE MENDOZA. Translator: GOUGE, Barnabe.

The Proverbs of the noble and woorthy souldier (STC 16809).

Burghley's crest is on the verso of the title-page.

One hundred short verses for the conduct of a godly life.

1580.

38)COPE, Michael. Translator: OUTRED, Marcelline.

A Godly and Learned Exposition of The Proverbs of Solomon (STC 5723).

A vast work of 1280 pages, expounding minutely every verse of the Proverbs.

1581.

39)HANMER, Meredith.

The Great bragge and challenge of M. Champion a Jesuite (STC 12745).

Dedicated to several privy counsellors, including Burghley.

A reply to Campions letter to the lords of the Council.

40)HANMER, Meredith.

The Jesuites Banner. Displaying their original and successe (STC 12746).

Dedicated to the same privy counsellors as the last work.

A second attack on the Jesuits, in answer to a defence of Campion published by Parsons in reply to Hanmer's first attack.

41) LUPFON, Thomas.

The Second part and Knitting up of ... Too good to be true
(STC 16954).

Burghley's achievement on the verso of the title-page.

The continuation of the account of the Puritan Utopia of Mauqsun.

*42) WHITAKER, William.

Ad Rationes Decem Edmundi Campiani ... Responsio (STC 25358).

A careful reply to Campion's ten arguments against the English Church.

Another edition with index in the same year, and a translation
by Richard Stocke in 1606, the latter without the dedication to Burghley

1582.

43) MUNDAY, Anthony.

A Discoverie of Edmund Campion, and his Confederates (STC 18270).

Dedicated to Burghley and other privy counsellors.

An account and justification of Campion's trial and execution.

44) BRIGHT, Timothy.

Hygiēna, id est de Sanitate Tuenda Medicinæ Pars Prima (STC 3744).

A short medical treatise.

45) WORSOP, Edward.

A Discoverie of sundrie Errors and faults daily committed by
landemeaters ignorant of Arithmetike and Geometrie (STC 25997).

A mathematical treatise with a large number of diagrams.

46) MUNDAY, Anthony.

The English Romaine Lyfe. Discovering the lives of the Englishmen
at Roome (STC 18272).

Dedicated to Burghley and other privy counsellors.

A lurid picture of English Catholicism on the continent, with
an account of the numerous plans for rebellion, and a description
of the English College at Rome.

Another edition in 1590 has the same dedication.

1583.

*47) WHITAKER, William.

Ad Nicolai Sanderi Demonstrationes Quadraginta ... Responsio
(STC 25357).

A reply to each of the forty points which Sander had put forward to prove that the Pope was not Antichrist.

The Hatfield copy has Burghley's signature on the title-page.

48) JEWEL, John. Editor: CAMBRIDGE, John.

Certaine Sermons preached before the Queenes Majestie, and at
Pauls Crosse (STC 14596).

A joint dedication to Burghley and Leicester.

Six sermons on various texts, many of them with a strong anti-Catholic bias.

Another edition the same year, with the same dedication. An edition of 1603 lacks any dedication, as do the 1609 and 1611 reprints in Jewel's collected works.

*49) WHITAKER, William.

Responsionis ad Decem illas Rationes ... Defensio (STC 25362).

887 pages in defence of his attack on Campion's ten reasons, in response to the confutation of Father Dury.

The edition of 1581 which STC attributes to Cambridge does not exist.

50) BARROUGH, Philip.

The Methode of Phisicke, conteyning the causes, signes, and
cures of Inward diseases in mans body from the head to the foote
(STC 1508).

A long treatise on diseases and their cures, with a final section describing the preparation of various medicines.

Further editions in 1590, 1596, 1601, 1610, 1617, 1624, 1634 and 1639 all have the same dedication.

51) BRIGHT, Timothy.

Medicinae Therapeutice Pars: De Dyscrasia Corporis Humani (STC 3746).

A long medical treatise, occupying some 200 pages.

1584.

52)VIRET, Pierre. Translator: STOCKER, Thomas.

The Cauteles, Canon, and Ceremonies, of the most Blasphemous, abominable, and monstrous Popish Masse (STC 24775).

A satirical commentary on the Mass.

**53)HUMPHREY, Laurence.

Jesuitium Pars Secunda (STC 13962).

A joint dedication to Burghley and Leicester.

The second of Humphrey's answers to the ten reasons of Campion, this also including a reply to Father Dury's confutation.

1585.

54)BLAGRAVE, John.

The Mathematical Jewel, shewing the making, and most excellent use of a singular Instrument so called (STC 3119).

A description of the making and uses of a highly elaborate mathematical and astronomical instrument.

55)WITHER, George.

An A.B.C. for Lay-men, otherwise called the Lay-mans Letters (STC 25888).

A joint dedication to Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay.

Biblical words in alphabetical order, with references and a general lesson under each word.

56)MELA, Pomponius. Translator: GOLDING, Arthur.

The worke of Pomponius Mela the Cosmographer, concerninge the Situation of the World (STC 17785).

A short treatise describing the continents and countries of the world. Another edition 1590, same dedication.

57)WHITAKER, William.

An Answer to a Certaine Booke, Written by M. William Rainolds (STC 25364).

An attack on the Rhemish New Testament, in answer to Rainolds's defence of the same.

Another edition in 1590 is similarly dedicated.

1586.

58)COIGNET, Matthieu. Translator: HOBY, Sir Edward.

Politique Discourses upon trueth and lying. An instruction to Princes to keepe their faith and promise (STC 5486).

A manual of Christian conduct, especially in state affairs.

*59)CAMDEN, William.

Britannia, sive Florentissimorum Regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae ... Descriptio (STC 4503).

A survey of Britain, county by county.

Further editions in 1587, 1590, 1594 (all dedicated to Burghley), 1600 (dedicated to Queen Elizabeth) and 1607 (dedicated to King James). English translation 1610 (republished 1637) dedicated to King James.

1587.

60)WHETSTONE, George.

The censure of a loyall Subject (STC 25334).

A dialogue against the treason represented by the Catholic religion, arising from the execution of the Babington conspirators.

Another edition, undated, is similarly dedicated, and records the execution of Mary Queen of Scots.

1588.

**61)WHITAKER, William.

Disputatio de Sacra Scriptura (STC 25366).[Cambridge]

The first of a series of disputations by Whitaker dealing with basic points in the controversy between Catholics and Protestants.

*62)THOMAS, Thomas.

Dictionarium Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae (STC 24008).[Cambridge]

Undated, STC suggests 1588 as possible date of first edition.

One of the most important of Elizabethan Latin dictionaries.

Further editions in 1589, 1592, 1594, 1596 (all dedicated to Burghley), 1600 (no dedication), 1606 (dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil), 1615 (dedicated to Bishop James Montague), 1619, 1620 (both dedicated to Sir Francis Bacon) and 1631 (dedicated to Thomas, Lord Coventry).

63)PUTTENHAM, George.

The Arte of English Poesie (STC 20519).

The dedication to Burghley is from the printer Richard Field.

One of the most important of Elizabethan poetic treatises.

64)SOME, Robert.

A Godly Treatise, wherein are examined and confuted many execrable fancies (STC 22912).

A joint dedication to Burghley and Sir Christopher Hatton.

A short refutation of the religious doctrines of the Barrowists.

1590.

65)BEATNIFFE, John.

A Sermon preachedvat Torceter, in the countie of Northampton (STC 1662).

A joint dedication to Burghley, Archbishop Whitgift, Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Christopher Wray.

A short sermon in defence of the English ministry.

**66)SARAVIA, Hadrian.

De Diversis Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus (STC 21746).

A joint dedication to Burghley, Archbishop Whitgift and Sir Christopher Hatton.

A defence of the government of the English Church, especially the episcopacy.

Reprinted without dedication in Diversi Tractatus Theologici (1611).
An English translation of 1591 (reprinted 1592) includes a translation of the dedication.

67)GIFFORD, George.

A Short Treatise against the Donatists of England (STC 11869).

A defence of the English Church against the Barrowist attacks.

68)GIFFORD, George.

A Plaine Declaration that our Brownists be full Donatists (STC 11862).

A second attack on the Barrowists, amplifying the former comparison of their doctrines with those of the Donatists.

**69) WILLET, Andrew.

De Universale et Novissima Judaeorum Vocatione (STC 25675) [Cambridge]

A treatise examining the doctrine of the ultimate salvation of the Jews.

1591.

**70) BARROW, Henry and GREENWOOD, John.

A Plaine Refutation of M.G. Giffardes reprochful book (STC 1523) [Sort]

A thorough justification of the Separatist position, in answer to G. Gifford's works of the previous year.

Another edition of 1605 has the same dedication.

71) BROUGHTON, Hugh.

A Treatise of Melchisedek proving him to be Sem (STC 3890)

An attempt (by means of complicated arguments from scriptural chronology) to show that Melchisedek and Sem are the same person.

Reprinted in Sundry Works (1591?) with the same dedication.

**72) DAMON, William. Editor: SWAYNE, William.

The former Booke of Musicke (STC 6220).

Burghley's achievement is on the verso of the title-page.

A book of church music.

**73) DAMON, William. Editor: SWAYNE, William.

The Second Booke of Musicke (STC 6221).

The same dedication as above, with Burghley's achievement again on the verso of the title-page. Contents similar to above.

74) SMITH, Henry.

A Preparative to Marriage (STC 22685).

Three of Smith's longer sermons, the first two in two parts.

Two other editions the same year are similarly dedicated.

1592.

75) FLORENTIUS BRAVONIUS [Florence of Worcester]. Editor: HOWARD, William.

Chronicon ex Chronicis, ab initio mundi, usque ad A.D. 1118 (STC 3593).

The first publication of an ancient manuscript chronicle.

*76)PERNIUS, Ioannes [Father Joseph Creswell].

Exemplar Literarum, missarum e Germania, Ad Guilielmum Cecilium
(STC 19767). [Rome].

Beginning as an appeal against the anti-Jesuit proclamation of October 1591, the work develops into a full statement of the Catholic position, among other things on the succession.

77)SMITH, Henry.

Thirteene Sermons Upon Seuerall Textes of Scripture (STC 22717).

The dedication to Burghley is from the printer Thomas Man.

A collection of some of the most popular of Smith's sermons by the printer of the complete edition.

78)SMITH, Henry.

The Sermons of Maister Henrie Smith Gathered into one Volume
(STC 22718).

Smith's brief Latin dedication to Burghley is the same as that in STC 22685 (no.74 above).

The first complete authentic edition of Smith's sermons.

An extraordinarily popular work. The following editions are recorded, all with the same dedication to Burghley: 1593, 1594, 1595, 1597, 1599, 1601, 1604, 1607, 1609, 1611, 1614, 1618, 1622, 1628, 1631, 1637. The collection was augmented during the course of constant republication.

79)GUICCIARDINI, Ludouico. Translator: DANETT, Thomas.

The Description of the Low Countreys and of the Provinces thereof gathered into an Epitome (STC 12463).

Burghley's crest and motto are on the verso of the title-page.

An abbreviated translation of Guicciardini's survey.

*80)NORDEN, John.

Speculum Britanniae. The first parte An historical, & chorographical discription of Middlesex (STC 18635).

The dedication to Burghley follows a formal dedication to the Queen.

A short survey of Middlesex, with maps and charts.

The edition of 1637 which STC attributes to Bodley appears to be a 'ghost'.

*81)COMINES, Philippe de. Translator: DANETT, Thomas.

The Historie of Philip de Commines (STC 5602).

[continued.]

The title-page is the same as that of Baret's Alvearie (no.18 above), with Burghley's crest.

A long and detailed history of France, beginning with the wars of Louis XI, and ending with the Italian Wars of the early sixteenth century.

Editions of 1601 and 1614 have the same T.P. and dedication.

*82)GERARD, John.

Catalogus Arborum, fruticum ac plantarum tam indigenarum quam exoticarum (STC 11748).

Burghley's achievement is on the verso of the title-page.

An alphabetical list of a considerable number of trees and plants.

Another edition of 1599 has a new dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh.

83)NORDEN, John.

Nordens Preparative to his Speculum Britanniae (STC 18638).

A brief exposition of the principles upon which Norden's survey of Britain is based.

1597.

*84)GERARD, John.

The Herball or Generall History of Plantes (STC 11750).

Burghley's achievement is on the verso of the title-page.

The most famous of Elizabethan herbals, its 1400 pages treat every plant in great detail.

Further editions (much enlarged) in 1633 and 1636 have the same dedication, though no arms.

UNDATED.

*85)RETHICK, Henry.

Oratio in laudem Poëseos (not in STC; copies at Westminster Abbey and Hatfield).

Burghley's crest is on the title-page.

A short pamphlet on the classical poets.

APPENDIX III.

BURGHLEY'S RELIGIOUS WRITERS AND THEIR WORKS.

The following is a list of all the published works of those writers who dedicated to Burghley religious books discussed in the main text of this study. The list is arranged alphabetically under writers; the works of each writer are then given in chronological order. The lists are designed to show the progression, not only of each writer's literary career, but also of the patrons he addresses; the dedicatees of each book is therefore noted. All English editions mentioned in the Short-Title Catalogue, and a few pre-1640 editions not there recorded, are listed. Works printed abroad up to 1640, but now in the British Museum or the Bodleian Library, are also included. The same applies to foreign editions before 1640 of books first printed in England. The survival, disappearance or alteration of dedications in all later editions, both English and foreign, is recorded. STC numbers are given, or in the case of books not in the Short-Title Catalogue, the location of the copy used. The place of printing is not recorded except when it is not London. Short titles only are given, contractions have been expanded, and 'i', 'j', 'u' and 'v' normalized to modern usage. (It should be remembered that the examination of only one copy of each work does not allow for the possibility of variant dedications in, for example, presentation copies.)

BURGHLEY'S RELIGIOUS WRITERS AND THEIR WORKS.

HENRY BARROW (d. 1593).

One work, written with John Greenwood, dedicated to Burghley in 1591. Most of Barrow's books were written with Greenwood, smuggled to the Netherlands to be printed, and published anonymously.

1) A True description out of the Word of God of the visible Church (1589). STC 1526. [Dort]

No dedication.

One other edition, undated [1610].

2) A Collection of Certaine Sclaunderous Articles gyven out by the Bishops (1590). STC 1518. [Dort]

No dedication.

3) A Collection of Certain Letters and Conferences lately passed betwixt certaine Preachers & Two Prisoners in the Fleet (1590). STC 5555 [Dort].

No dedication.

4) A Briefe Discoverie of the False Church (1590). STC 1517. [Dort]

No dedication.

5) A Petition directed to her most excellent Majestie (nd). STC 1521 [Dort? 1590?]

No dedication.

Two further editions undated.

6) A Plaine Refutation of M.G. Giffards book (1591). STC 1523. [Dort]

Dedication from Barrow and Greenwood to Burghley.

Another edition of 1605 [London] has the same dedication.

7) The Examinations of Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood and John Penrie ... Penned by the Prisoners themselves (nd). STC 1519.

No dedication.

One other edition undated.

8) Mr Henry Barrowes Platform (1611). STC. 1525. [London?]

No dedication.

JOHN BEATNIFFE (fl.1590).

One book dedicated to Burghley and others in 1590.

- 1) A Sermon preached at Torceter (1590).STC 1662.

Dedication to Burghley, Whitgift, Hatton and Sir Christopher Wray.

JOHN BRIDGES (d. 1618).

One book dedicated to Burghley in 1571.

- 1) A Sermon preached at Pauls Crosse [1571]. STC 3736.

Dedication to Burghley.

- 2) Homelyes upon the Actes of the Apostles (1572). Translated Rudolph Walther. STC 25013.

Dedication to Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford.

- 3) The Supremacie of Christian Princes (1573). STC 3737.

Dedication to Queen Elizabeth.

- 4) A Defence of the Government Established in the Church of Englande for Ecclesiastical Matters (1587). STC 3734.

No dedication.

- 5) Sacro-sanctum Novum Testamentum .. in Hexametros (1604). STC 3735.

Dedication to King James.

JOHN BROOKE (d. 1582).

One book dedicated to Burghley in 1579.

- 1) The Staffe of Christian Faithe (1577). Translated from Guido. STC 12476.

Dedication to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

- 2) A Christian Discourse upon Certaine poynts of Religion (1578) Translated from an unspecified French source. STC 5158.

Dedication to the Countess of Oxford (née Anne Cecil).

- 3) A brief and Clear Confession of the Christian Fayth (1579).

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

4) Of two Woonderful Popish Monsters (1579). STC 177797.
Translated from Luther and Melancthon.

No dedication.

5) The Christian Disputations (1579). Translated from Viret. STC 24776
Dedication to Archbishop Grindal.

6) A Faithfull and familiar exposition upon the prayer of our Lorde
Jesus Christ (1582). Translated from Viret. STC 24780.

No dedication.

7) The Schoole of Beastes (1585). Translated from Viret. STC 24783.

No dedication.

HUGH BROUGHTON (1549 - 1612)

One book dedicated to Burghley in 1591.

1) A Concoct of Scripture [1590]. STC 3850.

Dedication to Queen Elizabeth.

Another edition, undated, without dedication. A Latin translation,
Hanau, 1602 (B.M.); reprinted Frankfort, 1606 (Bodleian). Both without
dedication.

2) A Letter ... touching Mardochai Lisage (1590). STC 3869.

No dedication.

Another edition 1612.

3) A Short View of the Persian Monarchie (1590). STC 1960. Translated
from Beroaldus.

No dedication.

4) Textes of Scripture, Chayning the Holy Chronicle (1591). STC 3888.

No dedication.

Another edition, undated. Also reprinted in Sundry works. [1591]

- 5) A Treatise of Melchisedeck (1591). STC 3890.
Dedication to Lord Burghley.
Reprinted, with dedication, in Sundry Works [1591].
- 6) Letters to Queen Elizabeth[etc] [1591]. STC 3871.
Addressed to the Queen and other ecclesiastical dignitaries.
- 7) Sundry Works [1591]. STC 3887.
Dedication to Queen Elizabeth.
- 8) An Apologie in Briefe Assertions Defending that our Lord died in the time properly foretold to Daniel (1592). STC 3845.
Dedication to Sir Peregrine Berty.
Reprinted, with dedication, in Sundry Works [1591].
- 9) Moyses Sights on Mount Sinai (1592). STC 3873.
Dedication to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.
- 10) A Seder Olam: Order of the Worlde: or yeer^es from the fall to the restoring (1594). STC 3885.
Dedication to Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon.
Another edition 1613, same dedication.
- 11) Daniel his Chaldie Visions and his Ebrew (1596). STC 3852.
Dedication to the lords of the Privy Council.
Another edition 1597, same dedication. A Latin translation (without Broughton's dedication), Basle, 1599. (B.M.)
- 12) An Avnsweare unto the ... privy counsell (Basle, 1597). STC 3846.
Addressed to the privy counsellors.
- 13) An Epistle to the Learned Nobilitie of England (Middelburgh, 1597).
No dedication. STC 3862
- 14) An Epistle of an Ebrew Willinge to Learne Christianity (Basle, 1598).
STC 3860.
No dedication.

15) Epistolae Varias, Et Variarium De Byzantiacis Hebrais (Basle, 1599).
Bodleian.

Dedication to the temporal lords of the Privy Council.

16) A Defence of the Holy Genealogies [1600?]. STC 3859.

No dedication.

17) Oratio ad Genevenses (Mentz, 1601). B.M.

No dedication.

18) Declaration of Generall Corruption of Religion (1603).
[Middelburg/ STC 3855.

No dedication.

Another edition, 1604.

19) An Exposition upon the Lords Prayer [1603]. STC 3867. [London]

Dedication to King James.

20) An Advertisement of Corruption in our Handling of Religion (1604).
STC 3843. [Middelburg/

No dedication.

Another edition, 1605. [Amsterdam?]

21) Two little Workes defensive of our Redemption (1604). STC 3892.
[Middelburg/

No dedication.

22) Certayne Questions Concerning Silk or Wool, in the High Priests Ephod
(1605). STC 3848 [Middelburg/

No dedication.

23) A Comment upon Coheleth or Ecclesiastes (1605). STC 3849. [London?]

Dedication to Prince Henry.

24) An Explication of the Article ... of our Lordes soules going from
his body to Paradise (1605). STC 3863. [Middelburg/

Dedication to Queen Elizabeth.

- 25) Positions of the Word Hades (1605). STC. 3879. [No place]
No dedication.
- 26) A Replie upon the R.R.F. Th. Winton for Heads of his Divinity
(Amsterdam, 1605). STC 3881.
Dedication to Prince Henry.
- 27) Familia Davidis (Amsterdam, 1605). B.M.
Dedication to Prince Henry.
Another edition the same year, in English and Hebrew, (Also at B.M.)
with dedication to Queen Anne.
- 28) The Lamentationes of Jeremy translated (1606) STC 2780. [Amsterdam]
No dedication.
Another edition 1608 has dedication to Prince Henry.
- 29) Two Epistles unto Great Men of Britanie (1606)
STC 3891. [Amsterdam]
Dedication to the temporal lords of the Privy Council.
- 30) Responsum ad Epistolam Judaei (Amsterdam, 1606). B.M.
Dedication to Prince Henry.
- 31) Tralatio Epistolae Hebraeae (Amsterdam, 1606).B.M.
No dedication.
- 32) Daniel with a Brief Explication (Hanau, 1607) STC 3854.
Dedication to King James.
- 33) Our Lordes Familie and many other pointes depending upon it
(Amsterdam, 1608). STC 3875.
Separate dedications to King James, Maurice of Hesse, and the lords
of the Privy Council.
- 34) A Petition to the King to hasten Allowance for Ebrew Institution of
Ebrews (1608). STC 3877. [London]
Addressed to King James.

35) A Petition to the Lords to Examine the religion and carriage of Doctor Bancroft (1608). STC 3878 /Np/

No dedication.

36) A Defence of the Booke entitled A Consent of Scripture (1609). STC 3858. /Middelburg/

Dedication to King James.

37) A Most Humble Supplication unto the King, For present performance of long purposed allowance (1609). STC 3872. /Middelburg/.

Addressed to King James.

38) Principal Positions for groundes of the Holy Bible (1609) STC 3880. /London?/

No dedication.

39) Job. To the King. A Colon-Agrippa studie of one moneth (1610). STC 3868. /London?/

Dedication to King James.

40) A Revelation of the Holy Apocalypse (1610). STC 3883. /Amsterdam?/

Dedication to King James.

Another edition, undated, same dedication /Middelburg?/

41) De Gelenna. /1610/ Bodleian. /No place/

No dedication.

42) Querelae de Quodam Scoparcha (1610). Bodleian /No place/.

Dedication to the princes of Germany.

43) A Declaration unto the Lordes of the Jewes desire ... for Hebrew explication of our Greke Gospel (1611). STC 3857. /No place/.

No dedication.

44) A Petition to the King for authority ... to expound the Apocalypse (1611). STC 3876. /Middelburg/

Addressed to King James.

An edition in Latin the same year (in Bodleian).

45) A Require of agreement to the groundes of Divinitie studie (1611).
STC 3882 /Middelburg/

Dedication to the Merchant adventurers.

46) Observations upon the first ten fathers (1612). STC 3874.

No dedication.

47) A Censure of the late translation [of the Bible] [Middelburg? 1612?]
STC 3847.

No dedication.

48) The Holy Genealogie of Jesus Christ (London, no date). Bodleian.

No dedication.

JOSEPH CRESWELL (1557 - 1623).

Jesuit. One work dedicated to Burghley, under the pseudonym of Pernius, in 1592.

1) Exemplar literarum missarum e Germania ad G. Cecilium (1592).
STC 19767. /Rome; pseudonym Pernius/

Dedication to Burghley.

2) An Advertisement written to a secretarie of my L. Treasurers of England
(1592). STC 19885 /London; pseudonym Philopater/.

No dedication.

3) Historia de la Vida de Henrique Valpolo (Madrid, 1596).

Mentioned in D.N.B. art. Creswell; apparently no English copy.

4) Aparejos para administrar el sacramento de la penitencia (1604).

Mentioned in D.N.B.; apparently no English copy.

5) Meditations upon the Rosary (St. Omer, 1610).

Mentioned in D.N.B. but not in STC; perhaps now lost.

6) A Proclamation /against Recusants/ with a briefe and moderate Answer
(1611). STC 8448. /St. Omer/

No dedication.

7) Quis dives saluus. How a rich man may be saved (1618). STC 21676.
Translated from Salvianus. /St. Omer?/

No dedication.

HENRY DETHICK (d. 1613).

Three dedications to Burghley, one undated, two in 1577.

1) Oratio in laudem Poëseos (No date or place). Not in STC.
Dedication to Burghley suggests this is Dethick's earliest work.

2) Feriae Sacrae Octo Libris Comprehensae (1577). STC 6767.

Dedication to Burghley.

3) The Gardeners Labyrinth (1577). STC 13485. Written by Thomas Hill,
edited and dedicated by Dethick.

Dedication to Burghley.

Further editions, similarly dedicated, in 1578, 1586, 1594, 1606.

SIR GEOFFREY FENTON (1539 - 1608).

One dedication to Burghley in 1574.

1) Certaine Tragical Discourses (1567). STC 10791. Translated from
Bandello etc.

Dedication to Lady Mary Sidney.

Another edition of 1579 has the same dedication.

2) An Epistle or godlie admonition (1569). STC 5787. Translated
from Corro.

Dedication to John Byron Esquire.

Another edition of 1570 has the same dedication.

3) A Discourse of the Civile warres in Fraunce /1570/ STC 10793.

Dedication to Sir Henry Sidney.

GEORGE GIFFORD (d. 1620).

Two dedications to Burghley, both in 1590.

- 1) Praelections upon the Revelation (1573). STC 11443. Translated from the Latin of Fulke.

Dedication to Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick.

- 2) The Countrie Divinitie (1581). STC 11845.

Dedication to Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick.

Further editions in 1582 and 1598 have same dedication.

- 3) A Sermon on the Parable of the Sower (1582). STC 11863.

Dedication to Master John Hutton.

Further editions, one undated, one 1584 have same dedication.

Reprinted (with dedication) in Certain Sermons (1597).

- 4) A Godlie, Zealous and Profitable Sermon upon the Second Chapter of S. James (1582). STC 11860.

No dedication.

Another edition 1583, and reprinted in Certain Sermons (1597).

- 5) A Dialogue betweene a Papiat and a Protestant (1582) STC 11849.

Dedication to Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex.

Another edition of 1599 (not in STC, a copy at Bodley) has the same dedication.

- 6) Four Sermons upon the Seven Chiefe Vertues (1582). STC 11858.

Dedication to the Countess of Sussex.

Reprinted, with dedication, in Certain Sermons (1591).

- 7) A Catechisme conteining the Summe of Christian Religion (1583). STC 11848.

No dedication.

Another edition of 1586 (not in STC, a copy at Bodley).

- 8) A Discourse of the subtile Practises of Devilles by Witches and Sorcerers (1587). STC 11852.

Dedication to Master Richard Martin.

9) Eight Sermons upon Ecclesiastes (1589). STC 11853.

Dedication to the Countess of Warwick.

10) A Short Treatise against the Donatists of England (1590). STC 11869.

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

11) A Plaine Declaration that our Brownists be full Donatists (1590).
STC 11862.

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

12) A Short reply unto the last printed books of Barrow and Greenwood
(1591). STC 11868.

No dedication.

13) A dialogue concerning witches and Witchcrafts (1593). STC 11850.

Dedication to Master Robert Clark.

Another edition of 1603, same dedication.

14) A Treatise of True Fortitude (1594). STC 11870.

Dedication to the Earl of ^{Essex} Leicester.

15) Sermons upon the whole book of Revelation (1596). STC 11866.

Dedication to the Earl of ^{Essex} Leicester.

Another edition of 1599 has the same dedication.

16) Two Sermons upon 1 Peter (1597). STC 11871.

Dedication (from Thomas Man the Printer) to Mr. Joseph Bainham
and Mistress Bainham.

17) Certaine Sermons upon Divers Textes (1597). Not in STC.
University Microfilms No. 713.

No dedication (separate parts keep original dedications).

18) Fifteen Sermons upon the Song of Solomon (1598). STC 11854.

Dedication to the Earl of Essex.

Further editions in 1600 and 1620 have same dedication.

19) Foure Sermons upon Several Partes of Scripture (1598) STC 11859.

Dedication (from Robert walker the Printer) to Master Edward Lewkenor.

ARTHUR GOLDING (1536 - 1606).

Four works dedicated to Burghley, in 1563, 1565, 1574 and 1585.

1) A Briefe Treatise concerning the burnynge of Bucer and Phagius (1562).
STC 3966. Translated from an anonymous source.

No dedication.

2) The historie of Leonard Aretine, concerning the warres betweene
the Imperialles and the Gothes (1563). STC 3933. Translated from Bruni.

Dedicated to Sir William Cecil.

3) Thabridgement of the Histories of Trogus Pompeius (1564). STC 24290.

Dedication to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

Further editions in 1570 and 1578 with same dedication.

4) The Fyrst Fower Bookes of Ovide Metamorphoses (1565). STC 18955.

Dedication to the Earl of Leicester.

5) The Eycht bookes of Caius Julius Caesar conteyning his martiall
exploytes in Gallia (1565). STC 4335.

Dedication to Sir William Cecil.

Another edition in 1590 has the same dedication.

6) John Calvin his Treatise concerning offences (1567). STC 4434.

Dedication to Sir Francis Russell, g. vernor of Berwick.

7) The XV Bookes of P. Ovidus Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis (1567).
STC 18956.

Dedication to the Earl of Leicester.

Further editions in 1575, 1584, 1587, 1593, 1603 and 1612 have the
same dedication.

8) A Postill, or Exposition of the Gospels (1569). STC 13061.
Translated from Hemmingsen.

Dedication to Sir walter Mildmay.

Further editions in 1569, 1574, and 1578 have same dedication.

9) A Postil or orderly disposing of certeine Epistles (1570).
STC 5263.

Dedication to Sir Walter Mildmay.

Another edition in 1577, same dedication.

10) Commentaries of ... Calvin upon the Prophet Daniell (1570).
STC 4397.

No dedication.

11) The Psalmes of David and others. with J. Calvins Commentaries (1571).
STC 2389.

Dedication to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

12) A Confutation of the Popes Bull (1572). STC 4044. Translated
from Bullinger.

Dedication to the Earl of Leicester.

13) A booke of Christian Questions and answers (1572). STC 2037.
Translated from Beza.

Dedication to Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon.

Later editions as follows: 1574, same dedication; 1578 (STC 2040),
same dedication; 1578 (STC 2041), no dedication; 1581, no dedication;
1586, the original dedication.

14) A briefe discourse of the late murther of master George Sanders
(1573). STC 11985.

No dedication.

Another edition in 1577.

15) The Benefite that Christians receive by Jesus Christ Crucified
(1573). STC 19114. Translated from Dalla Paglia.

No dedication /possibly not Golding translation, though B.M. catalogue
ascribes it to him/

Further editions in /1575/, 1580, 1633 and 1638.

16) Sermone by M. John Calvin upon the Booke of Job (1574). STC 4444.

Dedication to the Earl of Leicester.

Further editions in 1574, 1579, 1580 and 1584, with the same dedication.

27) A Discourse upon the Earthquake that happened through this Realme (1580). STC 11987.

No dedication.

28) The Joyful and royal entertainment of ... Prince /Anjou/ (1582). STC 11310.

No dedication.

29) The Sermons of M. John Calvin upon Deuteronomie (1583). STC 4442.

Dedication to Sir Thomas Bromley.

Another edition the same year, with the same dedication.

30) The worke of Pomponius Mela ... concerninge the Situation of the World (1585). STC 17785.

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

Another edition in 1590, same dedication.

31) A Woorke concerning the trewnesse of the Christian Religion (1587). STC 18149. Translated from Philippe de Mornay.

Dedication to the Earl of Leicester.

Another edition of 1592 has the same dedication, but editions of 1604 and 1617 have a new dedication from the editor Thomas Wilcocks to Prince Henry.

32) The Excellent and pleasant worke of Julius Solinus Polyhistor (1587). STC 22896.

No dedication.

Reprinted with Mela's work (No. 30 above), in 1590.

33) Politicke, Moral, and Martial Discourses (1595). STC 14000. Translated from Hurault.

Dedication to William, Lord Cobham.

34) Epitome of Frossards Chronicles (1609). STC 11399.

No dedication - posthumous publication of a translation by Golding.

Another edition 1611.

35) A Godly and Fruteful Prayer, with an Epistle (Nd.) STC 11046. Translated from Abraham Fleming.

No dedication.

BARNABE GOOGE (1540 - 1594).

Three dedications to Burghley, in 1561, 1565 and 1579.

1) The Firste thre Bokes of ... the Zodyake of lyfe (1560). STC 19148.
Translated from Palingenius.

Dedicated to Lady Hales (Googe's grandmother).

2) The firste syxe bokes of the modiake of life (1561). STC 19149.

Dedication to Sir William Cecil.

3) Eglogs, Epytaphes and Sonettes (1563). STC 12048.

Dedication to Master William Lovelace.

4) The Zodiake of Life (1565). STC 19150.

Dedication to Sir William Cecil (different from that in No. 2 above).

Another edition, of 1576, has a new dedication to Burghley, which is repeated in an edition of 1588.

5) A new Booke called the Shippe of Safeguard (1569). STC 12049.

Dedication to Mistress Phyllyp Darell, and Mistress Fraunces Darell (Googe's sisters-in-law).

6) The Popish Kingdome, or reigne of Antichrist (1570). STC 15011.

Translated from Kirchmeyer.

Dedication to Queen Elizabeth.

STC 15012 (an alleged edition of 1577) seems to be a ghost.

7) Foure Bookes of Husbandry (1577). STC 13196. Translated from Heresbach.

Dedication to Sir William Fitzwilliam, Treasurer of Ireland.

Editions of 1578, 1586, 1596, 1601 and 1614 have the same dedication. The edition of 1631 has a new dedication from the 'enlarger', Gervase Markham to the Earl of Exeter.

8) The Proverbs of Sir James Lopez de Mendoza (1579). STC 16009.

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

Two other works are attributed to Googe by the B.M. catalogue, though their subject and dedicatees have little in common with Googe's other works. They are:

i) The overthrow of the Gout (1577). Translated from Balista, not in STC. Dedicated to Doctor Richard Masters.

ii) The Wonderful and strange effect of a new Terra Sigillata (1587). STC 1970. Translated from Bertholdus. Dedication to Doctors Masters and Baylie.

JOHN GREENWOOD (d. 1620).

One dedication (with Henry Barrow) to Burghley in 1591. Only one work published alone.

1) An Answer to George Giffords Pretended Defence of Read prayers (1590). STC 12339.

No dedication.

Another edition (misdated by STC) in 1603 (the date is at the end of the epistle to The Reader), and a third edition in 1640.

MEREDITH HANMER (1543 - 1604).

Two dedications to Burghley (and other privy counsellors) in 1581.

1) The Auncient Ecclesiastical Histories (1577). STC 10572. Translated from Eusebius etc.

Dedication to the Countess of Lincoln.

Further editions of 1585, 1607, 1619 and 1636 all have a new dedication to the Earl of Leicester.

2) The Great bragge and challenge of M. Champion a Jesuite (1581). STC 12745.

Dedication to Burghley, Bromley, Leicester, the Earl of Lincoln and other privy counsellors.

3) The Jesuits Banner (1581). STC 12746.

Dedication to Burghley etc as above.

4) The Baptizing of a Turke. A Sermon (1586). STC 12744.

Dedication to Raphe Rokeby, master of the hospital of Saint Katherine.

5) "Chronicle of Ireland", in Two Histories of Ireland (Dublin, 1633), ed. Sir James Ware. STC 25067.

Former part of the volume has no dedication.

SIR EDWARD HOBY (1560 - 1617).

One dedication to Burghley in 1586.

1) Politique Discourses upon trueth and lying (1586). STC 5486.
Translated from Coignet.

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

2) Theorique and Practise of warre (1597). STC 17819. Translated from Bernadino de Mendoza.

Dedication (in Spanish) to Sir George Carew.

3) A Letter to Mr. T.H. Late Minister Now Fugitive (1609). STC 13541.

Dedication to "all Romish Collapsed Ladies of Great Britanie."

4) A Counter-snarle for Ishmael Rabshacheh (1613). STC 13539.

Dedication to the Students of the Inns-of-Court.

5) A Curry-Combe for a Coxe-Combe or Purgatories Knell (1615). STC 13540.

Dedication to "the gentle, gentle reader."

LAURENCE HUMPHREY (1527? - 1590).

One dedication to Burghley (and Leicester) in 1584.

1) Interpretatio Linguarum (Basle, 1559). B.M.

Dedication to Sir Thomas Wroth.

2) De Religionis Conservatione & Reformatione (Basle, 1559). B.M.

Dedication to Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford.

- 3) Optimates, sive de Nobilitate (Basle, 1560). B.M.
Dedication to Queen Elizabeth.
An English translation of 1563 (STC 13964) translates the dedication.
- 4) Divi Cybilli ... Commentariorum in Hesaium Prophetam Libri Quinque
(Basle, 1563). B.M.
Dedication to Queen Elizabeth.
- 5) Ad Illustrissimam R. Elizabetham ... Oratio (1572). STC 13959.
Work addressed to the Queen, but no separate dedication.
- 6) Joannis Juelli ... vita & mors (1573). STC 13963.
Dedication to Archbishop Parker and Bishop Sandys.
Reprinted, with dedication, in Geneva, 1585 edition of Jewell's works
(B.M.) and in Geneva, 1600 edition (Bodleian).
- 7) Oratio ad Sereniss. ... Reginam Elizabetham (1575). STC 13960.
The book is addressed to the Queen, but there is no separate dedication.
- 8) Jesuitismi Pars Prima (1582). STC 13961.
Dedication to the Earl of Leicester.
Reprinted (with dedication) in vol. 3 of Doctrinae Jesuitae Praecipua
Capita (La Rochelle, 1585). B.M.
- 9) Jesuitismi Pars Secunda (1584). STC 13962.
Dedication to Leicester and Burghley.
Reprinted (with dedication) in vol. 5 of Doctrinae Jesuitae.
- 10) "Pharisaismus Vetus et Novus" (Doctrinae Jesuitae, vol. 3).
No dedication.
- 11) Summa et Synopsis Novi Testamenti (Oxford, 1586). STC 13965.
No dedication.
- 12) A View of the Romish Hydra (Oxford, 1586). STC 13966.
Dedication to the Earl of Leicester.

THOMAS LUPTON (fl. 1583).

One dedication to Burghley in 1581.

- 1) A Moral and Pitieful Comedie, intituled, All for Money (1578).
STC 16949.

No dedication.

- 2) A Thousand Notable things, of sundry sortes (1579). STC 16955.

Dedication to the Countess of Derby.

Further editions in 1586 and 1595 with the same dedication, and without dedication in 1601, 1627 and 1631.

- 3) Too Good to be True (1580). STC 16951.

Dedication to Sir Christopher Hatton.

Further editions in 1584 and 1587 with the same dedication.

- 4) A Persuasion from Papistry (1581). STC 16950.

Dedication to Queen Elizabeth.

- 5) The Second Part of Too Good to be True (1581). STC 16954.

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

- 6) The Christian against the Jesuite (1582). STC 16946.

Dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham.

- 7) A Dreame of the Divell and Dives (1584). STC 16947.

Dedication to Sir Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford.

Another edition in 1589 (not in STC, University Microfilm No. 287) has the same dedication; also edition of 1603.

JOHN MARBECKE (d. 1585?).

One dedication to Burghley, in 1574.

- 1) The booke of Common praier noted (1550). STC 16441.

No dedication.

- 2) A Concordance (1550). STC 17300.
Dedication to King Edward VI.
- 3) The Lyves of Holy Sainctes (1574). STC 17303.
Dedication to Lord Burghley.
Another edition the same year, with the same dedication.
- 4) The Holie Historie of King David (1579). STC 17302.
Dedication to "Elisabeth Barret, wife of Edward Barret."
- 5) A Booke of Notes and Common places (1581). STC 17299.
Dedication to the Earl of Huntingdon.
- 6) Examples drawn out of Holy Scripture (1582). STC 17301.
Dedication to Master Humphrey Michel.

Two further works are mentioned in the D.N.B. article, and in Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual, but they appear now to be lost. They are:-

- i) A Ripping up of the Popes Fardel (1581)
- ii) A dialogue between youth and old age (1584).

ANTHONY MUNDY (1560 - 1633).

Two dedications to Burghley (and other privy counsellors) in 1582.

- 1) The Mirror of Mutabilitie (1579). STC 18276.
Dedication to the Earl of Oxford.
- 2) The Paine of Pleasure (1580). STC 18277.
Dedication to Lady Douglas Sheffield.
- 3) A View of Sundry Examples [1580?] STC 18281.
Dedication to William Waters and George Baker.
- 4) Zelauto. The Fountaine of Fame (1580). STC 18283.
Dedication to the Earl of Oxford.

5) A Second and Third Blast of Retrait from Plaies and Theaters (1580).
STC 21677. Translated from *Salvianus*.

No dedication.

6) The True Report of the Prosperous Successes which God gave unto our
English souldiours /1581/. STC 17124.

Dedication to Sir George Gifford.

7) A Courtly Controversie betweene loove and Learning (1581). STC 18268.

Dedication to Sir George Gifford.

8) A Breefe discourse of the taking of Edmund Campion (1581). STC 18264.

No dedication.

9) A breefe Answer made unto two seditious Pamphlets (1582). STC 18262.

Dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham.

10) A Discoverie of Edmund Campion & his Confederates (1582). STC 18270.

Dedication to Burghley, Leicester, Bromley, Bedford, and the rest of
the Privy Council.

11) A breefe and true reporte of the Execution of certain Traytours at
Tiborne (1582). STC 18261.

Dedication to Richard Martin, Sheriff of London.

12) The English Romayne Lyfe (1582). STC 18272.

Dedication to Burghley, Bromley, Leicester etc (as no. 10 above).

Another edition of 1590 has the same dedication.

13) Two Godly and Learned Sermons (1584). STC 4461. Translated from *Calvia*.

Dedication to the Earl of Leicester.

14) A Watche-Word to Englande to beware of traytours (1584). STC 18282.

Dedication to Queen Elizabeth.

Another edition the same year has the same dedication.

15) Fedele and Fortunio (1585). STC 19447. Translated from *Rasqualigo*.

Dedication in one copy to John Heardson, in another to M.R. The third
surviving copy is imperfect.

- 16) A Banquet of Daintie Conceits (1588). STC 18260.
Dedication to Master Richard Topcliffe.
- 17) Palmerin d'Oliva (1588). STC 19157.
Dedication to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.
Another edition of 1597 has Part I dedicated to Robert Dudley, and Part II to Francis and Susan Young. Further editions of 1616 and 1637 have the first part dedicated to Francis and Susan Young, and the second part to Edward de Vere.
- 18) The Famous ... Historie, of Palladine of England (1588).
STC 5541. Translated from Colet.
Dedication to the Earl of Essex.
- 19) The Declaration of the Lord de la Noue (1589). STC 15213.
No dedication.
- 20) The Honorable ... Historie of Palmendos (1589). STC 18064.
Translated from Moraes.
Dedication to Sir Francis Drake.
- 21) The First Book of Amadis de Gaul [1590?]. STC 541.
Only known copy is imperfect and lacks dedication.
- 22) Archaiputos or the Riches of Alder Ages (1592). STC 23867.
Translated from Telin.
Dedication to Gilbert Lord Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.
- 23) The Masque of the League and the Spanyard Discovered (1592).
STC 7. Translated from 'L.T.A.'
Dedication to Mistress Dorothy Edwards.
Another edition of 1605 has no dedication, and the new title Falsehood in Friendship.
- 24) Gerileon of England. The Second Parte (1592). STC 17206.
Dedication to Ralph Marshall and Frances, his wife.
6467. Translated from Etienne.
- 25) The Defence of Contraries (1593). STC
No dedication.

26) The first Book of Primaleon of Greece (1595). STC 20366.

No dedication in the B.M. copy.

The Second Booke (1596), STC 20366a, is dedicated to Francis Young, and all three books (STC 20367 - 1619) are each dedicated to Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford.

27) Palmerin of England (1596). STC 19161.

First part lacks dedication in B.M. copy; the second part is dedicated to Francis Young.

Further editions in 1609, 1616 and 1639 are dedicated to Francis Young.

28) The First Part of ... Sir John Oldcastle (1600). STC 18795.

No dedication.

Another edition of 1619 (dated 1600) has no dedication.

29) The Strangest Adventure that ever happened (1601). STC 23864.
Translated from Teixeira.

Dedication to William Rider.

30) The Death of Robert, Earle of Huntingdon (1601). STC 18269.

No dedication.

31) The Downfall of Robert, Earle of Huntingdon (1601). STC 18271.

No dedication.

32) The Third and Last Part of Palmerin (1602). STC 19165.

Dedication to John Swynnerton.

33) The True Knowledge of a mans owne selfe (1602). STC 18163.

Dedication to John Swynnerton.

34) A True and Admirable Historie, of a mayden of Confolens (1605).
STC 5326. Translated from Citois.

Dedication to Thomas Thorney, William Martin, Edward Rhodes, and Thomas Martin (Governors of the barber surgeons).

Another edition of 1604 with the same dedication.

- 35) The Durnbe Divine Speaker (1605). STC 190. Translated from D'Aauto.
Dedication to John Sterayn.
- 36) The Triumphs of Reunited Britania [1605?]. STC 18279.
No dedication.
- 37) The admirable deliverance of 266 christians by J. Reynard, Englishman, from the Turkes (1608).
No dedication.
- 38) Camp-bell, or the Iron mongers faire fielde [1609?]. STC 18265.
No dedication.
- 39) Londons Love to the Royal Prince Henrie (1610). STC 13159.
Dedication to Sir Thomas Campbell, Lord Mayor of London.
- 40) Chruso-Thriambos. The Triumphes of Golde (1611). STC 18267.
No dedication.
- 41) A Briefe Chronicle, of the Successe of Times (1611). STC 18265.
Dedication to Sir William Cravon, Lord Mayor of London (and other members of the Corporation).
- 42) Himatia-Poleos. The Triumphs of Olde Draperie (1614). STC 18274.
No dedication.
- 43) Metropolis Coronata: The Triumphs of an Ancient Drapery (1615). STC 18275.
No dedication.
- 44) Chrysanaleia, The Golden Fishing (1616). STC 18266.
Dedication to the Fishmongers' Company.
- 45) The Survey of London (1618). STC 25544. A revision of Stow's work.
Dedication to George Bolles, Lord Mayor of London, Sir Anthony Benn, Recorder of London, and other knights and aldermen of the city.
Another edition of 1633 has the same dedication.
- 46) Sidero-Thriambos or Steele and Iron Triumphant (1618). STC 18276.
Dedication to the Ironmongers' Company.

47) The Ancient ... History of Amadis de Gaule (1618). STC 543.
/Parts 3 and 4/.

Dedication (of both parts) to Sir Philip Herbert.

48) The Ancient ... History of Amadis de Gaule (1619). STC 544.
/Parts 1 and 2 together./

Dedications (of both parts) to Sir Philip Herbert.

49) The Triumphs of the Golden Fleece (1623). STC 18260.

Dedication to the Drapers' Company.

In addition to the above, three other works have been attributed to Mandy. Turner (1928) believes them not to be his, and attributes the last two to Lazarus Pyott. They are:

i) An advertisement and defence for the truth against her backbiters (1581).
STC 18259. No dedication.

ii) The Second Booke of Amadis de Gaule (1595). STC 542. Dedication
to Gualter Borough.

iii) The orator (1596). STC 4182. Translated from Busche. Dedication
to "Lord John, Lord St. John, Baron of Bletstic."

MARCELLINE OUTRED (fl. 1580).

One dedication to Burghley in 1580.

1) A godly and learned exposition upon the Proverbes of Solomon (1580).
STC 5723. Translated from Cope.

Dedication to Burghley.

RAIHE ROBINSON (fl. 1551).

One dedication to Burghley in 1551.

1) A fruteful and pleasant worke ... Utopia (1551). STC 18094.

Dedication to Sir William Cecil.

Further editions of 1556 and 1597 are without the dedication. Editions
of 1624 and 1639 have a new dedication from the printer to Cresacre More.

HADRIAN SARAVIA (1531 - 1613).

One dedication to Burghley (and others) in 1590.

1) De Diversis Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus (1590). STC 21746.

Dedication to Burghley, Hatton and Whitgift.

An English translation of 1591 (reprinted 1592) provides a translation of the dedication. The Latin, reprinted in Diversi Tractatus Theologici (1611) without dedication.

2) De Imperandi Autoritate, et Christiana Obedientia (1593). STC 21747.

Dedication to 'lovers of peace and liberty'.

Reprinted (with the same dedication) in Diversi Tractatus.

3) Defensio Tractationis De Diversis Ministrorum Evangelii Gradibus (1594). STC 21748.

Dedication to Archbishop Whitgift, and Bishops Aylmer, Cooper and Fletcher.

Another edition Frankfort, 1601 (Booleian) keeps the same dedication.

Reprinted (with the dedication) in Diversi Tractatus.

4) Diversi Tractatus Theologici (1611). STC 21751.

Dedication of the whole work to the bishops of the English Church.

5) Vindiciae Sacrae. A Treatise of the Honor and Maintenance due to Ecclesiastical Persons (1629). STC 21752.

Dedications from the editor James Martin, to i) the Duchess of Buckingham
ii) all patrons of the English Church.

In addition to the above, Saravia left a manuscript treatise on the Holy Eucharist, with a dedication to King James. (Translated and edited by G.A. Denison. London, 1855).

HENRY SMITH (1560? - 1591).

Three collections of Smith's sermons were dedicated to Burghley in 1591 and '92. His dedication to Burghley seems to have been the only one he ever wrote - the few other dedications which appear in his works are by printers or editors. The following list groups Smith's works in STC order under years, with dedicatees noted where they occur.

- 1) The Christians Sacrifice (1589). STC 22658.
Another edition 1591.
- 2) The Magistrates Scripture (1590). STC 22680.
Another edition 1591.
- 3) Sermon of the Benefit of Contentation (1590). STC 22693.
Two further editions in 1590, another in 1591.
- 4) The Wedding Garment (1590). STC 22713.
Another edition 1591, and another undated.
- 5) The Affinitie of the Faithful (1591). STC 22656.
Another edition the same year.
- 6) The Examination of Usury (1591). STC 22660.
Another edition the same year.
- 7) The Fall of King Nabuchadnezzar (1591). STC 22662.
- 8) First Sermon of Noahs Drunkenness (1591). STC 22662.
- 9) A Fruitful Sermon on I Thess. v. 19-22 (1592). STC 22664.
Another edition the same year.
- 10) The Preachers Proclamation (1591). STC 22684.
- 11) The Preparative to Marriage (1591). STC 22685.
Dedication (from Smith himself) to Lord Burghley.
Two further editions the same year.
- 12) King Nabuchadnezzar (1591). STC 22688.
Three further editions the same year.
- 13) Three Prayers (1591). STC 22703.
Another edition in 1592.
- 14) The Trumpet of the Soule (1591). STC 22706.
Further editions in 1592(2), 1593, 1621, 1626 and 1640.

15) Seven Sermons (1591). STC 22716.

16) Juris Prudentiae (1592). STC 22678.

Dedication from the editor Brian Cave to his uncle Thomas Cave.

17) Maries Choise (1592). STC 22682.

18) The poore mans teares (1592). STC 22683.

19) Satens Compassing the Earth (1592). STC 22692.

20) The Sinfull Mans Search (1592). STC 22697.

Further editions in 1594 (2) and 1596.

21) Thirteen Sermons (1592). STC 22717.

Dedication from the printer (Thomas Man) to Burghley.

22) Sermons (1592). STC 22718. [First complete edition.]

Dedication from Smith to Burghley.

Further editions in 1593, 1594, 1595, 1597, 1599, 1601, 1604, 1607, 1609, 1611, 1614, 1618, 1622, 1628(2), 1631 and 1637. All with the same dedication.

23) Gods Arrow against Atheists (1593) STC 22666.

Dedication from the printer (John Danter) to Lady Katherine Hayward.

Further editions, all without dedication, in 1604, 1609, 1611, 1614, 1617, 1622, 1628, 1631, 1632 and 1637.

24) Six Sermons (1593). This edition not in STC (University Microfilms No. 670).

Dedication from the editor 'W.S.' to Edward Russell.

Another edition of 1594 (STC 22776) has the same dedication, but that of 1599 has no dedication.

25) The Sinners Confession (1594). STC 22701.

26) The Sinners Conversion (1594). STC 22702.

27) Jacobs Ladder (1595). STC 22677.

28) The Lawyers Question (1595). STC 22679.

- 29) A treatise of the Lords Supper (1596). STC 22705.
- 30) Ten Sermons (1596). STC 22779.
Dedication from 'W.S.' to Sir Edward Russell (as No. 24 above).
- 31) Twelve Sermons (1598). STC 22780.
- 32) Three Sermons (1599). STC 22735.
Further editions in 1601, 1604, 1607, 1609, 1611, 1613, 1616, 1619, 1624, 1628, 1632, and 1637.
- 33) Foure Sermons (1599). STC 22748..
Further editions in 1602, 1605 and 1607.
- 34) Two Sermons (1602). STC 22765.
Further editions in 1605, 1608, 1610, 1613, 1615(2), 1618, 1620, 1621, 1624 and 1625.
- 35) Two Sermons of Jonahs Punishment (1602). STC 22752.
Further editions in 1605, 1607, 1609, 1612, 1614, 1617, 1620 and 1624.
- 36) Foure Sermons (1602). STC 22761.
Dedication from 'W.S.' to Sir Edward Russell, Earl of Bedford (as No. 24 above).
Further editions in 1608, 1610 and 1621 all with the same dedication.
- 37) Twelve Sermons (1629). STC 22781.
Dedication from 'W.S.' to Sir Edward Russell (as no. 24 above).
Further editions in 1632 and 1637, with the same dedication.

ROBERT SOME (1542 - 1609).

One dedication to Burghley (and Hatton), in 1589.

- 1) A Godly Sermon preached in Latin (1580). STC 22907.
Dedication to Sir William Killigrew and Marjorie his wife.
- 2) A Godly and shorte Treatise of the Sacraments (1582). STC 22906.
Dedication to the Earl of Leicester.

3) A Godly Treatise of the Church (1582). STC 22910.

Dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham.

4) "A Godlie Treatise Against Oppression", in Pilkington's A Godlie Exposition upon Certain Chapters of Nehemiah (1585). STC 19929.

No dedication.

5) A Godly treatise containing and deciding certaine questions, moved of late in London (1588). STC 22906.

No dedication.

6) A Godly Treatise, wherin are examined and confuted many execrable fancies (1589). STC 22912.

7) Three Questions, Godly, Plainly and briefly handled (Cambridge, 1596). STC 22913a.

No dedication.

A Latin translation Harderwyck, 1613 (Bodleian).

8) Prepositiones Tres (Cambridge, 1596). STC 22913.

No dedication.

THOMAS STOCCAER (fl. 1569 - 1592).

One dedication to Burghley in 1584.

1) A Right noble and pleasant History of the Successors of Alexander (1569). STC 6893. Translated (via de Seyssel) from Diodorus.

Dedicated to Ambrose Dudley^e, Earl of Warwick.

2) Two and twentie Sermons of Maister John Calvin (1580). STC 4460.

Dedication to Sir Robert Jermyne and his wife.

3) An excellent treatise of the Immortality of the Soule (1581). STC 4409.

^{Translated from Calvin.}
Dedication to the Earl of Arundel.

4) Divers Sermons of Master John Calvin (1581). STC 4437.

Dedication to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

5) A Tragicall Historie of the troubles and civile warres of the lowe Countries /1583/ STC 23945. Translated from Théophile.

Dedication to the Earl of Leicester.

6) The Worlde Possessed with Devils (1583). STC 24785. Translated from Viret.

The work is in two parts; the first has no dedication, the second (the only part translated by Stocker) is dedicated to Sir John Higham.

Another edition the same year, similarly dedicated.

7) The Cantales, Canon, and Ceremonies of the Popish Masse (1584). STC 24775. Translated from Viret.

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

8) The Popes Canons [1584]. STC 2029. Translated from Beza.

Dedication to Sir William Walgrave.

Another edition undated /1585/ has the same dedication, as has a third edition of 1587.

9) The Lamentations and holy mournings of the prophet Jeremiah /1587 - dedication date/ Not in STC - University Microfilms no. 718. Translated from Tossanus.

Dedication to Lady Ursula Walsingham.

10) Sermon of Maister John Calvin, on the Historie of Melchisedech (1592). STC 4440.

Dedication to Sir Robert Cecil.

In addition to the above, a collection of 8 sermons (translated?) is attributed to Stocker by the D.N.B. article, Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica and Herbert's Ames (p. 1533). Dated 1594 and printed by Thomas Man, it appears now to be lost.

GEORGE WHETSTONE (1544? - 1587).

One dedication to Burghley, in 1587.

1) The Rocke of Regard (1576). STC 25348.

In four parts: the first is dedicated to 'the young gentlemen of England'; the second has no dedication; the third is dedicated to Lady Jane Sibilla Grey; the fourth to Sir Thomas Cecil.

2) A Remembrance of ... George Gascoigne [1578?]. STC 25346.

No dedication.

3) The Right Excellent and famous Historye of Promos and Cassandra (1578). STC 25347.

Dedication to William Fleetwood, Recorder of London.

4) A Remembrance of ... Sir Nicholas Bacon [1579?]. STC 25343.

Dedication to Master Gilbert Gerrard (Attorney-General).

5) An Heptameron of Civill Discourses (1582). STC 25337.

Dedication to Sir Christopher Hatton.

Another edition 1593, without dedication, has the new title Aurelia. The Paragon of pleasure and Princely delights.

6) A Remembrance of ... Sir James Dier [1582?]. STC 25345.

Dedication to Sir Thomas Bromley.

7) A Remembrance of ... Thomas late Erle of Sussex. (1583). STC 25344.

Dedication to Henry Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex.

8) A Mirour for Magistrates of Cyties (1584). STC 25341.

Dedication to Sir Edward Osborne, Lord Mayor of London, Sir William Fleetwood, Recorder of London, and the aldermen of the city.

Another edition in 1586, with the new title The Enemy to Unthriftinesse (STC 25335) is dedicated to Woolstone Dixi, Lord Mayor of London, Sir William Fleetwood, Recorder, Sir Edward Osborne, and the aldermen of the city.

9) A Mirror of Treue Honour (1585). STC 25342 [Remembrance of Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, and Sir Francis Russell his son.]

Dedication to Sir Edward Russell, Earl of Bedford.

10) The honourable Reputation of a Souldier (1585). STC 25339.

Dedication to Sir William Russell.

Another edition Leyden, 1586 in English and Dutch (STC 25340) has the dedication also in English and Dutch.

11) The English Myrror (1586). STC 25336.

Dedication to Queen Elizabeth.

12) The Censure of a loyall Subject (1587). STC 25334.

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

Another edition undated, same dedication.

13) Sir Philip Sidney, his honourable life, his valiant death, and true vertues [1587?]. STC 25349.

Dedication to Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick.

WILLIAM WHITAKER (1548 - 1595).

Six dedications to Burghley: in 1573, 1581, 1583(2), 1585 and 1588.

1) Liber Precum Publicarum (1569). STC 16425. [Greek & Latin],

Dedication to Alexander Nowell.

[The 'other editions' mentioned by STC are of the Latin Book of Common Prayer only, and not of Whitaker's Greek and Latin version.]

2) Catechismus sive prima Institutio (1573). STC 18707. [A Greek and Latin version of Nowell's Catechismus.]

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

3) Catechismus Parvus (1574). STC 18711a. [Greek & Latin version of Nowell's shorter catechism.]

Dedication to Archbishops Parker & Grindal, and Bishop Sandys, is from Alexander Nowell.

Further editions (similarly dedicated) in 1584 and 1633.

4) Christiana Pietatis Prima Institutio (1575). STC 18720.
[Greek and Latin version of Nowell's work.]

A dedication from Whitaker to Nowell, and a dedication from Nowell to Archbishops Parker and Grindal, and Bishop Sandys.

Further editions (similarly dedicated) in 1577, 1578 and 1638.

5) Joannis Juelli ... adversus Thomam Hardingum volumen alterum (1578). STC 14608. [Latin translation of Jewel's work.]

Dedication to Archbishops Grindal and Sandys, Bishops Aylmer, Whitgift and Freke, and Dean Nowell.

Another edition (similarly dedicated) in 1588. Reprinted (with dedication) in Geneva editions of Jewel's works: 1585 (B.M.), 1600 (Bodleian).

6) Ad Rationes Decem Edmundi Caspiani, Responsio (1581). STC 25358.

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

Another edition with Index the same year. Reprinted (with dedication): La Rochelle, 1585 (Doctrinae Jesuitae Praecipua Capita, vol. 2): at B.M.; Licha, Germany, 1601 (new title Rabsaces Romanus) at Bodleian; in Whitaker's Opera (Geneva, 1610) at B.M. An English translation of 1606 (STC 25360) does not include Whitaker's dedication.

7) Responsionis ad Decemillas Rationes. Defensio (1585). STC 25362.

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

STC 25361 is a 'ghost'. Reprinted La Rochelle, 1585 (Doctrinae Jesuitae, vol 2) and in Whitaker's Opera (Geneva, 1610). The 1606 translation of the Responsio includes translated extracts from this work.

8) Ad Nicolaë Sandevi ... Responsio (1583). STC 25357.

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

Reprinted in Whitaker's Opera (Geneva, 1610).

9) An Answer to a Certain Booke, Written by M. William Rainolds (1585). STC 25364.

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

Another edition, with the same dedication, in 1590. A Latin translation published at Oppenheim in 1611 (Bodleian) and reprinted there 1612 (B.M.) does not include the dedication.

10) Disputatio de Sacra Scriptura (Cambridge, 1588). STC 25366.

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

Reprinted (with dedication) Herborn, 1590 (B.M.), Herborn, 1600 (B.M.) and Opera (Geneva, 1610).

11) Adversus Thomae Stapletoni ... defensionem Ecclesiasticae Autoritatis (Cambridge, 1594). STC 25363.

Dedication to Archbishop Whitgift.

Reprinted, with dedication, in Opera (Geneva, 1610).

12) Fraelectiones ... de Ecclesia (Cambridge, 1599). STC 25368.

Dedication from the editor Allenson, to the Earl of Essex.

Reprinted Herborn, 1603 (B.M.) and Opera (Geneva, 1610), dedication remaining.

- 13) Praelectiones ... de Conciliis (Cambridge, 1600). STC 25367.
No dedication.
Reprinted Herborn, 1607 (B.M.) and in Opera (Geneva, 1610).
- 14) Tractatus ... de peccato originali (Cambridge, 1600). STC 25370.
No dedication.
Reprinted Hanau, 1604 (B.M.) and in Opera (Geneva, 1610).
- 15) Praefationes ... de Romano Pontifice (Hanau, 1608). B.M.
Dedication from Allenson to Archbishop Matthews, and Bishop James.
Reprinted (with same dedication) in Opera (Geneva, 1610).
- 16) Opera Theologica (Geneva, 1610). B.M.
No dedication to the whole work.
- 17) "Praelectiones Aliquot ... adversum Bellarminum" in Tractatus de Proprietatibus Jesuitarum (Openheim, 1611). Bodleian.
No dedication.
- 18) G. Whitakeri Cygnae Cattio (Harderwyck, 1613). Bodleian.
No dedication.
- 19) Guilielmi Whitakeri ... Praelectiones de Sacramentis (Frankfurt, 1614).
Bodleian.
Dedication from editor, Samuel Wards, to Archbishop Matthew.
- 20) A Short Summe of Christianity (1630). STC 25369.
No dedication.

NICOLAUS WILTHALK (fl. 1575).

One dedication to Burghley, in 1575.

- 1) Christianae Fidei ac Verae Religionis Compendium (1575). STC 5159.
/Edited from an anon. MS/.
Dedication to Lord Burghley.

ANDREW WILLET (1562 - 1621).

One dedication to Burghley, in 1590.

1) De Animae Natura et Viribus Quaestiones quaedam (Cambridge, 1585).
STC 25874
No dedication.

2) De Universale et Novissima Judaecorum Vocationae (Cambridge, 1590).
Dedication to Lord Burghley.

3) Synopsis Papismi (1592). STC 25696.

First edition dedicated to Queen Elizabeth (Book I), Earl of Essex (Book II) and Sir Robert Cecil (Book III).

Further editions and dedications as follows:

1594: General Dedication to Queen Elizabeth; Book I to Sir William Russell; II, Essex; III, None; IV, Popham and Peryam.

1600: General Dedication to Queen Elizabeth; Book I to Whitgift and Bancroft; II, Essex; III, Egerton; IV, Popham and Peryam; V, Cecil.

1603 (Special Presentation Copy at B.M.). General dedication to King James, part dedications as in 1600.

1613: General Dedication to King James and Queen Elizabeth; Book I to Abbot and King; II, Prince Charles; III, None; IV, Coke; V, Exeter and Caesar; Appendix, Sir Thomas Middleton and the City of London.

1634 (STC 25700a - 700 is a 'ghost'): General Dedications to King Charles, Jesus Christ, King James, and Queen Elizabeth; Book I, Archbishop of Canterbury, II Prince Charles; III, No dedication; IV, Coke; V, No dedication; Appendix, Sir Thomas Middleton and the City of London.

4) Tetra Stylon Papisticum (1593). STC 25701.

Dedication to Sir John Puckering.

Another edition 1596 with the same dedication; further editions in 1599 and 1634 (Not in STC; a copy at Bodleian, bound with Synopsis Papismi) dedicated to Sir Thomas Egerton.

5) Sacrorum Emblematum Centaria Una (Cambridge), [1596?]. STC 25695.
Dedication to the Earl of Essex.

6) A Catholicon, that is, A general preservative or remedie against the Pseudo Catholike religion (Cambridge, 1602). STC 25673.

Dedication to the Bishop of Ely.

7) An Antologie or Counterplea to an Apologicall (he should have said) Apologeticall Epistle by a Favorite of the Romane Separation (1603). STC 25672.

Dedication to King James.

8) Ecclesia Triumphans (Cambridge, 1603). STC 25676. [For the Coronation Day.]

Dedication to Queen Anne.

Another edition Cambridge, 1614, with the same dedication.

9) A Relection or Discoverie of a false Detection (1603). STC 25694.

No dedication.

10) Limbomastix (1604). STC 25692.

Dedication to the members assembled in Parliament.

11) Thesaurus Ecclesiae (Cambridge, 1604). STC 25704.

Dedication to Lord Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk.

12) Hexapla in Genesiu: That is a Sixfold Commentary upon Genesis (Cambridge, 1605). STC 25682.

Dedications as follows: General, to King James; Book I, Pt. I, to the Archbishop of Canterbury; Pt. II, to the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Marle; Book II, to Lord Mountjoy, Lord Cecil, and Viscount Cranborne; Appendix, to the Bishops of Durham and Ely.

Further editions in 1608 and 1632 have the same dedication.

13) A Harmonie upon the first Booke of Samuel (Cambridge, 1607). STC 25678.

Dedication to Prince Henry.

Another edition of 1614 (Cambridge), has a Latin dedication to the members of Christ's College, Cambridge.

14) Loidoromastix: That is, a Scourge for a Rayler (1607). STC 25693.

Dedication to Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury.

15) Hexapla in Exodum (1608). STC 25686.

General dedication to King James; parts dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Egerton, and the Bishop of London.

Another edition 1633, similarly dedicated.

16) Hexapla in Daniele (Cambridge, 1610). STC 25689.

First part dedicated to King James, second to Prince Henry.

17) Hexapla ... Romanus (1611). STC 25690.

First part dedicated to King James, second part to George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Ely.

Another edition Cambridge, 1620, with the same dedications.

18) Tractatus de Salomonis Nuptiis (1612). STC 25707.

Dedication to Frederick, Elector Palatine, and Elizabeth his wife.

An English translation of the same year (STC 25705), republished in 1634, keeps the dedication.

19) Clarissimi Theologi Andrea Willeti De Praedestinatione Disputatio (Harderwyck, 1613). Bodleian.

No dedication.

20) A Harmonie upon the Second Booke of Samuel (Cambridge, 1614). STC 25680.

Dedication to Humphrey Tindall, Dean of Ely, and Thomas Neville, Robert Tynley, John Dupont, John Palmer, John Hill, Jacob Taylor etc. all canons of Ely.

Another edition, Cambridge 1614, with the same dedication.

21) Hexapla in Leviticum (1631). STC 25688.

Dedication from editor (Peter Smith) to the Bishop of Lincoln.

In addition to the above, the B.M. catalogue lists a work entitled De Davidis Fletu (Oppenheim, 1613), which has been lost or mislaid.

GEORGE WITHER (d. 1605).

One dedication to Burghley (and Mildmay) in 1585.

- 1) An A,B,C. for Lay-men (1585). STC 25888.

Dedication to Lord Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay.

- 2) A View of the Marginal Notes of the Popish Testament (1588). STC 25889.

Dedication to Archbishop Whitgift.

JOHN WOLTON (1535? - 1594).

One dedication to Burghley in 1576.

- 1) The Christian Manuell (1576). STC 25976.

Dedication to Sir William Cordell, Master of the Rolls.

- 2) An Armour of Preufe (1576). STC 25974.

Dedication to Lord Burghley.

- 3) A Treatise of the Immortalitie of the Soule (1576). STC 25979.

Dedication to the Lady Bridget, Countess of Bedford.

- 4) A new anatomie of the whole man, as well of his body, as of his soule (1576). STC 25977.

Dedication to William Mohun, Esquire.

- 5) Of the Conscience. A Discourse. (1576). STC 25978.

Dedication to Sir John Gilbert.

- 6) The Castell of Christians and Fortresse of the Faithfull (1577).
STC 25975.

Dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham.

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Included are all books used in the preparation of this study apart from those listed in the appendices.

PLAN

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II. PRINTED (Historical and General).

SECONDARY SOURCES.

I. WORKS OF REFERENCE.

Bibliographical
Historical and Ecclesiastical
Biographical

II. PATRONAGE.

III. LORD BURGHEY.

IV. AUTHORS AND BOOKS.

"The Christian Commonwealth"
"Devotional Books"
"Anti-Catholic Propaganda"
"The Separatist Controversy"

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