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SHAKESPEARE'S HISTORY PLAYS AND THEIR
INTELLECTUAL CONTEXT: A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED
AND CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1975
Literature, general

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Purpose of this Bibliography

This bibliography is meant to aid students of Shakespeare's English history plays by guiding them to the most significant primary and secondary materials illuminating part of the intellectual context out of which the histories arose. By "part of the intellectual context," I mean five specific areas of Renaissance thought: political, historical, historiographical, economic, and the issue of war vs. peace. From cover to cover, the bibliography concentrates on these five areas or on the manner in which they are manifested in Shakespeare's histories. This particular focus should make the ten plays more intelligible as products of their time.

The desire to study the plays in relation to their historical, social, and intellectual backgrounds was felt early in our own century and continues to be responsible for a tremendous volume of Shakespearean studies. This bibliography attempts to catalog the best of this scholarship. Moreover, most of the students responsible for these studies have been saying that Shakespeare, also, must have directed his attention to the social problems, intellectual controversies, and particular issues of his day.
whether they were voiced around him or argued in the numerous printed sources available to him. When we consider, for example, the number of Tudor and early-Stuart tracts and treatises dealing with political matters—-theories of government and kingship, rebellion, patriotism, and man's conception of his place and duty within the state—-it is impossible to think that Shakespeare was unaware of the issues involved, even though we may legitimately question his intimate knowledge of the works themselves. We have long known that he was indebted to the historians of his age, particularly to Halle and Holinshed, but modern scholars have shown that history and its sister concern, historiography, were much-debated issues in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries and therefore likely to affect Shakespeare's attitude toward the historical events he depicted. Although the subject of economics in Shakespeare's histories has not received as much attention, many Shakespearean plays contain economic images or deal with economic issues. The science of economics, as we know it today, was unknown to Renaissance thinkers, but often we find them speaking of particular crises such as inflation, unemployment, enclosure, debasement of the coinage, heavy taxation, and that most questionable of financial practices—usury—a custom censured time and again in both literary and non-literary works of the period. The issue of war versus peace was widely discussed in Shakespeare's age, as it is today, and we find a large number of printed works of the period devoted to
the matter. Because war and peace are major concerns of Shakespeare's history plays and intimately linked to their political aspects, it is believed Shakespeare knew, and was significantly influenced by, contemporary thought on the subject.

Hence, this bibliography directs one to the major primary works devoted to the five areas of thought just mentioned, as well as to the best secondary commentary dealing with these concerns in relation to the English history plays.

Nature and Scope of the Bibliography

The bibliography is divided into seven major sections. Section I contains bibliographies and other reference works beneficial to a student of the Tudor and early-Stuart period and of Shakespeare's histories. All of these were employed in preparing my own bibliography, but the sixty-one entries are not exhaustive. Here as in other sections throughout, the emphasis has been placed on a work's usefulness to the student of Shakespeare's histories.

Section II is devoted to selected primary works and is divided into five subsections, each one containing writings discussing one of the five areas of thought covered by this bibliography. Thus, subsection 1 contains primary political works; subsection 2, historical works; subsection 3, historiographical works; subsection 4, economic works; and subsection 5, works concerned with war and/or peace. The Introduction, pp. 1-113, discusses many of these primary materi-
als in relation to contemporary issues and intellectual trends. It is hoped the Introduction will be read with profit, but it is not indispensable for those who are interested in using this work only as a bibliographical tool.

The entries in this section represent products of the most significant thought published in England or continental works translated into English from the late fifteenth century to 1613-14, the date of Shakespeare's last history play, Henry VIII. While this is the rule, some exceptions must be noted. A few unpublished works as well as works published after 1614 are included because they reflect Elizabethan or early-Jacobean intellectual trends (Greville's Treatise of Monarchy and Raleigh's History of the World, for example). Significant untranslated continental works are listed because they are acknowledged to be major contributions to the thought of Shakespeare's age (Bodin's Methodus, for example). Although the emphasis is upon the most outstanding and influential thought of the period, in whatever form it appeared, especially during Shakespeare's productive career, it has been impossible to fix a terminus a quo. Many earlier works form part of the intellectual tradition Shakespeare and his contemporaries inherited from the past and therefore require inclusion. Thus, one can expect to find relevant classical works translated into English and influential in Shakespeare's day (Aristotle's Politics, for example).

Section III contains important modern studies dealing, in a general way, with Tudor and Stuart England and studies
devoted to one of the five intellectual areas. These entries ought to prove particularly useful to the Shakespearean or student of Renaissance literature who wishes to become familiar with several aspects of Shakespeare's age and wants a guide to the best modern commentary available. Many of the works listed mention Shakespeare or the history plays, but even those that do not refer to the dramatist in some way nevertheless contribute to our knowledge of the five intellectual concerns toward which this bibliography is directed. Thus, this section contains important scholarship not generally listed in bibliographies usually consulted by students of literature.

In Section IV will be found selected modern studies also of a general nature; these, however, are books and articles more directly related to Shakespeare or to contemporary literature, drama, and thought. Almost all of these mention or discuss at length one or more of Shakespeare's histories; thus, this section ought to be useful to the student interested in a particular play, group of plays, or contemporary historical dramas.

Section V contains major studies and criticism of the history plays in general. Only the most outstanding contributions from Dryden to the present have been included, and, for the most part, these reflect discussions of the plays in relation to one or more of the five intellectual areas. Thus, studies dealing with textual problems, imagery, or the question of authorship (in the case of Henry VI) will
not be found here as a rule, but there are some exceptions. The arrangement of works listed in this section is indicated in footnote 1, p. 454.

The entries in Section VI are recent studies dealing exclusively with one of the two tetralogies. Because such studies are few in number, this section was not divided into two subsections dealing, respectively, with the first or second tetralogy. In fact, only three of the twenty-five studies listed pertain to the first (Yorkist) tetralogy. See footnote 1, p. 487, for the limitations and arrangement of this section.

Section VII contains selected studies on the individual plays. The entries represent more recent studies, and especially those discussing one of the plays or a group of plays (all three parts of Henry VI or both parts of Henry IV) in relation to the intellectual context. Significant twentieth-century editions of the plays are listed at the beginning of each subsection. See footnote 1, p. 494, for further restrictions and for the manner in which entries are arranged.

Classification System

The bibliographies in Section I have been entered in alphabetical order. Throughout the various subsections of Sections II–VII, the listings are arranged first by principal content, then chronologically by year and alphabetically by author or title within each year. The primary works in
Section II proved most troublesome. Generally, they are arranged chronologically according to date of publication or of English translation, but sometimes by date of composition. Definite dating is not a bibliographer's task; hence, the rule of thumb was to proceed according to the date on the original title page (or colophon) for published English works or those translated into English. Unpublished works or those published in a foreign language are arranged according to date of composition or original publication, respectively, followed by data indicating subsequent English publication or translation.

The secondary works in Sections III-VII presented less of a problem. In most cases, principal content dictated the subsection into which a work should fall, but classification is always a difficult and ultimately arbitrary matter. Thus, students ought to consult various sections of the bibliography when pursuing a special topic (see "Using this Bibliography," p. xiii). A straight chronological listing is employed within each subsection.

Finally, the entries throughout all seven sections are numbered consecutively, rather than by a letter and number system, in order to free the bibliography from complicated codes and classification devices. References to entries always appear in parentheses with the symbol #--for example (#0124)--to distinguish them from dates or, in the case of a primary work, its Short-Title Catalog (STC) number.
Form of Entries

For all of the primary works in Section II, the following format generally is employed:

Entry #. Author's surname, Christian name. Full title (in the case of very long titles, these are transcribed down to the first period, as indicated on the original title page; in some cases, ellipses are used in order to indicate a work's principal content if the title is extraordinarily long). Translator (in the case of classical or foreign works). Place, publisher (or bookseller), and date of publication (as indicated on the title page or in the colophon, the latter appearing in brackets). STC number (of the first edition only). Facsimile reprints (if known or seen). Selected modern editions.

Example:


Needless to say, not every entry in Section II conforms to this pattern. Even in the sample above, it will be noticed that the rule is broken in regard to Smith's title. Information beyond the first period is given, in this case, because the work is in English, despite its Latin title, and the second full sentence informs the student as to the content of the book and gives interesting information about the author. Moreover, not all primary works have been re-
produced in facsimile, nor do all appear in modern editions. If an entry ends with the STC number, it means I have examined that work only as it appears on microfilm. Microfilm numbers have not been indicated, however, because they vary from library to library. All information appears as given on the original title page, except that "i" and "v" have been silently changed to "j" and "u," respectively.

The entries in Section I and Sections III-VII follow the form prescribed in the MLA Style Sheet (2nd ed.). When that failed (as it often did), Kate Turabian's A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, 4th ed. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1973), was employed.

Throughout all seven sections, entries preceded by an asterisk—*0326, for example—indicate that I have not been able to examine that particular work for purposes of verifying publication facts and annotating the work's content. Such entries, I am happy to report, are relatively few; I regret they are not fewer. All other listings, however, have been personally examined; thus, the user of this bibliography can rely on it as a source for accurate description of publication facts, even though he may disagree with the compiler's appraisal of a particular book or article.

Using this Bibliography

A user ought to keep in mind that arbitrary classification in some cases necessitates an investigation into different sections of the bibliography when researching a
specific subject. This is particularly true for the four Shakespeare sections (IV-VII). The footnotes to each subsection (appearing on the same page with that section's title) are provided as further indications of what one can expect to find among the succeeding entries. The detailed Table of Contents and the cross-referencing system provide further direction. I regret the lack of one or more indexes, but these were not supplied because of time limitations and because another volume would have been required, in which case the bibliography would be more difficult to work with. However, indexes will be supplied if and when the work is published.

A Note on the Annotations

To provide an annotation for every entry was impossible because of limitations of time, the library resources available to me, the overwhelming mass of material, and related causes. Although every attempt was made to examine each book or article listed, I cannot personally vouch for the relevancy or worth of those preceded by an asterisk. In most cases, such listings were acknowledged by others as valuable; thus, I indicated what these sources said about the content or value of the book or article in question. Usually, the bibliographies in SQ or other annotated annual bibliographies were consulted for this information.
### KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

**Journals and Reference Works**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CE</td>
<td>College English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CritQ</td>
<td>Critical Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>Dissertation Abstracts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAI</td>
<td>Dissertation Abstracts International [super-sedes DA]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EA</td>
<td>Etudes Anglaises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EE</td>
<td>English Experience Series [for facsimiles]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELH</td>
<td>Journal of English Literary History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELR</td>
<td>English Literary Renaissance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ES</td>
<td>English Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLQ</td>
<td>Huntington Library Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEGP</td>
<td>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JHI</td>
<td>Journal of the History of Ideas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHRA</td>
<td>Modern Humanities Research Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLA</td>
<td>Modern Language Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLN</td>
<td>Modern Language Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLQ</td>
<td>Modern Language Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLR</td>
<td>Modern Language Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Modern Philology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMLA</td>
<td>Publications of the Modern Language Associa-tion of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PQ</td>
<td>Philological Quarterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>Review of English Literature</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The Ten English History Plays

HIV   Henry IV: 1(Part I), 2(Part II)

On occasion, these same abbreviations will refer to the monarchs, not to the plays, but the context clarifies.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>HV</td>
<td>Henry V</td>
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<tr>
<td>HVI</td>
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<td>HVI</td>
<td>Henry VIII</td>
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<td>KJ</td>
<td>King John</td>
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<tr>
<td>RII</td>
<td>Richard II</td>
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<tr>
<td>RIII</td>
<td>Richard III</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Other Abbreviations and Symbols**

- **cent(s).** century; centuries
- **ed.** editor; edited by
- **edn(s).** edition(s)
- **facs.** facsimile
- **N. S.** New Series
- **pseud.** pseudonym
- **rpt.** reprint; reprinted
- **Sh, Shn** Shakespeare; Shakespearean
- **trans.** translator; translation; translated by
- ***** precedes an entry not personally examined
- **#** entry number
INTRODUCTION

The following pages discuss some of the most significant primary works dealing with the five areas of Renaissance thought toward which this bibliography is directed. Each of the five areas is surveyed, in turn, in a separate section. Almost all of the primary works mentioned are entered and annotated in Section II of the bibliography, their entry number being indicated in parentheses after the title. Occasionally, a date of composition or a work's STC number appears in parentheses after the title of a work mentioned in the survey but not entered in the bibliography. This should not prove confusing, however, because entry numbers will always appear with the symbol #—for example (#0124)—to distinguish them either from a date or from a work's STC number.

The five surveys also provide an overview of Tudor and Stuart political, historical, historiographical, and economic thought as well as attitudes toward war and peace, for one cannot mention books without commenting on the historical factors, issues, and intellectual trends of the period in which they were published. In each survey, I have generally followed a chronological approach. Thus, one can gain some idea of the growth and progress, for example, of political thought and writing in England from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries; but this has not been the
primary concern of one who is by no means a specialist in any of the five areas covered. Rather, it is hoped that the surveys will enable the student to make better use of the bibliography by having, beforehand, an idea of the nature and scope of Tudor and early Stuart thought in the five relevant areas.

Some comments are necessary concerning the first survey to follow, "Political Works and Thought." That section is directed almost exclusively toward what might be termed "legitimate" political thought (in the sixteenth-century sense of the term). As will be pointed out, however, few works of the period discussed politics as an autonomous area of thought. Most books and treatises implied, or were written to emphasize, that political activity was religious in nature. Early thinkers generally did not speak of the political realm without thinking also of the Church or of man's religious duty. Thus, a few works discussed in the survey and entered in the bibliography are only quasi-political (and perhaps only semi-legitimate). This is unavoidable; but from among such works, the emphasis has been placed, both in the survey and bibliography, on those most representative of the political spirit of the age.

Moreover, with the exception of the French thinker Jean Bodin and the authors of the Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos (#0081), the survey concentrates on English thinkers and their works. A number of continental writings appear in Section II of the bibliography, but no attempt has been made in
the survey to deal with Machiavelli and his school of political thought or with other continental political developments and theories.

One will do well to remember, also, that certain writers and their works have been omitted as being much beyond the scope of this project. Such is the case with Calvin and Luther. These two reformers are mentioned (in both the survey and the bibliographical annotations), but their published works have not been included. Some exceptions have been made in the case of religious reformers who produced works unquestionably political or theoretical in nature, for example Bèze (0079) and Knox (0122). The works of England's ecclesiastical "statesmen" during the period—Latimer, Cranmer, Whitgift, Jewel—are also generally excluded, but again there are exceptions. However, it would have been an offense of the first magnitude to ignore sermons in the First Book of Homilies (0117), for these were some of the most influential of all sixteenth-century political pronouncements and ones for which the churchmen were responsible. The Marprelate documents, on the other hand, have been omitted, and, for the most part, so have those works devoted to the issue of royal supremacy in the ecclesiastical realm. In attempting to trace the historical development of political writing in England, it has been necessary to ignore some of the works which contributed to a particular tradition. For instance, many "handbooks" for Christian princes were produced before and after Erasmus'
Institutio principis Christiani (#0070), but, whereas the most significant of these have been entered in the bibliography, they are not discussed below as a traditional body of political thought.

* * *

Political Works and Thought

The central feature of sixteenth-century political thought in England is that it posited the medieval doctrine of a Christian Commonwealth. Church and state were inextricably linked. And, because English political thinkers generally accepted basic assumptions arrived at in the fifteenth century, political thought remained essentially medieval in character. Occasionally, thinkers disputed some of the assumptions, but, for the most part, all assumed that God had established a "natural" and moral law, that the Scriptures were His Word, and that submission to the authority invested with the right to rule as God's anointed "lieutenant," "vicar," "deputy," or whatever, was a religious duty. This inextricable linkage of Church and state was furthered by the reformers, particularly Calvin and Luther, early in the century. All of them agreed that man's first duty is to God and that no man is bound to follow any law contrary to His. At the same

1For the preparation of this survey, I relied heavily upon a number of books entered in Section III of the bibliography. Among these, the most helpful and the ones to which I am principally indebted are J. W. Allen's History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century (#0379) and J. E. Neale's Essays in Elizabethan History (#0444).
time, neither is he justified in refusing obedience to any duly constituted authority. The religious duty of civil obedience was as old as Christianity itself, but it was seized upon by the Tudors as their most potent political doctrine. Perhaps that is the main reason why the Protestant reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth achieved such greatness. Henry's and Elizabeth's breaks with Rome laid the foundations for the Protestant faith to thrive within a political framework essentially favorable to it, and, by pursuing a policy of moderation, Elizabeth was able to achieve a fair measure of religious tolerance, to check fanaticism, to crush rebellion, and to unite her people in the goal of an ordered and tranquil society.

The medieval quality of political thought in the age cannot be stressed too highly. In a sense, it is the reason why even the greatest thinkers in England—Bacon, Hooker, and Raleigh—cannot be said to have contributed significantly to original political theory, for even their relatively late works continued to stress the religious and moral duty of obedience as the means to an ordered state. Order was more than just an abstract concept; it was the natural condition of all things, the standard by which men and states judged of themselves as reflections of God's ordered universe. That is also why rebellion was thought of as the most pressing political problem of the age, for the ideal Christian Commonwealth could not be realized if its underlying basic concept of authority was not considered valid. The
rise of various religious ideologies during the Reformation, however, caused some to question the concept of authority. Whence, actually, did it derive? Was rebellion against it ever justifiable, as in the case of a tyrannical ruler?

These were the central political issues of the age, but never were they divorced from the ecclesiastical framework in which they were discussed. Politics, as the autonomous area of human concern in the sense we give it today, was unheard of. Indeed, one could say that the Calvinistic ideal of a Church-State was far more typical of actual sixteenth-century thought than was Machiavelli's concept of a State-Church, that is to say, a Church which is merely a division or branch functioning within the state, the state being thought of as supreme and governed by the kind of prince Machiavelli depicted in his famous work of that name (#0095).

What was assumed by the Protestant reformers, religious humanists, and political thinkers of the period—that the ruling prince be also a Christian—was of small concern to Machiavelli. But it never occurs to Erasmus, in his Institutio principis Christiani (#0070), written in 1516, that an effective prince can be anything but Christian.

It is important to note these distinctions because of the near contemporaneity of the humanists, Protestant reformers, and Machiavelli. All contributed to the political thought of the sixteenth century in one way or another, but, because Machiavelli's theories were misunderstood, his real contributions to political theory remained undiscovered, and
from the time of Henry VIII to Elizabeth, thinkers generally expressed highly orthodox views about the nature of author-
ity and about the quality and constituents of a true and Christian Commonwealth.

Inherited from the Middle Ages was the idea that a society composed of both civil and ecclesiastical elements was best governed by a single sovereign to whom authority had been delegated. But delegated by whom? Generally, it was believed that authority derived from God's recognition of man's need of it and that it was delegated, by the people, to one who had the "right" to rule. God then sanctioned this right, and, in that sense, it was divine. The subjects' obedience to their prince was considered obedience to God as well, since He was the supreme ruler of all. Thus, the prince came to be styled God's "lieutenant," but that did not mean his rights were unlimited, for his primary duty was to govern for the welfare of the people who had invested him with authority and who also, presumably, had rights. It was only through the idea of a united duty—ruler and subject obedient to each other and all obedient to God—that the true Commonwealth could be realized. All were to be united in a common bond of love and duty toward God. This was the general trend of thought throughout the period. The medieval legalist Sir John Fortescue, in one of the earliest significant treatises, De Laudibus Legum Angliae (#0101), written during the years 1468-71, explained the king as a delegate of the people, and throughout Elizabeth's reign it was
stressed that the King and Parliament (the power representing the people as a whole) were the supreme law-making authorities and interpreters of God's natural law.

This idea had derived from Fortescue, who claimed that England was a dominium politicum et regale. Fortescue's theory and the Parliamentary tradition that ultimately evolved in England were strengthened by Henry VIII. The idea of a supreme power residing in the "Crown in Parliament" took such root, particularly during Elizabeth's reign, that never did there develop, as there did in France, a theory of the absolute sovereignty of the monarch—until, of course, the Stuarts introduced their concept of the divine right of kings. Thus, the Tudors could maintain their doctrine that rebellion against or resistance to supreme authority was never justifiable in subjects, since not only would such activity be rebellion against God, but also against the subjects themselves, who were, in effect, along with the king, the supreme authority. The Tudors stressed this doctrine of a subject's obedience mainly through official propaganda in the form of sermons or homilies which were ordered to be read periodically at Church services. The First Book of Homilies, containing "An Exhortation concerning good Order, and obedience to Rulers" (#0117), was published in 1547. Events in Elizabeth's reign would call forth the even more politically significant "Homilie against disobedience and wilful rebellion"(#0117), which declared that the rebel "is worse than the worst prince" and "rebellion worse than the worst govern-
Later in the century, the idea of a "mixed monarchy" (a government whose power resides in a combination of king, nobility, and commons) would echo throughout the more important political writings of the age. Political writers early in the century had been content simply to define the three traditional forms of government and generally to declare that the monarchical form was the best system. Sir Thomas Elyot, in 1531, in his Boke named the Governour (#0109), argued in favor of monarchy in this work otherwise devoted to a description of the qualities desirable in the man of authority. That monarchy was better suited to some people than to others, was asserted in an even more significant tract written during Henry VIII's reign—Thomas Starkey's Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset (#0169), composed between 1536-38, but not published. In fact, it is often considered the most remarkable political document of that period, except for More's Utopia (#0106). Starkey argues that the true Commonwealth is one in which prince and people share in a brotherly love and reverence for God and thus put the welfare of the Commonwealth above all other earthly concerns. Ideally, this Commonwealth is to be ruled by a wise and virtuous prince whose authority has been delegated by the people and whose rule has been proclaimed hereditary. Remarkable, however, is the author's belief that if

2The Utopia is political, but I have not discussed it among these other, non-fictional works.
ever a prince usurps unlimited authority and becomes tyrannical, he may be deposed. Starkey even implies that people have the right to alter their government, if need be, from an hereditary monarchy to an elective one or, perhaps, even to another form. Tyranny, at any rate, is the worst of all evils, and Starkey does not believe, as some political writers suggested, that it is God's punishment for the people's wickedness. Rather, tyranny is contrary to reason and to the mutual love and well-being that give the true Commonwealth its raison d'etre.

In 1556, these same views were expressed by John Ponet in his Shorte Treatise of Politike Power (#0120). Ponet is an advocate of limited monarchy, but he goes one step further than Starkey in contending that the real power in a commonwealth resides in the masses, the maintenance of whose welfare is the main duty of the ruling magistrate. Like Starkey, he inveighs against the superstition that tyrants must be suffered and obeyed, for, says Ponet, it is "great blasphemie" to think that God allows a tyrant to rule as punishment for men's sins and therefore destroys the freedom and liberty with which men have been invested by means of God's natural law. Many of these views were echoed a decade later by the most important and typical political thinker of Elizabeth's age, Sir Thomas Smith. In 1565, he wrote his De Republica Anglorum (#0133), an analysis and justification of the monarchical form of government as practiced in England. His belief that the monarch is bound by
law and that king and Parliament constitute absolute power reflected the political philosophy of Elizabeth herself. Furthermore, this made of England a "mixed monarchy," as both Ponet and Smith phrased it, an idea that became a commonplace.

The idea did not, however, prevent people from questioning whether monarchy was the best form of government, nor did it settle some of the more important theoretical questions that thinkers of the age, particularly in France, were beginning to discover. There, the author of the *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* (#0081)³ and Jean Bodin in his *Six Livres de la République*, translated into English as *The Six Bookes of a Commonweale* (#0093), investigated the concept of sovereignty with results that significantly contributed to political theory.

In the *Vindiciae*, it is argued that, because communities existed before the establishment of the sovereign, political sovereignty was instituted by the will of the people in order to assure the general welfare. Thus, the people were the real sovereign, but they were to be governed by a king according to a contract that recognized the people's rights as well as their own duty of obedience. The king, moreover, was to perform in accordance with the laws of God and nature and

³This tract is generally attributed to Philippe Du Plessis-Mornay and Hubert Languet, although J. W. Allen (#0379) expresses doubt that either was responsible, despite the statement of Du Plessis-Mornay's wife that her husband was the author.
to practice true religion. Although all obligation was to God, authority was conditional upon the ruler's maintaining the terms of the contract established between the people and their prince. Perhaps the "contract theory" spoken of in the seventeenth century is traceable to the Vindiciæ, but the document's most original contribution to the theory of sovereignty is its "suggestion of a federal system based on recognition of the rights of natural communities and its theory as to the nature of law." As for the "nature of law," the Vindiciæ argued along medieval lines in its distinction between three kinds of law: the law of nature, positive law, and Scriptural law.

It is uncertain how extensively the Vindiciæ influenced sixteenth-century thought in England (it received a fair share of attention before 1600 and was spoken of as dangerous by Whitgift), but its influence there in the seventeenth century was considerable. We are only a little more certain of the influence of the greatest political thinker of the age, Jean Bodin. His République, published in 1576, went through many subsequent editions. It was written in both a Latin and a French version and was translated into several other languages. The English translation, by Richard Knolles, appeared in 1606. The work was admired by Montaigne.


\(^5\)Allen, p. 331.
in France and by Botero in Italy, and remained influential throughout the next century. Despite these facts, however, it does not seem to have made a marked impression on the most important English political thinkers writing throughout the latter part of the sixteenth century, although it is traceable in some of the lesser writers. The late date at which the work was translated into English no doubt partially accounts for the absence of the work's influence upon English writers.

Bodin's contribution to the political thought of the age is unique. Like the author of the *Vindiciae*, Bodin was interested in the concept of sovereignty, but his definition of it and analysis of political society were more logically based and arrived at in a more systematic manner. To Bodin, the family was the basic unit of political society, the first and most "natural" form of the state. Since the family's existence depended upon property, property was as basic and natural as the family itself. Sovereignty, then, according to Bodin, is the legal power invested with a recognized and unlimited authority to make law, which power has been recognized by the association of families forming the state. The state itself exists primarily for the sake of justice, the safety of its members, and their economic well-being. Its goal, if it is a well-ordered society (la République bien ordonnée, as Bodin referred to it), is to be virtuous and to recognize moral and intellectual values as higher ends than happiness. For Bodin, sovereignty also
existed independently of its form. That is to say, if the form of government were a monarchy, sovereignty would reside in one man; if an aristocracy, in a small group; if a democracy, sovereignty would rest in the numerical majority of the society as a whole. Although sovereignty was termed "the power of a State," to Bodin that power was also realized in a legal sovereign, since sovereignty is the power of making law. Moreover, this power was not altogether unlimited, for all sovereignty, in whatever form it may be found, is limited by the law of nature—that consciousness, common to all, of what is right and wrong. Because the sovereign power was established to serve the ends for which the state existed, it was irrational and inconceivable that the sovereign could have any rights beyond those which it was his purpose to maintain and which justified his existence. Bodin's real value as an original political theorist, however, lies not so much in this concept of sovereignty as a legal theory as in his conception of it as something distinct and separate from those powers in which it had formerly been thought to reside, whether king, pope, or even the will of God. To Bodin, sovereignty was created by man to serve his needs, not by God.

Political thought in England throughout the rest of the century, with the exception of Hooker's, pales in comparison with the powerful nature of Bodin's thought. The latter's influence is to some extent obvious in the minor writings of the period, although scarcely discernible in Hooker's Lawes
of Ecclesiasticall Politie (#0139). Perhaps events in England throughout the 1570's and 80's were sufficient reason for the paucity of original thought and the triteness of that which was produced. The flight to England of Mary Queen of Scots in 1568 and her imprisonment there until her execution in 1587 caused Elizabeth and her government to be ever on guard against further Catholic plots and rebellions similar to the Northern Rebellion and the Ridolfi Plot of 1572, both of which had been successfully crushed. And the Puritans, although supporting Elizabeth, never ceased in their attempts to achieve reform through legislation, much of it of a highly unscrupulous and reactionary nature. Although she was merciful toward those with whom she differed, had Elizabeth actually given in to some of the fanatic and doctrinaire schemes rising around her, many basic freedoms and rights might have been not only severely threatened, but possibly allowed to disappear. Thus, we find in most of the political writings up to the time of Hooker's Lawes, with a few exceptions, merely the oft-repeated statements about the wickedness of rebellion and much about treason and treasonable practices. Even more were concerned with the Church throughout these years of religious strife.

In 1581, for example, Charles Merbury produced his Briefe Discourse of Royall Monarchie (#0131). Throughout its content, the work shows that Merbury was familiar with Bodin (and perhaps he was the first English writer to reveal the Frenchman's influence), but otherwise the book is fairly
inconsequential. While it echoes Bodin, it does not reflect the author's understanding of his ideas. Merbury speaks of power as being "full and perpetual," but he does not speak of it as being able to make laws. His prince is subject to civil and common laws "agreeable unto the law of God," but he cannot make laws himself. But if not the prince, who can create law? Merbury does not answer this question; rather, he is more interested in applying Bodin's thought to the realities of English government, but that is as far as he goes.

In the last decade of Elizabeth's reign, political thought reveals some new tendencies, but, on the whole, it does not develop much beyond the traditional arguments of earlier writers. Even Hooker, although as great a thinker as Bodin, perhaps falls into line with those whose thought was medieval and traditional. Moreover, Hooker was more influenced by Thomas Aquinas, Whitgift, and Sir Thomas Smith (whose earlier-mentioned De Republica was posthumously published in 1583) than by Bodin, whose influence, as was noted earlier, is not discernible in Hooker's Lawes.

Hooker's purpose, as is well known, was to prove that the disobedience of the Puritans against the law of the Church actually constituted a denial of political obligation, for ecclesiastical law and civil law were of the same nature, except that the former was more often directly determined by Scripture than the latter. And, although Hooker's work was written as a guide for the evolving Anglican Church, it is
political in that he affirmed that if the Crown in Parliament is invested with authority to make law (the essential feature of any politic body), it also has the authority "to define of our Churches regiment." Of course, neither the Parliament nor the sovereign, separately, could determine matters of faith. In their joint law-making capacity, however, they had the prerogative to resolve religious issues. No one was so endowed that he alone could decide what constituted the true faith; hence, all men would have to defer to the law of reason, which regarded obedience to authority as one of the conditions inherent in politic societies. Because communities have consented to be ruled by political authority and have invested either a person or body of men with law-making power, the established laws are made, in effect, by the whole community. Thus, one's consent carries with it an obligation to be obedient, or, as Hooker puts it, "A lawe is the deed of the whole bodie politike, whereof if ye judge your selves to be any part, then is the law even your deed also." Finally, because the Church and the state were one, a person was bound to obey ecclesiastical law as well as civil law, even if his conscience made this difficult. Ideally, all men would see that reason dictates the obedience of all for the good of the Commonwealth, whereas controversy and contention over matters of faith merely lead to a weakening of both religious belief and political harmony.

6"Preface" to Of The Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie (London: John Windet [1594]), p. 25. See entry #0139.
Ideally, also, one could keep his conscience and his religious opinions to himself. The "ideal" government would not "make windows" (to use Bacon's apt phrase) into men's private thoughts.  

Contemporary with Hooker's Lawes (1594) appeared another political tract of some importance, "Doleman's" Conference about the Next Succession to the Crowne of Ingland (#0140). "Doleman" has been identified as the Jesuit Robert Parsons, who wished to see a Catholic succeed to Elizabeth's throne. His political thought was considered radical in his age, although to us it seems quite tame. Parsons, like Hooker and others before him, asserted that government arose naturally because of man's need of it, and, because it came from nature, it also came from God. The particular form of government to which a people subscribed, however, was not of divine origin; rather, people chose the form they thought most suitable for themselves and their needs. According to experience, monarchy was thought to be the best form, according to Parsons. He also spoke of England as a "mixed" monarchy, one in which monarchical powers are limited by law. Moreover, if a ruler does not abide by the laws, he may be deposed, for the people may always rescind the authority they have given if the commonwealth is imperiled by a tyrannical king. Because he wished to see a Catholic reign in

Elizabeth's policy of not looking too closely into men's personal religious beliefs was one she often wished some of her government officials would also embrace.
England, Parsons also argued that the heir to a throne (did he have James I in mind?) could be displaced by another if the public welfare demanded such an action. In 1603, Parsons's views were responded to by Sir John Hayward in his *Answer to the First Part of a certaine Conference* (#0149). Hayward argued that James I had an absolute right to succeed to the throne of England, a view also asserted by the writer Sir Thomas Craig. Both men represent typical English thought and opinion concerning this issue which preoccupied men throughout Elizabeth's reign and caused near-hysteria towards the end of it. Moreover, both writers show the influence of Bodin in that they think of the rule of a single person as being the most "natural" form of sovereignty, but they do not recognize sovereignty as the power to make law, as Bodin did. In fact, they basically ignore this question and concentrate, instead, on the nature of kingship. Both declare that kings are accountable only to God, that rebellion against an ordained king is never justifiable, no matter how tyrannical or wicked he may be. Certainly, he must never be deposed, for there is no one, in a powerless commonwealth, who can stand as the accuser of a king. No state could ever be the well-ordered and stable entity desired of all men if rebellion against its seated sovereign and his heirs were deemed justified. So these men argued.

It is interesting to note that, in 1598, the very man whom Craig and Hayward were claiming to have an absolute right to succession in England had expressed some political
views very much in opposition to those of his supporters. James I's *True Lawe of Free Monarchies* (#0143), published that year, might be said to contain the ideas that resulted, ultimately, in the Stuart theory of the divine right of kings. The tendencies are there, at least, if not the theory itself. King James was not a theorist. Rather, in this work he asserts and repeats his belief that kings have unlimited authority, the existence of which has been willed by God, as the Scriptures imply. Furthermore (and here he agrees with Craig and Hayward), kings are to be obeyed in all they will, and their subjects never have the power to rebel against or depose them. But, even though England and Scotland are "free monarchies," it was always true in the past, and presumably follows in the present, that kings "were the authors and makers of the Lawes, and not the Lawes of the kings."8 Nothing here about the Crown in Parliament! Nor, as we have seen in earlier thought, is it suggested that the king is as much bound by the laws as the people who invest him with the right to make them. In fact, earlier in his reign, James spoke of kings as "Gods," who, like God himself, have the power "to create or destroy,...to judge all and to be judged or accountable to none."9 In 1616, he declared in


9. "A Speach to the Lords and Commons of the Parliament... On Wednesday the XXI. of March. Anno 1609," in *The Politi-
a speech delivered before the Star Chamber that a "mysticall reverence" belongs "unto them [i.e., kings] that sit in the Throne of God." James did not define or analyze these "mystical" connections between God and kings, but he indicated, through such remarks, some sense of the latter's divinity. Ultimately, under the Stuarts, the theory of the divine right of kings developed, but no such thing exists in sixteenth-century thought as expressed by the writers we have investigated here. It is true, of course, that most Elizabethans thought kings were not required to justify the reasons for their actions. Elizabeth herself had declared her dominion to be of God and herself accountable only to Him. Similar sentiments are expressed frequently throughout the published writings of the period, and the idea often occurs in the plays of Shakespeare. Richard II, for example, proclaims that a king is "The deputy elected by the Lord" (III. ii. 56-57), and Claudius, in Hamlet, speaks of the divinity that "doth hedge a king" (IV. v. 123). For King James, on the other hand, this Elizabethan commonplace took on a new meaning, one that meant much more in the years that followed.

cal Works..., pp. 307-08.


11 It may be argued that Richard and Claudius are expressing medieval, rather than Elizabethan, sentiments here because they were medieval kings, but the idea was no less popular in Shakespeare's own day. The citations are from The Complete Pelican Shakespeare, ed. Alfred Harbage, rev. ed. (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969; rpt. 1970).
Throughout the sixteenth century, however, the general trend of thought never admitted of an absolute and unlimited authority, and questions about the source and nature of authority or sovereignty did not arise until late in Elizabeth's reign. By then, intellectuals were becoming aware that the well-ordered society Bodin spoke of must be based upon legal and absolute sovereignty residing in a person or group, but they did not possess the intellectual equipment necessary to make viable theory out of their often confusing and inconsistent thoughts. They all seem to have been much more concerned with immediate issues—civil disobedience, rebellion, the practical duties of rulers and subjects, the succession question, and, perhaps most important of all, religious obligations, matters pertaining to faith, and the question of who had supremacy in doctrinal concerns of the Church. Nor did these issues disappear at the turn of the century. Yet to come were the Essex Rebellion and the strange new reign of James I. That basic questions would linger on was perhaps inevitable and consistent with the nature of governed societies—always bothered by practical, day-to-day affairs; often in the hands of inadequate human beings; and never the ideal dreamed of by the most inspired visionaries of an age.
If there is any unifying element in historical thought throughout the sixteenth century in England, it is perhaps that history was always conceived as being meant to teach, and primarily to teach English Christians about their own history. Its didactic purpose was recognized by late medieval historians, whose histories, no less than the intellectual endeavors of other thinkers, were meant to explain God's universe to man and man's place in that universe. History indicated to man what was required for his salvation and the part he played in the ultimate history— that of Christendom— the beginnings of which were to be found in the Testaments, Old and New. Knowledge was not forbidden to man, and in the sixteenth century he was beginning to be supplied with more than he had ever dreamed of, for the printed book—still perhaps the best teacher—was now coming within the easy reach of all who could read.

Thus, we begin this survey with the admirable Caxton, from whose press came this tremendous increase. How he multiplied and replenished! What, for our concerns, he replenished was a new audience eager to cultivate a new interest—

12In preparing this section and the following one on historiography, I employed several books entered in Section III of the bibliography. Among the most helpful were F. J. Levy's Tudor Historical Thought (#0470); Peter Burke's The Renaissance Sense of the Past (#0472); Lily B. Campbell's Shakespeare's "Histories": Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy (#0695); and John L. Brown's The Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem of Jean Bodin: A Critical Study (#0478).
native history written in English. And their supply of it not only led to an interest nothing short of passionate later in the century, but also colored the thought of the age from beginning to end. History was vital to curious man, and it, too, experienced a renaissance in this age of Shakespeare, whose curious mind forged the ephemeral events of the past into eternal art. But this is rushing to the end before we have begun. First we must speak of Caxton, and then about history and what history is all about--change. As an intellectual endeavor, historical thought, far more than the political thought of the period and despite its ever-abiding didactic purpose, underwent enormous development.

Throughout most of the fifteenth century, the Latin chronicle tradition, familiar to us through the writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth and through those chronicles produced at King Alfred's behest, was almost eclipsed by the study of theology. An occasional chronicle was produced at one of the few remaining monasteries, but it was not until late in the century that the tradition was revived, and by secular historians, not by monks. We owe this later resurgence to the desires mainly of English merchants, who wished to be informed, in English, of events at the local level. Thus, town chronicles--primitive almanacs lacking form and style but indicating the occurrences of a particular year or of a mayor's term of office--gave a new impetus to a fading tradition. Most of these were written by the merchants themselves. The wealthier merchants and the educated also were
becoming interested in England's legends and legendary heroes, particularly Arthur. In 1480, Caxton responded to their desires by publishing Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon* (#0186), which had been translated into English by John of Trevisa during the 1380's, and the *Brut* (#0185), often called Caxton's Chronicle because of his additions to the work. Both of these became popular and were often re-edited. The first was a universal history that arrived at English matters only after tracing the history of man from Adam. The *Brut* was more limited to British history and Arthurian legend, but both stressed the orderliness of the universe and the teachings of Christianity. Much like Lydgate's *Fall of Princes* (#0187), written between 1430-38 and printed in 1494, these works were meant to show man his way to salvation by warning him to avoid the pitfalls which had ruined those princes and men described.

Despite the sententious quality and lacklustre prose or verse characteristic of these three works, they are important, and principally for two reasons. First, they inspired an interest in the lore of Britain and contributed to the patriotic feeling that persisted throughout the century. Second, they represent the two major forms in which English history appeared: chronicles and biography. English history often formed the subject matter of some other written form—the verse narrative of Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* or Daniel's *Civil Wars*, for instance, and of course the drama—but most of this survey will be confined to the two forms in
which history was rendered more or less factually, since the poet had the right to alter fact if his artistic purpose demanded it. Like the poet, however, the historian had to choose, given so much material, the period, person, or reign he wished to write about. Some chose all of English history, some a particular period, some a single king or counsellor of state. But all wrote histories. Moreover, both forms were produced simultaneously, but it will be best to deal here with each in turn.

Of the chroniclers, the first of note in the sixteenth century is Polydore Vergil, who chose not only to write about all of England's history, but also to rewrite it from a more nationalistic point of view. As a humanist born in Italy and Italian in spirit (although he spent the greatest part of his adult life in England as Henry VII's official historian), he hoped to provide Henry with a history written in the new style adopted by humanists. His aim was to glorify Henry and gain for him European recognition of his reign, the legitimacy of which often troubled Henry himself. Around 1506-07, Henry sanctioned the scheme Vergil had already begun, a work that required a quarter of a century to complete. When his *Anglica Historia* (#0189) was finally published in 1534, it annoyed many readers, who thought him guilty of falsifying England's history and of undermining her legends. Time, however, has shown that Vergil's reputation suffered more than it deserved.

Vergil had not been content to rely upon the older
Polychronicon or Geoffrey of Monmouth as sources. Instead, he ransacked all he could find in the way of Roman and British histories, legal and court documents. When various writers disagreed about some point, Vergil sought other evidence, and, that failing, determined by logic which account was, if not true, at least the most plausible. He also chose not merely to chronicle events, but to organize his history into a more schematic whole. After events leading up to the Conquest had been described, he then devoted a book apiece to each king, emphasizing the king's personality. Earlier historians had organized their material according to reigns, but Vergil went further by this more consistent focus upon king and character. He excluded much, though not all, of that matter not directly connected with the important happenings of a reign.

Vergil was never sure whether man or Providence was responsible for human history, and his attempt to find some underlying, rational cause for what had occurred was unsuccessful. Still, by organizing his history around men and kings, he altered the emphasis on history as a mere record of events to history based on human character, on the psychological forces that prompt men's actions. Moreover, despite these preoccupations, he did not deemphasize the educative value of history. The difference between his history and those written earlier was that Vergil believed it was the duty of the historian to teach what was moral and praiseworthy through the events he recorded and the way he recorded
then, not merely to lace written history with Christian piety. Further comments about Vergil’s contributions to historical method will appear in the following survey, but it bears repeating that he did more than rewrite English history. He gave it a new emphasis, and, through a more logical appraisal of disputed points, a search for evidence, and a more schematic arrangement of material, he enlarged men’s awareness of what history could do, where it could go. It developed significantly in all these directions, perhaps because of his special contributions to early Tudor historical writing.

The search for new evidence, for example, might be responsible for the antiquarian interest pursued by writers of lesser histories or historical handbooks—those devoted to the events of a particular county, dictionaries of place names, or descriptions of Britain’s monuments. The historians Leland, Lambarde, Stow, and Camden all pursued this endeavor to the great advantage of the English reading public, whose desire to learn not only about the past but also about its visible remains was increasing steadily. But more important, at least for our purposes, was the development of the more comprehensive chronicle in the directions which Polydore Vergil had pointed out.

Comprehensive, but much more limited in scope than Vergil’s Anglica Historia, was Edward Halle’s Union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre & Yorke (#0192), published incompletely in 1542 and 1548, and in its most
complete form in 1550. As the title indicates, Halle took a hint from Polydore Vergil about how history could be structured, and he focused upon a period no doubt exciting to the imagination of any historian. Perhaps it was exciting to both Halle and his mentor because their purposes were the same. Like Vergil, Halle wished to treat the Tudor rise to power as the salvation of England. He wisely saw that a history limited to the Wars of the Roses could serve this purpose; no need to begin with 1066 and all that. His concentration upon a single period resulted in a much more startling brand of history, simply because the events in isolation and thematically controlled appeared more shocking than they would have appeared if sandwiched between the previous and subsequent events of a larger work.

The larger works of earlier historians, however, were by no means ignored by Halle, for he found in them a number of useful elements. In several of these works, England's history was conceived of as a panorama depicting, for the most part, repeated instances of chaos and human folly. Halle must have been aware of the effect these histories produced, for it was chaos that he wished to depict and the effects of it that he wished to teach. Thus, in the Union, order is posited as the goal for which mankind should strive; the first two Tudor reigns are "politicke" and "triumphant" examples, respectively, of the ordered state. His manner of labelling the reigns with descriptive adjectives served to underscore his thematic and didactic intent. Although Halle
was indebted to earlier historians and to Vergil and shared
the latter's passion for gathering information from a large
and varied body of sources, he was not a slave to them. On
the contrary, he refined historiography and added dimension
to history written on a smaller scale. He showed that his-
torical events, when traced to their causes, could be shaped
into a more thematically related whole than they had been
previously. His success is evident from the use Shakespeare
made of the Union.

Halle's chronicle was left unfinished at the time of
his death in 1547 and completed by Richard Grafton. Grafton
began his own career as a chronicler by making history avail-
able in condensed form. The titles of his earliest publica-
tions indicate this bent: An abridgement of the Chronicles
of England (#0196), A Manuell of the Chronicles of Englands
(#0196), written in 1562 and 1565, respectively. In this he
was following the lead of Lanquet's and Cooper's Epitome of
Cronicles (#0193), published in 1549, whose condensed his-
tory appealed to a large body of readers. Grafton eventu-
ally abandoned his own unsuccessful career as condenser and
tried to earn a reputation by a much larger work, which ap-
peared in 1568 and 1569. It was titled A Chronicle at large
and meere History...of Englands (#0198). This work, too,
was largely unsuccessful, since it borrowed much, without
acknowledgment, from earlier sources, a defect immediately
apparent to Grafton's readers, the historian Stow among them.
Thus, Grafton's Chronicle was never reissued. His purpose
had been patriotic. He wanted to write a history largely devoted to England and from an Englishman's point of view, for he felt foreign historians dealing with his country (he was probably thinking of Polydore Vergil) had "eyther by ignoraunce or malyce slaunderously written and erred from the manifest truth." But in a "meere history of Englannde" there was little reason for beginning with the Creation, as Grafton did.

It required a Holinshed to make the most of the larger chronicle. Holinshed's well-known Chronicles [of England, Scotland, and Ireland] (#0201) needs no elaboration here, but it should be pointed out that only the first edition in 1577 is strictly Holinshed's and even that work owes its birth to the printer Reyner Wolfe, who first conceived of the project. The more famous second edition, that used by Shakespeare and published in 1587, was a group project issued after Holinshed's death. Holinshed, like Polydore Vergil, had depended on a vast collection of materials, and, like both Vergil and Halle, wrote moral history intended to teach men, and particularly rulers of men, how to act. His comprehensive history, although the most attractive one produced to date, was seen to have its drawbacks, however. Holinshed could not resist the temptation to include everything, and rarely did he scrutinize his sources with the penetrating eye for accuracy characteristic of some earlier

13 The Epistle, A Chronicle at large.... (London: Henry Denham for Richarde Tottle and Humffrey Toye, 1569), fol. 2v.
and many later historians. All sources were equally valuable to Holinshed.

This was not true of the incredible John Stow, whose historical researches covered much more ground (literally, in fact, for he was forced, through poverty, and given, through interest, to walk over much of Britain to view some monument or collect some fact). Throughout his long career, Stow was essentially a chronicler and not a historian, but he produced a large quantity of various histories which were often published. Some were condensed "pocketbooks," others descriptions of antiquities, but he is now best known for three works, the last of which grew by accretion from its two earlier versions. The first of these was his *Summarie of English Chronicles* (STC 23319), first published in 1565 and republished in 1570, both times in small volumes. In 1580, the *Summarie* was considerably expanded and published as *The Chronicles of England* (STC 23333). This work, in turn, was enlarged into the *Annales of England* (#0202) in 1592. It may have been used by Shakespeare. For our present concerns, however, it is important because it reveals Stow's development as an historian. Stow's three histories became successively more sophisticated. He learned to make better use of his sources; he imbued his later work with more classical coloring; and, most importantly, because

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of his desire to describe local relics and events with the greatest possible accuracy, he elevated the old town chronicle into something more than a list of mayoral terms, yearly disasters, and the like.

Much of this was due to the influence of his younger contemporary and sometime collaborator William Camden, now famous for his Britannia (#0200), published in Latin in 1586. Camden was much more learned and scholarly than Stow, and, like Polydore Vergil, wanted to write a new history in the latest style. He hoped it would earn for England a reputation abroad, for his purpose was to show Britain's place in the Roman Empire and its contributions to continental culture. His success was considerable. The Britannia was re-issued the following year, and enlarged versions appeared in 1590, 1594, 1600, and 1607. It was finally englished by Philemon Holland in 1610. Most of Camden's success depended on the work's antiquarian and geographical elements, which served as background to the historical events described. Camden made trips all over England to look at and record facts about such monuments as the Roman Wall. This passion for topography and his desire to describe it from firsthand knowledge was nothing new, of course, but Camden's efforts in the field prompted even more writers, largely at the local and county level, to follow suit. One of the most important of these was John Stow, whose Survay of London (#0205) was published in 1598. Moreover, certain charges of inaccuracy leveled at Camden by the genealogist Ralph
Brooke caused him to cite his sources in later editions, and from this and other disputes among the historians and antiquarians emerged a new emphasis on documented histories.

Although writing too late to serve Shakespeare's historical purposes, John Speed, the last of the great chroniclers of the period, not only inherited much from a long tradition of history writing, but also left a great deal to posterity. His *History of Great Britaine* (#0208), published in 1611, was one of the first histories to push to extremes the idea of limitation, and with significant results. He discarded much of the descriptive information characteristic of Halle and Holinshed as well as the catalogs or tiresome lists of the latter. Although influenced by the topographers (Camden in particular), Speed was also responsible for accenting men and their habits, rather than the scenes in which events took place. His interest in politics caused him to focus upon the qualities that made a king either an effective or an ineffective ruler; the king's moral qualities were deemphasized. Thus, Speed's particular purpose—a new addition to history writing—was to indicate the qualities of competent kingship and to stress that men, through their political actions, were as much the causation of history as God. Speed's work was indicative of trends that developed later in the century, particularly the greater emphasis upon quality, as opposed to quantity, of information and the insinuation of politics into history writing.

Other trends also characterized historical thought in
the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The 1580's and 90's saw a tremendous increase in the production and variety of historical literature, and we get a one-sided view of historical thought in the period if we do not remember the activities carried on simultaneously throughout this age of chronicle writing. The translation of both classical and modern historians was one of the most important of these activities. Tacitus, Livy, Suetonius, and Sallust, among the ancients, were all made available in good English translations late in the century. Among the moderns, both Machiavelli and Guicciardini were translated, the former's Florentine History (#0184) in 1595, the latter's History of Italy (#0181) in 1579. It is interesting to note the earlier availability of Guicciardini, although certainly Machiavelli's name, at least, fell more often from people's lips. But his more famous work, The Prince (#0095), perhaps known to Renaissance intellectuals in manuscript versions and certainly to a wider audience through Gentillet's Contre-Machiavel (#0092), published in Simon Patricke's translation in 1602, was not translated until Dacres undertook the task in 1640. Guicciardini's work, however, was available in various forms much earlier, not only through Geoffrey Fenton's translation of the History, but also through popularizations. One of these was Remigio Nannini's Civill considerations (#0091), a handbook of political advice taken largely from Guicciardini's History and published in 1601. In 1613, Robert Dallington provided a commentary on the Italian's
History in his Aphorismes Civill and Militarie (1561), which also reprinted parts of the History.

Besides translation, the frenetic activity of versifiers and ballad writers played no small part in making history attractive to even the meanest and least educated Elizabethan. The more artful popularizations of English history created by the poets and dramatists also helped to quench the national thirst for historical learning. Samuel Daniel's Civile warres between the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke (1595), published in part in 1595 with additions following in 1601 and 1609, is one of the most significant, because it stresses the same period Shakespeare found interesting and because it conveys a strong sense of the evil consequences of disorder reminiscent of Halle and of Daniel's model, Lucan. Michael Drayton's varied interests were responsible for much historical poetry, among the most important of which are his Mortimeriad (1596), printed in 1596, and Legend of Great Cromwel (1607), published in 1607.

For the development of historical thought, however, one of the most important contributions was made by those who dealt in historical biography, a form of history writing that sprang up early in the century and developed in various ways throughout the period. The earliest effort is also perhaps the most important of all--Sir Thomas More's History of King Richard III (1513-18).

More's History was undertaken between the years 1513-18 and written in both a Latin and an English version. There
is some question whether More was translating the Latin work of his patron John Cardinal Morton or creating a new work, but no one doubts that it is one of the most brilliant and popular pieces of history written in the century. It was first published in Grafton's continuation of Hardyng's *Chronicle* (#0190) in 1543, and almost all the chroniclers that followed inserted the work in their own histories. Indeed, it was reprinted more than any other single piece of historical writing.\(^\text{15}\) Although it purports to be the history of Richard's reign, More concentrated on the life and nature of that most "unnatural" monarch, as More often calls him. More's fine Latin style and tight construction, as well as his penetration into the psychological makeup of Richard's character, proved that history, in this early period, could be more than a mere random cataloging of events. He also showed a way to write history dominated by a theme. Evidence of this lies in the fact that Halle inserted More's sketch, in its entirety, into his own chronicle, and we have already observed how Halle's own work was thematically related. Both Marlowe and Shakespeare show the influence of More as well, and both owed much to More's venture into psychology.

Shakespeare may have been indebted to another biography,

\(^\text{15}\)According to F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1967), p. 171. Levy believes that, despite the work's popularity, its influence was "negligible" until much later, for however much it was admired, historians did not immediately abandon their own methods and imitate More's.
Cavendish's *Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey* (#0211), when he wrote *Henry VIII*. This work was composed about 1557, and, although it was not printed until 1641, it was widely known in manuscript versions. Like More's and other biographical writings throughout the period, it emphasized the heavy force of Fortune in men's lives and owed much to the rise and fall theme exploited in earlier *de casibus* tragedy and in Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*. The same is true of the last two works to be mentioned here as "biography"—the exceedingly popular *Myrroure [Mirror] For Magistrates* (#0195) and Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (#0197), also known as *The Book of Martyrs*.

The *Mirror* was a group project led by William Baldwin and published in 1559. Originally, it had been conceived as a continuation of Lydgate's work, but this plan was abandoned and the individual pieces published as a separate entity. Its immense popularity was as much due to the heavy-handed moral dicta pervading it as to the quantity of history packed between its covers. But the history is something of a hodgepodge in these sketches of fallen men. Sometimes Fortune, sometimes Providence or man's own will is blamed for a character's tragedy. In any event, these lives were to stand as "mirrors" in which one could read the effects of vice and see the benefit of virtue and of the unambitious life. The many additions to subsequent editions of the *Mirror* produced throughout the rest of the century and well into the next indicate the extent of its influence. It was the kind of
history the average reader could enjoy without feeling sinful for perusing the "light" matter it contained. To the Elizabethans, it was serious stuff, and they got more of it in Foxe's Book of Martyrs, first published abroad in Latin in 1559 and englished by the author for publication at home in 1563.

The Actes and Monuments is essentially a church history containing the lives of the Protestant martyrs persecuted during the reigns of Henry VIII and Mary. To Foxe, however, the history of the Church and the history of England were almost synonymous. He regarded the English as the chosen people who had maintained the pure church. Thus, the work is colored by a patriotic spirit of a definitely theological bent, but it is more important from an historical point of view because of the elaborate emphasis placed upon sources. Foxe's desire for accuracy often prompted him to quote his numerous sources in a tiresome and lengthy manner; nevertheless, he also indicated how they could be used to the advantage of historians in his age. And presumably many others profited from his book, for it was dear to the hearts of pious Englishmen eager to defend their church.

Whether the Elizabethans read church history or native history, whether they preferred it written in prose or in verse, whether they saw it presented on stage or heard it sung in the streets, they were avid consumers of national lore. A history was produced for every taste in this very historically-minded age. It is curious to note that history
was not taught as a recognized academic discipline until the seventeenth century, but certainly the humanists early in the age encouraged the reading of both ancient and modern history and discussed the advantages of that activity. And certainly the humanists made some of the most significant contributions to the techniques of writing and studying history—contributions that were expanded throughout the century. But some of the theories now incorporated into the science of history as it is taught—particularly the theory of causation—advanced at a much slower rate. Debates about the purposes, problems, and techniques of history, however, were frequent throughout the period, as we shall see in the next section.

**Historiographical Aspects of the Age**

Historiography, as discussed below, includes a variety of concerns relevant to Renaissance historians. Some of the more salient advances made in the realm of history writing or historical research will be noted, as will some of the attitudes expressed toward history by selected writers of the period. Some repetition of names from the preceding section is inevitable, but here will be accented certain features only hinted at there.

The spread of humanism northward into England engendered far more than a renewed interest in the past. The humanists, even those who did not get to England, were just as intent upon spreading viable ideas about what the past
could do for the men of a later day. Primarily, as we have seen, it could teach. But the humanists were bent upon educating certain men in a certain way, and for a particular function. They advocated the study of history because they realized it could be useful, first of all, in the training of princes, magistrates, and statesmen. If these men were educated, then the governments they directed had a chance of becoming the "true and perfect commonwealths" of which they dreamed. History was at the core of the ideal ruler's education because, while providing attractive reading, it was supposed to inculcate virtue in the man upon whom the welfare of the state depended and to provide him with the armor necessary to protect himself from the corrupting world of politics and practical affairs. The humanist Vergerius, for example, argued that political life need not corrupt if statesmen were protected by Christian virtues. We need only think of Erasmus, Colet, and Lily to remember that their educational endeavors were not expended upon scholars and reclusive ecclesiastics, but on young men marked for careers in state service. History, therefore, and the moral precepts it could cultivate through the examples of living men was, above all, useful.

Historians and commentators emphasized the point again and again throughout the Tudor and early Stuart period. Polydore Vergil strongly believed that the value of history lay in its encouragement of virtuous behavior. As an historian himself, however, he argued that the writer of history,
rather than the written matter, was to accomplish this by
telling the truth. According to Vergil, "the first office
of an historiographer is to write no lye, the seconde that
he shall congell [conceal?] no truth, for favoure, displeas-
ure, or feare."16 It was simply a difference of degree.
What ancient history taught could be taught just as well by
modern history as long as the author were true to his goal,
or "first office," as Vergil called it.

In the middle of the century, these same ideas were
made more current in England through the translations of two
continental historiographical works, one by Johann Carion
and the other by Simon Grynaeus. In 1550, Walter Lynne
translated Carion's *Thre bokes of Cronicles* (#0215), which
was written early in the century and contained a section en-
titled "The use of readynge hystoryes." There Carion claimed
that both "heathen" and Biblical histories were excellent
teachers, particularly for princes, for both taught politi-
cal and moral virtues necessary for good government. Cari-
on's remarks appeared even earlier in English, but in dis-
guised form, in Thomas Lanquet's "Of the use and profite of
histories, and with what judgement they oughte to bee redde"
(#0223), a short prefatory piece attached to his *Epitome of
Cronicles* (#0193), published in 1549. Lanquet virtually re-
peated Carion's remarks, but failed to give the latter credit

16 "The devisers of Hystories Prose and Rhethorike," in
*An Abridgement of the notable worke of Polidore Vergile....
Gathered by Thomas Langley* (London: Richard Grafton, 1546),
Fol. xx1r.
for them. Grynaeus' work, "Concerning the profite of readye Hystoryes" (#0216), originally appeared as a preface in his 1538 Latin edition of Trogus Pompeius. Arthur Golding, acknowledging the author, included the preface in his translation of Justine's abridgment of Trogus in 1564, but Thomas Lodge was not so magnanimous. Lodge simply pilfered the work and treated it as his own in his translation of Josephus issued in 1602. There the well-worn sentiments were addressed "To the Courteous Reader" and now entitled "As touching the use and abuse of Historie" (#0231).

The important historiographical ideas of the Italian Patrizzi were also made familiar to Englishmen through translation. In 1574, Thomas Blundeville issued his True order and Methode of wryting and reading Hystories (#0228), which is a restructuring of Patrizzi's Della Istoria, published in 1560, and Concio Tridentino's unpublished Delle osservationi. Despite its strong debts to these two Italian writers, Blundeville's book is generally considered the first English work on historiography. It was especially popular among courtiers and those men of affairs who valued learning. Like similar works produced earlier, it argued for the moral value of history.

Even earlier in England, the moral benefit to be derived from history was stressed by Sir Thomas More in his portrait of the morally depraved and monstrous Richard III. By blackening Richard's character so that he resembled a hellish power, More implied the evil consequences that could
attend either the ambitious tyrant or anyone trusting in Fortune. Later, More's disciple Edward Halle also emphasized the point by investing his chronicle with characteristics reminiscent of a morality play, except that chaos, rather than tyranny, was the villain and order the hero. Halle also had a strong sense of political life and regarded much political activity as sinful. England had been saved, however, by the "politike" and moral governance of Henry VII, and thus Halle implied that it was up to Englishmen themselves, as well as their rulers, to profit from that salvation by striving for an ordered state based upon morality and political quietism.

Roger Ascham, engaged in the middle of the century upon his only historical work, the Report...of the affaires and state of Germany (#0226), also gave political advice through history. His Report accented the political motivations of the German rulers he portrayed, and he often moralized upon the qualities a prince ought to possess. Thus, his history has an affinity with the handbooks for rulers written by Erasmus, Chelidonius (#0077), and the authors of medieval mirrors for princes.

The humanists supplied more than just political and moral advice, however. From a more precise historiographical point of view, we now realize that one of their most significant contributions to historical thought, as well as to human knowledge, was what Peter Burke calls an "awareness
of evidence." The humanists had returned to the sources, and their discoveries led to nothing short of a revolution in the way men learned about the past. They discovered that some documents were forgeries, that various accounts of the same event differed vastly, that a knowledge of ancient languages was required for interpretation—not only, and most importantly, of Scripture, but of ancient history as well. The age of source criticism had dawned, and its influence upon history writing was enormous. Polydore Vergil is only one among many who emphasized the importance of both gathering and scrutinizing the wealth of material that lay at hand. The truth could not be discovered without a scrupulous investigation of each source and without subjecting it to a series of questions. What, for instance, was the writer's purpose? When did he live? Was he writing of events he had witnessed? Only heard about? These and many more were questions Erasmus, Vergil, and other humanists began to ask.

Because of them, history writing became a much more sophisticated pursuit than it had been to the old chroniclers whose naivety had made them accept the fabulous and the factual as all deriving from Providence. This does not mean that Vergil himself did not include in his *Anglica Historia* much that would seem to belie his skepticism, for the work often reports miracles, prognostications, and portents believed by the early Britains. But Vergil was mainly

feeding a national taste for such material. It is evident that he did not believe it all; rather, he was forced to make use of what his sources reported. Furthermore, he recognized the disparity between the accounts of early Britain written by Roman historians and those produced by native writers. He seemed to favor the Romans, for the most part, because of their superiority in historical writing, but he could not entirely ignore Geoffrey of Monmouth. He always attempted, however, to choose the most plausible version of a particular event.

The old chroniclers also had been unaware of another significant historiographical aspect that influenced later writers—the concept of anachronism. The medieval mind conceived of human history as one long continuum throughout which the past was largely synonymous with the present. That is to say, they regarded the past as having occurred in a context identical to their own, and it was conceived of, generally, as a context dominated by the Church, which appeared to them as the same body it had always been. At the time of the Reformation, however, these ideas were being ditched by thinkers who saw their church as decidedly different from that of the past. They and the humanists, in this controversial age, put the developing theories of source criticism to work in an attempt to get a better view of what the ancient church had been. What they discovered, of course, is too large a subject for consideration here, but that these researchers became aware of a vast difference
between past and present cultures is evident. The historian, obviously, was not the least affected by the discovery.

It is to the Italians, and particularly to Lorenzo Valla, that the historians owed this new sense of anachronism. As the century progressed, they refined his work, largely by limiting the materials they included in their histories. Instead of printing all the information they had, they realized that some of it simply did not supply facts consistent with their newly-gained vision of a "different" past; hence, they discarded many of the old stories and searched for new evidence. As we have already noted, chroniclers like Stow and Camden furnished much new material because of their avid interest in antiquities, and by their time source material had multiplied greatly. The new wave of historians also saw that something as small as an old Roman coin could tell a story never imagined before.

The historians Guicciardini and Bodin furnished yet another concept that eventually interested their English contemporaries. This was the theory of causation, although they might not have called it that. Bodin helped to circulate the idea by giving a cyclical interpretation to history. To him, men and events repeated themselves; hence, one could look to the past for examples of what had happened—given this and that fact—and then proceed accordingly. He also stressed the effect of climate upon various nationalities and paid no small heed to planetary movements and numerology as causes of human history. Above all, Bodin believed one
first had to study man before he could proceed to an understanding of natural history and, ultimately, divine history. Only then could he determine to what extent Providence determined the affairs of men. Men were obligated to study other human societies and their histories first, however, if they wished to profit politically and to achieve ordered states. All these ideas are expressed in Bodin’s _Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem_ (#0217), written in 1565 and published the following year. It is generally considered the single most important _ars historica_, or work devoted to the art of history, produced during the Renaissance. Bodin tells his readers which histories and historians to read and offers much advice as to how they ought to be approached. The _Methodus_ also indicates how historical material ought to be evaluated. It is the only treatise on historiography that offered an original philosophy of history. Although not translated until the seventeenth century, the book was widely popular and went through three more Latin editions during Bodin’s lifetime, thirteen such between 1566 and 1650.

Intellectuals in England were more than inheritors of these new historiographical trends, for they also added to the flux of new concepts that were gaining footage in the intellectual atmosphere. Certainly, for our purposes, it should be noted that the dramatists exerted a strong influence on historiography. Shakespeare, in particular, learned from Halle the value of thematically related history,
but he and his contemporary dramatists also taught the values of selection, construction, and unity to later historians. To give dramatic unity to his history plays, Shakespeare selected those events most central to his theme, ignoring chronology when necessary, and constructed his plays in such a way that a controlling idea, rather than plot, dominated the action. In *Henry VI*, for example, although events occur in any number of settings and chronology is disturbed, the dramatic emphasis is kept on England as a commonwealth, ineffectively ruled by a weak king. It is also stressed that the discord suffered throughout the Wars of the Roses is traceable to Henry IV's usurpation of the throne. The tetralogy ends with the disastrous reign of Richard III—the end of one cycle. The four plays constituting the second tetralogy depict the initial cause and the temporary emergence of order achieved by Henry V. Thus, even though Shakespeare did not write these events in chronological order, he managed to unify each tetralogy. Some students argue that all ten history plays constitute a unified whole, with *Respublica* the hero throughout.

Whatever Shakespeare's ultimate intention, he saw that history could be presented with a focus upon a controlling idea, and, because he had at his disposal only the "two hours' traffic of our stage," he had to be quite ruthless in the selection of events he chose to portray. Thus, Shakespeare improved upon both Halle and Holinshed by discarding much that was not relevant to his theme. By doing so, he
and other playwrights conveyed an important lesson to historians. Marlowe emphasized human psychology and the personalities of his heroes as the determinants of history. It was a technique he no doubt learned from More's *History of Richard III*, but both he and More thereby awakened historians to new possibilities in historiography.

The late sixteenth-century developments in historiography occurred simultaneously with certain controversies touching upon history that led to history writing of a new stamp around the turn of the century. Everyone is familiar with Sidney's argument, in his *Apologetie for Poetrie* (1595), that the poet was a better teacher than the historian because the latter could not always determine causes, whereas the former could invent them and invest his work with the moral principles he deemed exemplary. The historian, although working with "the truth," was often at a loss to find truly virtuous examples among living men. As though taking a cue from this argument, certain historians began to think that history should tend more toward the ideal truth characteristic of poetry, as Sidney had explained it. Thus, they began to write poetic histories. But since they also hoped their efforts would be advantageous for political life, history writing entered what is known as its "politic" phase. Tacitus, even as early as the 1580's, was teaching them that history could be both more poetic (and more political) by the incorporation of speeches; hence, they invented fictitious speeches for their historical
characters. More questionable, however, was their invention of causes for often inexplicable occurrences.

As important an influence as Tacitus was Aristotle's Politics, which seems to have been known, especially among university men, sometime before 1580. Gabriel Harvey in that year had written, in reference to intellectual activity at Cambridge, "You can not stepp into a schollars studye but (ten to on) you shall litely finde open ether Bodin de Republica or Le Royes Exposition uppon Aristotles Politiques or sum other like Frenche or Italian Politique Discourses." Louis LeRoy's French translation of Aristotle's Politics (#0066) was turned into English in 1598, making the ancient philosopher even more accessible. Along with Tacitus and Aristotle, Guicciardini and Machiavelli also helped to shape the attitudes of the politic historians, two outstanding examples being Sir John Hayward and Francis Bacon.

In 1599, Hayward published his notorious Henrie the IIII (#0206, #0230), perhaps the first work in English indicative of this new trend. His history was notorious primarily because it was dedicated to the Earl of Essex, then in disfavor, and because Ireland played a large part in it. Hayward also stressed the deposition of Richard II, to whom the Queen, along with many others, had often compared herself, and Elizabeth was not disposed to find the work agreeable.

As a result, Hayward spent a term in the Tower. Even though Elizabeth's government allowed for poetic license, it could not condone Hayward's invented speeches, one of which argued that the depositions of kings had often met with good success. Nor were the heavy influences of Tacitus, Machiavelli, and Guicciardini which permeated the work looked on favorably. It was believed that Hayward's history was propaganda for the Earl of Essex's political schemes. Even though Hayward's concern was political in that he dealt with the question of how kingdoms are won or lost and with the role of power in both cases, his work does not now seem as treasonable as it once did.

Bacon, in fact, had attempted to defend Hayward's book when charges were brought against the luckless historian. Bacon's admiration for Tacitus was no secret, and Bacon, too, wrote political histories. He seems to have managed them with greater grace, however. For Bacon, historical fact, as compiled by most of the chroniclers, was to be used as the raw material for analyses of political practice, not simply recorded. The historian, moreover, should be a man with wide experience in politics, since experience was better than any formal training in history writing. His theories, however, were not always put into practice. Like Hayward, he invented as much as he reported. This was the case with his *History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh*, published in 1622, which cannot be trusted as an adequate account of Henry VII's reign. As it was written
after Shakespeare's death and in a fashion that expired not long after Bacon was gone, its importance here is negligible. Bacon's importance is not, however, for throughout his life he theorized much about history, and it is to his credit that, in the Advancement of Learning (#0232), he distinguished between history as being associated with the memory and poetry as belonging to the faculty of imagination. Because of this distinction, men no longer felt compelled to make irrelevant comparisons between history and poetry, and thus both disciplines were liberated and allowed new scope.

Despite the strides made in historiographical matters throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Englishmen produced few artes historicae. These flourished in Italy, France, and Germany throughout the period, but not in England. Later in the seventeenth century, the subject became more popular, but the works produced were largely derivative from continental authors. This is the case with Bolton's Hypercritica (#0235), completed in 1618 but not published until 1722, perhaps the only English work of the early Stuart period that qualifies as an ars historica. Histories, indeed, continued to pour from the presses, but their authors did not contribute significant theories of history or of history writing.

For instance, Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World (#0234), published in 1614, is more Elizabethan than Jacobean in tone. Raleigh subscribed to the providential theory of history. For him, God's will was behind all human events,
whereas men and their passions constituted secondary causes. These sentiments were by no means new, nor was Raleigh's belief in the power of history to instruct those in the present by means of the lessons of the past. One might expect more advanced beliefs than these from a man who was often ahead of his time in other intellectual areas, but such is not the case. Raleigh's History is still read and admired for its clear and stately prose, however, whereas Renaissance treatises on historiography—those produced in England as well as in other countries, with the exception of Bodin's—have long been ignored. Indeed, most of the continental artes historicae seem dull, repetitious, and uninspiring to us, although they were widely read and popular in the historically preoccupied age during which they were produced. A brief survey of them will be sufficient, for their impact on England was slight until well into the seventeenth century.  

Of the artes historicae written in Italy, most were products of the elegant humanist tradition which conceived of history as a branch of rhetoric. The impact of the classics on the humanists also prompted them to argue that histories ought to follow Greek and Roman models. Another tradition prevailed among the German historiographers. These employed their artes historicae as justifications for

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the Protestant Reformation. The German tracts are largely religious propaganda, and they advanced Moses and the Old Testament as appropriate models. Moreover, whereas the Italian treatises are literary or academic in tone, the German ones are concerned with matters of chronology and exact dating. The former were directed to wide audiences; the latter were nationalistic and meant to serve the purposes of the reformed church.

Only a handful of the many *artes historicae* produced in either Italy or Germany are significant. Among the Italian works, Francesco Patrizzi's *Della historia dieci dialoghi*, published in Venice in 1560, is the most important. Of the German treatises, Bartholomäus Keckermann's *De natura et proprietatibus historiae*, published in Hanover in 1610, is the foremost achievement. Both of these attempted to establish an historical method and a means for evaluating historical phenomena. Neither of them was on a par with Bodin's *Methodus*, however.

The excellence of Bodin's work was recognized even by contemporary historiographers. In 1576, Johann Wolf assigned it the place of honor in his two-volume collection of historiographical works entitled *Artis historicae penus* (#0219), which appeared in an enlarged version in 1579, with the *Methodus* still printed first.²⁰ Later, Keckermann

²⁰ For a list of the complete contents of the enlarged, 1579 edition of the *Artis historicae penus*, see Brown, p. 48, n. 14.
The medieval English inheritors of classical and patristic thought discovered in the older writings much dogma relating to the economic life of men and societies. They discovered in Saint Augustine, for instance, that by both the Law of God and the Law of Nature, property and the fruits thereof were originally common to all, but that man's avarice and his propensity to oppress the weak had led to the establishment of man-made law and private property. They heaped praises on the Frenchman and borrowed from the Methodus for his own De natura, perhaps the only other Renaissance ars historica of comparable stature.

In England, with the exception of Bacon, no one came close to rivalling Bodin in the field of historiography. No genuine theories of history emerged there. It appears that people were thinking more of their own history and of writing it than of the techniques and philosophies behind it. But it is doubtful whether many English historiographical treatises would interest us today. History dramatized by a Marlowe or a Shakespeare is a far more rewarding experience.

Economic Works and Thought

Several works among those listed in Section III of the bibliography were consulted for the preparation of the following survey. Those most helpful were R. H. Tawney's "Introduction" to his edition of Sir Thomas Wilson's Discourse Upon Usury (#0545); Max Beer's Early British Economics (#0514); Raymond de Roover's Gresham on Foreign Exchange (#0533); R. B. Outhwaite's Inflation in Tudor and Early Stuart England (#0540); and Peter Ramsey's Tudor Economic Problems (#0517). Indispensable is the three-volume collection of primary documents entitled Tudor Economic Documents, ed. R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power (#0299), hereafter referred to as T.E.D.
learned also that commerce was considered sinful or conducive to sin. Usury, or the lending of money at interest, was particularly sinful. They also had to deal with some contradictions. The formidable Aristotle, for example, had argued in his *Politics* against a community of goods, believing that more strife than concord resulted from communal sharing. Generally, therefore, the medieval schoolmen of England who addressed themselves to these economic problems—most notably Alexander of Hales, Richard of Middleton, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham—faced an awkward problem: how to defend and assimilate patristic doctrine and yet account for the irreconcilable economic realities of the new commercial economy developing around them. In their religious writings are to be found the earliest manifestations of British economic thought, but it is dogma differing from patristic doctrine in several significant ways because of their attempts to reinterpret and stretch the older thought to meet the needs of a new economic order.

As did their predecessors, the schoolmen generally began with a discussion of property. Unlike their predecessors, however, they advanced the notion that whereas the Law of Nature seemed to demand community in some circumstances, it also seemed to demand private property in others, because everywhere one saw personal possessions and the acquisition of goods by which men sustain themselves. Moreover, they argued, property is necessary for social harmony in this post-lapsarian world. If there were no natural division and
distribution of the earth's wealth, the dishonest man would take from the honest, the covetous grasp all and deprive his fellow man of sustenance. Hence, after the fall, they believed, the original state of community of goods was replaced by the concept of private property as the best means of maintaining social intercourse. In effect, private property had become part of natural and divine law.

On the question of trade and commerce, the schoolmen generally concurred with Saint Augustine, who declared that trade was sometimes lawful and sometimes not. It was sinful if it involved evil actions or was pursued for immoderate gain or sinful purposes. It was lawful if it provided men with their various needs and was practiced by merchants who, although their purpose be gain, provided these needs at a fair rate and realized a moderate profit. Such gain was lawful, it was sometimes argued, because the merchant rendered the community a public service and thereby contributed to its well-being.

The schoolmen's attitude toward money and interest departed considerably from earlier thinking. Aristotle had taught that money was simply a measure of the value or price of commercial objects. He thought of it as essentially a sterile means of exchange, not as something that could increase through interest. In the Christian world, men had always been admonished to lend, but not to hope for any gain thereby. Most of the British schoolmen were content to follow Aristotle and the Church fathers on this subject and to
consider usury one of the greatest prohibitions. Neverthe­­less, at the same time, they were aware that money did breed money, particularly when invested in productive labor, and, while they continued to condemn usury, they broke with an­cient doctrine on the matter of loans.

The views of these early schoolmen paved the way for some of the economic practices that later contributed to the great prosperity of the Tudor and Stuart mercantile econo­mies. They had dealt with age-old problems, but they had also faced modern realities. They had recognized the eco­nomic elements contributing to a community's well-being and ability to thrive; that is to say, its dependence upon a bounteous agriculture, its need and desire to exchange commodities, its security derived through the cultivation and amassing of precious metals.

The concerns of trade and commerce, money, usury, and profit continued to occupy thinkers of later ages, for these are fundamental economic issues. Progress necessitated the addition of other subjects to the list. But because politi­cal economy did not develop as a science in its own right until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, thinkers throughout the Renaissance turned to various problems as they arose and wrestled with them as best they could, largely through an appeal to that divine and natural law that also served their ancestors. Furthermore, the Church con­tinued to dictate economic ethics, even though many contem­porary business practices were sustained by an ethic contrary
to what the Church promulgated. We now know that some of these changing practices served the best interests of the state, despite the Church's attempts to curtail them. In no other matter is this so obvious as in the question of usury, which we will treat first among the various Tudor and Stuart economic problems relative to our period.

It must be noted that during the Reformation, Calvin gave new impetus to economic thought by his moderate attitude toward usury, but, at the same time, he was held responsible for a new wave of usurious practices which were the bane of anti-Puritans. Calvin maintained that a reasonable rate of interest was practicable in commercial communities, for without it transactions beneficial to human affairs could not be carried on. He surrounded his belief with restrictions, of course, and believed that loans should be made freely to the poor. But what he saw and others failed to see was that the old prohibitions against usury were no longer viable. In times past, the borrower of money had generally been poor, and it was considered sinful to oppress the poor with the further burden of interest. In his own time, however, Calvin saw that often the borrower was not poor, but a prosperous merchant who wished to speculate on the market or corner a monopoly on a particular commodity. At the same time, the lender often had the wealth, but not the economic expertise to employ it. Because he wanted an opportunity to invest his savings, he could aid the man who would employ the money to advantage—of both the lender
and the community into which the borrowing merchant would bring a supply of needed or desired goods.

Obviously, the advocates of usury, mainly lawyers and merchants, seized on Calvin's defense of it as an argument to use against those who opposed the practice. Also, when the united front of traditional religious teaching was weakened by Calvin's attitude, more members of the business community took advantage of the breach, and usury became a common practice. Few of the representatives of Church and State were able to see the economic advantages, however, and usury continued to be denounced from both the pulpit and the political platform as immoral. In 1552, an Act of Parliament finally prohibited the taking of interest altogether and imposed severe penalties for any transgressions. "Henceforward," as R. H. Tawney remarks, "a pious nation was to live up to the declaration of its parliament that 'all usury is by the word of God utterly prohibited, as a vice most odious and detestable, as in divers places of Holy Scripture is evident to be seen'."\(^22\)

Nevertheless, the law was circumvented through a variety of different commercial practices by those capitalists and financial interests who were looking for the most profitable employment of their wealth. This was true in England as well as in other countries where interest was prohibited.

But as early as 1540, one of the principal European financial capitals, Antwerp, lifted the ban and permitted interest not exceeding twelve per cent in those business transactions considered commercial; in non-commercial transactions the taking of interest remained unlawful. England had dealt mainly with the Antwerp exchange when raising loans to meet her various expenses, and the Netherlands was one of the principal markets for her exports—primarily wool, woolfells, tin, lead, salted fish and meat—from the time of the first Norman kings. With the collapse of the Antwerp money market in 1566, however, the world of international finance, as well as England, suffered a severe blow. England suddenly found it difficult to secure loans from abroad. Sir Thomas Gresham, Elizabeth's royal factor in Antwerp, suggested that loans be raised at home and that, as an inducement, the prohibition against interest rates be repealed.

Debate on this issue followed and prompted the most famous of Tudor tracts on usury, Sir Thomas Wilson's *Discourse uppon usurye* (#0259), a work in dialogue form. Wilson wrote his book in 1569, but by the time it was published in 1572, Parliament had already passed a law (the Act of 1571) lifting the ban against interest rates, thereby making

23 Tawney, p. 136.

Wilson's views obsolete almost as soon as they were formulated. In Parliament, Wilson had argued strongly against the new act and had marshalled many learned arguments against usury and the sanctioning of any rate of interest. In his Discourse, the lawyer and the merchant, who believe that the law should allow a moderate rate of interest for the sake of a country's trade, actually echo the views of the parliamentarians who passed the Act of 1571. In the Discourse, however, they are defeated by the preacher, who vehemently denounces interest, any rate of interest, and usury as devilish practices to be avoided by all Christians. Wilson's appeal to Christian ethics had no force this late in the sixteenth century, but the significance of his book does not lie in its inability to persuade his contemporaries. Of the many writings on usury throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Wilson's Discourse stands apart as perhaps the only one written by a man who had an intimate knowledge of the business world. His work is not a great contribution to Tudor economic thought, but it is far in advance of the earlier pronouncements delivered from the pulpit by well-meaning divines such as Latimer, Jewel, and Sandys, or uttered by statesmen or laymen whose Christian zeal was greater than their knowledge of economic realities. The works that followed Wilson's generally reveal

25 See Tawney, pp. 160-69, for details.
26 Tawney, p. 160.
27 See, e.g., Nicholas Sanders, A Briefe Treatise of
a close kinship with earlier thought on the subject.

Several of these are of special interest, however. Among them are Phillip Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses* (#0263) and Thomas Lodge's *Alarum against Usurers* (#0264), published in 1583 and 1584, respectively. To the satirist Stubbes, usury is an unpardonable practice absolutely contrary to the laws of God; civil laws may sanction it, but that does not make it legal, in Stubbes' opinion. He loathes all usurers and those employed in any kind of usurious transaction, such as the scriveners engaged to write up contracts. Lodge's *Alarum* approaches the subject from another angle. It resembles a sermon, but also depicts in quasi-fictional form the practices of Renaissance loan-sharks. Lodge manages to be graphic. He avoids the world of higher finance and involves us (with what factual truth we cannot say) in what was probably the forms of usury most experienced by average men.

Others continued to denounce the practice long after merchants and businessmen had come to regard usury as customary. We might note some of the last-ditch efforts of late Elizabethan and early Jacobean writers who attempted to uphold the traditional Church doctrine.

In 1595, Miles Mosse devoted six sermons to *The Arraignment and conviction of Usurie* (#0267), whose title aptly summarizes Mosse's views. In 1601, Gerrard de Malynes wrote *Usurie* (Lovanii: Joannem Foulerum, 1568). STC 21691. See entry #0258.
his allegorical poem *Saint George for England* (#0269), which depicts the economic state of an imaginary commonwealth (England in disguise) and features a dragon representing usury. In 1611, Roger Fenton, in his *Treatise of Usurie* (#0278), cited a great number of ancient and modern writers who believed as he did that usury was detestable and unlawful. He paid much attention to Calvin's comments on the subject. To Fenton, Calvin was "the best friend that usurers have," but, at the same time, the great Reformer had declared that usurers are "'by no meanes to be tolerated in a well governed Common-Weale'," according to Fenton, who vigorously concurred.\(^{28}\)

Nevertheless, the writers who levelled attacks against the practice throughout the period and beyond were unsuccessful in preventing the economic individualism of the commercial classes, who saw business and economics as lying outside the province of the Church. Ultimately, it was conceded that a fixed interest rate was necessary to prevent capital from being invested abroad, and thus the question became one of determining a fair rate of interest, rather than of outlawing it altogether.

One of the first to argue in this vein was Sir Francis Bacon. In his essay "Of Usury" (#0284), which first appeared in the 1625 edition of his *Essayes...Civill and Morall* (#0166), Bacon spoke not against the practice, but realisti-

\(^{28}\) See Fenton, *A Treatise of Usurie*, p. 68.
cally discussed its "commodities and incommodities" (i.e., the advantages and disadvantages). To him, the practice was inevitable, and those who argued for its abolition argued in vain. Usury was here to stay; the only alternative left to the state was to regulate lending and borrowing by means of fixed interest rates. Bacon prescribed low rates of interest for ordinary borrowers of all classes, higher rates for merchants and others engaged in trade. To Bacon, strict laws ought to control the practice and prevent an increase of abuses.

Perhaps usury received such a large share of attention because of the general economic unrest stemming from other causes—primarily the alteration of the coinage—that the average man throughout most of the Tudor period understood only dimly, if at all. From the time of Henry VIII until Elizabeth's reign, the English coinage had been subjected to a series of debasements, the greatest of these occurring in the last years of Henry VIII's reign and extending to the year 1551. The subject of debasement is too enormous to discuss in detail, but it seems the practice was undertaken primarily as a fiscal measure meant to provide revenue for costly wars and to fill a depleted exchequer. Parliament was not accustomed to vote new taxes for these purposes, for it had long maintained that kings should finance their undertakings by means of the revenues from their domains and from their customs receipts, not by taxation of their subjects. The first Tudor king had been a hoarder of wealth. Henry
VII's economic policy, like that of his predecessors and contemporaries, was to prevent the exportation of bullion and coin abroad as well as to prevent the importation of foreign coin of differing value. If the latter were circulated within his realm, he believed, it would diminish the value of his own coin. Of course, later developments revealed the economic importance of a widely circulating currency and a fixed rate of exchange, but Henry VII was following an older doctrine.

It was after Henry VIII had squandered his father's wealth that he seized the monastic properties and sold them to his more prosperous subjects as a means of gaining revenue. He also appropriated much of the gold and silver plate found in the monasteries and melted it down into new coin. When even these measures failed to provide enough money for Henry's military schemes, he embraced the advice of his Secretary of State, Sir Thomas Wriothesley, and began to use the royal Mint as a potential source of revenue. The venture was highly advantageous—to the king. To his subjects, it was ruinous. What happened, in fact, was that between 1543 and 1546 silver coins were reduced in both fineness and weight. The "ancient right standard of England," which had fixed the fineness of silver coins at 11 oz. 2 dwt. and the weight at 120 grains, was abandoned.29 During these four

29 For the material in this paragraph, I am indebted to Raymond de Roover, Gresham on Foreign Exchange: An Essay on Early English Mercantilism with the Text of Sir Thomas Gresham's Memorandum for the Understanding of the Exchange (Cam-
years, the fineness was decreased first to ten ounces, then to nine, six, and finally to four. Although the weight of the testoon remained the same, that coin's silver content was reduced from 100 to 40 grains. Mint prices were altered to attract the depositors of bullion. During Edward VI's reign, further debasements were effected in 1549 and 1551, so that, in the latter year, appeared "new testoons, weighing 80 grains like those of the last issue [i.e., that of 1549], but containing only 20 instead of 40 grains fine [silver]. The fineness, consequently, was reduced from one-half to one-fourth, and the new testoons were worse than any coins ever put out by Henry VIII."  

Needless to say, this was not the first time the coins of England or other countries had been debased. In fact, one of the most outstanding of medieval economic treatises is devoted to the subject and was to remain unrivalled for centuries--Nicholas Oresme's Tractatus de Origine, Natura Jure, et Mutacionibus Monetarum (#0236), written about 1355. In that work, the French Bishop maintained that, because the money of a realm belonged to its subjects, kings had no right to consider it their own or to alter its value according to their pleasure. In short, those who did so for the sake of gain were worse than usurers, for they extorted money from people with whom they had never bargained.

To mid-century Tudor intellectuals, the recent debase-

30 de Roover, p. 56.
ments were equally iniquitous, primarily for one reason: they were the cause of the concurrent rise in prices (the dearth) that affected all classes and was particularly oppressive to the poor. Latimer recognized this in 1549, when he delivered two sermons against debasement, stating that the practice had altered the realm's silver into "drosse" and that "the naughtines of the sylver was the occasion of dearth of all thynges in the Realme." 31 In the same year, Sir Thomas Smith devoted his famous Discourse of the Commonweal of This Realm of England (#0261), not published until 1581, to the same question. 32

Smith's works often vie with the published thought of Sir Thomas Wilson as being some of the best political-economic thought (apart from More's, Hooker's, and Bacon's) produced in Tudor England. We have already noted the influence of Smith's De Republica Anglorum in the section on political thought, but it is to his credit that his earlier Discourse reveals a similar breadth of knowledge in another aspect of Tudor life. Like Wilson's Discourse uppon usurye, Smith's work is also structured as a conversation; here the participants are a knight, doctor, merchant, husbandman, and


32 This work first appeared (in 1581) as A Compendious or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints... (see entry #0261), and was long thought to be the work of John Hales. Smith's authorship is fairly definite, however, and hereafter throughout this survey the book will be referred to as his Discourse.
blacksmith. One of the many subjects they discuss is the present dearness of commodities. They point out that the dearth is paradoxical, for never has the realm supplied such a great abundance of victuals and other goods. At the same time, the money with which to purchase them is scarce. The evil is finally traced to the currency debasements. Inflation, the doctor argues, will be cured only by a return of the coinage to its pre-debasement value.

Shortly after Elizabeth's accession, she consented to her ministers' advice to reform the coinage. The subsequent stabilization, however, did not provide the expected remedy against the dearth. Prices continued to rise, and people continued to complain about what appeared to be a scarcity of money. It was also evident that Europe, as well as England, was experiencing the same distress. The cause, therefore, had to be sought elsewhere.

The great French thinker Jean Bodin was perhaps the first to provide insight into the money mystery. He expressed his views in three works: La Response de Maistre Jean Bodin...au paradoxe de monsieur de Malestroit...(#0241), published in 1568; the second edition of this work under the title Discours de Jean Bodin sur le Rehaussement et Diminution des monnoyes...(#0241), which appeared in 1578; and in his earlier Six Livres de La République (#0093). In these works, only the last of which was translated into English, Bodin maintained that the rise in prices was causally connected to the influx of gold and silver from South
America. Spain's conquistadors had imported it, and, although Spain attempted to hoard it during her century of power, it eventually filtered northward into France, the Netherlands, South Germany, and finally England. Thus, in the second half of the sixteenth century, money was plentiful, not scarce. Eventually it became evident that money was a commodity like any other and therefore subject to the law of supply and demand, although Renaissance thinkers did not speak of it as such. At any rate, thanks to Bodin, men gradually learned that money was more than a mere measure of value, as Aristotle had argued. An abundance of money means that the price paid for it will be lower than that paid for it when it is scarce. Thus, since there was more silver coin in circulation, more pieces of silver were required to purchase other commodities. Fewer pieces would have sufficed if money had been scarce. The whole issue is extremely complex, for if it is true that the influx of American metals was responsible for the steady rise in prices throughout Elizabeth's reign, as most modern students of the period contend, this was not the cause in pre-Elizabethan days. Smith and his contemporaries were correct in assuming that the earlier dearth was due to debasement, but, as one modern scholar has phrased it, "they did not always make it clear that the direct cause of the general increase in prices was the abundance of base moneys resulting from debasement rather than debasement itself."  

^33 de Roover, p. 85; italics mine.
Some of Smith's contemporaries realized this, but their views were not widely known. Two writers who argued in this vein were William Lane and John Pryse. The former expressed his opinions in a letter to Lord Burghley; the latter in an unpublished MS. Neither argument was destined to illuminate the money problem.

Another major economic matter, closely related to both the currency and interest rate problems, developed as a result of England's trading policy. Many blamed the lingering economic distress on the fact that England imported more than she exported. The practice was thought to be impoverishing the nation, even as late as 1593, when Sir Henry Knyvett levelled the charge in a House of Commons debate. Lord Burghley expressed the same opinion several times throughout his long career as Elizabeth's chief advisor. Almost all those who wrote about this subject were in general agreement, but several writers also thought that the undervaluation of English coin in the foreign exchange markets was equally responsible.

The problem concerned England's excessive importation of foreign wine, silk, furs, and other luxuries for which she was paying dearly and, of course, venting her money abroad, rather than using it to promote home industry.

34 For Lane, see T.E.D., II, 182-86; for Pryse, see "A Manuscript Treatise on the Coinage by John Pryse, 1553," ed. W. A. J. Archbold, English Historical Review, 13 (Oct. 1898), 709-10. For Pryse, see also entry #0292.

Foreign goods were costly, it was believed, because the English merchants who bought and imported these luxuries from abroad were forced by the foreign exchanges to pay high prices for them, which, in turn, forced them to sell dear at home. In short, England was being robbed. Many scholars and statesmen believed she could right this wrong if imports and exports were equalized. The Renaissance man's love of moderation in all things and the lingering medieval ethics surrounding trade suggested that a balance between imports and exports was the most desirable commercial policy. An example of this view appears in the anonymous Apologie (or defence) [of the Cittie of London] (#0268), which John Stow included in his Survay of London (#0205) in 1598. The writer argued that "great and heedefull regard must be had that Symmetria, and due proportion be kept" in foreign trade, "least other wise eyther the Realme bee defrauded of her treasure, or the subjectes corrupted in vanitie, by excessive importation of superfluous and needelesse Marchandize, or els that we feele penurie, even in our greatest plentie and store by immoderat exportation of our owne needefull commodities."  

A few shrewd thinkers, however, reasoned along different

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36 The Apologie (see entry #0268 for the full title) appears as an appendix in Stow's Survay, in which, in the 1598 edition, pp. 451-69 are incorrectly numbered 467-69. The following quotation from the Apologie (n. 37) appears on p. 465.

37 See n. 36 above.
lines, and, ultimately, their views prevailed as more and more men abandoned either ethics or Symmetria in economic matters. Their belief was that exports should exceed or overbalance imports. Selling more abroad than they bought would drain foreign exchequers and replenish England's.

This opinion is found in two very early works generally attributed to Clement Armstrong: A Treatise concerninge the Staple and the Commodities of this Realme (#0287) and Howe to Reforme the Realme in settyng them to werke and to restore Tillage (#0288). The first of these was written sometime between 1519 and 1535; the second about 1535-36. Neither of these was published, however, until the nineteenth century. Armstrong did not argue for any specific trade doctrine, nor was he well-informed about the economic matters with which he dealt, but he managed to see that excessive imports were economically disastrous. In his opinion, too much money spent for "straunge merchaundise" was passing out of the realm. The remedy was to develop native industry, particularly the woollen cloth trade, so that foreign merchants would be forced to buy either raw or finished goods within England, thereby reversing England's flow of money.

An echo of Armstrong appears in an anonymous 1549 treatise entitled Polices to Reduce this Realme of Englande unto a prosperus wealthe and estate (#0290), which also remained unpublished until the nineteenth century. This writer wished to see more people set to work, even on some
holidays, so that England could export more commodities. As he states it: "The onlie meanes to cause mouche Bullione to be broughte oute of other realmes unto the kinges mintes is to provide that a great quantite of our wares maye be car- riede yerly into beyonde the Sees and lese quantitie of ther wares be brought hether a gaine."\(^{38}\)

A mid-century writer, William Cholmeley, also linked the high prices paid at home for foreign commodities to England's excessive importation of these goods. He stated his views in his *Request and Suite of a True-hearted Englishman* (#0291), written about 1553, but not published until the nineteenth century. Cholmeley was particularly concerned with the cloth-dyeing industry. If this industry were developed at home, he argued, Englishmen would not have to im- port and pay high prices for woollen cloth dyed in Flanders or other countries. England, of course, had always exported great quantities of raw wool for processing and dyeing a- broad, but, in Cholmeley's opinion, "oure clothe is solde to the straungers at his [sic] olde pryce; but the merchandice that commeth in is doubled."\(^{39}\) It was "thexalting of mar- chaundice of forencontreys" that was robbing the realm of gold and silver, Cholmeley claimed.\(^{40}\)

The previously-mentioned William Lane was equally upset

40 Cholmeley, p. 10.
about the high prices of foreign goods. In his letter to Lord Burghley, Lane expressed the hope that it might be "browghte to passe that the comodytys off owre Reme and the travyll of owre pepull solde in forin contres maye exsede in valewe the forin comodytys browghte in, and so muche schall owr commonwelthe be yerely gaynars of them and they nat off us, and we to lyve off them and they nat off us, and owre Reme so myche in Rychyd of there mony or other wyse, and also kepe owre quy[n]e [coin] styll."\(^{41}\)

Two later writers, Gerrard de Malynes and Thomas Milles, pursued the relationship between prices, foreign exchanges, and foreign trade in general well into the seventeenth century. Despite many medieval strains throughout their works, they are two of the most outstanding economists of the period, and both were highly concerned with the problems of foreign trade and commerce.

Malynes is most famous for his Jacobean *Lex Mercatoria*, published in 1622, but some of his turn-of-the-century treatises, though less important, are pertinent to this survey. In 1600, Queen Elizabeth appointed a group of men, among whom was Malynes, to investigate the present money troubles. In the following year appeared Malynes' *A Treatise of the Canker of Englands Common Wealth* (#0270), which might be considered an unofficial report of the commission on which he served. According to Malynes, the canker that

\(^{41}\)In *T.E.D.*, II, 184-85.
was eating away England's wealth was traceable to the foreign exchange merchants who were raising the value of their coin above its standard worth. This meant that England's coin was undervalued, but undervaluation itself, in Malynes' opinion, was not responsible for the high prices of foreign commodities. Furthermore, and most important, England was not profiting as she should from the high prices abroad, since she was selling less than she was buying there. This improper balance between imports and exports, then, had to be corrected. The rate of exchange between countries also had to be adjusted so that one value was not fixed by a country's ruler and another by his subjects (i.e., merchants). Sterling should be exchanged at a par value, thus preventing merchants from considering coin a merchandise and source of gain. It was the duty of ruling princes to control the exchanges through appointed exchangers whose office would be to maintain a par pro pari (value for value) rate of exchange.

Malynes' writings—*A Treatise of the Canker*; his allegory *Saint George*; his 1603 *Englands View, in the Unmasking of Two Paradoxes (#0273)*; and several unpublished MSS—reveal his concern with the exchange controversy and trade doctrines. It should be noted, however, that he was not the first to take the exchangers to task, or to discover that prices abroad were higher than at home, for both Armstrong and Cholmeley had been concerned with these matters many years earlier.
Malynes' contemporary, Thomas Milles, was also disturbed about current exchange practices. He dealt with the controversial subject in his Customers Replie, or Second Apology (#0275), published in 1604. There he argued that trade should be governed by a "commutative justice" that provided for an equal exchange of commodities and prevented merchants from realizing private advantages. His opinions were published in order to refute the recent work of John Wheeler, secretary of the Merchant Adventurers Company, whose 1601 Treatise of Commerce (#0271) defended that company against those who accused it of attempting to secure a monopoly on foreign trade. To Milles, Wheeler and his fellows constituted those "private societies of merchants and covetous persons" who actually ruled kingdoms. Because they controlled the wealth of countries and even lent money to monarchs, they were now the kings, and kings were merely subjects.

Of all these thinkers concerned with trade and commerce, it is probably Malynes to whom the science of economics owes most. His introduction of the term "overbalancing" was later discovered to be the origin of the balance of trade doctrine, and his use of the term "capital," meaning the ready cash and merchandise with which a merchant initiates business, became a standard economic concept. He also contributed to the quantity theory of money.42

42 Beer, p. 112.
Another economic issue much discussed by writers of the period was the enclosure system, which was generally thought to be the cause of depopulation of towns, unemployment, beggary, poverty, famine, and related socio-economic ills. Essentially, enclosure refers to the practice of converting arable land into pasture, mainly for the sheep that produced England's greatest export—raw wool and, later, processed woollen cloths. The practice dates back to the pre-Tudor era, during which period its effects were most violently experienced. It continued to receive considerable attention, however, throughout the next three centuries. The problem began when wealthy landlords and sheep graziers appropriated commons land and turned it into pasturage for their flocks, thereby hoping to reap greater profits from England's woollen industry.

The enclosing of commons land was particularly grievous to the lower classes, who had held long-standing rights to these lands. Forced off the soil, they were compelled to seek new employment elsewhere. The growing weaving and cloth-processing industries attracted many, but large numbers were left without livelihoods. These moved into the larger cities in increasing numbers, and eventually the plight of England's poor arrested the attention of the officials of both Church and State. Various poor-relief measures were instituted, and eventually, in 1601, the first Poor Law was put into effect.\(^{43}\)

\(^{43}\) For information on various poor relief and philan-
It is difficult to determine just how wide-spread and disastrous the enclosure system was. One modern authority argues that it did not affect all parts of the country, but was basically confined to the Midlands region. Moreover, it seems that the system was not always undertaken by rapacious and greedy landlords merely for the sake of gain, but rather for a variety of motives, some of which stimulated agricultural improvements. Nor is there reason to hold the practice totally responsible for depopulation and unemployment, as many Renaissance writers and more recent historians have claimed.

Nevertheless, throughout the Tudor and early Stuart periods, the enclosure system was violently attacked, and many writers did not hesitate to conjecture, even statistically, about the magnitude of it. The practice is referred to by Sir Thomas More in Utopia (#0248) as early as 1516, and, a few years later, was severely criticized in the two previously-mentioned tracts attributed to Clement Armstrong. 


44Joan Thirsk, Tudor Enclosures, Historical Association Pamphlet, General Series No. 41 (London: The Historical Association, 1958; rpt. 1967). I am indebted to this study for the ideas paraphrased in this paragraph.
In this author's opinion, enclosures were responsible for the desolation of between 400 and 500 villages in the central part of England over the past sixty-year period. His contemporary, Thomas Starkey, also attacked enclosures in his unpublished Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset, composed between 1536 and 1538.

By mid century, many continued to blame the enclosure system for both past and present economic hardships. Among these were Robert Crowley in his Way to Wealth, published in 1550, and Thomas Becon in his Jewel of Joye, published in 1553, both of which are religiously-oriented works concerned with the conditions of the poor and with remedies for their distress. Crowley and Becon were joined by an anonymous contemporary who, between 1550 and 1553, published his anti-enclosure sentiments in a tract entitled Certain causes gathered together, wherein is shewed the decaye of England, only by the great multitude of shepe. According to this author's estimates, enclosures had reduced 300,000 people to beggary throughout England.

Thirty years later, similar attitudes were expressed by anti-enclosureists. In the previously-mentioned Discourse of Sir Thomas Smith, for example, the knight attempts to argue that enclosures have brought about increased productivity and wealth in many English counties, but his defense is put down by the doctor, who counters that any gains have been accompanied by much unemployment and misery for the poor and small farmers. In his opinion, enclosures are motivated
only by man's unquenchable greed and avarice. The practice also appears among the abuses singled out for attack by Stubbes in 1583 in his well-known *Anatomie*, mentioned earlier in connection with usury. And, as late as 1612, John Moore, in his *Target for Tillage* (#0280), claimed that the enclosure system was contrary to the divinely-instituted order of the universe.

No one, it seems, argued for the system, at least during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Nor does it appear to have been experienced abroad. Continental writers are often concerned with the problems of poverty, and, occasionally, one encounters interesting speculations relating population growth and agricultural productivity, as in Botero's *Treatise, Concerning the causes of the Magnificencie and greatness of Cities* (#0245), first published in Italy in 1596 and translated into English by Robert Peterson in 1606.

While the enclosure system was confined to England, it was not, of course, the only cause of widespread poverty and economic hardship. Quite often, rack-renting, fixed salaries, and the inability of veterans returning from wars abroad to find employment at home are cited by Tudor writers as other causes of poverty. Space does not allow discussion of these ancillary issues, but it is hoped that the student wishing to pursue them will be aided by the bibliographical entries.\footnote{The interested student should also consult Section II,}
It should be clear from the foregoing survey of the economic issues most often discussed by Tudor and early Stuart writers that economic life of the period was complex and riddled with controversy. Oddly enough, we search most of Shakespeare's English history plays in vain for any extended treatment of Renaissance economic life. Occasionally in these plays we notice some particular economic problem, such as the weavers' and clothiers' plight in *Henry VIII* or the indebtedness of that monarch's lords who are buying up manors and monastic properties. *Henry IV* provides a brief glimpse at the economic life of London, and the Jack Cade episodes in *Henry VI* depict, unsympathetically, social and economic unrest. But for Shakespeare's treatment of usury, money, profit, trade and commerce, industry, unemployment, or poverty we turn to other plays—generally *The Merchant of Venice*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *Timon of Athens*. Or we must consult other playwrights. Shakespeare, in the first nine history plays, appears to be either uninterested or conservative about economic matters. *Henry VIII*, different in so many ways from Shakespeare's earlier histories, is also different in that it depicts a more troubled age, economically as well as politically and socially. While almost all of Shakespeare's plays contain images associated with economic affairs, these images alone do not clarify Shakespeare's attitude toward the economic life around him.

under the heading "Works on War and Peace," for discussions of the special problems faced by veterans.
They merely tell us that he was aware of it. In the history plays, with the exception of Henry VIII, Shakespeare is concerned with England's older history, with war, with kingship and power, with political upheaval. Perhaps he realized that the good or bad life—economically speaking—depended upon the resolutions of these overriding concerns.

Attitudes on War and Peace

Throughout Elizabeth's reign, Englishmen produced a relatively small number of books devoted to a purely theoretical discussion of war and peace. We simply do not find, in the second half of the sixteenth century, great thinkers and humanists of the Erasmian stamp denouncing war as folly and as a human activity capable of being eradicated throughout Christendom by reasonable men. Instead, we find a considerable number of works devoted to the art of war. The approach of the Armada in 1588 and the continuing Spanish threat, plus the long wars on the Continent, prompted new efforts in this area. Moreover, new military inventions—particularly the gun—necessitated up-dated manuals of instruction on the techniques of warfare. Because the late

The following survey owes much to several modern studies listed in Sections III or IV of the bibliography. Among these, Robert P. Adams' The Better Part of Valor... (#0552) and Paul A. Jorgensen's Shakespeare's Military World (#0640) were invaluable. Also helpful was G. Geoffrey Langsam's Martial Books and Tudor Verse (#0549). For further comments about the particular merits of these three books, see notes 48 and 54 below. The latter note also comments upon other useful studies relevant to this survey, but not extensively employed in its preparation.
Elizabethans realized their vulnerability to war, they took a practical and realistic attitude toward it, turning their attention to new war machines and to manuals on the art of war.

War was still denounced, but no one thought of it as other than an inevitable part-time occupation of the human race. Most writers expressed the need to arm, to be ready, to be inventive. Peace—the goal of war—could not be achieved or maintained, they argued, unless these conditions were met. Ironically, Elizabeth paid little attention to these safeguards; yet she managed to maintain peace and peaceful relationships within and without her borders, albeit not without considerable effort. But she constantly rejected proposals for a standing army, which she considered a too costly investment, and only grudgingly rewarded those subjects who served in military campaigns abroad. To her way of thinking, soldiers were to return home to civilian occupations, not to barracks, practice fields, and wages granted by the government. She had little sympathy for the art of war and the military profession.

Nevertheless, these were the topics taken up by military writers of the period, both those who gained their knowledge of war from books and those who gained it through experience. Almost all the authors comment in a general way about the nature of war and peace, but they are primarily concerned with military tactics, stratagems, battle formations, encampment, sieges, recruitment, and a host of other
practical matters relating to war. Of these affairs, this survey makes little mention. Instead, the remarks are generally limited to attitudes toward war and peace, for rebellion, civil discord, and even England's involvement in large-scale war were ever-present possibilities. They are also the issues more pertinent to Shakespeare's history plays.

Similar to the other intellectual concerns of the period, Tudor and Stuart thought on war and peace drew heavily upon classical, medieval, and contemporary continental writings. The basic classical works on war were not numerous, and they primarily contained descriptions of various military exploits and rules for war. Among those most frequently cited are Frontinus' *Strategemes, Sleyghtes and Policies of Warre* (#0302), translated by Richard Morison in 1539; Onosander's *Of the General Captain and of his office* (#0303), englished by Peter Whytehorne in 1563; and Vegetius' *Foure booke...of Martiall policye* (#0304), translated by John Sadler in 1572. Frontinus and Vegetius were considered the most authoritative of ancient writers on war. Onosander was admired for his moral attitude and for his emphasis upon the virtues a commander should possess; he also believed the cause for war must be a good one. Their translators provided Englishmen with useful works on the conduct of war, and they justified their translations by

47 There were, of course, many classical writers (e.g., Cicero, Seneca, Ovid, Lucretius, Plutarch) who wrote theoretically about war and peace, but this body of thought is beyond the scope of the present survey and bibliography.
arguing that war's inevitability required a commonwealth to pay attention to military discipline. This argument is heard again and again throughout the century. But classical works on war, now conveniently translated into English, were only one source feeding Renaissance military thought. Another was the body of doctrine promulgated by the Church.48

During the early years of the Christian era and, indeed, throughout the next fifteen centuries, several new subjects and controversies were introduced by those who addressed themselves to the subject of war. The early Christians were strongly committed to non-violence and antimilitarism. But while the shedding of Christian blood was considered sinful, Christians were often forced by state authorities, to whom they also owed obedience, to take up arms. Thus, they found themselves in a distressing situation. As the Church grew stronger, the ideal of non-violence was upheld by Christians until the time of St. Augustine, who argued that war was "just" for Christians if directed against pagans. Moreover, war, to St. Augustine, was God's punishment for men's sins. Ultimately, then, even the Church came to sanction the use of force, particularly its use against pagans and heretics, and later the Church launched war on a larger scale against

48 For the sections that follow, up to and including that on humanistic thought, I am considerably indebted to Robert P. Adams, The Better Part of Valor: More, Erasmus, Colet, and Vives, on Humanism, War, and Peace, 1496-1535 (see entry #0552). This brilliant and scholarly book gives a brief survey of pre-humanistic thought on war and peace and a detailed account of the relevant writings of the four humanists named.
the Turks.

The ideal, of course, was a universal peace throughout Christendom, for the Church taught that Christendom—the ideal society governed by divine and natural law—united all men in love and peace. For this reason, the early popes labored to suppress local and international hostilities, but their efforts were futile. The medieval period was racked with war, and even the Church resorted to force in order to establish the ideal of a Pax Ecclesiae. Nevertheless, even as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the question whether war was "just" for Christians was repeatedly asked, and there were many who argued on the negative side. To them, primitive Christianity had made it clear that Christians were to fight with the spirit, not with the sword, and thus they considered war, force, and violence to be sinful and forbidden. So believed Dante, Marsilius of Padua, and Wycliffe in the fourteenth century.

But even then erosive forces were at work against the ideal of a Pax Ecclesiae, which, despite these forces, did not entirely disappear, for it is written large throughout the works of the early Tudor humanists almost two hundred years later. Early in the fourteenth century, however, Marsilius of Padua in his Defensor Pacis (#0305), completed in 1324, had already pointed toward the new nationalistic forces rising throughout the world. Ultimately, nationalism, as well as corruption in the Church initiated by popes who were thirsty for temporal power, destroyed all hope for
universal peace. By the first decade of the sixteenth century, these corrosive processes were virtually complete, and the warrior pope, Julius II (1503-13), motivated by lust for power, had himself donned armor and gloried in his bloody triumph over Bologna.

Thus, Christians of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries never knew the universal peace that had once seemed possible. War, or at best an armed peace, continued to be the theme of the history of man.

The fifteenth century, indeed, is remembered more for its wars than for the original thought generated on the subject. Furthermore, the few works produced are not outstanding as documents of social criticism against war or as defenses of peace. They largely contain medieval commonplaces on war and rules for its conduct as set down by Frontinus and Vegetius, who are often cited. Writers continued to deplore war's destructiveness, but they also believed, in accordance with Church doctrine, that war was "just" for Christians on certain occasions. Moreover, chivalry was beginning to decline. The sons of noblemen were no longer pursuing chivalric war, the erstwhile occupation of the nobility, and military works of the period are often propaganda pieces intended to revive this fading concept. One or more of the above-mentioned ideas are expressed in the small number of English military works or translations of foreign books of the period. And, because this is the period of English history from which Shakespeare took material for his two tetral-
ologies, two typical works (one French and one English) are included in the bibliography for the sake of the medieval attitudes toward war which they contain. Others, not included in the bibliography but mentioned in the following paragraphs, can be investigated by the interested student.

The first works to be noted are those of the French writers Honoré Bonet and his disciple Christine de Pisan. Bonet's L'arbre des batailles (ca. 1387) and Pisan's Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie (ca. 1408-09) reveal the authors' humane attitudes toward war. It may be justly engaged in by Christians if the cause is to maintain justice, to quell oppression, to recover usurped territories, or to defend Christendom. But wars for the sake of a prince's ambition or revenge are declared unlawful, and never should violence be directed against innocent noncombatants. Christine de Pisan also contributed modest proposals for reform: the need for adversaries to arbitrate disputes and the prince's duty to submit his cause to wise counsel. Both of these endeavors should be seriously undertaken before a prince declares war, Pisan maintained.

These two works were later translated into English. Pisan's, the more important of the two, was engilshed and printed by William Caxton as The Fayt of Armes & of Chyvalrye (¹0306) in 1489. Caxton's other translations—Godefroy of Bologne, the Libre del orde de cavayleria of Ramon Lull (a medieval French compilation on war published by Caxton as The Book of the Order of Chyvalry), and Malory's Morte
Darthur—were attempts to revive the decaying chivalric ideals, but the succeeding periods of humanism, reform, and renaissance proved his efforts vain.

Another work of the period, the anonymous English Boke of Noblesse (#0352), was not published until the nineteenth century, but is of considerable value for the light it sheds on military attitudes during the Wars of the Roses. The work was composed about 1460, although additions were made in or around 1475. The work has a political and patriotic purpose. It encourages Edward IV to invade France in order to reclaim his lost possessions there, and it attempts to instill in Edward's nobles a sense of the glory they could achieve from this invasion. The author acknowledges war's evils; he even admits that many Christians condemn war as unlawful and unjust. Nevertheless, because even the Church has maintained that some wars are sanctioned by God, the author manages to bring his argument around to where he wants it: the French have often broken the peace; thus, Edward can rightfully claim his share in that kingdom. The author gives as causes for a just war the same as those outlined by Christine de Pisan, to whom he refers.

It should be mentioned, however, that about this same time a far greater English thinker, Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor to Henry VI, declared that the English had no strong basis for their claims to France. He expressed this opinion in his Governance of England (#0102), a political-legalistic work composed between 1471-76. Of all the English writers
of the fifteenth century, Fortescue was the only one who wrote constructive criticism concerning the power of a monarch. Although his works are not concerned with military matters, Fortescue is mentioned here for the light he sheds on a period which had earlier celebrated Henry V's victory at Agincourt but had also suffered through the bloody Wars of the Roses. And, had he lived until its completion, perhaps Fortescue would have commented on Edward IV's inglorious invasion of France in 1475.49

With the advent of humanism at the turn of the century, there also appeared new hope for the eradication of war. The humanists were vigorous in their denunciations of the warmongering that continued to inflict scars across the face of Europe. From the death of Lorenzo de Medici in 1492, Italy had scarcely known a moment's peace, nor would she while Popes Alexander VI and Julius II manipulated with local and foreign princes for control of major and minor states, powers, and kingdoms. The French kings Louis XII and Francis I played no small part in these bids for power, nor did Maximilian, the Holy Roman Emperor. And in England, Henry VII, whose reign promised a new and peaceful era after the long struggles between the Houses of York and Lancaster, did not govern without trouble—the Battle of Blackheath, for example. And, of course, Henry VIII once again launched war against France to claim those territories that had been

49 Fortescue died in 1476. The invasion was resolved by a truce which was largely unfavorable to the English.
disputed so often in the past.

Against all this, the humanists raised loud cries for reasonableness, for responsible government, for peace, and particularly for Christian and brotherly love.

In his lectures on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, delivered at the University of Oxford about 1497, John Colet reinterpreted Romans 13, in which St. Paul counseled his Christian flock in the Roman state about the necessity for non-violence and for obedience to the Roman authorities. This was one of the Biblical passages from which the earlier schoolmen had derived the opinion that war, despite its evils and in certain situations, was a just and lawful means of maintaining the Church. But Colet, in returning to the Biblical text and ignoring the scholastic commentary heaped upon it, maintained that the text, when correctly understood, made it evident that war could not produce peace. "For it is not by war, that war is conquered," said Colet, "but by peace, and forbearance, and reliance on God. And in truth by this virtue we see that the apostles overcame the whole world, and by suffering were the greatest doers, and by being vanquished were the greatest victors; and, in short, by their death, more than by aught else, left life upon the earth." 50 Evil produces only evil, not good, argued Colet, and thus war can never be lawful for Christians. By ex-

pressing these ideas, Colet initiated in England a new wave of humanistic criticism against war.

Soon to follow from the Continent were the famous Latin works of Erasmus: his *Adagia*, first published in 1500 and reissued in expanded versions many times throughout the next three decades; his *Moriae encomium*, better known by its English title *The Praise of Folly* (#0309), first published in 1511; his *Bellum Erasmi* (#0307), which first appeared in the 1515 version of the *Adagia*; and his *Querela Pacis* (#0310), issued by Froben in Basel in 1517. All of these works were later translated into English, the most famous of them, the *Moriae encomium*, in 1549. In 1516, appeared More's *Utopia* (#0321), printed in Louvain.

A central theme runs throughout Erasmus' works on war and peace: man's body was framed for peace; when man arms for war, he falls to the level of a beast. The lunacy of war is heavily underlined in Folly's satirical praise of the

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51 The works mentioned here are only some, and the most famous, of Erasmus' many writings on war and peace. His first major attempt at social criticism in this area was his *Oration on Peace and Discord Against the Seditious* (ca. 1490). The 1508 version of the *Adages* contained one entitled "Dulce bellum inexpertis," upon which theme he only briefly commented. This adage was rewritten as a full-length essay, the *Bellum Erasmi*, for the 1515 edition of the *Adages*, and, because of its immense popularity, it was often published separately throughout Europe during the following years.

52 While the *Utopia* and Erasmus' *Praise of Folly* are not works primarily concerned with war and peace, both devote considerable space to these issues. Both works are difficult to classify. Only the former has been entered among the primary political works in Section II of the bibliography, but neither is it, strictly speaking, a purely "political" work. Erasmus is represented there by his *Institutio principis*
ingenious inventions "civilized" man has constructed for the purpose of wholesale destruction. No one is more severely attacked than the present leaders of Christendom—the war-like Julius II in particular, and all those who pervert the teachings of Christ and Holy Scripture to justify war. The Bellum Erasmi is addressed to Julius' successor, Leo X, whom Erasmus calls upon to take the lead in establishing peace. The Querela Pacis makes an impassioned appeal to all the Christian princes to find peaceful means of settling their hostilities. In all these works, Erasmus contends that war need not be necessary or inevitable. Man's tremendous progress—in learning, the arts, and human values—implies that he can find some way to cure his insane inclination to war. The only war that could possibly be necessary, Erasmus grudgingly concedes, is that directed against the Turks to protect Christendom from their attacks, but he would prefer to see them wooed to Christianity. This might be possible, he argues, if men lived exemplary Christian lives.

More's Utopia also makes an appeal to man's intelligence and capacity for peace. The right use of man's divine gifts will lead him to a discovery of natural and divine law, neither one of which condones man's attack upon his fellow. Hythlodaye argues that social evils are man-made, and thus it is man who must find the cause of war and take measures to abolish it. If princes and their governors ruled for the Christiani (#0070), a more formal political work than The Praise of Folly.
good of their subjects, not to satisfy their own greed, the good life might be within the reach of every man. Indeed, the Utopians consider war justified only when it is waged to protect this good life or to spread it abroad. If and when they must engage in war, they employ mercenaries, the "Zapoletans," to fight their battles and to protect their island. Furthermore, the common man, in More's opinion, is not responsible for war, but rather those powerful and tyrannical members of society who revel in it and draw others unwillingly into it. The insanity of princes, then, is the major cause of war, and if princes would learn to rule justly and with the use of reason, Utopia might become more than an ideal—at least in one small island—England. 53

But the humanistic appeals for peace, however well heard, went largely unheeded. In 1521 the Turks conquered Belgrade and then laid siege to Rhodes, which capitulated in the winter of 1522-23. The current Pope, Adrian VI, called upon the Christian princes to unite against Islam for the preservation of Rome and Christendom, but the appeal fell on deaf ears, particularly in England. Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey were busy with their French wars, launched in 1523, and reacted with indifference to the Pope's request. In the same year, Henry also carried his expensive

53 See Adams, The Better Part of Valor..., pp. 144-57, for a brilliant discussion and analysis of More's treatment of war and peace in Utopia, a work too rich and diverse to do justice to in this survey. Adams is equally fine on Erasmus.
military campaigns into Scotland in order to effect a political union with his northern neighbor. The nationalistic motives recognized by Marsilius of Padua two centuries earlier were gradually driving out the hopes for the universal peace envisioned and revived by the humanists. England was not alone responsible, for the nationalistic ambitions rising there were similar to those being vented by the European powers.

No Renaissance work so well describes this period of general havoc wrought by war throughout Europe in the first three decades of the century as does Guicciardini's famous History of Italy (#0314), published in Florence in 1561 and translated into English by Sir Geoffrey Fenton in 1579. Indeed, his history is a history of war and of the greed and ambition of all those European princes who made it their business during these years. Guicciardini is emphatic about the cause of war--ambition--and describes its manifestations in chilling detail. Also evident throughout the work is a relentless, perhaps even cynical, realism. By mid-century, it is clear that peace, at best, and in the future, will be nothing but an armed cessation of war, a truce maintained with armor, iron engines, and disciplined military might. As one reads Guicciardini, he almost hears the famous Florentine sigh over the fall of the humanistic ideals and of the peace nourished in his own city by the long-dead Lorenzo de Medici. Along with the sighs is heard the pen ceaselessly scratching the history of what now appears to be the perma-
nent, inevitable lot of man—war.

Needless to say, Guicciardini was not unique in this respect. His contemporary Machiavelli also was a realist and far more cold and calculating than his fellow Florentine. By its very title, Machiavelli's *Arte of warre* (#0311), translated into English by Peter Whitehorne in 1560-62, reveals the directions later Renaissance writings on war would take. In this work and *The Prince* (#0095), Machiavelli holds that war must needs be a principal occupation of any ruler, who must constantly cultivate the art of it. No city or state is safe without forces of defense. Thus, during peace time, a prince must train his subjects in warfare so that they can employ it for their "glorie" when the need arises. This does not mean that a prince is to make war continually, only that he must be prepared for its inevitable occurrence. These sentiments were to be widely echoed in both continental and English military works of the post-humanist era.

A few of the more important continental works require mention, for they found translators in England throughout the rest of the century and contributed much to Elizabethan military thought. Almost all of them acknowledge indebtedness to Frontinus and Vegetius, and many reiterate medieval opinions on just and unjust wars. Moreover, all are primarily technical works addressed to the professional soldier (and to his prince, of course) and came to be regarded in England as authoritative sources on military science.
Some were written early in the century, others late, but it is best to treat them as a group before turning to the English works of the Elizabethan period.

One of the earlier important works was Jacopo di Porcia's *Preceptes of warre* (#0308). Its English translation by Peter Betham appeared in 1544. It is a curious blend of medieval and modern thought. On the one hand, the cause for war, says Porcia, must be just, and enemies should engage in arbitration to prevent bloodshed, if possible. But, on the other hand, a wise prince, if he knows an enemy plans to attack him, will strike first, for his glory will be greater the more boldness he shows.

More important is Sieur de Fourquevaux's *Instructions for the warres* (#0316), first published anonymously in French in 1548, although it may have been begun as early as 1538. Its English translation, by Paul Ive, appeared in 1589. Ive mistakenly attributed the book to Guillaume du Bellay, in whose possession it was found at the time of his death. It was widely read and used in England as a manual on military science. It contains little theory on war and peace, but a strong moral attitude toward war is evident throughout. Fourquevaux maintains that a prince, if compelled by a just cause, should "make the least outrageous and bloody warres that he might, and the shortest." He also maintains, interestingly, that a soldier is not to question the cause of his prince nor refuse to serve in his wars. To do either would be to resist God, whom the prince serves.
The soldier must simply rely on the good faith of his ruler.

Moderation and morality in war were also themes in two other significant French works: Francois de la Noue's *Policke And Military Discourses* (#0315) and Bertrand de Loque's *Discourses of Warre and single Combat* (#0317). The first of these, one of the most important military works of the sixteenth century, was translated into English by E. Aggas and issued in 1587; the second was englished by J. Eliot and appeared in 1591. Both authors deplore wars of ambition, but defend those undertaken for a just cause. To La Noue, peace and politic government are the desired goals, but peace can sometimes be a shameful bondage and therefore as unjust as some wars. De Loque argues in a similar vein and believes that a prince may, "with a safe conscience," defend his state or the Church against invaders. He cites both the Old and New Testaments in defending those wars Christians may "justly" engage in.

In 1595 appeared the English translation, by Arthur Golding, of Jacques d'Hurault's *Policke, Moral, and Martial Discourses* (#0318), a book strongly colored by Machiavellian influence and heavily indebted to classical sources. Hurault knew little about modern war practices, but argues that it is a prince's duty to establish good orders for war as well as good laws for politic government. Good orders, or the orderly conduct of war in general, were important concepts to both Hurault and Machiavelli and were also stressed by several English writers, but I shall have more
to say on this matter later.

By the time these last-mentioned European works had appeared in English translations, English writers had already produced a large number of books on military and related subjects. The range of thought contained in these indigenous works is considerable, for they were products of very dissimilar temperaments. Many of the writers were professional soldiers at the rank of captain or above, but not all were equally educated. They approached their subject seriously, but were often given to disputation, depending on whether they supported the ancient or the modern practices of war. In some other respects, they reveal a considerable uniformity of opinion. Little of their thought can be described as original, but it nevertheless reveals the attitudes of a new era—Shakespeare's own—and will, perhaps, contribute to an understanding of the poet's treatment of war and peace in the history plays.  

54 For the following section on English military works, I am largely indebted to Paul A. Jorgensen, Shakespeare's Military World (#0640), and to G. Geoffrey Langsam, Martial Books and Tudor Verse (#0549). Equally illuminating, however, are Henry J. Webb, Elizabethan Military Science: The Books and the Practice (#0553) and C. G. Cruickshank, Elizabeth's Army (#0554). Jorgensen admirably discusses the military treatises, the major controversies and attitudes, and Shakespeare's use of military matters in several plays. Langsam treats in considerable detail the wide range of topics dealt with in sixteenth-century English military works and includes an extensive bibliography. My categorization of works in the following section owes something to Langsam. Webb and Cruickshank deal more with the technical than with the theoretical aspects of war and military life. For a brief account of military campaigns in Elizabeth's reign, Elizabeth's attitudes to military matters, and developments in the art of war, see Sir Charles Oman, A History
A large number of these works are technical manuals on warfare or practical instructions for those in the military profession. Nevertheless, they express a widely current attitude: peace can be maintained only by the continual exercise of arms. The nation that ignores martial training is not only weak and indefensible in the age of inevitable war, but is also susceptible either to dishonorable oppression from without or to corruption from within. Jorgensen speaks of this body of writers as the "alarmists."

Peace troubled them, for they saw it as a time susceptible to sloth and, more importantly, to internal dissension. It was still sound, politically, to keep the people's "giddy minds" busied "with foreign quarrels," as Henry IV tells Prince Hal in 2 Henry IV (IV. v. 213-14). Such activity would allow less opportunity for rebellion. Even those who spoke of war and peace from the pulpit and those who wrote military treatises heavily saturated with religious or Scriptural sentiment supported these views. They can be seen, for instance, in Thomas Procter's Of the knowledge and conducte of warres (#0326), published in 1578 and generally considered the first technical military book written by an Englishman. Procter cites the Bible to prove that wars are valid for Christians in certain cases and even sanctioned by

of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century (#0548), pp. 368-89, an older work sometimes criticized by more recent students of the subject, but still valuable.

55 Ibid., passim.
God. He supports this view by arguing that valid wars are always carried on "under orders and government," the last of which, of course, is of divine origin. Hence, a divinely-instituted Christian commonwealth need have no qualms about undertaking such a war. These basic ideas, with variations, are echoed in many of the technical books that followed, such as Thomas Styward's *Pathwaie to Martiaall Discipline* (#0330), 1581; Sir John Smythe's *Certain Discourses...Militarie* (#0335), 1590, and his *Instructions, Observations, and Orders Militarie* (#0340), 1594; and Robert Barret's *Theorike and Practike of Modern Warres* (#0345), 1598.

Another group of writers confined themselves more to general thoughts on war and peace, although some also took up technical or practical military matters. Like those in the former group, these writers argued for military preparedness and heavily underscored the bad effects of peace. Indeed, a wide-spread belief among all these writers was that peace could be poisonous to a country and that either war or military training could be therapeutic. One of the most famous of military figures in Elizabethan England, Barnabe Rich, is very emphatic on this point. In his *Allarme to England* (#0327), published in 1579, and a later work, *Faultes Faultes, and nothing else but Faultes* (#0350), 1606, he argued that peace has many perils, although he and others described with equal vividness the evils of war. Peace, however, is often attended with idleness, luxuriance, effeminacy, and a host of other ills that corrupt a nation and
make it vulnerable to invasion. A nation must therefore look to martial exercise as the "Phisitian to a decayed estate," as Rich phrased it. We find the sentiment also expressed by Geoffry Gates in his *Defence of Militarie Profession* (#0329), published in 1579, in which he argued that peace, not war, is the scourge of God and a plague to a nation grown fat on pleasures and prosperity. Others compared peace to a disease, a leprous or cancerous condition that required purging. If the purge could not be effected through war or military exercise, then the exercise of religion was necessary, as John Norden, among others, argued in his *Mirror of Honor* (#0344), a religiously-oriented military tract published in 1597. The thought lingered on into the next period, and was expressed by Barnabe Barnes in his *Foure Bookes of Offices* (#0349), published in 1606. And Fulke Greville in "Of Peace" and "Of War" in his *Treatise of Monarchy* (#0354), although not published until several years after his death in 1628, speaks of war as purging "the imposthum'd humors of a Peace," echoing Hamlet's remark to the Captain of Fortinbras' army (IV. iv. 27-29).

Two other views were also widely current—the cyclical theory of war and peace and the idea that a symbolic order is to be found in both conditions. In his *Fennes Frutes* (#0333), published in 1590, Thomas Fenne speaks of a never-ending cycle beginning with man's "unsatisfiable appetites," which cause him to war upon his neighbor. The result is destruction and poverty, which humbles man and makes him
peaceable once again. Soon, however, peace leads to wealth and prosperity, an enviable condition, which prompts man to satisfy his "unsatiable appetites"—through war. The cycle once completed, repeats itself ad infinitum. Most military writers accepted, or implied acceptance of, this cyclical theory, although its classical origin made it repugnant to the more serious Christians and spokesmen for the Church. The majority, however, believed that a healthy state required a balance between war and peace, just as the healthy body required a balance among its humours.

Order, particularly in the conduct of war, was highly stressed by many writers. The return of chaos was all too possible if military powers did not observe order, both in their battles and within their organization. A disordered battle was more likely to bring defeat than victory to the army at fault. Hence, it was argued again and again that an army should be commanded by only one man and according to one plan. Divided command, a lack of knowledge about strategy, or discord within any rank of the military hierarchy, was ruinous. This stress on order is to be found in the previously-mentioned works of Machiavelli and Hurault, and it was still an important attitude well into the Jacobean period. The perils of joint command, for instance, are pointed out by Sir Clement Edmondes in his comments to Caesar’s Commentaries, published in 1600. Sir Robert

56 Caesar’s Commentaries on the Gallic Wars, although a very popular book in the Renaissance, has not been entered
Dallington, in his *Aphorismes Civill and Militarie* (#0351), published in 1613, speaks in particular of the bad effects of discord and dissension among commanding and other high-ranking officers. Finally, less ominous, but no less serious, is Sir John Davies' reference to "well-ordered war" in his poem *Orchestra* (#0142), published in 1596. Great armies, ranked in battle formations or on the march, reflect the orderly measures of dancers, said Davies, echoing a comparison also made by Machiavelli. Peace also reflects order, the divinely-established order of the universe.

Another group of writers are those who might conveniently be called the military reformers. To them, reforms were needed at the governmental level as well as within the military profession. Most of them favored a standing army financed by the government and kept in a constant state of martial readiness. But this proposal never appealed to the parsimonious Queen. She called up military forces when necessary to squelch rebellion at home, aid allies abroad, or for some of her minor scuffles with England's perpetual enemies--France, Spain, and Scotland--but she vetoed the idea of making war a livelihood either for herself or for her soldiers. Balked by the Queen in this matter, the reformers hoped for at least greater benefits for soldiers who had served under Elizabeth's aegis. This proposal also met in this bibliography. It is primarily an account of the Gallic Wars, and Edmondes' "Observations" do not significantly contribute to Renaissance military thought.
with little favor, although sometimes Elizabeth's hand was forced. Many laments are expressed about the low esteem of the soldier's profession and the evil courses veterans were often forced into. In short, the soldiers saw themselves as the primary defenders of the realm, their profession as an honorable one, but both as severely maltreated. Their complaints were justified, but not often redressed. They also criticized various practices within the profession. The loudest complaint was that soldiers often simply were not paid. A frequent practice of captains—collecting "dead pays"—accounted for another misuse of the money levied for campaigns. When their soldiers' wages arrived, the captains would often send their men on dangerous missions from which they did not expect them to return and then pocket the wages of those who met this fate. One will recall that, in 2 Henry IV, this is Falstaff's practice. Equally abused was the system of recruitment, and again Falstaff offers a prime example.

These are only some of the abuses, and Barnabe Rich seems to have been the most vocal among those who sought to reform them. Besides the two earlier-mentioned works, his reputation also rests upon his Right Excelent...Dialogue, betwene Mercury and an English Souldier (#0325), published in 1574; his Path-way to Military practise (#0332), published in 1587; and his Souldiers Wishe to Britons Welfare (#0348), which appeared in 1604. All of these books deal with the malpractices mentioned above. Grievances or reforms
were also vented by several other writers, among the most significant of whom were Matthew Sutcliffe, Sir Henry Knyvett, and Thomas and Dudley Digges. In his *Practice, Proceedings, And Lawes of Armes* (#0339), published in 1593, Sutcliffe argued for a standing army, a better system of recruitment, and a general overhaul of the military discipline. Knyvett proposed a practical scheme for the formation of a "national guard" in his *Defence of the Realme* (#0355), written about 1596, but not published until this century. Finally, in their *Foure Paradoxes, or politique Discourses* (#0347), published in 1604, the Diggeses strongly criticized their "age of Militarie corruptions" and, even more vigorously than Rich, assailed a host of practices.

Nor were only the upper echelons and the government attacked. The common soldiers were repeatedly admonished to amend their often disgraceful lives and actions by cultivating the moral and manly virtues. Writers like George Whetstone in his *Honorable reputation of a Souldier* (#0331), published in 1585, held up classical examples of heroism for imitation. To describe the ideal general was the purpose of the anonymous *Myrrour for English Souldiers* (#0341), printed in 1595, but it also outlined admirable qualities for development by military men at all ranks. We read these tracts with no little irony when we recall the hard lot of Elizabethan soldiers. Their lives might have been more praiseworthy had they been treated more decently, particu-
larly in the matter of wages. They complained far less about the actual hardships of military life than about this indignity, which frequently caused them to desert.

In a league with the above-mentioned "guide books" were the works of Sir William Segar, the foremost Renaissance authority on honor. Generally addressed to the nobility, whether they served on the battle field, at court, or in other gentlemanly occupations, Segar's works present a curious blend of the old and the new. His Booke of Honor and Armes (#0334), published in 1590, deals with the niceties involved in maintaining one's honor in either private or public disputes. It is a manual for the latter-day knight, in essence. A second work, Honor Military, and Civill (#0346), published in 1602, although it deals with more universal ideas, cannot be said to be any more original. The book reveals a man struggling between his private vision of a more glorious past and the realities of the present. How much he represents typical Elizabethan attitudes is impossible to say, but certainly a modern note is struck when Segar claims that the advancement of a nation's glory may also be a legitimate goal of war. Moreover, no one in earlier years argued that a legitimate war could be undertaken "to entertaine the youth fit for service," as Segar maintained. In other respects he sounds as medieval as Christine de Pisan.

But Segar and the other Elizabethan military writers discussed thus far, however modern or moral in their
attitudes to war and peace, did not produce outstanding classics on these subjects. They dealt with military problems as they arose, much as other writers dealt with those in the economic sphere. Only one work of this period seems to transcend these temporal concerns, and, both fittingly and revealingly, it is the work of a military hero--Sir Walter Raleigh. His Discourse of the Original and Fundamental Cause of Natural, Arbitrary, Necessary, and Unnatural War (#0356), which remained in manuscript until 1702, is an absorbing document. It is by no means a great one, but it is a notable attempt to assess the violent and belligerent element in man's nature. Although he sympathizes with the humanistic strains of the past, Raleigh is not in a league with Erasmus. His thought is new and reflects a new age, one no longer idealistic about a universal peace. Man is simply incapable of it, for he has never learned to govern himself or to rest content with what he has. Because man is this way, both laws and wars are necessary. Moreover, if human reason has failed to find the means for binding men together in peace and concord, it has not failed to invent the engines of war that serve to oppose man's oppressors. This seems to be the most one can expect from man's reason, Raleigh implies. However much we dislike the thought, the evidence of the past four hundred years seems to prove the theory of Raleigh, not that of Erasmus.

It is also significant that Raleigh's grim prognostications, however relevant, were no more attractive in his own
Ill age than in ours. Elizabeth could inspire heroic efforts in martial men such as Drake and Raleigh when necessary, but neither she nor James I were war-minded monarchs. James, in fact, was even more dedicated to peace than was Elizabeth, and it is well known that he did not favor men like Raleigh. Although, like Raleigh, James took a theoretical interest in war and peace, he was actively committed to the latter, and people early in the Jacobean period became aware of a changing attitude. As Jorgensen says, "advocacy of war became highly unpopular in James's reign."\textsuperscript{57} Perhaps this explains why Raleigh's \textit{Discourse} remained unpublished during his lifetime.

More importantly, perhaps the new "silence" on war, amounting almost to a royal decree, accounts for the lack of military matter in Shakespeare's last history play. Unique in many respects, \textit{Henry VIII} is also unusual in that it contains none of the military matter that figures so predominantly in the earlier history plays. But what of these? How do they reflect contemporary attitudes to war and peace, if at all? What do they tell us, if anything, about Shakespeare's attitude toward these universal conditions?

In the early histories, England's warlike past is paraded in play after play. Kings are at war with kings, with popes, with subjects, and even with themselves. Causes are debated by kings, counsellors, and even common soldiers.

\textsuperscript{57}Jorgensen, p. 203.
Furthermore, only in Richard III, with that tyrant's death (a significant dramatic terminus), does the promise of peace seem believable. Throughout the plays, peace is rarely the norm. None of them depicts a Utopia or a Pax Ecclesiae, even though any number of characters are committed to peace. Because of this, we are inclined to believe Shakespeare was pessimistic about peace.

But it is far more evident that, whatever Shakespeare's personal attitude, he was well-versed in the military controversies of his day, even though he may not have read all or even any of the tracts on war. Many of his characters advance the same ideas found in these tracts, and, because most of their authors held war to be inevitable, ideal peace to be impossible, we may assume that Shakespeare was no less pessimistic than his contemporaries. At best, however, we can only say that Shakespeare shows an acquaintance with past and present attitudes and, when dramatically appropriate, that he depicted them through his characters. This is important, for it is the interesting range of attitudes that should concern us. Shakespeare's purpose, even if he studied military tracts only for factual details about military life or organization, as Jorgensen convincingly shows that he did, was a dramatic, not a didactic, purpose. We do well to remember, then, that war and peace have particular meaning within each play or group of plays. Nor do the histories have a monopoly on these issues. Think of Hamlet without Fortinbras or without Hamlet's military funeral.
Any number of plays or characters could be cited. But the history plays are unique, for in them war is presented on a large scale--imaginatively and dramatically, if not theatrically. They present themes as important to us as to Shakespeare and his contemporaries--the continuing themes of man's history--one of the greatest of which is survival, whether in war or in peace.
NOTE ON HISTORY PLAY CRITICISM

In his survey of history play criticism produced during the first half of this century, Harold Jenkins concludes with decisive comments concerning the trend and unanimity of that criticism: "What can no longer be doubted," says Jenkins, "is that, whether by design or not, the history plays have a collective unity, deriving from an Elizabethan view of history and a common fund of ideas and ideals about the ordering of man's society. In this larger sense, if not in the narrower topical one, they must be accepted as political. They not merely presented an epic of England's past but dramatized issues of great moment for Shakespeare's contemporaries."¹

Almost twenty-five years have elapsed since these words were written, and we may justifiably ask again what conclusions have been reached by critics since that time. The question is especially valid, for just as the criticism of

¹"Shakespeare's History Plays: 1900-1951," SS, 6 (1953), 15 (see entry #0028). See also Irving Ribner's short survey of history play criticism (#0044). Because Jenkins begins with an overview of nineteenth-century criticism on the histories and discusses more than 100 books published up to 1951, and because Ribner's survey deals with criticism of the twenty-five years prior to 1964, I have chosen not to repeat here what they have already reported. Instead, my comments are confined to major studies published since mid-century. In Section V of the bibliography, however, one will find critical works on the histories from the time of Dryden's essay Of Dramatick Poesie (#0672) up through 1973.
the eighteenth century focused on the comedies and that of the nineteenth on the tragedies, so it seems that twentieth-century criticism heavily accents the history plays. The plays seem to dramatize "issues of great moment" for us. Critics may not think of Shakespeare as their contemporary, as does Jan Kott (#0723), but they are finding the history plays particularly meaningful in an age obsessed with wars in Vietnam and the Middle East, with Watergate and other political scandals, with economic crises such as inflation and unemployment, with the history, in short, through which they have lived.

It is no wonder, then, that we find critics of the past quarter-century doubting and questioning views that once seemed so comforting and were so widely accepted. The "Elizabethan world picture" painted by E. M. W. Tillyard (#0372) in 1944 is no longer advanced without apology or qualifications. No one disputes the value of Tillyard's work. His Shakespeare's History Plays (#0692) is still considered one of the most important among a small number of major studies on the plays. But critics are taking exceptions to the opinions of Tillyard, of Lily B. Campbell in Shakespeare's "Histories": Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy (#0695), of Irving Ribner in The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare (#0702), and of M. M. Reese in The Cease of Majesty (#0713).² For the most part, critics

²It is interesting to note that, in 1971, Stanley Wells (#0057) recognized only three works--the above-mentioned
contend, the views of these four critics are too restrictive, too doctrinaire, for their arguments have implied—largely at the expense of the plays' aesthetic and literary qualities—that the plays are meant to be read as statements on the Renaissance concept of order, as political and moral treatises, as propaganda for the Tudor regime.

Thus, in more recent years, several critics have begun a counter-movement. Among these are A. P. Rossiter in "Ambivalence: The Dialectic of the Histories," in his Angel with Horns (#0714); S. C. Sen Gupta in Shakespeare's Historical Plays (#0725); Norman Rabkin in Shakespeare and the Common Understanding (#0734); Wilbur Sanders in The Dramatist and the Received Idea: Studies in the Plays of Marlowe and Shakespeare (#0739); James Winny in The Player King: A Theme of Shakespeare's Histories (#0740); John C. Bromley in The Shakespearean Kings (#0750); and Robert Ornstein in A Kingdom for a Stage: The Achievement of Shakespeare's History Plays (#0760).

Rossiter does not believe Shakespeare was a slave to the Tudor conception of order and degree. On the contrary, the histories seem to him to question that concept, to reveal the complexities, ambiguities, and paradoxes of political and human life. Sen Gupta stresses the aesthetic elements of the histories, believing they should be read as studies by Tillyard, Campbell, and Reese—as the major contributions to history play criticism produced since Bradley. As the following remarks will show, however, these three studies do not reflect the trend of more recent criticism.
works of art, rather than as "political and didactic treatises." To Norman Rabkin, the histories are problematic; in their depiction of the state in crisis, they raise more questions of a political nature than they answer. Wilbur Sanders is particularly severe on the Tillyard-Campbell hypothesis. He believes the histories depict a confrontation between official Elizabethan policy and hard, Machiavellian facts of political life. They are studies in political realism, not manifestations of Tudor propaganda. James Winnie is concerned with the "imaginative design" of the plays, arguing that we lose sight of their total meaning if we focus only upon their political content. Bromley finds the plays neither Christian nor politically orthodox. For him, they depict futility and less-than-ideal kings; furthermore, they reveal Shakespeare's critical attitude toward history and toward the political commonplaces of his age. Ornstein also stresses Shakespeare's critical attitude and does not believe the plays present stages of the "Tudor myth." In his important study, Ornstein praises the artistic integrity and "architectural unity" of the three parts of Henry VI, a play which, until recent years, has not received as much attention as it deserves. Nor, for Ornstein, are the ten plays a panoramic view of English history, as many critics throughout this century believed. Although each tetralogy is unified, each play within the two is an artistic whole to which we ought to respond aesthetically, says Ornstein, not read merely as a dramatic version of history concurring with
official Elizabethan policy.

Of all the critical works produced since mid-century, one surmises that those of Ribner, Reese, Rabkin, Sanders, and Ornstein (despite the divergent views of these five critics) will be regarded as the most important studies of the past twenty-five years. And, despite the attacks leveled against them, the studies of Tillyard and Campbell remain indispensable contributions to history play criticism.

We note with enthusiasm, however, the large number of critical works published during the early 1970's. In the first three years of this decade appeared no less than seven books dealing entirely or in large part with the history plays. These include Ornstein's and Bromley's, previously mentioned, and the more specialized studies by Henry Kelly (#0746), David Riggs (#0931), and Robert Pierce (#0752). The sixth is the poet Theodore Weiss' *The Breath of Clowns and Kings* (#0755), which, although interesting, is directed to the general reader, rather than to the specialist. The seventh is Moody Prior's *The Drama of Power: Studies in Shakespeare's History Plays* (#0764). Prior's study will, no doubt, be appreciated for its level-headedness and for the author's large understanding of the problems, complexities, and issues involved in history play criticism, as well as for his up-to-date appraisal of recent critical approaches. Prior accepts the belief that the plays are political--decidedly so--and they are panoramic, but the panorama is of a special sort--a "spectacle of political man in action."
Prior, the three parts of Henry VI constitute an artistic prologue to the succeeding five plays of the two tetralogies. Prior speaks of these five as a synthesis of art and history. Moreover, each play is distinctively different, a component of "a comprehensive review of the nature of statecraft and the politics of power."

Thus, the history plays continue to draw forth large-scale studies, and more will soon be resting on library shelves. We conclude, therefore, that these ten plays must still be dramatizing "issues of great moment" for us and that they will probably continue to do so as long as political man is conscious of his history and looks to Shakespeare for some explanation of the nature of the political-historical process. But we are also grateful to the recent critics who have responded to these plays as distinctively individual works of art, each one an expression of Shakespeare's maturation as a dramatist. Doubtless, the question of whether the history plays reveal Shakespeare as an original thinker in the political-historical realm will continue to entice us, but of his power to dramatize history and to give it shape in artistically-unified wholes there can be no question.

3 See entry #0765 for the most recently-announced book on Shakespeare and the history plays, although it apparently does not constitute a study exclusively devoted to the histories.
SECTION I

BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND OTHER REFERENCE WORKS


Chapters II and III deal, respectively, with the influence on Sh of contemporary continental literature and of English non-dramatic lit. A section of Chapter IV discusses some of the anonymous history plays Sh may have known. Part of Chapter VII is devoted to the geographical environments (mainly of London and Warwickshire) that are reflected in the histories and other plays. Anders surmises that Sh must have known Montaigne’s Essays, but no mention is made of Bodin, Gentillett, or La Primaudaye; nor are Machiavelli or Guicciardini mentioned as possible Italian influences. Perhaps these omissions are understandable because of Anders’ primary concern with the artistic use to which Sh put his borrowings. In citing a passage from a possible source, Anders gives the Shn parallel and comments upon it, sometimes unconvincingly. Concerning the history plays, he mistakenly suggests that Boswell-Stone’s Shakspere’s Holinshed (#0201) is an exhaustive investigation of the problems relating to Sh’s use of native sources for the plays. He himself notes the influence of Hale, Grafton, Fabyan, Stow, and Foxe. The other English writers mentioned as possible influences are mainly poets. For more recent work in this area, consult Selma Guttman (#0024).


1Arranged alphabetically by author, compiler, or title.
This little book is arranged so as to give one, at a glance, the most important works published in a given year. It is not, of course, a substitute for the STC (#0048) for the period treated by this bibliography, but one can cover, in a mere 51 pages, the years from 1475 to 1616 to discover the books people were most likely reading during those years. Only the major works of major authors and the most influential writings of minor authors are listed. The marginal notes indicate important historical events around the world and help to place a book in historical perspective. Since the dates given are those on the title pages, the more advanced student tracing influences must proceed with caution, realizing that many works were influential long before they were printed. But the book is meant to be "an elementary manual."


The range covered by this annual bibliography is enormous, but involves a corresponding lack of being au courant, as the editors are several years behind. Nevertheless, the comprehensiveness makes for an invaluable tool. General works on Sh and scholarship treating individual plays form part of the "Sixteenth Century" section. For works on the intellectual background, the introductory "General" section sometimes provides information, and the sections devoted to the 15th and 17th cents. often contain valuable listings. Each section is classified, but the entries are not annotated.


This careful and meticulous work contains a wealth of information, much of it couched in the extensive footnotes. As Babcock says, "the chief substance of this book is the analysis of Shakespearean criticism as it appeared not merely in books of the period, but in 'magazines,' that is, general periodicals, from 1766 to 1799." Not a great deal written during this period was directly concerned with Sh's history plays, even less with the political, economic, and historical
background; nevertheless, it is the period in which Morgann contributed his essay on Falstaff and during which socio-historical criticism originated. Unfortunately, many of the works Babcock refers to are rare (a considerable number forming the McMillan Shakespeare Collection at the Univ. of Michigan Library) or not accessible to the average student. Too, no specific chapter deals with Sh’s history plays or with the Renaissance background. One has to search for this under subheadings in the chapters forming Parts III and IV of Babcock’s study.


This is more than an apology for, and survey of, the historical criticism devoted to Sh from the 17th cent. to our own. As Babcock traces the rise and fall (and rise again) of historically-oriented criticism, he lists and categorizes a large number of books and articles for the convenience of the reader. It is an advantage to have the major works of a school lumped together in such a fashion. One wishes for similar articles dealing with those critics engaged in aesthetic or textual criticism.


The title, content, and arrangement of this bibliography have changed from time to time since this “annual gathering” devoted to Shn studies was launched. The earlier volumes contain extensive reviews of significant articles and monographs of current interest. Current books are reviewed in a separate section. The most recent volumes contain only book reviews.


Prepared for university students and adult non-specialists, Berman’s discursive bibliography offers some 3,000 entries gleaned from the wealth of Shn material. Devoting a chapter to each play, Berman gives an historical survey of the most significant scholarship concerning the
play's text, editions, sources, criticism, and staging. His comments are laced with perceptive criticism of the material reviewed in this orderly, usable guide.


Davies' first edn. of this volume lists more than 3,800 titles of works pertinent to a study of 17th-cent. English history. Like its companion volume, Conyers Read's Tudor bibliography (#0009), this selective and classified compilation covers all aspects of the period. Each subject heading (e.g., "Economic History," "Political Science") contains a list of principal bibliographies, primary printed sources, and later commentary—all arranged chronologically. Almost all of the entries are annotated. Unpublished MSS have not been included, but the ed. often provides information concerning many of them in his annotations. Since the work selects from material published over such an extended period, however, only a few of the entries pertain to the early Stuart period coinciding with Sh's career.

The second edn. by Mary Keeler is a considerably enlarged (4,350 entries), updated, and improved version and makes use of several bibliographies and reference tools unavailable to Davies, such as the STC and Donald Wing's companion volume for the years 1641-1700. Thus, Keeler's edn. notes resources available on microfilm. The earlier format has also been altered and improved. The emphasis on Stuart and 17th-cent. materials has been retained, but some of the older secondary criticism mentioned by Davies has been dropped, unless it is still considered valuable. The large number of entries indicating journal articles selected from "a wide list of periodicals up to and through the volume for 1958 and of a smaller list for the subsequent five years" contribute vastly to the work's value. Again, however, it provides only a limited list of works relevant to Sh's background up to the end of his career.

The second edn. of this standard and ambitious bibliography lists over 6,500 published works relating to all aspects of British history of the Tudor period. The entries indicate the most important primary printed sources, bibliographies and guides, and a nearly-comprehensive collection of secondary commentary published up to the end of 1956. Many books and articles published after that date have been included, but the bibliography should not be considered exhaustive for the years 1957-59. Almost all the entries are annotated, and information is provided concerning various edns. of many of the works listed. Sh is represented by only four modern works, three of which pertain to my bibliography (#0690, #0692, and #0695), but Read's bibliography as a whole is invaluable for the student investigating any aspect of the 16th-cent. background.


This massive work is entered here more for the sake of Steele's essay than for the approximately 5,000 proclamations listed. The latter are cataloged chronologically, a short title being supplied. Steele also generally provides a short synopsis of the content of each and indicates whether the proclamation is extant, in what condition it exists, and where it can be seen. The value of such a list is inestimable for the student who wishes to investigate official governmental policy, but Steele's essay is profitable reading for anyone interested in the period. There he discusses the history and enforcement of royal proclamations, points out the origins of English legislative procedures, and summarizes the more important proclamations issued during the various reigns. His survey points to the vast number of these relating to economic controls: the regulation of wages, consumption of victuals, coinage, currency and exchange rates, prices, interest rates, trade, vagabondage, enclosure, and numerous other problems. He also mentions a few books against which the government issued proclamations. Among these are Goodman's How Superior Powers ought to be obeyd (#0121) and Cowell's Interpreter (STC 5900),
a work of legal and quasi-political import published in 1607. The whole survey provides an excellent overview of the policies adopted by the Tudor and Stuart governments toward the various political, economic, social, and religious events of the period.


These two volumes provide a valuable list of early printed material pertaining to persons and events in these five important counties. Sermons and religious tracts predominate, but the collection contains a good number of political and economic treatises and royal proclamations. Works are arranged alphabetically according to author, noteworthy persons, or places within each section. A full transcription of the title page is given for each tract, and subsequent edns. are indicated in chronological order. The author indicates those items not personally examined.


Sections of this work provide a solid and reliable, though necessarily brief, survey of the most important political and historical literature of this period. Chapter VII treats history and biography, while Chapter VIII deals with political thought. Most of the works discussed fall beyond the date of Sh's retirement and the limit of this bibliography. Nevertheless, Bush's survey pays attention to the earlier influences, particularly Christian humanism, that shaped much of the thought of this later age. The bibliography provided at the end is extensive, although, according to the demands of the Oxford History volumes, it is intended to be "selective and directive," rather than exhaustive. It includes a section on individual Stuart authors, wherein various modern edns. of their works are listed.
Until volume I of The New Cambridge Bibliography is published, students of Renaissance literature will find this first edn. still one of the most essential of bibliographies. The wealth of both primary and secondary material, even though selective, is organized in a first-rate manner. All aspects of the age are covered in "The Renaissance to the Restoration" section, which contains a subsection on Sh; but it should be noted that only "representative specimens of the enormous mass of ephemeral literature...issued since the invention of printing" are listed. Generally, primary sources classified under one of the relevant subsections (e.g., "Political Background") are those only which have been edited in either the past or present cents. or published in a modern facsimile. The most useful inclusions hereertain to MSS collections, state papers, and letters and correspondence. Occasionally, the content of these is indicated by a one-line annotation. An investigation into any aspect of Sh or his age will be greatly facilitated by this exemplary collection. Moreover, use of the bibliography obviates the need to investigate the bibliographies appended to chapters in the Cambridge History of English Literature, which have been updated, revised, or incorporated into the strictly autonomous CBEL. The Supplement conforms to the format of Vol. I, and includes material published up to the beginning of 1955.


The standard bibliography for early works dealing with military subjects. The author separates original English works and translations into English from those produced on the Continent, and later sections deal with special topics such as "Fortification," "Fencing," "Cavalry and Equitation." The selected works are arranged chronologically, and the full titles are given. A special feature is the author's de-
tailed description of each publication and its content, some of these annotations covering more than a page.


Collins has rendered students of the period and of Sh a particularly valuable service in compiling this handlist of printed ephemera. The news pamphlets are full of information of interest to the social historian. Moreover, one of the reasons the compiler chose to limit the list to pamphlets published between 1590-1610 was because, as he says, "the period corresponds with that of Shakespeare's working life, and a cross section of what the public was reading in those years by way of news might help to illustrate in a humble way the background of the plays." He gives a few examples which parallel passages in the plays, none from the histories, however. Nevertheless, most of the news pamphlets concern the wars in France and the Low Countries which were of particular interest to Englishmen at the time Sh was writing his history plays. A large number of the pamphlets deal with quasi-political events or are officially sanctioned government propaganda, such as Bacon's account of the Essex conspiracy. Since most of these pamphlets remain inaccessible, Collins has provided lengthy annotations for those whose titles are not self-explanatory. He also arranges them in chronological fashion for each year and locates copies.


Of the many political and economic tracts of the period, only some of the more familiar ones are mentioned in this short survey. The author devotes more space to a discussion of the political and economic issues than to the writings. Often, he does not identify a tract, and for only a few does he give dates. Nevertheless, he has managed to cover a large number of issues and the controversies which they evoked.

0017. **Ebisch, Walther, and Schücking, Levin L.** *A Shakespeare

A pioneer work of great value. The volume stops with publications issued in 1929, and does not claim to be comprehensive. Still, it lists a rich selection of earlier criticism and scholarship, much of it still relevant. For Sh's treatment of politics, economics, and history, one must search throughout various sections of the bibliography, particularly Section VI, "Shakespeare's Sources...," parts of Section VIII, "The Art of Shakespeare," and Section XIII, "Civilization in Shakespeare's England." The section on individual plays offers extra listings for the history plays. The Supplement (#0018) follows the format of the original, which does not always distinguish between books and articles, and very often gives only the date of publication. Few of the entries are annotated.


See #0017 above. The Supplement takes one up to the year at which Gordon Ross Smith's Sh bibliography (#0050) begins.


Writing with the student in mind, Eliot concentrates on some of the best criticism written, rather than on listing all that was produced, during this period. Where Isaacs (#0025) offers more hard-core information, Eliot gives greater pleasure by evaluating the merits, e.g., of Morgann's essay on Falstaff, or by explaining how and why much Shn criticism developed along certain lines.


This recent and "experimental" undertaking
lists a selection of recently published, non-literary studies dealing with various aspects of the Renaissance intellectual milieu. Since the Shn literary bibliographies do not adequately cover publications pertaining to the intellectual background, Elton's bibliography provides a valuable adjunct to Shn studies. The books, articles, and dissertations listed are both classified and annotated, and have been gleaned from a fairly wide range of scholarly journals. Elton has indicated that continuation of this bibliography will depend on favorable responses from its users and on assistance with its compilation. It is hoped both will be forthcoming.


As the Prefatory Note indicates, this bibliographical supplement to S. B. Hemingway's Variorum edn. of 1HIV (1936) "brings together with some degree of completeness all (mere nonsense aside) that has been written relating to the play from 1935 to July of 1955." It is an ideal, single-play bibliography, even though limited to a 20-year coverage. Following a section devoted to textual and critical notes is an appendix. One can turn directly to a section or subsection of this appendix for a chronological listing and précis of the commentary dealing with a particular issue (under "Sources," e.g., one will find recorded opinion concerning "Shakespeare's Use of Hall"). The books and articles discussed throughout are also listed alphabetically at the end, and a topical index further facilitates research.


The author gives various definitions of usury and includes in his list only those books, tracts, sermons, and other ephemera which "combat" the definitions. The list begins with Plato and Plutarch and concludes with 19th-cent. commentaries. Many 16th- and early 17th-cent. writings on usury are listed, but the author has not seen all the works indicated, and thus does not "answer absolutely for the accuracy of the list." Still, many titles appear here that were
not discovered in other sources, and it is indicated whether copies are to be found at either the British Museum or Bodleian Library. The paragraphs in Series 4 and 9, as indicated above, list some supplemental works and contribute interesting information about usury laws, usurious practices, etc.


Discusses why early 20th-cent. scholars concerned with the development of political thought abandoned or modified the idea of a "hard-and-fast demarcation" between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Two reasons are the advancements in scholarship and the development of modern politics, according to the author. In his survey of recent scholarship in Renaissance and Reformation political thought, Gilbert concentrates on the following: outstanding contributions to "the centuries-old problem of Machiavelli," recent opinions about the political concepts of religious reformers, and "what modern scholarship has discovered about the persistence of the traditional and institutional ideologies which the new trends encountered and with which they became amalgamated." He concludes that disagreements among modern scholars indicate a need to find an "integrating factor" which must be looked for "in the broadest possible historical context."


This bibliography is of use to the student looking for information concerning the influence on Sh of a particular author whose works were originally written in a foreign language. Half of the bibliography lists commentary dealing with the influence on the poet of either Latin or Greek literature, while the remaining chapters treat continental and "other foreign" sources. Thus, for information about Erasmus as a source, e.g., one must look in Chapter I, which deals with Latin literature. Within each chapter, the plausible authorial influences are listed.
alphabetically, and under each name follows a list of the works and/or translations Sh may have used. Selected secondary commentary concerning Sh's use of these sources then follows, and the compiler generally offers a brief, objective description of the content of this scholarship. Since her subject has been limited in a variety of ways, one should consult the Introduction, pp. xiv-xvi, for an indication of these limitations. For commentary earlier than 1904, the standard reference is Anders (#0001).


Isaacs is concerned with the major trends of Shn criticism as they have been developed by various schools, and thus the article is by no means as complete a bibliography as his second article in this volume (see #0026 below). Nevertheless, he does mention several authors pertinent to a study of Sh's intellectual background or his use of it in the history plays, and the article is more "bibliographical" in nature than Eliot's Part I (#0019).


Beginning with Dryden, Isaacs gives an historical survey of Shn scholarship up to the 1930's. Isaacs' primary focus is on the important work of the 18th-cent. editors Theobald, Steevens, and Capell; the major cooperative and individual efforts of the 19th cent.; and the contributions of German scholars. Only a few of the hundreds of authors and works named deal directly with the Renaissance political and historical background and with these concerns as they relate to Sh's history plays, but this is understandable in a selective and broad survey meant to be introductory. It not only proves valuable on that score, but also manages to be suggestive, for Isaacs concludes with a long list of possible research projects, many still requiring completion, for Shns.

0027. Jaggard, William. Shakespeare Bibliography: A Dia-
Although this is a monumental collection of Shn material, it is not an easy tool to work with. All of the listings—whether of edns., extracts, critical books and articles, or other references—appear in a single alphabetical arrangement, and there is no topical index. Only in the "Shakespeare" section can one find any useful cross-referencing, and only rarely has the compiler provided annotations. It is unfortunate that such a vast body of information, stored up within a single volume, should remain so limited in its usefulness.


A straightforward summary of scholarship introduced by a brief sketch of 19th-cent. commentary on the histories. In discussing more than 100 books or articles, the author is careful to point out the various trends and controversies leading up to the generally accepted, mid-century view that the histories "have a collective unity" which represents ideas and ideals widely held in the Renaissance. Too, the author concludes that by 1950, the plays were coming to be appreciated as "political" statements as well as dramatizations of highly significant 16th-cent. issues. An essential article for assessing the changing attitudes toward the history plays.


A report on a study of the subject distribution of English printed books as listed in the STC (#0048). A chart is included which indicates eight general subject headings; in the original study these were subdivided into more than forty subheads. The author reports that the STC contains 256 works of an historical nature (the category includes biographies, works on geography, travel, genealogy, heraldry, and contemporary political news). Economic works are listed under "Sociology," of which the total is 221. Works on "Government and Politics" total 449. Treatises dealing with military
tactics fall under the "Science" category, which totals 234. This provides the only subject analysis of the STC at present.


Knight's survey begins with Spenser's comments on Sh and ends with a brief glance at Coleridge's contribution to Shn criticism. Reflecting upon the Shn editors and commentators of the previous cent., Knight does not hesitate to be critical, and often cites at length from these earlier writers for the purpose of refuting them. Most of his criticisms are justified, even if post-19th-cent. criticism has rejected some of his strictures. Moreover, he cites a few 18th-cent. works relative to the history plays which do not appear in other bibliographies dealing with that cent. Knight's survey is a starting point for understanding the mid-Victorian attitude toward the trends of Shn study.


Pages 49-55 contain a select bibliography of some of the more important primary and secondary background sources plus critical works of a general and specific nature dealing with the four plays (RIII, RII, KJ, HV) discussed by Knights in this short essay. Of use to the student and non-specialist. See the companion volume by Leech (#0034).


The authors survey, in this three-part article, 1) studies of Renaissance philosophical thought produced throughout Europe and in America from the late 1800's to the late 1930's, 2) materials available for the study of Renaissance philosophy, and 3) problems yet to be solved and current needs toward further study. The major emphasis is upon the Italian Renaissance. Part II lists the best studies in Ren-
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assistance political thought, work on Machiavelli and Erasmus, and investigations into specific schools (the Platonic school of Florence, the Aristotelian school of Padua, e.g.). Section 18 mentions studies on English thinkers (especially Sir Thomas More, Elyot, and Bacon).


Prepared by experts for advanced students, this short pamphlet lists a selection of books most fundamental to a study of Sh. Several aspects are covered—texts, style, criticism, sources—in Section I. Section II offers some major biographies, works on the political and social environment, and studies concerned with the drama of Sh's contemporaries. A good basic list of the best material available up to the date of publication.


Pages 41-47 contain a select bibliography which, used in conjunction with L. C. Knights' (#0031), will give the student and layman a good working bibliography for all ten history plays. Leech includes The Merry Wives of Windsor in this essay and bibliography, which is otherwise devoted to 1, 2, 3 H VI; 1, 2 HIV; and HVIII.


An extensive, although admittedly not comprehensive, classified bibliography containing both primary printed sources and secondary material concerning all the major aspects of Tudor life. Almost all of the entries in this work, prepared for scholars and advanced students, are annotated, and the whole is conveniently organized with many cross-references. The annotations are particularly helpful in noting current scholarly trends and those works which up-date or supersede older studies.

0036. Lewis, C. S. English Literature in the Sixteenth

Books II and III each contain a chapter devoted to 16th-cent. prose works, among which are discussed the most significant political or historical works of the period. The author concentrates largely on their worth—or lack of it—as literary documents; their value as sociological or intellectual products of the age is understandably ignored or understated. There are exceptions to this rule, however, as in the case of Hooker's Laws. Generally, the author deals with the writers in chronological fashion within various periods, rather than in sections devoted to a particular subject. In this respect, Douglas Bush's volume for the early Stuart period (#0012) is more satisfactorily arranged. Like Bush, Lewis also provides a useful selective bibliography, part of which is devoted to individual authors, at the end of the volume.


Criticism produced between the Restoration and the end of the 18th cent. appears listed here in chronological order on pp. 419-34. Few of the critical works of the period deal with the history plays or with the Renaissance intellectual background, but the list is helpful in that it includes the numerous adaptations of Sh's plays and mentions a few obscure critics who contributed commentary interesting mainly for historical reasons.


This valuable and useful bibliography lists about 550 dissertations on Sh written between 1867 and 1964. Those in German were gathered from Richard Mummendey's Language and Literature of the Anglo-Saxon Nations as Presented in German Doctoral Dissertations, 1885-1950, and the titles of these have been translated. Those in English were taken from DA and other sources from 1934 on. Although the list is not complete,
it is "the largest...ever brought together in one place." The titles are arranged chronologically.

0039. MLA International Bibliography of Books and Articles on the Modern Languages and Literatures for [year preceding current volume]. MLA, 37- (1922-date).

Originally a discursive bibliography in which only a few pages were devoted to Shn scholarship produced by American scholars, this bibliography adopted a classified format in 1926. In 1956, it became international in scope and now provides the most complete bibliographical overview of Shn scholarship produced annually around the world. The Sh section is conveniently divided into subsections treating bibliographies, miscellaneous works, and the individual plays, respectively.


A rather elementary collection of English books, with the preference given to the more recent ones, representative of almost all aspects of Shn study. Some entries are briefly annotated. Of more use to the general reader than to the scholar, but intended by the author to serve both.


Unfortunately discontinued, this annual bibliography devoted to the English and continental Renaissance was particularly renowned for its Sh section. The 52 bibliographies issued between these dates may still be profitably used, however. The student interested in the dramatist's intellectual background will find helpful the first "General Works" section and, occasionally, the subsection "General Works" under the English listings. Although the compilations in the earlier volumes are not large, many of the entries are annotated, a feature which disappears as the bibliography increases in size through the years.

0042. "Recent Studies in Elizabethan ["Shakespeare" in some early volumes] and Jacobean Drama." SEL, 1- (1961-date).
This bibliography appears in issue No. 2 of the annual SEL publications. Discursive in form, it is written by a different scholar each year. It is mainly a review of selected books published the previous year. Sometimes recent works on Sh predominates; at other times, studies concerned with his contemporaries or with general aspects of the drama of the period. Generally, however, the survey is a well-balanced combination of both. It provides an excellent review of the most important of last year's books, each of which receives considerable attention. Issue No. 1 (#0043) contains a review of recent studies in non-dramatic literature.


Appearing in issue No. 1 of the annual SEL publications, this discursive bibliography constitutes a review of last year's books devoted to non-dramatic aspects of the Renaissance. Like its companion bibliography dealing with dramatic elements, Sh, and his contemporaries (#0042), this one is also written by a different authority each year.


A brief survey of history play criticism of the previous 25 years, during which the second tetralogy received the most attention. This body of commentary reveals a division of opinion as to whether the four plays are integrated; the relationship between Prince Hal and Falstaff also continued to attract scholars. Studies of the HVI plays were mostly textual in nature during the period surveyed. Little attention was directed to KJ and HVI I, says Ribner, but that on the former was concerned with the play's relation to the old, two-part Troublesome Reign of King John. Studies in HVI I mainly concentrated on the problem of authorship.


A brief, recent account of general trends in Shn criticism from Dryden, the "first critic"
of Sh, to Bradley, whose writings "are among the last and the best of the romantic school of critics." Shaaber emphasizes the strengths, weaknesses, and contributions of the most notable commentators of the two cents. involved. For a similar treatment of the period beyond Bradley, see Stanley Wells' companion essay (#0057) in this volume.


Certainly this is the best and most usable of the annual compilations of current works directly relating to Sh. Attention also is drawn to other works or to chapters in works that Shn specialists may find pertinent. The international scope, accuracy, and fairly extensive annotations further increase the bibliography's value. Books, articles, dissertations, reviews, and miscellaneous items are treated in separate sections in the later volumes.

0047. "Shakespearean Work in Progress [for the year(s) preceding current volume]." SRO, No. 1- (1965-date).

Designed to facilitate cooperation among scholars, this bibliography is extremely helpful. Its primary advantage is that one can avoid duplicating an effort undertaken by someone else. And it indicates the most current efforts being expended on Sh. However, the bibliography has obvious limitations. Projects are listed under an alphabetical arrangement according to authors; hence, one has to read through the whole list for a particular subject currently being investigated. Some projects listed are never published, as searches of card catalogs reveal; others have been published by the time the issue appears (usually late). Often, studies listed are published under different titles. Nevertheless, the work aids communication among scholars as well as helps them to avoid duplication and to keep abreast of current thought on Sh.

Although the title explains the content, the user of the STC should realize that the volume lists only books of which copies are known to exist; it is not a record of all the books known or believed to have been published during these years. The Memoranda, pp. xi-xiv, should be consulted to discover other restrictions, the method adopted in abridging titles, the system of cross-referencing, etc. There, too, the editors apologize for unavoidable errors and caution the user to beware of such if he uses the book "as anything more than a finding list." The volume employs a single alphabetical arrangement of entries, and there is no topical index. Until such time as one appears, the researcher must consult Klotz (#0029) for some idea, however inadequate, of the subject distribution of books listed here. The STC is now in the process of revision; it will be much larger.


The second section of this essay, "Study of Environment," presents a brief survey of scholarship dealing with Sh's reading, his use of foreign and domestic sources, and with the intellectual atmosphere in which he lived. The essay stresses the large-scale accumulation of facts and knowledge that 20th-cent. scholars have unearthed about the poet and with which critics will have to contend.


The most important, single-volume Sh bibliography produced to date, this massive work contains more than 20,000 entries. For the years indicated, it lists virtually everything done on Sh; thus, for any conceivable treatment of the dramatist, one must investigate Smith. But one must also search through several sections when pursuing a special subject, such as Sh's intellectual milieu. Smith's classification system, resembling that of Ebisch and Schücking (#0017, #0018), considerably aids such a search, but few of the entries are annotated. The volume suffers from other deficiencies: no indexes, erratic alphabetizing, and an over-
whelming inclusiveness. Despite these flaws, it is indispensable, and the detailed Table of Contents somewhat compensates for other faults. Each of the two major parts (designated A and B) is extensively subdivided. Sections IV and VI of Part A (devoted to general studies) contain most of the works pertinent to Sh's background. All of Part B deals with the individual plays and also contains a section on the historical plays as a group. In his prefatory material, Smith indicates the eight annual Sh bibliographies and the 36 dissertation bibliographies (from around the world) that were searched when preparing his own volume. Thus, one can avoid searches of 44 bibliographies listing Shn studies produced during these years. For material produced up to 1936, the standard bibliography is that compiled by Ebisch and Schücking (#0017, #0018).


Smith's essay discusses the most significant Tudor scholarship produced between 1939 and the early 1960's. Concentrating on the nature and direction of this scholarship devoted to the years 1485-1558, he concludes "that the last twenty years has set aside the standard interpretation of Tudor England." The problems yet remaining to be solved in early Tudor historiography are "legion," he contends, but scholars are beginning to reconstruct the age and are more aware than ever of the areas requiring investigation. The fact that this survey not only clarifies the major controversies but also draws attention to these problematic areas makes it valuable. The literary student needing direction to the best and most up-to-date background material dealing with this period will find it listed here in concise and objective form. For a similar treatment of Elizabeth's reign, see Zagorin's essay (#0061) in this volume.


The 91 entries in this short bibliography include books and articles dealing with the
history play in general and with its political implications in the Renaissance. Studies dealing with Sh's use of history in his plays are listed also. The emphasis is upon English history and Sh's English history plays, but a few works are mentioned concerning either Roman or legendary British history. The list gives only a sample of the scholarship and is not annotated.


Steensma provides a good basic list of modern studies dealing with 18th-cent. Shn criticism, but the entries are not annotated.


Tannenbaum's annual collections of Shn material are important contributions to scholarship. Many studies not noted in other bibliographies will be found here, for the compiler was given to searching the lesser-known journals and publishers' lists. Hence, his compilations preserve the arcana of Shn scholarship, as it were. The format, however, is not the most desirable, and many typographical errors further irritate the user. Tannenbaum's habit of changing authors' titles to better indicate the content of their studies sometimes proves troublesome. Tannenbaum's collections are succeeded by the annual bibliography in SQ (#0046).


A review of what has been done in the late 19th and first four decades of the 20th cents. in the area of Renaissance scholarship. The article is critical and concentrates on selected works, several of which illuminate the intellectual context of Sh's productive career. Miss Tuve suggests many more studies that need to be done, particularly in the social, political, economic, and religious spheres. Some of these have been completed since the date of her writing, but many have not, which indicates that her article is still profitable reading as long as
one is aware of developments within the past 30 years.


The main feature of this list of 191 titles is that it locates copies of 121 of them in American libraries. Copies of the rest are either located in British libraries or not extant. This is more limited in scope than Cockle's bibliography (#0014), which, even though selective, seems more complete and trustworthy. Cockle gives the full title of a work; Webb, the short, and sometimes the latter disagrees as to date of publication. Webb's list would have been more serviceable had he added a key to the library abbreviations.


A short, well-balanced survey of the general trends of Shn criticism (mostly academic) since Bradley. Wells discusses the most outstanding and significant modern contributions appearing in book-form, but also briefly describes the major features of selected Shn journals. Because the author is concerned with describing the multiplicity of 20th-cent. approaches to Sh, his comments on studies dealing with specific groups of plays are necessarily slight. Only three books on Sh's English histories are mentioned: Tillyard's (#0692), Campbell's (#0695), and Reese's (#0713). For a treatment of critical trends from Dryden to Bradley, see Shaaber's companion essay (#0045) in this volume.


The three divisions of this admirable annual and discursive bibliography summarize current critical works; works on Sh's life, times, and stage; and textual studies. A large degree of comprehensiveness is achieved by the compilers—all distinguished authorities. The bibliography provides both students and busy teachers with a readable survey of the current trends
in Shn scholarship as well as critical appraisals of the recent output.


Works mentioned in this annual, discursive bibliography are discussed by a variety of reviewers, whose comments generally achieve a good balance between description and criticism of the works in question. Unfortunately, the volumes are two to three years behind, but this is perhaps unavoidable. Besides the Sh section, the student of the Elizabethan and Jacobean background will want to investigate the sections on the Renaissance, the later Tudor period, the earlier Stuart period, and the introductory section on general works. Many of the reviewers indicate the extent or trend of criticism for the year being reviewed.


A part of this study traces the progress of source study as practiced by the editors preceding Johnson and by Johnson's protégé, Charlotte Lennox. Thus, it is semi-bibliographical. The author indicates those who acknowledged Sh's sources—whether for the histories or other plays—and how some of them reacted to Sh's use of, e.g., Halle or Holinshed. Although only a small portion of the article applies to Sh's history plays, the whole is well worth reading.


This survey of scholarship devoted to the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, although helpful, is not as detailed as Lacey B. Smith's companion essay (#0051) covering the early Tudor period. Zagorin confines himself mainly to books published since 1939, and, although he asserts that "established views, hallowed for years...have been deprived of orthodoxy" during
the two middle decades, he does not always draw sharp attention to the nature of these revisionary trends or to the scholars responsible for them. Nor is his survey quite up-to-date. Originally, as the editor indicates, the bibliographical surveys included in this volume were meant to cover material through 1959. Publication of the volume was delayed, however, and not all of the contributors chose to revise their essays before the volume was finally published in 1966. Hence, some of Zagorin's statements now stand in need of revision or qualification. Tillyard's Elizabethan World Picture, e.g., is no longer the last word on the idea of Elizabethan cosmic order, as Zagorin implies. But he does draw attention to those areas and Renaissance persons still requiring investigation or awaiting their biographers.
SECTION II

PRIMARY WORKS

Political Works

Classical Works in Translation


The Secret of Secrets purports to be a work Aristotle sent to his pupil Alexander, but its authenticity is doubtful. It was fairly well known in early Tudor England as a handbook for a prince. Lydgate's The Governaunce of Kynges and Prynces (#0105) is one of the earliest versions (1511) and in verse. In 1572, Anthony Kitson published The Secrete of Secretes, a reprint of Coplande's French trans. The work indicates the means (good works and temperance) by which a prince can earn the obedience of his subjects and maintain health in his own mind and body.


A short work outlining the duties of a prince and the virtues one in that high office should cultivate. As with most Renaissance manuals of this nature, this one also was written for a particular ruler—Justinian. He is cautioned to be liberal, good, amiable, and to listen to his counsellors and judges. Most of the advice is of an abstract, rather than of a practical, nature.

1Arranged chronologically according to date of English translation.

The Doctrinal is an "oracion" addressed by Isocrates to King Nicocles of Salamis, and was meant to instruct him in good and virtuous government. It indicates the many attributes a king ought to possess. Learning is all-important, for knowledge leads to virtue and is requisite for just government. The king is instructed in his specific duties and rights and in the means of gaining honor for himself and his realm. Elyot's primary purpose in rendering the work into English was to see if English "mought receive the quicke and propre sentences pronounced by the greekes," but he also hoped the practical advice on kingship offered here would be of value to his own ruler (Henry VIII).


In his Preface, Elyot says that he "made up" some part of this work after he could no longer consult the original Greek version. He also says that the Image ought to fulfill the promise he made in his Boke named the Governour to write "a boke of the forme of good governance." Elyot considers the Image a mirror wherein Henry VIII, to whom the work is dedicated, can see the exemplary reign of Alexander Severus and imitate that king's good government. Alexander had been admirably educated in youth, an experience which, Elyot maintains, is of primary importance for those who govern.

LeRoy's rendering of Aristotle's *Politics* is a curious work, but one very typical of the Renaissance. Although he translated Aristotle carefully, he virtually created a new work on civil government by adding expositions of Aristotle's content and by drawing comparisons between ancient and modern governments. Moreover, he did not confine himself only to the *Politics* when commenting upon a particular passage therein, but drew from other works of Aristotle or from other philosophers. He also began by summarizing the principal matter of both Plato and Aristotle on commonwealths, and joined these two, he says, because both have faults. Plato erred in advancing the idea of a community of goods, wives, and children; Aristotle paid too little heed to religion and its place in a well-ordered state. LeRoy's version, then, is both a trans. and a commentary upon the "noble science" of government.

Aristotle himself discusses numerous aspects of this science. For Aristotle, the end of man is to live well and in social harmony under a just government. Thus, he analyzes various real and hypothetical states in an attempt to establish the nature of the ideal state. He also classifies the various types of rule--monarchy, oligarchy, democracy--and determines that monarchy is the best form. A king, moreover, must have absolute authority if ideal government is to be achieved. Another section of the work is devoted to revolutions and their causes and cures. The work concludes with comments about the educational system in the ideal state.

Continental Works in Translation


The *De Regno* was composed between 1260 and 1265, but never completed. It has most often been published as part of the apocryphal *De Regimine Principum*, but seems to have been thought of by the author as a separate work.

Arranged chronologically according to date of composition or of English trans.
It was named the De Regno by its first editor not long after Aquinas' death in 1274. The treatise is a "mirror" designed for the instruction of a medieval Christian king. The first part of the work contains comments of a theoretical nature. Aquinas distinguishes between the various forms of government and substantiates his belief that monarchy is the best form, tyranny the worst. The second part outlines both general and particular duties of a monarch. These two sections are interrupted by a discussion of the rewards a good king can expect to gain. The main thesis of the work as a whole is that men gather together and form political societies in order to live virtuously. The good life, provided by the government that most effectively maintains peace, is virtuous life. Thus, the well-governed civil society serves man in the achievement of his proper goal—the eternal salvation of his immortal soul.


Most of the selections in this volume come from the treatise De Regimine Principum and from the Summa Theologica, but other writings are also represented. Altogether, they provide an excellent collection of St. Thomas' political thought. The Introduction indicates the scope of this thought and summarizes major arguments. St. Thomas' contribution to medieval political thought is particularly stressed.


The Defensor contains two full-length discourses and a brief summary of conclusions. Both discourses deal with the causes of civil peace and strife. The first is mainly concerned with the general structure and functioning of the state so as to preserve peace; the second treats papal power as the singular threat to the harmonious functioning of the Christian state.
and the cause of civil strife. In the opinion of Marsilius, the state is a product of man's reason and exists for the purpose of enabling men to achieve a "sufficient" life and to live well. The primary function of the state is to settle disputes so that society can be preserved in peace. Thus, that political authority is most legitimate which achieves this end. Marsilius defines political authority as the coercive power necessary to settle conflicts and preserve peace. For him, the single source of this political power is the will of the people. In arguing that the people's will was supreme—even over the pope and the Church functionaries—Marsilius initiated a storm in medieval thought, and his book was condemned by the pope two years after its completion. The Church, however, is not entirely condemned in Marsilius' thought. He does not deny the superior ends of religion, but he argues that the papacy and the priesthood should in no way be allowed to challenge the political supremacy of the state. Religion, to him, is a more personal doctrine, and his interests here are mainly secular. In short, his emphasis is upon those political arrangements necessary in Christian states to maintain civil peace, which, in his opinion, will be most guarded and preserved by the people as a whole.


The political thought of Erasmus is scattered throughout many of his works, but, with a very few exceptions, the formal and didactic *Institutio* contains all the ideas encountered elsewhere and can therefore be thought of as the most representative of his political treatises. It was addressed to Prince Charles (later Charles V) and gained immense popularity. It is a work in the true humanistic fashion, for Erasmus draws heavily upon classical authors and Scripture in support of his views. The book is divided into eleven chapters, each of which deals with a different aspect of a prince's duties, qualifications, and character. Three of these
deal with either war or peace and related issues. Others discuss taxation, princely beneficence, the enactment of laws, treaties, and marriage alliances. In short, the work is one of the most famous of all mirrors for princes.

Erasmus accepted the idea that monarchy was the best form of government, and it was virtually inconceivable to him that a good monarch could be anything but Christian—hence the title of his work. To Erasmus, the prince served as a model to his people, and for that reason he was to be educated in the true faith concerning his enormous responsibilities. Moreover, the ideal prince will be both a practical man and a philosopher, as well as a true Christian. He, too, is subject to the laws and exists for the good of the commonwealth, not the commonwealth for the good of the prince. Erasmus also advocates the familiar concept that the state is one big family over which the prince governs as paterfamilias.

Several pages are devoted to a comparison between good princes and bad. The wicked prince or tyrant, in Erasmus' opinion, is a beast among men, another familiar concept and one that echoes his belief that war—the primary occupation of wicked rulers—is also bestial. The good prince, on the other hand, is one who continually labors for the welfare of his state. He ought to remain within the boundaries of his kingdom at all times, but should frequently travel throughout his realm to observe the condition of his people. He should also marry a native of his country, thereby avoiding divisions within the state and claims to the throne by foreigners after his decease. Erasmus was not a staunch supporter of hereditary rule, the evils of which are strongly emphasized throughout the treatise. To Erasmus, a prince exists for and by the consent of his subjects; thus, in a more ideal world, princes would mount their thrones backed by popular consent, not by the laws concerning blood succession.

Although the *Institutio* is primarily a manual of instruction for a Christian prince, it is not devoid of genuine political theory. In this work as well as others, Erasmus pays attention to the cause and nature of political power. He recognizes the responsibilities of any state: to maintain order, protect life and property, enact laws, prevent crimes, administer justice, maintain foreign relations, and, above all, confirm and preserve the rights of citizens for
whose welfare every state exists.

0071. Melanchthon, Philipp. Moralis philosophiae epitome. Wittenberg, 1539. English version: A civile nos[e]gay wherein is contayned not onelye the o ffye and dewty of all magestrate[s] and Judges but also of of [sic] all subjectes with a pre­ face concernynge the lybertv of Justice in this our tyme newly collected and gethered out of latyn and so translated in to the Inglyshe tonge by J[ohn] G[oode]. [London]: Robart Wyer, for Jhon goodale [sic], [1550?]. STC 17788.

Melanchthon discusses the law of nature and positive law and identifies two kinds of jus­ tice—distributive and communative. Most of the work is devoted to the powers of magistrates, who have divine authority to make laws but are also limited in their power, for their primary responsibility is to serve "the glory of God" and not to transgress against His laws. His most interesting point is that magistrates can be destroyed, even by private persons, if they commit notorious crimes and outrages. However, "the not doinge of justice" on the part of a magistrate "ought to be tollerated and suffered." Melanchthon does not indicate what means are to be employed for the deposition or destruction of magistrates, as others later in the century were to do. He simply says "defence is graunted... incontinently" to subjects who have been "cruelly and notoriously" injured by tyrants, either in private affairs or in any matter of business "towchynge or pertayning to the commen wele."


La Boétie's admirable essay was written in 1546, when the author was only seventeen. It circulated in MS among his friends, and the ori­ ginal was left to Montaigne at the time of the author's death. Montaigne chose not to publish it in the volume containing his friend's other posthumously-published works, but refers to it as the catalyst of their famous friendship and as a "discourse in honor of liberty opposed to
tyranny." It is a significant departure from other works of the period dealing with the subject of tyranny, however, for the essay rises above the common debates of the moment and addresses itself to men of all times. La Boétie's main point is that the people themselves are responsible for their enslavement and servitude. Either their own stupidity or the environments into which they are born make them susceptible to tyrannical rule. Violence, however, is not the means by which tyranny ought to be overcome. Rather, the author believes that passive disobedience and resistance will secure liberty. As he says: "You can deliver yourselves if you try, not by taking action, but merely by willing to be free. Resolve to serve no more, and you are at once freed." Typically, these pacifistic sentiments were often later employed as incitements to rebellion, and the work seems to have influenced the fathers of American democracy.


Essentially, Guevara's work is a reworking of the Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius, but Guevara states in his Preface that he is not merely translating Aurelius. His own thoughts and those of other famous writers are woven into the body of the work, which contains little in the way of concrete political advice or theory of government. It is a handbook for a prince, and the author's purpose "is not to tell princes in this booke, what they be, but to warne them, what they ought to be: not to tel them what they doe, but to advise them, what they ought to doe." Thus, the government of a prince's personal life and the virtues he ought to cultivate are stressed. The work is divided into three books; the first indicates that the prince ought to be a good Christian; the second is concerned with the prince's government of his wife, children, and household; the third takes up the government of a prince's life and of his commonwealth. The prince is urged to be liberal, to employ wise counsel, etc.
0074. Ferrarius Montanus, Joannes. A Woorke of Ioannes Ferrarius Montanus, touchyng the good orderynge of a Common weale: wherein as well magistrates, as private persone, bee put in rememraunce of their dutie, not as the Philosophers in their vaine tradicions have devised, but according to the godlie institutions and sounde doctrine of christianitie. Englished by William Bavande. London: Jhon [sic] Kingston, for Jhon [sic] Wight, 1559. STC 10831.

This work, containing nine books, somewhat resembles Aristotle's Politics, with the exception that it is heavily saturated with religious precepts and Biblical examples, although the author frequently draws from classical sources as well. In the author's opinion, however, "the divine institucion of the Prophetes of God, the sounde doctrine of the Apostles, and the perfecte trueth of Christes Gospelle" are the "mooste sure guides and conductours" to politic government. The chapters of each book are only loosely connected thematically. Book I proposes that man's felicity consists in knowing the good and honest life in civil society, for which he was framed. A history of the rise of cities and commonwealths is included. Book II discusses the various social groups that make up a commonwealth and indicates some of the duties of princes and counsellors. Book III is concerned with practical advice about those who supply necessary commodities. Book IV indicates the necessity of learning and knowledge, particularly in the laws of the kingdom; a system for the education of children is outlined here. Book V deals with occupations; Book VI with the honest getting of wealth. Book VII treats the virtues to be cultivated and the vices to be avoided. Book VIII discusses the relationship between the laws of God and those of men. The point is made here that man's laws must always be measured against God's. The last book speaks of peace-keeping in the realm. The document ends with the author's contention that Christians have a greater chance to achieve successful government than non-Christians, but uniformity and brotherely love must serve as means to this desirable end.

Agrippa's well-known work defies classification, for there is scarcely a subject upon which he does not comment. His basic argument is that the arts and sciences are harmful to the soul and to man's salvation. They are merely the opinions of men, not God's truth. Moreover, knowledge is invariably put to evil uses, and these he reproves throughout the work. Hence, human knowledge is vain. In the section on politic government, he points out that no one can agree as to which form of government is best. No science is necessary for government, only the virtue of the ruler. He complains that kings are not ruling for the people's sake, but for that of their nobles and for their own material profit and commodity. A prince will allow his subjects to prosper only for the purpose of robbing them when he wishes. But the people, or multitude, fare no better where government is concerned. The multitude is a confused and hydra-headed monster, he declares. The work also contains a section on the court and courtly government. For his comments on history and historians, see entry #0218. For comments on war, see entry #0312.


Blundeville's rendering of this book of instruction for a prince made available in English an important political document of 16th-cent. Spain, although Blundeville based his trans. on Alfonso de Ulloa's Italian trans. of the original Spanish version. Furio Ceriol originally intended the chapters here to be part of a larger treatise on government, but his project was never realized. The work is unusual in that Furio Ceriol was concerned with the practical art of government, as well as with the abstract qualities of rule. Thus, he goes into detail about the organization and structure of a king's council. He lists seven specific councils that
a king ought to establish (e.g., one of state, one of war, one of revenue, etc.) and indicates the specific duties of each. He also lists fifteen qualities of the mind and five of the body that every good counsellor ought to possess. He applies the humoral theory in discussing the latter qualities. The prince is also advised about the selection of counsellors. The work ends with a reply to those who may doubt that such “perfect” counsellors can ever be found. The author contends that if the prince is learned and strives for perfection, those who wish to serve him will emulate his virtues.


Although Boaistuau has been advanced as the author of the treatise on peace and war, it is not certain he is responsible for the Institution, which is a highly orthodox treatise on government and heavily indebted to Aristotle. The work begins with a history of the rise of kings and kingdoms. God, it is said, originated kingship, but men were induced to be ruled because of their needs. Rule is also a means of restraining wickedness and of rewarding those who have served the common good. The author discusses the three standard forms of government and declares his preference for monarchy. The pre-eminence of one provides the best rule, as all nature makes obvious, for in every order of nature, one beast or form is always placed above others. Kings and princes are images of God and serve as his “lieutenantes upon the earth,” just as the sun is the “Prince of al the lightes in heven.” Many rules for a king are cited. The author stresses justice, learning, clemency, and self-knowledge as important qualifications for a prince. The whole is heavily laden with examples from classical and Christian authorities.

Hotman's treatise is one of the most important political works—in any language—of the 16th cent. Composed by a leading jurist and scholar, the work applies humanist principles of source study to illustrate the ancient laws of France and its government. It is more important, however, as a document that marks a transition from medieval to modern ideas concerning constitutional government. The book became immediately popular upon its publication in 1573 because of the political message it conveyed during the period of the French religious wars. Hotman argues that the ancient French constitution provided for a political authority shared between king and community. But the people (thought of here as a distinct political body with a singular power) is "prior to" its king; that is to say, a people can exist without a king, but a king without a people is a meaningless concept. In France, the first kings were elected and subject to removal by the people if they violated their offices. Hotman accepts the later modification to kingly rule by succession, but even this form depends on popular consent, he argues, and kings may still be deprived of their power if they become tyrannical or in other ways misuse their office. The treatise is particularly important for its ideas concerning tyrannical rule, for it was one of the earliest to suggest the right of subjects to resist a tyrant, with force, if necessary. For students of Sh's history plays (particularly Henry V), the work is important for its section dealing with the Salic Law. He shows that the Salic Law applies to inheritance of private property, not to succession to public office. Thus, succession to a throne does not derive from one's right to private property; rather, it is the result of custom and tradition accepted by the people, who control succession.


Bèze's authorship of this work is established, but it was first published anonymously and disguised as an expanded version of the Admonition of Magdeburg. It is one of the most important 16th-cent. defenses of resistance to tyrannical rule, but Bèze's argument is a cautious one and draws heavily upon classical tradition. Resistance to tyranny, in Bèze's opinion, depends on the nature of the tyrant. The tyrant who usurps power without a legal title may be opposed by anyone, he argues. On the other hand, the legal ruler who abuses his power may be resisted only by public authorities representing the people as a whole. Moreover, these magistrates can only oppose a tyrant, not depose him. The removal of a tyrant is a right allowed only to the Estates, a "third class of subjects" who, when legally assembled, possess "sovereign" (i.e., supreme) power. For Bèze, kings are created by the people and for their welfare. Thus, it is the people who hold power, but their power is a collective quality and must be discharged as such. Hence, a private individual has no right to initiate resistance to a tyrant. Resistance must be controlled by public processes and sanctioned by the body politic as a whole. A part of Chapter VI gives a brief portrait of the English government under Elizabeth, an example of government which "shows...what happiness and profit there is in moderation of royal power if it is rightly observed."


Many abridged versions of this work appeared in several languages throughout the 16th cent., during which time it was republished four times in its entirety. Elyot's Boke named the
Governour (#0109) was modelled on it and contains a partial trans., according to the CBEL (#0013). It is divided into nine books devoted to a variety of subjects. Patrizi begins by praising monarchical rule, which, in his opinion, is similar to God's rule in heaven and also in imitation of nature, for in all orders of animal life, one beast predominates over others. After sketching the rise of civilization, the author indicates the qualities of a good commonwealth, such as justice, learning, husbandry, and various occupations. Book III takes up the choice and duties of magistrates. Book IV deals with marriage and household economy. Book V discusses civility in general and various trades and occupations. Book VI discusses nobility and the role of noblemen in the commonwealth. Books VII and VIII are of a more practical nature, indicating how to choose land for cultivation and for the building of cities. It also indicates how a country ought to be fortified for defense. The last book deals with war and martial discipline, the means whereby a commonwealth is maintained in peace.


The authorship of this work has not yet been definitely determined. Several authorities attribute all or most of the work to Mornay; many argue for joint authorship. Whatever the case, the document is an extremely important 16th-cent. political work devoted to the subject of resistance to tyrannical rule. In many respects, the author agrees with principles found in Hotman (#0078) and Bèze (#0079), but the Vindiciae is both more militant and more liberal than either of these. The Vindiciae is divided into four sections, each of which poses a basic question which is then discussed at length. The questions are: 1) "Are subjects bound to obey
princes if their orders contradict the Law of God?" 2) "Is it permissible to resist a prince who violates God's law and desolates His Church? Who may resist, in what manner, and to what extent?" 3) "May a prince who oppresses or devastates a commonwealth be resisted; and to what extent, by whom, in what fashion, and by what principle of law?" and 4) "Are neighboring princes permitted or obliged to aid the subjects of another prince who are persecuted for the exercise of true religion or are oppressed by manifest tyranny?" As these questions imply, the work has a strong religious as well as political purpose. Here, the author regards constitutional society as a covenant between God, King, and the people. Although God's will is responsible for kings, it is the people who establish their office and for whom they exist. Kings are made for the people, who are "prior to" the king and therefore hold supreme power. If kings suppress true religion, their subjects are not only entitled to resist them, but also obligated to do so, for subjects share responsibility in the defaults of their kings. In opposition to those in the Renaissance who argued that a tyrant was God's punishment for men's sins, the Vindiciae argues, also on the basis of Scriptural authority, that God has often punished men for their failures to correct or remove a wicked king. Moreover, the treatise allows for resistance even on the part of private individuals, but in this case they must be proven to be inspired and called by God.


In his political discourses, La Noue judges present-day France against the philosophies of the ancient writers and indicates the remedies whereby good government can be restored to his country. He argues much like English writers on the subject, in that he believes God to be the author of politic government. Concord is an all-important concept to La Noue, who sees religious intolerance as one of the major threats to concord and unity. But injustice, impiety, and other evils are also listed as causes that subvert commonwealths.

Botero’s popular work, first published in 1589, is important for several reasons. It is primarily a work in the tradition of the handbook for a prince, but it is also typical of Counter-Reformation thinking and an attempt to refute Machiavellian notions and to restore ethical and conscientious behavior to the art of government. Botero argues that integrity and justice are necessary attributes of a successful ruler and that these can best be absorbed by the prince who relies heavily upon the advice and help of prelates. Botero’s thought is not profound; much of it he owes to Bodin’s République and to his favorite Roman historians, particularly Livy and Tacitus. During Botero’s lifetime, this work went through ten editions in Italian, four in Latin, six in Spanish, and one in French. The Waley trans. appears to be the first English trans., and was made from the author’s last-revised Venetian edition of 1598.

This work contains eighteen discourses, as the author calls them, and the whole is a combination of theory and practice. The author presents the pros and cons of various arguments concerning counsellors and counselling as debated by both ancient and modern authorities and then states his own opinion. Generally, his beliefs are those held by most writers on this subject: a counsellor who speaks freely and who honestly tells what he thinks is best for a commonwealth; a counsellor does not need a university degree to be learned; it is better to have a good prince and bad counsellors than a bad prince and good counsellors; God is the best counsellor. The last three discourses discuss more specific matters, such as the duties of the council of war and peace and the means by which commonwealths increase, decay, or change. In speaking of the specific councils of a king’s government, such as that of revenues or of estates, he shows an indebtedness to Ferrarius Montanus (#0074).

The 803 conceits listed here in separate paragraphs are taken from "famous writers in the Greek, Latin, and Italian tongues," but, unfortunately, these writers are identified only in a general list. The author does not indicate who is responsible for each conceit. The material is not organized into chapters, although a subject index is provided at the end. The usual political subjects are dealt with: princes and their qualities; the necessity of good counsel; administration of commonwealths; administration of military affairs; moral virtues to be cultivated; vices and their results, particularly in princes. Some non-political material is also included, as, for example, comments on old age. The English trans. seems to have enjoyed a moderate popularity as a handbook of political ethics.


Because Le Roy's *De la Vicissitude* is a survey of all human history and concentrates on its major features, achievements, and patterns of change, the political material contained here is scattered throughout. Le Roy discusses such things as the origins of governments, the rise and fall of monarchies, and the status of political theory. He compares a host of political societies—both ancient and modern. Earlier in his life, he expressed the opinion that political theory had not advanced much since antiquity. By the time he came to write Book X of *De la Vicissitude*, however, he believed contemporaries were beginning to cast much light on the science of politics.

Briefly, the work advances the theory that all nations move from birth, to prosperity, and then to decline according to the law of flux and change. Thus, any particular aspect of a civilization (its form of government, e.g.) contributes to, and is affected by, a nation's rise and fall. For more on this theory, see entry #0220.
For further comments on the work as an unusual Renaissance history, see entry #0183.


Generally drawn from Cornelius Tacitus, but also from 115 other authors (Greek, Roman, and early Christian), Lipsius' work is another Renaissance manual written for the education and training of a prince. It echoes many Renaissance commonplaces about what constitutes princely virtue, how prudence is to be employed, and how the prince is to protect his subjects against civil strife and foreign wars. Occasionally, Lipsius argues for Machiavellian tactics, as when, for example, he declares that "light" and "middle deceit" are tolerable, for they are forms of deceit or subtle counsel "which swarveth from vertue or the lawes for the good of the Prince and the estate." Experience is the best teacher, Lipsius claims, and he who knows that "will...[not] so strictly condemne the Italian faulte-writer [Machiavelli], (who poore soule is layde at of all hands)."


The discourses in Part I repeat the precepts found in almost any handbook for a prince of the period. The prince, because he "uttereth foorth the reason of God," has two primary duties: to maintain justice and to employ policy—the skill "to governe and rule a whole multitude of men." That kingdom is well-governed which is characterized by the just commandment of the prince and the due obedience of the subjects, whose welfare the prince must guard as a father guards and commands his children for their welfare. He devotes much space to a discussion of the training of a prince and to the virtues and qualities he must acquire. The author draws upon classical, Biblical, and contemporary sources to support his arguments. For his views on military matters, see entry #0318.
Grimaldus addressed this work to King Augustus of Polonia. The author's intention was "to gather into this booke, whatsoever hath heretofore been spoken, known, or founde, eyther by learning of scholes, by Councels in common-weales, by pollicy, in governmente, by forraine experience by the Histories, touching the qualitie and perfection of a Councillor." In the opinion of Grimaldus, the most perfect counsellor or magistrate is a philosopher who recognizes that the science of government proceeds from God. The work is primarily valuable for the author's remarks about the "education and instruction of a Councillor," but it also includes much commonplace political thought: the different kinds of commonweales and their "felicite;" what constitutes the happiness of subjects; the divine nature of kingship; the effects of evil government; and so forth.

The author admits that he repeats much from other sources, but believes he has invented the method of "occuler demonstration" by which to explain his material. This method is merely a series of drawings of trees, the branches of which represent various characteristics of good or bad commonwealths. The branches of one tree, for example, represent those things that ruin or change commonwealths (such as covetousness, fear, disagreement of manners, and so forth). Like most writers of the period, he discusses the three good and the three bad forms of government and argues that the principality, or royal government, is the best. He stresses the concept of order as an essential element of well-governed states and declares that the nobility is "the creame of the milke of the Commonweale." A later section of the book is a confutation of Plato's belief that goods, wives, and children ought to be held in common, an idea that prompts the author to consider at some length marriage, conjugal duties, and the raising of children. The
work ends with a discussion of the six necessities of commonwealths: religion, law, martial valor as exercised by the nobility, riches, handicrafts, and agriculture.


The political advice for princes, courtiers, and ambassadors given here is taken, almost entirely, from Guicciardini's *History of Italy* (#0181). The work lacks organization; hence, the political matter must be sifted from much military material (see entry #0314) and from that dealing with manners. Generally, Nannini instructs princes on being prepared for various contingencies and believes they ought to "give ear" to the complaints of their subjects regarding governors and lesser officials. Considerable space is devoted to a discussion of injustice and its punishments.


Commonly known as the Anti-Machiavel, Gentillet's book was first published in Lausanne in 1576. Patericke's trans. was made in 1577, but not published until 1602. A Latin version appeared in 1571. Gentillet's primary purpose is to refute Machiavelli's doctrines of statecraft as laid down in *The Prince* (#0095). Gentillet cites various maxims from that work and argues against them with the aid of opposite examples culled from the classics, the Bible, and recent history. He accuses Machiavelli of formulating "not a Politicke, but a Tyrannicall science" of government. The Florentine is also vilified for what Gentillet terms his inexperience in government and his ignorance of history. As Gentillet says: "I answere and will maintaine,
that in all his writings, there is nothing of any value, that is his own;" instead, he uses good authors only as "honny sweet bait, to cover his poyson." Gentillet also unjustly reflects upon the nature of Machiavelli's personal life, presuming it to be "contaminated and defiled with vices and wickednesse."

The third part of the work, on policy, is the most interesting and important. There Machiavelli is rebuked for showing that "crueltie, perfidie, impietie, subtillie or deceit, covetousnesse, and other like...are very fit and meete for a prince." The work ends with an appeal to his readers to consider how "detestable the doctrine of that most filthie Atheist is, who hath left out no kind of wickednesse to build a tyrannie accomplished of all abominable vices." Gentillet also laments the popularity of this same doctrine in France and urges his countrymen to drive out and banish all of Machiavelli's writings.


Bodin's Six Bookes, often called the République, was first published in French in 1576. Several French edns. followed, and in 1586, the author published his own Latin version of the work. Because it attempts a general system of politics, a complete science of government, it has often been compared to Aristotle's Politics, to which it is heavily indebted. But even Bodin's first readers regarded it as a work superior to Aristotle's because it drew upon an additional 2,000 years of political experience and because its conclusions reflected the structure of political societies in the 16th cent.

For many reasons, Bodin's treatise is considered the major turning point in modern political thought, for Bodin went far beyond his predecessors in determining and analyzing the source of political authority. To Bodin, sovereignty, the supreme lawmaking authority, could be held by one, by few, or by many. The number of persons holding sovereignty in a state,
moreover, determines the form of the state, i.e., monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy. These are the only possible forms of state. There is no such thing as a "mixed state," then, for sovereignty is indivisible, not something that can be shared or exercised by various groups, all of whom generally have different interests. Sovereignty is also perpetual and absolute, and about the latter of these qualities Bodin is very insistent. "Absolute" sovereignty means that a sovereign, although he may make new laws or uphold old ones, is not himself bound by them, for the sovereign must have unlimited power to make or revise laws as he sees fit. Nevertheless, the ruler is directly responsible to the higher laws of God and nature and must function in accordance with these laws, even though he is above statutory law. Because the sovereign is responsible to God alone, his subjects have no right to oppose him, unless he commands something contrary to divine or natural law. These ideas are summarized in Bodin's statement that "if justice be the end of the law, and the law is the worke of the prince, and the prince is the lively image of almightie God, it must needes follow, that the law of the prince should be framed unto the modell of the law of God."

Bodin's work was known in England almost immediately after the first French edn. of 1576, although his influence is not traceable in English political writings until the 1580's. Thereafter, Bodin was often cited as the greatest political authority of the time. Knolles' 1606 English trans., which combines the French and Latin texts, is remarkably faithful, although he took the liberty to alter a few statements he thought might be offensive. Most of these deal with Bodin's references to English political life or affairs. Bodin, for example, did not approve of feminine monarchs, and thus Knolles deleted or moderated several passages dealing with the English and Scottish queens of recent date. The superb facs. edn. cited above provides a section of notes indicating Bodin's original text and Knolles' variations.

The title of this work is somewhat misleading, for it is really a treatise on the Ottoman Empire and an investigation of Turkish power. The work is divided into three books. In the first, the author's purpose is to discuss "the meanes they [the Turks] have practiced for their advancement and greatnesse"; the second explains "with what cunning and deceit they maintaine what they have gotten"; and the third indicates "how we may be able to assaile them, and turne the chance of their victories and powers."


Machiavelli's famous work, either in MS or printed Italian versions (e.g., Wolfe's pirated edn.), was known in England long before Dacres supplied the first English trans., which is a far more objective appraisal of The Prince than Gentillet's Contra-Machiavel (#0092). Dacres does not hesitate to point out what he considers blemishes and faults in Machiavelli's arguments, but he does not regard the work as altogether poisonous. Machiavelli begins with a discussion of the various kinds of principalities—hereditary, new, mixed, civil, ecclesiastical—and indicates the dangers a prince faces in maintaining these political states. Force and dissimulation, he says, are often necessary to preserve one's rule; at the same time, the prince must not be so cruel as to incur hatred. Miserliness is to be preferred to liberality, for the latter can make one poor, weak, and despised; the former "begets an infamy without hatred." A prince, however, must be supple enough to be either miserly or liberal as occasions and needs require. Moreover, a prince must employ craft and cunning to maintain men's favor, especially when events prompt him to break his promises. Rules are given as to how a prince may avoid flattery from counsellors and others desirous of his favor. It is Machiavelli's opinion that a successful prince must not depend on wise counsel; rather, "counsellors...must needs take their beginning
from the Princes wisdome, and not the wisdome of the Prince from good counsells." A considerable section of the work is devoted to what ought to be every prince's primary thought—the art of war and military discipline—for it is the surest way for a prince to keep the state he has either inherited or won, Machiavelli maintains. For additional thoughts on war, see his Arte of Warre (#0311).

**English Works**


The *Policraticus*, in the words of the modern trans. indicated above, is "the earliest elaborate mediaeval treatise on politics." Although a very early work, it is included here because of the influence it exerted throughout the following cents. and because of its importance in the history of political thought. It is the only political treatise of value written before Aristotle's *Politics* was rediscovered by the western world. Thus, it represents a purely medieval point of view, one unaffected by borrowings from antiquity. It also represents a political philosophy which, by the 12th and 13th cents., was to disappear when feudal arrangements were replaced by stronger and more centralized political institutions. The *Policraticus* is full of inconsistencies, but it is these very inconsistencies which make it valuable. They contain the germs or strains of thought later singled out for discussion and refutation by more systematic thinkers. The confused and contradictory nature of medieval thought (particularly John's), therefore, provided a groundwork of ideas upon which later thinkers could build.

In John's opinion, all power derives from God, who establishes either good kings or tyrants

3 Arranged chronologically according to date of composition. A few 16th-cent. works composed in Latin (e.g., More's *Utopia*) are arranged according to date of English trans.
for his own inscrutable purpose. Although tyranny is the worst of all evils for men, it is part of the providential order of God and must be borne submissively. Nevertheless, in order to free men for the service of God, tyrants can be justly destroyed, John argues. Tyrannicide is a public duty, but before it is undertaken, the oppressed are urged to pray to God that their scourge may be removed. John's doctrine of tyrannicide, contradictory and never clearly defined as to whether an individual or the body politic is responsible for the removal of a tyrant, became one of the most disputed points for later thinkers. The treatise is also important for the distinctions it makes between temporal and spiritual power. Although a ruler derives his power from God, he is subject to the spiritual powers on earth—particularly to the Apostolic See—and to the "higher laws" to which all governments are subject. Good kings will administer these laws, rather than establish their own. Ideally, men should be free from sin and able to live without either law or government, John argues, but he recognizes the corrupt nature of the world and the need for the administration of justice. He devotes considerable space to a discussion of the ideal ruler's responsibilities toward law and government. Books IV, V, and VI—the core of John's political thought in the Polycraticus—discuss the state, its prince, his administration of the law and of justice, the members of a state, the place of the Church, the military aspects of a commonwealth, and so forth. His views on tyranny and tyrannicide are to be found in Book VIII.


The songs included here are in English, Latin, and Anglo-Norman, and, for those in the latter two languages, translations are provided. The collection is valuable primarily for the songs and poems written during the reign of King John, during which time the King's political troubles with the pope caused a new outburst of popular opinion. Prior to John's reign, the popular songs and poems, mostly in Latin, were generally elegies or laudatory works celebrating the acts or characters of princes or noblemen. Indicative of King John's reign is the satirical
"Song on the Times," a work that inveighs against the pope and tells of the power of money to speak in Rome, where "law is silent." For political poems and songs written during the reigns of later kings, see entry #0098.


The material here forms an important collection, for many of the poems and songs deal with the same events treated by Sh in eight of the ten history plays. One must take into account a variety of political passions, prejudices, and sympathies as expressed in these early pieces of ephemera, but they present an unusual dimension on the political attitudes of the times. All are in either Latin or English. Volume I contains several poems and songs dealing with the era of Richard II. Among these, John Gower is well represented with poems on various vices and corruptions of the time and by a poem, in Latin, on King Richard himself. One anonymous poem treats Richard II's deposition. There is also Richard de Maidstone's "Reconciliation of Richard II with the City of London," a Latin work. Volume II contains elegies on the deaths of Henry IV and V; a song dealing with the Battle of Agincourt; and several works devoted to Henry VI, Edward IV, and the Wars of the Roses. The Duke of Suffolk, Queen Margaret's favorite, is the subject of several poems and songs. Another poem, entitled by the editor "A Political Retrospect," speaks of the Lancastrians and of Henry IV's usurpation of the crown from the "righteous king, God's true knight" Richard II. It contains an interesting comparison of England to a garden which has become overgrown with weeds during the Yorkist-Lancastrian struggle—a comparison Sh employed in RII. The author of this work reveals his Yorkist sympathies. Both volumes contain valuable introductions by the editor. For a similar collection of material dealing with the reign of King John, see entry #0097.


The Vox Clamantis, a poem in Anglo-Latin, is valuable for the light it sheds on the political and social conditions of the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV. Book I, later added to the body of the work, deals with Wat Tyler and the Peasants' Revolt of 1381—all allegorically treated. Books II–VII present a survey of the present condition of the three estates—clergy, nobles (knights), and peasants. Some attention is paid to the middle classes, but Gower does not seem to recognize them as a distinct political or economic conglomerate. His purpose, as he says, is to write about the "present-day evils which the common voice of mankind outwardly complains of in this country." Thus, the work is a lament about the present wickedness—mostly in the form of lust and avarice—that is to be found at all levels of society. Unfortunately, Gower speaks of these things in abstract terms; one would prefer a more detailed portrait of the period. Of particular interest, however, is Gower's belief that men, not Fortune, are the cause of what happens and therefore responsible for the present bad times. The Cronica is also a later attachment to the Vox. It is primarily a history of Richard II, but can be read as a mirror for princes. For Gower, Richard's cruelty, rather than his weakness, is seen as the cause of his downfall. In contrast, Henry IV is lavishly praised as a good king who has the welfare of his subjects at heart. The poem also speaks of man as a microcosm and responsible for the order or disorder in the world. As Gower says: "One who is a microcosm brings the greatest misfortunes upon the world if he falls because guilty of impurities." Stockton's trans. points out that the Vox exists in ten MS versions and that it was copied until about 1500, which attests to its considerable popularity.

Hoccleve acknowledges three principal sources for this "mirror for princes" poem: the pseudo-Aristotelian Secreta Secretorum (#0062); Aegidius de Columna's De Regimine Principum; and The Game of Chess Moralized, by Jacobus de Ces-solis. The work is addressed to Prince Henry, later Henry V, and enjoyed considerable popularity in the early and middle years of the 15th cent. In content, the work somewhat resembles Gower's Vox Clamantis (#0099), in that it, too, depicts contemporary social conditions, but in slightly more detailed terms. Hoccleve concentrates on the avarice of the rich and their ability to get away with unlawful acts, whereas the poor can get no justice. Covetousness, various clerical practices, child marriages, and adultery are also criticized. In form, the work is unusual. It is prefaced with a long section in which Hoccleve gives an account of his own miserable condition to a Beggar, who offers advice. The "Regiment" proper takes up, in turn, the virtues and qualities Hoccleve hopes Henry V will cultivate as king: pity, kingly dignity, justice, mercy, patience, chastity, magnanimity, frugality, prudence, good counsel, and peace. Hoccleve strongly recommends a marriage between Henry and Katherine of France as a means of bringing peace to the two countries.

Fortescue's great work was composed sometime between 1468-70 and was well-known throughout the early Tudor period. It continued to be popular in both the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, and is even today regarded highly as one of the outstanding legal and political documents of any age. Fortescue had earned the degree of serjeant-at-law and served as Chief Justice of the King's Bench before the hapless King Henry VI named him Lord Chancellor. His best known works, however, are not strictly legal in nature, for his chief interest lay in relating public law to government. In this endeavor, he succeeded in developing a political theory distinct from that of the medieval period, and thus his work stands at the threshold of early-modern political thought.

To political theorists, his greatest contribution was his distinction between dominium regale and dominium politicum et regale (i.e., between absolute and limited monarchy, or kingship). Fortescue cites France as an example of dominium regale, an absolute monarchy in that whatever pleases the prince has the force of law. England, on the other hand, is a dominium politicum et regale, for there kingship is not only limited by law, but also by Parliament. The king of such a government is not free to change the laws without the assent of his subjects. The idea that kings were limited by law (particularly by the laws of God and nature) did not, of course, originate with Fortescue, but he was the first to state in clear terms that the limitation on the kings of England is also a parliamentary one. It is this feature of the De Laudibus and of his work De Dominio Regali et Politico (#0102) that partially accounts for Fortescue's unique contribution to English thought.

The treatise is equally important in other respects. It is cast in the form of a dialogue between the Lord Chancellor of England (Fortescue) and the prince who is heir apparent to the English throne (Prince Edward, son of Henry VI). The speakers are not identified as Fortescue and Prince Edward, but it is clear that Fortescue wrote the work for the young prince's benefit and because he believed Edward would one day be king. Thus, the Chancellor urges the Prince to
study the laws of England in preparation for his destiny. Several subjects are discussed. The distinctions between English law and Roman civil law as practiced on the Continent are explained to the young prince by means of comparison, a method of legal study for which Fortescue has also been praised. The two speakers also discuss the organization of the English legal system and the education of law students. Of unusual interest is the Chancellor's explanation and praise of the English jury system, a panegyric which does not take into account some of the evils inherent in that system.

The book has a strong patriotic flavor, a feature which has been criticized by some legal experts, and it ignores many of the less attractive aspects of English government, but these faults in no way invalidate the book's enormous value. The work has been acclaimed for its anticipation of Bodin's theory that the laws and institutions of a people depend upon their economic and social conditions. It also seems that Fortescue's illumination of English law and institutions contributed greatly to the political strength of the Tudor dynasty, for some of Henry VII's reforms reflect ideas set down by Fortescue in this work. Moreover, it possesses a literary merit rarely encountered in similar works of its own period or of those succeeding.


Unlike Fortescue's other works, this one was written in English and is thought to have been composed sometime between 1471-76, by which time Fortescue had abandoned his Lancastrian attitudes and embraced the policies of Edward IV. The Tudor theory of government strongly resembles Fortescue's belief that a monarch should be strong, but subject to the law, and that the law should limit and control a monarch's tendency to absolutism. The author takes up a variety of subjects here: the difference between _dominium regale_ and _dominium politicum_ et
regale (see entry #0101); a king's ordinary and extraordinary expenses and his need for wealth; the need for a prosperous commonalty; and to what extent the king should tax his subjects. Fortescue also discusses how the king's council should be established and maintained and some of the duties of that body. The bestowal of pensions and gifts is also commented upon.


In this work, written during the reign of Edward IV, Fortescue refutes his earlier arguments concerning that monarch's right to the throne. It is a work in dialogue form. A "Lerned Man" convinces Fortescue that the latter's arguments against Edward's claim were incorrect, and Fortescue admits his former "errors." The question of Edward's right depended upon his descent from Philippe, daughter of the Duke of Clarence. Descent from the female line is discussed at some length here, and it is concluded that Edward IV's title "is now so cleere and oppenne that ther reraayneth to theym that will stryve therwith, nether matier nor coloure to do so."


All three of these interesting fragments support Henry VI's right to the throne and argue against claims made by the House of York. It is believed the tracts circulated in England during the time Henry VI and Fortescue were in exile in Scotland. The first two fragments
present the fullest arguments. In the second one, Fortescue asserts that Edward, Earl of March, and his heirs are "forcluded and barred by all laws used amonge Kinges, or princes personnes, and namely with the realme of Eng- lande, and also by naturall reason, to clayme the Kingdome of Englande." He also declares that the Yorkists themselves publicly recognized their allegiance to Henry VI and set aside their claims. The last-mentioned fragment, merely a page, presents the reasons why Edward cannot claim the throne through descent from Dame Phillip[a], who was "conceaved in adultry." The three fragments cast interesting light on the political realities and controversies central to the period of the Wars of the Roses.


This poetic version of the pseudo-Aristotellean Secreta Secretorum (#0062) was begun by Lydgate and, after his death, continued by an anonymous poet. This particular version was printed apparently at the commandment of Sir Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, Henry VIII's chamberlain, for the benefit of Henry soon after he ascended the throne. Starnes' Intro. includes a bibliography listing modern scholarship dealing with the nature of this work and its popularity during the 16th cent.


The Utopia differs from other early Renaissance political treatises not only because of its imaginative content, but also because of its form. Political thinkers before More generally
cast their works in the form of mirrors for princes and concentrated on the moral virtues a prince ought to possess and on the techniques of his government. The Utopia, however, emphasizes the structure of a society and depicts what More chose to call "the best state of a commonwealth." Here there are no regimens for princes concerned with administering existing laws, no discussions of the virtues and failings of the three classical forms of government or of their perverted opposites. The Utopia depicts, instead, a communistic society in which all members are politically, economically, and socially equal. King Utopus, the founder, did not maintain the law he found on the island called Abraxa, but abolished it and substituted a reign of peace, religious toleration, the love of God and of one's neighbor. Utopians are ruled by few written laws. All citizens are equal, all are educated, all labor for the benefit of the whole. By implication, the medieval and Renaissance social order based on hierarchy (the so-called "chain of being") is repudiated, although the Utopian political organization is a hierarchy of a different kind. The basic political unit in Utopia is the family; thirty families constitute a magistracy and choose the magistrate (called a syphogrant or phylarch) who is to govern them. There are 200 of these, whose chief function is to appoint a governor from among candidates named to them by the people. Governors rule for life, unless they become tyrannous. The Utopians despise tyranny. They also despise most of the social and political practices operative throughout the Christianized West during More's own day—the pursuit of private gain at the expense of the public good, war, the training of a military elite, religious intolerance, and many more. To the Utopians (and More), social evils resulted from sin, particularly that of pride. It is impossible to say whether More himself subscribed to the destruction of the existing European order and the substitution of communism, but it seems he clearly saw that the conversion of society into a true and ideal commonwealth inspired by the doctrines of Christ depended upon a social revolution that would make men equal.

The Utopia was originally composed in Latin and published at Louvain in 1516. It is cast in the form of a dialogue, like Plato's Republic, and was greatly influenced by Erasmus. See entry #0321 for further comments.
0107. Lydgate, John. *The serpent of division, which hath ever been yet the cheifest undoer of any Region or Citie*, set forth after the Auctours old copy by I. S. London: Owen Rogers, 1559. STC 17028.

No complete copy of the first edn. of this work (issued in 1520) exists, but the STC indicates that it was first published as *A lytle treatyse entytuled the Damage and destruccyon in Realmes*. Lydgate employs Roman examples to prove that division in states is the "originall cause" of their undoing. The most interesting part of the book deals with the acts of Julius Caesar in Britain. Caesar is credited with having "edified in this land for a perpetual memorie to put his name in remembraunce, the castel of Dover and Caunturburie/Rochester/and the tower of London, the castel and the towne of Cezarisbury, which now is called Salesburie," and so on. The dissension between Pompey and Caesar, however, divided the citizens of Rome and brought that city to destruction. The work accents the role of Fortune in human affairs, and Lydgate claims that the change from felicity to adversity is brought about by three causes: "necessarie," "voluntarie," and "consuetudinarie" (i.e., by custom). In the Preface, the author speaks of the work as a "translacion," but the colophon reads: "this litle treatise" was "made by John Lydgate."


Tyndale singles out children, wives, servants, and subjects for special instruction in obedience and depicts the results of disobedience. Kings, fathers, masters, and husbands are advised as to how they ought to rule in their specific spheres of influence. Tyndale's thesis is that obedience to God and His laws is the foundation of all human activity and char-
acteristic of all orders. The treatise is a highly orthodox expression of early Tudor political ideals. To paraphrase Tyndale, the ruler is a minister of God and is to be reserved for God's punishment or reward. All men are subject to temporal powers, and those who resist the latter resist God. Tyrants and evil rulers are punishments for men's sins and wholesome medicines for correction of the same. Indeed, a tyrant is better than a weak king who suffers others to lead him. "Read the Chronicles and thou shalt finde it ever so," says Tyndale. The Pope receives special abuse. To Tyndale, he is antichrist and a usurper of power as well as one whose taxes leave countries "beggerde." Churchmen are intent on pleasure and profit and even make war for these motives, Tyndale declares. He argues that Christ's church can be revived through prayer, scripture-reading, and by keeping the commandments of love. The treatise contains much on Church doctrine and its abuses, and the work as a whole is heavily supported by Scripture.


Elyot's most famous work is not of primary importance as a political document, for it basically advances a system of education rather than presents a theory of government or an analysis of political power and practices. Nevertheless, because of its immense popularity and because of its affinity with Renaissance mirrors for princes, the work deserves inclusion here. It also represents the thought of one of the most learned statesmen of the early Tudor period, one who strongly advocated the monarchical form of government and hierarchical society governed by the aristocratic segment of that society. Thus, the book may be thought of as one of the most accomplished apologies for the Tudor establishment and its theory of
government. Elyot's primary purpose, however, is "to describe in our vulgare tunge the fourme of a juste publike weale" and to treat "of the education of them that hereafter may be demed worthy to be governours of the publike weale under your hyghnesse [Henry VIII]." It is to the latter part of this dual purpose that most of the work is devoted. In Book I, Elyot discusses the advantages of monarchy and the nature of a "publike weale," but these matters are dispensed with in the first three chapters. The remaining 24 are devoted to Elyot's scheme for the education of future governors and magistrates. Book II deals more specifically with the virtues—mercy, generosity, nobility, etc.—characteristic of the good ruler. Book III is an enlargement of the preceding and discusses justice, fortitude, temperance, and the like as further qualifications of the good prince.

The work is heavily indebted to other thinkers, particularly Plato, Erasmus, Pontano, and Patrizi. Elyot acknowledges his debt to all but the last of these, but recent scholars have determined that Elyot's obligation to Patrizi's De Regno et Regis Institutione (#0080) is very great indeed. Patrizi's work was published about 12 years earlier, and the similarity between the two indicates that Elyot used the De Regno as a model for his Governour. The latter, however, is no mere imitation, despite the fact that Elyot borrowed Patrizi's plan and much of his content. Elyot's wide learning and worldly experience overshadow the Italian's, and thus the Governour is justly regarded as one of the most influential humanistic documents of the period.


Pasquill is a debate between Pasquillus, Gnato, and Harpocrates, three counsellors, who argue about the techniques of advising a master. Pasquill advocates open and honest dealing with a ruler, Gnato prefers flattery, and Harpocrates believes silence is best. The political import of the work is slight, but it treats in a playful manner a subject of considerable importance to Renaissance political writers—the office of
a counsellor. In her Intro., Gottesman speculates that this work may have topical significance and that perhaps such famous counsellors as Sir Thomas More, Wolsey, Cromwell, or even Elyot himself may be represented by these three fictional characters. Whatever the case, Pasquil, the plain speaker, is the type of counsellor preferred by Elyot.


Fox's Latin treatise, commonly known as De Vera Differentia..., was first published in 1534. It is essentially a defense of Henry VIII's ecclesiastical power and an attack on the power of the Pope. Despite its religious import, however, it is also an important political document of the early Tudor period, for it declares many of the commonplace beliefs about kingship that persisted throughout the Tudor period. Fox states that all power comes from God, who occasionally permits a reign of tyranny as punishment for men's sins. More important, God established kings upon earth and gave them power, in civil affairs, to which even churchmen are subject. All men, whether lay or spiritual, are commanded by God to obey the regal and civil power, Fox declares. At the same time, kings, as God's "vicars," are accountable to God and must preserve the Church and Christ's doctrine. Fox's clinching argument against papal usurpation of royal power is interesting. He states that the early popes expressly gave ecclesiastical power to the kings of England, designating them as "vicars of God." Thus, current Roman pontiffs cannot claim power over English kings without violating early Church laws and traditions. Because the papal office was created by man and kings by God, as Scripture makes clear, a pope's attempt to usurp power is meaningless. In arguing that the king's jurisdictional power extends to both the temporal and spiritual realms, and that the clergy cannot claim immunity, Fox gets to the heart of what later became known as the Anglican position in the religious controversies of the period.

0112. Gardiner, Stephen. De vera obediencia, An oration
The first Latin edn. of this work was published by Thomas Berthelet in 1535. It is a curious document. It was composed, apparently unwillingly, as a piece of Tudor propaganda advocating Henry VIII's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters at the time of his divorce from Catharine of Aragon. During the reign of Mary, Gardiner returned to the Church of Rome and, toward the end of his life, regretted that he had once declared against papal supremacy, which he does in this work. Thus, it must be dealt with carefully as a political document expressing ideas to which the author sincerely adhered. As a work of propaganda, it expresses the orthodox belief that the king is the "vicar of God" and that the Pope can pretend to no political hegemony. It also advocates complete obedience on the part of subjects to both civil and religious laws laid down by kings, even those who are wicked and tyrannical. The later English trans. and Roman edns. of the work present difficulties, which are discussed by Janelle in his Intro. The other two political tracts included in Janelle's volume are less significant, for they were not intended for publication, as was Gardiner's oration. The two tracts do, however, illuminate Gardiner's character and political ideas.

This work has often been wrongly attributed to Sir John Cheke, whose *Hurt of Sedition* (#0118) is altogether a different work. The author of *A Remedy* was not addressing any particular group, as was Cheke. Here the author discusses rebellion in general terms and points at evil education as the primary cause of sedition. The well bringing-up of noblemen's sons and sufficient occupations for the commonality are the surest means of maintaining a happy commonwealth, the author claims. He also believes unity in religious affairs is necessary for civil concord, and that all men, both poor and rich, should hear the gospels in their own tongue. Unless God's laws are known and respected, it is unlikely men will observe the laws and statutes of kings. The author stresses the importance of laws in his definition of a commonwealth, which he designates as "nothyng else, but a certayne nombre of cities, townes, shires, that all agre upon one lawe, and one hed, unyt ed and knytte together, by thobservation of the lawes." He also believes in the rule of the worthy. It is requisite in a commonwealth, he says, that "those that are of the worser sort,...be content, that the wyser rule and governe theym." When people are content with their status and enjoy good government, then they live in a commonwealth "worthy his name."


The Bankette is a collection of adages that Elyot dedicated to Henry VIII. Over a hundred virtues and vices are dealt with, in alphabetical order. Each selection, some more political than others (e.g., "Counsayl and counsayloures," or "Publike weale"), is a compilation of wise sayings. Elyot drew from over 80 classical, medieval, and Biblical sources in concocting this "feast" for his king.

0115. Morison, Richard. *An Invective ayenste the great and detestable vice, treason, wherein the secrete practises, and traierous workings of theym, that suffrid of late are disclosed*. London: in aedibus Thomae Bertheleti, 1539. STC 18111.
In Morison's opinion, traitors always bring about their own ruin and confusion, for God protects his anointed kings. Those who connive against rulers succeed only in revealing their own folly. A substantial section of the book deals with Cardinal (Reginald) Pole, who is called a "shamefull and shameles traytour" to King Henry VIII for his defection to Rome. He then proceeds to discuss the traitorous acts of the Marquess of Exeter, Lord Montague, and Edward Neville. Many Biblical and classical examples are employed throughout the work, the purpose of which is "to make men see, howe god plucketh wyt and prudency from malyciouse traytours."


Starkey's purpose is "to restore and confirm here among us true obedience and Christian unytie." The tract is a long-winded and tedious disquisition on the nature of obedience, to which, in Starkey's opinion, men are bound by God's laws. Because the word of God is to be obeyed above all else, the doctrine of God ought to be searched and employed as a means to make people live together in charitable unity.


Certaine Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches In the Time of Queen Elizabeth I (1547-1571). Intro. by Mary Ellen Rickey and Thomas B. Stroup. Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1968.

The First Book of Homilies, containing 12 sermons, included "An Exhortation..." and was first published in 1547. An Homilie against disobedience was written and published separately in 1570; in 1571, it was added to the Second Book of Homilies, first published in 1563. It is the longest and most political of all the sermons in the two books, but "An Exhortation" is also important to any student of the political
thought of the period. Together, these two sermons contain the fullest expression of the Tudor theory of the duty of subjects. All the sermons are definitely anti-Roman in tone. These two of political import, however, go to the extreme of persuading English church-goers (i.e., everyone in the realm) that their primary obligation on earth is obedience to the civil magistrates and sovereign at home. Both stress the Renaissance concept of order and degree—an order established throughout the universe by God and one to which all men, of whatever estate, are subject. Rebellion against this order constitutes the gravest of all sins. In the words of the Homily against disobedience, "he that nameth rebellion, nameth not a singular or one onely sinne... but he nameth the whole puddle and sinke of all sinnes against GOD and man, against his Prince, his country, his countrymen, his parents, his children, his kinsfolkes, his friends, and against all men universally." As one would suppose, obedience is spoken of as "the principall vertue of all vertues." Although civil wars are the worst of all wars, "farre more abominable yet is rebellion then any civill warre, being unworthy the name of any warre, so farre it exceedeth all warres in all naughtinesse, in all mischiefe, and in all abomination." Man's ambition to achieve a higher estate than that into which he was placed by God or his ignorance of God's will as revealed by His word, are singled out as the two primary causes of rebellion.


Published anonymously, this is the only English work of this learned scholar and early Tudor statesman. Addressing the Norfolk rebels, Cheke warns them of the terrible consequences of sedition and civil discord. Rebellion not only disrupts the orderly life of a kingdom, but more important, it brings down the wrath of God on those who intend to destroy the divinely-established system of order and degree.

0119. Thomas, William. The historie of Italie. 1549. See entry #0194.

The political works of Thomas were not published until the 18th cent., but his Historie is politically significant as a treatise on com-
parative government and because his purpose is to instruct his readers about good government through the use of Italian examples. He describes the governments of ten Italian cities or city-states, paying most attention to Rome and Venice. His examples are meant to encourage the increase of virtue among the governing classes and to show vicious governors the unfortunate results of their administrations. In Thomas' opinion, the prudent use of authority is the primary cause for the growth and political success of a state. Praise and honor are the rewards of a state so governed. The use of tyranny, on the other hand, reduces a state to shame. Division amongst either the commons or nobility is stressed as one of the major causes of a commonwealth's subversion or destruction.


Ponet's treatise begins with a discussion of the law of nature, which, he affirms, was given to men by God for the purpose of creating civil and well-governed societies. Although Ponet advocates limited monarchy (or the "mixte state," composed of a king, nobility, and commons), he stresses that the power resides with the masses, the broadest spectrum of the people, to whom all higher officials are wholly responsible for the welfare of the state. A tyrant, therefore, or any ruler or legislative authority who tyrannizes over man's freedoms (and particularly the freedom of conscience) can be lawfully rebelled against and deposed, Ponet argues. Ponet thus stands in opposition to other Reformation and Renaissance theorists who argued that a tyrant must be suffered and obeyed, since God had allowed him to rule as a means of punishing the people's sins. To make God the author of such evil is "great blasphemie," according to Ponet. He speaks rather guardedly of Mary's "popish reign," but it is evident, as Hudson says in the study indicated above, that the tract was "designed to prove the Marian regime unlawful and to justify resistance to its con-
tinuance in power" (p. 84). Ponet also takes up the economic problem resulting from the debase-
ment of the coinage and inveighs against those responsible for the current economic crisis.


Goodman's tract forced its author, a Marian exile, to remain on the Continent even after the accession of Elizabeth, for a proclamation of Mary and Phillip named any one found in posses-
sion of the work a rebel. Copies of the book are extremely rare. It is one of the most important political works of the second half of the 16th cent., however, for it marks a shift away from the earlier Tudor doctrine of unlimited obedi-
ence to monarchs. The work repeats again and again the author's thesis that "God must be obeyed before man." To Goodman, Mary was an "ungodlie serpent" begotten of "adulterous in-
cest," and her government, therefore, was to be resisted and opposed. Admittedly, the strong religious bias of the work predominates, and Goodman does not discuss the subject of resis-
tance with the degree of objectivity found in greater thinkers of the period. He relies main-
ly on New Testament examples to argue that it is both lawful and sometimes necessary "to dis-
obeye and also to resiste Ungodly magistrats," but he does not indicate what form such resis-
tance should take. Curiously, he also argues that wicked magistrates must be obeyed, as long as their wickedness "brasteth not out manifestly agaynst God, and his lawes." The work is also novel in that it advocates resistance even on the part of the common people, as well as of the magistrates and lesser officials, for all men, whatever their degree, are responsible for see-
ing that their prince keeps the laws and command-
ments of God.


The *First Blast*, published anonymously, is perhaps the most famous of the many Renaissance attacks on feminine rule, a condition particularly distressing to those who firmly believed in the Renaissance concept of order and in man's superiority to woman. Here Knox asserts that the rule and authority of woman is detestable and a "subversion of good ordre, equitie and justice." To advance a woman to a throne upsets the divine order of the universe, he believes, although he does not deny a woman's right to inherit either goods, lands, or other commodities. Her right of inheritance, however, stops short of supreme authority over men. Knox is especially severe on Queen Mary of England, whose return to Rome, in his opinion, signified a struggle against God. The tract is exceedingly repetitious.


The *Harborowe* is a refutation of Knox's *First Blast* (#0122), although the author does not identify the "straunger" whose argument he proceeds to destroy. The work was published anonymously. The author's purpose is to prove that "it standeth well inouge with nature and all good order, with justice and equitie, with lawe and reason, with Gods and mans ordinaunce, with custome and antiquitie: that a woman... may undoubtedly, succede her auncestors lawfullye reignyng, in lawful succession, both to enheritance and regiment." In effect, the treatise is a highly orthodox defense of the current government of Elizabeth, who, in the latter part of the work, is highly praised. Other governments are compared to England's, and the author points out the greater blessings provided by the latter. The book ends with the argument that every subject's duty is to be obedient to "gods liuethnaunt [sic] our sovereign," for obedience
is the cause of a nation's prosperity.


The history of the *Mirror* is a complex one. The first attempt to print it (in 1555) was aborted, and the first edn. did not appear until 1559. Additions to the original were added in 1563, 1578, and 1587, but there were intervening edns. in 1571, 1574, and 1575. All of these attest to the enormous popularity of this work. The first edn. of the *Mirror* contained 19 tragedies, various ones of which were contributed by different authors. Baldwin himself, who supervised the work, was one of these; George Ferrers, Thomas Chaloner, and Thomas Phaer have also been identified as contributors. Among the more noteworthy of those who later added to the work are Thomas Sackville, Thomas Churchyard, John Dolman, and Francis Seagar.

The tragedies in the *Mirror* were chosen by Baldwin and his colleagues for their political import. They were meant to teach political truth and useful political lessons, not merely to be read as histories, although history is regarded as the means to political truth (see entry #0195). The doctrine taught by the *Mirror* is very orthodox. Kings are thought of as lesser gods subject to the King of Kings. Justice is the primary virtue to be cultivated by a prince, obedience the primary virtue requisite in subjects. These lessons are conveyed through the poetic depiction of the lives of various English notables. Among those persons treated here and also by Sh in the history plays are Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester; Richard II; Owen Glendower; Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland; Jack Cade; Henry VI; Edward IV; Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester; and Cardinal Wolsey. None of the parts added to the work by Higgins and Blenerhasset deal with subjects treated by Sh.
Stanford, William. *An exposition of the kinges prerogative collected out of the great abridgement of Justice Fitzherbert and other olde writers of the lawes of Engelande... Whereunto is annexed the Proces to the same Prerogative appertaining.* London: Rychard Tottel, 1567. STC 23213.

Stanford defines prerogative as a privilege or pre-eminence possessed by one over others. It is found in many magistrates and government officials, but most "permitted and allowed" in a prince or sovereign governor of a realm. The work is more legal than political in nature, for it is largely a discussion of the many cases in which the king's prerogative applies, such as in wardships, in the care of certain persons (e.g., the mentally deficient), and in the lands held under various legal arrangements. It also indicates those prerogatives the king holds by the order of the common law. Stanford draws upon Fitzherbert, Bracton, and Glanvill in discussing the origins of prerogative and the statutes pertaining to it. He also states that prerogative extends to a king's person as well as to his goods and other possessions. In the case of the latter, a king's many prerogatives are often a source of revenue and profit to the crown.


Published anonymously, this Puritan pamphlet is important from a political point of view because it marked that point at which Church reformers became openly hostile to Elizabeth's Episcopal policy. Earlier, they had been content to attack only various rites and ceremonies retained from Roman Catholicism. The authors of this tract, however, were intent upon eliminating not only archbishops and bishops, but even Elizabeth herself as "supreme governor" of the established Church. In place of a civil magistrate, the reformers sought to institute government by the presbyter, thereby making the Queen subservient to the Church. The tract was the cause of immediate trouble because it was not submitted to Parliament, apparently, but directed to the people as a whole as a means of enlisting support for the reformers' scheme. Thomas Cartwright, as the leader of this group of reformers (who were immediately dubbed Puritans), apparently had no hand in the tract's composition, but Whitgift's Answer (#0127) and
Cartwright's three Replies (#0128) followed and constituted "The Admonition Controversy" which troubled both Church and state throughout the following years.


These two works are Whitgift's contribution to the Admonition Controversy, which was initiated by Field and Wilcox's Admonition to Parliament (#0126). Although they are of greater religious than political significance, the latter is by no means small, for in the controversy that followed between Cartwright and Whitgift, Whitgift discovered that Cartwright's anti-episcopal opinions posed a threat to the Elizabethan system of government. Cartwright's schemes for religious reform were decidedly anti-monarchical. In refuting them, Whitgift insisted upon royal supremacy and argued for a national Episcopal Church. In effect, these documents served as an Episcopal defense of the established Church and state. They also reveal Whitgift as an advocate of social order and religious toleration. Later, Hooker incorporated much of Whitgift's thought into his Laws of Ecclesiasticall Politie (#0139).

Cartwright's three replies to Whitgift (#0127) and the Second Admonition contain a scheme for the reorganization of the Church along lines definitely threatening to the Elizabethan system of government—hence the political significance of these Puritan documents. Cartwright and the Puritans did not develop a definite political program, but their plans for Church reform involved "abolition of the episcopacy and the institution of a Presbyterian system of ministers, doctors, elders, decons, and widows, organized into synods, first on a provincial, then on a national, and finally on an international basis," says McGinn (p. 135). They considered government by the presbytery in accordance with the Old Testament, and they also wished to declare the Mosaic law superior to the common laws of the land. Had these schemes come to fruition and been applied to the state, the result would have involved a limitation of monarchical power in both the civil and ecclesiastical spheres. Thus, it is no wonder that Elizabeth, her bishops, and those in favor of monarchy and royal supremacy regarded these proposals as treasonable. It fell to Whitgift to discover the political threats inherent in these Puritan manifestoes, which are fundamental to an understanding of Puritanism and of Puritan attitudes toward the Church and national state.


Buchanan's famous work (a dialogue between Thomas Maitland and Buchanan himself) was composed shortly after the abdication of Mary, Queen of Scots, although it was not published until several years after that event. In some respects, it is a defense of the Scottish government's action in regard to Mary, but the treatise
is far more important as a defense of limited, constitutional government. Buchanan contends that Scotland has always had a limited government, one in which the laws are superior to the kings who administer them. Moreover, because the people, acting through responsible representatives, have the power to enact or alter law, the people as a whole is superior to law. As Buchanan says, "I am resolved that the people who gave [the king] authority over themselves shall prescribe the limits of that authority; and I demand that the king shall use the power which the people have given him over themselves within these limits." Buchanan also analyzes the rights and duties of king and subjects in Scotland and then proceeds to a discussion of tyranny. Although he was not the first political thinker of the Renaissance to do so, Buchanan argues that tyrants may be removed, with force, if necessary. Those who argue for the sacredness of majesty, however wicked, are in error, says Buchanan, for "no man of sound mind would dare to affirm that God is the author of human wickedness; and, likewise, no one is ignorant that he is the author of condemnation of sin." Men are obliged to remove tyrants who abuse the laws to which all kings are subject. In this respect, Buchanan is not the Calvinist he has often been thought of as being, for Calvin did not allow for the removal of tyrants. Nor does Buchanan argue that the maintaining of true religion is a primary obligation of the state; his failure to mention this point separates him from those who spoke of the ideal state as a theocracy, or of kingly rule as a covenant between God and man. Instead, Buchanan focuses upon the concept of free men ruling themselves within the framework of a royal, constitutional government. It is ironic, of course, that the work was dedicated to the young King James VI, who later developed dissimilar views concerning the divinity of kingship. In fact, this work was odious to royalists in the 17th cent., but admired by Puritans and Protestants and influential in the development of democratic nationalism.

0130. Lambard(e), William. Eirenarcha: or of The Office of the Justices of Peace, in two Bookes: Gathered. 1579, and now revised, and firste published, in the 24. yeare of the peaceable reigne of our gratious Queene Elizabeth. London: Ra. Newbery and H. Bynneman, by the
Strictly speaking, this is not a political work, but it has been included here because it is believed that Sh knew this book (see TLS, May 1, 1943, p. 216) and because it has been referred to as the "best 16th C. handbook for JP's" (#0035). Considering the number of times it was republished in enlarged and revised versions, it must have been a much-used book, and may have influenced Sh's conception of Justice Shallow and other minor functionaries in the history plays. It is an exhaustive, and often witty, work on the subject of the office of justices of the peace. It traces the origins of JP's from the time of their creation by Edward III. Their various powers, duties, oaths, requirements for office, and qualities are discussed at length. Of special interest is Lambard's sketch of the many changes in the office over the years. Most of this material is given in Book I, devoted to the JP's duties "out of Sessions." Book II is concerned with their duties "at the Sessions" (an assembly of two or more justices—one of whom must be of the Quorum—called to "heare and determine" matters within their commission and for the purpose of executing business pertaining to their general authority).


Merbury's tract celebrates the monarchical form of government as practiced in England under Elizabeth's guidance. Nothing here is original, for Merbury, like so many others, begins by discussing the three types of "good" and the three types of "bad" commonwealths. He then explains why monarchy and rule by succession, as opposed to election, is to be preferred to all other forms of government. The subject of rule by succession is discussed at some length in this short tract, which incorporates many examples of successful and unsuccessful rule in both ancient and modern times. The work shows the influence
of Bodin, and appears to be the first in English to do so, but, although Merbury speaks of "full and perpetual power," he does not, like Bodin, discuss the essence of sovereignty, which Bodin held to be the power to make laws.


In this work, Lambard indicates the origins and duties of constables and other minor officials concerned with peace-keeping. It also contains brief chapters on the offices of churchwardens; supervisors and surveyors of highways; distributors for the destruction of vermine; and those collectors, overseers, and governors entrusted with supervision of the poor or with houses of correction. Like his Eirenarcha (#0130), the book was often reprinted in enlarged and corrected edns.


Smith's book, which was written in March, 1565, and posthumously published in 1583, is a survey and expository analysis of the monarchical form of government as practiced in the commonwealth of England. Smith begins with definitions of the three classical forms of government—monarchy, aristocracy, democracy—and explains how commonwealths are generally a mixture of all three forms. England is the prime example of the "mixed" type, and it is in the Parliament (or in the Crown in Parliament) that the absolute power resides. Smith goes beyond Fortescue (#0101) in that he actually states the modern doctrine of the power of Parliament as being the supreme, "the most high and absolute,"
power of the realm. Smith never uses the word "sovereignty" nor attempts, as Bodin does later, to determine the nature and origin of that concept, but his implied idea of a monarch bound by law is one that will be suggested later by Hooker in the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie. It has often been said that Smith's work is the most important of the Elizabethan political treatises in that it reflects Elizabeth's political practice and philosophy as well as the typical attitude toward government in her time. It also defines the various levels of English government and society and the duties of each, even down to the local level of politics. The various courts, legal pleas and actions, and jury systems are outlined also. Thus, Smith's book is a mine of information about the work-a-day world of the Renaissance and about many of the governmental customs England inherited from various parts of the western world.

0134. Whetstone, George. A Mirour For Magestrates Of Cyties...and Hereunto, is added, A Touchstone for the Time: Containyng: many perillous Mischiefes, bred in the Bowels of the Citie of London By the Infection of some of these Sanctuaries of Iniquitie. London: Richarde Jones, 1584. STC 25341.

The two tracts forming this volume are concerned more with the correction of vices, dicing in particular, than with constructive political thought, but they are directed to England's future law-makers--the students at the Inns of Court--and their purpose is political reform. Whetstone employs the orations of Alexander Severus to the three estates of Rome--senators, gentlemen, and citizens--as admirable instructions for magistrates whose duties involve the punishment of offenses against the commonweal. Alexander's corrections of the vices allowed during the reign of his predecessor, Heliogabalus, are praised, and the author affirms that these vices were due to evil education. In one of the orations, Alexander compares a commonwealth to man's body (the microcosmos) and stresses how the business of both is to maintain order. The first tract contains a list of Alexander's many reforms and also a table of "Lawes, Pains, and Penalties...to punish Offenders against the Weale-publique." It is also highly complimentary to Henry VII, whose reign is favorably compared to Alexander's. The
second tract concentrates on the evils of dicing. It commends the Queen's mercy toward offenders, but also asks for a more severe ministering of justice in London. The Mirour was re-issued in 1585 under the equally familiar title Enemie to unthryftinesse.


Paulet's Idlenes(s) has been described as a book of essays and is of interest because it antedates Francis Bacon's collection by eleven years. The essays here, however, are nothing more than a series of wise sayings and aphorisms set out in individual paragraphs under various titles ("Counsell," "Obedience," e.g.). One suspects Paulet of having merely rearranged his commonplace book, wherein he wrote down the best that was thought and said by others, and then sent it off to be printed. Several sections are devoted to princes and princely rule. Paulet subscribes to orthodox Christian thought rather than to Machiavellian policies and there is nothing original to be found here. His pur­pose throughout is didactic. His political orthodoxy is manifest in the essay "Obedience," in which he maintains that the best state is that in which one commands and all obey through mutual love.

0136. Crompton, Richard. A short declaration of the ende of Traytors, and false Conspirators against the state, & of the dutie of Subjects to their sovereign Governour: and wythall, howe necess­sarie, Lawes and execution of Justice are, for the preservation of the Prince and Common wealth. London: J[ohn] Charlewood, for Thomas Gubbins, and Thomas Newman, 1587. STC 6055.

Crompton was a lawyer, and it is a lawyer's view of obedience we get in this orthodox tract. Elizabeth and her happy, prosperous reign are lauded, and the typical platitudes about obedi­ence to the laws and to the ruling monarch—whether tyrant, heathen, or good Christian—are set forth with the aid of many examples from Scripture. Crompton advocates complete sub-
mission to every ordinance of the monarch. Even if the latter makes a law concerning the worshipping of God, the subject is obliged to follow it. The subject, in such a case, is not bound by conscience, but otherwise he cannot oppose his monarch's will. The tract contains several examples of those who, since the time of Henry VIII, conspired against their king. This is followed by a long discussion of Queen Elizabeth's problem concerning Mary, Queen of Scots, whose history is given in considerable detail. The tract ends with commonplace remarks about laws, the benefits of good laws, and comments about those who should be chosen as ministers for the execution of justice.

0137. Smith, Henry. The Magistrates Scripture, which treateth of their election, excellencie, qualities, dutie, and ends with two godly prayers annexed thereunto.... London: Imprinted by William Kearney, 1590. STC 22680.

This sermon by the "silver tongued" Puritan divine draws upon various Biblical passages referring to kings as gods and indicates how these passages are to be interpreted. Smith's thesis is that magistrates are called gods because they are like God or an image of Him, and they must rule by God's laws. He urges kings and magistrates to ask themselves how God would judge and rule if He were in their places. He also stresses obedience in subjects, stating that their primary responsibility is to fear God and to honor and obey their king. Smith levels several abuses at the Pope.


This work takes up the subject of political reformation, and was prompted by Queen Elizabeth's measures to reform Ireland. It is cast in the form of a dialogue between Pisistratus, Epimenides, and Solon, the latter of whom has been commissioned to repossess and reform the country of Salamina. Epimenides offers Solon advice about this delicate task. The work is divided into three books, the first of which discusses the problems and dangers of political reformation. Book II discusses the practical aspects of reform, which is achieved by
three stages: 1) "mutation" of the ancient laws and customs; 2) alteration of manners in the people; and 3) institution of new and improved government. The last book describes how commonwealths decline and indicates the means of resisting such declination. Solon is advised that reformation brought about without bloodshed is best, but not always possible. The end of reformation, he is told, is perfection in the body politic.


One of the most important of all Renaissance political documents. It is important not only because it is the greatest apology for what was to become the established Church of England, but also because it was written late in the period—after the works of Bodin, Buchanan, and other outstanding political thinkers of the century. Although Hooker was more indebted to Whitgift (#0127) than to Bodin (#0093), the late date is significant in that it marks a watershed in 16th-century thought, a culmination of political ideas at the end of the Tudor period. The work was originally published in sections—the first four books in 1594; Book V in 1597. Books VI–VIII are mostly lost, but they were complete by 1599. These last three books did not appear in print, however, until 1648.

The work, of course, has a religious as well as political purpose, but the two are one in Hooker's thought, for, as he says, "with us one society is both Church and commonwealth." Basically, the Lawes is an answer to those Puritans who wished to abolish the Elizabethan prelatical organization and to substitute a presbyterian system modelled on Calvin's Institutes. Hooker's purpose is to defend the establishment and, in the words of J. W. Allen (#0379), "to show that the claim of the Puritans to disobey the law of the Church was inconsistent with the nature of
political society and involved a denial of political obligation" (p. 185). Church and state were inseparably joined in Hooker's thought. As he says: "As a politic society it doth maintain religion; as a church that religion which God hath revealed by Jesus Christ. We hold, that seeing there is not any man of the Church of England, but the same man is also a member of the commonwealth; nor any man a member of the commonwealth which is not also of the Church of England."

In developing his argument, Hooker concentrates on the nature of man-made law, on the origin of political society and government, and on the ground of political obligation. For him, God's creation is rational; it is governed by a natural law which the Scriptures confirm. This law is also embodied in God's eternal reason and is the supreme authority in both the ecclesiastical as well as the civil realm. Man's reason is capable of discovering this law with the aid of Scripture and other sources. The power to make laws belongs to the whole community, which confers authority upon a single person or body. Thus, laws made by a properly constituted monarch or body of rulers are laws made by the whole community; giving assent to the laws thus framed entails creating an authority to which each person owes obedience. One has the right to disobey duly constituted authority only when a command given is demonstrably contrary to the law of God or to the law of reason. In Hooker's thought, there is no just claim to the right of forcible rebellion. With these arguments, Hooker sought to convince the Puritans that they could not deny civil authority without denying, as well, the laws of God and reason.


Written by the Jesuit Parsons, the Conference elicited a great many replies and gained much notoriety in its day. As a storehouse for facts and arguments concerning royal claims to the throne, it is, and was, an important document. The main subject matter—succession—was never popular with the Queen, nor did the work
represent the views of most English Catholics, but it raised issues which, at the time, were hotly debated. In the first part of the work, a civil and a temporal lawyer discuss the matter of "propinquity of blood" as a condition of succession. It is determined that propinquity alone is not sufficient cause to advance one to the throne. The second part examines the claims of all those pretending rights to the throne upon the death of Elizabeth. The author claims that "in the end, though he leave the matter extreme [sic] doubtful as touching the best right, yet he giveth certayne conjectures about some persons that are lykest to prevale." For Parsons, who apparently wished to disprove James' claim, the Spanish Infanta, daughter to Philip, seemed to have the best claim. She was of unimpeachable faith, a qualification of primary importance to the Catholic author, who stressed man's duty to put his religion before all else. Thus, one of the primary purposes of the book was to show that the rights put forward by all claimants, except for those of the Infanta, were without foundation in law and fact. The book is also interesting for some political views similar to those found in the Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos (#0081). For instance, it argues the superiority of the people as a whole over the prince, although the latter is superior to any individual subject. Chapters III and IV of Part I discuss the rights of subjects to "lawfully chastise" or "proceed against" their princes, but throughout the work, there is also much commonplace material—a justification of monarchy as the best form of government, the difference between a good king and a tyrant, and so forth. The author cites many examples from English and continental history to support his arguments.

0141. Covell, William. Polimanteia, or, The means lawfull and unlawfull, to judge of the fall of a commonwealth, against the frivolous and foolish conjectures of this age. Cambridge: J. Legate, pr. to the Univ. of Cambridge, 1595. STC 5883.

Covell's curious book discusses the means and rules used from antiquity "to confirme the judgement concerning the chaunge and fall of a Common wealth." In other words, his subject is the various forms of divination—astrology, dreams, superstitions, and so forth—that have been used to foretell of the ruin or changes of
governments. On the whole, he regards most forms of divination as devilish superstitions. To him, Satan was permitted by God to tyrannize over man, but, at the same time, God watches over men, kings, and kingdoms. Sometimes He allows them to be "shaken," but His intention is not to ruin them. Covell also maintains that God governs the hearts of those He has placed to govern others. Changes within kingdoms do not happen by chance, but by divine providence and are often punishments for a king's or his subjects' sins. Occasionally, the author believed, God reveals things to come through some good, god-fearing men; there are many, however, who are falsely inspired. Covell takes exception to those who investigate too curiously into these mysteries. Jean Bodin is one of these. The author concludes that there are no rules for determining the future. A nation's decline, however, might be indicated by the disruption of the natural harmony inherent in good laws. Otherwise, God is in control, and nations must bear patiently whatever God intends.

Although Davies' poem would seem to have nothing to do with politics, the work celebrates the Renaissance concept of order and does so by drawing a parallel between dancing and the order to be found throughout the universe. According to Davies, speaking through his central character, Antinous, Love created the world and instructed it to "daunce aright." The "comly order" of the dance reflects the greater order of the universe. In fact, those who first established commonwealths and religions did so by stealing the hearts of the people by means of the dance. Thus, princes are encouraged to dance and thereby imitate the divinely-inspired motions of the universe.

Although a short work, *The True Lawe* is the most comprehensive, as well as the first, of King James' political writings. He declares that his only purpose in the treatise "is to perswade all...good Christian readers...to keep their hearts and hands free from...monstrous and unnatural rebellions." A more dominant point, however, is his contention that kings inherit their lordship over subjects by birth, not by any right they obtain at the time of their coronation. He denies that a king and his people agree to any specific contract when a king is crowned, although he admits that kings agree to discharge their God-given duties in an honorable fashion. God alone can judge whether a king has broken his promises; thus, "God must first give sentence upon the King that breaketh [his promise], before the people can thinke themselves freed of their oath [of allegiance]." This allegiance, moreover, is owed to a king's lawful heirs and posterity as well as to himself. In speaking of a king's duty in regard to the laws, King James says "a good King, although hee be above the Law, will subject and frame his actions thereto, for examples sake to his subjects, and of his owne free-will, but not as subject or bound thereto." In regard to rebellion, he argues against those who claim kings or tyrants can be deposed. Wicked kings are sent by God, he says, and subjects have no lawful power to remove them. All the people can do are pray, amend their lives, and be patient.

0144. Wentworth, Peter. *A Pithie Exhortation to Her Majestie for establishing her Successor to the crowne. Whereunto is added a Discourse containing the Authors opinion of the true and lawfull successor...*
These two tracts, and particularly the second, are responses to Doleman's (i.e., Parson's) Conference (#0140). They were published by an anonymous editor after Wentworth's death and contain a Preface by this editor, who states unambiguously what Wentworth refers to in veiled terms—that King James had the best claim and right to the crown. Wentworth himself advocates that all claims be "tried by Parliament" and that the lawful successor be declared during the Queen's lifetime. He presents the arguments for and against naming a successor and employs many examples from the Bible and English history to support his contention that declaring the heir will not initiate troubles. On the contrary, civil wars and turmoil are likely to break out after Elizabeth's death if the people are not prepared in advance, he claims. He also states that it is a primary duty of kings and a commandment of God to prepare for the preservation and safety of subjects by declaring those who are to succeed. In the first tract, Wentworth does not mention a specific favorite, but makes it clear that a Protestant is preferred.

In the second tract, which has a separate title page, Wentworth proves King James' right to the crown by descent from Lady Margaret, the oldest sister of Henry VIII. He emphasizes the point that inheritance rests upon blood ties, and for that reason Parliament has no power to defeat or bar the lawful successor. Even a usurper, whose pretense to the throne is "falsely forged," seeks the kingdom through his right of succession by blood, Wentworth declares, and cites as an example Richard III's device of proclaiming his mother a harlot for the sake of strengthening his own claim. He also argues that James' descent from English blood means he is no "stranger" to the realm, a point that troubled many people. In Wentworth's opinion, King James would be a means of unifying the two countries. In regard to Doleman, Wentworth calls him a "Spanish harted papist" and maligns his book. Doleman is also accused of ignorance concerning the act of association and of an act of Parliament providing for the punishment of any claimant to the throne who is responsible for any invasions, rebellions, or other troubles.
Written as kingly advice to his son, this work contains mostly general precepts and a few pointed comments about ruling England and Scotland. It is divided into three books, the first of which discusses a king's Christian duty toward God; the second, a king's duty in his office; and the third, a king's behavior in "indifferent" things. The young prince is reminded that he will be a "little god" some day. Because of the work's more intimate nature, it is somewhat negligible as a political document, but is interesting for its expression of James' theories of government. For example, he urges the prince to call few Parliaments so that subjects will not be given excessive opportunities for proposing changes. He also distinguishes between a good king and a tyrant. The former is "ordained for his people, having received from God a burthen of government, whereof he must be countable." The latter "thinketh his people ordained for him, a prey to his passions and inordinate appetites, as the fruits of his magnanimity."

Floyd's book is more concerned with setting out the qualities of a perfect prince than it is with governmental administration and concerns. His sentiments are not original, but the book does offer another example of orthodox political ideas and arguments expressed throughout the cent. As in many other treatises, one will find
here a discussion of the three forms of government and Floyd's preference for monarchy; comments on counsellors; and several chapters devoted to the various virtues a prince ought to cultivate or to the vices he ought to avoid. Starnes, in the article cited above, discusses the book's heavy indebtedness to Elyot's Gouvernor and Nicholas Ling's Wit's Common-Health. According to Starnes, Floyd often paraphrased and frequently borrowed directly from both of these works.

0147. Watson, William, et al. Important Considerations, which ought to move all true and sound Catholics, who are not wholly Jesuited, to acknowledge without all equivocations, ambiguities, or shiftings, that the proceedings of her Majesty, and of the State with them, since the beginning of her Highness's reign, have been both mild and merciful. [London: R. Field], 1601. STC 25125.

This work represents the position of those English Catholics who were loyal to the Queen, patriotic, and opposed to the "unnatural," traitorous, and seditious practices of the Jesuits. In professing loyalty to England, the writers declare that they "would never yield" to any attempt, on the part of the Jesuits or even the Pope, to advance an enemy (i.e., Phillip of Spain or the Infanta) to the crown of England. The writers lament that Elizabeth did not perpetuate Mary's obedience to Rome and declare that "God for our sins would have it otherwise," but they admit that Elizabeth's reign has been mild and also condone her laws and proceedings in regard to Catholics. The tract warns Catholic readers about the traitorous practices of the Jesuits and instructs them about the behavior they should employ toward these. It refers to the company of Jesuits in the seminaries on the Continent as a "very schoole of Machiavellisme."


One section of this otherwise moral and
psychological poem discusses policy, "the proppe of weightie States." Princes are encouraged to know the value and use of policy, so that their rule might be "Constant, Severe, and Restraind." The poem also expresses orthodox views about the greatest perils to a well-ordered state—treason, rebellion, ambition of nobles, and so forth. Davies maintains that "as the Law should governe Maiestrates;/ So should the Maiestrates the People sway." He also says the "Ethickes, Politickes, and Oeconomicks" are "incident" to good governors. The section following is a history of England's kings from the time of William the Conqueror to James I. They are praised or blamed according to their merits, natures, achievements, or failures. The catalogue is occasionally interrupted by philosophical comments on the nature of kings and states in general. Following this section, Davies groups together or singles out various English kings and comments upon their governments. The "bloud-sucking Richard" III is called a "monster." Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VIII receive considerable praise, but the highest plaudits go to Henry VII, of whom Davies says: "Of all the Kings that ere this Land pos sesseth,/ For government discreete and temperate,/ This King deservedly is deemed best."


Hayward's Answer is one of the more important of the many retorts to Doleman's famous Conference (#0140), although it is not one of the most able. Hayward's views were those held by many and continued to be popular during the early decades of the 17th cent. The main purpose of the tract is to support James' "just title of succession," but it also argues vehemently for obedience to rulers, even if they be tyrants, insane, or otherwise afflicted. Subjects, in Hayward's opinion, have no lawful power to remove or rebel against a prince who lawfully succeeds to the throne through "propinquity of blood." Whatever the nature of the prince, he has been selected by God as part of His inscrutable plan. Throughout the book, Hayward levels specific charges against Doleman, although he occasionally agrees with him. Hayward's main criticism is that Doleman is guilty
of lies and that he manipulates Scripture to serve his purpose. He is also accused of corrupting civil law. Despite these censures, Hayward often cites sources (Polydore Vergil, e.g.) that Doleman is criticized for using on the basis that they were not to be trusted or believed.


The union of England and Scotland was much debated throughout the Tudor and Jacobean periods, and Hayward's is only one of many published works devoted to the matter. He begins by discussing union in general terms, referring to it as the original of all good and "the image of God." He then indicates the benefits that will accrue from this particular union and argues that no great change will be involved in reducing the laws of the two countries into one body. The people, he believes, can be reduced into a conformity by means of 1) habit and behavior; 2) language; and 3) name.


In the first part of this work, Bacon declares the importance of learning, and maintains that those times and commonwealths are best which are presided over by learned kings and counsellors. Learning is necessary to prevent anarchy and confusion, which develop more easily when the instruments of learning are absent. In Book II, Bacon gives advice to the would-be "Politic Man" who wishes to succeed in either public or private affairs or with his king. The next-to-last section of this book deals with public or civil government. There Bacon makes the point that all governments—whether God's of those established upon earth—are "obscure and invisible," but governors, on the other hand, ought to have a clear and transparent knowledge of all that pertains to their stations. He then
proceeds to discuss, briefly, the nature of laws. Bacon classified politics as a subdivision of reason, and reason, or proceeding "upon...safe and substantial principals," is of greater importance in the political realm than political experience, although the latter is not without value. The ideas developed here are often altered, modified, or extended in the later Latin trans. of this work, De Augmentis.


Books I and II contain both practical and abstract advice for the ruler—in this case King James, who is both flattered and subtly criticized. In Book I, Barnes refers to the dead Queen as the "mirrour of good government," one who chose wise counsellors and wisely manipulated her monetary resources, particularly with the aid of Lord Burghley. He follows this with rules for the treasurer, for the levying and spending of subsidies, and for the bestowing of monopolies. It is implied that King James could stand correction in these matters. Book II, addressed to counsellors, is more purely political. The best government, says Barnes, is that ruled by one king, one God, and one law. The people must be united in acknowledging all three. There follows an elaborate comparison of the government to the parts of the human body. Barnes quotes learnedly from many ancient and contemporary authorities, among them Plutarch, Bodin, and Guicciardini. Book III is concerned with judges, laws, and civil rights. Book IV discusses war (see entry #0349).


As his title suggests, Forset employs the common device of drawing a parallel between man's body and the body politic throughout this
work. The king is called the head, his sovereignty the soul. The principal duty of subjects (the body) is obedience. Opposition to a ruler is likened to an attempt on the part of the body's members to shake the head off the shoulders. In fact, subjects must patiently bear a ruler's faults and offenses, either public or private, for a king and his sovereignty are inscrutable mysteries into which subjects have no right to pry. The work is distinctly Jacobean in tone and displays attitudes toward kingship similar to those expressed by King James himself. Forset speaks of the king as "a God," and, just as the head "is loved of the body," so should subjects love their "duties of kindly subjection, to kingly power." As one would expect, various afflictions—rebellion, ambition, offending magistrates, etc.—often assault the commonwealth just as diseases do man's body and must be remedied. The work is fairly ingenious in its application of correspondences and unusual in its advocacy of slavish submission to royal power, but otherwise it adds little to Tudor-Stuart political thought.


In this tract, Hayward argues "that a King who acknowledgeth no superiour under God, should be acknowledged to have supreame authoritie under God in Ecclesiastical affaires." Because religion is the highest matter of state, in Hayward's opinion, it is also the "principall point of Regalitie, and therefore necessarily annexed to the soveraigne majestie of every state." It is through religion, he contends, that the society of men is conserved, and he quotes a large number of ancient and modern writers who supported this view. The greatness of states, he maintains, is threatened when foreign powers hold the "regiment in Religion." He also gives here a history of the rise of supreme power and of the imperial laws that men throughout history have reverenced in regard to Church government. He claims that English monarchs are in no way deviating from tradition in claiming supreme powers in this area.

This work is more social than political in content. It is a prognostication of the evils to be experienced during the year (1606) because of the general corruption of men and manners. Nixon laments that the greatest vices are now considered virtues. The author usually speaks in general terms about the unrest and decay, but occasionally glances at specifics—the Gunpowder plot, e.g. The work ends with an attack on the Pope.

0156. Riche, Barnabe. Faules Faults, And nothing else but Faules. 1606. See entry #0350.

Considerable space in this omnium gatherum is devoted to comments on magistrates, kings, and government in general. All of these are supported by examples from both ancient and modern times, and all of them imply that Riche was a conservative in political matters. He believes that the nobility should rule, as the multitude is brutish and lacks a sense of honor. He cannot decide which is better—an evil prince with good ministers under him or a good prince with evil magistrates—but of one thing he is certain: "there can be no worse government than that that is managed by opinion." "Pollicie," on the other hand, is a special part of government, but only that policy is honest which is prescribed by God's laws and profitable to the community. As he says, "all Pollicie therefore is to be rejected, that tendeth not to publique profite, or that preferreth the vaine policies of men, before the infallible policie revealed in the worde of God." He is particularly disturbed by those politicians who use policy for their own profit and thereby disrupt the quiet of the state. He echoes commonplace remarks about the divine power and authority of kings and makes several distinctions between the good and bad prince, the latter of which must be endured as a scourge of God. The tract ends with praises of the present king and the "blessedness" of the present time.

The nine essays constituting this work make a rather unusual contribution to Renaissance political thought in that Tuvill's purpose is to advise statesmen and men of secular affairs about the persuasive and oratorical arts, about the use of policy, and, in short, about achieving success in their respective realms of activity. Thus, they are important to the student of Renaissance rhetoric as well as to the student of political thought. Essentially, the thought expressed is orthodox, and, as the title implies, moralistic, but it is an interesting blend of both classical and modern and reveals Tuvill's extensive reading, particularly in history. Tacitus, Sallust, Guicciardini, Machiavelli, and Bodin are only a few of the many authors the essayist draws from. Often, as his most recent editor points out, his gleanings are taken from unacknowledged sources, a practice common at the time. Although the material is a collection of commonplaces, Tuvill reveals a quiet charm and intelligence and seems to have enjoyed a minor popularity during the early years of the 17th cent.


This speech contains the fullest exposition of King James' views of the divine nature of kingship (the theory that came to be known as the divine right of kings), but the subject is taken up to some extent in almost all of his works. Here King James declares that kings are God's lieutenants, but they "are not only Gods lieutenants upon earth and sit upon Gods throne, but even by God himselfe they are called Gods." They are called such, he says, because "they exercise a manner of resemblance of Divine power..."
upon earth," and are also accountable to God only. King James does, however, recognize certain limitations imposed upon kings. A "just" king will rule according to his laws and is bound "to observe that paction made to his people by his Lawes." He also recognizes that "the King with his Parliament here [in England] are absolute," although the role of Parliament, in James' opinion, is virtually meaningless, for in this speech he asks that Parliament not meddle with the "maigne points of Government." Clearly, King James saw his power as more absolute than Parliament's. As he says: "I will not be content that my power be disputed upon: but I shall ever be willing to make the reason appeare of all my doings, and rule my actions according to my Lawes." Rule according to laws, in James' opinion, prevents a king from degenerating into a tyrant liable to God's punishment for transgression of kingly power.


Melton deals with various types of pseudo politicians and statesmen—the hypocrite, the ignorant, the "projector" (a "plotter of state business")—and believes that the absurdities and vanities ruling the world are to be found in abundance among the statesmen at court. The true politician, on the other hand, is learned, especially in history; employs good judgment, a statesman's special gift; and makes religion the "touch-stone" of all his proceedings. The political ethic subscribed to here is a Christian one. Melton is not Machiavellian, despite the fact that he realizes a politician who is totally bad often achieves as much as one who is totally good. The object of any statesman, however, is to advance the peace and prosperity of the commonwealth. He is particularly abusive on papists, believing it treasonous in the highest degree to prefer the Pope's authority over that of one's natural prince. The second part of the work discusses various habits, practices, and behavior a good statesman ought to develop. He is informed that he should never depend on fortune, always keep his thoughts to himself, and learn to subdue his base affections. Melton's style is colorful and spirited.

out of sundry Authors. London: Nicholas Okes, 1611. STC 18068.

Dedicated to Prince Henry, this book adds little to the tradition of princely handbooks that it imitates. More offers the usual advice: the prince is counselled to be just in his sentence, true of his word, constant in his acts, secret, liberal, learned, religious, merciful, humble, moderate, and so forth. It also contains advice on choosing counsellors and on gaining the love of one's subjects. Another section indicates the prince's duties in regard to military affairs.


This collection of sententiae, divided into five books, was originally written for the young Prince Henry, whose untimely death caused the author to dedicate the finished product to Prince Charles. Suggestions are offered as to how a prince can achieve honor and maintain a well-governed state; what qualities he should look for in a counsellor; and what virtues he must cultivate if he wishes to be loved, obeyed, and well-served by his subjects. A theme often repeated throughout the collection is that a prince gains greater glory from preserving and increasing what he has won or inherited than from the winning of it.


In treating the reigns of these three kings, Hayward occasionally digresses into political platitudes concerning such matters as the gaining and maintaining of power, the use of policy, and succession by inheritance. His vivid description of William the Conqueror's methods of subduing England makes interesting reading. He also discusses the practices William I put into effect in the areas of law, government, and education. As with all of Hayward's works, this one also reveals the author's partiality to Jacobean political theory.
Tuvill repeats much here from his *Essaies* (#0157), and, in form and method, this work very much resembles the earlier one. It contains fifteen chapters, each of which is, in effect, a separate essay. Several of these are of special interest, however, for they discuss the principles dealing with conversation or diplomatic negotiation, an area of knowledge Bacon found not yet sufficiently covered when he wrote *The Advancement of Learning*. Apparently, this work is a response to Bacon’s suggestion, according to the most recent editor of Tuvill’s *Essaies*. The work reveals the author’s familiarity with Aristotle and other classical writers and with Machiavelli. Essentially, the author is anti-Machiavellian, but he often advocates the same opportunistic attitude when discussing policy. In Chapter V, the reader will find remarks on behavior at court and on the means of purchasing favor there. The court of King James is praised, for virtue and goodness can succeed there without disguise, the author claims. Chapter VI is devoted to conversing with strangers (for the sake of gaining political information) and also treats embassies and treaty negotiations. Here the author says that the benefit of his own country must be the goal of every ambassador’s endeavors. Tuvill also gives specific advice concerning the duties of ambassadors. Chapters VIII and IX deal with conducting business and negotiations. The last five chapters discuss principles of rhetoric and oratory and are particularly directed to those in various political spheres.


Grosart based his edn. of this work upon the author’s holograph MS. It is a poem in which the author praises the virtues of King James and decries “the hellish sinne of pride” that “layes the wicked plott of Treason.”
Breton's references to "the late treason" are intentionally obscure, as he indicates in his prefatory letter to the Duke of Lineux.


Felix Raab, in The English Face of Machiavelli (#0424), refers to this work as "one of the most remarkable pieces of political writing which survives in England from the early years of the seventeenth century" (p. 91). The work is unusual primarily because of its form and method, and, occasionally, for some of the opinions expressed, but there is also much orthodox thought to be found here. Drawing from more than 50 classical writers plus the Bible and Machiavelli, the author poses an endless chain of questions dealing with political government. Rarely, however, does he answer these questions or give an opinion. He seems more intent upon exposing the futility of argument by indicating the many alternatives to various political problems discussed by the authorities of the past. Occasionally, he surprises the reader. In dealing with the hackneyed question "which is the best form of government?", Wright denies that any good form of commonwealth is perfect. He also denies that any bad form contains good. He dismisses all forms, per se, and advocates a government "compounded of the temper of all these, or at leastwise is so mixed of a Monarchy and Aristocracy, that one...for the Majesty of the State should bee the chiefe Commander, but his power should be governed...." Wright is in no sense unique for advocating "mixed" government. More interesting is his belief that factions are profitable to the state, for they curb one another's powers. He opposes neutrality in politics. Except for a few private opinions such as these, the book mainly concentrates upon the commonplace subjects: how to obtain and keep a kingdom; how to choose and employ counsellors and counsel; how to prevent sedition; how to maintain peace and discourage discord. Wright's habit of merely posing questions, for the most part, ultimately becomes wearisome for the reader, but the marginal notes serve to identify the writers who have discussed these political problems in the past.

0166. Bacon, Sir Francis. The Essayes or Counsels, Civill
The 1625 edn. of the Essays is listed here because it includes all 58 essays, whereas the first edn. of 1597 contained only ten. Several of the essays deal either directly or tangentially with political matters. As is true of them all, they are generally analytical portraits of various aspects of government, not extended, theoretical political discussions. All of them offer advice as to how to proceed in governmental affairs, which advice is given in light of the pros and cons of various actions. Many Biblical and classical examples are offered as evidence of political success or failure. Among those essays of most value to students of Renaissance political attitudes are "Of Seditious and Troubles," which discusses the causes and cures of civil disturbance; "Of Empire," which indicates how a king must deal with various groups of subjects and with his neighboring states; "Of Counsell," which advises both private men and princes about the matter of trust; "Of the true Greatnesse of Kingdomes and Estates," which primarily stresses the need for a valiant people well-trained in martial discipline; and "Of Faction," which warns princes and men of high position about the dangers of political alignments.

In this anthology of extracts from some selected 16th-cent. treatises dealing with man, the state, and the universe, Winny has aimed at providing "a rudimentary handbook to Elizabethan belief for those who study the literature of the period." The treatises are meant to illuminate those theological, political, and psychological commonplaces relevant to the late 16th and early 17th cents. In his short introduction to the collection, Winny emphasizes the importance of such works for all who wish to understand the intellectual issues which appealed to the more
serious minded among the Elizabethan reading public. Since the non-fictional works from which he draws were more widely published and read than works of a dramatic or poetic nature, the volume will offer a good introduction to the complex thought of the age. The more advanced student will wish to turn to the complete works from which the extracts are drawn, but Winny reports that only two of the eleven extracts included (Bright's Treatise of Melancholy and Digges' A Perfect Description of the Celestial Orbs) have been reprinted since the early 17th cent. Hence, the collection makes available material that would otherwise remain inaccessible to many readers.

Unpublished English Works


Composed while Dudley was imprisoned in the Tower of London between 1509 and his death in 1510, this curious treatise is a blend of medieval allegory and practical wisdom from an experienced statesman. As a political tract, it indicates what the king must do and how he must behave in order to maintain his power. In Dudley's opinion, the well-being of society depends upon the king and the manner in which he exercises his authority. But Dudley's purpose was to educate the new king, not to explore the mysteries of political government; hence, the tract is not distinguished for its original thought. It is interesting, however, in that it advises the three estates as to their duties, and the author does not hesitate to criticize the various faults he sees in all three classes. He also covers a wide range of subjects—education and economics being the two most important ones. In the latter area, one will find the usual invectives against usury, against deceits in buying and selling, against the adulteration of wares, etc.

4 These works were not available in published form during Sh's lifetime, but they are important manifestations of 16th- and early 17th-cent. political thought. They are arranged according to date of composition.
In comparison to other early Tudor political writings, Starkey's Dialogue, composed between 1536 and 1538, is often considered as being surpassed only by More's Utopia. No edn. was published, however, until Cowper's. The original MS, in Starkey's hand, was presented to Henry VIII, and is now housed in the Record Office. Much interest attaches to the book because it features Henry's royal favorite and cousin, Cardinal Pole, as a champion of reform. It is Starkey's views, however, which are expressed through the two highly individualized characters engaged in dialogue. That Starkey thought of them as vehicles for his own pronouncements is clear from his dedicatory letter to the King.

The Dialogue is a curious blend of medieval and modern thought. Starkey believes in natural law and in man's ability to achieve freedom by subordinating his passion to reason. He advocates a limited monarchy, but also believes that rulers should be elected, rather than rule by succession. He admits, however, that the latter method is most convenient for the "barbarous" England, which, happily at the moment, is governed by an heir who is fit to rule. Moreover, tyrants should be deposed; to believe that they are chosen by God to punish the people's sins is against religion and reason. Starkey's purpose is to express what constitutes a "true commonwealth," but he is equally at pains to suggest reforms in almost all areas. The Church, the legal and educational systems, and particularly the economy stand in need of alteration. But the book is more than a catalogue of the complaints found so often in the tracts of his contemporaries. Starkey analyses the causes behind these complaints, and, although his thought is not profound, he always sees these causes and their cures in relation to the commonwealth as a whole. For a description of the economic thought contained in this work, see entry #0289.

The young King's "Discourse," although unfinished and not published, has been included here for several reasons. It expresses the attitudes of a Tudor monarch toward his duty, sets out in lively and often eloquent language many of the social and economic problems of mid 16th-cent. England, and proposes various remedies for their solution. Apparently, the essay was written in early 1551 and was meant to be a detailed political treatise. It may have been inspired by Bucer's De Regno Christi, which the King received as a New Year's gift in 1550-51.

King Edward's concern for good government is evident in the following remarks, as reproduced in Jordan's edn.: "This is the true ordering of the state of a well-fashioned commonwealth: that every part do obey one head, one governor, one law, as all parts of the body obey the head,... agree among themselves, and one not to eat another up through greediness, but that we see that order..., moderation, and reason bridle the affections. But this is most of all to be had in a commonweal well-ordered, that the laws and ordinances be well executed, duly obeyed, and...[ad]ministered without corruption." There follows a description of various social and economic ills that prevent Edward's realm from being what it "ought to be." The King then lists eight specific remedies for amending present faults. The three most important of these--good education; devising of good laws; and executing the laws justly, without respect of persons--are elaborated upon, and then the essay abruptly ends. The work is not a great achievement in renaissance political thought, but, except for the political works of James I, it is the only well-executed treatise on government written by an English monarch of this period. Edward's Chronicle, which he began at the time of his accession and con-
continued until shortly before his untimely death, can also be read with profit by one interested in the day-to-day business of government during the period. The Chronicle is reprinted in both the Nichols and Jordan edns. The rest of Edward's political papers published by these editors deal with more specific state problems of the moment.


This interesting document by an eminent Tudor figure was written in 1563, but remained unpublished until Hargrave included it in the volume indicated above. It is concerned with the problem of who has the right to succeed to the throne in the event Queen Elizabeth dies without issue. According to the Last Will and Testament of Henry VIII, the authenticity of which Hales supports, the crown should pass to the descendants of Henry VIII's sister Mary, wife to the French king and later to the Duke of Suffolk, not to the heirs of the older sister Margaret, wife to James, King of Scots. Hales argues that the French claimants are legitimate, the Scottish illegitimate, primarily because of the wars and breaches of faith the latter were responsible for. The author also argues that the surest way to preserve safety in the realm and to avoid dissension and civil wars over this matter is to abide by Henry VIII's will.


Beale's manual outlines the duties of a
counsellor: how he should deal with ambassadors, conduct effective meetings, what books he should both keep and read, etc. One section indicates how a counsellor must prepare himself if he wishes to succeed in some business with the Queen. He speaks as an authority, since he had himself served as principal secretary during some of Walsingham's absences from England.


Written by the witty and popular godson of Queen Elizabeth, this work was undertaken out of a sense of duty. Harington believed every intelligent man of his age should formulate his opinions on the difficult subject of succession. Out of deference to the Queen, Harington did not plan to publish the work, which was written just a few months before her death. It is a panegyric on King James and strongly supports his "undisputed" claim to the throne. He begins by citing his three principal sources, each of which represents a particular religious point of view. The first of these is the argument of the Duke of Somerset, a spokesman for the Protestants. The second is Wentworth's answer to Doleman (#0144), which represents the Puritans. The last is Doleman's Conference (#0140), which presents the view of a papist. Harington reacts favorably to the first two, unfavorably to the last. Harington also cites various conversations and court gossip to support his view that James is the rightful heir. The work includes a chapter on the qualities of a good king, and James is measured against the points listed, all to James' advantage. It is a witty and spirited piece from the pen of one who was unusually close to the Queen and often employed in important governmental matters.


Although this work was never published and the MS is without date or signature, it is an extremely valuable and important political work of its period. In his Intro. to the edn. above,
Fussner conjectures that the MS (listed in the Stowe Catalogue as being in Camden's handwriting) was produced in late 1615 or early 1616. It is the product of a learned man and great historian whose knowledge of Elizabethan politics rivalled any in his day. The subject of the prerogative of the crown was a difficult and touchy one in the reign of James, and Camden's purpose here is not only to define that prerogative but also, in Fussner's words, to defend the law "against the king's arbitrary will" and to defend Parliament's role "as England's high court of justice."

Camden begins by tracing the history of prerogative and kingly authority from the beginning of kingship and also discusses the various forms prerogative can take. He then raises and answers some difficult questions: "...what is it [in?] the name of king that imports so much that it cannot be limited?"; "how is it that some kings are more absolute than others?"; "because they are called Gods will they think themselves so in all points of power over their subjects?" Camden then distinguishes between "regal," "politique," and "mixt" authority and determines that, in England, the authority of the king is "mixt." That is, it is a combination of regal and politic, for the king can make some laws without the knowledge and consent of his subjects, but, because he is bound by oath to observe the law, he is not free to alter it at his pleasure. The tract ends with Camden's comments on another important aspect—the execution of laws and the privileges of the king in their execution. The work as a whole is a learned and moderate man's answer to those who advanced the more extreme claims of the throne. As Fussner notes, however, King James would not have relished Camden's "Discourse," and perhaps that is why it remained unpublished. Certainly, considering the difficulty of Camden's task, this is a truly remarkable political document.

Greville's political thought is scattered among several of his works, but certainly the Treatise, a work in verse, contains his fullest and most characteristic political sentiments. On the whole, these sentiments are orthodox and colored by the author's long experience as a statesman. They are candid and realistic, rather than progressive or revolutionary. Greville maintains that monarchy is the surest means of achieving the "publique good," the end for which governments are established. But monarchy is also a product of human weakness and rulers suffer from the same afflictions that beset their subjects. Thus, the treatise investigates the means and policies required to maintain this best, but flawed, system of government.

The work begins with a section devoted to the mythical golden age before the rise of monarchy—a time in which kings were champions laboring for the common good. Modern forms of monarchy are results of a general fall from perfection; men's liberties were given up to tyrants and rulers hungry for power. Nevertheless, Greville argues, kings ought not to be deposed, for their removal plunges a state into anarchy. Weak kings are advised as to how they should maintain order; strong kings are cautioned about the perils involved in over-extending themselves.

The work's middle section treats various aspects of monarchical government. Here, Greville stresses the importance of religion as a foundation to any well-balanced state, but a king, in order to maintain his power, must make religion subservient to the state. The state's well-being and security depend upon the establishment of military, civil, and fiscal policies that will insure kingly power. The last section of the poem is the most theoretical, in that it is a comparison of monarchy to other systems of government, but Greville's opinions here are commonplace. Monarchy corresponds to the sovereignty of reason in the microcosm; both are the only means of preventing disorder in either the public or private spheres. Other forms of government are perversions of man's reason and signs of his corruption.
Much of the material presented here echoes that in Raleigh's *Maxims of State* (#0177), although this work lacks the organization of the latter. Here the aphorisms are set out in short paragraphs and are often repetitious. Despite these flaws, however, the treatise contains much of value. Raleigh shows his acquaintance with the latest political thought and current continental practices, although he is more concerned with descriptions than with investigations of ideas. For instance, he speaks of sovereignty, but merely states that the nature of a state—whether a monarchy or other form—depends upon where sovereignty rests. He is also content to define and note the qualities of monarchy, princes, counsellors, and so forth, and does not swerve from traditional thought on these subjects. He does, however, introduce an interesting section on the various types of councils found in Europe. A considerable section of the treatise is devoted to "political observations," wherein he lists various truths and commonplace about men, manners, and human nature. In Raleigh's opinion, governments are cyclical in nature, and therefore will always become corrupt. He cites many examples of the rise and fall of states in support of his cyclical theory of government.


This is a work in complete sentence outline form in which Raleigh defines and gives the causes of various concepts, such as policy, sedition, etc. The work is similar to his *Cabinet-Council* (#0176), but more structured. Throughout the work, Raleigh is concerned with refuting "the false doctrine of the Machiavelian policy." Raleigh, for instance, argues that it is better for a people to love their prince than to fear him. He also has a higher opinion of
the place of religion in a well-ordered state than did the Florentine thinker. Raleigh be-
lieves good and just rulers ought to know the political tactics and rules employed by tyrants (and he provides a catalogue of these), but they are to be known only, not practiced. At the same time, good rulers will have secrets and myster-
ies of their own to be used for successful govern-
ing. One section of the work is devoted to these mysteries. The work contains some political rules of both a general and particular nature. Of the former category, two are especially in-
teresting. Raleigh argues that some part of government in every just state, whatever form it might be, "ought to be imparted to the people." Another general rule a prince should follow is "to provide that that part be ever the greater in number and power, which favours the state as now it stands. This is to be observed as a very oracle in all commonwealths," an opinion that re-
veals Raleigh as a political conservative inter-
ested in maintaining the status quo.


Raleigh's speakers here debate the question whether kings prosper by calling Parliaments. The Justice of the Peace, who is the main speaker and the most convincing, argues the pro side, the Counsellor the contra. The Justice believes "Parliaments are as the friendship of this world is, which always followeth prosperity," and generally are advantageous to the king. They particularly serve the king de facto, but are less inclined toward the king de jure. For students of Sh's history plays, however, the treatise is more interesting for Raleigh's com-
ments on several early kings and the troubles they experienced with their noblemen and Par-
liaments. King John and Magna Charta are dis-
cussed, and it is pointed out that the latter was simply a charter confirmed by various kings, not always a law, although it eventually became one. Raleigh provides a brief sketch of King John's difficulties with his barons and the Pope.
Raleigh gives considerable space to Richard II, whose troubles arose mainly over finances. The JP (who seems to represent Raleigh's opinions) states that "there appeared but one honest man; to wit, the bishop of Carlisle," in the "unlawful assembly" that deposed Richard. Henry VIII is criticized for pressing his people with heavy taxes and for spending lavishly. The subject of taxes and the levying of war customs and imposts are also discussed.

Historical Works

Continental Works, in Translation or Adapted

0179. Philippson, Joannes, Sleidanus [Sleidan, Johann]. A Famouse Cronicle of our time, called Sleidanes Commentaries, concerning the state of Religion and common wealth, during the raigne of the Emperour Charles the fift, with the Argumentes set before every Booke, conteyninge the summe or efecte of the Book following. Trans. out of Latin into Englishe, by Jhon [sic] Daus. [London: by Jhon [sic] Daye, for Abraham Veale, and Nicholas England, 1560]. STC 19848.

Luther and church history are the principal subjects of the 26 books comprising this work. According to Sleidan, these early 16th-cent. affairs brought about "so great an alteracion in Religion, as since the tyme of the Apostles the like hath not bene, & no smal sturre of civile policie hath insued also upon the same." The "sturre[s] of civile policie" and "polytique causes" are also dealt with, however, for they and the religious turmoil "came in maner alwyses together, and especially in our tyme... could not be separated," as Sleidan says in his Apologie. There the author also discusses his purpose and method in this history. The work was well-known and often referred to among contemporaries, who commended the author's great learning.

0180. Philippson, Joannes, Sleidanus [Sleidan, Johann]. A briefe Chronicle of the foure principall Empyres.

5Arranged chronologically according to date of English translation or adaptation.
This history of Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome was very popular in England. It was written essentially for young people, so that, as the author says, they might be "stirred up sometimes diligently to search the Authors & the booke, out of whom these things are gathered." According to Sleidan, the histories of other nations ranked second only to the Bible among those writings beneficial to man. A Latin version—De quatuor summis imperiis—appeared in England in 1584 (STC 19847).

Guicciardini's great history quickly earned an international reputation shortly after its publication, and, in Fenton's trans., became well-known to a large body of English readers. Both Montaigne and Bodin knew the work (the former thought the author guilty of attributing everything to "vicious...commoditie and profit" and nothing to "reason"; the latter praised the author as the best and most impartial of historians). Fenton's trans., derived from the 1568 French version of Chomedey, was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth and earned for him a minor governmental post. Unfortunately, Fenton's trans. materially differs from the original and from Chomedey's version, which is a more faithful rendering. Fenton chose to appeal to the patriotic, idealistic, and anti-papal sympathies of his English readers, and therefore altered the work to make it conform to the English sense of nationalism (for an excellent study of Fenton's trans., see Rudolf B. Gottfried, "Geoffrey Fenton's Historie of Guicciardin," Indiana Univ. Publications, Humanities Series No. 3. Bloomington: Indiana Univ., 1940). Whether read in the original or in Fenton's trans., however, the work
appealed greatly to Englishmen, some of whom used it as a model for modern historiography, others employing it as a source for literary and dramatic plots. Sidney Alexander's modern trans. colorfully renders more than half of Guicciardini's original text and also claims to be the "first extended English translation that is not a paraphrase or derived from a secondary source."

The Historie traces the political and military struggles for power in Italy and southern Europe from the death of Lorenzo de' Medici (1492) to the death of Pope Clement VII (1534). Guicciardini concentrates upon the avarice and ambition of Italian and European potentates and blames them for the destruction of the peace and cultural achievements established by Lorenzo the Magnificent. Guicciardini's portrait of the Italians and their history is not a flattering one. Nor has the Historie been an easy work for modern readers to come to grips with. Many have criticized its cynical, skeptical, and conservative tone. Others praise its objectivity. Most are agreed that it is ambiguous. Whatever one's reaction, however, the work compels a reader's attention, just as Machiavelli's Prince does, although Guicciardini does not reflect on events in the theoretical manner of his fellow Florentine. For the military significance of the Historie, see entry #0314.


P[urfoote], in his dedicatory epistle, calls Guicciardini's Historie (#0181) a book that has "wonne sufficient credite in mens opinions," and he praises whoever it was that reduced "so great a volume into so small and necessarie a Booke." The author, whose name has been "suppressed," according to P[urfoote], gives a capsule summary of each of the 20 books of Guicciardini's work. The volume contains approximately 100 pages (the rectos only are numbered, ending with "52").

0183. Le Roy, Louis [Regius]. De la Vicissitude ou variété des choses.... Paris, 1575. Trans. as Of the Interchangeable Course, or Variety of Things in

Le Roy's book is an unusual history, for it deals with the "continual vicissitude of generation and corruption" of human civilization. It is also one of the earliest works to advance the cyclical theory of history—an unorthodox concept at the time.

The work is divided into twelve books. In the first three, Le Roy deals with the creation of the natural elements and the physical world. He ignores the Biblical account of man's beginnings in Eden and substitutes a naturalistic explanation of man's rise from a rude savage to a civilized being. The middle books trace various aspects of several civilizations prior to Le Roy's own day. Here he discusses the rise of learning, the invention of arms, the origin of religions and governments, manners and social practices—all from the time of their first manifestations up to the present. He speaks of how these aspects of civilization have changed and developed, risen and fallen. Books X and XI deal with the present. Le Roy compares it to preceding ages in order to determine whether it is inferior, equal to, or superior to the past. Book XII is an exploration of what the future might be, given present conditions. In short, the book is a history of the major developments of civilized man. Throughout, the author employs the method of comparison to indicate how some societies advanced beyond others. For further comments on his theory concerning the rise and fall of civilizations, see entry #0220.

As a student of history and like most humanists, Le Roy looked to the past for an understanding of the present. Also like many contemporaries, he was preoccupied with historical synthesis. The material synthesized and the manner in which he accomplished it make this—his greatest work—a valuable contribution to Renaissance intellectual thought.
Machiavelli's history, a work commissioned by the Florentine University, concentrates on the internal affairs of the City up to the year 1334, and, after that point, on both internal and external matters pertaining to Florence. Machiavelli justified this approach on the grounds that earlier historians had not sufficiently dealt with the "civill discords and inward enimities" that had materially affected the city's history. Moreover, he claimed that "particular description," rather than a general account of an event, was the element in history that most contributed to a reader's pleasure and instruction.

The work contains eight books. It begins with an overall view of Italy and describes the ruin of the Roman empire and the division of Italy into provinces with separate governments. Books II-IV are devoted to the failure of aristocratical government in Florence and to the rise of the Medicis. Books V-VIII deal with the period of Medici rule up to the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent. Because Machiavelli was writing as an official historian and attempting to gain the favor of the Medicis, the work is not altogether a history conforming to his personal convictions about that discipline. Although civil affairs were supposed to dominate, the author sometimes devoted more space to foreign policy in an attempt to play down the Medicis' rule. At other times, he was forced to portray the Medicis more favorably than historical facts allowed. Machiavelli also modeled the work on classical histories, and was often more concerned with rendering the facts in an elegant manner than with fidelity to historical truth.

The book was well-known and well-regarded in England. Beddingfield, in his trans., spoke of the work as one that "doth equall or excell the most part that have bin written," primarily because of the author's observations rather than because of the book's content. Beddingfield also believed that Machiavelli was no flatterer.
and praised him for setting forth "rather the causes and effects of everie action, then overmuch extoll[ing] or disgrac[ing] the persons of whome the storie entreateth." Beddingfield, of course, was not judging the work by modern standards, but it is significant that the Florentine Historie was admired before readers became familiar with the author's more famous work The Prince.

**English Works**


This combination of fiction and romance was rivalled in popularity only by the Polychronicon (#0186), and, among the laity, was perhaps even more popular. It traces early English history from the time of Albion and Brutus down to the year 1333, and, for the earlier matter, is mainly derivative from Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britanniae. Whereas the Polychronicon is a Latin history, the Brut is an Anglo-French compilation. Continuations were added to the work in the 14th cent. Caxton also added to the whole before printing it in the 15th. These latter parts are sometimes referred to as "Caxton's Chronicle."


The Polychronicon has the distinction of being the first world history written in England and the greatest achievement of medieval chronicle writing. The original Latin version (composed during the 1320's) was a great success and continued to be more popular than Trevisa's trans. (done during the 1380's). Caxton printed parts of Trevisa's trans. in 1480, and, in 1482, the whole of it. In this later edn., Caxton revised Trevisa's text and added an eighth book of his own, continuing the history to 1460. In his

6Arranged chronologically according to date of publication.
"Prohemye," Caxton informs us that Higden went as far as the year 1357. Caxton also says his 1482 edn. was "a lytel embelysshed fro tholde makyng," and he set off his own eighth book with a prologue indicating his responsibility for that section.

The original work, beginning with the Creation, contained seven books. Only the last two deal with English history, and here Higden relied mainly on Geoffrey of Monmouth. The Norman and later kings are treated very briefly. For his account of the Roman world, Higden relied on numerous classical and medieval Latin sources and thereby appealed to the new interest in the classics and antiquity that English readers were beginning to cultivate. Higden was the first to offer his audience a complete portrait of early British history, to relate it as a whole. It is history based on the medieval tradition; its purpose is to record the acts of God and to establish a memorial of the past. Higden also regarded history as educative.


Written between 1430-38, this lengthy work in verse was much esteemed in both the 15th and 16th cents., and Lydgate was often ranked with Chaucer and Gower, sometimes in first place. Of his many works, this is the longest and the one for which he is generally remembered. Although the poetry is of an inferior sort, it carried on the tradition of Boccaccio's De casibus illustrium virorum, from whence it ultimately derived through the French prose redaction of Laurent de Premierfait. It may also be called a forerunner of the Mirror for Magistrates. All three are very similar, in that they have as their subjects the falls of great persons. Those in Lydgate's work are either historical or mythological figures who fell through pride or ambition. The work is significant mainly for its patriotic flavor and because it represents one of the earliest English attempts at biographical writing.

The first edn. of this work, published anon­ymously, contained seven books, the first six of which covered the period from the landing of Brute to the Norman Conquest. The last book carried the narrative down to the end of Richard III's reign. Rastell's two-volume, 1533 edn. contained the author's additions to the year 1509. At the time of his death in 1513, Fabyan was apparently at work on a further continuation of the history and on his "Great Chronicle of London" (#0209). The Cronycles gives a year by year account of events, and includes only the high points for the post-Norman period. Much is taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth, Higden (#0186), the Brut (#0185), and various French sources. It is generally believed that the Pynson edn. was known to Sir Thomas More, who probably used it as well as some of Fabyan's MSS for his History of Richard III (#0191).

Vergil's great work, prompted by Henry VII, is the first humanist history of England and was designed as a memorial to the House of Tudor. Its 24 books (26 in the first printed edn.) trace England's history up to the year 1537. The first books describe the island's geography, administration, religion, peoples, and languages. Thereafter, Vergil devotes a book apiece to the successive monarchs.

Vergil was one of the first to gather his information from a wide variety of sources, to weigh and analyze conflicting accounts, and to refute old myths and superstitions. His purpose was to write an impartial and truthful account of English history, for he admired the method of factual reporting advocated by the Italian historians Guarino and Biondi. Thus, accuracy was more important to Vergil than argument, clarity more important than style, but neither of these lesser concerns was neglected.

On the whole, Vergil succeeded in his aims. There is still much fabulous material, and the work is not, in its entirety, altogether original, particularly for the earlier periods described. However, those events of the late 15th-early 16th cents. are generally reported from the point of view of eye-witnesses (either Vergil himself or his English friends who, after Vergil's arrival in England in 1502, related to him the history of more recent date). At this point (approximately 1460), Vergil's history becomes more unique. It also becomes more suspect. Much material of a political nature, for example, is curtailed or toned down in later revisions and even major figures and events—Wolsey and the Henrician reformation—are given scant attention. These features derogate from Vergil's commitment to factual and analytical history. He does not, however, deserve the blame cast on him by later commentators who held him responsible for a number of sins against the English and their past.

0190. Hardyng, John. The chronicle of Jhon [sic] Hardyng in metre, from the first begynnynge of Englande, unto the reigne of Edwarde the fourth where he made an end of his chronicle: And from that
Hardyng is particularly interesting as a chronicler because of his association with the Percys (whom he served until the death of Henry Percy (Hotspur) at Shrewsbury) and because of his politically active career, which spanned the period from Henry IV to Edward IV. He may have been present at the Battle of Agincourt. The first drafts of his chronicle were completed during the minority of Henry VI, and the history as a whole ends with that monarch's flight to Scotland.

Grafton, when printing the work, continued the history to the 34th regnal year of Henry VIII. Here, for the first time, appeared the history of Richard III usually ascribed to Sir Thomas More. Grafton was also the first to deal with the reign of Edward V. Grafton is sympathetic toward Hardyng's material, but expresses his own suspicions about the veracity of chroniclers who dealt with the early periods of English history. He claims to give a faithful account of the period covered by his prose continuation.

Although this famous work first appeared in printed form in 1543, More's authorship was not acknowledged in print until the 1548 edn. of Halle's *Union*... (#0192). All subsequent 16th-cen. issues of the work ascribed it to More. Several modern scholars have argued that John Morton, Bishop of Ely and More's early patron, was the author, or at least a major source of More's information. Generally, however, it is believed to be More's. Sylvester, in his excellent edn., argues convincingly for More's authorship. The work exists in English and Latin versions, and both are unfinished. The Latin version first appeared in the 1565 Louvain edn. of *Thomae Mori Angli...Omnia...Latina Opera*.

The History is a masterpiece among early Tudor attempts at biography. Indeed, historians often speak of the work as literature or drama, rather than as history in the strict sense of the term. It reveals More's extensive knowledge of classical history and his imitation of the methods of his favorite historians—Sallust, Suetonius, and Tacitus in particular. The work also assimilates influences from St. Augustine, Plato, and Plutarch.

The dramatic qualities of the work are present from the beginning, which introduces those persons who will figure predominantly in the history of Richard's reign. Richard's dissimulation and cruelty are stressed and echo Suetonius' treatment of the emperor Tiberius. Nor are the similarities between Richard and Tiberius insignificant in the History, for More saw that tyranny is not confined to any age. The princes of his own day, Henry VIII not the least of them, were potential, if not real, tyrants, and the History was more than likely meant to illustrate what might happen if Henry or another ruler were to give free rein to his appetite and will. The correspondence between
past and present history is a truth vividly and dramatically rendered in this account of Richard III, the worst tyrant in English history and a subject through which More could amply illustrate the evil consequences of tyrannical rule.

0192. Halle, Edward. The Union of the two noble and illust- 
trate ["illustre," 1550 edn.] famelies of Lan-
castre & Yorke beeyng long in continual discen-
sion for the croune of this noble realme, with
all the actes done in bothe the tymes of the
Princes, bothe of the one linage and of the other,
beginnyng at the tyme of kyng Henry the fowerth,
the first auuctor of this devisyon, and so suc-
cessively proceadyng to the reigne of the high
and prudent prince kyng Henry the eight, the un-
dubitate flower and very heire of both the sayd
linages. [2nd edn.]. Londini: in officina
Richardi Graftoni, 1548. STC 12721. 3rd edn.
rpt. of 2nd edn. Menston, Eng.: Scolar Press,
1970 (not seen).

The first edn. of this great work, commonly
called "Halle's Chronicle," was issued in an in-
complete and undated form in 1542. By the time
of his death in 1547, Halle had carried the his-
tory down to the 24th regnal year of Henry VIII.
Grafton continued to the death of Henry and pub-
lished this second edn. in 1548. The third edn.
of 1550 is the most complete, and presumably the
one to which Sh was most indebted.

Halle's Union is distinctly different from
other histories of the period in that 1) it is
more limited in scope, 2) it is more selective
and critical in its use of sources, and 3) it
reveals the author's Protestantism and political
tendencies. Concentrating on the feud between
the Houses of York and Lancaster, Halle clearly
blames Henry IV for the civil strife in England
during and subsequent to his usurpation of the
throne. As Halle says, Henry IV was "the be-
ginnynge and rote of the great discord and de-
vision" from the time of Richard II's deposition
to the death of Richard III. Halle's attitudes
toward the monarchs and eras he describes are
revealed by the titles he gives to the books
dealing with each successive reign: "The un-
quyete tyme of kyng Henry the fowerth," "The
victorious actes of kyng Henry the V," "The
troubleous season of king Henry the VI," "The
tragicall doinges of king Richard the iii,"
"The tryumphaunte reigne of king Henry the viii,"
From Halle emerges a theory of history that has come to be known as the "Tudor myth." For Halle as well as for both earlier and later historians (Holinshed, e.g.), history was essentially political history and its purpose was to teach men in the present through portraying past examples. The chaotic and diverse events of the 15th century led Halle to believe that, although man's free agency is partially responsible for events, God and some divine plan are present in all human history. Political order was part of a cosmic order, which, with Henry IV's usurpation of the crown, was disrupted. The punishments that followed were the work of God, retributions visited upon the sinful English people. The restoration of order, through the marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, the founders of the Tudor dynasty, was also the work of God. As the myth was supposedly interpreted by the Elizabethans, their good Queen was seen as God's blessing and her reign as a return to political order and divinely sanctioned statecraft. Through this interpretation of history, Halle imposed a unity on the complex events he described, and his was a philosophy of history that Sh seems to have found compatible with his own dramatic purposes. Although his interpretation did not precisely correspond to historical fact, it appealed to the imagination and optimism of the age and corresponded to widely held religious and political doctrines. Thus, Sh was similarly free to adapt historical facts received from Halle and Holinshed to his own dramatic purpose. Many modern students of Sh argue that at least eight of the ten history plays depict the cycle from sin and retribution to the restoration of order, and that Halle's didactic, unified account of 15th-century history was as strong an influence on the dramatist as Holinshed's narrative, if not more so. Others argue that all ten plays, when studied chronologically, correspond to the theory of history advanced by Halle and his fellow historians.

0193. Lanquet, Thomas and Cooper, Thomas. An Epitome of Cronicles conteining the whole discourse of the histories as well of this reale of England, as all other countreis [sic], with the succession of their kynges, the tyme of their reigne, & what notable actes thei did: much profitable to be redde namely of magistrates and suche as have auctoritee in commen weales: gathered out of
most probable auctors, fyrst, by Thomas Lanquet, from the beginnyng of the world to the incarnation of Christ, and now finished and continued to the reigne of our soveraine lorde kyng Edward the sixt by Thomas Cooper. [London: Thomas Berthelet, 1569 [1549]. STC 15217.

Despite the breadth of material covered, this work is, as the title indicates, a condensation of history. It is one of the best of its kind, and was often cited as a source by later historiographers. The work is sometimes referred to as "Cooper's Chronicle."

0194. Thomas, William. The historie of Italie, a boke exceeding profitable to be redde: Because it in-treateth of the astate of many and divers common weales, how thei have ben, and now be governed. London: Thomas Berthelet, 1549. STC 24018. Ed. in abridged form by George B. Parks (Folger Documents of Tudor and Stuart Civilization). Ithaca: For the Folger Shakespeare Library by Cornell Univ. Press, 1963.

In his edn. of this work, Parks indicates that it was "the first English book on Italy." Thomas, a Welshman, spent several years in Italy observing the customs and forms of government there. His book describes these from the point of view of a traveller intent upon giving first-hand impressions of contemporary Italian life. The work has political as well as historical interest (see entry #0119). The author begins with a general description of the country, followed by a history of the various kings who reigned throughout Italy up to the Renaissance. He then focuses upon particular cities or city-states, beginning with Rome, the physical and governmental features of which he discusses at some length. He also presents a history of the Bishops of Rome. He follows the same procedure in describing Venice, Naples, Florence, Genoa, Milan, Mantua, Ferrara, Piacenza and Parma, and Urbino. The work is well-written, interesting, and informative. It gives a far more truthful account of the country than readers at home obtained from translations of Italian fiction.


To Baldwin and his colleagues, history was a glass or mirror wherein those in the present
might learn of the past. It could teach what otherwise would have to be learned through experience. In the Mirror, politics is the major subject taught (see entry #0124), but it is conveyed through selected histories rendered poetically. Here, the poet took over what was thought to be the role of the historian, for it was assumed the lessons to be conveyed would be more pleasurable if wrapped in poetry. The historical figures included were chosen not because they were historically significant, but because their lives taught political lessons. Hence, the work contains verse histories of Richard II and Henry VI, e.g., but not of Henry IV or V. A history of Wolsey was added to the 1587 edn. For other famous or infamous persons dealt with here and by Sh, see entry #0124.


These two abridged versions of English history were more successful than Grafton's Chronicle at large (#0198). In An abridgement, Grafton says he has attempted to issue a shorter version that is better than others of late, which lack "both good order and much matter of truth." This work begins with a short account of the six ages of the world, followed by a section tracing English history from Brute to William the Conqueror. The main body of the book deals with the period from the Conquest to the present. A Manuell is a small, pocketbook-sized abridgment. Arranged by years, it gives only the high points of English history, but also includes a list of the principal fairs and a collection of histories.

For Grafton, history is exemplary. As he says in An abridgement, "the examples in tyme passed are good lessons for tyme to come," and the most important duty of the historian is to set forth "Godds doinges."

0197. Foxe, John. Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous dayes, touching matters of the Church, wherein ar comprehended and described the great persecutions & horrible troubles, that have bene wrought and practised by the Romishe Prelates, speciallye in this Realme of England and Scot-lande, from the yeare of our Lorde a thousande,
Of all the books published during the reign of Elizabeth, none, except for the Bible, was as influential as Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," as the Acts and Monuments was, and still is generally called. First published in Basle in 1559 as Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum, the book was considerably enlarged for the first English version of 1563, and again for the 1570 edn., at which time it was ordered to be placed in churches and other public places, as the Bible had been earlier, for the benefit of all readers.

The massive English version contains several pages of preliminary material; for example, a calendar of holy days, dedications (one in Latin as a thank-offering to Christ, one in English to the Queen), and "A declaration concerning the utilitie and profite of thys history." The text itself begins with a comparison between the primitive Church and the Church of Rome "that now is." This is followed by a section dealing with early persecutions and one on the growth and trials of the Church in England. The remainder, more than half of the work, relates events occurring in "the horrible and bloody time of Queen Mary." This is the English martyrlogy proper, and it was greatly expanded in the 1570 version. The work also contains woodcuts illustrating memorable events in the lives of the martyrs, often their final moments at the burning stake.

The purpose of the book was to justify and support the Elizabethan government and the Protestant regime that served it. In Foxe's view, the history of the Church in England was, in a sense, the history of England itself. The English were the elect of God and of His Church, and their history was essentially a story of martyrdom. The sufferings of individuals were the particulars of Foxe's history, an especially important one, in Foxe's opinion, because it registered the acts of those "moste meete to be recorded." The sufferings of the martyrs were
instructive; they were the best examples of Christian godliness. The work as a whole, however, was meant to show that God's will was the cause and author of history. Providence had now graced England with a ruler of the true faith. Englishmen could regard the Catholic persecution of Mary's reign as another manifestation of the sufferings eternally inflicted upon the faithful by those outside the true Church. Thus, Foxe's martyrology is a history of the Church from an English Protestant point of view. It was meant to appeal to the present, to the responsibility of English people, united under Elizabeth, to uphold their Protestant faith and achieve a glorious destiny as possessors of the truth.

0198. Grafton, Richard. A Chronicle at large and meere History of the affayres of Englannde and Kinges of the same, deduced from the Creation of the worlde, unto the first habitation of thys Islande: and so by contynuance unto the first yere of the reigne of our most deere and sovereigne Lady Queene Elizabeth: collected out of sundry Authers.... London: Henry Denham for Richarde Tottle and Humffrey Toye, 1569. STC 12147, also 12146 (see annotation below). Grafton's Chronicle; or, History of England. To which is added his Table of the Bailiffs, Sheriffs, and Mayors, of the City of London. From the year 1189, to 1558, inclusive. 2 vols. [Ed. Henry Ellis]. London: for J. Johnson; F. C. and J. Rivington; T. Payne; Wilkie and Robinson; Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme; Cadell and Davies; and J. Mawman, 1809.

Grafton's world history was originally published in two volumes, the first one (STC 12147) dated 1569, the second (STC 12146) dated 1568. The 1568 volume has a different and separate title page, but is obviously part of Grafton's complete work. The first part, beginning with the Creation, proceeds to William the Conqueror; the second part comes down to Elizabeth. It is the only history of the period which did not go through subsequent edns.

Grafton's approach to the English material is traditional. He treats each king separately and gives a year by year account of the events during a particular reign. Generally, his accounts include comments about the king's character or anecdotes associated with individual kings. As his title indicates, he is indebted to several sources, some of them previously
ignored by earlier chroniclers. Like Polydore Vergil (#0189), Grafton questions many myths concerning England's earliest history. Unlike Vergil, he devotes more space to recent past history.


This Latin chronicle of the period from Edward I to Henry V was often cited as a source by subsequent historians throughout the 16th cent., among them Holinshed (#0201).


In his Preface, Camden describes his work as an attempt "to illustrate my native country with the strictest regard to truth and fidelity." As the title implies, the Britannia is concerned with the physical aspects of the country. Each of the counties is described in considerable detail. For sources, Camden drew upon an incredible number of public records, ecclesiastical registers, monuments, and the holdings of many old libraries.

Shakespeare's principal source for the history plays was first published in 1577 as *The Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, a group project directed by Holinshed with the aid of William Harrison, Richard Stanyhurst, and others. Sh, however, was mostly indebted to the second, enlarged, three-volume edn. of 1587, issued after Holinshed's death and ed. by Abraham Fleming, John Hooker, Francis Thynne, and John Stow. The work is chiefly known for its size, scope, wealth of material, and, of course, for Sh's sake.

The work begins with Harrison's encyclopedic historical description of the island of Britaine..., which is a marvelous survey of the island's geography, social institutions, schools, flora and fauna, and many more topics. The first eight books of the Chronicles proper are devoted to the early habitation of Britain--from the time of Noah to that of William the Conqueror. As the title of the second edn. indicates, the remainder takes the history down to almost the year of publication, well into the reign of Elizabeth.

The Chronicles is a relatively late addition to the long series of compilations on English
history produced either by individuals or groups, and it is heavily indebted to these preceding histories. In fact, Holinshed is often criticized for his slavish and uncritical use of sources, of which he employed a vast number. His practice was to cite them all, without distinguishing which of them were the most authentic and valuable. Occasionally, he expressed doubts about the accounts of earlier historiographers, but chose to leave the most incredible versions of history to the consideration and resolution of his readers. It is important to note that he also drew heavily upon Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (#0197), published in English in 1563. Thus, Holinshed's material is deeply infused with Protestant doctrine and, like Foxe's work, perpetuated a legend in which the English people and their Church-State hierarchy corresponded to the chosen people recorded in the Scriptures. England possessed the true faith, owed no allegiance to Rome, and, provided that her rulers obeyed the laws of God, was destined for glory—so went the legend. Holinshed, no less than Halle and other chroniclers, contributed significantly to this Protestant, Elizabethan, patriotic attitude toward English history.

The modern edns. listed above require brief comment. The six-volume, 1807-08 edn. is based on the 1577 version. Boswell-Stone gives selections from Holinshed in the chronological order of Sh's plays; that is to say, he begins with the historical accounts of Lear, Cymbeline, and Macbeth, rather than with the order in which Sh wrote the plays. The Nicolls' edn. is based on Boswell-Stone's and also employs a chronological arrangement, but, in this case, the selections correspond to Sh's histories as printed in the first folio. Boswell-Stone and the Nicolls both preserved the old spelling of the original versions. The corresponding passages in Sh's plays are clearly indicated in both, except for line numbers in the Nicolls' collection. Hosley's selective, modern spelling edn. is an attempt to correct the deficiencies of both Boswell-Stone and the Nicolls. In his opinion, both Sh and Holinshed have suffered at the hands of these modern "extractors." The student, he argues, cannot appreciate extracts from Holinshed that do not appear in the appropriate context of his Chronicles. Nor can the student determine how Sh employed Holinshed's material when structuring a play.

Stow's *Annales* is the enlarged and final version of earlier productions. In 1565, he published his *Summarie of English Chronicles* (STC 23319), to which additions were made several times until well into the 17th cent. In 1580, it was expanded and issued as *The Chronicles of England* (STC 23333). Sh may have used this last compilation. In his introductory remarks, Stow says it is the work of 30 years, and he claims to have an even larger volume ready for the press. We now know that this "larger volume" was abandoned with the publication of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (#0201). Stow's latest work, in his opinion, would have reduplicated Holinshed. However, Stow contributed much of his data to the second edn. of Holinshed in 1587.

Stow was indefatigable in his search for historical materials and drew upon a vast number of authorities. Some of the latest of these he blamed for their "ignorant handling of ancient affaires," and for the most part, his censures were justifiable. His strong antiquarian interests prompted him to personally investigate the monuments and antiquities he described.

The *Annales* begins with a description of the island and of its first inhabitants. Stow then proceeds to discuss the successive reigns, and his practice is to mention the notable things that occurred each year. Like most of his fellow historians, he believed that few books were as profitable as chronicles and histories, for these were meant to persuade readers to honesty, godliness, and virtue and to dissuade them from the contraries.


Daniel's verse history was not issued in its complete form (all eight books) until 1609.
In his Dedication of that edn., Daniel says he adhered to the "general receiv'd opinion of things as we finde them in our common Annalles." The only license he allowed himself was the creation of speeches for certain persons, a common practice among the classical historians whom Daniel admired. For the rest, however, he claims to have "faithfully observed the Historie."

Daniel's is a patriotic and moral poem, another work of the period that, like Halle's Union (#0192) or Holinshed's Chronicles (#0201), helped to enshrine the "Tudor myth." Daniel also sees Henry VII's marriage to Elizabeth of York as the principal cause for the present happiness after a period of civil dissension, rebellions, and conspiracies.

Daniel devotes only the first 20 stanzas of Book I to the period prior to Richard II. The remainder concentrates entirely on the York-Lancaster struggle. For sources, the poet relied mainly on Froissart, Fabyan, Grafton, Walsingham, Polydore Vergil, Halle, Holinshed, and Stow, but it is difficult to judge just how he used these writers. Michel's edn. of the poem contains an introductory section, "The Civil Wars and Shakespeare," in which he evaluates the indebtedness of the two poets to each other (see entry #0614 for details).


Although Drayton covers a different period of history than Sh, his work is included here because of its kinship with Sh's and other historical literature of the period. Like Daniel's Civil Wars (#0203), Marlowe's Edward II, and Sh's histories, Drayton's literary treatment reveals the national interest in history, kingship, the problems of civil disorder, the political and personal trials of kingship, and related concerns. These elements are more dominant in the rev. version of 1603, however, than in the original, which is largely a celebration of Mortimer (later the Earl of March) and focuses on the love between that figure and Isabella, Edward II's
queen. Indeed, in the original, history is distorted and the political matter minimized in favor of the love element. The rev. version attempts to correct these flaws through the addition of more factual material and a more historical and critical approach. The work is confined to the years 1321-30, and draws mainly upon Holinshed's account of this decade. It demonstrates the evils of civil war and dissen­sion.


Stow's Survay provides us a vivid, intimate, and detailed view of the London of Sh's day. It is probably the most reliable portrait of the City to survive, as well as the work upon which Stow's fame now principally rests.

Suggested by Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, the Survay was based on Stow's own perambulations of the various wards of the City, and the whole is prefaced with general remarks about the origin, growth, and social life of London. Stow also gleaned information from an extensive number of public and private documents, including the City Records, registers and cartularies of various London churches, guild records, old London chronicles, and many more. He personally investigated the monuments and antiquities he described, and corroborated his findings with accounts by various authorities. The work was considerably enlarged and revised in the improved 1603 edn. It does not, however, as does the 1598 edn., make any mention of London theatres, perhaps because Stow was not fond of stage plays. And, while the book is a "reliable" view of the City—as far as it goes—it makes no reference to other haunts—stews, taverns, etc.—either referred to or mentioned by Sh and contemporary dramatists. Despite these shortcomings, the work is a charming one, a labor of love by a self-taught man who revered the past of his country and of the city he knew so intimately.

0206. Hayward, Sir John. The First Part of the Life and raigne of "inq Henrie the III. London: John Woolfe, 1599. STC 12995.
Hayward begins with a discussion of Edward III and his sons. He then turns to the reign of Richard II and concentrates on the quarrel and subsequent joust between Hereford and Norfolk. Concerning Richard II's deposition and death, Hayward notes that all who have written of these matters disagree as to details. Part I, which goes to the end of the first year of Henry IV's reign, was the only part published, for the book proved troublesome. Because it was dedicated to the Earl of Essex, paid too much attention to Irish affairs, and implied a comparison between Richard II and Elizabeth, it was considered treasonable by Elizabeth's government. Consequently, Hayward was imprisoned. Although written too late, perhaps, to be considered as an influence on Sh, the work is nevertheless important from an historiographical point of view in that it initiated the "politic" phase of history writing in England (see entry #0230).


The Legend is unusual among Drayton's historical works. It is clearly the product of a new school of historiography in that it is more concerned with causes and reveals a detached and critical attitude toward the events described. The moralizing, patriotic tradition of Halle and Holinshed is absent. The work speaks to a new age—the reign of James—and to the new gentry created by him. It stresses the instability and vicissitude of things, the difficulties attendant upon rising to a great place amid corruption and dissension. Drayton depicts the way in which Cromwell gains the recognition first of Wolsey and then of the king (Henry VIII). For Drayton, Cromwell is the instrument whereby the Pope loses his authority in England. Henry VIII is portrayed as tyrannical. Cromwell is the victim of his own snares. Rome's "sad Ruine" in England is a secondary theme of the work and perhaps reveals Drayton's Catholic sympathies and reverence for the old order of things. The Legend was re-issued in 1609 as The Historie of The Life and Death of The Lord Cromwell... (STC 7201).

This work was originally issued, also in 1611, as The Theatre Of The Empire Of Great Britaine... (STC 23041). The History is a continuation of the previous publication, and it was under this latter title that the work, in revised and enlarged versions, was subsequently published throughout the early years of the 17th cent. The prefatory remarks in both of the 1611 versions accent the idea of history as drama.

The History contains ten books, the first four of which are devoted to a chorographical description of the country. Books II-IV provide accounts of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, respectively. Book V deals with ancient Britain, Book VI with the Roman era. Book VII concentrates on the Saxon kings and early English monarchs. Book VIII discusses the Danes. The monarchs from William the Conqueror to Elizabeth are dealt with in Book IX, and Book X describes the reign of James I.

The work is beautifully illustrated with maps of the whole country and of each county. The principal cities, noble estates, or universities are depicted in insets in the county maps. In his introductory remarks, Speed prides himself that no other kingdom has been "so exactly described" as he has done in this work. As to the history itself, Speed says he has left those things most clouded in obscurity to other writers, and himself depended on those events, people, and actions "most approved by the best Writers."

Unpublished English Works


This work was named "The Great Chronicle" by C. L. Kingsford in 1913, when he published his English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century (#0467). In that book, Kingsford refers to the original MS and calls the work the "most ample representation of the English Chronicles of London in their earliest

Although these works remained unpublished during the 16th cent., they are important contributions to historical writing of the period. They are arranged according to date of composition.
Thomas and Thornley, in their edn., indicate that, although it includes many more public documents that most London chronicles, it is not as "ample" as some in its inclusion of civic matter or accurate facts. Thomas and Thornley made an exhaustive study of the MS and describe it in detail in their Intro. They offer a good account of London chronicles and indicate how The Great Chronicle both resembles and differs from others. They also point out that Stow mentions it as "Fabians MS," and that Stow borrowed from it for his Surveys of London (#0205), Chronicles, and Annales (#0202). John Foxe may also have possessed the MS at one time and used it for his Actes and Monuments (#0197). Thomas and Thornley think it is almost certain that the chronicle is the work of Fabyan. Apparently, it was based on a main city chronicle that is now lost.

The work has two distinct parts, the first dealing with events to 1439, the second with those to 1512. It is possible that the second part was compiled by someone else. Much of the chronicle seems to have been written soon after the events recorded, and might therefore be thought of as a source of popular and contemporary opinions. It is particularly rich for the period 1503-12, and gives quite a full account of the reign of Richard III. Richard II and his reign are also treated extensively; here, one will find the charges brought against Richard as well as a description of the proceedings leading to the enthronement of Henry IV.

The general practice of the compiler(s) was to list the sheriffs and mayors of the City and their terms of office. This is followed by an account of the major events of each year, with the accent falling upon the kings and their activities. Occasionally, very detailed aspects of an event are given, as, e.g., the menu for an elaborate coronation feast.


This work is important for several reasons. First, it is derived from Tito Livio's Vita Henrici Quinti, a work completed by 1440 and a major source of later writers, including Stow
and Holinshed. Second, it was composed at the same time Sir Thomas More was writing his History of Richard III (#0191) and Polydore Vergil his Anglica Historia (#0189), two works which introduced new concepts of historical writing found to some degree in this work also. Third, this English Life, as well as Livio's Vita, contributed much to the traditional picture of Prince Hal as both madcap prince and model Christian king. Livio's Vita accented the latter conception; the Life contributed considerably to the former, primarily because of the sources upon which it drew. The author, in translating and adding to Livio, depended upon Monstrelet, several English chronicles, and upon the eye-witness accounts of the Earl of Ormonde, whom the author served. The Earl's stories concerning Henry V often deal with that monarch's youthful character. Thus, because of these stories, the Life contains much material not preserved in other accounts of Henry. It seems, then, that Sh's conception of Henry V ultimately derives from this source, via Stow and Holinshed.

The work is didactic and the author frequently given to moralizing, but it also possesses considerable literary merit. One of the author's main intentions, as he says in his "Prohem," was to urge Henry VIII to imitate Henry V's life and manners, particularly those he adopted after his coronation. The work remained unpublished until 1727.


Written by Wolsey's gentleman-usher, this famous biography circulated in MS until 1641 (see Wing C 1618-19), at which time it was published in a distorted form. Parts of it had appeared earlier in the chronicles of Stow, Holinshed, and Speed, but it was not until the early 19th cent. that the work, edited from the autograph MS, appeared in complete form.

Cavendish's biography is important because it provides an eye-witness account of the famous prelate and Lord Chancellor. Cavendish drew from contemporary chronicles and other sources for information and to refresh his memory at the time of composition, but his method was distinctly different from that of earlier chroniclers. The work concentrates on one man and his life--on
Wolsey and his rise and fall—and thus it is more artistic than other histories of the period. It was also an attempt to "set the record straight" about one who, in the author's opinion, had been much maligned by those who had previously written about Wolsey, particularly those who had looked at their subject from a Protestant, pro-Henry VIII point of view.

Cavendish does not give an altogether flattering portrait of his master, but the work is more favorable to Wolsey and the Catholic cause than any other account of the period. It suffers from errors of fact and omissions, and certain salient aspects of Wolsey's life are suppressed, either for political reasons or out of respect for Wolsey. Moreover, Cavendish does not hesitate to moralize about the great man's fall. Despite these elements, the work has often been praised for its impartiality, when judged by 16th-cent. standards of history writing. Certainly, it ranks close to More's History of Richard III (#0191) as being one of the best and most vivid biographical portraits composed in the 16th cent.

Special Collections


This is a history of a special sort, for in these journals Harrison records the gossip involving persons and events of an important period—that during which Elizabethan literature flowered and during which Sh produced his Elizabethan plays. Although gossip is the subject, not intellectual thought per se, Harrison believes his journals "should mirror the mind of the English people and give a background to their literature" during these years. Indeed, one will find here much specific matter relating to the areas of thought covered in this bibliography. For example, entries for Jan. and Feb., 1601, relate to the Earl of Essex, his trial, and execution; to the publication of Hayward's
History of Henry IV (#0206) and the Queen's reaction to the book; and to the staging of RII.


A sequel to The Elizabethan Journals (#0212) and similar in purpose and arrangement.

Historiographical Works

Continental Works (Some in Translation)


A volume containing several of Vergil's miscellaneous writings covering a variety of topics. Chapter X (on histories, prose, and rhetoric) discusses the rise of history and the first historians. According to Vergil, these were Moses and other Hebrew writers whose "stories," as Vergil calls them, were the first histories. He also describes the nature and qualities of histories. He addresses the following to historians: "The first office of an historiographer is to write no lye, the seconde that he shall conceall [conceal?] no truth, for favoure, displeasure, or feare."


Arranged chronologically according to date of English translation, or, in the case of untranslated works, according to date of original publication.
Carion's work is a universal chronicle tracing events from Adam to the "fourth and last Monarchie," or, since the birth of Christ. His history of the Christian era, however, is largely confined to the Germans and amounts to a strong defense of the German empire. It contains an addition by John Funke covering the period 1532-50. The work is entered here primarily because of Carion's remarks in the section entitled "The use of readynge hystoryes." There Carion affirms that histories are primarily the "bokes of great prynces and lordees," for it is the deeds of these that histories chronicle. More important, the actions of these men are most exemplary for those ruling commonwealths. Private persons can profit from history, but it is a discipline absolutely essential to princes. Through history, rulers learn the political and moral virtues necessary for good government and the welfare of the state. Carion believes both heathen and Biblical histories are to be studied. The latter are most beneficial, however, for out of them are gathered the ends of all learning—"instructyons of fayth and feare of God."


This Preface first appeared in the 1538 Latin edn. of Trogus Pompeius and was rpt. by Golding in his trans. and in the Wilkins trans. of 1591. Later, Thomas Lodge prefaced his trans. of Josephus (#0231) with it, without acknowledging Grynaeus' authorship. The author's thesis is that history furnishes the matter to learn from, but man has to apply the lessons of history to his own life if historical learning is to be profitable. In short, wisdom consists in the use one makes of history. Concerning historians, Grynaeus calls them interpreters of things done, and their primary duty is not to prejudice the reader's mind or merely to please and delight.
him, but "to set things forth plainly and sincerely."


This early work of Bodin was popular in his own time and enjoyed a considerable vogue in England. It is still valuable for the insight it presents into the mind of a Renaissance intellectual who took almost all knowledge for his province. Borrowing much from the ancients, he also was influenced by the medieval theory of a providential determination of history, and many of his speculations reveal that he was equally conversant with the most advanced thought of his own age. Some of his theories were acceptable to the rationalists of the 18th cent., who borrowed from him.

The work is an attempt to elevate history to the rank of a science and to provide a systematic means of studying it. By dividing history into three groups—divine, human, and natural—Bodin reflected the contemporary division of law. Moreover, Bodin's legal background and contemporary legal literature figure strongly throughout the work. The Methodus also moves in the direction of those that were giving a cyclical interpretation to history.

In his earlier chapters, Bodin defines history, outlines the order in which histories ought to be read, indicates how historical material ought to be arranged, which historians should be read, and how they should be evaluated. His last chapter lists all the historians and their works he considers important, but it is uncertain whether he himself read them all. The middle chapters discuss various political theories; for example, that governments thrive or fall depending on the customs and nature of a particular people.

Bodin's work stressed the importance of historical studies in an age already interested in history, and he is perhaps the most important of those Renaissance thinkers who saw a strong relationship between history and political theory. Many think of Bodin as initiating a new conception of history, for he claimed that history primarily served the purpose of political teaching. Moreover, of all the artes historicae produced throughout the cent., Bodin's is considered
the most valuable among the four or five still possessing interest. In fact, ten years after the work's publication, Johann Wolf assigned it the place of honor in the Artis historicae penus (#0219), which he edited in 1576. The work is also of interest because Chapter VI contains many of the ideas Bodin later enlarged upon in his more famous work, Six Livres de la République (#0093).


The section on history provides a definition of that discipline, and Agrippa argues that much good, as well as much damage, can be derived from reading history. But his remarks mainly concern historians. Because they are not generally witnesses of what they write about, they necessarily write falsely, tell lies for "delectations sake," and flatter. Histories are full of errors, Agrippa claims, for no two historians ever report the same event without some degree of contradiction.


First published in 1576, this two-volume work contained twelve artes historicae. It was re-issued in an enlarged and corrected version in 1579. This second edn. contained 18 tracts, all in Latin. As in the first edn., Bodin's Methodus (#0217) was printed first. Other authors and their works included (among the more important) were Lucian's De scribenda historia, Patrizzi's Dialogi X de historia, Balduinus' De historia universa, Robortellus' De historia, and Grynaeus' De utilitate legendae historiae (#0216). Only a few of the 18 pieces are legitimate artes historicae. Most of the works were designed as prefaces to edns. of ancient or modern histories, and fail to provide either a philosophy of history or a method for writing it. Some are merely resumes of universal histories. Nevertheless, the collection attests to the popularity of the ars historica on the Continent, particularly in Italy and Germany. In his Preface, Wolf praises Bodin as the best writer in this field, a judgment that subsequent ages have not disputed.

Unlike medieval thinkers, who regarded history as a linear phenomenon, Le Roy argued that it was cyclical in nature—a continual alteration of risings and fallings. Moreover, the rise and fall of civilizations depended on whether they developed, or failed to develop, the science of arms and learning. To Le Roy, this was a law of historical change and a strong element in his philosophy of history. All nations progressed from birth to prosperity and then declined, according to the law of flux. Periodically, the arts and other human achievements were renewed. Le Roy's belief that Providence operated behind all human action was not unusual, however, and indicates that he accepted certain assumptions in force in earlier ages.

For many years, Le Roy was considered a popularizer of the historical works of Jean Bodin. This view has since been refuted, for it was discovered that Le Roy spoke of the influence of climate on human societies as early as 1553 (in his trans. of Plato's Phaedo). Bodin's Methodus (#0217), which also affirms a climatic theory of culture, was not published until 1556. The two men have much in common, but, from an historiographical point of view, Bodin's Methodus owes much to the legal background of the author. Le Roy paid little heed to jurisprudence and the laws of various societies. Instead, he concentrated on the significant social trends responsible for the growth of various civilizations. Both men, however, believed the learning of the past ought to be used for new advancements in the present. For Le Roy, ancient achievements (in all areas of life) were merely foundations upon which modern men could construct new concepts and practices. Knowledge, in other words, was cumulative, and its acquisition was endless. Le Roy did not subscribe to the belief that there was nothing new under the sun. Modern inventions—particularly the printing press, the compass, and gunpowder—attested to the opposite, according to Le Roy. For him, each civilization added something new, for men have always reached for perfection, but never have they realized it. For the political aspects of this work, see entry #0086.

As one of the earliest English commentators upon history, the remarks of this printer-historian are significant, although not unusual. Caxton discusses the profit of history and believes it is an especially valuable study for young men. Histories also "moeve and withdrawe Emperours and kynges fro vycious tyrannye," or are supposed to, according to Caxton. It is more useful for inducing virtue than either fables or poetry, which, in Caxton's opinion, are mixtures of the profitable and the harmful, and some of them even teach men to lie.


In the dedicatory epistle, Ashton comments on the "profyte and commoditie" of history, which he regards as a "glasse" wherein "all things mete and necessarie for men of every degree and estate, be most plentyfully and lyvelyest set forthe." History, in his opinion, is not only a means to enkindle virtue and valiant deeds, but also provides "delectation & pleasure... (for the most part)" to its readers. Ashton recommends both ancient and modern historians and thinks Jovius' Turkish history an especially profitable one because it will teach Christians about the guile and policies employed by the Turks in their assaults against Christendom.

9Arranged chronologically according to date of publication.
0223. Lanquet, Thomas. "Of the use and profite of histories, and with what judgement they oughte to bee redde," in An Epitome of Cronicles... [1549]. See entry #0193.

Lanquet's remarks are almost a verbatim rendering of Johann Carion's in the latter's universal history trans. into English as The Thre Bokes of Cronicles (#0215). Lanquet, however, expands Carion's comments by including, among other matters, a lavish praise of Henry VIII. The essence of this preface is that history is a particularly important study for rulers and anyone in a position of authority in a commonwealth. It teaches the evils of tyranny and the benefits of good government. Sacred history, in the author's opinion (i.e., Carion's), does this better than profane history, but both are profitable.


In the Preface to his trans., Brende advocates the reading of histories for the sake of the "outwarde policye in worldly thynges" that they can teach. History is necessary to all kinds of men, Brende argues, but it is especially important for princes, military leaders, and any who have responsibilities in government. The purpose of history is to urge one to virtue and away from vice, according to Brende, and ancient histories are especially useful, for these have "much majestye and many examples of vertue." He also recommends them "for the greatnes of the actes done in those daies, and for the excellencie of the writers."

0225. Golding, Arthur, trans. Thabridgment of the Histories of Trogus Pompeius, Collected and wrytten in the Laten tonge, by the famous Historiographer Justinie, and translated into English by Arthur Goldyng: a worke conteynyng brieflie great plentie of moste delectable Hystories, and notable examples, worthie not onelie to be read, but also to be embraced and followed of all menne. London: Thomas Marshe, 1564. STC 24290.
Golding is another of those who regarded history as a mirror in which one could view examples from the past that would be profitable in the present. For Golding, historical studies were recommended for "thadvauncement of Vertue and the defacyng of Vyce."


Written about 1553, this work remained unpublished until about 1570. It is primarily interesting for Ascham's opinions concerning the purposes of history and for his comments on selected historians. These are expressed in his introductory remarks addressed to John Astley, a friend who shared the author's enthusiasm for history and historians. Ascham begins by setting down some precepts for historians, advising them "to write nothyng false" and "to be bold to say any truth." He also believes "some generall lesson of wisedome & warines" should be noted for every great issue described. He briefly comments upon certain writers—both ancient and modern—whom he thinks merit praise as historians. Among the ancients are Livy and Caesar; among the moderns, Phillip Comines and Sir Thomas More "in that pamphlet of Richard the thyrd."


This Latin treatise is a defense of early British history as reported by most of the authors prior to Polydore Vergil, whose treatment of this period in the *Anglica Historia* (#0189) is criticized. Price also deals with the legendary King Arthur and, apparently, defends the lore surrounding him. The work includes a chapter on the origin of London.

0228. Blundeville, Thomas. *The true order and Methode of wryting and reading Hystories, according to the precepts of Francisco Patricio, and Accontio*
Tridentino, two Italian writers, no less plainly than briefly, set forth in our vulgar speech, to the great profit and commoditie of all those that delight in Histories. London: Willyam Seres, 1574. STC 3161. In Dick, Hugh G. "Thomas Blundeville's The true order and Methode of wryting and reading Histories (1574)." Huntington Library Quarterly, 3 (Jan. 1940), 149-70.

This work is considered the first English treatise on historiography issued independently and is also important because it advocates the scientific method of historical reporting. It should be noted, however, that the work is a trans., adaptation, and abridgment of Patrizzi's Della Istoria (1560) and Concio's unpublished treatise Delle osservazioni. Blundeville spliced these two together; hence, the work is a "first" only in a limited sense. It did, however, appeal to the enthusiasm for historical study, particularly among those courtiers and men of affairs who valued historical learning. The didactic value of reading history is stressed throughout the work, and, as to the method of writing history, it advocates a unified, integrated account of events, rather than a chronicling of them in unconnected fashion. The section taken from Patrizzi indicates those worthy to be written about, discusses the profit of histories (to teach, by examples, how to live well and always in contentment), and explains the duty and office of historiographers. The section from Concio deals with the order and method to be used in the reading of histories. It also treats historical causation. In Concio's opinion, man's reason or passion is a principal cause for events, but behind these is the providence of God, who governs and directs all things. Patrizzi's Della Istoria was perhaps the most significant of all the formal treatises on historiography published in Italy during the 16th cent. Blundeville's redaction of this work was, therefore, an important contribution to English historiographical thought. It provided a defense of history as the supreme moral art (as opposed to poetry or other disciplines) because it supposedly reveals Providence in action.


Of the two edns. of this work published in 1595, it is generally believed that the Defence is the most authoritative. Mary Mahl's discovery of the Norwich MS, however, proves that an earlier, and perhaps more reliable version was circulating before 1595. As most students of the period know, Sidney's Defence is a carefully constructed and reasoned argument for the value of poetry and of the techniques it employs for one's education and delight. Sidney compares poetry with both philosophy and history, and it is with his comments about history that we are primarily concerned. To Sidney, the historian is less able to teach than the poet because he builds upon other histories, which, in turn, are built upon hearsay. Thus, the historian can know nothing for certain. He is bound to describe things as they were and to deal with specific persons and events; he can take no liberties. The historian also deals with a corrupt world and often his examples are of virtue overwhelmed and of vice triumphant. Because of these elements in history, a reader must rely upon his own discretion in order to know what, from the world of the past, ought to be followed, what avoided.

The poet, on the other hand, never affirms anything as fact; therefore, he cannot be called a liar. He deals with abstract ideas, rather than with concrete examples, and his purpose is to make these ideas visible to the mind. He can frame imaginative examples in accordance with
what is most reasonable. He can move one to virtue by providing vivid pictures of virtue and of vice. Through his imaginative handling of a matter and through his ability to convey moral precepts, the poet educates and delights. Poetry, therefore, is a more powerful medium than history, the poet a more able teacher than the historian.

0230. Hayward, Sir John. **The First Part of the Life and raigne of King Henrie the IIIII.** 1599. See entry #0206.

This work is the first of the English "politic" histories, so called because it was modelled on Tacitus and incorporated contrived speeches attributed to historical figures. One of these speeches suggested that frequently the deposers of kings meet with success. Little wonder that the book was found treasonable at the time of publication. Also found unappealing was the book's Italian flavor, for Hayward was much influenced by Guicciardini and Machiavelli, as well as by Tacitus. The author's purpose was to treat history in terms of the ideal truth, rather than the factual, so that it might be more beneficial to those in the political arena. To achieve his purpose, Hayward invented almost as much as he borrowed from other sources.


These prefatory remarks were usurped by Lodge from Simon Grynaeus' "Concerning the profite of readyng Hystoryes" (#0216). Lodge neither acknowledged his debt nor added anything new. The main argument is that history is useful if properly read. The historian is an "interpretor" of the past, and his duty is to set down events exactly as they happened without attempting to flatter a particular person or to influence readers adversely by playing up the writer's own judgments and humors.

0232. Bacon, Sir Francis. **The Twoo Bookes...Of the pro-ficience and advancement of Learning, divine and**
In the section on history and its types (pp. 182-99 in the Spedding edn.), Bacon notes four kinds of history—natural, civil, ecclesiastical, and literary—but discusses only the first three as extant. Of civil history, which is the most germane to this bibliography, he distinguishes between three types—memorials, perfect histories, and antiquities. Memorials are generally commentaries or registers which set down “naked events & actions, without the motives or designes, the counsells, the speeches, the pretexts, the occasions, and other passages of action.” Antiquities are remnants of history that have “escaped the shipwrack of time.” Perfect histories are of three kinds—those which represent a particular time or times, those that represent persons, and those that represent actions, called, respectively, chronicles, lives, and narrations or relations. In Bacon’s opinion, what remains of ancient history is better than what has been produced in the modern period. As he says, “for Modern Histories,...there are some fewe verie worthy, but the greater part beneath Mediocrity.” The history of England, in particular, is unworthy, and Bacon indicates how this deficiency may be rectified. Concerning historians, he prefers those who do not comment upon the events they describe, for, as he says, “it is the true office of History to represent the events themselves, together with the counsels, and to leave the observations, and conclusions thereupon, to the liberty and facultie of every mans judgement.” Those histories which contain comments of a political nature, Bacon believes, ought to be classified among books of policy.

0233. Rich(e), Barnabe. Faultes Faults, And nothing else but Faultes. 1606. See entry #0350.

Riche is very severe on the "Hystorians in this age," most of whom are flatterers and liars. "Looke but into our English Chronicles," he says, "and see what descriptions they have made of
Pettigrees, not so much to set downe a truth, as they have done to please greatnesse."


Although published too late to have significantly influenced Sh, Raleigh's History is entered here for the sake of the author's essentially Elizabethan attitude toward history as expressed in his well-known Preface. The History itself begins with the Creation and ends at the year 168 B.C. It seems to have been abandoned, although Raleigh's initial intention was to bring the history up to the present and to concentrate, in the final books, on England itself. Legend has it that he destroyed a second part sometime before his death in 1618. Part I was published anonymously, but Raleigh's authorship was recognized immediately.

Raleigh's famous Preface to the work testifies to the author's acceptance of the providential theory of history, a theory more Elizabethan than Jacobean in nature. Moreover, this theory permeates the work as a whole, the principal aim of which is to assert the unity of historical events through emphasizing the providential order operating behind them since the creation of the world. Raleigh believed the historian was to be concerned with God's will as well as with the secondary causes (e.g., the humours of princes) contributing to events. Many students have argued, however, that Raleigh ultimately concentrates more upon secondary causes than upon the causal role of God, particularly in the second half of Part I.

Raleigh's sentiments about the value of history are succinctly expressed in the following: "In a word, wee may gather out of History a policy no lesse wise than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens forepassed miseries, with our owne like errours and ill deserving." The Preface also asserts that, because God's judgments are unchangeable, the "irreligious policie" of the past, if practiced in the present, will receive the same punishment that always attends "ill successe."

The Preface is also interesting for Raleigh's
brief survey of English kings from William I to Henry VIII. Here Raleigh concentrates on the usurping kings and "issues of bloud" for which they were responsible. Raleigh sees their punishments as further manifestations of God's justice operating universally and eternally.


Although this work was not completed until 1618 and was, therefore, too late to be known by Sh, it is one of the few works on historiography composed in England during the Renaissance. It is generally recognized as an important English contribution to the theory of historical method. Such works were not as popular in England throughout the 16th cent. as they were in Italy, France, and Germany. By the 17th cent., however, Englishmen were beginning to compose more of them, most of which compositions were modifications of the continental writings on historiography.

The Hypercritica is divided into four addresses. The first discusses the use a historian should make of the Brut (#0185); the second deals with the need for impartiality in writing histories. The third address is devoted to a survey of English history from the Roman era to that of Henry VII. Here the author also indicates various "historical dangers" to be avoided by historians. The last address is concerned with the language and style appropriate to histories. Various English authors are praised or censured for their abilities in these areas. The work ends with a list of four duties every historian should fulfill. These accent Christian obligation to God, the prime mover in human affairs, and patriotic concern for one's own country and monarch.

Oresme's *Tractatus* is one of the earliest and most important of continental works dealing with debasement of the coinage. It is based on Aristotle's *Politics* and supports the Aristotelian view that money is not to be altered in either fineness, weight, or bimetallic ratio by a prince. Money is the property of subjects, who employ it for the exchanging of goods, not the property of a prince, his mint, or any other authority established by him for the purpose of issuing coin, Oresme argues. The prince or his constituted authority must guarantee the quantity and fineness of precious metals used for coin, but they have no right to alter these without the consent of the whole community. In Oresme's opinion, if debasement is ever necessary for political or other purposes and agreed upon by the community, it must be undertaken as a temporary measure only; the true values must be re-established as soon as possible. The treatise was prompted by the coinage debasements of Philip VI and John II of France and earned for its author the recognition of Charles V, who requested Oresme to translate Aristotle's *Politics, Ethics, and Economics*.


A very influential work on poor relief. Vives wrote the work in England, but it is addressed to an international audience. The author declares that it is the duty of every...
community to provide for its poor and that gov-
ernors and magistrates must devote much atten-
tion to the problems and hardships of the poor. The tract also advocates special care for the
mentally and physically handicapped. Vives values work, and encourages communities to put
their able-bodied poor to work as a means of
cutting down on begging, vagrancy, and idleness. At the same time, the poor must be watched;
their lives inquired into, so that they receive
neither more nor less than what is required for
a decent life. Vives does not advocate a com-
pulsory poor rate, but rather a system of church
boxes into which citizens can contribute what-
ever they see fit. He also believes each case
involving the poor must be handled differently
and with either compassion or severity as it
requires. He ends with a plea for the education
of all—particularly the young of both sexes—as
a means of preventing the growth of poverty.
Most of these ideas are expressed in Book II of
the work—dealing with public charity. Book I
is devoted to private charity.

out of the high Almaigne, by William Harrys.
London: Steven Mierdman, 1550. STC 17330.

This work, in dialogue form, claims to be a
trans. from "the germanis tonge." In it, Pas-
quill and a usurer argue the pros and cons of
usurious practices. The usurer tries unsuccess-
fully to convince Pasquill that, just as trade
cannot be prevented, neither can usury, some-
thing that helps to maintain trade, be "for-
borne." Nor does he believe usury is a sin.
Pasquill, on the other hand, cites Biblical in-
junctions against the practice and finally re-
duces the usurer to utter fear concerning his
fate. The latter admits the error of his ways
and resolves on repentance. During the course
of the dialogue, Pasquill distinguishes between
interest and usury. The former is given for the
loss a creditor may sustain because a debtor
failed to pay on his appointed day. Usury is an
amount taken above the "head summe." Further
distinctions are also made here concerning par-
ticular exchanges.

0239. Musculus, Wolfgang. Of the lawful and unlawful usurie
amongst Christians, added by Wolfgang Muscul un-
to the ende of his booke uppon the Psalmes.
[Trans. T. L. Zurich? or Geneva?, 1556?]. STC
As his title implies, Musculus addresses his work to the godly, not to men of the world. Musculus declares that, despite some civil laws allowing usury, the practice is not lawful "afore God," and he declares usury a sin to be avoided by all Christians. To him, usury is anything taken or hoped for "besydes the stocke," or that which is given; it can apply to goods--wheat, oil, wine, etc.--as well as to money. The author grants that money lent to the rich by the rich for the purpose of business and to be repaid with usury is not as great a sin as usury taken of the poor, but it is still not tolerable, for it is basically love of private property and profit that leads people to this practice, not Christian charity. Musculus also discusses the old system (at one time lawful) of "letting out money unto usury" that has been inherited by widows or orphans. Such contracts were at one time allowed for the purpose of enhancing the revenues of those left with no other means of support. The author claims that even this practice has become corrupted and that many inheritances have been wasted, many widows and orphans ruined, by greedy executors.

Malestroit's paradoxes are two: 1) that nothing has increased in price for three hundred years, despite the complaint that prices are rising, since one does not pay more gold or silver for a product than one did earlier; and 2) that much can be lost on various denominations of gold and silver money, although one spends them at the same rate at which he gets them. Bodin's Response (#0241) discusses and disproves these affirmations.
In 1566, Malestroit, comptroller of the royal mint in Paris, asserted in his Paradoxes (1560) that the current complaint about increased prices was unjustified. His tract prompted Bodin's famous Response in 1568, and in 1578 the second edn. of this work was issued with the title Discours de Jean Bodin sur le Rehaussement et Diminution des monnoyes, tant d'or que d'argent, & le moyen d'y remedier: & responce aux Paradoxes de Monsieur de Malestroit. This edn. included Malestroit's Paradoxes. It is also the edn. upon which Moore based his trans., which is the first full English trans.

Bodin's treatise is a brilliant and tart exposé of Malestroit's fallacious reasoning. Defending his own position with a mass of detail, Bodin not only proves that the prices have increased, but also exposes the five major causes of inflation. He traces the most basic cause to the great abundance of precious metals shipped from America to Spain, and thus is the first to point out the significance of this influx and its effect on the European economy in the second half of the 16th cent. Among Bodin's proposed remedies are stabilization of the price levels and of the currency, governmental control over monopolies and wages, and greater cultivation and consumption of domestic products. Bodin's wit, learning, and forensic power contribute to the interest of this landmark in Renaissance economic thought. It should also be noted that the ideas expressed here appeared in paraphrased form in Book VI of Bodin's Six Livres de La République (1562), and thus became familiar to English readers through Robert Knolles' 1606 trans. of that work.

These two sermons deal with the getting and right use of wealth. Bullinger argues for private property (in opposition to the Anabaptists, who believed goods should be held in common). Usury is dealt with in the First Sermon, in which the author calls for "upright laws" that will protect the poor against "detestable usurers."

0243. Caesar, Philippus and Hemingius, Nicholas. A General Discourse against the damnable sect of Usurers, grounded uppon the worde of God, and confirmed by the auctoritie of Doctors both auncient, and newe; necessarie for all tymes, but most profitable for these later daies, in which, Charitie being banished, Covetousnes hath gotten the upper hande. Whereunto is annexed another Godlie Treatise concernyng the lawfull use of riches. [Trans. Thomas Rogers]. London: [by John Kyngston] for Andrew Maunsell, 1578. STC 4342.

According to Rogers, in the Epistle Dedicatorie, the General Discourse is a trans. from the German of Caesar Philippus; the Godlie Treatise is a partial trans., with additions by the translator, from Hemingius. Both works were first published in Germany. The Discourse contains ten chapters devoted to various aspects of usury: definitions, kinds and effects, whether it is lawful, judgments of others concerning it, how it differs from interest, and so forth. The last chapter, addressed to governors, magistrates, and citizens, is an exhortation to avoid usury.

The Godlie Treatise advises the reader as to how riches may be commendably obtained and virtuously used. It also indicates how one ought to deal in business affairs so as to protect his own conscience and his neighbor's prosperity. The work contains chapters on bargaining, on contracts, on buying and selling, and on lending and borrowing. Chapters VII-XI deal with usury. These are followed by chapters discussing charitable measures such as almsgiving. The last chapter (XXIII) deals with the right use of ecclesiastical riches.

Books VII and VIII deal largely with economic concerns. Botero believes that wealth is necessary to a prince, but that, generally, it should be accumulated moderately. The object of every successful state is to have industrious citizens who lack neither food nor moderate comforts. In short, what the citizenry produces from its property and industry constitutes the real wealth of a prince. Usury is dealt with primarily in Book I, 15. Botero considers it a ruinous economic practice, for it obstructs trade and dries up the public revenues.


In parts of this short work, Botero discusses the influence of population and agricultural productivity upon the size and prosperity of towns. It is largely a factual treatise based on contemporary accounts of places near and far, but often erroneous as well. For instance, Botero argues that the world's population has remained unchanged for three thousand years. The first Italian edn. appeared in 1596.

English Works


Arranged chronologically according to date of composition or publication.
Warner, in his edn. of this poem, attributes it to Adam Moleyns. It is important for political as well as economic reasons, for the author's purpose was to show the commercial and political advantages England could obtain by gaining command of the sea. He urges the lords of the King's council to find the means for establishing this naval supremacy, arguing that England's maritime power could aid in the establishment of peace throughout western Europe. The author examines England's commercial relations with the continental powers and emphasizes the importance to England of Calais, which, during the reign of Henry VI, had been weakened as one of England's commercial strongholds. The work is also valuable for its inclusion of the imports and exports which constituted the principal commodities of exchange between England and her neighbors. The poem is very nationalistic. "Libel," in the sense it is used here, means "little book."


This poem is similar to "The Libel of English Policy" (#0246), but shorter and something of an abstract of the "Libel." It, too, is an argument for naval supremacy, and therefore has political significance. It is mainly important, however, as an economic document of the 15th cent., for it depicts the conditions of English workmen during that period and argues against the manner of their payment. At that time, most workers received half of their wages in merchandise, which was oppressive to the poor. The author advocates, instead, that they be paid with newly-coined silver issued by mints located close to the mines. This would increase the circulation of silver coin and ultimately stuff the royal treasury. He also proposes that fine wools be made into cloth at home, thereby forcing merchants to come to England to buy these products. This, he declares, would be a good means of keeping coin and money within the realm. The author also indicates those products England ought to export and those she should retain for home consumption.
More's famous work contains much of economic import. As is well-known, in Utopia there is no pursuit of gain. All goods are held in common; hence, there is no exploitation of the poor by the rich. Book I contains a censure of the enclosure system, an extremely controversial economic issue during More's time.

This impassioned tract—a tirade against excessive taxation of the poor and against the greediness and incontinency of the clergy—apparently caused quite a stir in the middle years of Henry VIII's reign. It was one of the books which Bishop Tunstal forbade to be read; it was also condemned by Archbishop Warham. Sir Thomas More's Supplication of Souls was provoked by it. Fish refers to England as "the kingdom of the bloodsuppers," for the poor get neither physical nor spiritual sustenance until they have put money into the hands of both the state and church. These exactions have reduced England to a nation peopled with beggars, thieves, and whores.
The author pleads for a return to the old rents and tithes. He also argues at some length for the reading of the Bible in English.


Written during the reign of Edward VI, this work is more commendable for the light it casts on the economic conditions of the period than for its verse. It was written for the sake of the young king's instruction, and is full of advice on how a king should rule. Throughout, however, Forrest often touches upon the state of the poor, whose condition he attributes to rack-renting and rising prices. He advocates an increase in wages for the laboring classes, primarily so that they might be induced to work more and also have the means to marry. Thus, they could repopulate towns which have been deserted because of another economic evil—enclosure. He also thoughtfully suggests that raw wool should not be exported in such great quantities, but rather converted into cloth at home, thereby providing work for England's idle poor. He would also fix the quality of wool exported as well as the cost at which it is sold.

0252. Crowley, Robert. The voyce of the laste trumpet blowen bi the seventh Angel (as is mentioned in the eleventh of the Apocalips) callynge al the estates of menne to the right path of their vocation, wherin are contavned XII. lessons to twelve several estates of menne, whych if they learne and folowe, al shall be well and nothynge amise. London: Robert Crowley, 1549. STC 6094. In The Select Works of Robert Crowley. Ed. J. M. Cowper. London: for The Early English Text Society, by N. Trübner & Co., 1872. Extra Series, No. XV, pp. 53-104.

One section of this work, "The Marchauntes Lesson" (pp. 86-90), instructs merchants as to their duties in trading, buying, and selling. The maintenance of the public state is the end of trade, Crowley affirms, and merchants ought to sell at a reasonable price. The author believes he is writing in vain, however, because contemporary merchants are unscrupulous. They
buy up land and ruin heirs; they are the cause of increased prices and rents for others, particularly colliers, woodmongers, and the poor. The "Lesson" ends with a series of injunctions to be followed by those engaged in trade.


This impassioned rebuke of all those who contributed to the oppression of the poor is the most famous and important of Crowley's many writings. It not only defines the causes of the great economic distress of the period 1530-50, but also offers suggestions for remediying the same. The true causes of sedition, Crowley maintains, are the "farmers, graziers, lawyers, merchants, gentlemen, knights, and lords" who are taking over houses, raising rents, and enclosing common fields. The clergy are also at fault, for they are not serving as good shepherds to their flocks. The poor themselves are chastised for their rebellious attitudes, for their distress has led them to civil disobedience and sinful conduct. Because they have brought the present oppression upon themselves, they must learn to suffer patiently. Still, his great compassion for the poor is obvious throughout the tract. He levels his most vitriolic attacks against those rich and powerful men who are in a position to remedy economic conditions, but, through lack of conscience, are failing to do so.


An anti-enclosure tract in which the author surmises that some 300,000 persons have been reduced to beggary in England because of the conversion of arable land to pasture. The author contends that one plough could support six people before the sheep drove them off the land. The complaint mainly stems from the author's view or knowledge of conditions in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire.


This is a religious work in dialogue form in which the author criticizes the excesses of the day, particularly the lavish spending on houses, clothing, and food. The author speaks harshly against wealthy landowners who are guilty of enclosing pastures and laments the effect of this practice on the poor. In his opinion, "the state of England was never so miserable as it is at this present" because of the greedy "sheepmongers and graziers." Becon hopes the King and his council will "redress these intolerable pestilences of the commonweal."


This short memorandum, in outline form, was once thought to be the work of Sir Thomas Smith, but de Roover, in introducing his edn., cogently argues that it was the work of Sir Thomas Gresham. Although undated, de Roover assigns it to 1559-60. The memorandum lists the various economic principles one must know in order to understand how the foreign exchange operates. It
indicates the basis for the mint par, distinguishes between "natural" and "merchant's" exchange, and discusses the effect of the rise or fall of exchange rates. Gresham's major contribution to Renaissance economics was his proposal of a stabilization fund that would keep the money market under control and support the exchange. He favored regulated, rather than free, trade, and he supported an economic policy that would free the London market from its dependence upon foreign capital.


A well-known work which attempts to distinguish between the worthy poor and the fakes. It is a catalogue of various rogues and the practices they indulge in. It also includes some histories of particular knaves and cheats known to the author. It is of slight interest, except for the fact that it explains the manner by which rogues steal or otherwise extract money from unsuspecting victims.


Sanders wishes to prove that "usurie is utterly against God and Nature, even as mankilling is," and he also argues that it is against reason. He stresses the effect of usury upon commonwealths as well as upon individuals, declaring it to be the ruin of both. Commonwealths that allow usury to prosper are as much in danger of God's punishment as is the person who practices it. The latter, he declares, is "not of Abels common weale, or a member of Christe... but...a member of the common weale of Caine, whence the invention of all perverse lawes and earthly customes came."

0259. Wilson, Thomas. A discourse uppon usurye, by wave of Dialogue and oracions, for the better varietye, and more delite of all those, that shall reade thys treatise. Londini: in aedibus Rychardi
Wilson's Discourse is one of the best known of the large number of tracts dealing with usury as an injurious and unethical economic practice. Wilson has presented his argument in dialogue form, in which a merchant, lawyer, preacher, and others debate the pros and cons of usury. The preacher, who wins the argument and converts the others to his view, represents the typical 16th-cent. attitude toward usury—that "getting and spending" should be consistent with the ethical dictates of Scripture and the Church. Wilson, like his contemporaries, was unable to think of economics and economic necessities as independent spheres of social thought; hence, his argument was soon to become obsolete. Thinkers in the 17th cent. began to realize the economic expediency of fixed interest rates, which Wilson's Merchant and Lawyer argue for without success. Tawney's edn. of this work contains a detailed and well-documented intro. (see entry #0545) devoted to the complex nature of usury and the debates centering around it during this period.

Hitchcock's "platt" (plan or scheme) is a proposal for the development of the fishing industry in England. He outlines a method according to which 400 ships, each manned by 25 men, could earn enough from the herring industry alone to increase England's yearly revenue by 200,000 pounds sterling. It is also a means to provide work for the idle poor. His plan found some favor during Elizabeth's reign, but it was
not until the Jacobean period that the economic benefits of large-scale fishing were fully realized. This work should be compared to Gentleman's (#0282).


This work has a curious history. When first published in 1581, it appeared as A Compendious...Examination..., and the title page indicated that it was written by "W. S., Gentleman." The work has been attributed to both William Shakespeare and William Stafford. Lamond, who edited the work and published it as A Discourse, believed it to be John Hales'. Mary Dewar argues quite convincingly that the work is Sir Thomas Smith's. She identifies "W. S." as William Smith, nephew and heir to Sir Thomas. William edited and published his uncle's works after the latter's death. Lamond and Dewar agree that the tract was originally written in 1549, as suggested from internal evidence. Both editors include valuable and excellent introductory material.

The work has a three-fold purpose: 1) to recount the common and universal grievances about which men are complaining at present; 2) to determine the causes of these grievances; and 3) to devise remedies for them. The dialogue involves a knight, a merchant, a doctor, a husbandman, and a craftsman. It is the doctor who determines most of the causes of current ills and devises remedies. Most of the complaints are of an economic nature. Those most stressed are desolation of the country by means of enclosures, dearth of victuals amidst plentiful supplies, desolation of towns due to lack of occupations, raising of rents by landowners, and alteration of the coinage. It is decided that those most hurt by the economic situation are
those whose livings and stipends are rated at a certainty, such as "common Laborers at eight pence a day, Journeymen of all occupations, serving men to forty shillings a yeare: and Gentlemen whose landes are set out by them and their Auncestors...so as they cannot enhaunce the rents thereof though they would, and yet have the pryce enhaunced to them of every thing that they buy." It is also agreed, however, that the Queen suffers most of all, for when subjects are poor, so is the Queen's treasury.

The two sections devoted to causes and remedies are particularly interesting. Various alternatives are debated--whether enclosures are really at fault, whether an abatement in rents and/or prices of foodstuffs would end the dearth. The knight argues that enclosures have led to increased profit and wealth in several counties, but the doctor retorts that it has been at the expense of many people and their occupations. Finally, the doctor indicates primary and secondary causes of the distress. He considers alteration of the coin to be the basic cause of the dearth, but is forced to admit that, even after the Queen's restoration of the coinage to its pre-debasement values, the dearth continues. He finally convinces his listeners that alteration of the coinage was primary; rack-renting followed, which forced husbandmen to pay increased rents and, consequently, to sell victuals at a dearer rate. The "great store and plenty of treasure" gathered from the Indies is also singled out as a secondary cause of the dearth. Greed and avarice are responsible for enclosures. As people are unlikely to cure themselves or others of these human failings, the only remedy hit upon for general economic recovery is an increased market for agricultural goods.


Of the many Books of Rates issued throughout the 16th cent., the editor here reproduces that issued in 1582. It is a list of exported and imported commodities and their official valuations. After the middle of the cent., copies of the current rate books were to be found in all the customs offices throughout the realm, and they were periodically revised. In his Intro., Willan argues that the yield from customs duties was considered by the crown to be
one of its main sources of revenue. Because England generally imposed low custom duties, however, and used them as revenue, they did not contribute greatly to the protection of home industry or to the maintenance of a better balance of trade.


Although devoted to a wide range of social practices and particularly remembered for its attack on stage plays, Stubbes' tract is entered here for the sake of its economic import. Concerned about the poor, Stubbes rails against those economic evils oppressing them: the enclosure system, rack-renting, the high cost of commodities. But he is most severe on usury and those who practice it. No rate of interest, even that sanctioned by civil law, is permissible according to God's law, Stubbes claims. He also comes down hard on the scrivener—the middle man between borrower and lender. In fact, "the scrivener is the instrument wherby the divell worketh the frame of this wicked woorke of usurie." Not only does he gain interest from both the borrower and the lender, but he also gets paid for "making the writings" between these two.


This tract, which reads much like a sermon, is addressed to young men as a warning against the "worldly abuse" of usury. Lodge proposes
the following "salve" against the "mischiefe" he describes: that heirs governed by Her Majesty's Court of Wards be given an annual stipend for their provision, thereby obviating their need to borrow. Throughout most of the tract, Lodge uses as an example a young spendthrift who gets caught in the grip of a usurer, who, in turn, proposes several schemes whereby the young man can extricate himself from debt, all of them designed to lead the youth into even greater financial distress. Thus Lodge portrays his conception of how the 16th-cent. usurer operated.


Like Bishop Downname (#0274), Smith also turns to Psalme XV as the basis for his comments on usury, but he particularly addresses his remarks to the city of London, wherein "Usurers generall...lurke about the...Citie like Rats, & Wesels, and Fulmers, of whom may be said the same which is said of the divels, they seeke whom they may devour." Smith also singles out the English civil law on usury for special comment, declaring that it does not allow ten in the hundred, as many believe, but rather "punisheth that tyrant which exacteth above ten in the hundreth." These remarks are to be found in the first sermon, in which the author defines usury, distinguishes between various kinds, and answers the arguments of those who believe the practice to be lawful. The second sermon deals with the usurer's punishment after death. It also discusses whether it is as unlawful to give usury as to take it. Smith admits that the Scriptures imply "taking," not giving. He does not attempt to decide the lawfulness of "giving," but, if faced with the problem of counselling someone on this matter, would urge him to check his conscience. He finally concludes that those who borrow upon usury, though they be not as sinful as those who lend, are nevertheless responsible for maintaining a sinful practice.

0266. Anon. The Death of Usury, or, the Disgrace of Usurers. Cambridge: John Legatt, 1594. STC 6443.

This detailed treatise distinguishes between various kinds of usury and between lawful and unlawful usury. The only usury considered lawful is that increase obtained through tillage
of the soil or the spiritual increase one gains through giving alms, performing other charitable acts, and so forth. The author cites many ancient and modern writers on the subject as he defines usury and discusses various laws concerning it. The work is meant to prove that "not onely the word of God, but all ages, nations, lawes, and sects of persons doe condemne usurie as a sinne most odious and opprobrious."


These six sermons, which the author often refers to altogether as a treatise, were preached during the years 1592-93. Mosse added a preface to them in 1594. Although both he and Sir Thomas Smith (#0261) condemn usury and both do so on the basis of learned argument, Mosse's approach is quite different. He is not concerned with modern practices, as Smith is; rather, he relies upon a very large number of ancient and scriptural passages which support his view that usury in its most prevalent sense—a gain over and above the principal—is always iniquitous. Interest, on the other hand, is not. He distinguishes between the two thus: "Usurie is an overplus or gaine taken more then [sic] was lent: Interest is never gaine or overplus above the principall, but a recompence demaunted, and due for the damage that is taken, or the gaine that is hindered through lending." The first part of the treatise is concerned with this and other distinctions between terms applicable to the business of trade (e.g., foenorie is discussed at some length). In another section, the various kinds of usury are defined and described. The last sermons argue for the condemnation of usury on the ground that it is a practice in violation of natural law and condemned by common and statute law and by civil and canon law. Mosse's work is neither vehement nor vitriolic. He maintains a reasoned, cool, and fairly objective attitude toward the subject.

0268. Anon. "A Discourse of the names and first causes of the institution of Cities, and peopled townes. And of the commodities that doe growe by the same: and namely of the Citie of London. Written by way of an Apologue (or defence) against the opinion of some men, which thinke that the greatnesse of that Citie standeth not with the
After tracing the origin of cities, the author focuses on "the singularities of the City of London." The city's geographical situation and economic importance are stressed. The author gives a good brief account of London's laboring classes, indicating that most of the city's riches are in the hands of the merchants and retailers. The whole realm profits from the great riches of these two groups, however, as long as their trade is "moderated by authority" and "breake[s] not proportion." Proportion is especially requisite in foreign trade, the author maintains, and means by it a "Symmetria" or balance between imports and exports. If these are not balanced, the realm may be "de-frauded of her treasure...by excessive importation of superfluous and needles Marchandize, or els...feele penurie...by immoderate exportation of our own needfull commodities." He also believes that some economic decay has resulted from the removal of the Staple to foreign shores. London, however, has not suffered as much from this change as have other ports and havens which relied upon navigation for their economic well-being.


Malynes' allegory depicts the economic state of an imaginary commonwealth, which is threatened by an unusual dragon—Usury. The author explains the allegory in his Preface. There the dragon is described as "the chiefest head and cause of rebellion and variance in countries," for through usury, some are too much enriched, while most are impoverished. The dragon falsifies the "valuation of mony, which is the rule and measure of things, which money he caused to be made uncertaine, and as it were a merchandize, giving thereby a wonderfull abil

ity to some of the members of a commonwealth to oppresse the other." Malynes also says that the dragon is called "Poenus politicum, his two wings...Usura palliata and Usura explicata, and his taile inconstant Cambium." A virgin (the king's treasure) also figures in the allegory.
St. George, armed with the "right armor of a Christian," represents the king's authority. The allegory itself begins with the author falling asleep and dreaming of being transported to a certain island, where he learns of the dragon's nefarious practices. He awakes, however, before the arrival of St. George, by which it is implied that usury will continue until the king employs his authority to suppress it.


The *Treatise*, in three parts, is a diagnosis of England's current economic plight. The economy is diseased, in Malynes' opinion, because of an imbalance between foreign and home commodities. The former overbalance the latter, a condition which should not be suffered, for it is economically unsound for a country to buy from abroad more than it sells. Englishmen are guilty of transporting money out of the realm, of selling home goods too cheaply, and of buying foreign wares at too high a price. Malynes does not believe that the high price of foreign goods is due to the undervaluation of English money in the foreign exchanges, as some of his contemporaries argued. As Malynes explains it, an enhancement of English coin would mean price increases in both foreign and domestic goods. Nevertheless, the exchanges are responsible for the overbalance of foreign commodities, the "canker" from which England suffers. As Malynes says, "the course of exchanges" has been abused of late years, and has become "a trade in rising and falling in price, according to plentie or scarcitie of monie." To remedy the situation, Malynes argues that "the exchange for all places ought to be kept at a certaintie in price, according to value for value; and that according to the value of our money, and the tolleration of the price of the mony in each countrey,... there must be a vigilant eye for the observation thereof upon all alterations." An increase in the trade of home commodities would occur "if the trade of the merchandizing exchange did cease," according to Malynes. At the same time England increases the sale of home commodities, it ought to increase customs on foreign merchandise. By these measures, more money will be brought into the realm and less pass out, which condition is a primary goal of a sound economy.

Wheeler, as Secretary of the Merchants Adventurers, wrote this tract as a defense of that trading company and to disprove the charge that the Merchants Adventurers were intent upon securing a monopoly on foreign trade. This charge, he maintains, was mainly the slanderous invention of the Hanse merchants, whose practices and privileges Wheeler hoped might be curtailed. Wheeler argues for the "Commodities arising by a well ordered and ruled Trade," and thinks this trade is best achieved by a "regulated" company such as the Merchants Adventurers. Middelburgh, Zeeland, where Wheeler's book was first published, was the foreign headquarters of the Merchants Adventurers. Besides the facsimile of the London edn., there exists a reprint of the Middelburgh edn., also edited by G. B. Hotchkiss, published by the New York Univ. Press, 1931. For a response to Wheeler's Treatise, see Thomas Milles (#0275).


Powel's work is basically a summary of what others have written concerning usury, and he admits that he is adding nothing new to the subject. In his Epistle Dedicatorie, he gives a number of examples of usury. Ten chapters follow, each a series of numbered paragraphs a sentence or two in length. The usual approach is taken: the author lists the kinds of usury, defines the term, distinguishes between usury and interest, discusses the lawfulness of usury, answers various objections, and attempts to decide whether man is "free" to lend or borrow.


Malynes, one of the most important economists of the early Stuart period, criticizes the
Paradoxes of Sieur de Malestroit (#0240) as well as Jean Bodin's Response (#0241). Arguing that Malestroit's Paradoxes contradict each other and are therefore weak and without foundation, Malynes contends that Bodin also missed the mark concerning the inflationary trends suffered by all of Europe. Like Bodin, Malynes thinks the high prices of commodities are due to the "great store or abundance of mony and bullion, which of late yeares is come from the West Indies into Europe," but Bodin is criticized for comparing the prices of things within a single commonwealth. Malynes argues that, in order to obtain a true picture of the current inflation, the comparison must be between the home commodities of one country and the foreign commodities of other nations.

It is Malynes' opinion that the more money there is in circulation, the higher prices will be; less money means lower prices. Thus, in Malynes' view, a wise prince ought to gather lots of treasure for himself and his subjects and prevent its importation out of the realm. The answer is not to diminish the amount of circulating gold and silver (now plentifully supplied by the Indies), but to keep it flowing within the realm. He also attributes high prices to an overbalance of imports. Because men are paying more dearly for imported goods, Malynes suggests that home commodities ought to be made more attractive to both native and foreign consumers. The prices of home commodities also ought to be advanced, so that foreign merchants will spend more within the realm. So will native consumers, but this increase in prices means more money in circulation and, ultimately, an increase in the national treasure. Malynes indicates three ways by which the prices of home products may be advanced: 1) allow merchants to transport their bills or bonds for other commodities; 2) allow cities to take money "casually at the hands of such, as will deliver the same upon the adventure of their lives"; and 3) require great persons to wear and consume more native goods, for then the common people will imitate them.

Other interesting features of this work include a distinction between short-term and long-term usury; a discussion of the form and content of money and the practices that ought to be followed in the minting of new coin; a discussion of the exchange and its nature; and the suggestion that more fish—of which there is a great wealth—be consumed to compensate for the
high prices of victuals. The treatise also
gives the current prices of a variety of com-
modities.

0274. Downname, George (Bishop). Lectures on the XV.
Psalme...wherein besides many other very profit-
able and necessarie matters, the question of
Usurie is plainely and fully decided. London:
Adam Islip for Cuthbert Burbie, 1604. STC 7118.

Beginning on p. 148, Downname devotes sever-
al pages (148-351) to a discussion of usury.
His purpose is to determine whether any kind of
usury is allowed. To him, the real question in-
volves gainful usury. Because usury is lending
for gain, it is distinct from other contracts
and also unlawful. Interest, on the other hand,
is lawful, for it is merely a payment paid by
the debtor as a penalty for hindering a credi-
tor or for the sake of repairing the latter's
losses. Downname admits that usury is sometimes
allowed on judicial grounds, but, in his opin-
ion, that does not make it lawful according to
moral law. Most of Downname's comments are
typical and traditional: he discusses some of
the usurious practices committed in his day;
cites and explains Scriptural passages in which
usury is condemned; and answers the arguments
of those who claim that usury is lawful. One
section is somewhat unusual. There he discusses
various bargains and covenants--such as the buy-
ing of rents--some of which are just and some
not. He also speaks of the more extensive con-
sequences usury might have on the realm as a
whole. In his opinion, usury is detrimental to
a commonwealth, for when a few become rich and
the many are poor, the peace and economic pro-
spereity of the nation are endangered.

0275. Milles, Thomas. The Customers Replie, or Second
Apology. That is to say, An Aunswer to a con-
fused Treatise of Publicke Commerce, printed and
dispersed at Midlebourghc and London, in favour
of the private Society of Merchants Adventurers.
STC 17932.

Milles' book is a criticism of Wheeler's
Treatise of Commerce (#0271), which is a de-
fense of the Merchants Adventurers. Milles
charges the Merchants with practicing "merchan-
dising exchange," a business opposite to law-
ful exchange, in his opinion. To Milles,
"merchandising exchange" means treating money as a commodity. Merchants, he claims, buy and sell money, raise and abate its price, just as they do the prices of other goods. Thus, money has a valuation arrived at by the merchants, rather than by the lawful and public authority of the state. The practice, according to Milles, has caused a corruption in trade, especially in England by merchants trading between Antwerp and England. The author discusses the details of this practice in several chapters, and concludes that it has been "the cause of all excessive prices in Commodities and things vendible."

Milles also accuses the merchants of under-pricing English coin, and claims that their success in removing the staples from English port towns to foreign mart towns has resulted in the ruin of most ports, havens, towns, and cities in England. The work ends with a plea for free trade.


Pie approaches his subject as many earlier writers did. First he defines usury, then proves it to be unlawful, and finally answers the arguments of those who urge its legality. This is a very scholarly, lengthy, and detailed work, in which the author cites much from Scripture and from previous writers. Plutarch, St. Basil, and Doctor Wilson (#0259) are among the latter and among those whom the author recommends to his readers. He declares, however, that, despite the many admirable treatises written against usury, it is "as rife in this land, and as commonly and cruelly practiced, as ever, I thinke, in any age before."

0277. Willet, Andrew. Hexapla in Exodum: That is, A Six-fold Commentary upon the second booke of Moses called Exodus: wherein, according to the method propounded in Hexapla upon Genesis, these sixe things are observed in every Chapter: 1. The argument and method. 2. The divers readings. 3. The questions discussed. 4. Doctrines noted. 5. Controversies handled. 6. Morall common places applied. London: Felix Kyngston, for Thomas Man and John Norton, 1608. STC 25686.
Willet claims to deal with 2,000 theological questions in this commentary on Exodus and to have abridged 40 authors who have previously written upon the book, but it is for his comments on Exodus 22:25 (concerning usury) that he is included here. These comments are to be found on pp. 508-14 of Willet's book, and are important because he is one of the few writers of the period who does not altogether condemn usury. For Willet, there are some exceptional cases in which usury is not unlawful. As he says, "I see not wherfore we should condemn all profit or usurie of money without all exception." "All circumstances considered," he says, "some increase by money may bee tolerated: yet it were better that no such urgent occasion were given." He does not extend these exceptions to the poor, however, who are by no means to be oppressed with usury.

Fenton's title adequately explains the nature of this work. In his Preface, he says that he has undertaken it in order to refine his earlier opinions, to correct misreports and mistakes, and to augment his argument with more facts. The book very much resembles Downame's Lectures (#0274), but is more methodical and detailed. Fenton draws upon a wider range of writers than Downame, and he includes an interesting discussion of Calvin's attitude toward usury. He often quotes directly from the writings of the Reformer. Despite his opposition to usury, Fenton admits that it is generally practiced and that few are troubled in their consciences by it.

Standish is one of the earliest conservationists, and both this book and his New Directions (#0281) deal with measures for preserving and replenishing England's supply of timber and fire wood. He complains about the great waste and destruction of wood and criticizes the
method of planting hedges with thornes. The English could increase their supply of fire wood, he claims, if hedges were planted with wood, rather than with thornes. He also declares that the present dearth of victuals could be much alleviated if more people planted fruit and nut trees; bred more fowls and pullen to offset the demand for other foods; destroyed more vermine (mainly rats); and, in particular, destroyed the over-abundance of pigeons, which are responsible for the vast destruction of corn crops. Corn worth "two millions of pounds," he declares, could be annually saved by destroying half the pigeons; corn worth "three millions of pounds" could be saved by the destruction of other "feathered fowles." Standish travelled much throughout England and carefully studied its natural resources. He knew the assets and soils of various counties as well as the trades and occupations practiced within them.

0280. Moore, John. A Target for Tillage, briefly containing the most necessary, pretious, and profitable use thereof both for king and state. London: Imprinted for William Jones, 1612. STC 18058.

Moore, a religious writer, pleads for the continuance of (and hopefully an increase in) tillage of the soil, whereby the fruits of the earth are bestowed as blessings without which no kingdom or people can be maintained. He declares that the enclosure system and excessive waste of grains have inverted the order imposed upon the earth by God. He levels severe criticisms against the nobles and wealthy landlords who have a low opinion of agriculture.

0281. Standish, Arthur. New Directions of Experience to the Commons Complaint by the Incouragement of the Kings most excellent Majesty, as may appeare, for the planting of Timber and Fire-wood. [London: N. Okes], 1613. STC 23204.

This work is more specialized than the author's Commons Complaint (#0279), in that Standish concentrates primarily on the ways and means for planting timber and fire wood. He estimates how much land in England is fit for the planting of trees and how much timber ought to be planted. He also discusses measures for improving barren ground.

0282. Gentleman, Tobias. Englands Way to Win Wealth, and
to employ Ships and Marriners: Or, A plaine de-
scription what great profite, it will bring unto
the Common-wealth of England, by the Erecting,
Building, and adventuring of Busses, to Sea, a
fishing. London: Nathaniel Butter, 1614. STC
11745.

Gentleman claims to be an experienced fish-
erman, and his purpose is to indicate the great
wealth strangers, particularly the Hollanders,
are gaining by fishing in "his Majesties Seas." A
ccording to the author, foreigners are main-
taining their wars, as well as prospering and
enriching themselves and their towns, while the
English are blind to the great economic benefits
they could obtain through increased fishing,
particularly for herring. The author claims
that the Hollanders make "two millions of pound
Sterling" during the summer herring season,
whereas the English, burdened with so many able
and idle people, catch not a single herring all
summer, but only enough cods to bait their hooks.
Gentleman provides a number of details concern-
ing the fishing industry as practiced by the
Dutch and describes the Dutch "busses" used in
the herring industry. He urges the English to
imitate their more industrious neighbors in the
Low Countries. He accuses his countrymen of
knowing too well how to spend, but not how to
earn, money. The book also includes interesting
descriptions of the principal fishing towns,
ports, and havens in England with comments about
their economic condition.

0283. Deloney, Thomas. The Pleasant History of John Winch-
comb, in his younger yeares called Jack of New-
berie, the famous and worthy Clothier of Eng-
land: declaring his life and love, together
with his charitable deeds and great hospitality;
And how hee set continually five hundred poore
people at worke, to the great benefit of the
Common-wealth: worthy to be read and regarded.
Now the eight [sic] time Imprinted, corrected,
Francis Oscar Mann. Oxford: The Clarendon
Press, 1912, pp. 1-68. Also in The Novels of
Thomas Deloney. Ed. Merritt E. Lawlis. Bloom-

Deloney's novel, set in the time of Henry
VIII, contains some interesting details relating
to the clothing industry as it was practiced
during the middle and late years of the cent. Some history is included, but the author takes liberties with it, and the work is intended to be enjoyed as a pleasant fiction. At the same time, it is meant to persuade the reader of the benefits to be derived through industry, hard work, frugality, and the well-ordering of one's finances. Chapter VII is of particular interest, for it describes the hardships of the clothiers during Henry VIII's wars with France and the Low Countries. Faced with the loss of markets for their goods in those countries, clothiers were compelled to reduce the wages and/or number of workmen and to sell their surplus goods elsewhere at lower rates. This chapter includes a petition of grievances addressed to the King by the economically distressed cloth manufacturers. Other chapters contain scenes depicting various aspects of the cloth industry. Presumably, these scenes are based upon some fact. From a purely literary point of view, the novel is, indeed, "worthy to be read and regarded."


Bacon believes usury ought to be permitted, for the simple reason that men are too hard of heart to lend freely. He discusses the "commodities and incommodities" (the advantages and disadvantages) of usury and declares that, whatever one thinks of it, it is here to stay. To speak of abolishing it is idle. He would, however, reform and regulate the practice. In his opinion, two kinds of usury ought to be established. One of these should be a low rate of interest (5%) permitted to all citizens of whatever social order. The second should be a greater rate allowed only to merchants, who, along with licensed lenders, should be allowed to determine their interest rates. The state ought to be responsible for licensing and permit licensed lenders only in the principal commercial centers. The lenders should have the freedom to determine interest rates provided these do not rise beyond a reasonable degree. Bacon thinks eight or nine percent a just rate. Reformation in this area, he believes, will prevent unjust usurious practices by bringing into the open what otherwise "[rages] by connivance."
The purpose of this treatise is to prove, through the arguments of various religious and learned men, that usury is unlawful. The anti-usury proponents summoned to the author's aid include Bishops Sandys and Jewell, Doctors Willet and Smith, and several laymen. Blaxton begins with a definition of usury—"mutuation, or lending for gaine"—and then makes distinctions between usury and other business contracts. A later section is a comparison of usury to other sins. Blaxton then answers 14 arguments usually advanced for the lawfulness of usury and ends the work with a call to usurers to repent.

Unpublished English Works


This work, believed to have been written before 1451, was copied from a MS in the Laud Collection at the Bodleian. The work was not prepared for publication, and there is some question concerning Fortescue's authorship. It is basically a description of the natural resources contributing to England's wealth. These "comodytes" include natural benefits such as rivers, harbors, and fertile ground. Others are woollen cloth, ores, and minerals. The second part of the treatise indicates the goods brought into the country from other nations. The work is laudatory and contains no speculative economic thought.

These works were not available in published form during Sh's lifetime, but they are significant contributions to early English economic thought. They are arranged chronologically according to date of composition.

The thesis of this important early Tudor economic document is that England is losing money on the woollen cloth trade. For the past 40 years, the author maintains, staplers have been selling too much wool abroad and bringing back a large quantity of "artificiall thynges" and "straunge merchaundise" for sale in England. Wool, he believes, ought to be processed and sold in England, thereby encouraging a flow of money into, rather than out of, the realm. As he says, "The holl welthe of the reame is for all our riche comodoties to gete owt of all other reamys therfore redy money; and after the money is brought in to the holl reame, so shall all peple in the reame be made riche therwith." In his opinion, it is better to pay higher for something made at home than to pay less for foreign-made goods. More people will be employed and larger quantities of money will circulate within the realm if England increases the processing and manufacturing of native materials, the author contends. His arguments, it is interesting to note, are those advanced a hundred years later by Gerrard de Malynes (#0270, #0273).

The author is particularly severe on the enclosure system, which, in his opinion, has been responsible for destroying "400 or 500 villages in the myddell parts of the body of the reame" in the past 60 years. The wool staplers are accused of ruining the livings of "4000 or 5000 comen peple." The elimination of the enclosure system and of excessive importation of foreign commodities will revitalize home industry, the author declares.


In this tract, the author is concerned with
the employment of the greatest number of commoners, and he suggests a variety of ways in which they could be employed to the benefit of the whole country. One of his schemes is that a survey be made to determine "how many plowes land [sic] and how many plowes hath been occupied and how many may be occupied in the hole realme to till the erth by workes of husbandry." Other sections of the population ought to be employed in "workes of artificialite" (i.e., home manufactures) as a means of attracting foreign money. He also proposes a staple for the wool- cloth trade in England. This would employ a large number of men and women and force foreign merchants to purchase woollen goods within England. At present, the author maintains, "600000 pounds" are yearly carried out of the realm for the purchase of goods processed or manufactured abroad, whereas only "10000 l. in gold and silver" are brought in. This imbalance accounts for the scarcity of money at home and for the decline in home industry. Another specific scheme is that people be put to work spinning linen, thereby preventing the outflow of "100000 marckes a year" spent in Flanders for that product. He also proposes various restrictions for the cloth trade; for example, that specific rates be fixed for weaving, fulling, and dyeing cloth.


Not a few of the many topics discussed in this work deal directly with the economic condition of early Tudor England. Of particular concern to the speakers (i.e., Starkey) is the wide-spread poverty resulting from the decay and depopulation of towns. The idle poor are collecting in cities, where they can find neither suitable lodging nor employment and are thus forced into beggary, thievery, and even worse evils. The excessive importation of foreign luxuries is partly to blame for the situation; if England would prevent money from leaving the country and encourage manufacturing at home, she would be better able to provide for her idle poor. It would also make her an economically independent country. Furthermore, England's laboring forces should be subjected to rigid governmental control, Starkey argues. Many of his economic views are echoed in other tracts of the period,
but Starkey enlivens his book by emphasizing the conflicting attitudes of the learned toward the economic controversies of the day. Pole and Lupset do not always agree on the true causes of the evils described, nor do they prescribe the same remedies. In this respect, the Dialogue ranks with the Discourse of the Commonweal (#0261) as one of the most remarkable economic documents of the period.


The author considers the current high prices to be the main economic problem facing England. As he says, "For as mouche as the highe price of all thinges is not only the greateste matter that the people grudge at: and one of the principall occasion [sic] of povertye and faymine: but also the cheyfiste cause that the kingses majestie cannot without expence of won­derfull great sommes of money menteigne his warres againste his enemies...." The author discusses the cause of the present dearth and offers various means by which it can be cor­rected. He does not believe that the debasement of the coinage is responsible for the distressed economy.


Written by a London grocer, this tract proposes the institution of wool-dyeing in England as a means of improving the home market and for the purpose of keeping money at home. It is also a plea for the prevention of importation and sale of cloths dyed beyond the seas. Cholmeley suggests that England procure some expert dyers from Flanders to teach Englishmen the principles of the trade, and he answers various objections to the scheme that some might raise. The tract also contains some current prices of various commodities, mainly grocories.

In this article, Archbold gives selections from a short work addressed to the Queen, but never published. The MS indicates that Pryse composed a lengthy treatise on the currency, but this work is lost. In the shorter work, Pryse cites debasement of the coinage as the primary cause of the money problem. He argues that money must be returned to its pre-debasement values through increasing the silver content and through maintaining the correct weight of good metal in the coin. Prices will then go down. Prices are now high, he says, because it is a law of money that prices will rise "after the same portion" that coin is debased.


This dialogue involves two merchants (Selvaggio and Viandante) who report to each other their experiences and views concerning the trading they have been engaged in over several years. Selvaggio's narrative corresponds closely to the facts of Spelman's life. The work is divided into three books. In Book I, Selvaggio reports the troubles he has encountered as a merchant. He includes the prices of commodities, the various goods shipped and disbursed in other countries, and general aspects of the trading business. Book II is basically a description of the laws, customs, and industry of various countries. Book III is a description of England, particularly of the cloth manufacturing trade in various counties. The work ends with an argument (reported by Selvaggio) between a city clothier, a country clothier, a husbandman, and a merchant. The husbandman accuses the clothiers of ruining agriculture, for the cloth trade has seduced many away from their former occupations as tillers of the soil. He argues for more severe rules in cloth manufacturing. Selvaggio and Viandante concur. The economic decay in Norfolk is also singled out for discussion in this four-way exchange. The distress in that county is attributed to the fishing trade with Iceland, which has put the
local coltermen out of work. The condition of
the poor of Norfolk is described.


Although he discusses everything from the
succession question to the constitution of the
Queen's navy, Wilson's treatise is basically a
survey of the economic condition of the realm.
Wilson tabulates the "Ordinary and Extraordinary
revenue of the Crowne" and the annual royal bud-
get—a "medley of fact and fiction," according
to the editor, but unusual in that Wilson was
one of the first to employ so much statistical
information. He also estimates the incomes of
the various classes, gives the current salaries
for officers and soldiers in the Queen's armed
forces, and conjectures about the profits made
by merchants, clergymen, and lawyers. He is
scathing in his attacks upon the practices of
these professionals. Although Wilson's figures
cannot be totally trusted, his racy tract can
be profitably read for the sake of its realistic
appraisal of Elizabethan economic life, an ap-
praisal whose credence is often confirmed by
other tracts of the period. Fisher has collated
the two existing MSS, and, on the basis of the
dated one, assumes that the tract was probably
written in 1601. This Thomas Wilson was a
nephew of Sir Thomas Wilson, principal secretary
to Queen Elizabeth.

0295. [Raleigh, Sir Walter?]. *Observations Touching Trade
and Commerce With the Hollander, and other Na-
Oxford: The Univ. Press, 1829. VIII, 351-76.
Also in *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable
Tracts on Commerce.* Ed. J. R. McCulloch. Lon-

Usually ascribed to Raleigh, this tract ex-
plains how countries with few commodities of
their own make themselves rich and powerful. It
is meant to encourage the English to draw wealth
from others unto themselves. It contains many
astute observations concerning the growth of
trade in Holland and the reasons for that coun-
try's economic prosperity. Its claims about
the magnitude of the Dutch fishing industry are
exaggerated, however. The author deplores the "over-running...upon credit" that is ruining many Englishmen in the cloth trade. The tract also indicates the current exchange rates operating in France, North-Holland, Poland, and other countries.


Mun's Discourse was presumably written about 1609, but not published until 1621. His purpose is to answer four major objections levelled at the East India Company and to explain how and why those objections are erroneous. According to Mun, the East India Company has greatly increased England's wealth, for the country now exports more than it imports, a principle of economics to which Mun heartily subscribes. The East Indian trade in spices, indigo, and drugs means that merchants now bring home five times the value of money sent out of the realm. This increase in the treasure of the realm is a sufficient argument for continued trade and commerce with the East, Mun believes.

Special Collections


Part II of this valuable collection brings together select documents and extracts from printed works illustrative of the period 1485-1660. One section contains documents dealing with rural and agrarian economic problems such as land tenure, rack-renting, and enclosure. The second section provides a sample of sources dealing with guild organization and town economy. The documents in Section III shed light on
the government's regulation of industry, particularly its efforts to control wages, supervise the movement of labor, and check the growth of monopolies and capitalist concentration. Section IV contains sources relating to the problems of poor relief and price regulations. Here, for example, one will find the Poor Law Act of 1601. The last section deals with the government's attempts to encourage and develop commerce and industry. Documents dealing with exchange rates, debasement of the currency, trading companies, tariffs, and import-export problems are to be found here. Each section is prefaced with a short introduction which summarizes the major economic issues and provides a list of supplementary primary sources and modern authorities.


This volume supplies convenient translations of extracts from sixteen important economic documents. Six of these deal with ancient, pre-Renaissance, and Renaissance thought of economic import. Aristotle and Xenophon represent the ancients. Pre-Renaissance thought is represented by St. Thomas Aquinas (Summa Theologica) and Nicholas Oresme (#0236). The Renaissance is represented by Molinaeus' Treatise on Contracts and Usury and Bodin's Response (#0241).


This excellent collection of primary materials was prepared mainly for the use of students at the undergraduate level, but it is also a valuable tool for the more advanced scholar because it includes several documents printed for the first time or otherwise generally inaccessible. The editors, however, indicate that the volumes are "supplementary to the more easily accessible sources" printed in extenso. Most of the writings reproduced fall between 1485-1603.

Volume I contains material related to agri-
culture and industry; volume II documents dealing with commerce, finance, and the poor laws. Volume III, subtitled "Pamphlets, Memoranda, and Literary Extracts," is divided into four sections: 1) enclosures and the countryside; 2) industry and trade; 3) high prices, usury, and the exchanges; 4) poverty and vagabonds.

The three volumes contain extracts from many works not listed separately in this bibliography; but, at the same time, many of the works listed in this section of the bibliography will also be found in partial form in Tawney's and Power's collection.


As the subtitle indicates, this collection of documents will cast light on a significant aspect of Tudor socio-economic life. In his Intro., Judges discusses Tudor vagrancy and lawlessness and governmental attempts to regulate them.


This volume supplies a long-felt need for a collection of economic documents drawn from, and illustrative of, the complete span of the 17th cent. The editors have thus supplied for this period a collection as valuable as the earlier Tudor Economic Documents (#0299). A considerable number of the documents relate to the period of Sh's Jacobean career. Most of these deal with agricultural problems (Section II), the cloth and woollen industries (Section III), overseas trade (Section V), and finance and coinage (Section VI). Section VIII, "Wealth, Population, and Land...," contains extracts from two printed tracts of the period, Wilson's State of England... (#0294) and Robert Gray's A Good Speed to Virginia, dated 1609.
Works on War and Peace

Classical Works in Translation


In the early years of the Renaissance, Frontinus and Vegetius (#0304) were considered the two most authoritative writers on the art of war. Frontinus had served as governor of Britain between 75 and 78 A.D., and probably wrote this work between 84 and 96 A.D. It is merely a collection of extracts from ancient histories describing various military exploits, but the material is arranged so as to enable a reader to find out what his military predecessors had done in a certain situation. For instance, a Renaissance reader might have looked into Frontinus to discover how a general could gain intelligence about the enemy. Morison's trans. thus put into the hands of 16th-cent. English militarists a useful body of knowledge about the conduct of war.


Onosander, a writer of the 1st cent. A.D., was often referred to by Renaissance military men. Many of these thought highly of the moral emphasis in this work, although this is not the reason Whytehorne gives for rendering the work into English. He believes the work is profitable for what it can teach concerning war-like discipline, a necessary element of all successful commonwealths. Onosander himself argues that because the Romans achieved their greatness through military feats, they serve as good examples to other nations. Roman military experiences are used as a basis for constructing new theories and rules of warfare. As the title suggests, the emphasis is on the commanding general of an army. The qualities he should possess
are discussed; he is also advised as to how he should govern his military forces and conduct a war. Onosander says success on the battle field does not depend upon fortune, but upon the virtue and diligence of the commander. He considers war an inevitability, but says a war should never be undertaken without good cause.


This work is one of the more important of those Roman treatises on military science translated into English. In fact, Thomas Proctor (#0326) said in 1578 that he found "Vegetius onelye, an auncient writer, & Machiavell of these affayres, well translated into Englishe...." Vegetius' four books are concerned entirely with practical matters such as the mustering of troops, the formations for battles, and the besieging or defending of cities. But Sadler, in his Preface, speaks briefly about the pleasures of peace as opposed to the destructive quality of war. Still, as he has never heard of a commonwealth blessed with continual peace, wars will inevitably occur, and, when they do, a country (i.e., England) must be prepared to take them in hand "not only with strength and manhood, but also with skill and policye." He considers Vegetius the chief writer on war and one worthy to be read by England's military leaders, although he realizes the vast difference between the ancient and modern methods of warfare.

Continental Works in Translation

0305. Marsilius, of Padua. The defence of peace. Trans. 1535. See entry #0069.

Marsilius says he has titled his political

With the exception of the first two works listed, the entries here are arranged chronologically according to date of English translation.
treatise The Defence of Peace "because it discusses and explains the principal causes whereby civil peace or tranquillity exists and is preserved, and whereby the opposed strife arises and is checked and destroyed." Civil peace and tranquillity are the characteristics of that state which seeks the common profit and sufficient life for all citizens. These ends are achieved by the government whose supreme authority resides in the will of the whole people. Government, therefore, is the efficient cause of peace, for it is assumed that "the will of the whole people" is directed to the common benefit and therefore insures peace. The wills of individuals or smaller groups, however, are directed to their private advantage, which leads to strife.


Pisan's work, written in 1408-09, draws heavily from Vegetius and Frontinus and also from Honoré Bonet's Tree of Battles, but it is more than a mere compilation. Book I, in particular, illuminates the medieval attitude toward war. There one finds a discussion of the causes of war and distinctions are made between lawful and unlawful conflicts. She finds three lawful causes for war, even that one waged by Christians against Christians: 1) to sustain right and justice; 2) to withstand oppression levelled against a country by a foreign foe; and 3) to recover lands unjustly taken away. And, of course, war may be justly fought in defense of Christendom. Wars of vengeance and aggression, however, are condemned. Moreover, a prince must always make sure his cause is just; he must submit it to deliberation by the wisest men of his realm; and he must always attempt to settle disputes through arbitration. Armed conflict is the very last resort. Much stress is laid on the need for arbitration. Various rules and counsels are given, and the art of war is praised as the exercise that preserves a country's freedom.

Erasmus' essay on war first appeared in the 1515 version of his Adages, although the adage "Dulce bellum inexpertis," with a few lines of commentary, had appeared in the 1508 collection. The essay gained immediate popularity and was thereafter often published as a little book, the Bellum Erasmi. It is particularly addressed to Pope Leo X, who ascended the papal throne in 1513. Erasmus hopes that Leo, unlike his predecessor Julius II, will be a prince of peace and that the senseless wars between Christian princes might be forever stilled. To Erasmus, war is the occupation of a brutish beast; it is contrary to all the laws of God and nature; it is the most evil act a Christian can engage in, particularly against another Christian. Neither man's body nor his mind was framed for war, Erasmus argues. The essay details the many horrors of war and depicts it as the destroyer of all the progress, values, arts, and education for which the humanists were striving. Moreover, there is neither true gain nor true honor to be had from any war, and even an unjust peace is better than a so-called righteous war.


Military science in the Elizabethan period was greatly advanced by Porcia's Preceptes, the content of which, divided into two books, is mainly technical. However, it also contains some theories about war which one finds repeated again and again in later military treatises. If war is to be entered into, says Porcia, it must first be known whether the cause is just and honest, and the only sufficient cause for battle is "to lyve afterwarde peaceable, and in quyete, not wylynyge to sowe and stere [stir] up battayl after battayle, the which thynge is both foolyshe and cruell." Fair words should be employed before two armies enter battle, by
which means bloodshed might be avoided. These lofty sentiments vie with Porcia's pragmatism, for he also says that if a prince is afraid another monarch is preparing to wage war against him, the prince should attack first, "bycause the greater boldnesse is thought to be in hym that begynneth, then in hym whyche defendeth the assaultes of hys enemyes." Moreover, cruelty at the beginning of a war can often lead to profitable results. Book I contains advice on choosing officers, besieging cities, and other stratagems of war; book II also contains much information of a tactical nature, but is most interesting for its section on the laws of war. Here the author indicates what punishments should be meted out for various offenses, such as desertion, treason, and breaches of honor.


Erasmus' anti-war satire in The Praise of Folly, a work so well known, requires little comment. Here Erasmus attacks, by means of the corrective element of laughter, the lunacies and corruptions of both past and present warmongers. These have held to the tradition that war is God's scourge for men's sins; or that it is a sometimes lawful occupation, even for Christians; or that it is a chivalrous or noble endeavor. Man, originally a hunter, began to derive joy from the shedding of blood, and with Folly's help, came to invent marvellous engines of destruction to use against his own race. Even the leaders of Christendom--the popes--and others responsible for spreading the Gospel of Christ have gloried in exercising these war machines. But to Erasmus, warlike man is on a level no higher than the beast he hunts. Man's bestial quality, however, is not ineradicable. War is not an incurable form of folly. It can be eradicated if man will but use his reason and follow the example of Christ. Man must arm his spirit, not his body. To Erasmus, the new reign of humanism led him to believe that the good life was within reach of every man, if only man, and particularly his rulers, would
attempt to correct the corruptions which they had allowed to breed within them. His anti-war sentiments in this famous work are still regarded as some of the most forceful expressions of the humanistic spirit and thought.


In this work, originally published in Latin in 1517 as the Querela Pacis, Erasmus makes one of his most impassioned pleas for international peace. It is Peace who speaks throughout, lamenting that she can find no place on earth to rest, neither within nations, nor within the Church; neither within marriage, nor within the breast of man. Only by following the example of Christ—the Prince of Peace and reconciler of all things—will the insanity of war be averted. Peace calls upon the present Christian princes—Henry VIII, Charles of Burgundy (later Charles I of Spain and Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire), Francis I, the Emperor Maximilian I, and Pope Leo X—all of whom seem to desire international concord, to find a peaceful means of settling their disputes. All men must "conspire against war," for, evil in itself, it is the cause of all evil things. Worst of all are those wars waged by Christians against Christians. The only war Peace (i.e., Erasmus) can envision as necessary is that waged against the Turks in the event they should invade Christendom, but "it were better to allure them by doctrine, good deeds, and by the innocency of life, to Christ's religion...."


Until English writers turned to the subject of warfare, Whitehorne's trans. of Machiavelli served as the most famous book on the subject
by a contemporary. Both the author and his translator see war as part of the human condition and a knowledge of warfare, therefore, as a requisite for every commonwealth or city-state that would maintain itself in safety and honor. Machiavelli does not think it good that either a private soldier or a state should practice war as an art. But "a citee well governed, ought to desire, that this studie of warre, be used in tyme of peace for exercise, and in the time of warre, for necessitie and for glorie." Thus, war must be one of the principal occupations of a prince, for he must be prepared for the inevitable adversities of the future. Moreover, whatever a man's profession, he should be trained in warfare, so that "when it is time to make warre, willingly...[he] will go to the same, and when the peace cometh after, more willingly will returne home." All of these thoughts are expressed by Fabritio, the main speaker in the dialogue, in which form the work is cast.


Agrippa reserves some of his most biting comments for the art of war and the military profession. The art of war, he says, has been written with "very muche bloude of mankind," and is nothing more than a discipline for the destruction of man. Like Erasmus, Agrippa believes war transforms men into beasts. Moreover, this art is one of the most vain of all, for it is fortune, not art, that gives the victory to one army or another. He is particularly severe on soldiers, whom he calls the barbarous dregs of wicked men. Whatever booty, honor, or even wages a soldier gains through war, he gains it at the cost of everlasting damnation. Equally scorching comments are directed to noblemen, who achieve their status mainly through the bloody deeds they perform in war. Men who are murderous, cruel, rapacious, and even treasonable are the likeliest candidates for elevation into the nobility.

0313. Tigurinus, Chelidonius [Boaistua, Pierre]. A Treatise of Peace and Warre, and the difference of the one from the other, things necessarie to be red by Princes and Magistrates that have the government of Realmes and Common wealthes.
In some printed versions, this treatise appears as Chapter 12 of Chelidonius' Institution...of...Princes (#0077), but in others it appears as a separate work annexed to the Institution. There seems to be some question regarding Boaistua1's authorship, but, whoever the author, his purpose is to "exhorte all Princes to flie from [war] as a thing moste daungerous and pernitious to all common welthes." He states that peace depends upon the union, amity, and concord of the prince's subjects, toward whom the prince must show a loving attitude. Indeed, the prince's power depends upon the preservation of this love and amity. It is also necessary for a prince to flee from "insatiate ambition, love of ourselves, and desire to revenge." It is in man's mind that things are most at war, but the body is shaped for peace and reflects the concord that should reign among men. Chelidonius says that the ministers of the Church must constantly preach against wars and that princes should be exhorted "continually to concorde and union."


Guicciardini's masterpiece is essentially an account of the many civil and national wars which wreaked havoc in Italy and throughout southern Europe after the death of Lorenzo de' Medici (1492) and up to the death of Pope Clement VII (1534). Lorenzo's ability to settle disputes between various Italian states allowed for a long-lasting peace during which Italy (and particularly Florence) made great strides in the arts, in government, and in other human affairs. Guicciardini praises this past era and then proceeds to depict the greed, avarice, and ambition of the popes, princes, emperors, and kings whose continual wars ravaged Italy for more than 40 years. That war is caused by the ambition of princes is repeatedly emphasized throughout this monumental work. Here, for instance, one can read of the military campaigns led by Pope Julius II, the warlike pope whom Erasmus vehemently criticizes in a number of works. The various leagues entered into by Henry VIII, the French kings, and the Holy Roman Emperors are discussed in great detail by this famous historian, who was
often intimately involved in these European squabbles. The military profession and the art of war, as practiced during this period, come under much attack. The horrors Guicciardini depicts and the tone in which he censures them make it clear why he was so often preferred, during the Elizabethan period in England, to his friend and fellow Florentine Machiavelli.


La Noue was considered an authority on military matters, and his book was widely read and used. It deals mainly with tactical matters, but also contains an account of the recent civil wars in France. Concerning war, La Noue believed men were sometimes constrained to enter lawful wars, so that peace and politic government could prevail afterwards. War was a necessary evil, but, says La Noue, man "ought principallie to shoote at peace and tranquilitie, to the end to live more uprightly." Too often, however, wars were the result of princes' ambition (never a just cause for war), and far too much money and too many men had been consumed by wars of this nature. Peace could also be unjust, however, if it were the kind that kept a country in a shameful bondage.


Ive, in the first English trans. of this very popular and much-quoted work, attributed it to Guillaume du Bellay, but it has long since been proven that it was the work of Fourquevaux, under whose name it is listed in Cockle (#0014). It is considered one of the most important of all Renaissance military treatises, as it laid the foundations (of a practical nature) of military science as practiced throughout western Europe in the 16th cent. Although the author relies heavily on ancient writers and praises the ancient art of warfare, the work is more than a
compilation of Latin sources. Fourquevaux's purpose is to reform the modern art through criticism of contemporary practices. The book is divided into three parts: 1) how to levy and train a large force; 2) the knowledge necessary to a "captaine generall"; and 3) the laws that ought to be established for the government of soldiers.

The Preface is devoted to more theoretical matters. The author recognizes a central, and much disputed, question about war: whether it is lawful for Christians to make war among themselves. He makes no attempt to decide this question, but believes that wars taken in hand "neither for ambition, nor for the desire of revenge, nor voluntarily, nor to the intent to usurp other mennes goods, are just and lawful." Also, "princes may justly take armes in hand for the defence of their subjects, and the subjects likewise for the maintenance of their Princes authoritie." However, a subject should neither offer himself nor refuse to go to war if he has been levied for service by his prince; to refuse to go to war is to resist the will of God, whom the prince serves. Nor is a soldier to enquire about his prince's purpose in waging war, for it is assumed the good prince will first submit his cause to arbiters and, if his cause is just, will "make the least outragious and bloudy warres that he might, and the shortest."

This work is also interesting in that it offers an original plan for a court-martial and the testing of cases involving the death penalty. It ends with the idea that a general must often be cruel for the sake of achieving a greater good.


This work consists of two separate treatises bound under one cover. The work is unusual in comparison to other military treatises of the time, for the rules of war de Loque writes about "touch simpie the conscience, and shew how it is expedient that everie man march uprightly according to the ancient policie of militarie profession, set downe unto us in the Word of God." His purpose, therefore, is to distinguish between the just and unjust war and to indicate why it is lawful for a Christian prince to make war "with a safe conscience against the enemyes
of his estate, or of the Church." His reasons are based on examples taken from both the Old and New Testaments. He argues that a war is justly undertaken to preserve and defend the lives or goods of a prince's estate, to relieve those with whom a prince has concluded a league of amity, and to maintain the Christian faith. In some cases, a prince may also make war against heretical subjects, but in this event he must use much moderation. Moreover, before a prince declares war, he must make every attempt to settle his dispute by arbitration, for wars bring many evils and should never be attempted "except in time of great extremity." A private person may never take sword in hand, "but when the Prince delivereth over the sword, which God hath given into his hand to dispose, it is an other thing."

The "Treatise of Single Combat," attached to the above, expresses views directly opposite to those of Sir William Segar (#0334). De Loque maintains that single combat is a wicked and lawless practice. True honor consists in being a good Christian, and it is false and foolish to think one's honor can be preserved through revenge, which God has forbidden. More importantly, de Loque believes that a prince cannot "grant and accord with safe conscience" a combat between two of his subjects.


Part III, containing the military discourses, makes the point that a prince should learn all he can about war, because the art of war upholds the commonwealth and a prince must deal continually with war matters. As the author says, "it is not enough for a prince to stablish good laws and ordinances, if he do not likewise set good order for matters of war." The author then proceeds to discuss various points, policies, and questions of war—how to encourage soldiers, how to take and defend towns, how to take advantage of an enemy, and so forth. It is all drawn from classical sources. He leaves the modern practices of war for others to speak and write about, but opines that "the feats of warre of these times [are] so honorable, that they be nothing inferior to those of old time." The Discourses was one of the more important military treatises of the late Elizabethan period.

War, in the author's opinion, should be entered into only for the honor and glory of God, the preservation of His kingdoms, and the conservation of the Catholic faith. As God is best served in a time of peace, most offended in war-time, Mendoza argues that a king should make no use of war unless it is the last, most desperate remedy available to him. Except for these remarks, the book is entirely devoted to practical matters relating to the management of a war. Mendoza does not claim to be original, but he brings more than 30 years' reading and experience in the "theorique and practise of warre" to his task.

0320. Nannini, Remigio. *Civill considerations upon many and sundrie histories, as well ancient as mod-erne, and principallie upon those of Guicciardin*. 1601. See entry #0091.

Several chapters in this work are devoted to military affairs, but the remarks are not particularly significant. Nannini is one writer who believes noble birth is not a necessary quality for a military commander. He also believes peace is likeliest to be gained when two warring armies have grown weary of their struggle, and he makes some pointed comments about the long, drawn-out wars of recent date that have wearied all of southern Europe.

English Works


War and peace are discussed in both Books I and II of More's famous work. In Book I, Hythlodaye argues that wars are engendered by princes who, from youth, have been led to believe they can do no wrong. Advised by corrupt counsellors and motivated by lust for power, they undertake chivalric war for the sake of

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14 The first item is entered according to date of Latin original (1516), the rest according to date of publication.
glory. They refuse to believe that Fortune is responsible for victory in war. Much worse, they ignore the fact that their power and authority are derived from the people and that their own private motivations for war are abuses of this authority. Their wars are generally the causes of crime, poverty, and other social evils. These effects of war, like war itself, are man-made, not divine manifestations of an angry God. Hence, Hythlodaeus argues, if man would employ his reason rightly, he would be able to correct these abuses of man's reason and of humanity. At present, however, few Christian princes think more of their subjects and their welfare than of themselves.

Book II presents the Utopians' attitudes to war and peace. Because they cultivate the good life, war, to them, is idiocy and a base activity. It stems from the pleasure man came to take in hunting. Despite these sentiments, however, the Utopians themselves believe wars can be undertaken, but only for the purpose of preserving or spreading abroad the good life they themselves enjoy. Their enemies are those tyrants who oppress common people and make the good life impossible. Against these, wars may be "justly" waged. This book also describes some of the Utopian war practices—such as the use of beacons that destroy an invading force before it reaches their island. Many students of the Utopia have been troubled by the ideas expressed here, as it is difficult to distinguish between More's personal opinions and those he attributes to the Utopians. Nevertheless, this work and those of Erasmus are the most powerful expressions of humanistic belief and the greatest literary, social, and anti-war documents of the early 16th cent.


As one might expect from an important ecclesiastical figure, Becon's tract turns out to be essentially a sermon, but it is a strange hodge-podge. He argues that wars are the result
of wicked living, as both holy and profane histories teach. But both the laws of God and of nature require every man to love and willingly serve his country, militarily as well as otherwise. He praises Henry VIII for maintaining his state in martial readiness, which every ruler should do, but it is only God who can award victories over one's enemies. The Turk poses a special threat, but he will not be vanquished until soldiers of the present day amend their own abominable lives. Other vices and occupations, besides that of soldiering, are also assailed, and Becon concludes by encouraging his countrymen to achieve a victory over both their corporal and spiritual enemies. Becon was in trouble in 1541 because of his writings. Says Cockle (#0014), "his books were burnt and he was obliged to recant at Paul's Cross" (pp. 4-5).


This work contains a paean to peace, which the Norfolk rebels threaten to destroy by their class war. Peace brings wealth and riches of a different kind than the rebels attempt to gain. Its benefits are "forwardness of religion," "increase of learning," "obedience of laws," and so forth.


This is a verse work of 207 stanzas in which the author describes his military life and exploits. He claims he has followed the military profession for honor's sake, but declares war to be wicked and a cause of general woe to every state that practices it. He encourages the reader to peruse Erasmus' essay on the same theame.

Rich turns literary in this work and renders a dream vision in which he discusses military matters with the god Mercury. Rich takes the part of devil's advocate, arguing against war, allowing Mercury to expound the positive side. Like Rich's other military tracts, this one also argues for constant military preparedness as a means of preventing invasion from another country. The speakers agree with Valerius Maximus, who said, according to Rich's English version, "the plesaunt and quiet state of blessed peace, doth rest in the bosome and custodie of the knowledge of warres." The work is also a defense of the soldier and his profession, which, at present, is held in low esteem in England. No English gentleman, it is declared, should be ignorant of the laws and orders of war. But there are also abuses in English military life, particularly the manner by which captains are appointed and soldiers recruited. The description of these abuses has a close affinity with Sh's treatment of recruiting in HIV.


Procter's book has been called the first technical military book written by an Englishman. Indeed, Procter himself, in his Preface, notes the "scarcities of writing in this matter," except for Vegetius and Machiavelli, both of whom are of limited use to English military men. Thus, he sees his work as "a begininge to encourage some [sic] other,...to make larger addition, or supplie hearein." The book begins with an interesting definition of war. It is "properlye" defined, says Procter, as "a Contention betweene princes or estates, by armes and force of men, under orders and government, to obtaine victoyre." That war is waged "under orders and government" distinguishes it from insurrection or rebellion and makes it, of course, a valid enterprise for the divinely instituted Christian commonwealth. Just wars, as the Bible shows,
are those waged "for maintenance & defence of vertue & ryght," and the end of war is that "after valiant victorie or revenge had of the enemie, peace may follow, and be maintained with honour, free from violence & hostile oppression." Thus, he sees an army as "the strength of the Realme, the wall of the common wealth, the pillar whereupon the estates of all men therein do stand." Most of the military writers who followed Procter echo these sentiments. The rest of his book is devoted to practical military matters, and throughout he draws heavily upon ancient authorities.


Rich's attitudes to war and peace are consistent throughout the many tracts he wrote on the subject of warfare. They are also those expressed by most of his contemporaries, who quite highly esteemed the writings of this famous and experienced Elizabethan soldier. He acknowledges that war is a grievous plague, often God's scourge against wickedness, but, at the same time, many wars have been acceptable to God. As he says, "For as peace is the great benefite and blessing of God, so warres being attempted upon due consideration, doe nothing at all offende him." Such a war is one that brings about peace or helps to maintain it. Wars are also allowed for the defence and maintenance of true religion. Peace, too, has its perils, for during peace-time, people become slothful and think only of becoming rich. Peace and its effects can often place a country in a hazardous position; hence, during peace, a wise ruler will prepare for war, so as to insure continuing peace. At present, he believes, England is paying too little attention to martial exercise, and too many people hold in contempt the trained and experienced soldiers who are the realm's greatest blessing. If England is to have "expert warriors, though not warre lovers," she must cherish and reward with better favor those who offer their services for the preservation of a peaceful state.

In his prefatory remarks, Gates claims to be an unlettered man who hired "a notarie to sette downe in writing this drift in the defence and praise of warlike prowesse." His purpose is to awaken England from its "senseless securitie," so that the country might take up the necessary exercise of arms and martial discipline and be prepared for possible enemy assaults. He often wanders from "this drift" and proclaims that the "last days" predicted in the Bible are imminent; thus, all Englishmen, and particularly those who follow military life, must practice the commendable virtues. These alarmist sentiments prompt him to give a new twist to the war vs. peace question. In Gates' opinion, it is not war, but rather peace, that is the scourge of God. When the Lord wishes to plague a wicked people, "then he filleth them with the fatnesse of the earth, and giveth them peace, that they may wax rotten in idlenesse," thus becoming a prey to enemies. When the Lord means to advance a nation, "he stirreth them up to high courage, and maketh their mindes and bodyes apt to the warre." In concluding his book, Gates makes some pointed criticism concerning those who have no care for the aid and well-being of the soldiers who serve for their defense. As modern students of the period have pointed to the often abominable treatment of soldiers and the hardships they faced, Gates' book, though admittedly self-righteous, expresses a justifiable cry for reform.
Whereas most Renaissance military writers wrote on the art of war from a practical and/or tactical point of view, Whetstone, who claims no experience in these areas, concentrates instead on the moral qualities a soldier should cultivate. He praises modern soldiers for their courage, but claims they lack the "government" of the ancients (i.e., the commendable virtues of the Greeks and Romans). He therefore supplies his readers with a catalogue—hopefully for their imitation—of valiant and courageous actions performed in the past by military heroes. At the end, he indicates that he is addressing those who are going off to give aid to the Low Countries.

Much here is repeated from Rich's earlier military tracts. Rich's major theme throughout all of them is that the safety of the state depends upon a well-trained military force, which should be exercised during peace-time in order to be ready for future emergencies. He reveals his distress about the lot of the common soldier, who oftentimes is not paid during war and ill recompensed for his services afterwards. He utters a new note here in suggesting that "a generall contribution [be] given through the realme, for the mayntenaunce of men of warre, when theyr service concerneth such publique profit." Of course, no such tax for the maintenance of the armed forces was forthcoming during Rich's lifetime, but we commend his concern about the injustices of military life as he knew and observed them. Sh's HIV comes to mind when we read, in this work, the following: "In England when service happeneth we disburthen the prisons of Theeves, wee robbe the Tavernes and Alehouses of Tospottes, and Ruffines, wee scoure both Towne & Cuntrie of Rogges and vagabons." We also read that "a prince...that
mindes to enter into armes, is fyrst to consider of the equity of his cause," which, perhaps, explains Henry V's lengthy investigations into his right to launch war in France.

0333. Fenne, Thomas. Fennes Frutes: Which Worke is devided into three severall parts...The second [part], intreateth of the lamentable ruines which attend on Warre: also, what politique Stratagemes have been used in times past: necessary for these our dangerous dailes. London: Richard Oliffe, 1590. STC 10763.

War, to Fenne, is the result of man's "unsatiable appetites" and "untollerable pride." Fenne subscribes to the cyclical theory: war brings ruin; ruin leads to poverty; poverty engenders peace; peace creates riches; riches create envy; envy initiates war. This cycle is never-ending; thus, war is inevitable. Despite its terrors and miseries, however, war must be stolutely maintained once it is taken up against an invader, and a country, by exercising the art of war, must be prepared for such an occurrence. The author employs many examples from classical history—Hannibal's military campaigns, the falls of Troy and Carthage—and comments upon them.


This work contains five books, and its purpose is to show "the true meanes how to shunne all offences: or being offended, sheweth the order of revenge and repulse, according unto Christian knowledge and due respect of Honor." Book I discusses lies and distinguishes between the various sorts. Books II-IV are concerned with the particulars of combat and indicate those who are eligible to engage in that activity. Book IV also discusses and defines nobility and describes some notable combats of recent times. Book V discusses the origin and qualities of knighthood and describes some of the various orders, both English and foreign. The Order of the Garter is treated at most length. The book is both interesting and important, particularly because honor figures so significantly in Sh's history plays. The Mowbray-Bolingbroke dispute in RII, for example, might owe something to Segar's work. Although he deals entirely
with honor in arms, he concludes by saying that learning is no less a discipline in which one can achieve honor. In fact, the most worthy knight will be he who has considerable learning. At present, the young men of England are ignorant of honor, the author says, but he indicates how one might achieve it—by means of "true vertue and industrious life."


Written in 1589, this was the first serious work on military science written by an Englishman. Earlier attempts had been devoted to individual military campaigns or were technical works relying heavily on classical or foreign authors. Because of Smythe's heavy criticism of Leicester's unsuccessful intervention in the Netherlands and Drake's failure in Portugal, the book was suppressed by the authorities, and Smythe's second edn. was never allowed to be printed. This work contains nothing—except by implication—about the merits of war and peace. Smythe repeatedly stresses the importance of a strong militia, one well-trained and ready for emergencies, and believes that the older means of warfare are superior to the new—especially that the longbow is superior to the gun. He rarely sees any merit in the newfangled weapons and practices of war. Hence, as his modern editor says, the book is "a celebration of the history and an indictment of the present character of militant England." Tedious and repetitious, the book was, nevertheless, the first practical manual on warfare and was greatly influential in prompting other works on the subject.


This work adds little to the military thought of the period, for Williams does not concern himself with a discussion of war and peace. He speaks, instead, of how wars are to be maintained: by means of "a good chief," "a good
purse," and "a good justice." He describes at some length the success of the Prince of Parma's army in the Netherlands, and devotes the rest of the book to tactical matters. Williams was a captain of considerable military experience. He finds the new muskets far superior to the longbow.


Clayton draws upon his 16 years' experience in the military profession, but his arguments correspond to most other military writers of the period, whether they were practiced soldiers or bookish theorists. Martial discipline, Clayton maintains, is a necessary requirement if a realm is to remain secure. Like other writers, he gives a list of the offices and duties of the various military ranks, plus some "observations" for the ordinary soldier. The "rules of arms" proclaimed by the Lord Marshall are also included. One of the primary duties of a general is to provide for the payment of the soldiers, for, Clayton believes, the failure to pay soldiers their wages has too often been the cause of military disasters. Reformation in this area is needed, as Clayton knows from experience.


Garrard's book was corrected and finished by his friend, Capt. Hitchcock, after the author's death in 1587. Garrard claims to have been a soldier for 14 years and also to have served as a mercenary in the wars of the Low Countries. The work is interesting for its many details of military life, in both its practical and technical aspects, but it contains nothing of a theoretical nature. Nor is this the work of a military reformer, even though Garrard notes some of the malpractices he observed during his career. His most significant remarks are addressed to the ordinary soldier, whom he admonishes to become a good soldier above all and to obey the laws established by his prince and superior officers. He thinks little of those men who desire to become officers before
they have learned to be good soldiers. But Gar­

rard's main purpose, to which the bulk of the

work is devoted, is "to show and teach the order

of the field, the duty of officers, the charge

of generals, the arte of war and the whole dis­

cipline belonging to the exercise of arms."

0339. Sutcliffe, Matthew. The Practice, Proceedings, And

Lawes of Armes, described out of the doings of

most valiant and expert Captaines, and confirmed

both by ancient, and moderne examples, and

praececedents. London: Deputies of Christopher

Barker, 1593. STC 23468.

Sutcliffe relies on many classical, Scrip­
tural, and patristic writings to support his

reformist views. He attacks the lack of order

characterizing modern military endeavors, and

he wishes to see the ancient discipline of arms

restored. He thinks this is particularly neces­
sary in view of the constant Spanish threat. It

is foolish of England not to keep up a standing

army, he argues. He also devotes considerable

space to a discussion of war and distinguishes

between the just and the unjust war. Because

the Bible indicates that Christians can lawfully

make war if their cause is just, those who be­
lieve otherwise are "both heretical and phrenet­
ical persons." Those conflicts are justly under­
taken that restrain the wicked so that justice

may be realized, the good people relieved, and

peace obtained. Wars undertaken for the sake of

ambition or anger, however, are unjust. As an

experienced soldier, he preferred the military

writings of Guicciardini to those of Machiavelli,

as the latter was a theorist with no experience

in the field. In comparison to other English

militarists, Sutcliffe most resembles Digges,

for both were reformers. Both express a strong

dislike for the present system of recruiting

rogues and vagabonds--mostly from prisons--to

serve in military exploits.

0340. Smythe, Sir John. Instructions, Observations, and

Orders Militarie, requisit for all Chieftaines,

Captaines and higher and lower men of charge,

and Officers, to understand, knowe and observe.

London: Richard Johnes, 1594. STC 22885.

Although Smythe repeats here much from his

Certain Discourses (#0335), the tone is more

temperate. The work is mainly technical and

deals with such matters as the forming of
soldiers into ranks and squadrons and the duties of "piquers" (i.e., those who carry pikes). He believes that a well-governed kingdom should continually practice military discipline, for it is the "maintainer of peace and ground of security." At present, this art and discipline is "corrupted and greatly decayed." He draws attention to the Elizabethan custom of keeping a supply of weapons in private homes and argues that citizens ought to train with these more often. Holidays should be used for this purpose. If the kingdom is well-governed, however, it need not fear rebellion from its subjects, even though they are well-equipped with private armories.


Directed mostly to the commanding general, this is a collection of aphorisms indicating those virtues and qualities a soldier should cultivate. As most of the comments are derivative, the work is of little value. Still this is the only writer (as far as I know) to claim "necessitie" as a just cause for war.


This work, in verse, describes war as "a beggry thing," but it has the good effect of taming wild wantonness. Peace, on the other hand, breeds quarrels and debates. As there will always be wars, one should make the best of them and be prepared to fight when one's country is unjustly assaulted. The author laments that present wars are waged largely for the sake of gain, whereas the ancients fought for the sake of glory.


For this writer, God is the "speciall" author of war, whereas the "manuell" author is the enemy. God sends war, which is "nothing else
but a divine scourge for sinne." The particular enemy Gibbon has in mind is the Spaniard, whom he sees as "a prick and thorne to Englishmen, insomuch as we shall never bee so assured of peace, but wee may alwaies live in suspition of warre: and therefore thyse treatise of warre cannot be frivouls." If not "frivouls," the tract is nevertheless muddled and contradictory. Because rumors are circulating to the effect that the Spanish plan another attack on England, the author's remarks are intended to stir up his countrymen and to prepare them for Christian battle. He says the Spanish, also, are servants of God; therefore, Englishmen must respect them and remember who it is that sends them and for what purpose. At the same time, however, the Spanish are cruel and prophane both "in life" and "in religion." Thus, these Spanish servants of God are also enemies to God: The author's definition of the just war is also curious. Such a war, he says, can be taken in hand "at the commaundement of the Magistrate, for the demaunding of things againe, or to repulse injuries, or to revenge them." In comparison to other treatises on war, this one is of little value, but it does serve to document the ever-present threat to England of invasion from abroad.

0344. Norden, John. The Mirror of Honor: Wherein everie professor of armes, from the Generall, Chief-taines and high Commanders, to the private officer and inferiour souldier, may see the necessite of the feare and service of God, and the use of all divine vertues, both in commanding and obeying, practising and proceeding in the most honorable affayres of warre. London: the widowe Orwin for T. Man, 1597. STC 18614.

Norden's book, primarily of a religious nature, is important and valuable for its prefatory remarks, which seem to express the most widely-held Renaissance attitudes to war and peace. War, he says, is a "pernicious evill... but by circumstances it is both lawful and expedient" because it restores peace, "the most precious end of warre." Moreover, "when the cause is just no man may question whether the warre bee lawfull. It is then just when it seeketh to defend and preserve the publique quiet and Christian religion, and it is then lawful, when it is done by the authority of the Prince, and rightly undertaken when it is in the
feare of God, and truly executed when it is with upright minds." In addition to these sentiments, he declares that England's long peace has bred certain evils at home and God has been forgotten. Because his countrymen have not experienced war, except by report from neighboring countries, England should begin to prepare against this woeful messenger from an offended God. Thus, England's soldiers must be trained, not so much in the art of war as in their treble duty to God, prince, and country. It is the Christian soldier that Norden instructs.


Barret is of the opinion that a long peace, because it breeds security and a contempt for war, can be injurious to a country if martial discipline is neglected. And because he thinks it is being neglected, his tract argues for a revival of military training. In this he differs little from others, but he lines up with those who preferred the new war machines—particularly the gun—to the old. He also believes that a soldier is not to question whether a war in which he serves be just or unjust; as long as the war is not against God's true religion, the soldier is required to obey the commands of his prince and superior officers. The bulk of the work is a list of the various military officers and their duties. The duties of a general, who, Barret maintains, need not be of noble birth, are particularly stressed. The work also contains a comparison between ancient and modern forms of battle and is supplemented with several tables and illustrations.


Much here is repeated from Segar's earlier work (#0334), but the book further illuminates the Renaissance concept of honor and makes interesting reading. For Segar, the most prosperous state will achieve a balance between military and civil government, for good laws and armed might are the surest means of maintaining
peace. Although peace is the chief cause for war, it need not be the only legitimate end of war. In some cases, wars are fought to advance one's glory or "to entertaine the youth fit for service," lest overmuch idleness corrupt them. In any event, the cause must be just and must always be submitted to mature deliberation by a prince and his counsellors. The author makes several interesting distinctions between civil and military crimes; another section discusses various kinds of arranged peace (a truce, e.g.). In a section on treason and traitors, he argues that the conviction of a traitor depends on the quality of the crime, the custom of the country, and the disposition of the prince. The whole is a curious and quaint blend of pragmatism and noblesse oblige, and many examples from antiquity are cited.


This is mostly the work of Thomas Digges, who saw his age as "an age of Militarie corruptions," and thus he is mainly thought of as a reformer--one of the most candid of all. He is especially severe on all the malpractices of current military life, one of the most serious of which is the taking of "dead pays" by captains. This refers to the wide-spread practice among captains of keeping a dead soldier's name on the pay list and collecting his wages, whereby the captains grew rich at the expense of the whole kingdom. This and other misuses of military expenditures must be corrected, says Digges, for "it is not...the great charges or contributions that beggereth or spoyleth any countrie, but the ill disposing of the Treasure levied, and the ill governement of the Souldierie therewith maintained, which becommeth indeed more odious and intollerable to any Christian Nation or people farre, than any Tax or Subsidie that is possible to bee cessed or imposed on them." These frauds, robberies, and extortions are undermining England's military power and require immediate amendment. His most interesting comments, however, appear in his fourth paradox, which is that war is "sometimes lesse hurtfull, and more to be wisht in a well governed state than peace." The latter merely gives vent to idleness, effeminacy, and a host of other ills. War, on the other hand, trains and hardens a
nation's youth and teaches them honor, valor, and virtue. No mention is made of the bad effects of war, only those of peace. Thus, any nation that wishes to maintain its strength will train continually for war, for the wise man (i.e., the ruler) will always prefer the honor of a just war to the luxurious idleness of peace.


Cockle (#0014), entry 78, p. 64, describes this work as a tract on abuses and corruptions in military life.

0349. Barnes, Barnabe. Foure Bookes of Offices. 1606. See entry #0152.

Book IV of this work is devoted to a discussion of war, but the author admits that he knows little about the subject from a martialist's point of view. He argues that war is the basis for peace as well as its cure when the latter is too "prodigall." As he says: war is "the noble corrector of all prodigall states, a skilfull bloodletter against all dangerous obstructions and plurasies of peace, the most soveraigne purgation of all superfluous and spreading humours or leprosies, which can breed in any general politike body." His definitions of just wars are those advanced by medieval writers on the subject. The remainder of the work describes military stratagems and tactical matters.


There are few current social faults Rich does not mention in this book, but, because his reputation rests on his military works, this social document has been classified here. As would be expected, Rich has several comments on war and peace. The first of these he sees as the minister of God's wrath and justice. Despite the destructiveness of wars, they are often justly undertaken, but there is no just cause for
civil war. It is the most miserable of all armed conflicts; victory itself in such a war is miserable. But a country must always be prepared militarily; moreover, "armes" are "a corrector to the disorder of peace" and "the Physitian to a decayed estate." The evils that attend peace—pride, pleasure, lust, drunkenness, etc.—are as enormous as those attending war—fire, famine, murder, etc. Indeed, to the martialist Rich, "the vices that are hatched up in Peace, are in farre greater number, than the enormities that accompany Warre." The only way to keep a healthy balance in a state is to keep subjects occupied (especially in the exercise of arms) and thus prepared for the inevitable trials of war.

0351. Dallington, Sir Robert. Aphorismes Civill And Militarie.... 1613. See entry #0161.

The "aphorismes militarie" are scattered among those of the "civill" variety in this collection, but the book seems to contain an equal number of both types. The authorities Dallington relies on are mostly classical; one will find no original ideas here. Among the commonplace thoughts expressed are these: that war is a most dangerous threat to a country that has enjoyed a long peace; that it is better to assail an enemy on a foreign shore, than to allow him to descend upon one's own; that the greatest soldier holds the greatest glory to be the relief of the oppressed, rather than the conquest of an enemy; that the greatest cause of disorder among soldiers during war is lack of pay, for "pay is the poore soldiers Aquavitae." Another aphorism says that the state is required to maintain a soldier who loses a limb or is disabled for other employment. One contains the following comparison between war and peace: "...be the title [to war] never so cleare, and the cause just, yet the meanes are not without fire and sword: nor the end without horror and bloodshed. Peace therefore is to be preferred: so it be not with the blemish of the Princes honour, or prejudice of the publicke good."
Unpublished English Works


The editor of this work believes it to have been written by someone dependent on Sir John Fastolfe, who is referred to in the work, and to have been composed well before that gentleman's death in 1460. It mentions many events that occurred long before King Edward's invasion, originally planned as early as 1472, but delayed until 1475. The work has a political as well as military purpose. The author urges Edward to invade France to reclaim his ancient title to that kingdom, and it also argues that such an invasion--although a war upon Christians--would be lawful. He gives the three lawful causes for war as mentioned by Christine de Pisan (#0306), to whom he mistakenly attributes *The Tree of Battles*. It is the third of these reasons that applies in the case of Edward: to recover lands unrightfully "ravished, taken away by [sic] force, or usurped." Edward's actual invasion was disastrous to England, as it ended in a rather inglorious compromise engineered by the French king. The book was not published until Nichols' edn. appeared, but is included here for several reasons. The author reveals an acquaintance with Vegetius and other military writers; he presents characteristic medieval attitudes toward war; and he cites as examples the French wars of Henry V and Henry VI. Thus, the work sheds light on that period treated by Sh in both tetralogies.


With the exception of the first entry, all items in this section were written during Sh's lifetime. Even though none was published at the time, each significantly reflects the thought of the age. They are arranged alphabetically by author.
In his "Treatie," Greville is less politically-oriented than he is in Section XII, "Of War," of his Treatise of Monarchy (#0354). The "Treatie" emphasizes Greville's strong hate of war. He regards it as an instrument of God, who governs the growth and decline of kingdoms through it. Moreover, war is a result of the Fall, and man must live with it. Although war is sometimes necessary for man's purification, no war is just unless God shows some sign to that effect. Usually, it is a combination of man and the devil that contrives violence against the human race.


These two verse passages appear as Sections XI and XII, respectively, of Greville's Treatise. In the first, Greville calls peace the end and most perfect state of government, a time when the arts and learning flourish, and a period in which both king and subjects find the mutual prosperity of each to be their chief pleasure. But tyranny or an imbalance of power must be guarded against, as must other evils that can grow during peace-time. Indeed, in "Of War," he says that war purges "the imposthum'd humors of a Peace,/ Which oft else makes good government decrease," a line echoing Hamlet's (IV. iv. 27-29). War, on the other hand, is a scourge of God and, at the same time, the effect of man's inability to be content with peace for long. In "Of War," he gives causes for just wars--to protect a prince's right, to defend one's country from invasion, to prevent another country from extending its empire unreasonably, and so forth. Also, as states are generally established by war, they must not "neglect that base whereon they stay." He particularly singles out superstition in religious matters, papal domination,
and a corrupt Church as threats which, if not fought against, can lead to a tyranny over man and his conscience.


Hughes has based this edn. of Knyvett's tract on a MS of the original in the Chetham Library, Manchester. It was composed in 1596. As Knyvett was an important Elizabethan aristocrat whose military experience was considerable, perhaps this work deserves a more scholarly treatment than Hughes affords it. The pamphlet, containing a lavish dedication to the Queen, outlines a scheme for the establishment and training of a military force which could be called up in the event of any national emergency. Knyvett proposes that an inventory be made of England's potential military strength. He then divides the male population into age groups and suggests the military training and occupations by which they could be made into a "national guard" for the defence of the realm at home or abroad. The scheme is a practical one; the author does not theorize about war and peace.


Raleigh's essay, not published during his lifetime, is one of the most provocative works on war produced by a Shn contemporary. Raleigh does not argue in the humanist tradition. On the contrary, his appeals to reason reflect the thought of a new age, but there is an underlying current of sympathy with the ideals expressed by the early Tudor humanists and religious reformers. Raleigh simply seems more realistic about man's incapacity for peace. He admits that war is "the most lawless" of human actions, but man is not a prudent animal, nor can he "rest contented with his own." War has an affinity with law. Neither would be necessary if man were prudent and content. Hence, war is a necessity just as law is.

The essay begins with a definition of war:
the exercise of violence under sovereign command against withstanders; force, authority, and resistance, being the essential parts thereof."
He then offers some interesting comments on the way man employs his reason in regard to war. Where Erasmus, for instance, had argued that man's reason should indicate he is a creature framed for peace, Raleigh says that "reason taught man to strengthen his hand with...offensive arms." Granted that these "terrible engines of death" should be "employed in the exercise of that lordly rule" which God gave to man over all living things. "But since in human reason there hath no means been found of holding all mankind at peace within itself; it is needful that against the wit and subtlety of man we oppose, not only the brute force of our bodies...but, helping our strength with art and wisdom, strive to excel our enemies in those points wherein man is excellent over other creatures." Raleigh then proceeds to discuss other causes for war in general as well as those wars of the past which have served as "the theme and argument of history." He treats in turn each kind of war listed in his title.
SECTION III
GENERAL SECONDARY WORKS

General Surveys


This was long considered the best, one-volume account of the period. The first four chapters cover the reign of James I, a period, according to the author, in which no great changes occurred comparable to those of the previous and following ages. The first two chapters constitute an interesting survey of the condition of England during the years 1603-40. Chapters III and IV deal with the political, religious, and social aspects of the reign of James I. While Trevelyan's comments are still worth reading, his bibliography is dated and of little use to the modern student.


A compilation, by many hands, the purpose of which is to describe the life and manners of Sh's age in order to illumine the world in which he lived. The work is valuable mainly for beginning students. The 30 chapters cover various aspects of the age (religion, law, the sciences, agriculture, the fine arts, education,

Works

Works are arranged chronologically within each subsection, according to date of first publication. Important subsequent edns. are noted. If a book has gone through many edns., the phrase "many sub. edns." has been used to indicate that fact. In the case of works merely reprinted, the latest-known reprint date is given.

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and many more). Intellectual thought is not treated, but Chapter IX, "Scholarship," includes a section on chroniclers and historians. Chapter XI deals with commerce and the coinage. Chapter IV deals with the army and military service. Primary sources, and especially applicable passages from the works of Sh, are cited throughout each chapter. Short descriptive bibliographies appear at the end of each chapter. Volume II contains three useful indexes: 1) of passages cited from Sh's works, 2) of proper names, and 3) of subjects and technical terms. Both volumes are richly illustrated.


One of the two Tudor volumes in The Oxford History of England. The second edn. incorporates a considerable number of additions, alterations, and corrections. As a general survey, it follows the pattern of the other volumes in this series; that is to say, all aspects of the reign are covered, more or less chronologically, in separate chapters devoted to particular subjects. The author's Preface to the first edn. and the Table of Contents indicate the general plan and content of the volume. The emphasis is upon political, social, and cultural history. Intellectual thought is crammed into Chapter VIII, but one will not find there a discussion of political or economic theory. The attitude toward history, however, is dealt with there in a few pages. In a work of this scope, one must expect the briefest and most general treatment, but a select, discursive bibliography arranged by categories provides further aid to the student. The Oxford History volume dealing with the period 1485-1558 is John D. Mackie's The Earlier Tudors... (#0363).


A brief survey of England's history under the Tudor dynasty. The book is mainly addressed to college students and non-academics, but is based on solid scholarship. Some of the author's views are now considered dated, but the book has generally been regarded as a small
masterpiece by one widely versed in the period.


This is a fine introduction to modern views and perhaps the best survey published prior to Elton's *England under the Tudors* (#0364). The book provides a general, rather than detailed, account of the period, but all aspects are covered. The major focus is upon political and constitutional changes and on economic and social conditions. It is especially good on economic matters. Contains a short, discursive bibliography.


In this first volume of his *Elizabethan Age*, Rowse presents "a synoptic view" of the Elizabethan social structure. Taking various aspects of the age in turn, he portrays them as expressions of the larger whole. He begins with a description of England's basic social organization—the land and the agricultural economy—and then turns his attention to those new developments particularly characteristic of Elizabeth's reign. England's economic advance is explained in light of the expansion in industry, commerce, and finance. Attention is paid to the part played by London and the larger towns as industrial centers in an otherwise agrarian economy. Government (at both the central and local levels) and law are also discussed. The various religious sects and the controversies they engendered are studied in relation to Elizabeth's attempts to establish a national church. Finally, the author discusses the educational system operating throughout the realm. It is a brilliant achievement. Inimitable in style and fast-paced, the book is also well-documented; the illustrative detail, gleaned from many local and regional sources, is woven into the fabric with great skill. The student of Sh's social and intellectual milieu will find the whole book worth his time, but may be sometimes disturbed by the author's obtrusive prejudices.

A general and orthodox survey of the period. The 16 chapters cover a wide range of topics, usually in chronological fashion. Each chapter is subdivided, the Table of Contents providing a quick reference to individual aspects of a subject. Comments on the political, historical, and military aspects of the period will be found scattered throughout the volume; hence, the necessity of consulting the Table of Contents. The same applies to economic aspects, although Chapter XIII is concerned solely with economic developments, and the volume contains an appendix on Tudor coinage. Unfortunately, but understandably in a volume of this scope, most pertinent concerns are sketched in a single paragraph or page. Cardinal Wolsey, however, is the subject of an entire chapter (IX). The volume contains a select, discursive bibliography which has been arranged by categories and contains both primary and secondary materials, plus general and reference works. The volume of the Oxford History dealing with the period 1558-1603 is J. B. Black's *The Reign of Elizabeth*... (#0359).


In his "Taste for Tudors" (#0051), Lacey B. Smith calls this work "a sparkling but controversial achievement of compression" (p. 101, n. 3). Like most of Elton's works, it stands up well against criticism and is perhaps the best of all surveys since Bindoff's (#0361). Elton's greatest emphasis is upon the constitutional problems of politics and government, but he also deals with social, economic, military, and literary concerns. Elton does not think so much in terms of dates, dynasties, and decisive breaks as in terms of progression and gradual alteration of all aspects of Tudor life. Nevertheless, he places special emphasis upon the governmental changes effected largely by Thomas Cromwell during the 1530's, and he claims that these changes contributed much to a new state and government, albeit one resting upon old foundations. The volume contains a model critical bibliography.
subdivided into categories for easier use. It
takes account of scholarship produced up to 1954.


This volume contains nine separate, but related, essays concerned with what the author calls "the crisis in government, society and ideas which occurred, both in Europe and in England, between the Reformation and the middle of the seventeenth century." The second essay, "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century," contains some reflections upon the Renaissance state and 16th-cent. government and politics. The volume also contains views on 16th-cent. economic developments (see entry #0523). The author also published an article entitled "The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century" in *Past and Present*, 16 (Nov. 1959), 31-64. A discussion of that article by six leading historians plus Trevor-Roper's reply appeared in *Past and Present*, 18 (Nov. 1960), 8-42.


Supposedly an introductory survey paying attention to recent interpretations.


Written for the layman by a careful and well-versed historian of the period, this book vividly depicts the multi-layered character of an age. Despite its title, the book deals with the major events and persons of Europe from Calvin to Philip IV of Spain as well as with Elizabeth's England. Smith sees the century as one of great contrasts and conflicts, both physical and mental, many of them of medieval origin.


The chapters of this volume, each written by an authority, cover a wide range of subjects relative to 16th-cent. history. The emphasis is
upon European history, but developments in England receive a fair share of attention. Those chapters placing considerable emphasis on English history and thought include Tooley's "Political Thought and the Theory and Practice of Toleration" (#0386) and Hale's "Armies, Navies and the Art of War" (#0556).


It is a rare gift to be able to do justice, in a mere ten pages, to the vast and complex social developments that occurred over as many decades of the 16th and early 17th cents. Yet Professor Hurstfield's essay somehow manages to pack it all in—or most of it. With Sh and his plays as a quasi-focal point, Hurstfield surveys the political, economic, religious, and historical changes from the time of Henry VIII to James I, all of which changes served as grist for Sh's mill. The author's main argument is that Tudor governments were attempting to impose order and degree upon a fluid society, one in which some classes were rising while others were suffering from economic evils, one in which moral puritanism challenged the very foundations of church and state, one in which the continual threats of war were abundantly obvious because of continental hostilities. The old order was not dissolving. Rather, "a new more rigid order and degree were being imposed" on this amoebic, vital, yet troubled, society.


Joseph's book covers selected topics of interest to, and necessary for, students "wishing to become at home in the culture of Elizabethan and early Stuart England." He covers the various classes constituting the commonwealth, the government, the concept of degree, and man's relation to the cosmos and divine providence. Joseph also includes discussions of the literature and drama of Sh's time, plus a chapter exclusively devoted to Sh in his age. A good, readable account of how Sh and his contemporaries viewed their world. The author's
wide reading in primary and authoritative secondary sources plus his experience as a teacher are admirably employed here.

**Intellectual Thought**


The first few chapters will illumine some of the changes in intellectual thought that arose during Sh's Jacobean period, but the book is of peripheral interest in that it deals with the scientific, realistic approaches to truth in general and the effects of those approaches upon poetry and religion. The more concrete concerns of this bibliography are not treated, nor is Sh mentioned.


Tillyard's work scarcely requires comment. The provocative ideas presented in this short book have gained world-wide recognition and for many years were considered the last word in one's approach to the Elizabethan background. More recently, Tillyard's account has been disputed, his views punctured by doubts and theories. Despite these developments, no new student of the period can approach the age without a knowledge of Tillyard's "world picture." Briefly, his book was written to counteract those who viewed the age as mainly secular. In Tillyard's opinion, it was only partially so. Religious views inherited from the Middle Ages lingered well into the Elizabethan age, colored the whole texture of it, and did not begin to decline until the theories of Machiavelli and other empirical thinkers began to influence a large portion of the educated public. For Tillyard, both Puritans and the aristocratic segment embracing Protestantism were united in their ideas about the universe. For them, it was an ordered, fixed system arranged in hierarchies. Man stood below the angels but above the beasts in "the great chain of being" (a concept Tillyard discusses in detail, but many have questioned
whether the term itself was used extensively, if at all, throughout the Renaissance. The term and many of Tillyard's ideas come from Arthur O. Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being*, first published in 1936. Tillyard also explains the Renaissance belief in corresponding planes, the wide-spread use of the analogy between macrocosm and microcosm, the latter's relevance to the body politic, the cosmic dance, and other commonplace ideas or symbols employed in both the greater and lesser writings of the period.


Haydn's penetrating study of Renaissance intellectual thought is an important and highly regarded contribution to scholarship. He is concerned with what he calls one of the three distinct intellectual movements that flourished during the historical period referred to as the Renaissance. Two of these movements were the "classical renaissance" (or the "humanistic revival") and the "scientific reformation." The other was the "counter-renaissance," which basically grew as a protest against both medieval scholasticism and the classical renaissance. To Haydn, the counter-renaissance "represents a radical anti-intellectual revolution," a movement that exalted faith and fact above reason and theory, the actual and the empirical above the ideal and the hypothetical. Its most representative exponents included Calvin, Luther, Machiavelli, and Montaigne. To Haydn, the Elizabethan period is more comprehensible to us once we understand how it assimilated this particular intellectual movement. Moreover, it also helps to explain characteristics of Elizabethan and early Jacobean literature and drama. Its tendencies are also apparent in the plays of Sh. Haydn devotes his Prologue to a discussion of how the counter-renaissance affected the "enigmatic Elizabethans." His concluding chapter indicates how Sh was aware of the intellectual conflicts of his age and how his plays employ counter-renaissance themes. While he deals mostly with Hamlet and the late tragedies, the next-to-last chapter contains an interesting appraisal of the theme of honor in HIV.

0374. Kristeller, Paul Oskar. *The Classics and Renaissance Thought*. Martin Classical Lectures, XV. Cam-
Although Kristeller deals with Italian Renaissance thought and is concerned basically with one specific aspect of it, his well-known book is important for a full appreciation of Italian influences on early Tudor England. As the subtitle to the rev. edn. indicates, the author discusses three strains of thought. The Aristotelian tradition and Renaissance Platonism are treated along with the humanist movement and scholasticism. Kristeller was one of the first to advance ideas that are now widely accepted: that humanism, e.g., was not a philosophical movement in any strict sense, but a cultural and educational program that stressed the study of grammar, rhetoric, history, moral philosophy, and poetry. The works of Latin and Greek authors were used as texts in this program (the studia humanitatis). This book provides a synthesis of Kristeller's perceptive and wide-ranging investigations into Renaissance thought. His ideas have strongly influenced subsequent discussions in this complex and much-debated area.

Thought on Politics and Government

General Works


A classic work, highly regarded by students of history and political theory. The author is primarily concerned with the theories of the Legists and Canonists, from whom the early political writers borrowed. He traces the development of political theory and focuses on some of the medieval conceptions that lingered on into the next age (e.g., the macrocosm-microcosm concept, the idea that the ruler's power derived from God, and the belief in the unity of church and state). The work is immensely learned, elaborately documented.

The first six chapters of this volume provide convenient summaries of European and English political theories from Luther to James I. Chapter I is devoted to the political ideas of the Reformers Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Calvin. Chapter II treats 16th-cent. anti-monarchic political doctrines. Chapter III deals exclusively with Bodin. Chapters IV and V discuss Catholic controversialists and Hugo Grotius, respectively. Chapter VI traces English political philosophy from its beginnings (with emphases upon Fortescue, More, and Hooker) to the early Jacobean period. Although the work has been updated or replaced by more recent scholars, it is often cited by these as an important contribution to the field.


A valuable, but somewhat dated, survey in which Figgis traces various developments in European and English political thought throughout the 16th cent. He deals with such subjects as sovereignty, divine right, liberty, the growing separation between church and state, obedience, religious tolerance, tyranny, and a number of related topics. Throughout the chapter, Figgis accents the differences between medieval and modern thought as the latter evolved through the efforts of Machiavelli, Bodin, and the authors of the *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* (#0081), to name but a few most representative of the political spirit of the age. For a comparable chapter in the New Cambridge Modern History, see M. J. Tooley's "Political Thought and the Theory and Practice of Toleration" (#0386).


A broad survey dealing mainly with continental political thought and writers, but several English thinkers are mentioned and briefly
discussed. Figgis concentrates on the political literature and on the rise of new political concepts. He maintains that medieval political thought contained no "theory of the State" because the Church dominated all aspects of life. The contract theory arose during the 16th cent. and was fostered by such writers as Buchanan and Hotman. The ideas of Luther, Machiavelli, and Bodin receive considerable attention.


An indispensable work for understanding the complex political thought of the period. Throughout, Allen synthesizes an enormous amount of primary material and continually forces the reader to rethink many of the assumptions he has concerning 16th-cent. political and governmental speculations. Allen is particularly distressed by the hackneyed use of the phrase "divine right of kings," and proceeds to explain that, if it has any meaning at all, it is only within the context of early 17th-cent. thought. Although most readers will want to read on through Parts III and IV, on France and Italy, respectively, Part I will introduce them to the church-state controversies as centered around Lutheranism and Calvinism early in the cent., and Part II focuses on England. In this section, Allen concentrates on the rise of Tudor monarchical theory and practice, stressing the point that it was the Tudor desire for a doctrine of "religious duty of obedience to constituted authority" that underlay the various controversies over royal supremacy, the Catholic and Puritan protest movements, attitudes toward rebellion, the toleration question, and attitudes toward the Constitution and sovereignty.


This large undertaking is not without flaws, but is still considered an indispensable work by students of political theory. The six volumes composing the entire work investigate political literature from the post-Aristotelians and Aquinas to the end of the 16th cent. Volume VI
covers the 14th-16th cents. (for the 16th cent. specifically, see Parts III and IV of Vol. VI). The topics discussed include the royal derivation of authority, the rise of constitutional government, the conception of justice, the nature of law, the supremacy of law, and the revived study of Roman law, to name but a few. The authors note similarities between early and later thinkers (e.g., Nicolas of Cusa and Richard Hooker). They stress the point that medieval thinkers believed in the supremacy of the law. The belief that the king was above the law was a post-medieval innovation.


This classic work has been used as a standard text in colleges and universities for more than three decades. The 4th, rev. edn. contains new material by Thorson, but the bulk of the work remains Sabine's. In scope, the volume covers political thought from the period prior to Plato up to and including Communism, fascism, and national socialism. Classical and medieval theories are treated in Part II; Part III covers the Renaissance and early Stuart period. Major topics are dealt with thematically, rather than chronologically. The concentration is upon the most influential or representative writers and works of a period. Whole sections are devoted to Machiavelli and Bodin; other Renaissance thinkers receive less attention, which is understandable in a work of such magnitude. The author's treatment of the early Stuart period is excellent.


The author, a major authority, covers a considerable range of topics, but is largely concerned with King James I's claim to unlimited power and his conflict with Parliament and the people. Section III of Part I discusses the important early Stuart political thinkers--Bacon, Raleigh, and Greville--all three of whom, according to Allen, "express and represent aspects of the current [political] thought of
their time" (p. 49). The problems of religious toleration and Puritanism are dealt with at considerable length. The latter part of the book treats events of the 1640's.


Morris begins with Tyndale, rather than with Sir Thomas More, because his main theme is "the impact of Protestantism upon Tudor political thought." The author argues that there was little original political thought in England before the Reformation. Afterwards, much political thinking drew upon the medieval heritage, but conservative and radical thought existed side by side. The author comments upon representative writers, rather than surveys the large number of pamphleteers. The book is admirably concise and has been called "dazzling." It is also of interest because pp. 98-109 deal with Sh, "the greatest of all Tudor thinkers, even if he wrote no political literature in pamphlet form" (p. x). In Morris' opinion, Sh shared the political assumptions of his age and, through his characters, reveals a sympathy with all political points of view, although his own remains mysterious. Morris counters, with some astute comments, those who argue that Sh was an ardent royalist. The dramatist, in Morris' opinion, was "an unrivalled observer of political behaviour," and his original contributions are to sociology, not to political philosophy. All we can determine of the latter is that Sh believed in the necessity of government--particularly over sinful man--but he also seems to imply that no one is perfect enough to govern. So declares Morris.


Miss Tooley's account of 16th-cent. political thought resembles that of Figgis in the older version of The Cambridge Modern History (#0377), but she places more emphasis upon political thinking as inseparably bound up in the religious struggles and problems of the cent. Attention is paid to political thought in England, although the author's scope is directed toward all of Europe. She concludes with a stress upon the "new individualism" of the 16th cent.—a greater emphasis upon the individual and his liberties, as distinct from the medieval view of man as a part of a corporate structure.

Special Studies


Figgis discusses the rise and nature of the divine right of kings theory, which he claims was mostly valuable as an "anti-clerical weapon of independence." The author also argues that the theory was an important stage in the development from medieval to modern political thinking. As background for his views, Figgis devotes chapters to "The Early Ideas of Kingship," "The Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy," "Wycliffe and Richard II," "Kingship in England from Henry IV to Elizabeth," and "Henry of Navarre and the Salic Law." Then he moves on to James I and later events. Much here will be of interest to the student of Elizabethan history or to those interested in Sh's treatment of kingship in the history plays.


An excellent study of Henry VIII's revolution in political practices and ideas. The author contends that Henry's reform brought about a need to elaborate new political creeds, yet many medieval theories lingered. The political literature of the age is investigated, and Baumer indicates what was old, what new. Often, he says, the new theory was cloaked in medieval phraseology. Although the doctrine of royal supremacy evolved during this period, none of
the early Tudor political writers argued for unlimited royal supremacy, says Baumer. They all maintained that the law was supreme over the king. This book is important as background to the succeeding reigns of Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. It includes a bibliography of early Tudor literature devoted to political theory, most of it widely-circulating pamphlet literature.


While most of this work deals with middle and late 17th-cent. political figures, the first chapter and scattered references throughout illuminate an important aspect of Tudor political thought. The author's purpose is to investigate references to classical political thought and models and to show how classical imitation became a "formative element in modern political thought." In Chapter I, the author indicates how the idea of mixed government was derived from classical political treatises and employed by political theorists in Europe and England throughout the 16th cent. Bodin's opposition to the mixed state theory (as spread throughout his own cent. by such writers as Machiavelli and Sir Thomas More) is discussed before the author deals with the concept as used by Englishmen. The author points out that, although classical imitation in the field of politics was widespread throughout the Renaissance, writers adapted or modified their classical models rather than adhered to them in a slavish manner.


A valuable and scholarly study based on investigations of parliamentary diaries, state papers, law treatises, and printed sources. Although the work concentrates on the Stuart period, the author surveys earlier Tudor traditions, beliefs, and political institutions and accomplishments. Judson deals with the same problems as Moosé (#0391), but the two take different approaches and reach different conclusions. Judson
argues that no English political writers or thinkers (with one exception) understood the nature of the constitutional and political issues with which they dealt until just prior to the Civil War. The one exception was Philip Hunton, whose Treatise of Monarchie appeared in 1643.


Mosse analyzes "the assimilation of the idea of sovereignty in English constitutional and political thought." He begins with the Tudor tradition regarding sovereign power—that the king owes allegiance to God and the law—and traces the decline of this concept through the reign of James I, with whom most of the book deals. The work ought to be compared to, and supplemented with, Judson's The Crisis of the Constitution (#0390).


Hinton discusses the government of King James and how it led (in 1610) to parliamentary pleas for liberty. Essentially, James' subjects criticized his impositions and proclamations and were apprehensive about his powers and possible abuse of them. By 1610, events abroad and the translation into English (in 1606) of Bodin's République (#0093) led to a parliamentary defense of liberty and the rights of subjects. Hinton studies these developments through the writings of Sir John Eliot, a parliamentarian familiar with the political thought of Bodin and an opponent of the government during the reign of Charles I.


An important discussion of the Tudor concept of empire and especially interesting for two other reasons: 1) it notes some references in Sh's history plays to the "imperial crown," "empery," "empress," "imperial majesty," etc.,
and 2) it indicates that "the language of Tudor politics also drew on 'imperial' terminology," through which it was enriched. Koebner begins his article by commenting on the use and meanings of the words "imperial" and "empire" in the Preamble to the 1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals and notes that "notions of empire and imperial authority" contributed significantly to the system of English government of later days. The article indicates by what means the term "imperial" came to be used by Henry VIII (who considered himself the possessor of an imperial crown), how various historians and statesmen reacted to the term and its implications, and how Polydore Vergil's Anglica Historia helped to make the term familiar and acceptable, perhaps because of Henry VIII's interest in the book as a source for propagating beliefs in his imperial power.


A study which is "an attempt to understand and...demonstrate how, by what means and methods, certain axioms of a political theology...began to be developed during the later Middle Ages." Specifically, the work deals with the concept of the "king's two bodies" as it was interpreted in medieval thought and political theory. The idea involves the difference between the king's royal and personal self, or being. In Chapter II (pp. 24-41), the author discusses Sh's RII, which, according to the author, "is the tragedy of the King's Two Bodies." The author discusses several aspects of the deposition scene and the new significance they gain when understood in light of the concept of the king's dual or "twin-born" being.


In this provocative essay, Mattingly discusses the development of thought directed toward the idea of a political state, indicating
that the term "state" was not a meaningful concept until the Renaissance. After discussing political and historical events in Italy throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, Mattingly focuses on Machiavelli and Luther, concluding that these two mark the change from medieval to modern times. Furthermore, they "may be said to have laid the psychological foundations of the modern state."


Salmon is concerned with the way in which Englishmen employed French principles during times of political predicament. He argues that many strands of English thought are traceable to the political thought stemming from the French religious wars. These French views, however, were not strictly native, but rather European in nature.


Basically, Ferguson deals with late medieval and early Renaissance England, a period during which chivalry, formerly an inspiration to live by, was replaced (through the Humanist movement) by a new intellectual context more suited to the age. By Henry VIII's time, the author contends, chivalry was over, but elements of chivalric idealism lingered on. In Elizabeth's age, the attitude toward chivalry was nostalgic and romantic. Ferguson's study of the chivalric tradition concentrates on three major areas: 1) as a tradition related to medieval didactic thought, 2) as an intellectual force shaping the attitudes of the governing class, and 3) as a tradition in relation to political and social realities. Chapter IV focuses on the "relationship between the chivalric tradition and political reality." For comments about the relationship between the tradition and the issues of war and peace, see entry #0551.

Hinton defines the terms "mixed monarchy" and "absolute monarchy" and argues that from the time of Fortescue up to the eve of the Civil War occurred "a switch from the theory of mixed government to the theory of absolute government under the rule of law." Much of Part II is a refutation of various modern interpretations of Fortescue—all of which Hinton tries to correct through a close reading of Fortescue's works. In Part III, Hinton focuses on the constitutional theories of Sir Thomas Smith, as expressed in his De Republica Anglorum (#0133). Although the essay is limited in scope, it provides a useful analysis of these two important thinkers.


In this two-part work, the author first outlines the varieties of political thought current throughout the Elizabethan period. Talbert emphasizes the complexity of political thought and argues that the chain of being concept was only one of many political commonplaces. Generally, immediate historical events had much to do with shaping the political thought of the period. The author draws principally upon the treatises of John Ponet, Sir Thomas Smith, and Richard Hooker to substantiate his views. The second part deals with Elizabethan dramatic censorship as background for an investigation of the political relevancy (or non-relevancy) of some artistic works of the period, mainly Daniel's Philotas, Sidney's Arcadia, and, finally, Sh's RII. Sh's play is analyzed as an expression of "the omnipresent problem of order," a problem never fully resolved by the Elizabethans. Because Sh, in RII, depicts a complex and problematic political world, the author concludes that RII "is as much of a problem play as any of the later 'problem comedies'." See entry #0988.


The paradox about which Dunham speaks was
the Tudor practice of "augmenting" both political law and regal power at the same time. In short, increases in the king's prerogatives (for the purpose of solving immediate political crises) were accompanied by a strengthening of public or constitutional law. Even by the end of Elizabeth's reign, however, no one had solved the problem of which law (the king's prerogative or the statutes of parliament) was supreme. The author traces the statesmen's and jurists' awareness of the antithesis between the two throughout the successive Tudor reigns.


An investigation of the sermons delivered outside of the court by bishops entrusted with spreading acceptable political views. Smith argues that the bishops' belief in the prince as "keystone of the commonwealth" led them to emphasize, in public sermons, "a doctrine of the godly prince." The bishops could emphasize and develop this doctrine with greater freedom outside of court. Moreover, the bishops, just as much as the secular officials, became a channel for Tudor propaganda concerning kingship and commonwealth.


A discussion of the Elizabethan political philosophy in which the author concentrates upon the government's attitude toward justice, rebellion, kingly power, and other aspects. In noting the limitations of Elizabethan political thought, the author concludes that the "ideal of the Commonwealth," as expressed in numerous writings of the period, was not a political ideal in the modern sense, but "an ideal of justice, of duty, of unity rather than freedom to differ...." Throughout the article, the author refers to the outstanding social and political writings of the period and occasionally cites relevant passages from Sh's plays. The article is well-written and provides a concise summary of the political thought of Sh's age.
Most of this work is beyond the scope of this bibliography, but the early part contains a valuable discussion of the theory of "mixed" government in the Tudor period. Weston traces the theory's wide-spread circulation—largely due to Erasmus, Machiavelli, and a host of writers in England who disseminated the doctrine. As one would suppose, this section of the book contains discussions of many of the primary political tracts included in Section II of this bibliography. Of special interest are the author's comments about Sir John Fortescue, whose theory of dominium politicum et regale represents the 15th-cent. version of the "mixed" theory and was highly influential in shaping Tudor political thought. Weston argues that the theory of mixed government (ultimately deriving from Aristotle) reigned supreme in Tudor England and was not questioned by political thinkers there until 1832. Moreover, this theory protected the House of Lords from reformation or limitation of some of its powers.

The author deals "with the political fate of an image, which some political writers of the period under study were fond of describing as the analogy of the 'corps mystique'." Concentrating on well-known political treatises of the late medieval, early Renaissance period, Archambault's purpose is: 1) to trace the use of the analogy of the body throughout this literature, 2) to measure the importance of its use against a particular author's political thinking, and 3) to determine "whether the analogy was in favor with a 'liberal' or with an 'absolutist' monarchical tradition in European political thought."

Most of this article concentrates on the
political thought of Sir Robert Filmer and is, therefore, beyond the scope of this bibliography. However, Hinton makes some interesting comments about the relationship between king and commonwealth as it was understood by 16th- and early 17th-cent. political writers. He also accents their emphasis upon analogies, particularly that of the king as father and the commonwealth as family. In Hinton's opinion, Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* (#0133) best typifies the traditional concept of patriarchalism, as it was understood in the 16th cent. Bodin's emphasis upon the family as the basic model of political society is also discussed.


Hurstfield's approach to Elizabethan England is rather unusual in this work, which will, no doubt, appeal to many. He attempts, through a number of pertinent questions, to determine what 16th-cent. Englishmen felt about liberty, corruption, and the nature of government. The book is divided into four parts, each of which contains one or more essays, many of which were first published elsewhere. Part I contains two essays that attempt to determine what "freedom and consent" meant to people in the 16th cent. In both studies, writers of the period are searched for answers. The first essay is entitled "Was there a Tudor despotism after all?". Here Hurstfield asks, e.g., whether Henry VIII enjoyed public support or whether his subjects merely acquiesced. The second essay, "The paradox of liberty in Shakespeare's England," questions whether Sh was a great exponent of liberty, as so many have claimed. Sh's works are studied for clues to the concept of liberty during Sh's age. Hurstfield concludes that Sh placed a greater emphasis on national independence than on personal freedom. Parts II and III of the book deal with religion and corruption, respectively. Part IV concentrates on English society.

**Individual Thinkers**

**The Ancients**

Explores some of the political uses to which Tacitus was put during the Stuart period. The author indicates that most Tacitean precepts were derived through translations, although Tacitus was also read in the original and by such people as Queen Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex. Sir Francis Bacon, however, was the first to make extensive use of Tacitus and did so as courtier, statesman, and historian.


A brief glance at Machiavelli's use of Livy and Tacitus and at the fortunes of all three writers in Elizabethan England, where Ben Jonson, not Sh, achieved a Tacitean blend of political diagnosis and social satire.


The author compares identical sections of three commentaries on the Politics (two of them medieval and one produced in the Renaissance) in order to determine what changes occurred in such commentaries and to see what attitudes they reveal about the cultural and political climates of the time in which they were produced. The medieval commentaries employed are those by Thomas Aquinas (finished by Peter of Auvergne) and Walter Burley. The Renaissance commentator is Michael Piccart.

Bodin


In this short study, Mosse claims to have "rigidly confined [himself] to the République's definition of sovereignty and its influence" between the years 1581-1606. He points to the wide-spread acceptance of Bodin's theory; dis-
cusses various adaptations of it in England (e.g., Merbury's *Discourse of Royal Monarchy*—entry #0131); and indicates some of the ways in which Bodin's ideas were employed by parliamentarians and religious writers. Mosse concludes that Bodin did not contribute "any new or revolutionary ideas to English political thought, yet provided by his definition of sovereignty a most important tool for the controversy between king and Parliament."

**Erasmus**


A detailed analysis of the political content of the *Institutio*, which Born considers Erasmus' "most formal—though not necessarily the greatest or even most influential—treatise on politico-ethics." Born believes the *Institutio* expresses Erasmus' most mature and richest thought; to a large extent, he borrowed from the political works of his predecessors, but also re-created their ideas and "placed upon them the stamp of his own genius." The article contains a lengthy footnote (pp. 540-43, n. 4) in which Born notes works parallel to the *Institutio* from the 12th to the 17th centuries—all arranged by countries.

**Fortescue**


Ferguson "borrows" Fortescue from the students of legal and constitutional history and from those of political theory and looks at him, instead, as a social commentator. In so doing, he clarifies many of Fortescue's political ideas and theories about government, his attitudes toward England and her institutions, and his awareness of social and economic developments. The character of Fortescue's thought is concentrated upon, and his achievements are measured against the background and "conceptual equipment he had inherited."
Ribner surveys recent scholarship devoted to Machiavelli and his influence and argues against Edward Meyer's "Machiavelli and the Elizabethan Drama" (#0653). Ribner indicates that Machiavelli's Prince and Discourses were known to Englishmen, even in English, before 1600, but misread because they failed to see them in proper perspective—as expressions applying to particular conditions in Italy. Gentillet's Contre-Machiavel, in Ribner's estimation, "was merely one of the many church attacks upon Machiavelli which helped foster an already existent misconception." See Antonio D'Andrea's article (#0414) for a more recent, and opposite, view of Gentillet.

D'Andrea studies the political background of Gentillet's Discours (#0092) in order to determine the Frenchman's motives for attacking Machiavelli as he did. The author argues that the Discours was the result of a systematic, although biased, analysis of The Prince and the Discourses on Livy as well as a treatise in support of Hugenot policies and propaganda. The author relates Gentillet's book to the works of Hotman (#0078) and Bèze (#0079), to the Vindiciae contra Tyrannos (#0081), and to other monarchomach literature of that period. Gentillet's Discours was influential in shaping the Vindiciae, the author argues. Gentillet was also responsible for the belief that Machiavelli championed "the absolute power of kings."

Hooker

A small volume in which the author discusses Hooker's concept of law, political obligation, and the relation between Church and
state. Davies points out that Hooker countered Presbyterian beliefs that the Bible laid down principles and laws by which the English should be governed. Hooker gave more authority to the state and regarded Church and state as separate entities organically united. This work serves as a good introduction to Hooker's thought and to the controversies out of which it grew.

**King James I**


This clear and readable account is a good source for the intellectual thought centering on the Church-state question from the years 1606-20. It also discusses the political theory dealing with the Oath of Supremacy. King James I's attitude toward kingship is admirably elucidated, as is James' contribution to the "divine right of kings" theory. McIlwain includes several appendices relating to early Stuart political literature.


In this important and thought-provoking essay, Greenleaf reinterprets the political thought of James I and does so by what he calls a close look at the text and the context in which it was cast. In other words, because King James employed an elaborate system of analogies in justifying royal absolutism, any attempt to interpret his political thought must be based on the intellectual thought and manners of thinking of his own period, from which these analogies derived. Greenleaf sees in King James' political thought four distinct elements which contribute to its meaning: 1) "the concepts of Order and the corresponding planes," 2) "the argument by correspondence," 3) "the idea of disorder," and 4) "the political implications involved." His study leads Greenleaf to conclude that many earlier studies of James I and the divine right theory--Allen's (#0379), Figgis' (#0387), and even McIlwain's (#0416), for example--"are inapt and unhistorical, and are the outcome both of oversimplification and
anachronism." In the author's opinion, King James "deserves a higher place in the history of systematic political thought than he is normally accorded."

Machiavelli


A great and famous work on Machiavelli and his influence. Only the first five chapters deal with the Florentine's influence during the 16th cent.; the rest trace Machiavellism up to the 20th cent. In Chapter I, Meinecke discusses Machiavelli's debt to ancient political thinkers; the historical background of *The Prince*; and Machiavelli's views concerning raison d'etat, virtù, fortuna, and necessità. He credits the Italian thinker with being the first to analyze the essence of raison d'etat. Chapters II-IV deal with European thinkers (Gentillet, Bodin, Botero, Boccalini, and Campanella) and their reaction to, or use of, Machiavelli's thought. Chapter V concentrates on the spread of the doctrine of raison d'etat in Italy and Germany. See pp. 120-22 for comments about Sh knowing something of "the new fashionable theory of ragione di stato."


Gilbert's book is a specialized study of *The Prince* and shows in what ways it resembles other books of the period concerned with giving advice to rulers. The author works through *The Prince* chapter by chapter, using quotations and comments from other handbooks for princes, not to prove that Machiavelli used them as sources, but to illuminate the background out of which *The Prince* grew. Gilbert does not trace Machiavelli's later influence. A summary of the author's conclusions appears in outline form on p. 2.

This article should be compared to A. H. Gilbert's (#0419), for both students approach The Prince from the point of view of its background, but reach different conclusions. Felix Gilbert attempts "to establish direct links between Machiavelli and his literary predecessors." He therefore analyzes humanist ideas on princes and the art of ruling, believing that Machiavelli was attacking these ideas. He also argues that Machiavelli did not originally intend to make The Prince conform to the pattern of mirror-for-princes literature, but did so as an afterthought. A. H. Gilbert's main thesis, on the other hand, is that The Prince was patterned to conform to that literature.


In this important, two-part study, Orsini proves "that there was a group of words which in the Elizabethan era became almost the technical language of Machiavellianism." Some of these words were used in reference to what Orsini calls "the practical art of politics"; others referred to "the theory or doctrine of that art." Among the former category were the words "policy," "politic," "practice," and derivative forms; among the latter were "maxim," "aphorism" and other connected words. Significantly, the appearance of these words in Elizabethan texts indicates Machiavellian influence—when the words are used with particular meanings, that is, for the word "policy" originated in the 14th cent. Orsini investigates Elizabethan uses of these words and concludes that only Bacon understood Machiavelli. However, the Elizabethan fascination with Machiavellian politics, as conceived in the general mind, caused the idea of "policy" to spread widely and to become in the literature and drama of the time (particularly Sh's) a "leit-motiv, almost an obsession," according to the author.


A brilliant portrait of two thinkers who, together, "represent the first tough-minded but imaginative thinking about modern political, social, and economic problems," as the author states it. Harbison concentrates on Machiavelli and More as "polar opposites," the former basically realistic, the latter basically moralistic. Harbison comments on the motives leading to the creation of both The Prince and Utopia, on the major philosophies both works seem to convey, and on why the tension between realist and moralist political doctrines is as significant today as it was during the early 16th cent., when these two thinkers laid down modern political concepts in works of perennial value.


According to the translator, Chabod's work is a "landmark" in Machiavelli studies. The book contains four essays--two on The Prince, one on Machiavelli's style, and one entitled "The Concept of the Renaissance." It owes much to Croce, who liberated Machiavelli from the charge of immorality and saw that his greatest contribution was to free politics and political thought from other influences and to make them autonomous.


Raab traces the reception of Machiavelli's ideas in England from the 1540's to the beginning of the 18th cent., and, in the case of the Tudor and early Stuart periods, brilliantly argues that it was not until the latter period that men began to consider politics as an autonomous area of human activity. Until then, Elizabethan theorists had been conscious of
statecraft, but not of the state, and most were unable to separate political aims from the Christian world view they had inherited and according to which they governed. Machiavelli's attitude toward religion as a political device was the greatest stumbling-block to Elizabethans, Raab contends. Whatever Elizabethan attitudes might have been, however, Machiavelli's ideas were circulating widely throughout England, and it was to The Prince or The Discourses that men turned in order to define and clarify their own political, or religious-political, beliefs.

More


The author summarizes modern scholarship on More's Utopia, indicating various schools, and then interprets the work in terms of Catholic doctrines on reason, revelation, and grace. The comments of More's contemporaries are used as "external evidence" to reveal more concerning the real nature of this work, which covers so many aspects of a state. Surtz concludes with a definition of the Utopia: "a pre-Reformation humanistic document with an eye to the reform of all phases and departments of the Christian state."


Ponet


A well-documented and readable introduction to the thought of an important Reformation religious figure and political theorist. The biographical section contains interesting information about Ponet's religious career as Bishop of Rochester and Winchester, about his part in Wyatt's Rebellion, his activities as a Marian exile, his advocacy of marriage among the clergy, and discussions of Ponet's written works and the sources of this thought. Occasionally, Hudson's
opinions detract from an otherwise learned study, as when he theorizes about the fate of some of Ponet's writings or the extent of their influence, but his defense of Ponet and discussion of the latter's Shorte Treatise (#0120)—the first (1556) edn. of which is reproduced in facsimile at the end of the volume—is illuminating and balanced. Hudson's study also includes a full bibliography of both primary and secondary sources.

Smith


A study of Smith's life and works. His political writings are treated "only in their biographical context," according to the author, who hopes to bring out a critical and definitive study of his major works sometime in the future. She also expects to prove that Smith, not Sir Thomas Gresham, wrote the Memorandum for the Understanding of the Exchange (#0256).

Wilson


A short discussion of Sir Thomas Wilson's role as a humanist statesman during Elizabeth's reign. Wilson's political, religious, and social ideas, as they appear in his works, are analyzed, and Schmidt believes they reveal Wilson's never-failing goal: "to teach citizenship." Schmidt concludes that Wilson was one of the most effective and powerful scholar-statesmen during the late 16th cent. and a man totally devoted to the Tudor ideals concerning religion and the commonwealth.

Composite Studies

Each lecture deals with a single great thinker of the period, and each is written by an authority. The seven lectures are devoted, respectively, to Nicolas of Cusa, Sir John Fortescue, Machiavelli, Sir Thomas More, Erasmus, Luther, and Calvin. An introductory chapter by the editor contains general comments about the terms "renaissance" and "reformation" and what they meant to succeeding ages. He then surveys the social, political, and religious background of the Middle Ages and discusses the period of the Renaissance and Reformation in more specific terms, concentrating on their character and the immense changes in social and political thinking that occurred throughout these periods. In short, Hearnshaw compresses a great deal into a small space and does it admirably.

A continuation and companion (of sorts) to entry #0430, but a separate and independent volume. Of the eight lectures contained here, only four deal with thinkers of Sh's age. These include Jean Bodin, Richard Hooker, Francisco Suarez, and King James I. Hearnshaw's Intro. to this volume is a bit more sketchy than that in the companion volume. In discussing the social and political problems of these two cents., he focuses on the European scene, for the most part, but the Elizabethan settlement and later English political developments receive some attention.
Many of Pollard's views are now considered dated, but this work remains one of the best of the longer surveys of England's political history during the second half of the Tudor period. The first half of that period is covered by Herbert A. L. Fisher's volume (Vol. V) of the Political History. A large number of subjects are discussed, and the author employs a chronological treatment for each topic. Among the subjects dealt with are civil and foreign events, uprisings and rebellions, various governmental policies, and so forth. The work is especially valuable for its specific details involving government officials and events. It also includes a section entitled "The Age of Shakespeare," in which the author declares that the literature of Sh's age was not political, except for Hooker's Lawes, which is only quasi-political. Moreover, says Pollard, Sh's attitude toward the questions with which political history is concerned is "obscure" and not important. "Patriotism is the only political passion which Shakespeare deigns to express," says Pollard (p. 442). Pollard's opinion here has often been held up as an example of "romantic" criticism; see, e.g., Christopher Morris (#0384) and David Bevington (#0665), who argue otherwise concerning Sh and his political outlook.


The CBEL (#0013) calls this "an impartial and learned account of the political history of Elizabeth's reign." It is perhaps the best detailed survey of the period 1588-1603. The historical events of the last 15 years of the reign are treated narratively, and the author also describes many of the political and social institutions of the time. Vol. I deals with royal administration, military affairs, exploration and commerce, and violence on the sea. Vol. II takes up the year 1596, the league against Spain, Elizabeth's last four parliaments, local government, the fall of Essex, and Elizabeth's last
days. The author postulates that Elizabeth's success at government was due more to good fortune than to her own abilities. The work is full of fascinating material, and the author clarifies many terms.


This work traces the course of English political and social history from 450 A.D. to 1760. It will be of interest to those who wish to know more about the actual social conditions of the periods treated by Sh in his history plays. Moreover, the book is more than a narrative of events; according to the author, he has concentrated on "the political and legal experience of the English people in the context of economic and intellectual change." He also deals with major institutions and personalities. The chapters cover major periods (e.g., 1189-1307), except for Chapters I and VII, in which the author discusses interpretations of medieval and modern history, respectively.


One of the latest political histories of England. In the author's words, the book is "basically a political narrative; the story of the rise and fall of a system of government which may loosely be called the Tudor monarchy." The work concentrates on the relationship between the Crown and what the author refers to as the "political nation"—those aristocratic and popular forces working to obtain more power and control over government. Loades begins by investigating "the eclipse of the medieval monarchy," and then deals with the numerous political changes that occurred from the 1530's to the death of Elizabeth. The Tudor emphasis upon obedience receives considerable attention. In the author's opinion, the decline of the Tudor system of government began during Queen Elizabeth's reign.
Special Studies


Pearson examines, from a political point of view, the Puritan movement in the Elizabethan period. His work has been referred to by various bibliographers as an "indispensable" study. Besides clarifying Puritan attitudes toward obedience, rebellion, law, and lawful government, Pearson studies Thomas Cartwright, the leader of the movement, and opines that Cartwright was more political than he realized. Basically, Cartwright was content with Elizabeth's religious settlement, even though he regarded Church and state as separate entities, unlike the government officials. Because the government found Cartwright's views offensive and likely to endanger the commonwealth, the religious leader was forced beyond his wishes to defend his political opinions.


Rezneck gives a short history of the crime of treason and of Tudor legislation pertaining to it. Because the Tudors manufactured a great deal of treason legislation and harshly enforced their policies, the author sees them as "more than representative of the age as a whole" in this matter.


A study of the succession question and of the relationship between Elizabeth and her nearest Tudor relative. James' desire to succeed Elizabeth and his attempts to force a declaration from her in his favor, were often troublesome to the Queen. Nevertheless, she never intended anyone else to succeed her. The author discusses the many contenders for the crown and the various crises (the Essex conspiracy, e.g.) that threatened it. The book is based on a large number of primary sources. It serves as
a supplement to Joel Hurstfield's "The Succession Struggle in Late Elizabethan England" (#0445).


The author surveys the antiquarianism of the Tudor and early Stuart periods, noting the most famous of those persons touched with the antiquarian passion as well as their contributions. He also argues that aspects of antiquarianism or the collectors themselves were often powerful political forces in both international and domestic politics. He notes the vast number of sources from which antiquarian interests arose and attributes to these efforts the precious collections of great libraries, the amassing and dissemination of learning, and the creation of national traditions and sense of pride in England's past. The article discusses many works included in Section II of this bibliography.


A study of the humanist tradition in England after Henry VIII's break with Rome. Zeeveld deals specifically with those humanists who helped to implement the idea of royal supremacy, and he does so by investigating the propaganda they wrote in support of Henry's political program. In the author's opinion, the humanists attempted to set up a national policy rooted in tradition, but it was one also geared to the immediate political situation. He believes these writers were animated by liberalism, recognized the value of dissent, and made significant contributions to the history of intellectual thought in England.


Lowers studies the Tudor ideal of civil obedience and the manner in which it was propa-
gated by polemicists and artists. In his opinion, the Northern Rebellion of 1569 was vividly remembered by Elizabethans worried about new outbreaks of violence and revolution. Thus, much polemical literature (in the form of ballads, tracts, and pamphlets) was produced to perpetuate and rekindle early Tudor ideas about civil obedience. Moreover, argues Lowers, artists of the period "were prompt to take over the arguments advanced by the polemicists and expressed them repeatedly in dramatic and non-dramatic works." Thus, both artists and polemicists helped to educate the public about civil obedience. In his treatment of this subject, Lowers discusses many of the works included in Section II of this bibliography.


Smith concentrates on the religious thinkers of Henry VIII's time and on the government's fear of religious revolution. Because of the threat of social unrest stemming from religious upheavals, Henry VIII's administrators and statesmen were essentially conservative, according to Smith. This conservatism prompted them to accept religious compromise in order to preserve national unity and to secure the realm against religious strife and rebellion.


A fascinating and detailed investigation of Tudor treason trials. The author attempts to explain the mysterious aspects of the trials, the confessions of those accused, their attitudes toward the King and the law, and other relevant points. He sees the Tudor doctrine of absolute obedience and the "doctrine of self-sacrifice to the will of society" as partial explanations for the victims' reactions to their fates, but he admits that no certain answer is possible. However despotic and totalitarian the state, the Tudor government did not demand men's souls in the process of removing heads from bodies, Smith reminds us.
One of the foremost authorities on Elizabethan history, Neale has published in this volume twelve excellent and distinguished short studies, most of them relevant to Elizabethan politics. Several of the essays were published earlier under separate cover or in journals. This volume therefore serves to make available to a wider public many of the best products of Neale's scholarly activity. The range of subjects covered is considerable, but the following selected titles will suggest the nature of the volume's content: "The Elizabethan Age"; "The Elizabethan Political Scene"; "The Via Media in Politics: A Historical Parallel"; "The Diplomatic Envoy"; and "English Local Government: A Historical Retrospect."

Two of these studies merit special notice. One of them, "The Elizabethan Political Scene," was presented as the Raleigh Lecture on History for 1948 and has long been admired by historians of the period. It is a behind-the-scenes look at what went on in Elizabeth's administration. The focus is upon the nature of the power wielded and the machinery—mainly the patronage system—by which it was accomplished. Court rivalries, the often devious means by which men amassed great fortunes, and the manipulations of the Queen make up the fabric of this rich and brilliant portrait. Another essay, "English Local Government...," explains the medieval system of local government that survived into the 16th cent. Neale cites the exchange between Justice Shallow and Justice Silence in Sh's HVV and Dogberry in Much Ado as reflections of local and county officials, and, from his explanation of their duties as conceived by both them and the central government, it is clear that Sh was well-acquainted with the characteristics of local government, the operations of which he represents through these minor officials.

The book as a whole is enlivened with many portraits in miniature of Queen Elizabeth and her statesmen. Throughout, Neale emphasizes the Queen's wisdom and special qualities that made her a great ruler in a great age.
Certainly one of the most abiding political problems of the Elizabethan period and one on which Englishmen and foreigners expended a great deal of thought was the question of who would succeed Queen Elizabeth. Hurstfield treats that problem admirably in this essay and argues that there were really two succession struggles, both of them intimately linked. One struggle involved claimants to the crown; the other involved the rivalry between Robert Cecil and the Earl of Essex and their secret dealings with King James of Scotland. Hurstfield indicates that the latter struggle was one for power during the Queen's lifetime, but it also affected the change of government after Elizabeth's death. Cecil's political finesse is seen by the author as being responsible for the orderly transition of government in 1603.

In this excellent study, MacCaffrey describes the workings of the patronage system and the various kinds of patronage employed during Elizabeth's reign. He also describes the political posts sought by aspirants and gives examples of particular successes and failures. The essay indicates how and how much politicians were paid or rewarded for services. Although political practices were often corrupt, MacCaffrey believes that by the end of Elizabeth's reign, powerful families and political cliques were more united in their support for a lawful and peaceful government than for personal aggrandizement and power. The essay is valuable for its depiction of mental attitudes toward politics and the Elizabethan political arena.

According to the author, the theme of this study "is to inquire into the general character
of politics in the first perilous decade" of Elizabeth's reign. MacCaffrey argues that Elizabeth's government was from the beginning "deeply and consistently conservative," whereas the governments of Edward and Mary (despite the latter's conservatism) were "radical." The author discusses Elizabeth's family and other court members who played major parts in the political arena, with an accent on Lord Robert Dudley, the Queen's favorite. Also stressed are the two "really divisive issues" during the decade—the royal marriage and the question of succession to the throne. As usual, MacCaffrey analyzes the political scene of these ten years with a sharp and penetrating eye.


A short account (and fairly up-to-date) of the Yorkist-Lancastrian struggles by a widely-recognized authority. Chrimes interprets the struggles, "so erroneously and misleadingly called the 'Wars of the Roses'," as dynastic conflicts concerned with "the most vital political problem...namely, in whom and therefore in what family were the all-important powers of the kingship to be vested?"


A study of the Wyatt and Dudley conspiracies during the reign of Mary and their effect upon the political thought of Marian and Elizabethan England. Although the conspirators against Mary later supported Elizabeth, the latter managed to manipulate the gentry so as to modify their strength and squelch many of their ambitions. The political changes that the uprisings had sought to bring about were not ignored by Elizabeth, whose government employed means to eradicate the types of rebellion that had troubled her sister. This study was the Prince Consort Prize Essay for 1962.


Focuses on the long-term alterations in the English political structure due to Henry VIII's
advancement of laymen to political offices, thereby removing clerics from their control over political life. The author traces the revolutionary changes in English life stemming from the continuing rise of aristocratic political power during the period indicated. By Elizabeth's reign, Protestant aristocrats had a monopoly on the political power that had formerly been balanced between the Crown and aristocracy, says MacCaffrey. Ultimately, by 1603, the aristocracy had limited the initiative of, and imposed its will upon, the monarch.


The author studies the years 1558-72, which, he claims, mark a turning point in English politics. During those years, a "new system of power" was worked out between the Queen and various partisan groups composed mainly of aristocrats. At this time, both the monarch and these partisan groups were united in their attempt to establish Protestantism; nationalism grew stronger during this partnership. Queen Elizabeth, Leicester, and Lord Burghley were the three main powers involved, says MacCaffrey. Elizabeth was more conservative than the other two, but all three were intent upon restoring the habits of obedience and civil order that had deteriorated during Mary's reign. Moreover, MacCaffrey believes the idea of the monarch as God's lieutenant became a more common political commonplace during these years, replacing the medieval view of kingly subordination to God and the law.


Oakley concentrates on the importance of the judgment handed down by Chief Baron Fleming in the Bates Case of 1606, in which Fleming distinguished between the "absolute" and "ordinary" powers of the king. Oakley traces the history of the development and diffusion of this distinction and attempts to understand its meaning. Throughout his study, Oakley refers to modern scholarship on the subject (mainly McIlwain's) and indicates why the topic is important for an understanding of early modern constitutional
history and early Stuart political developments.


This work contributes significantly to the study of early Tudor political commonplaces. The author is concerned with both public and courtly spectacles of various sorts and analyzes them from an artistic point of view as well as in relation to their political context. Many political ideas that later became Tudor commonplaces were first propagated through court pageants and various other forms of displaying regal power and magnificence. These began with the accession of Henry VII and his marriage to Elizabeth of York—the union which brought to an end the Wars of the Roses. The author limits himself to the period 1485-1559.


On the corruption in James I's government. A study of those government officials who made great fortunes out of their services to the state and of James' financial and political irresponsibility.


Contained here in more accessible form are a number of studies published earlier by this outstanding authority. Vol. I contains papers dealing with Tudor politics and government; volume II with Parliament and political thought. The 32 separate studies cover a wide range: discussions of Henry VII, Henry VIII, Wolsey, More, Elizabeth, and others; investigations of particular aspects of Tudor government; parliamentary business, events, and enactments; and comments on the divine right of kings theory, the political creed of Thomas Cromwell, and a discussion of Thomas Starkey's Dialogue. Most of Elton's shorter studies that might have been logically entered in this section of the bibliography have been omitted because of this recent collection.
Tudor and Stuart Government

General Works


Valuable mainly for Elton's commentary, this work provides an up-dated and improved version of J. R. Tanner's *Tudor Constitutional Documents*. Although only selected documents are included, they number 216. The following areas are represented: the Crown, the Council, various courts, Parliament, and the Church. Elton's intro. to each section of documents offers an up-to-date survey of that particular area of Tudor government. Here one will find documents and commentary relating to the Tudor theory of kingship, e.g., or to the government's sources of revenue.


In this brief survey of Elizabethan government, Read focuses on the Queen, as supreme head of the government, and discusses the powers and functions of the Privy Council, Parliament, and various courts. He also comments upon Church administration, government at the local level, and the Elizabethan military system. A short list of suggested readings is appended.


Prepared for students and general readers, this collection of seven short studies is a clear and concise introduction to the whole field of Elizabethan government. Recent advances in scholarship are stressed, and they serve to point up such things as the relative decline in the effectiveness of the Elizabethan system of government during the last decade of the reign. A discursive bibliography is included which directs the reader to the most important full-length studies of particular
aspects of Elizabethan government and warns him of certain weaknesses in earlier, but still important, scholarship. Although balanced, judicious, and illuminating, the book is often repetitious.

Special Studies


A work very much admired by economic historians, it is indispensable for understanding the means by which English government was financed during this period. Dietz pays attention to the relationship between government finance and contemporary political problems and policies. The book also corrects older theories about the extent of taxation as a means of governmental revenue. He concludes that the Tudor governments were strong because of solid financial foundations, but, had they succeeded in all their financial schemes, the consequences would have curtailed personal freedom. For a history of the fiscal policy of the reigns of Elizabeth and James, see his *English Public Finance, 1558-1641* (#0460).


A two-part work in which the author deals with Elizabethan and Jacobean governmental revenues and finances. Part I deals with the pressures exerted on the crown by military and social developments, the government's efforts to solve financial problems, and the constitutional struggles involved. Part II is concerned with special revenues and the means of administering them. This study of Elizabethan-Jacobean fiscal policy is a continuation of Dietz's *English Government Finance, 1485-1558* (#0459).


Dunham explains the role and purpose of the
King's Whole Council and discusses the tremendous power Wolsey exerted over that body. Wolsey revived an unusual number of old laws and prosecuted numerous wrong-doers. His work was prompted by ultra-royalist motives that would provide security for the Tudor dynasty as well as for the state, Dunham argues. Moreover, according to Dunham, Wolsey immensely strengthened the concept of royal prerogative, which Henry VIII reaped the fruits of after the Cardinal's fall.


Elton argues that "astonishingly revolutionary changes" occurred in English government during the 1530's because of the administrative reforms effected by Henry VIII and his ministers. Basically, these reforms brought about a national government, or, as the author phrases it, a "self-contained sovereign state in which no power on earth could challenge the supremacy of statute made by the crown in parliament." Bureaucratic methods were instituted throughout the central government, Elton affirms, and the new changes were largely the work of Thomas Cromwell. The book is based on extensive research into primary documents of Henry VIII's reign. At one time considered controversial, it seems to have survived the test of time. It is an important book for anyone wishing to understand the fundamentals of early Tudor government and the impact upon succeeding reigns of Henry VIII's governmental administration.


Hinton concentrates on the number of acts of Parliament during the reigns of Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I. He reminds us that, while there were fewer acts of Parliament (indicating a decline of parliamentary government), there was no "relaxation of government as a whole." Rather, an increasing amount of governmental activity was carried on outside of Parliament. He also argues that the period experienced a decline in the "idea of parliamentary government in favour of ideas about es-
sentially unchangeable law." He suggests that the switch to "unparliamentary" government and the resulting ability to act more efficiently may have been more influential in the "elevation of the prerogative" during this period than other causes usually offered (e.g., new currents of political thought and ambitions of princes).


A study of the active participation in government and public life of the early Tudor humanists. It indicates how they were patronized, by whom, what revenues they earned, what tasks they performed, and so forth. Twenty-four humanists are discussed, and the author indicates the offices they held and their salaries. He believes more emphasis ought to be placed on the humanists' participation (or lack of it) in government and other social areas, for by such studies, we will be better able to judge them and their works in light of "the humanistic ideal of an active concern for the commonwealth."


The author divides her attention between Cromwell and his revival of parliamentary authority and Sh's treatment of that statesman in HVIII. She concludes that Sh's "tragic poetry in its entirety is the catharsis that cleansed the national character of the English people after Cromwell's work was done. By making England great, Cromwell made Shakespeare possible."


Historical Thought and Historiography

General Works


Kingsford traces the literary development
of English historical writing from Thomas Wal­singham to Sir Thomas More and Polydore Vergil. It is the author's thesis that the earliest 15th-cent. works are generally imitations of medieval models, narrow in outlook, and generally written by monks in Latin. Throughout the cent., however, significant changes and developments occurred in historical writing, largely because of a growing national consciousness and a revival of learning. By the end of the cent., a "new epoch in historical literature" had dawned. Kingsford believes 16th-cent. historiography cannot be appreciated without a knowledge of the achievements of 15th-cent. historians. In his study, Kingsford considers a wide range of historical materials—chronicles of various sorts, biographies of Henry V, the Brut, ballads, poems, and the Paston letters, to name but a few. The work is immensely valuable for the light it casts upon the use later historians made of 15th-cent. materials. It also contains a list of printed edns. of primary materials as well as a list of unpublished MSS mentioned by the author.


Dean's purpose is twofold: 1) to summarize the "conservative or conventional Tudor theory of history," and 2) to describe the criticisms directed toward the theory and show "how it had been discussed and modified by the time of Bacon." Raleigh's History of the World (#0234) is discussed as an example of a Renaissance history revealing elements of both the traditional theory and later developments. Dean concludes with some interesting problems and questions one ought to keep in mind when reading and interpreting Tudor histories.


Beginning with the late medieval chron­iclers and the early humanists, the author
traces the progress of history writing throughout the 16th cent. in England, ending with the "politic" historians Hayward, Bacon, and Raleigh. The author's purpose is not only to explain the principles and methods of history writing that developed, but also to elucidate the causes that shaped that development. Essentially, Levy argues that while changing tastes, an expanding economy, increasing literacy, and a wide-spread interest in history produced revolutionary changes in history writing, many of the older attitudes remained constant. Before the scientific advances of the 17th cent. became fully assimilated, most men still believed in a providentially-directed and basically orderly universe. The difference was that later historians no longer emphasized the workings of God's providence, but rather focused on explaining the ways of men, hoping, thereby, that through the writing and reading of history, men might come to learn profitable lessons. An interesting section on the dramatists (pp. 225 ff.) argues that historians learned valuable techniques from Marlowe and Sh, particularly the art of condensation and the method of constructing a history around a particular motif or theme, just as the dramatists had learned other values from their predecessors in the historical discipline, especially Sir Thomas More and Edward Halle.


Tholfsen argues that his book is more than a summary of conclusions reached by authorities and stated in definitive works, for, in his opinion, "no such definitive work exists" on the nature of historical thinking. Hence, Tholfsen describes his book as a "provisional synthesis, drawing on the numerous valuable studies by both historians and philosophers." Tholfsen begins by tracing the origins of modern historical thought and, in Chapter III, "History in Christian and Renaissance Thought," arrives at the period relevant to this bibliography. Throughout the work, he emphasizes the differing intellectual traditions responsible for the development of historical thought. Chapter III is principally concerned with European developments in historiography, but occasionally the author glances at England.
The author aims, in this short work, "to disentangle some two or three strands" in the historiographical thought of the period between 1350-1650, and, on the whole, succeeds in clarifying the major attitudes toward historiography as exemplified in those writers he isolates as most representative. Burke contends that it was during the Renaissance that historians began to develop "a sense of anachronism" (or historical perspective and an awareness of the "difference" of earlier cultures). Humanists such as Valla and Erasmus also were responsible, because of their return to the "sources," for a developing "awareness of evidence" which came to influence history writing. The humanists and other Renaissance figures--Vasari, Guicciardini, Bodin--also furthered an "interest in causation" which supplanted the earlier chronicle approach to history. Burke's extra-long quotations, perhaps too interesting in themselves, are often obstacles to following the author's arguments, but the book will serve as a good introduction to the historiographical aspects of the period.


Special Studies


Stauffer's book has long been considered an excellent and important study. His interest is in biography as a literary form, and he is mainly concerned with the origins and development of biographical writing. Only Chapters I and II, on the Medieval and Renaissance periods, respectively, fall within the scope of this bibliography. In Chapter II, he devotes considerable attention to More's History of Richard III (#0191) and the Mirror for Magistrates (#0195). He briefly notes some Renaissance distinctions between history and biography, but for a fuller account of this particular problem,
one should consult Alfred H. Buford's article (#0483).


Chapter IX of this volume, "The Utility of History," is an expansion of Wright's 1931 essay "The Elizabethan Middle-Class Taste for History." Wright indicates that the middle class was strongly influenced by historical reading and study and considered it the most important of all secular studies. Through it, according to Wright, ordinary citizens learned moral and political lessons and gained a knowledge of national achievements. It also served to stir patriotic feelings. Wright discusses the large number of histories of various kinds produced to feed this middle-class taste and concludes that, although the influence of history upon average citizens cannot be measured, it was nevertheless a "potent factor" in their "intellectual progress."


In this short study, Miss Campbell discusses Tudor attitudes toward history as well as the purpose and significance of the Mirror for Magistrates. This study supplements many of the ideas to be found in the author's edn. of the Mirror (#0124) and in her Shakespeare's "Histories": Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy (#0695).


Many of the ideas of this article are repeated, sometimes word for word, in Chapter XIII of the author's Shakespeare's "Histories": Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy (#0695), according to her own admission on p. 168, n. *, of that work. The argument is that Elizabethans generally thought in terms of historical patterns when reflecting upon the political events of their own day. Moreover, the historical plays of Sh
and other dramatists were meant to be viewed as historical patterns applicable to the contemporary political scene. Miss Campbell studies Elizabethan political writings, rather than histories or literature, to show how these patterns of political conduct and thinking were expressed and applied.


Brown's excellent study, first presented as a dissertation, is essential to an understanding of Bodin's *Methodus* (#0217), the greatest of the *artes historicae* produced in the 16th cent. Brown studies the work against the background of earlier *artes historicae*, as a member of that genre, and as a criticism of contemporary legal methodology. Chapter III discusses the *artes historicae* before Bodin; Chapter VI those that came after. Chapter IV is devoted to the major themes of the Methodus. Chapter V is a comparison between the *Methodus* and the *République* (#0093), with an accent on the political ideas contained in each.


Bacon's pronouncements on the writing of history are studied as a means of shedding light on his own histories as well as on his intellectual milieu. Dean concludes that Bacon was an advocate "of what may be called the Polybian or Florentine theory of history-writing." That is to say, Bacon believed historians ought to be more realistic and analytic; their histories ought to be more useful by revealing what is politically expedient. In short, the purpose of history, as Bacon saw it, was to teach the art of political administration. The essay indicates those historians Bacon admired and in what way he agreed or disagreed with both ancient and contemporary historians.


A short, informative article about the use made of Bodin's *Methodus* (#0217) by various English historians. Dean finds no mention of Bodin
in England before 1580. Between that date and 1625, however, he was known to several serious students of history, among them Sidney, Harvey, Nashe, and Spenser. Although Englishmen seemed not to appreciate some of Bodin's novel speculations, his influence on history writing was significant. Bacon's theory of political history writing, e.g., seems to owe something to Bodin, according to Dean.


A discussion of six ideological preconceptions about the course of history held by Renaissance thinkers in both England and Europe. The six preconceptions treated are: 1) the idea of progress, 2) the theory of the plenitude of nature, 3) the climate theory, 4) the cyclical theory of history, 5) the doctrine of uniformitarianism, and 6) the idea of decline. The author shows how these ideas appear in the works of selected Renaissance thinkers. He believes the ideas help to explain the nature of Renaissance thought. The author indicates that the six ideas treated are classical in origin, but that they were widely current in both England and the Continent throughout the Renaissance. Moreover, they applied to all areas of thought and activity, not just to historical thinking.


Trimble describes some of the 93 histories (as listed by the STC) produced in England during the period indicated, the last date of which signifies the publication of Halle's Union...of Lancastre and Yorke (#0192). The author argues that, before the 1530's, interest in history or in methods of historiography was negligible. In the 1530's and 40's, however, changes in the religious, political, and military spheres, plus a growing nationalism, stimulated the production of new and far more sophisticated histories, the characteristics of which Trimble discusses here.

Buford investigates four works of the late Elizabethan, early Jacobean period which clearly distinguish between history and biography: North's trans. of Plutarch, Hayward's Henry IV (#0206), Bacon's Advancement of Learning (#0232), and Bolton's Hypercritica (#0235). While these works are the only ones discussed, Buford indicates that there are several more late 16th-cent. works which note the distinction. Buford discusses the contributions each of the four above-named writers made to biographical writing.


The author discusses the paradoxical use of the term "antiquity," which, he says, was applied to the present, not to the remote past, during the Renaissance. In explaining this use of the term, von Leyden concentrates upon a particular Renaissance approach to the study of history. The basic argument is that Renaissance writers thought of the world as having developed "to a state of antiquity and maturity in modern times." In short, the term "antiquity" took on a meaning opposite to its usual one. This idea was relinquished when scientific thought of the post Renaissance period began to influence historical study, the author affirms.


Benbow focuses on Abraham Fleming's considerable additions to the second edn. of Holinshed's Chronicles (the edn. used by Sh) and discovers differing historical points of view between it and the 1577 edn. Whereas Holinshed's theory of providential control over the destinies of men and nations is merely implied in the first edn., Fleming developed Holinshed's ideas "into an articulate philosophy of history," one in which God is seen as guiding men and nations to predetermined ends. In short, Fleming was "less interested in chronology than in teleology," says Benbow. Although Fleming's ideas were not new, he applied them consistently throughout the 1587 edn., thereby significantly contributing to its distinctive quality.
His practices, Benbow muses, might well have been employed more forcefully by artists or poets interested in the providential theory of causation.


Pages 79-81 contain brief comments on the humanistic interest in works of methodology relating to the study or writing of histories. The author points out that while many 16th-cent. writers used the word "methodus," in the titles of their textbooks dealing with the arts, few of them produced essays of methodology.


A short study of some of the important developments in the writing of English history during the 16th cent. Among these, Wheeler focuses on the division of material into regnal periods rather than the year to year account practiced by earlier annalists; the new self-consciousness on the part of historians; and a new interest in character portraits.


All six studies in this volume apply to the Italian Renaissance and, more specifically, to the developments in historical method as well as to changing attitudes toward the nature and function of history. The book will therefore provide background material for students interested in humanist influences in early Tudor historiography. Of special interest are the following: "The Renaissance Conception of the Lessons of History," "Individualism in Renaissance Historians," and two essays dealing with Erasmus. The first of these discusses his conception of history, and the second analyzes "the consequences of his views for the general position taken in the last years of his life." Of these four, the first three were published earlier in less complete form.

0489. Patrides, C. A. The Phoenix and the Ladder: The

An admirable account of the historiographical developments in western Christendom. The author glances briefly at Greco-Roman attitudes toward history and then discusses the Christian concept of history as manifested in the Old and New Testaments and the patristic writers. Considerable space is given to St. Augustine as the "father of the Christian 'philosophy' of history." Patrides then surveys the rise and decline of the traditional Christian view of history, ending with Milton's Paradise Lost. He argues that certain new ideas in the Renaissance ultimately led to the secularization of history. He frequently mentions Sh, whom he places "squarely within the Christian tradition," although the dramatist "was wont to stress the inscrutability of Providence" rather than to state explicitly any doctrines concerning the role of Providence in human affairs. This is a fine and well-documented treatment of the subject.


According to the author's abstract, the dissertation is concerned with the manner in which Humanism, Protestantism, and Tudor patriotism affected historical writing and theory throughout 16th-cent. England. In essence, these influences contributed to the change from chronicles to "recognizably modern" histories, says Levine. Moreover, a new body of theoretical literature relating to historical studies indicates Renaissance awareness of the difference between history and historical fiction, the author argues.


Burke attempts to determine which of the ancient historians were popular as well as when and by whom they were so considered. He counts the number of edns. of classical historians; classifies them by countries; analyzes their
reputations; and attempts to discover their audience. His findings show that between 1500-49, Sallust, Valerius, and Caesar were the three most popular historians. From 1550-99, Caesar, Sallust, and Livy, in that order, prevailed. From 1600-49, Tacitus, Sallust, and Florus held the limelight. In Part III of his essay, Burke attempts to determine why certain historians were admired. He cites contemporary testimonies relative to four "case studies"--Plutarch, Polybius, Livy, and Tacitus. The article is interesting and offers more concrete evidence about well-known facts—that the ancients were studied extensively and that Renaissance histories were modelled on those of Greece and Rome. Burke's study indicates that the ancient historians were not always equally popular, however, and that various reasons exist for the fluctuations in their fortunes during the Renaissance.


These excellent and detailed lectures deal with, respectively, the truth, use, and form of history as conceived by English historians of the Renaissance. Baker mentions a large number of historians, among them some not included in Section II of this bibliography. He indicates in what respects later writers built upon the work of predecessors, what they rejected, how their attitudes toward history differed, and what survived in historiographical thought. In the last lecture, Baker discusses the effects of history in literature of the period and notes different attitudes toward the two disciplines. The lectures also offer an excellent summary of major theories of history or their variations, e.g., the providential theory and the idea of cyclical alteration. A valuable collection engagingly presented.


Gilbert surveys the changes that occurred in historical thought and outlooks throughout the Renaissance. His thesis is that while history was not highly esteemed or considered important by the early humanists, neither was it
considered useless. As the Renaissance progressed, the attitude toward the lessons of history changed. They were no longer thought of as conveyors of religious truth, as in the Middle Ages, but as instructions in moral philosophy. Gilbert comments upon the theories and methods of history writing held by early humanists and explains the changes and developments in historical writings during the later periods, particularly the contributions of Guicciardini and the fact that history and politics became fused. There was also, throughout the period, a growing awareness of the remoteness of the past and a greater concern for the more critical and dispassionate use of sources.


A well-written and interesting essay in which Ferguson discusses the various uses made of history by Tudor intellectuals. He argues that from about 1450 to 1580 a new "sense of history" gradually emerged. New attitudes toward the past ultimately led to revolutionary practices in historiography after 1580. Basically, men became more concerned with particular aspects of the past in an attempt to gain historical understanding. Historians such as Camden, Stow, Bacon, and Raleigh began to concentrate on customs, institutions, and cultures. In short, they began to work with new data in an attempt to answer a variety of questions relating to man and his social context. Ferguson notes a variety of Tudor works and writers and the contributions they made to the developing sense of history.


The author indicates how translators, as one group of skilled or talented men who profited from the Elizabethan patronage system, contributed to cultural nationalism. On the whole, the author argues, the translations produced under the system were not outstanding from a literary point of view. However, during the years 1557-88, the translators helped to shape a cultural nationalism "without which the
achievements of the subsequent period would be unimaginable," says Ebel. Her study supports as well as questions several of the views of Eleanor Rosenberg in the latter's Leicester: Patron of Letters.


The author focuses upon the rhetorical conventions and training of Shakespeare's day in an attempt to determine how these were employed or modified by artists such as Daniel, Drayton, and others who wrote historical poetry. Drayton's Barrons Warres receives the largest share of attention. The author argues that before we can understand the use of history in Renaissance literature, we must "enter into Tudor historiography more imaginatively, through the historians, jurists, counsellors, and commentators of the period."


According to the author's abstract, this dissertation deals with the effects of the government censorship of Holinshed's Chronicles. The author identifies passages in both the 1577 and 1578 edns. that offended the Privy Council and indicates the problems encountered in revising both edns. She also interprets the excision of the catalogues supplied by the College of Antiquities as meant to protect either the Earl of Leicester's reputation or that of the English Church. She concludes that the removal of material of an historiographical nature was perhaps effected in order to increase the readers' sense of the practical applicability of history to contemporary problems.

Social History and Thought


A famous article in which Tawney describes the political and economic causes and effects relating to the rise of a large, important, and
variously-constituted social class. Tawney's thesis is that the aristocracy declined while the gentry, as a class, rose, creating a "new equilibrium." This rise was effected by means of new agricultural techniques and better land management on the part of the gentry. Tawney's views are questioned and, in some cases, declared incorrect by H. R. Trevor-Roper in his pamphlet *The Gentry, 1540-1640* (#0499).


The author takes exception to the views of R. H. Tawney as expressed in the latter's "The Rise of the Gentry..." (#0498) and other works. Trevor-Roper does not believe that the aristocracy was being replaced by the gentry; nor does he regard the two classes as necessarily distinct. He distinguishes between the "greater" and the "lesser" gentry and believes that the former, a small minority, did rise. The rise of the lesser gentry, a much larger class, did not occur until the 18th cent., in the author's opinion.


Reportedly a valuable socio-economic study.


Ferguson poses a series of questions relative to the writers of "commonwealth" literature (Robert Crowley, Clement Armstrong, Thomas Starkey, and others) in order to determine by what means these men sought remedies for the social ills they described. He sees their writings as mainly social and economic commentary, not as unique contributions to political thought. While all of them seem to Ferguson to be aware of new social forces and to express new realities concerning their changing society, basically they adapted to the emerging economic, social, and political conditions, rather than made "any consistent attempt to rationalize" changing attitudes.
Curtis deals with the unwitting role played by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in creating a significant (although not large) number of "alienated intellectuals" between 1603-40. Briefly, Elizabethan and Jacobean efforts to educate men for both lay and clerical positions backfired because the universities "prepared too many men for too few places." Many of the newly educated were forced to earn livings in positions that did not make use of their talents or fan their desires to serve the state. Ultimately, their frustration, discontent, and economic privation led them to criticize and undermine the Stuart government. Their alienation helps to account, in part, for the growing discontent with the Stuart system of government and for its eventual collapse. Although Curtis deals mainly with those educated for positions in the Church, he indicates also the situations of those who desired to serve the prince and found the Jacobean patronage system particularly frustrating, disgusting, and disillusioning.

More from Ferguson on the "commonwealth" literature and its major features (see entry #0501). In this article, Ferguson claims that the humanists and writers of "commonwealth" literature achieved a more comprehensive view of society and "a new perspective on the condition of man in general and of Englishmen in particular," but "no systematic social, political, or economic theory emerges from their work."

Harris concentrates on the religious dissenters, social malcontents, and opponents of Church, state, or established values whose views not only help to illuminate Sh's age, "but... are necessary for the fullest understanding of his time." Only rarely does Sh employ social satire, the author argues, and it is not directed
so much toward his society as toward individual men, whether in the heroic past or the immediate present. The author cites 2HIV as "Shakespeare's most extended satirically tragic contemplation of a 'general world' conspicuously resembling his own," but in that play it is Falstaff, "compounded of the grossest humours of our clay," who complains about the cynicism and moral decay of the age. The author discusses several works of the period that express pessimism, dissent, or discontent.


Ferguson studies the writings of the late medieval, early Tudor period that were concerned with describing the "true and perfect commonwealth." He analyzes this "commonwealth" literature in respect to the traditions behind it as well as in relation to the context of its own time. Ferguson calls this the literature of "diagnosis and prescription," and indicates that it was written by men who were concerned with various ills in the body politic. The works under consideration register the writers' political, social, and economic griefs. They also reveal the attempts of Tudor Englishmen to understand their society. Ferguson deals with Sir Thomas More, Thomas Starkey, Clement Armstrong, Sir Thomas Smith, and many others whose works are listed in Section II of this bibliography. For further comments from Ferguson about the "commonwealth" literature, see entries #0501 and #0503.


Hill discusses the attitudes of the property-tied classes and the learned toward the multitude and vice versa. Class hostility was all-pervasive throughout the period, the author argues, and gives examples of the many social tumults between the classes. A reference to Sh and the Jack Cade episode in HVI appears on p. 300.

A massive and valuable social study; admired for its "splendid detail." Stone's subject is the "tiny group of aristocrats [382 noblemen, as Stone counts them] who were the makers of what has traditionally been regarded as the stuff of history—namely national politics and war." Every aspect of aristocratic life is covered in three major sections—"The Nature of the Crisis," "Getting and Spending," and "Minds and Manners." For a more recent study by Stone of the aristocracy, see entry #0510.


Esler traces the origins, development, nature, and consequences of ambition among the young aristocrats of late Elizabethan England. In his opinion, the aspiring minds of the 1580's and 90's are suitable subjects for study within the framework of the theory of social generation, which he defines as an attempt "to interpret history, especially cultural history, in terms of the development and interaction of succeeding generations of men." In his introductory chapter, Esler explains this theory at considerable length and quotes both primary and secondary sources in support of the view that a new cultural and intellectual epoch arose in the last two decades of the century. It was largely due to young men who shared a "Marlovian mood of high aspiration," which ultimately resulted in the phenomenal achievements—in almost all areas of life—of the late Elizabethan period. An interesting book.


In this ambitious study, Stone presents evidence for what he believes to be a "seismic upheaval of unprecedented magnitude" affecting English society between 1540-1640. He also speaks of the causes as well as political and religious consequences of this upheaval. The study is an overview of the society as a whole and discusses social mobility in general, rather
than in specific terms. Stone deals with such elements as vertical and horizontal mobility, and the article casts much light on the political and economic atmosphere of the period.


This latest contribution by Stone contains case histories of five of the most wealthy and powerful families in 16th- and 17th-century England. Indeed, Stone deals with the crème de la crème, or, as he calls these families, the "élite within an élite." The five families involved are the Cecils, the Manners, the Wriothesleys, the Berkeleys, and the Howards. Stone is concerned with their financial resources, their political and economic power, their expenditures in entertainment and in developing great urban and country estates, and even with the ways in which marriages and children affected their family fortunes. Apparently, this is the most recent study of England's ruling class and should illumine an important area of social history.

Economic History and Thought

General Works


This volume surveys the growth of English economic theory and practice from the 11th to the 14th centuries; thus, it is valuable primarily as background material. Chapter III, "Economic Theories and Legislation," is perhaps the most relevant chapter, since it deals with early Church and patristic doctrines, many of which were still being quoted in the Renaissance. Ashley discusses Aquinas' attitude toward prices, the early attitudes toward usury, and the regulations of currency and trade, among other subjects. Although this is an older work, it is often referred to as authoritative by economic historians writing during the first decades of our own century. Must now be used with caution.
Cunningham and Lipson (#0513) are generally cited as standard authorities on British economics, as they were the first to survey the field in all its aspects. In this work, Cunningham incorporates several points from his larger and more famous work, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*. In his *Essay*, as the title implies, he is concerned with England only as part of a larger picture, but the great value of this shorter study consists in the author's ability to trace England's rise to economic prosperity against the background of the whole European community with which she was competing. Cunningham's "friendly critics" who said "the scheme of the book brings out the organic connection between countries and between periods that seem to lie very far apart" (Preface, p. vii) were correct. England's rise to economic power, Cunningham argues, was based on her ability to profit from the mistakes of her European neighbors, particularly Spain's failure due to her bullionist policy; Portugal's inability to hold onto its East Indian trade; Holland's failure to develop by means of an expanding trade through colonization; and France's error in allowing her rulers, rather than her merchants and tradesmen, to determine economic policies. England's rise to economic power was based on a variety of strategic and wise policies adopted by her statesmen as early as the 15th and 16th cents.—Burghley's aim to develop England as a maritime power, for instance, and the patriotic ambitions the success of that venture gave rise to.

These three volumes provide one of the best general accounts of England's economic history. In the view of most economic historians, this work supersedes Cunningham's *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, a work similar to this one in that both survey all aspects of English economics. Volume I of Lipson's work is
devoted to the Middle Ages. Volumes II and III deal with the period from Elizabeth's accession to the Industrial Revolution. The three chapters of volume II discuss industry, foreign trade, and agriculture; those in volume III deal with the mercantile system, the control of industry, and poor relief. Volume II contains a lengthy introduction in which the author gives a synthesis and interpretation of economic history for the period covered by all three volumes. The work has also been published in condensed form as The Growth of English Society... (#0516), designed for students and non-specialists.


In a concise and well-reasoned manner, Beer traces the growth of British economic thought, beginning with the medieval schoolmen, and devotes considerable space to the mercantilist writings that contributed most conspicuously to the economic thought of the 16th and 17th centuries. The great economic issues of the period—debasement of the coinage, the high prices of commodities, usury, export-import controversies, and balance of trade doctrines—are discussed in terms of their primary causes and effects. Beer argues convincingly that England's rise to political power was based largely on her attempts to achieve commercial power, but it was only Bacon who realized the connection between the two. The mercantilist writers of the period were more concerned with the practicalities of carrying on trade; they argued for or against certain practices or regulations, but contributed virtually nothing to economic theory. Still, it was primarily the merchants and adventurers who laid the foundations of the British empire.


Written for American students, this work provides a good general survey of England's economic history from the time of the Roman occupation to World War II. The author's introductory chapter on the climatic and geographical features of England serves as good background material for understanding the
importance of agriculture and sheep raising in England's economic development. Other economic aspects—trade and commerce, industry, public financing—are discussed in turn. Each chapter is divided into sub-topics for the convenience of those wishing information about a particular economic issue, and a list of suggested books and articles for further reading is provided at the end of each chapter. The information is detailed without being tedious, and considerable attention is given to primary documents. The author also seems to incorporate the latest scholarly research (as of the date of publication), and yet alerts the reader to areas and problems requiring further investigation.


Prepared for the student and general reader, this book offers a condensation of the author's three-volume Economic History of England (#0513), one of the best general accounts of the subject. In this short work, Part I deals with the Middle Ages; Part II with the "Age of Mercantilism." Part III, the greater part of the book, treats the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th cents. and economic history beyond that period. On p. 53, the author indicates some Shn metaphors whose origins can be traced to England's woollen and textile industries.


A cautious and well-balanced brief survey of the major economic problems faced by the Tudor governments. Ramsey treats the woollen and cloth industries, the effects of the enclosure system, foreign trade, prices and wages, and government taxation measures among other issues. While he admits considerable industrial advancement, he does not subscribe to the belief that a minor "industrial revolution" took place during the Tudor period. He also reminds students of the period that "economic problems were always secondary for Tudor monarchs and their ministers," who were more busied with religious problems and foreign wars. Economic problems were handled as they arose, Ramsey maintains, and never was there formulated a very definite
"economic policy" during the period. This is a fine introduction to the economic aspects of the age, and the short discursive bibliography provided is of value for either the beginning or the more advanced student.


Part I contains six chapters, each of which treats a different aspect of Jacobean economic life between the years 1603-60. Wilson calls these years "lean," and "a time of painful economic readjustment in a darkening European context." Upon his accession, James I began spending lavishly, even though he had inherited a national debt of 300,000 pounds sterling. His heavy taxation not only contrasted sharply with Elizabethan leniency in this matter, but also widened the breach between King and Parliament. His ever-increasing expenditures in the face of rising unemployment, decreasing exports, and other economic ills must partially account for the hostility of his subjects. The dark and pessimistic times were in no small way attributable to James' incapacity to control economic life and to keep the government solvent. James did not allow merchants and businessmen a voice in the regulation of economic affairs until the 1620's, by which time economic depression was deep-set. The always-increasing costs of government might have been more adequately met had James not granted so many pensions, spent so much on luxuries, and lavished so much on his favorites. But this is only one aspect of the age Wilson devotes space to here. His theme is primarily the growth of England as a mercantile economy, and he provides many facts and details about early Stuart agriculture, population, trade, manufacturing, taxation, and other issues of economic relevance.

Special Studies


An internationally acclaimed work, one that has greatly influenced the study of economic his-
tory and contributed much to modern social theory. Tawney traces the manner in which religious thought has contributed to social and economic questions and institutions. The period covered is that from the medieval to the modern world. He discusses the impact upon economic and social organization of the religious, political, and social revolutions that occurred throughout this long period. A classic work, the book has more recently come under attack. See, e.g., Kurt Samuelsson's Religion and Economic Action, trans. from the Swedish by E. Geoffrey French, ed. with Intro. by D. C. Coleman (London: Heinemann; New York: Basic Books, [1961]).


Although this work contains several interesting studies dealing with the economic history of England, two chapters in Part II are of particular interest for the period covered by this bibliography. The first is Chapter V, "The Merchant Adventurers' Company in the Reign of Elizabeth," and the second is Chapter VIII, "Commerce and Coinage in Shakespeare's England." Unwin explains how the Merchant Adventurers' Company came to acquire their monopoly on the cloth trade, how they became one of the chief financial resources of Elizabeth's government, and what effect they had on the general economy. The author denies the view held by earlier scholars that the Merchant Adventurers were mainly responsible for England's economic progress in trade and commerce. Rather, according to Unwin, their conservatism and tight monopoly was more of a hindrance than a boon to that expansion, which was mainly due to the "free-trade" advocates who both opposed and skirted the Merchants' (and the government's) attempts to restrict trade. The chapter on coinage is especially interesting because Unwin cites passages from the plays of Sh and Jonson when substantiating information about Renaissance prices, wages, spending habits, fashions, and about the debasement of the coinage and its effects before and during Elizabeth's reign. He also comments upon the fairs and markets that would have impressed the young Sh and upon which
the latter drew for several passages scattered throughout his works.


In this important article, Nef discusses industrial development and other forms of economic progress in relation to periods of peace and war in England and Europe. New developments in warfare contributed to industrial growth during the Tudor and early Stuart period, but the contributions of peace were even greater, the author claims. Many factors contributed to the peaceful condition of England and its economic growth during the Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods. Not the least of these factors was the unwarlike character of the two monarchs who presided over those periods, according to Nef.


Stone challenges some of the theories of recent economic historians dealing with the Tudor period. In his opinion, Tudor economic policy was directed toward making the country secure in the event of war or attack from abroad or in the event of rebellion at home. The main object of the policy was not prosperity. Most of the economic programs were designed to make England self-sufficient or to reduce the threats of social revolution. Throughout the century, the middle classes generally supported the government because it provided security against both internal and external strife. By the end of the century, however, new economic classes began to criticize and weaken the state control which, as events proved, had been largely unnecessary.


In the first essay in this volume, the author re-examines some earlier-held theories (particularly those of Max Weber, Karl Marx, and Werner Sombart) concerning the spirit of capitalism that supposedly arose from the emerging Protestant ethic of the 16th cent. The author believes Weber came closest to the truth, but
whereas he argued that a new form of capitalism emerged in the 16th cent., Trevor-Roper argues that modern capitalism was an outgrowth of medieval capitalism. Modern capitalism was encouraged because of the immigrants who, fleeing various European cities largely because of religious persecution, settled elsewhere and practiced trades that were already flourishing. Between 1550 and 1620, most of the early centers of industry were "convulsed, and the secret techniques of capitalism were carried away to other cities, to be applied in new lands," says Trevor-Roper. Thus, no "new form" of capitalism was created in the 16th cent. Rather, religious movements—Arminianism, Socinianism, Calvinism—all heretical, forced the economic elite out of their strongholds and made it necessary for them to practice their businesses in more favorable religious climates. The second essay deals with the "crisis of the seventeenth century," which, according to the author, stemmed from the inability of the bureaucratic Renaissance court to establish a working relationship between the state and society. Only by the trimming away of a top-heavy court and court system of preferment and by the return to a sensible mercantilist policy was a more favorable relationship effected.


Hill's history accents the relationship between politics and socio-economic conditions and is an attempt to explain in what ways English history differed from that of her European neighbors, most of whom experienced similar social, economic, and political problems.


Based upon a study of mid-Tudor economic, social, and religious documents, this work deals with changes and developments in the social and economic spheres and attempts to determine how they affected contemporary attitudes about the duties and purpose of the state. The enclosure
movement, poverty, debasements of the coinage, dissolution of the monasteries, and the woollen export trade are discussed, among other subjects, in relation to contemporary political and social traditions. Various reasons are given for the tremendous social and economic changes that occurred during the early Tudor period. Among these changes, the growth of a national market, the attempts of the state to regulate economic concerns formerly controlled by the Church, and rebellions stemming from economic discontent are discussed as significant factors affecting Tudor concepts of the commonwealth. Jones draws upon many of the documents entered in Section II of this bibliography.

**Selected Economic Problems**

**Agrarian Issues**


This work is a classic study of England's agrarian conditions from approximately 1485 to 1642. While basically a history of one aspect of English economic life, Tawney devotes space, in Part III, to an analysis of 16th-cent. economic thought and commentary concerning agrarian problems. As one would expect, the enclosure movement receives much attention. For more recent interpretations and a different approach to the enclosure problem, see Maurice Beresford's *The Lost Villages of England* (#0529).


A valuable article, based on statistics, describing the growth of the London food market. The author points out that by the early 17th cent., demand was greater than supply, and complaints became more common about the inability of the land to satisfy the appetites of an increasing urban population. Because foreign imports of food were slight throughout the period, almost the whole country was forced to supply the London market, but, in the long run, it provided a stimulus to agricultural advancement and contributed to changes in farming
and the retail trade.


Ket's ill-fated rebellion in Norfolk is admirably summarized and analyzed by an eminent historian. Prompted by the enclosure of common fields in South Norfolk, the uprising manifested more than a protest against agricultural economic practices. Basically, it was a protest against the local governors—the Duke of Norfolk and the Bishop of Norwich, in particular—who cared more about enriching themselves than about the just government of the county. Urban as well as rural persons participated in the uprising, the aims of which, the leaders believed, were consistent with Protector Somerset's governmental aims. In London, however, Somerset was forced to yield to those whose attitudes toward riot were less gentle than his, and thus this "rising of the common man" was put down as a traitorous protest against the central government. For a fuller, but much older account, see Frederick W. Russell's *Ket's Rebellion in Norfolk*, published 1859.


Parts of this detailed study based on aerial photographs and archaeological digging deal with the enclosure problem and Tudor governmental action in respect to that problem. The book is technical and deals with matters far beyond the scope of this survey, but, concerning enclosures, it presents more recent findings than those offered by R. H. Tawney in *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (#0526).


Although the worst and most devastating effects of the enclosure system in England date back to pre-Tudor times, enclosure continued to be a serious economic and social problem throughout the 16th cent. In this pamphlet, Joan Thirsk
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attempts to correct some misconceptions prevalent in the early years of this century. She argues that the enclosure problem was one essentially concentrated in the Midlands; that there were various and complex motives for enclosure, as well as many forms; and that in some districts the practice led to agrarian improvement, rather than to the unemployment and depopulation which earlier historians believed to be the case throughout the realm as a whole.


Various chapters in Vol. IV will prove invaluable for those who wish to study the agricultural trends of the period as they contributed to the economic history of the period as a whole. Most valuable, perhaps, are Chapter IV, "Enclosing and Engrossing"; Chapter V, "Landlords in England"; and Chapter IX, "Agricultural Prices, Farm Profits, and Rents." A number of historians have contributed to the wealth of material here, much of which was derived from Renaissance tracts and legislation extant in national and county archives. The volume is also supplemented with statistical tables, maps, photographs, and a select bibliography.

Commerce, Mercantilism, Foreign Trade and Policy


Mercantilism as a phase in the history of economic policy is focused upon here. The author is concerned only indirectly with economic developments in various European countries, but, because he covers the period from the Middle Ages to the age of laissez-faire, many historical developments are used in support of his thesis. Heckscher contends that mercantilism should be considered as a unifying agent of the state, a means whereby the state could make all economic activity subservient to its primary end—the strengthening of the state's power in
relation to other states. It is this that distinguishes mercantilism from laissez-faire, which, developing later, remained largely indifferent to considerations of power. Whereas mercantilism regards wealth as a basis for state power, the policy of laissez-faire regards it as an end in itself, an end valuable to each individual in the state and therefore worth his efforts to gain it. Mercantilism is also considered as a "protectionist" policy, that is to say, a system that controls the supply of commodities for the benefit of the citizens of a state. The later parts of the work investigate mercantilism from two other angles—one of these considers the policy as a monetary system, the other considers it as a "conception of society." England's 16th-cent. contributions to mercantilism are emphasized throughout these two volumes.


The author addresses himself to the central economic issues of the Tudor and early Stuart period—the controversies centering around debasement of the coinage and the foreign exchange. He is concerned with the theoretical as well as the historical aspects of these controversies, and discusses them in terms understandable to non-specialists. He traces the English monetary policy from the Middle Ages to the Civil War, explaining the effects of the coinage debasements and recoinages. The relationship between mint par, rate of exchange, and balance of trade is also fully covered. Another chapter is devoted to Gresham's influence on the foreign exchange controversy, his attitude toward usury, and his various schemes to liquidate England's national debt and to make her economically independent.


The author deals with some important aspects of trade and commerce from the late 15th
cent. onwards. His purpose is to provide a synthesis of the scholarship relating to these subjects, not a history of English commerce. Here one will find chapters devoted to the Antwerp market; English trade in the Mediterranean, the Far East and the Baltic areas; and the smugglers' trade. A good introduction to an important area of economic life during the 15th and 16th centuries. The author includes a discursive commentary on secondary authorities.


An interesting investigation of the literature produced as a result of troubles suffered in Antwerp, the center of European commerce and foreign power. Pratt believes the literature dealing with Antwerp reveals "a national state of mind," for Elizabethans realized the importance of Antwerp and were alarmed by any political, economic, or military fluctuations there. The siege of Antwerp in 1585 not only aroused governmental action, but was considered by John Stow to be relevant to England's history, for he included an account of the siege in his Annales (#0202). Pratt also indicates how the "Antwerp literature" is connected to other "alarmist" literature of the period.

Monetary Theory and Issues


An important work in that Monroe was the first to produce a survey of early monetary theory and to concentrate mainly upon the theories themselves, rather than upon the lives of the theorists. Parts I-III cover the subject from ancient times up to the 17th century. Short summaries are included at the end of each part. Concerning economic theory in the 16th century, the author believes it shows little advance in some areas (e.g., on the origins and functions of money), whereas the emerging secular interests of the century stimulated new thought about the technical aspects of monetary theory, about the principles of circulation, and about price fluctuations.

A warning as to the difficulties involved in attempting to draw comparisons between the prices in Sh's day and those in our own (or in 1933, that is to say, the year Judges employs for this short note).


An important article. Taking into account recent theories, Brenner analyzes a very controversial subject and arrives at a number of conclusions. He does not regard debasement of the coinage as a major cause of the rise in prices throughout the century. He also believes wages generally lagged behind prices. He concludes that a greater volume of currency was in circulation during the early 16th cent., but it was accompanied by increased demand (due to population growth) for agricultural products. These factors mainly account for the rise in prices throughout the period, according to Brenner. See entry #0539 for his treatment of prices during the period 1551-1650.


A continuation and extension of Brenner's study of the rising price levels during the 16th cent. (see entry #0538). His findings, based on detailed investigations, are surprising, important, and controversial (see his "The Price Revolution Reconsidered: A Reply," Economic History Review, 2nd series, 18 (Aug. 1965), 392-96). He believes, for instance, that it was only during the period 1625-50 that great quantities of Spanish silver poured into England. The silver was then minted into new coin and exported. Thus, because the rise in prices was slackening by this time, inflation in Elizabethan England was not due to increased silver supplies. Brenner then attempts to find other causes for the rise in prices. Basically, population growth (lessening somewhat
during the 1560's, 70's, and 80's) accounts for the 16th-cent. price increases, Brenner argues. Non-specialists will find Brenner's arguments difficult, but, among economic historians, his contributions to 16th-cent. economic history are considered valuable and important.


Concentrating on both contemporary and modern opinions about the 16th-cent. price rise, the author provides a survey of the significant writings on the subject and explores the weaknesses of various arguments. His critical review of modern interpretations indicates the complex nature of a subject that is by no means definitively analyzed. Outhwaite himself believes more attention ought to be paid to the inward flow of both gold and silver as a significant effect, rather than cause, of debasement. Debasement "resulted in a massive inflow of silver," which, he argues, probably did not cease after the period of debasement. Thus, economists must determine how much of it circulated in the latter half of the 16th cent. and how it vied with gold as an import-export commodity. The author's explanatory footnotes and select bibliography serve as guides to the most important literature on the subject as investigated by specialists in England and abroad.


The author's purpose is to illuminate the particulars and subsequent effects of the mid-century currency debasements in the hope that his study will lead others to determine how much these debasements contributed to the price revolution, social discontent, overseas trade, and foreign exchanges. The author relies upon the records of both the London and provincial mints, the latter heretofore ignored by economic historians. The author's focus upon a special problem and period will appeal more to economic historians than to literary students, but the volume contains a great many charts, graphs, appendices, and tables which may be useful to, say, those who wish to study the woollen export trade or the London-Antwerp exchange rates. Appendix A argues against Mary Dewar's recent
attempt (see entry #0428) to attribute the Memorandum for the Understanding of the Exchange (#0256) to Sir Thomas Smith, on the basis of a date, rather than to Sir Thomas Gresham, whom most historians hold to be the author.


Five of the six articles appearing here were published earlier in various economic journals. The articles, addressed to economic historians, are technical and weighted with much statistical data, much of it appearing in charts, tables, and graphs. Altogether, they represent the diversity of current thought devoted to the 16th-cent. price revolution. The essays also question and re-evaluate earlier 20th-cent. attitudes to 16th-cent. inflation. It now appears that the "pressure of population on resources," as the editor in his Intro. states it, was a more significant cause of increasing prices than the influx of precious metals from America. This last phenomenon, however, has not been entirely dismissed as a cause, and debasement of the coinage continues to receive attention as a causal factor. All the authors agree that more knowledge about the whole of Tudor economic life is necessary before any conclusions can be drawn. And, as one of the authors says, "the record can afford no satisfaction at all to those who would like to think of the artistic achievements of the Elizabethan period as built upon a solid foundation of widely spread prosperity" (Gould, p. 115). The essay least pertinent to students of Sh's intellectual milieu—Hamilton's "American Treasure and Andalusian Prices, 1503-1660"—happens to be the most readable and interesting. It explains Spanish procedures for importing gold and silver from the Indies and South America.

Philanthropy


Jordan studies charitable bequests and gifts made throughout this period as a means of measuring the growth of moral and social respon-
sibility in English society. He believes that during the 16th cent., the merchants, gentry, and to a lesser extent the state under Queen Elizabeth, initiated means and institutions designed to achieve the society of which they dreamed. The attack on poverty was only one instance of 16th-cent. philanthropic effort. Because the aspirations of the ruling or monied classes were similar, they accomplished much and laid many of the foundations of modern social institutions.

Jordan's book has been criticized by Peter Ramsey in *Tudor Economic Problems* (#0517), who says (p. 143) that Jordan does not take into account the problem of inflation when discussing the enormous growth in charitable donations. In other respects, however, Ramsey considers Jordan's book both interesting and important.

**Usury**


Book may have appeared under a different title.


Although Tawney's lengthy remarks are often difficult for the non-specialist, this Intro. provides one of the best surveys of the causes and effects of usury as it was practiced during the 16th and 17th cents. A short biography of Wilson is followed by a section on "The Principal Types of Credit Transaction," which discusses the various ways by which the peasant, middle-class businessman, and capitalist financed their business operations. A second section, "Public Policy and the Money-Lender," is devoted to the practices of, and attitudes toward, usurers, and gives a history of the government's attempts to resolve this highly controversial economic issue. Tawney's liberal use of primary documents makes this a valuable study for the interested reader. Tawney's remarks here have long been considered one of the best treatments of the subject.

Nelson traces the manner in which the Deuteronomic commandment on usury (Deut. 23: 19-20) was variously interpreted from Biblical times to the modern era of capitalism. Whereas medieval Christians found the commandment "a constant source of embarrassment," according to Nelson, the Reformers virtually abolished it when arguing that the Mosaic law was no longer viable. In other words, in regard to the commandment, distinctions were no longer made between those who were considered members of tribal brotherhoods and those who were considered outsiders. Christian brotherhood became a universal concept; thus, usury was condoned because the Biblical passage indicated that one could lend to one's brother. The Reformation, then, ushered in new interpretations concerning usury and brotherhood. Modern capitalism "re-affirmed the vocabulary of universalism," says Nelson. This is a rather torturous book, and perhaps the above comments, which attempt to reduce the author's introductory remarks into plainer terms, do not do Nelson justice. His study is important; moreover, he often refers to Sh's *Merchant of Venice* and comments on how the Deuteronomic commandment was regarded in the 16th cent.


Ashton aids the student and non-specialist in economic history by giving an account of the historical background relating to money lending and usury in Sh's age. Most dramatists (and indeed most writers) commenting upon usury reveal conservative attitudes, Ashton argues, but in the writings of a few and in the actual economic practices of the day, new economic attitudes began to emerge. In short, economic life was beginning to be freed from moral and religious fetters and economic thought began to develop as a modern science. The author comments upon many of the Tudor and early Stuart writings on usury listed in Section II of this bibliography. He also pays considerable atten-
tion to London as a money market and to governmental financing. The article is informative, scholarly, well-written; it also draws upon passages in Sh's and Jonson's plays as indicative of contemporary attitudes toward usury.

**Thought on War and Peace and Military Affairs**


Book IV of this work discusses military history of the Tudor period. Most of the section is devoted to a description of the various military campaigns of Henry VIII. The reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth are lumped together, and the whole Tudor period is described by the author as "singularly dull from the point of view of the historian of the Art of War." The unsatisfactory armies of Elizabeth's reign were due to the Queen's aversion to the idea of a standing army. While the Elizabethan age cannot be called splendid from a military point of view, however, it nevertheless witnessed several new developments in the staging, management, and weapons of war. For a modern account of the military history and campaigns of the English kings treated dramatically by Sh, consult Oman's *History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages, A.D. 378-1485*.


The author identifies the most important 16th-cent. books on military matters and describes their contents. He also discusses how the popular interest in military affairs manifested itself in other writings of the period—particularly the drama of Sh and his contemporaries, ballads, the verses of the soldier-poets Churchyard and Gascoigne, and the *Mirror for Magistrates*. His purpose is to familiarize the modern reader with 16th-cent. attitudes toward war and the military profession and to illuminate the martial allusions found throughout Tudor literature. The material is presented in an objective, intelligent manner, but is by no means exhaustive. The bibliography directs
a reader to the most important books, pamphlets, plays, and secondary sources dealing with Renais­sance military subjects.


An account of the most significant war of Sh's lifetime by a widely-recognized authority. Mattingly's study concentrates on the Spanish-English conflict as an international crisis felt throughout Europe, not merely as a naval campaign between two rival countries. Addressed to the general reader.


Chapter V of this book treats chivalric idealism as "a frame of reference for the discussion of dynastic policy and the basic issues of war and peace" during the late medieval, early Renaissance period. The author often looks beyond the period of Henry VIII, when the chivalric tradition began to wane, and comments on its relationship to other areas of thought throughout the 16th cent.


Adams discusses humanistic writings on war and peace in light of the historical events of the period. He begins with a sketch of classical and medieval attitudes toward war and indicates how the humanists sought to introduce a new golden age--one given to learning, the good life, and universal peace. These things, seen as human possibilities, were continually threatened by the wars of Henry VIII, Francis I, and Charles V. Later, the Turkish threat of invasion troubled all of Christendom and prompted new anti-war essays from the humanists. All of the major anti-war works of the humanists are studied in considerable detail, and often brilliantly, as are the various political and diplomatic connections of the humanists themselves. The book, although sometimes repetitious, is a careful, thoughtful study of the life behind the greatest literature of the early
16th cent.


The eight chapters of this book trace the changes in Elizabethan military practice and emphasize the remarkably improved condition of the armed forces by the turn of the cent. Prompted by the many translations of Greek and especially Roman military works, English authors throughout the reign added to an ever-increasing supply of books devoted to military science. While most of these men gleaned their theories from classical and contemporary continental works, several relied upon their experiences in the field, with the result that controversies between the bookish and the practical soldier encouraged the steadily-improving conditions of military life and practices. No small interest was taken by high governmental officials and average citizens, for the continental wars, in which many Englishmen served, warned those at home of the necessity for maintaining a top-flight military force. Webb's chapters on the new developments in all areas—personnel, infantry, cavalry, artillery, medicine, all of which were the subjects of numerous books—indicate how these changes came about.


The second edn. of this work is a considerable extension of the first. Here the author examines the organization and administration of the military campaigns conducted overseas throughout the whole of Elizabeth's reign and discusses at greater length her army at home. New material is presented concerning military tactics and "the constitutional basis of the sixteenth-century English army." The book gives an admirable account of all facets of military life—recruitment, chains of command, troop movements, uniforms, pay, discipline—and these are discussed against the background of actual military campaigns and Elizabeth's political maneuverings. The author is more sympathetic to Elizabeth's military organization than previous students have been. He believes Elizabeth did attempt to make the system more efficient, but was undermined by four
major forces: corruption, the change in weapons (from longbow to fire-arms), an increase in recruitment for foreign service, and a progressively war-weary nation. The ever-increasing costs of military expeditions and the recruitment of soldiers for these, irritated the citizens into an unwillingness to contribute either men or money. Few amends were made to soldiers returning from foreign campaigns. Finally, although a permanent military force was often argued for, Elizabeth's Privy Council found the idea objectionable, and thus no standing army was bequeathed to Elizabeth's successors. Cruickshank and other military historians find this lack of a permanent army one of the major shortcomings of Elizabethan policy.


Hale gives a survey of 16th-cent. English and European attitudes to war and describes the various aspects of military training.
SECTION IV
GENERAL STUDIES ON SHAKESPEARE
IN RELATION TO HIS AGE

Shakespeare and Intellectual Thought


Only a small portion of Chapter VI, "Shakespeare's Intellectual Culture," deals with Sh's knowledge of history, but one will find Elze's remarks sober, illuminating, and instructive. He reminds us that certain historical or geographical errors to be found in Sh's works are "no proof of the poet's defective knowledge, but an aesthetic blunder or an error in style, and indeed would appear the more pardonable when it is remembered that Shakespeare's stage was altogether without any decorations to produce geographical or historical illusion, and that the poet could without further ado trust to the na"iveté of his public." Allowing that Sh, as an artist, was justified in introducing inconsistencies into those plays of a romantic and fictitious nature which allowed for greater poetic license, Elze overlooks certain distortions of fact when he claims that Sh "never took any such licence in his [English] Histories." Nevertheless, Elze's chapter is full of information about possible sources of Sh's acquired knowledge and he effectively argues that, since art deals with ideal truth, it is unjust of critics to find fault with Sh's occasional lapses in factual truth.

The entries in this section cover a wide and representative range of studies produced from the late 19th cent. up to 1973. Works are arranged chronologically within each subsection, according to date of first publication. Important subsequent edns. are noted. In the case of works merely reprinted, the latest-known reprint date is given.

In this study of Sh's debt to Montaigne, the author cites parallel passages from the works of both men and comments generally upon the relationship of Sh to the French essayist. Robertson also deals with the controversial subject of Sh's learning, mainly arguing against the theories of Churton Collins and the Baconians.


Discusses Sh's theory of kingship.


In his first chapter, Hart argues that Sh borrowed his views concerning the doctrine of divine right, obedience to rulers, and the sin of rebellion from the official book of homilies. Hart believes Sh accepted the doctrines favored by authority (particularly the doctrine of divine right) in a "semi-philosophic spirit" and gave them prominence in the history plays. The most numerous references to the divine right theory occur in *KJ*, *RII*, and *HIV*, according to the author. In Chapter III, Hart discusses the censorship of certain parts of *HIV*. He argues that some omissions in the quarto version of *2HIV* are due to political motives.


Curry's purpose is "to indicate how Shakespeare came to participate in the philosophical traditions of his time and to illustrate his employment of inherited concepts as philosophical patterns of his dramas." Only two Shn plays are discussed, *Macbeth* and *The Tempest*, which are dealt with in relation to the "body of patrimonial doctrines transmitted to the Renaissance from the scholastic philosophies" (in the case of
Macbeth) and in relation to the "traditional Neo-
Platonic conceptions" (in the case of The Tempest). 
Although of limited use to a student of Sh's his-
tory plays, the book illumines Renaissance at-
titudes toward scholastic traditions, the concept
of order and government, and other concerns rela-
tive to the intellectual background. Curry is 
mainly concerned with the "reconstruction of phil-
osophical traditions...and with the dramatist's 
use of them"; he does not attempt to explain Sh's 
personal philosophy of life, although his study 
leads him to believe the dramatist "was no sys-
tematic philosopher."

*0562. Reese, Gertrude C. "Reflection of Political Thought 
in the Elizabethan Drama as Studied through the 
Subject of Kingship." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of 
Texas, 1941.

0563. Armstrong, W. A. "The Elizabethan Conception of the 
Tyrant." RES, 22 (July 1946), 161-81.

Armstrong discusses the many works devoted 
to the virtues of kingship and the vices of tyr-
anny during the Elizabethan period and tries to 
account for the widespread interest in tyrants 
as well as for some of the commonplaces associ-
ated with them. He also indicates the various 
meanings of the word "tyrant" during the period. 
Of particular interest is his emphasis upon 
Elizabethan drama and the manner in which drama-
tists elaborated traditional thought (deriving 
from the specula principum) about tyrants and 
tyrannical rule. Among Sh's history plays men-
tioned are HII, HVI, and RIII.

0564. Armstrong, W. A. "The Influence of Seneca and Machiavelli 
on the Elizabethan Tyrant." RES, 24 (Jan. 
1948), 19-35.

In this article (an extension of #0563), 
Armstrong concentrates on the manner in which 
Elizabethan dramatists employed the writings of 
Seneca and Machiavelli in their treatments of 
tyrans. In the author's opinion, the dramatists 
were "directed by contemporary moral and politi-
cal theories, and the result is not so much imi-
tation as adaptation." One example used in sup-
port of the author's thesis is Sh's RIII, a play 
that "provides adequate illustration of how power-
fully Machiavellian literature influenced the 
political tactics of the stage tyrant." The au-
Thor accounts for two different strains in Senecan and Machiavellian influence on the characterization of tyrants in Elizabethan tragedy: the wicked kings of revenge tragedy and the usurping kings of tyrant-tragedy.


In this short paper, Wilson argues that Sh was a considerably well-read man, a thinking man of his day who "acquainted himself with that vast body of reflection upon the nature of man and man's place in society and in the universe which his age inherited in great part from the ancient and medieval worlds." Wilson indicates a number of works, ancient and modern, which might have suggested ideas to the dramatist, and he also thinks Sh's quick invention was responsible for suggesting themes not so well developed in others' books, in which he read widely, but not laboriously. This is a sound and sane appraisal of a question which, no doubt, will continue to intrigue Shns.


According to Gordon Ross Smith (#0050), this book "includes a discussion of Sh's debt to the thought of his age" (entry A3963).


An investigation of the development of Sh's learning and how it was acquired and applied throughout his career. Chapter III deals with the early chronicle plays, Chapter VI with KJ, and Chapter VII with the Lancastrian tetralogy. HVIII is not mentioned. Whitaker disagrees with critics who argue that in the history plays, Sh incorporated profound philosophical concepts concerning universal order and ideas of statecraft. Instead, Whitaker believes Sh's thought was continuously developing, parallel to the growth of his artistic techniques. Although Sh
accepted the "Tudor myth" and vividly depicted
the evils of civil war, he was mainly interested
in characterization and effective stage plays up
until the period of his great tragedies, at which
time he began to move "toward a more genuinely
philosophical point of view," according to Whitaker.

0568. Merchant, W. M. "The Status and Person of Majesty." 

A brief examination of "the language relating
to the status of the king's majesty, particularly in its theological aspects." Merchant believes the language points to an intellectual distinction between the status, function, and person of a king and that one of the tragic tensions of some Renaissance drama is provided by a conflict between, say, the status and the person of a king. Hooker and the 26th of the Thirty-Nine Articles are cited to indicate the Church's attitude toward the highest royal status. Sh's RIII and HVT are briefly discussed in relation to the ideas expressed above.

0569. MacNalty, Arthur Salusbury. "Shakespeare and Sir
Thomas More." Essays and Studies, N.S., 12 (1959),
pp. 36-57.

Argues that Sh not only knew and employed
Sir Thomas More's written works (particularly
the history of Richard III) but also that the
two men were like-minded. Sh, according to the
author, was attracted by More's personality and
shared the latter's wit, humor, and compassion
toward mankind.

*0570. Stampfer, Judah Leon. "Ideas of Order in Shake-
speare's Histories and Tragedies." Ph.D. diss.,

0571. Sullivan, John Francis. "Awful Rule and Right Su-
premacy: The Problem of Authority and Order as
a Theme of Shakespeare's Plays." Ph.D. diss.,
Univ. of Michigan, 1959. See DA, 20, 1770-71.

Argues that Sh "did not concur in the Tudor
appeal to authority against disorder. Instead,
his plays imply that order must come first." The
author considers all of Sh's plays.

0572. Watson, Curtis Brown. Shakespeare and the Renaissance

Part I of this exhaustive study deals with background information concerning the concept of honor. Part II focuses on Sh's use of the concept. As the author explains it, the book is an attempt to "place Shakespeare's dramatic treatment of the concept of honor in its proper cultural context—the pagan-humanist values of the aristocracy of his age." All the history plays, with the exception of HVIII, are mentioned or briefly discussed.


Suggests that elements or aspects of feudalism and of the emerging English constitution appear in certain Shn history plays.


On the paradoxical nature of political honor in KJ, 1HIV, and HV.


The author compares St. Thomas' concept of justice with justice as it is presented in Sh's histories, particularly in RII, HIV, and HV, and attempts "to show how far the Shakespearean concept is in accord with the Thomistic." To her, the latter concept "is the dominant note" of RII, HIV, and HV. She believes Sh's plays reveal historical facts in the chronicles of Holinshed, Hall, and other medieval sources from which he sought material and inspiration." In other words, Sh incorporated concepts of justice that were a part of the traditional philosophy and thought of his day. The author does not agree with critics who think Sh reveals no personal point of view on the subject; to her, Sh's attitude toward justice is explicit in these plays.

In this volume commemorating Sh's 400th birthday will be found a variety of essays whose purpose is to illumine Elizabethan life and thought. Section II, "Philosophy and Fancy," is the most relevant for casting light on the intellectual background, but neither this section nor the volume as a whole claims to be comprehensive. Philip Styles' essay, "The Commonwealth" (#0402), rehearses Elizabethan attitudes to the state; Bernard Harris (#0504) discusses religious dissent and satire in another essay in this section. Throughout the volume, the emphasis is fairly balanced between Sh and the environment around him.


Discusses only 1HIV among the histories. Finds the views of Curtis Brown Watson (#0572) deficient on the subject of honor. Says Hal in 1HIV is not concerned with a new concept of honor but with "the ideal of Christian humanism, in which honor follows virtue and patriotic service as the shadow follows the body."


A recent variation on an old subject. Kermode conjectures about the manner of Sh's learning and finds that, if he was not very learned, he was "capable of an intense interest—intense, yet sometimes at the same time wanton or even perverse—in the formulae of learning: a strong-minded, wilful, private, reading man." As regards the histories, Kermode discusses Sh's knowledge of the concepts involving kingship and the manner in which he used this knowledge in treating a subject of particular and abiding interest to him.


The author discusses some notable 16th-cent. and early 17th-cent. negative attitudes toward the multitude but makes no attempt to determine Sh's sympathies. He does, however, comment on relevant passages in HVI and Coriolanus.


Discusses the books on princely conduct and courtesy by Erasmus, More, Elyot, Castiglione, and Machiavelli. Also deals with dramatic works concerned with "the dichotomy between the tyrant and the ideal ruler." Included among these works are Sh's *RIII* and *IHI*.


The chain of being concept, degree, harmonious government, and political anarchy are dealt with in relation to the histories, tragedies, and *The Tempest*.


The author believes Sh's knowledge of Hooker's *Laws* is apparent in plays earlier than those usually mentioned (e.g., *Troilus and Cressida* and the later tragedies). Cohen sees Hooker's influence in *RII* and the Henry plays that followed, all of which she analyzes in the light of what they reveal about Sh's and Hooker's attitudes toward ceremony and order. She concludes that both men, through different mediums, opposed the "weakening of ceremony, ceremony that, properly used, served as a constant reminder of heritage." Thus, Sh's attitudes changed after the publication of Hooker's *Laws*, a book which significantly influenced the dramatist.


Examines Elizabethan writings on honor and discusses how the Renaissance code of honor (mainly associated with valor and justice) is employed in selected Shn plays.
In the first part of this three-part article, the author discusses Sh's integration of the idea of the king as an institution (operating within a definite era and concerned with specific social problems) and as a dramatic image or archetypal symbol. The second section discusses the role of the king "as the play's central instrument in making its dramatic disclosures." Part III, "Policy, Courtship, and the Social Contract," discusses these concepts mainly in connection with King Lear and The Tempest.

The author, a professor of political science, argues that Sh's political philosophy was Platon-ic. Several Shn plays are discussed.

The complex thought of Sh's age is outlined here in considerable detail, and the many references to specific plays indicate the "numerous revaluations and reversals" in thought experienced by Sh and his audiences. The author argues that Sh's plays often uphold traditional thought, but just as often reflect "complex and ironical variations" on commonplace beliefs. Crucial changes in political and religious attitudes, commercialism, and the rise of social classes are but a few of the causes for the gradual disintegration of earlier, widely-held beliefs. Sh's age was more relativistic, paradoxical, contradictory. Moreover, these characteristics seem especially dominant in Sh's history plays, for there we are confronted with "dramatic ambivalences" which would seem to belie the belief that these plays are primarily reflections of Elizabethan homiletic doctrines--the "mirrors of policy"--they were once thought to be. While the author rightly indicates that his condensation of this complex topic
is subject to qualifications, he has, on the whole, presented his ideas cogently and convincingly. The essay should provoke modern readers to a re-evaluation of much earlier commentary that has dismissed Sh as an original thinker. To Elton, Sh was very much aware of the changing intellectual climate, and his plays are dynamic dialectics which reflect the ironies and complexities of a changing age.


The author traces the analogy between society and the human body from antiquity; examines the use made of it in literature of the Elizabethan period; and indicates why, in the 17th cent., it was no longer considered valid. Hale claims that the comparison of society (or the state) to the body occurs more frequently and with greater seriousness throughout the Elizabethan period than other correspondences. The "organic analogy" was widely applied, says Hale, because of the constant threats of rebellion, civil discord, and religious strife. The book contains several references to Sh's history plays (among them *HIV, HV, HVI, KJ, RII*, and *RIII*). Other examples are drawn from literature of all types.


Chapter IV deals with "the backgrounds of history and tragedy in sixteenth-century thought." Chapter VIII is a discussion of Sh's histories.


In Chapter I, the author deals with ideas of honor in Sh's England. Chapter II discusses Sh's treatment of honor in *HVI*. The remaining chapters discuss other Shn plays (none of them among the English histories).
Shakespeare and Politics


Concerns the performance of RII on the eve of the Essex rebellion and concludes that "L'auteur de Richard II...ne serait nullement essexien, bien au contraire; il serait fort au cour­rant des rivalités, des intrigues et des scan­dales de la Cour...."


In this lecture, which is an attempt to bring the study of literature down from the level of abstraction and to treat it as a product of a particular social, intellectual, and political milieu, Knights discusses the manner in which Sh characteristically handles political themes. Certain history plays are discussed along with other Shn plays (e.g., Julius Caesar and Coriolanus). Knights also deals with "the sources and conditions of the political wisdom that we find in Shakespeare's plays." Here he investigates the social and political back­ground and medieval traditions that served as Sh's social context. Knights does not venture a guess as to how much Sh was influenced by the political ideas of medieval thinkers.


Deals with the traditions behind Sh's own approach to political matters and with the dramatist's political wisdom. The early his­tories are discussed along with other Shn plays. Knights concludes that Sh's political plays are "creative explorations of conceptions such as power, authority, honour, order, and freedom," but Sh also makes us see political life "in terms of the realities of human life and human relationships."

Argues that Sh's political philosophy was well thought out and that he wrote the histories and other plays with a certain deliberation and conscious philosophy. In the major portion of the essay, White explores "some of the possible Shakespearean remedies for the political evil" represented in the plays and also discusses the process by which this evil may be corrected. The study includes several references to all of Sh's histories except KJ and HVIII.


Investigates scenes of renunciation, retreat, and other transmutations from power to humility in Sh's plays, notably HVI and King Lear.


Studies scene 2, Act II, of HVI (concerning the traitors Cambridge, Scroop, and Grey) in an attempt to determine "what Shakespeare knew concerning [secret] intelligence, its usages, and its importance in the practice of statecraft."


The authors are professors of political philosophy and the essays included in their book "are intended as first steps in the enterprise of making Shakespeare again the theme of philosophic reflection and a recognized source for the serious study of moral and political problems." The history plays are not treated. Instead, the individual chapters are discussions of The Merchant of Venice, Othello, Julius Caesar and King Lear.

*0598. Brittin, Norman A. "Shakespeare and the Conflict between Tyranny and Liberty." *Estudios Generales* (San Juan, P. R.), 6 (1964), 75-90.*
According to SQ, the article deals with Sh's treatment of the conflict between tyranny and liberty in RII, RIII, and Julius Caesar.


Remarks on selected Shn plays; one of several articles in this issue largely devoted to Sh.


Investigates political (and economic) sentiments expressed in selected Shn plays (several of the histories among them) and concludes that, although Sh's political opinions cannot be deduced from his characters, his attitudes toward certain political or economic questions can be surmised because of 1) the material he deals with, 2) the manner in which he handles it, and 3) the recurring themes and images (such as order or usury).


Abbreviated version of comments of a general nature prepared for radio broadcast. The author sees 1 and 2HIV and HV as "less intense and less political" than the earlier histories, which "range over the whole scale of the political passions."


According to SQ, the article deals with Sh as an "ultra-reactionary."


The author's purpose is "to explain the manner in which Shakespeare employed the language and content of the law in his plays, and to relate this to the political ideas which
are reflected in them." Part I, "Shakespeare and the Law," contains several chapters of interest to a student of the history plays (e.g., "The Bastardy of Falconbridge," "Two Legal Problems in Richard III," and "Trial by Battle in Shakespeare"). Part II, "Shakespeare's Political Thinking," contains eight chapters relevant to the history plays. The first of these discusses Sh in relation to 16th-cent. political thought; the rest take up more specific issues. An important book, but one which received divided responses from critics and reviewers. One of these, Leah Scragg, found the book "disappointing in its failure to tackle the subject systematically." She found that it did not say anything new about Sh's political background and noticed several omissions (see SS, 22 (1969), 169-70).


According to SQ, the author deals with the problem of order and Tudor political doctrine in the history plays.


Finds Sh "very conscious of the torrent of events that surged around him," particularly the political events and the theories they generated. Draper believes many of Sh's plays written at the time of or after James I's accession are expressions of the King's political views, especially the concept of divine right. James' patronage of Sh's company accounts for the political emphasis in plays produced after 1603, says Draper.


Supports the views of Tillyard, Irving Ribner, and M. M. Reese concerning Sh's political conservatism. To Friesner, Sh was "essentially and consistently conservative," one who supported the orthodox political philosophy of the Renaissance. The plays of the second tetralogy in particular reaffirm the political morality Sh inherited; they reveal Sh's abiding con-
cern with political problems—the nature of the 
true king, order, the evils of sedition or polit­
ical expediency. These problems are evident in 
the first tetralogy and in KJ as well.

0607. Edwards, Philip. "Person and Office in Shakespeare's 
Plays." British Academy Shakespeare Lecture, 
1970. Proceedings of the British Academy, 56 

Argues that criticism has not yet faced up 
to the problem concerning Sh's view of the rela­
tion between private person and public person. 
Suggests, as a step toward resolving the problem, 
"that Shakespeare proposes two antithetical modes 
in which a person and his public office are re­
lated, and that the opposition of these ways is 
a major subject of his drama." In discussing the 
first part of this two-part object, Edwards 
moves "from the Roman plays to Richard II." Hen­
ry V is used as an example in discussing the au­
thor's second intention.

ture and Politics, With Special Reference to the 
Seventeenth Century. London: Chatto and Windus, 
1971.

A series of lectures—mainly investigations 
of certain artists and their treatments of polit­
cical issues. Chapter II, devoted to Sh, is dif­
f erent. There, Knights deals with the "insights 
to be found in Shakespeare's political plays." 
He believes most of Sh's contemporaries simpli­
f ied political issues, but Sh did not. Sh, "a 
political thinker of the first order," is aware 
of the problematic in political thinking. In 
his greatest political plays, he gives the "ac­
tualities of political situations, not just a 
generalized account of the external reality." 
To Knights, the history plays depict political 
issues in all their complexities. RII and Corio­
lanus are discussed at most length.

*0609. Powell, J. Enoch. "Address to the Shakespeare Club, 
Stratford-on-Avon." Shakespearean Authorship 

According to SQ, Powell discusses Sh as a 
man of political experience.

0610. Levin, Harry. "Shakespeare and 'the revolution of
the times'." Tri-Quarterly [Special, double issue], nos. 23-23 (Winter/Spring 1972), pp. 228-45.

Discusses order, disorder, and revolt in the histories and tragedies.


Argues that political speeches must be viewed in their dramatic context. Sh is not writing propaganda favoring any particular set of social or political opinions.

Shakespeare, History, and Historical Literature


This series of lectures emphasizes the point that the chroniclers of the 15th cent., clinging to the traditions of the past and too close to the disorderly events of their own age to write of them objectively, infused their histories with prejudices and preconceptions that have lived on through the medium of Sh's plays and other dramatic, historical, or literary material. In his first chapter, the author studies the relationships between Sh's history plays and the chronicle material on which they are based and points out several instances in which the prejudices of Halle or Holinshed differ from historical fact. In his last chapter on the Duke of Suffolk, Kingsford reasonably proves that there is no warrant for the belief that Suffolk was a traitor or that he and Margaret of Anjou were lovers, as they were reported to be by Halle, Holinshed, Daniel, Drayton, and, finally, Sh in 2 HVI. Those rumors were begun by the rhymers and perpetuated by the chroniclers whose prejudice was of the same bent.

Sh's misconceptions of historical fact as derived from his sources, however, are negligible in view of the way they are introduced for artistic purposes, Kingsford argues. But, he believes, the "majestic grandeur" which the unity of Sh's plays imparts to the age will not be found by the historian who seeks the truth in
the less familiar and mostly unpublished sources from the period. Since the political confusion leading to the breakdown of medievalism is stressed in the chronicles, these alone will not supply us with the true picture of the age. A wide variety of social and economic documents will make one more aware of the "steady growth of national consciousness," the educational and commercial activity, the vigorous town and city life (see the chapter "London in the Fifteenth Century"), and other forces that refute the idea of a "barren" 15th cent.


Believes "direct topical allusions are not very common in Shakespeare, but topical significances abound." In the first article, Harrison discusses passages in KJ indicative of "some very personal meanings for the audiences of 1596." The second article discusses RII, I&IIHV, HV, and other plays in connection with Essex and contemporary attitudes toward him. Some of the sanest early 20th-cent. remarks concerning topicality in Sh.


Michel argues that Sh and Daniel were indebted to each other. The former, Michel contends, employed Daniel's Civil Wars (#0203) as soon as it was first published (1595). Daniel, on the other hand, was responsible to Sh only after 1604. Michel also believes that both men "shared the same view of English history and its interpretation" and that Sh benefited from Daniel's redaction of history into literature.


The author's purpose is "to reveal the significance of three Tudor biographies in the background of Shakespearean tragedy." The three biographies involved are More's Richard III, Roper's
More, and Cavendish's Wolsey. The plays discussed are RIII, HVIII, and Sir Thomas More.


Endorses the view that Sh was significantly influenced by Daniel's Civil Wars and explains how this work suggested elements not only for RII and HIV but also for the Roman histories.


Sh may have derived from Camden's Britannia the idea of a youthful Hotspur. See response by Laurence Michel and rejoinder by Johnston (#0618).


Michel comments upon and responds to Johnston's earlier article (#0617). Michel questions Sh's knowledge of Camden's works and argues that Camden owed much in the matter under consideration to Daniel. Johnston comments upon Michel's argument.


Reportedly contains essays on The Mirror for Magistrates and Shakespeare.


The most relevant of several articles in this special issue entitled "Hommage à Shakespeare." The author addresses himself to the question, "Did Shakespeare have an idea of the real, immanent moving forces of history?" He concludes that Sh was a great realist—one whose rendering of political life and history reveals him as one who had "the deepest insight into reality in all its spheres." Both the English and Roman histories are discussed.


Discusses Tudor historians who influenced Sh, directly or indirectly, in the history plays. Humphreys sees the historians as worthy transmitters of information upon which Sh put his superior stamp.


On the endings of the histories and the manner in which they indicate the pattern of the future. Finds the "idea of the future" a strongly emphasized element in the history plays.


Believes Sh owed more to Halle (whom he may have read as a child) than to Holinshed. The latter was used "for corroborative evidence and odd details," but it was to Halle, Holmes argues, that Sh owed "the first impression" of the stories he employed for the history plays.


Believes Sh's ideas concerning history are "consistent and predictable." Attempts to determine what Sh's philosophy was by investigating the dramatist's interest in historical material,
what his plays tell us of his historical attitudes, and what lessons his histories were meant to teach.


According to SQ, the article deals with Sh's seeming insistence upon the ultimate reconciliation of England with the Church of Rome.


Includes references to Sh.

Shakespeare and Economics


Parts of this article appear in the author's fuller study, Shakespeare's Economics (#0631).


Although an older work, Farnam's book appears to be the only full-length study of economic matters in Sh's plays. In almost all of these the author, a professor of economics, finds "economic material...hidden in incidental descriptions, in metaphors or allegories, or even in invective, drawn from commerce, trade, agriculture, taxation, and the distribution of wealth." In fact, one could construct a "fairly true picture" of the economic life of Sh's age with no other resources than the poet's plays and poems, Farnam argues. While he does not propose to prove anything about Sh's personal convictions with regard to economic issues, Farnam finds the dramatist "fully aware of the reaction of economic conditions on social welfare." Some of the more important economic con-
cerns treated by Sh include the unequal distribution of wealth, the evil of wasteful or excessive consumption, economic exploitation, price regulation, debasement, enclosure, engrossing, and, of course, usury. The author comments on the numerous references to contemporary occupations occurring in the plays; he finds most of them related to the woollen and textile industries, the sea and commerce, and agriculture. All of the history plays are mentioned with the exception of 3HVI.


Comments upon the relationship between Elizabethan drama and the economic, social order of the society behind it. Knights suggests that the writer of cultural history must face some questions and resolve some problems if he wishes to make a correlation between economic activities and culture, especially in regard to the 16th cent. He criticizes Marxists and non-Marxists who have failed to take into account the quality of life reflected through the literature of a period, relying, instead, on their own discipline or interpretation of history from a particular point of view, such as the materialist interpretation in the case of Marx.


A discussion of how Sh earned and spent his income. The article reiterates many of the long-known facts concerning Sh's life and is mainly interesting for its discussion of prices current in Sh's day.


Sees Sh as fully aware of the socio-economic changes taking place during his time, but ambiguous in his attitude toward them. The sonnets and the plays are referred to. Marxian.
Shakespeare, War and Peace, and Military Affairs


The author believes the plays indicated in the title furnish much information about military life during Sh's age. Sh himself is seen as a patriotic "civilian," one seriously interested in national defense and knowledgeable of military matters. The author gives a history of the English army and comments on Sh as an observer of contemporary military affairs.


The author studies the frequently recurring military theme and host of military metaphors operating in all of Sh's plays (with the exception of The Tempest) and comments upon this "curious preoccupation with the military." Several of Sh's soldiers are discussed, among them Henry V. Because military metaphors outnumber legal and nautical ones and because Sh seems to have more respect for soldiers than for schoolmasters, Cooper argues that Sh must have been a soldier during the "lost" years (1585-1592). To Cooper, the recurring military theme indicates that Sh was reverting to his own military days—a happy period for the dramatist.


Draws upon military books of Sh's age in order to determine what dramatic use Sh made of military rank. Jorgensen concludes that: 1) there is a "more than accidental" relationship between some of Sh's soldiers and the qualities such officers were required to possess, according to military handbooks; 2) inconsistencies in Sh's use of military rank "are inconsiderable when compared with the deliberation shown in the important instances;" and 3) Sh probably acquired his "extensive acquaintance with military theory" through the study of military treatises, as well as through experience.
The author describes his study as "an attempt to view in larger context, and in light of Renaissance thought, Shakespeare's habitual ways of picturing war and peace dramatically." He finds that peace frequently appears with an "ominous or unwholesome connotation." Jorgensen believes Sh shared with his countrymen a pessimism about peace, a pessimism "induced by current political writings and events." Of the many functions of war in Sh, Jorgensen believes the most important is that in which it is spoken of as a corrective to the excesses bred in peace-time. Jorgensen cites from several military books of the period to support his view that Sh's plays reflect contemporary thought concerning war and peace.

Argues that Sh habitually places two generals in command of an army and makes "dissension between these generals a primary focus for his dramatic commentary on the battle." A contrast in character generally produces this dissension. Although divided command was considered disastrous by most military writers of Sh's age, Jorgensen believes it difficult to determine if Sh consistently shared their views, as he often depicts joint command without revealing its defective aspects.

In this detailed and important study, the author isolates the most salient features of Sh's military world—the martial imagery, common soldiers, attitudes toward war and peace, military figures as heroes—and interprets these aspects in Renaissance terms. Although Sh may not have known or made great use of the many military treatises of his day, his plays clearly indicate a familiarity with the controversies and practices discussed in those treatises. Moreover, Jorgensen argues that Sh was a careful student of military life and that his
ideads about the profession, war, and peace are those held by the majority of his contemporaries. The book pays much attention to the most outstanding military or anti-military figures in Sh's plays--Henry V, Alcibiades, Coriolanus, Othello, Falstaff--but there are some conspicuous absentees--Antony, for instance. The book is particularly strong on the English history plays. The author's interpretation of the Roman plays seems to suffer somewhat from an emphasis upon the heroes' military character at the expense of other elements. Throughout, Jorgensen substantiates his argument with extensive references to military writings of the period.


On the continual threats of civil war throughout the 16th cent. and its eruption in the 17th. The author discusses Sh and his treatment of civil war in the history plays in light of the historical events. Wedgwood emphasizes Sh's treatment of the ruler in relation to his subjects, the subjects' attitude toward their ruler, and suggests that the revolution of the 1640's was due to the Stuart monarchs' inability or refusal to make themselves popular with the people.


Discusses civil unrest as revealed in the history plays (all but HVIII) and concludes that Sh "has no real answer to the problem of civil unrest."


A discussion of old soldiers in the histories and tragedies.
Shakespeare and Society


A study of allusions to property law in nearly 300 plays of the Elizabethan period. All aspects of the laws of real and personal property are dealt with, and the authors include chapters concerning the law of descent, distribution, wills, and administration. They conclude that several of Sh's contemporary dramatists employed more legal problems and terminology than he did and that Sh's legal knowledge, while accurate, was not derived from a legal education or apprenticeship in that profession. Although the book is of peripheral interest, it discusses legal subject matter mentioned in dramatic passages in all ten history plays.


An attempt to determine Sh's philosophy and attitudes toward the world around him. Eckhoff believes Sh's plays reveal the dramatist's "dissatisfaction with the government of the world; his dissatisfaction with the government of the state; his scepticism with regard to love; his mistrust of passion, of boundless ambition, of unruly energy; his trust in, and approval of, the completely opposite attitude; of level headedness, of consistency, moderation, impassivity, and balance." Sh is "a spokesman of the middle layers of society," not an aristocrat.


Only *HVI,* among Sh's histories, is discussed, along with *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus.*

Discusses "racial attitudes in Elizabethan England as these attitudes are reflected in the drama of that era." Several Shn plays (the histories among them) are used as examples in which contemporary attitudes toward foreigners and aliens are expressed.


A sociological approach to Sh's age, with several references to Sh's history plays.


KJ and HV are discussed, along with other Shn plays. The author sees Sh as moving away from earlier-held political solutions as he progressed in his career.


"Central to [this] study is a discussion of Shakespeare's portrayal of lower class rebellion in relation to the more general discussion of his politics."

Shakespeare and Renaissance Drama


Argues that during Elizabeth's reign, "dramas were part of the machinery of political propaganda" and widely used for political purposes. Simpson also discusses various types of "political" plays, including those whose political allusions are either covert or open, those
dealing with general political rules, those addressed to a particular political controversy, and those satirizing individual statesmen.


Mario Praz (#0654) calls this an "epoch-making essay" (p. 93), for it was Meyer who discovered that Gentillet's distortion of Machiavelli, the Contre-Machiavel (#0092), was the source of Elizabethan literary and dramatic attacks on the Florentine Secretary. Meyer gives a history of The Prince--its first Italian edns.; translations into Latin, French, and finally English; its reception--and then lists the maxims taken from Machiavelli by Gentillet. As is well-known, Gentillet's Contre-Machiavel (published in 1576) was englished by Simon Patericke in 1577. The rest of the essay concentrates upon: 1) "Machiavelli in English Literature previous to the Drama" and 2) "Machiavelli in the Drama." Meyer credits Marlowe with being the first to introduce Machiavelli onto the stage "as the incarnation of villainy," a fact of "tantamount significance" because of Marlowe's influence upon his contemporaries. Meyer traces references to Machiavelli in English drama from the year 1588 to 1664, commenting upon the changing attitudes toward The Prince and its author. Although Meyer's findings have been corrected in some points and refined by many later scholars, this essay is of incontestable value and well worth reading.


This famous essay extends and corrects some of the findings of Edward Meyer (#0653); it also comments upon and criticizes some of the scholarship devoted to Machiavelli and Gentillet written during the early part of this cent. His revision of the essay (1958) notices more recent scholarship.

Praz takes a close look at Renaissance drama
and traces Machiavellian principles (in their distorted form deriving from Gentillet) in a number of Renaissance plays. He argues that Machiavelli "was merely grafted on a pre-existent Senecan type [of drama]," and that this fact "ought to warn us to be very cautious against detecting it everywhere...." He seems to doubt Sh's direct knowledge of Machiavelli. "What Machiavellism is displayed in Shakespeare's historical dramas seems either to be already present in the historical sources (as in the case of Richard III), or to be derived from the broadcast popular legend," says Praz. The various conceptions of Machiavelli and of his political doctrines are given in considerable detail. The author concludes that, although the legend of Machiavelli was widely popular, it was mainly the dramatists who made the most use of it, primarily because they saw in the Machiavellian a stock character reminiscent of the Senecan villain.


First presented as a dissertation, this work attempts to determine whether previous generalizations about Elizabethan patriotism are trustworthy. The author approaches the subject by showing "how the love of England expressed itself in the English Drama of Elizabeth's reign." He deals, in turn, with the dramatists' pride in their country, their hostility to foreign things, their attitudes toward their country's defenders, and their devotion to their sovereign. Many citations from Sh's works and the plays of his contemporaries are used in support of the author's argument. A valuable, and perhaps the only, study of this subject.


The author's purpose is "to examine the Elizabethan plays on subjects from English history with particular attention to their treatment of the theme of tyranny...." Sh is dealt with in Chapter V.

A discussion of traditional views on kingship and obedience as laid down by significant writers of the 16th cent. and how these Renaissance commonplaces figure in representative dramas of the period.


Attempts to define the history play in light of Elizabethan historiographical methods and purposes. Ribner concludes that the Tudor history play became "a highly varied dramatic type."


Includes one paragraph on Sh's histories in which the author says the plays are about disorder, rather than order. The author deals mainly with "construction, the chief problem the early Elizabethan dramatists had to solve."


An interesting study of the widespread use of animal analogies employed by writers of all sorts before and throughout the Elizabethan period. The author indicates how beast nicknames were often used at court in reference to certain political factions. He speaks of various writers of the period (e.g., Nashe and Spenser) who wrote beast allegories (or used beast allusions), generally of a political nature. Brief reference is made to Sh and his use of animal analogies (Richard II, e.g., is likened to a lion and to an eagle, as well as to other "primates in the cosmos"—the sun, fire, and the rose).


Discusses dramatic practices and traditions
of Sh's contemporaries and examines Sh's plays against this background in order to reveal his technique and purpose.


Indicates what Sh owed to confrontation scenes as presented in Marlowe's plays and in earlier, native drama. Turner believes Sh "kept close to the native tradition," but also adapted some of Marlowe's devices.


Argues that structure, character, language, and supernatural elements are used to dramatize fear in the political plays of this period. Discusses HV, RII, RIII, 1&2HIV, KJ, and 2&3HVI, plus several non-Shn plays.


Tudor attitudes to regicide and usurpation are re-examined. RIII and Hamlet are discussed in light of the author's findings.


In this interesting and well-documented book, Bevington concentrates on Tudor political drama not for the purpose of identifying and explaining topical allusions in representative plays, but in order to prove "that politics is germane to a remarkable percentage of Tudor plays." The distinction is an important one, for Bevington believes many plays of the period (including several by Sh and Jonson) owe something to the political context of their age, but that, in the case of the greatest dramatists, political material was generally used for more than polemical or propagandistic purposes. Bevington recognizes the widespread use of art as a weapon of propaganda during the 16th cent. and argues that we must understand a number of ele-
ments—political events, propagandistic efforts, governmental attitudes, political commonplaces, and so forth—before we can measure how successfully and to what extent topical aspects were transcended by individual dramatists. Moreover, Tudor political dramas, considered as a whole, raise a vast number of issues—some strictly political, others of an economic, social, or religious nature. Thus, Bevington indicates to what extent plays supported Tudor policy and to what degree they opposed it or maintained elements of free expression. Bevington deals with a large number of plays (including all of Sh's histories except H VIII) and keeps a focus on the plays as artistic expressions, not as documents illuminating social and political history.


Concentrates on a group of plays which "involve dilemmas about the crown." These dilemmas not only reflect the public anxiety and social pressures of the time but are also "integral to the construction of these plays," the author argues. He affirms that the construction of these plays often evokes "violent shifts in audience response to their central figures." As a result, our attitude toward any particular ruler is ambivalent, reflecting a response to situations experienced also by Renaissance Englishmen. Among the plays investigated are Sh's KI, HVI, and RII. See the author's full-length study (#0763).


Includes references to Sh.


A discussion of "English plays affected to varying degrees and in various ways by the concept of the heroic." Most of the book treats plays of the early 17th cent. and of the period 1660-1700, but six of Sh's histories (all but HVI, parts 1 and 2; HVIII; and KJ) are discussed in Chapter II, "Emergence."


A study of 16th-cent. political plays and their relationship to the HVI plays.
SECTION V

GENERAL STUDIES AND CRITICISM

OF THE HISTORY PLAYS


The history plays are briefly referred to by Lisideius, who avers that they do not satisfy one's desire for the truth or verisimilitude, for they cram too much into too short a space. Poets who do this do not "imitate or paint Nature, but rather...draw her in miniature,... look upon her through the wrong end of a perspective, and receive her images not only much less, but infinitely more imperfect than the life." Neander (Dryden) does not refer to the histories, per se, but speaks generally of Sh, believing him to be the poet who among both ancients and moderns had "the largest and most comprehensive soul."


Pages 453-69 deal with Sh. Langbaine gives a brief biographical account of the dramatist and indicates sources for several of the plays, including all ten histories. Because he does not indicate what use Sh made of his sources,

The works in this section, representing the most significant critical studies on Sh's history plays in general, cover the period from Dryden (1668) to the present (1973). The works are arranged chronologically, according to date of first publication, then alphabetically by author within each year. Important subsequent edns. are noted. In the case of works merely reprinted, the latest-known reprint date is given.

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Langbaine's Account is of small value. Nevertheless, it represents the earliest attempt at source study.


In Vol. III, Lennox treats eight of the histories (all but 2HIV and KJ). She indicates what they owe to Holinshed and, in this respect, is a pioneer in source studies. Her comments, however, are basically synopses of the plot, and her criticism is often insensitive and superficial. Still, she deals with the histories less severely than with the tragedies or comedies.


Johnson's notes to his edition of Sh's plays. Johnson was particularly fond of the histories, praising them for their "tender and pathetick" qualities and for the patriotic, nationalistic feelings they aroused. His comments on Falstaff are legendary. In the Yale edition, Vol. VII contains Johnson's notes on KJ, RII, and 1&2HIV. Vol. VIII contains notes for the remaining six plays. To Johnson, HIV and HV "are among the happiest of our author's compositions," whereas KJ, RIII, and HVIII "deservedly stand in the second class."


Farmer, widely read in Elizabethan litera-
ture, pointed out several English as well as classical sources used by Sh and concluded that the dramatist's studies "were most demonstratively confined to Nature and his own Language."


Contains a chapter on historical drama and two chapters on HIV. Montagu compliments Sh for his ability to create interesting characters from "a mere heap of rude undigested annals, coarse in their style, and clogged with trivial anecdotes," but she criticizes the histories for having "too great a number of persons and events." She also thinks Sh "complied with the bad taste of the age" and did not always "discern what part of his story was not fit for representation." She also, however, believes Sh surpasses all dramatists in many respects. In the chapters on HIV, she is concerned with showing how Sh revamped his chronicle material.


A famous essay in which Morgann argues that Falstaff is not a coward and that Sh never intended to make cowardice a part of Falstaff's nature. Morgann concentrates on the character of Sir John and sees this Shn creation, as well as others, as an historic rather than dramatic being. His main purpose in the essay, however, is to provide a "critique on the genius, the arts, and the conduct of Shakespeare." Fineman's edn. contains Morgann's many revisions of the essay, plus textual notes and extensive introductions.


Generally referred to as a Romantic critic, Schlegel saw the ten plays as "one great whole."
He spoke of them as "an historical heroic poem in the dramatic form, of which the separate plays constitute the rhapsodies." He also believed the plays to be instructive. To him, they provided a "mirror of kings," or "manual of young princes," for they dealt with the "political course of the world, applicable to all times." Schlegel's remarks contain reflections on each of the ten plays.


Coleridge's comments on the history plays are fragmentary and mainly directed toward only one of them—II, a play he greatly admired. Sh's object in II and the other histories, Coleridge believed, was "to make his countrymen more patriotic; to make Englishmen proud of being Englishmen." For Coleridge, historical drama required excitement—excitement that would arouse a patriotic feeling in the audience and carry them back to a more splendid past. Sh had recognized this superbly in II, Coleridge felt, for in no other history play, with the possible exception of KJ and H VIII, had the sense of historical reality been grasped with such a powerful effect. For Coleridge, it was the "purest" of the ten plays, whereas VIII suffered, as historical drama, because of its "mixt" elements.


Courtenay's dual purpose is clearly stated in his Preface: 1) to determine Sh's authorities for the history plays and how much he departed from his sources, and 2) to resolve whether the plays may be given to our youth, as 'properly historical'." A chapter is devoted to each of the ten plays, plus the three Roman plays and Macbeth. Courtenay indicates at what points in each play Sh either follows the chronicles or departs from them. He finds that Sh did not always delineate character according to historical truth and chose not to in-
clude many historical facts. While Courtenay admires Sh and recommends the histories for the historical fact they do contain, he believes they cannot alone suffice (for instructive purposes) as "properly historical." His study is one of the rare 19th-cent. investigations devoted to these plays.


Examines all ten histories to determine whether they contain "any political purpose." Simpson mainly concerns himself with Sh's alteration of chronicle material in order to establish Sh's political bent. He also discusses the political problems of Sh's day in order to see if the plays mirror specific controversies. Simpson firmly believes that the histories reveal the dramatist as one opposed to the government of both Elizabeth and James. The plays also reflect periods of Sh's political tendencies. Obviously, Simpson's reading of the plays is questionable.


Devotes a chapter to Sh's history plays, the composition of which, Dowden believes, contributed something to Sh's "moral nature" and helped fortify him "for the conduct of life." Dowden also sees the histories as "documents written all over with facts about Shakspere." For Dowden, the plays depict successes or failures in "the achieving of practical ends." They also deal with the inevitable retribution that follows from evil. Dowden discusses Sh's kings as exemplars of royal strength or weakness.


Warner stresses the unity of the ten plays. He believes Sh had a strong patriotic bias. In the histories, Sh has "sung an immortal epic of
the English nation, having for its dominant note the passing of feudalism and the rise of the common people." Warner also argues that the decline and fall of the House of Plantagenet forms the framework for the history plays.


Schelling was the first to trace the development of the history play as a genre. To him, the English chronicler plays (of Sh and others) are "essentially national." They developed from a national impulse which was "little influenced by artistic selection of material or by scholarly avoidance of incongruity and anachronism." Concerning Sh, Schelling regarded the histories as a "triumph of the epic type." 1&2HIV and H represent "the height to which the English historical drama attained." Schelling deals with the forerunners of the history plays and with Marlowe before discussing Sh.


See Chapter IX, pp. 297-351, for a discussion of Sh's history plays. Brooke sees Sh moving toward a structure based on historical process, rather than on particular event.


Marriott says the plays have a "political message" particularly applicable to the present time (WWI). He believes the plays were meant to enforce the lesson of "national unity." He studies the plays in their historical sequence and attempts to draw from them a political moral applicable to war-torn Europe.


According to Stoll, Sh "betrays no bias in
affairs of church or state." Stoll's book consists of a series of essays covering a wide range of Shn topics. A whole chapter is devoted to Falstaff, whereas references to the histories or to specific characters within them are scattered throughout the book. One of the foremost critics of the historical school, Stoll accents dramatic conventions and argues that they play a large part in Sh's dramas. They account for many of the inconsistencies, omissions, and improbabilities occurring in Sh's plays.


Charlton was one of the first to interpret Sh's histories as political plays--"plays in which the prevailing dramatic interest is in the fate of a nation." The quotation refers specifically to HIV and HV, but Charlton also applies the sentiment to the English history play in general, among which Sh's are supreme. To Charlton, Sh recognized that England's political fate depended on the character of the king who governs. Thus, the plays provide psychological studies of kings and depict, dramatically, views of kingship. Charlton discusses several Sh characters (kings as well as commoners) as politicians and indicates the techniques Sh employed to reveal a character's political worth or qualities. While Charlton believes that Sh grasped the realities of political life and that his histories are "jubilant...in pride of country and of race," he does not reach any conclusions about Sh's personal political convictions.


The author concentrates on the later plays because he does not believe Sh's early dramas reveal "any certain or consistent political insight." Hence, Draper deals mainly with the tragedies, but the histories are commented upon throughout the article. Draper examines the plays in light of Elizabethan political thought and practice. He believes Sh became more political at the time of James I's accession, a time "when the science of politics was achieving a major place in popular regard." In Draper's opinion, it is the tragedies that most success-
fully develop political themes—particularly the themes of regicide, usurpation, and abdication. Draper also believes the political thought of King James and Sh is similar; in fact, he argues, "almost every political principle illustrated in the plays appears in the writings of the King."


Devotes a page or two to each play, giving a brief history of the text(s) and general critical comments on the play. Alexander stresses the importance of Sh's early work. A perceptive and sane approach to Sh.


This first comprehensive study of the history plays retains a pre-eminent place among the scholarly works on these plays, although it has been criticized more recently by those who find Tillyard's historical approach too limiting. Tillyard studies the plays against the background of Renaissance intellectual thought—particularly those chronicle plays, moralities, historical chronicles, and works in verse that stressed the principle of order embraced so widely throughout the Tudor period. Tillyard's thesis is that the history plays "with their constant pictures of disorder cannot be understood without assuming a larger principle of order in the background." Tillyard argues that Sh understood this principle from the very beginning of his career and that both his early and late histories reflect his sympathy with major philosophical writers of his day. Although often irritatingly conjectural, Tillyard, in this study, contributed much to a more serious investigation of the artistic merit of the HVI plays, seeing them as part of an epic celebrating England and depicting her struggles to achieve order and stability. He was responsible for revealing a richness and complexity in the whole cycle that had not been fully appreciated by earlier students of the plays. Tillyard al-
so widened the belief in an educated Sh, a man widely read in the literature that interested his contemporaries.


In Chapter III, "Shakespeare's Political Plays," the author argues that Sh builds up "a composite figure—that of the statesman-king"—through the series of plays from HVI to HV. Moreover, it is a preoccupation found in non-historical plays (mainly the tragedies) as well, but in these the idea is revised, reconsidered, and approached from a different angle. Miss Ellis-Fermor believes that the second tetralogy is the high point of this study of kingship; that HV is the "culminating study of the series"; but also that Henry V, although the "perfect public man," was finally unsatisfactory to Sh. In his Jacobean period, Sh depicts political man, but the accent now is upon one whose individual spirit triumphs over the demands and values of public life. In the histories, however, the organic quality they possess (particularly the four plays of the second tetralogy) is due to "the shaping out" of the statesman-king, the author argues.


The late reprint date indicates that this work, a rather old-fashioned character study of five Shn characters (Richard II, Richard III, Henry V, Brutus, and Coriolanus), still has value. In his introduction, Palmer comments in a general way on the political content of Sh's plays and contends that Sh was more interested in individual political figures than in politics or specific modes of government, towards which he reveals no particular bias. In the author's opinion, Sh was indifferent to political matters or viewed them with ironic detachment. Palmer also speaks throughout the book about another political "character" in Sh—the masses.

0695. Campbell, Lily B. Shakespeare's "Histories": Mirrors

In this very important and influential work, Miss Campbell surveys the principles and methods of 16th-cent. historiography as exemplified in both dramatic and non-dramatic literature of the period. Her remarks, in Part I, about the humanistic revival of history, the link between classical rhetoric and history, the influence of continental theories of history in England, and the English chronicles and verse-narratives (e.g., Daniel's Civil Wars and Drayton's Barons Warres) lead to the conclusion that historians wrote not only to show the significance of facts, but also "to establish by them general moral and more especially general political laws." Sh, who inherited this tradition, wrote for the same purpose, as Miss Campbell proceeds to show (in Part II), by discussing five of Sh's English history plays: KJ, RII, HIV, HV, and RIII. It is Miss Campbell's thesis that Sh chose to portray kings who had already become accepted "archetypes," so that he might, like others dealing with historical material before him, use history to point up particular morals and to reflect upon current political situations. Hence, Sh's interpretation of history is a traditional one, although he altered details to make them more relevant to contemporary political conditions.

This work and Tillyard's (#0692) are the most significant studies of the histories produced in the first half of this cent., although the views of both scholars have more recently been questioned or attacked by students who find them too restrictive in arguing that the plays are vehicles for Tudor propaganda or meant to be read as political or moral treatises.


Suggests "that Shakespeare made his way into the history play through the door of Senecan tragedy, with its abundant use of rhetoric and oratory." Craig discusses many of the rhetorical and oratorical features of the early histories.

For the student and general reader. Duthie examines selected plays (devoting more space to the histories than to the comedies or tragedies) and deals with them in relation to the order-disorder theme in Sh. A separate chapter, "Shakespeare and the Order-Disorder Antithesis," introduces the author's investigation of the three major genres.


A study of the linking devices in the eight plays of the two tetralogies. Law believes these links deserve close attention even though each play within the two tetralogies is a separate entity "adapted to its own audience." He does not believe the eight plays were originally conceived as tetralogies, but as individual dramas. The plays are too different "to be regarded as united cantos of one great epic."


Challenges the tradition that there were English historical plays before the time of Marlowe and Sh. Says Wilson: "My conclusion is... that for all we know there were no popular plays of English history before the Armada and that Shakespeare may have been the first to write one." Wilson speaks generally about Sh's histories, in which he recognizes an "epic sweep," and compares these two dramatists, but most of the book is a discussion of Marlowe's plays.


A response to Tillyard (#0701).


A comment upon an article by Robert Adger Law (#0698). And see Law's response (#0700).

In tracing the development of history writing for the stage, Ribner relates Sh's histories to other history plays of the 16th and early-17th centuries, and stresses the political doctrines contained in all of them. An important book, and one that sharply accents Sh's place in the spectrum of English historical drama. However, Ribner's focus upon the plays' political doctrines has been criticized as too exclusive; dramatic and poetic considerations are lost sight of in favor of the former (political) emphasis.


Discusses several Shn plays, including the histories, and gives brief character sketches of many of the protagonists. Includes general comments on the histories as political plays or dramas concerned with specific matters such as power, the nature of kingship, and so forth.


This book is the last in a series of five devoted to the study of Sh. Because it contains indexes to Knight's earlier volumes, it alone is included here as representative of this critic's significant contributions to Shn study. As the title suggests, Knight regards Sh as royalistic and his plays as shot through with symbols of royalism. Throughout all of Sh's histories runs a "golden thread" (poetic royalism, or kingship) that serves as both a dramatic and non-dramatic symbol (i.e., it has both dramatic and national appeal). These ideas are elaborated here in a series of short sketches in Knight's first chapter, "This Sceptred Isle: A Study of Shakespeare's Kings." These sketches support Knight's view that the royal theme is the framework for all of Sh's history plays.

Baldwin examines phases of Sh's work in light of "the universal methods of composition in his time, [in order] to see how he has arrived at some of his literary results." Several chapters are devoted to the HVI plays and RIII. Baldwin discusses the relationship between the Contention and True Tragedie to HVI. Several chapters are devoted to five-act structure, dating, and the moral of the Lancaster-York tetralogy. The author's historical approach provides a wealth of material concerning sources, events, and methods that served Sh. Baldwin also indicates significant events or elements that prompted Sh to pursue particular themes in his histories and other plays.


Draws comparisons between Sh's history plays (excepting HVIII) and the drama and literature of ancient Greece. Concludes that both Sh and the Greeks "speak the same language, though in different dialects... and speak about the same things; whether they tell us of an Agamemnon or a Creon, or of a King Richard or a Hamlet, they are speaking in the same grave and spacious way of nothing less than the terms on which the gods will let us live;...about this one thing they do not speak differently."


Written in Czech, but the book contains a 20-page English summary of its contents. The author speaks of the plays as a synthesis of national unity.

These two volumes (of a projected eight-volume work covering all of Sh's plays and non-dramatic poetry) constitute an indispensable guide to Sh's sources and the use he made of them in the ten history plays. Vol. III contains remarks by Bullough concerning the historical sources available to Sh. He supplies introductory comments to each play and gives large selections from both undisputed and probable sources. Both volumes also contain excellent bibliographies and chronological tables.


Outlines some of the questions, problems, and complications involved in determining the use Sh made of his sources. Primarily the problems concern authenticity, priority, and accessibility. Muir notes the divergence of critical opinion on these matters. Personally, he believes Sh's reading was extensive and that the dramatist made use of many sources for each of the histories.


A collection of thirty articles (some reprinted from previous publications), nine of which deal with individual plays or characters in the second tetralogy. These nine include "The Mercurial Richard II," pp. 74-81; "The Date of Henry IV," pp. 164-68; four essays on Falstaff and essays on Shallow, Robin, and other pages, and Corporal Nym.


These fragmentary remarks by an eminent historian were composed during the German occupation of the author's homeland in 1944-45. In many respects, the views are dated and questionable, but one will also find here perceptive insights from one who makes no claim to being a literary critic. The fragment contains two sec-
tions. Section A, "Shakespeare's Attitude toward State and Society," discusses the concept of cosmic order in the histories, Sh's treatment of kingship, war and patriotism, and Sh's attitude toward the people, among other subjects. In Section B, "Shakespeare's Historical Capacity," the author compares Sh with other dramatists notable for their historical plays.


Pages 115-119, "Shakespeare on History," contain some reflections by this famous writer. The remarks mainly deal with the effect of reading and seeing Sh's history plays. Mauriac believes Sh "shows us that the source of all history lies in human emotions."


Reese argues, in his admirable study, that Sh's histories are political, often very orthodox expressions of the Renaissance concept of order as the supreme political virtue and goal of the state. But he also believes that Sh went beyond this limited view in order to express the meaning of majesty: "the ideal social relationship in which king and people were united in a conception of their mutual duty." In a sense, Sh analyzed kings and kingship for the purpose of defining this ideal of majesty, seeing it as the almost spiritual goal of England. Because he sees the plays as belonging to social history as well as to literature, Reese devotes the first half of his book to a discussion of Tudor history and the uses to which it was put by contemporary historians. As the author admits, there is much here that will be found elsewhere, but the reader's passage through this much-charted ground is made pleasant by Reese's clear style and trenchant commentary. A study of the plays follows (with the exception of HVIII), and the author concludes with some interesting ideas about why Sh went "beyond politics" in the succeeding years of his career while, at the same time, never completely abandoning the idea of rule and the nature of political duty.
Believes Sh found the Tudor conception of order and degree "too rigid, too black-and-white, too doctrinaire and narrowly moral." Thus, in the history plays, Sh "had to undermine it, to qualify it with equivocations; to vex its applications with sly or subtle ambiguities." Rossiter finds that a "political-moral" system is present in the histories, but Sh shifts "from key to key" and ultimately leaves us with an "evocation of the paradox of human experience." Rossiter also discusses the histories as "comic" --in the sense that they deal with human shortcomings.

Argues that in Sh's histories, one is aware of a development "marked by an increasing range of self-awareness in the protagonists." In the second tetralogy, Sh moved away from the explicit motivations found in the earlier histories (which seem closer to the chronicle form) and developed "deeply self-conscious" plays in which ambiguities mark the relation between individuals and beliefs.

Contains a group of essays on Sh, two of which deal with the history plays--"The Prince's Dog" (on HIV and Falstaff) and "Brothers & Others" (on RII, HIV, and other Shn plays, mainly the Merchant of Venice). In the last-mentioned essay, Auden discusses usury and draws comparisons between the economic worlds of HIV's England and that of Venice.

A brief essay (47 pp.) analyzing and interpreting RIII, KJ, RII, and HV, which Knights dis-
cusses as "political" plays. The essay, written for beginning students or interested non-specialists, begins with a brief sketch of the Tudor background and commonplaces. Knights argues that, while Sh often seems to hold traditional and conservative views, his plays reveal that those views were rigidly scrutinized. A selective bibliography of some primary and secondary background sources plus critical works of a general and specific nature has also been added. See entry #0031 of this bibliography for a description of the last-mentioned materials.


This short essay addressed to beginning students begins with a discussion of what history meant to the Elizabethans. The author encourages his readers to see Sh's work in relation to his sources, as well as plays which artistically transcend the chronicle material. The rest of the essay explicates the three parts of H VI, the two parts of H VII, and briefly touches upon The Merry Wives of Windsor. Many of the author's critical insights should stimulate the student to serious thinking about the plays discussed. A selective bibliography for further reading in both primary and secondary background material and containing critical studies devoted to these plays has been added for the reader's convenience. See entry #0034 of this bibliography for comments on the bibliographical apparatus in Leech's volume.


The author finds Sh's plays ringing with "echoes from the culture which was their author's inheritance." Thus, Matthews deals with the traditional thought (especially concerning sin, judgment, and redemption) that formed this inheritance from which Sh drew—to a greater or lesser extent—depending on his purpose. All of the histories are discussed, some in relation to "the Luciferian sin" of rebellion, others in relation to usurpation or the conflict between
justice and mercy.


A section (pp. 126 ff.) of these general remarks on Sh in relation to the social and theatrical conventions of his time deals with Sh's early productions, a period of his career in which he was involved with "political propaganda and structural development." Bullough sees Sh as a "conformist in politics and religion," one upon whom the commonplace beliefs of the time (in regard to order, obedience, the evils of rebellion, and so forth) operated as "a major conditioning factor in his imaginative view of mankind." Brief comments on the history plays follow, then Bullough discourses on the succeeding periods of Sh's career. He concludes with an encomium of the dramatist.


Argues that Sh based his histories on the political and moral commonplaces advanced by the chroniclers who preceded him and that he seems never to have deviated from political orthodoxy. However, Bullough recognizes that Sh was a dramatist, not a propagandist, and therefore concentrates on Sh's use of historical material and what it tells us of his development. Not until Antony and Cleopatra did Sh transcend "the ethical uses of history," Bullough concludes.


Comments on four major critical studies--Tillyard's (#0692), Campbell's (#0695), Traversi's (#0766), and Reese's (#0713).


In his chapter "The Kings," Kott interprets
Shakespeare's history plays as archetypal tragedies, plays particularly meaningful to contemporary 20th-century men who have witnessed the destructiveness of modern wars, concentration camps, ghettos, and the power of Hitler, Stalin, and the fascists. For Kott, the histories depict series in what he calls "the Grand Mechanism"—an implacable force or world system in which everyone from king to the lowest commoner is unavoidably caught up. In the Mechanism, history is regarded as a meaningless or a cruel cycle endlessly repeated. Kott believes this is Shakespeare's view of historical tragedy. As he phrases it, "Shakespeare views the implacable mechanism without medieval awe, and without the illusions of the early Renaissance. The sun does not circle round the earth, there is no order of the spheres, or of nature. The king is no Lord's Anointed, and politics is only an art aiming at capturing and securing power." A controversial work and the butt of much criticism from more conventional critics.


A three-part article in which Morton discusses Shakespeare's treatments of social man, kingship, and war. The author believes they imply Shakespeare's "growing realisation of social injustice," his awareness of changing class relationships, and his disillusionment over the Spanish war. Concerning the history plays, Morton finds they reflect the pattern of history, set down by Polydore Vergil and Halle, "of crime, counter-crime and resolution." For Morton, Shakespeare supported kingship and the Tudor orthodoxy concerning order, but he was not uncritical of these attitudes and he recognized the wide gap between the ideal and the real where rule and kingship were concerned. In regard to war, Sh seems to have abandoned the "cheerful patriotism" of HIV and HV as his career progressed. His later plays, according to Morton, reveal a condemnatory attitude toward war and toward the society that resorted to it as a means of settling disputes.


Treats the ten plays from KJ to HVIII "as works of art and not as political and didactic treatises." Sen Gupta believes too much history-
play criticism has "subordinated the purely literary significance of these plays to their ethical and political import." Thus, the book serves as a corrective to the studies of Campbell, Tillyard, and Ribner, but ought to be read in conjunction with, not in lieu of, those studies. Sen Gupta also impressively argues against J. Dover Wilson's interpretation of Falstaff and HIV as owing much to morality play patterns. The author points out that Prince Hal never succumbs to temptation as does the young man in the morality plays.


Argues that the characters of the HVI plays "were shaped both by conventions of the morality tradition and by demands of the literal historical events." Turner believes the native traditions employed in HVI were modified by Sh in RIII.


Deals with pastoral elements in the histories. Says Forker, "Shakespeare uses the pastoral motif and its extension in details of landscape, imagery, and setting both to mirror and to challenge ideas of order and disorder in the great world of affairs." The author also takes exception to critics who see Hooker's concept of nature operating in Sh's histories. Because the plays deal with "the savage realities of dynastic struggle, of power, of the human ego asserting itself politically," they convey something more like the Hobbesian view of nature--"red in tooth and claw"--than the view advanced by Hooker.


Reportedly, the article discusses order, disorder, and comic conventions in KJ, HVI, and RIII.

0729. Waith, Eugene M., ed. Shakespeare: The Histories:

Contains eleven well-known essays previously published elsewhere plus an Introduction by the editor. Three of the studies (by Lily B. Campbell, E. M. W. Tillyard, and M. M. Reese) deal with background. The first tetralogy is discussed in two essays by J. P. Brockbank and A. P. Rossiter; the second tetralogy in four essays by Derek Traversi, R. J. Dorius, J. Dover Wilson, and J. H. Walter. KJ and HVIII are discussed by James L. Calderwood and Frank KerMODE, respectively. Prepared for the convenience of students. Many of the essays are portions of books listed separately in this bibliography; others, appearing previously in journals, are listed separately in other sections of this bibliography, if applicable.


States his purpose as, "primarily, to draw attention to the particular use Prince Hal makes of his time, in the light especially of the various misuses of time made by others; and secondly, to show that Shakespeare's recurrent references to the horsemanship of various characters in the history plays throw light on their uses of time, or attitudes toward it."


As his title suggests, Sprague is concerned mainly with how the ten histories and characters within them have been acted. Although stage practice is his central theme, he also pays attention to literary criticism and, in his first chapter, discusses attitudes toward the history plays during the 18th and 19th cents.


General comments upon the ten histories and some reflections upon the political events and
doctrines of Sh's own age—events and doctrines that seem to be embodied in the histories. Conventional.


On politico-literary relationships and on the dynamic or static quality of politics in Sh's English and Roman history plays. Concerning the former, the author says "the two great historic tetralogies deal with dynamic politics and almost all of it is bad politics and good literature."


Chapter III, "The Polity," and Chapter V, "The Great Globe Itself," contain extended comments on the history plays, all of which are discussed except for KJ. According to Rabkin, "there is only one constant in Shakespeare's political plays: the view of politics as problematic. Every political play that he wrote, without exception, shows the state in crisis—crisis of the sort that calls all into question, forces us to examine all our political assumptions and ideals, and leaves us finally with a resolution that does not allow for simplistic adherence to particular political ideals." In Rabkin's opinion, Sh's view of politics is tragic, for it emphasizes action and action's consequent—error—and therefore does not allow us to luxuriate in non-action or comfortable solutions. An important book.


Admittedly, the author does not attempt to supersede earlier studies of the history plays. He treats all of the English histories except HVIII and also discusses Julius Caesar and Coriolanus. Richmond's approach to the plays is similar to G. Wilson Knight's treatment of the tragedies; that is to say, he deals with each play "as a total unity, a unique 'world' of the imagination, whose attributes ensure the meaningfulness of all its component parts." Cyrus Hoy, in reviewing the book, found the author's comments
"sensible, well-informed, clearly stated, and unremarkable" (SEL, 8 (1968), 379-80). Hoy's main criticism was directed toward the author's introductory sketch of pre-Shn drama, which Hoy found "simplicity itself" and curious in its inclusion of "a gratuitous catalogue of the scandals that overtook Shakespeare's family through the years."


Contains "'I Am But Shadow of Myself': Ceremony and Design in 1 Henry VI" (#0917); "King John: The Ordering of This Present Time" (#0-959); "Shakespeare, Peele, and the King of Scots"; and "'Swoll'n with Some Other Grief': Shakespeare's Prince Hal Trilogy," pp. 144-205, which attempts to show that Sh in these plays "took a much more searching look at the problem of disorder than he had in the earlier histories."


According to the author, his book "concentrates on mirror imagery, substance and shadow, seeing and unseeing, fragmentation and synthesis, showing how Shakespeare was finding his way toward making his dramatis personae shatter their own brittleness, their own puppetry, into a new and more powerful dramatic life." The history plays discussed are KJ, all three parts of HVI, RIII, and RII.


An attempt "to redress the recent tendency to concentrate on [the] politico-doctrinal bearings" of Sh's histories. Humphreys considers the plays "'spatially' as well as temporally... how they reach out into mental dimensions of space and time and thereby form imaginative complexes of great vitality."

Many of the fifteen chapters of this book relate Elizabethan politics and ideas about history to Sh's history plays, but five chapters are of special interest: "Machiavelli and the Crisis of Renaissance Political Consciousness"; "Providence and Policy in Richard III"; "Providence and History in Elizabethan Thought"; "Shakespearian History: Critique of 'Elizabethan Policy'"; and "Shakespeare's Political Agnosticism: Richard II." Interestingly and provocatively, Sanders argues that these plays do not reflect the "Elizabethan policy" described by Lily B. Campbell or E. M. W. Tillyard. Instead, for him, they reflect traditional ideas in conflict with hard political facts. The histories seem to portray the views of political realists like Sir Thomas Smith, e.g., rather than those advanced by propagandists for the Tudor regime. Sanders' book is unquestionably valuable, but one may be irritated by his occasionally antagonistic and harsh tone.


Winny believes an interpretation of the histories based on the assumption that they are dramas concerned with politics, kingship, and related subjects "does not satisfy the need to establish Shakespeare's total meaning." Thus, his book is an attempt to decipher Sh's "imaginative design," particularly in the second tetralogy. In his argument that Sh's king "is not a political concept" but rather "an imaginative concept, developed from play to play," Winny reiterates ideas developed in 1945 by Una Ellis-Fermor (#0693). In three chapters devoted, respectively, to H1I, HIV, and HV, Winny considers the attempts of these three Shn kings "to assume the royal identity." He believes we should regard these monarchs as men "grappling with an identity bigger than their own," rather than as kings whose conduct ought to be judged in light of Elizabethan political thought.

Conjectures about a monarch who "gains the crown, but loses Shakespeare."


A study of linking elements in the eight plays constituting the two tetralogies. The author considers the plays in their historical order, rather than in the order of their composition, in order to show how the separate plays are linked together "into a dramatic cycle." The linking elements he considers include internal references, consistent development of themes, and "the crossing over of the main action from one play to the next."


This revised and considerably expanded version of the author's earlier work (first published in 1938 and issued in a revised and enlarged form in 1956) incorporates new essays on Sh's earliest history plays -- the first tetralogy. Traversi's treatment of the second tetralogy is basically a summary of the ideas presented in his book Shakespeare: From Richard II to Henry V (#0766). KJ is also dealt with, but the author does not discuss HVIII. Traversi's approach attempts to make each play comprehensible as a complete dramatic action, one meant to be performed on a particular type of stage. Traversi is concerned with the various elements in a play (words, verse structure, character, motive, etc.) and the manner in which these elements are tied together "to make up the complete dramatic reality." In other words, he studies the smaller units of each play and indicates how they contribute to a "complete concept of a dramatic action, which is the end and raison d'être of the whole."


"The twofold purpose of this dissertation is to illuminate the concept of kingship in Shake-
speare's history plays and to explore the pattern of his creative use of the crown as image and property."


Chapter I, "The English History Play," written shortly before Professor Wilson's death in 1963, was originally designed for the Oxford History of English Literature volume on Sh and the drama to 1640. The article is therefore mainly descriptive, rather than critical, but always it reveals the breadth of learning and keen critical insights for which Wilson was famous. Sh's history plays receive major attention and are compared to other historical plays of the period. All are discussed in terms of the prevailing Renaissance concepts of history and historiography as derived from the historians and translators of the period. Wilson also attempts to define a history play, to distinguish it from tragedy and/or comedy, and to indicate its primary characteristics. The chief interest of Sh's history plays, Wilson maintains, is "character revealing itself in politics." He sees in the ten plays, when considered collectively, an "epic sweep," yet each is a dramatic unit.


Kelly's study, based on investigations of the Tudor chroniclers Vergil, Halle, and Holinshed, is a challenge to E. M. W. Tillyard's opinion that a single, Tudor view of Providence prevailed during S.'s age. Kelly discovers three views of Providence--Yorkist, Lancastrian, and Tudor--and argues that Sh's plots in the histories do not conform to any of these. Sh's characters, on the other hand, adhere to the view most appropriate to their family and political allegiance. Kelly also believes Sh was skeptical or even radical as a political thinker, rather than conservative, as most 20th-cent. commentators have maintained.

The author's purpose is "to demonstrate that the operations of political ideas in Shakespeare's plays is neither didactic nor philosophical in intent but a matter of practical dramaturgy and calculated technique." In a separate chapter on RII, the author defines "political pointing" and, in a subsequent chapter on the history plays, discusses the development of this technique.


A study aid designed for students and teachers. The table attempts to combine the features of a genealogy and an encyclopedia. The author includes comments indicating the range of material covered and the scheme employed in the table.


Sh's history plays reveal Elizabethan optimism and nationalism, according to Bevington, who devotes a paragraph or two to each of the nine histories and other plays written during Sh's Elizabethan period. He notes the pessimistic attitude that characterizes the plays that followed.


Bromley discusses nine English history plays (all but HVIII) plus Julius Caesar, Hamlet, Macbeth, and King Lear. His book (and pessimistic views) may shock many, for he sees the plays as "neither Christian nor politically orthodox." In his opinion, an "aura of essential futility...pervades the histories," and he finds no ideal kings in any of Sh's plays. In discussing the second tetralogy, Bromley takes exception to the "seminal crime" theory—that both tetralogies reflect the disastrous effects of the deposition of Richard II. Like many recent studies, Bromley's also questions the older hypothesis that the plays are propagandistic. To him, Sh's view of history was critical, and the plays force us to reconsider
political and historical assumptions. Bromley is also concerned with explaining why the histories fascinate 20th-cent. readers. Many will take exception to the author's views, but the book is provocative.


Discusses political situations in both tetralogies and the development of Prince Hal as ideal king.


Focusing upon the nine history plays of the 1590's, Pierce studies the correspondence between the family and the state, showing how, at times, family relationships help to define larger public issues, or how, at other times, the family serves as a miniature portrait of the state. The analogy between family and state is traced largely through Sh's language, characterization, and dramatic structure. It is in HEN that Pierce finds this analogic relationship most richly developed. One feels, however, that the arbitrary emphasis upon the history plays forces the author to treat a theme which is often not as significant in a particular history play as it is in other plays of Sh's early and late periods--Romeo and Juliet or King Lear, e.g. Nevertheless, this book will prompt a greater awareness of the family and its significance in the dramatist's other plays as well as enrich one's understanding of the histories.


Finds that as Sh becomes less dependent on his sources, the female characters of his political plays "become increasingly more important, both as human beings who reject political values, and as political creatures whose interests are accepted by the men." The author's abstract
does not indicate which plays her dissertation
deals with, nor does it indicate which plays
she considers "political."

0754. Schwarze, Hans-Wilhelm. Justice, Law and Revenge:
"The Individual and Natural Order" in Shake-
speare's Dramen (Studien zur englische Literatur,
VI). Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann,
1971.

In German, with a short summary in English
(pp. 165-68). Discusses political and legal
problems in nine of the histories (all but HVIII)
and other Shn plays. The author is mainly con-
cerned with the "scenic-dramatic function" of
the concepts of law, justice, and revenge as well
as the part they play in characterization. Where
Sh's history plays are concerned, the author be-
lieves they are reflections of the problems of
Sh's own age as well as attempts "to combine
the conception of the providential ordering of
history with the new belief in man's autonomy."

0755. Weiss, Theodore Russell. The Breath of Clowns and
Kings. London: Chatto and Windus; New York:

Written by a poet for the non-specialist,
this book offers a close analysis of RII, RIII,
and both parts of HIV, among other Shn plays.
The author is primarily concerned with the
plays' language and form and with demonstrating
how these elements grow and change. He does
not deal much with the political content of
these histories, and, occasionally, one notices
a critical slip. The chapters on RII and RIII
are interesting, however.

0756. Wineke, Donald Richard. "The Machiavellian Charac-
ter-Type in Shakespeare's History Plays." Ph.
D. diss., Indiana Univ., 1971. See DAI, 32,
2108-A.

On the Machiavellian ethic and characters
in the two tetralogies.

0757. Armstrong, William A., ed. Shakespeare's Histories:
An Anthology of Modern Criticism (Penguin Shake-
speare Library). Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Eng.:

Contains twelve essays of both a general
and specific nature and an Introduction by the editor. Most of the articles deal with individual history plays, all ten of which are represented. Contributors include Irving Ribner, S. C. Sen Gupta, J. P. Brockbank, A. F. Rossiter, William H. Matchett, Peter Ure, Sir John Gielgud, Harold Jenkins, A. R. Humphreys, M. M. Reese, Frank Kermode, and Arthur Colby Sprague. In his Introduction, the editor gives a brief account of history play criticism from the time of the early Shn editors, comments on the plays’ stage history, and offers a short synopsis of each of the articles included in the anthology. The volume also includes a section listing “suggestions for further reading.”


Deals only with HV among the history plays. The author's purpose is to investigate Sh's use of source materials, to examine certain traditions and conventions, and to determine what these early plays have in common.


Reportedly contains two chapters on Sh's histories.


Perhaps the most important contribution to history-play criticism since Reese's *The Cease of Majesty* (#0713). Ornstein challenges widely-held opinions throughout his discussion of the ten English histories, and often disagrees with Tillyard (#0692), Campbell (#0695), and others who support the “Tudor myth.” He does not subscribe to the belief that Sh's plays present an official version of history; instead, he argues that Sh, well-versed in history, was critical and thoughtful about presenting it. Historical criticism has too often neglected aesthetic responses to these plays, Ornstein believes, and thus he focuses on Sh as dramatist, not as political moralist. For Ornstein, the two tetralogies do not consti-
tute a "panorama of English history." Each tetralogy is distinctively different, and each reveals an "architectural unity." The individual plays within both tetralogies also have an integrity of their own. Ornstein finds the artistic design of HVI especially worthy of praise, a stance opposite to much earlier criticism. His interpretation of HV also diverges from the main lines of modern criticism on that play.


This entire issue of SLitI contains articles on the history plays and a review (pp. 141-62) by the editor of recent books. The individual articles are listed in the appropriate subsections in Section VII of this bibliography.


Takes exception to recent critics (mainly Irving Ribner) who argue that the history play "'cannot be defined on the basis of dramatic form'." In Kastan's opinion, it "can only be defined on the basis of dramatic form." His study supports the belief that the Shn history play "has a unique and determinate shape that emerges organically from the playwright's sense of the shape of history itself."


The author's purpose is to "illuminate a group of significant works of art dealing with a central political problem of the Renaissance." The plays involved are RII, HVI, KJ, HV, and the non-Shn plays Woodstock, Edward II, and The Troublesome Reign of King John. The "central political problem" is one the author considers very real to the theater-going public of the 1590's: whether loyalty to the crown is necessary if the king is weak. The conflict between dissatisfaction with a king and the guilt all must share in deposing him is rendered dramatically in these plays, Manheim argues, and his book is largely concerned with "the manipu-
lation of audience sympathies toward the monarch" in these plays. In regard to Sh's histories, Manheim believes they reveal "a pattern of rather bitter political maturation." Because they are contradictory and inconsistent, in his opinion, they ought not to be considered "mirrors" of Elizabethan policy. In fact, most plays of the 1590's indicate that Machiavellianism was accepted as a means of resolving the "weak king dilemma." Machiavellian tactics came to be regarded as a political compromise, and this compromise seems to Manheim to be implicit in the plays discussed.


The most recent of major studies of the histories. Prior discusses the eight plays of the two tetralogies in light of the most significant 20th-cent. scholarship, indicating its strengths and weaknesses. While noting the interconnectedness of the plays and the attempts to group them into a thematically-related whole, Prior also accents the individuality of each play. For him, the HVI plays present political problems and prefigure issues worked out in the succeeding plays, but they are different in terms of dramatic structure from the latter. They serve as a "prologue" to "the more concentrated and specialized plays which follow." They are "the rich ore out of which the later plays are refined," according to Prior. The plays from RIII to HV, on the other hand, "constitute a spectrum, each play one component in an exhaustive separating-out of the principal aspects of the central idea of kingship as the source of sovereign power and authority." In these five dramas, Prior sees a more analytical approach to the nature of kingship, statecraft, and power politics. Thought of in their totality, however, the eight plays, according to Prior, "present us as does no other literary work with a panoramic spectacle of political man in action."


Lately announced in a publisher's list,
This work apparently deals with several plays, including the histories, and studies them in relation to their historical context.
SECTION VI

RECENT STUDIES ON THE TETRALOGIES


Traversi argues that the plays of the second tetralogy "offer a consistently personal reading of contemporary ideas on history and politics, and illuminate, perhaps as clearly as any, the emergence of many of the distinctive themes of the still greater plays to follow." For Traversi, this series of plays reflects the political and nationalistic sentiments of Sh's own day. The author believes Sh's purpose was, like Halle's and Holinshed's, to present history in such a way that it would serve as a lesson concerning the relationship between king and subject, the disastrous consequences of rebellion or usurpation, and the necessity for order based on the rule of a divinely-instituted monarch. Each of the four plays is dealt with in a separate chapter. Much here appears in the author's expanded and revised version of his Approach to Shakespeare, 3rd edn. (#0743).


Believes that the four plays of the second tetralogy raise questions and explore problems

The entries in this section are arranged chronologically, then alphabetically by author within each year. With the exception of the first entry (a major critical study by a recognized authority), the listings represent studies produced between 1959 and 1973. Because Gordon Ross Smith (#0050) lists studies published up through 1958, students interested in earlier criticism should refer to the pertinent sections of his bibliography.
rather than make dogmatic political statements. The author thus argues "for a shift in emphasis from that of established criticism."


On Sh's conception of providence (particularly as it is expressed in this tetralogy) and how it differs from the conception commonly held in his age. Quinn sees Sh as more skeptical than most about whether God intervenes in human affairs. The dramatist also "shows a far greater concern for the logic of cause and effect than any other dramatist writing in the early 1590's...." Quinn explains what he believes to be Sh's conception of providence in terms of "the scholastic distinction between a general providence and a particular providence."


Suggests that Sh "treats pagan pursuits of glory in these plays ironically, either questioning or ridiculing them from a Christian point of view."


On the relationship between language and social reality in the second tetralogy. The author, noting 16th-cent. controversies involving rhetoric, advances the argument that "the revision and renewal of the king's symbolic role, suggested by Shakespeare, is an effort to solve a political problem through creative use of language."


Argues that Sh explores political expediency in the second tetralogy and that it is a major aspect of kingship as that subject is dealt with by Sh. Machiavellianism operates in one form or another in all four plays, Freeman believes.

0773. Thomas, Gail H. "What is a King?" Ball State Teachers College Forum, 5 (Autumn 1964), 34-42.

A discussion of the four plays of the second tetralogy. The author deals with how they answer the question posed in the article's title.


Examines kingship and the characters of the kings in RII, 1&2HIV, and HV; argues that "Shakespeare advocates no particular course of action as the best, has no decided feelings either monarchicaly or democratically, but rather presents a summary of the general feelings and thoughts of his time." The article deals with the following fundamental problems of kingship and the manner in which they are treated in these plays: 1) the choice of counselors, 2) the question of divine sanction, 3) valid succession, and 4) the burdens and cares of kingship.


According to SQ, Schloesser's article argues that Sh reveals his hostility toward Jack Cade because the latter's success "seriously compromised development of economic power of [the] bourgeoisie."

0777. Dean, Leonard F. "Richard II to Henry V: A Closer
Discusses the "variety of dramatic mode and structure in [these four] plays, their thematic richness, and the remarkable effects which occur when contrasting modes within a play interact cooperatively." The study argues, in short, that the history plays cannot be simplified into examples of plays stressing Tudor propaganda or the Holinshed interpretation of history. On the contrary, Sh makes profound what the chroniclers reported in a naive manner, Dean claims.


Discusses four "central modes" of speech—denunciation, retrospection, true and false report, and dispute—in this tetralogy.


Deals with the four plays of the second tetralogy and claims to offer "certain well-founded surmises on the subject of what, for want of another name, I shall have to call Shakespeare's 'politics'." This oddly-printed book is difficult to work with.


Believes the histories should not be read as political and historical tracts at the expense of forgetting Sh's "overriding interest in character and in human values." Argues that the plays of the second tetralogy, although they seem to reflect a providential view of history, also seem to refute the ideas of divine kingship and passive obedience.

Argues that each of the three kings in this tetralogy, through patterns of expression and the political action he embraces, reveals a personal set of ideas about the nature of the world. These ideologies differ from "the pieties of the Elizabethan world picture," according to the author.


Discusses the epic qualities of the second tetralogy, as seen in the dynastic shifts from Richard II to Henry V. Historically, the play's movement parallels that from medieval to Renaissance and the modern world. Politically and socially, the four plays reflect a movement from "feudalism and hierarchy to the national state and individualism." Basically, the epic movement is one "from ceremony and ritual to history and drama."


On the philosophical-theological and the Morality traditions as two traditions constituting the basis for the drama of the soul. Sees Sh's second tetralogy as "a huge panorama of dramatic souls in action."


Examines Sh's treatment of supporting historical characters in this tetralogy in order to determine the effect Sh sought by altering source materials. Believes Sh in these plays was concerned with the issues of tyranny, rebellion, obedience, good government and other matters of contemporary significance.

Reportedly, the article argues that Richard II becomes a "series of characters" created in the minds of those responsible for his downfall.


On the historical and subjective perspectives of Christian time as represented in the medieval dramatic tradition. These two antithetical perspectives, it is argued, "operate simultaneously in Shakespeare's second tetralogy as historical events are shown to emerge from subjective forces."


Discusses RII, 1&2HIV, HV, and other Shn plays. Deals with the creative and destructive "faces" of play and the two generic types of players--Player-King and Adversary--in Shn drama.


"A central theme of the Lancastrian history plays is the abuse of greatness: the moral corruption which is attendant upon the exercise of power." Sh exposes the Machiavellian motivations of those characters who seek or wield power, but, unlike Machiavelli, locates their actions within a "secular normative context."


Argues that Sh's second tetralogy "re-enacts the defining events of [the Christian] myth--fall, redemption, and apocalypse--in
political terms."


Argues that Tudor ideas and doctrines are not the primary links between these four plays. Discusses the other links or linking techniques and believes they support the idea that Sh was responsible for all three HVI plays.
SECTION VII
RECENT STUDIES
ON THE INDIVIDUAL HISTORY PLAYS

Henry IV, Parts One and Two

Editions

Arden, ed. R. P. Cowl and A. E. Morgan (1914, 1923)
Yale, ed. S. B. Hemingway (1917-21)
New Temple, ed. M. R. Ridley (1934)
New Variorum, Part I, ed. S. B. Hemingway (1936)
New Variorum, Part II, ed. M. A. Shaaber (1940)
Penguin, ed. G. B. Harrison (1938)
New Cambridge, ed. J. D. Wilson (1946)
Pelican, Part I, ed. M. A. Shaaber (1957)
Pelican, Part II, ed. A. Chester (1957)

Studies


Mainly reflections on Falstaff and on the difference between seeing and reading the play.


On the power held by the historical Percies in national politics between 1399 and 1403. Sh

The ten plays are arranged alphabetically. Each subsection is prefaced with a list of the best 20th-cent. edns., almost all of which contain excellent introductions to the plays. Only books and articles first published between 1959 and 1973 are entered under "Studies"; they are arranged chronologically, then alphabetically by author within each year. Because Gordon Ross Smith (#0050) includes studies published up through 1958, students interested in earlier criticism should consult the pertinent sections of his bibliography.
not mentioned.


On the correspondence between Hal's reference to "redeeming time" (I.ii.239-40) and Ephesians 5:15-16.


"The primary emphasis given to time in Henry IV is the problem of its redemption."


According to SQ, the author argues that Prince Hal never "accepted" Falstaff and therefore never "rejected" him.


On the possible indebtedness of Sh to Camden's Britannia in ascribing youth to Prince Hal's rival Hotspur.


A radio broadcast discussing Sh's intention in regard to Falstaff and remarks concerning that character.


Argues that the static quality of the play is important from the point of view of its political meaning and dramatic integrity.


Relates Hotspur to the play's "major theme of disorder."


According to SQ, the article deals with Falstaff as "the embodiment of a comic spirit to which all are subject." Falstaff is also "the supreme illusionist."


On the location of Falstaff's recruiting and meeting with Shallow.


On Sh's invention of the quarrels among the conspirators in 1HIV. Sh may have been
thinking of the contemporary efforts of Anconcio of Trent to reclaim land from the Thames when making Hotspur desirous of changing the course of the Trent.


General comments on 1HIV and its relevancy to the present. Planchon's admiration for the play is emphasized and he briefly hints that Sh solved moral problems by political means in this drama.


Argues against H. D. F. Kitto and Tillyard concerning HIV's desire to make a crusade to the Holy Land. Also discusses the link between father and son as "part of a larger pattern and moral order, which I call augmentative time, that is basic to the plays dealing mainly with the world of government."


On action, honor, and the comic point of the Gadshill robbery.


A study using contemporary rogue pamphlets.

Toliver, Harold E. "Falstaff, the Prince, and the History Play." *SQ*, 16 (Winter 1965), 63-80.

A suggestive essay in which the author comments generally on Sh's approach to the history play and on specific elements in HIV. Toliver argues that Sh "appears to have sought in the history play a fresh artistic form capable of integrating providential order, pragmatic political concerns, and timeless human impulses." He also speaks of the "inner" and "outer" worlds and of communal and folk traditions operating in the histories. Several pages are devoted to a discussion of Prince Hal's rejection of Falstaff.


Sh may have drawn upon the ballad "Chevy Chase" when having Prince Hal challenge Hotspur to single combat before the Battle of Shrewsbury.


Connects the play to the Homilies.


Finds a source for Falstaff's "stabbing" of Mistress Quickly in a similar episode involving Dericke the clown in The Famous Victories of Henry V.


According to SQ, the article argues that with the help of Falstaff, Prince Hal discovers his own weaknesses and strengths as well as the true concept of honor.


The authors discount the "education of a prince" theme. Instead, they believe Hal's transformation is one in accord with his inherited qualities--i.e., the "blood will tell" theme
is operating here.


On the way Sh justifies Hal morally and politically in 2HIV.


A statistical study of lines and characters mainly in HIV, but these same features are noted for all ten histories. The author indicates that Sh's histories become more "economical, concentrated, and spare," with the exception of 1&2 HIV and HV, which are "fat" plays.


Barber argues that, in 1HIV, Hal attempts a balance between attitudes of Hotspur, on the one hand, and of Falstaff, on the other. HV is a glorification of the Tudor monarchy and a celebration of Tudor peace.

Discusses the play as one that develops "the psychology of political life" and achieves a harmony of seemingly incompatible elements. In this play, "the whole of society enters into the conflict."


Argues that in both the Aeneid and Sh's histories (particularly HIV) one senses "a tension between the poet's loyalty to his country and his desire to explore precisely those morally ambiguous or contradictory situations that defied a simple solution and could not be easily squared with the official view of history." This sense is especially noticeable in the way in which Vergil and Sh handled the deaths of Turnus and Hotspur, respectively.


Discusses differing attitudes to the two parts of HIV and comments upon the bitter mood and somber atmosphere of Part Two; he also speaks of the different, harsher treatment of Falstaff. Part Two is "more profound, mature and searching," the author concludes.


On Erasmian influence (Moriae encomium) in HIV.


0848. Scoufos, Alice Lyle. "Harvey: A Name Change in Henry IV." ELH, 36 (June 1969), 297-318.

On topical connection between Sir William Harvey and the Harvey among the comic crew of HIV.

Presents the argument that Hal pursues a princely education from the beginning.


Studies the play as Sh's "most perfect" and successful English history play and regards it as an "ideological statement about England's destiny." Bowers believes the play advances Tudor ideas of order based on "centralized royal power." Hotspur and the Percies represent a fragmented, feudal rule, but Hal's victory over them is an assurance that a new patriotism and a code of honor based on right will characterize England during the reign of its hero king.


Deals with the traditions concerning Glendower and the Elizabethan attitude toward him.


Discusses a psychological pattern of action: "the self-realization of the hero by means of his assumption of an established place in his society." Place in society is rooted "in the philosophy of the age but not limited ...to political dogma."

Contains an Introduction by the editor, a section of essays by older critics (Johnson, Morgan, and Bradley), and essays of more recent date by H. B. Charlton, John Dover Wilson, E. M. W. Tillyard, L. C. Knights, W. H. Auden, and others. Compiled for the convenience of students.


On scenes iv and v, Act IV, of 2HIV. The nation as a whole has a symbolic rebirth through Prince Hal.


Finds a source or analogue in Philippe de Mornay's De la verite de la religion chrestienne (1582).


For younger students and only partially successful. Some of the ideas (as on order and degree) are presented in such a way that they would not encourage students to examine these notions, according to SQ.


On the sun emblem of king, Fortune, etc.


According to SQ, the author deals with the
development of historical processes that Sh's histories reveal dynamically. Bolingbroke and Prince Hal follow Machiavellian intrigues in respect to their wars, rather than feudal wars of "honor." Sh seems to be sympathetic to Falstaff and the masses, but the historical process is accomplished vehemently and even brutally on the monarchical level.


Supposedly deals with the manner in which serious political issues become subject matter for comedy, an idea most fully realized in the battle at Shrewsbury.


Part II of a discussion. See William Stone (#0870). Eastman sees the play as a lusty heroic comedy but also one that reflects social upheaval in Elizabethan England. Sh appears to be conservative, politically speaking, according to the author.


Reportedly argues that Falstaff's nature changes according to changes in the historical-political situation.


On the contrasts and correspondences upon which the play is structured.

Explores the influence of Machiavelli's *Prince on Sh's 1&2HIV and HV. Suggests these three plays are "an attempt to work out dramatically the concept of kingship which Machiavelli had created...." The three plays are Sh's "handbook for princes," but ultimately it is a handbook "for men." Parker recognizes that Machiavellian influences are modified by artistic purposes and stage tradition.


Reportedly argues that Falstaff does not show solidarity with the people.


Part I of a discussion. See Richard M. Eastman's article (#0861).

0871. Thomas, Mary O. "The Elevation of Hal in 1 Henry IV." SLitI, 5 (1972), 73-89.

Reportedly, the author sees Hal as an "un-promising hero" toward whom, through Sh's technique, we respond more favorably as the play proceeds.


Examines HIV (mainly the second part) as "plays about heroism, and as plays wherein the groundwork is carefully laid for Prince Hal ultimately to assume the stature of England's hero."


On the significance of lies, the notion of true and false, and illusion and reality in the
play and in literature generally. Falstaff is not the only "dealer in deception" in 1HIV.


Henry V

Editions

Penguin, ed. G. B. Harrison (1937)
New Cambridge, ed. J. Dover Wilson (1947)
Arden, ed. J. H. Walter (1954)
Yale, ed. R. J. Dorius (1955)
Pelican, ed. L. B. Wright and V. Freund (1957)

Studies


Lordi believes Sh may have used, for this speech, a passage in Holinshed he had employed once before—for Richmond's speech before the battle of Bosworth.


"The dramatist nowhere derided the French in Henry V," the author argues.


The play is heroic comedy, in the author's opinion, and implies Sh's attitude toward the cultural pattern in regard to Henry V and to the tradition concerning him.


0881. Burns, Landon C., Jr. "Three Views of King Henry V."
Drama Survey, 1 (Feb. 1962), 278-300.

A comparison of Sh's HIV with the Earl of Orrery's Restoration version (1662) and Aaron Hill's 18th-cent. treatment (1723).


According to SQ, the article deals with the events of the late 1590's as background for a study of HV and other Shn plays. The emphasis is upon Essex.


On Henry's ethical development. In the author's opinion, Henry becomes "an embodiment of the ideals of political honor" by the end of the play.


An analysis of some of the more important elements of the play, which the author considers "central" to an understanding of Sh's approach to politics, order, kingship, war, peace, the people--to history, in short. The author also concludes that Henry V has "exorcised" his father's sin of usurpation, has become educated for his role as king, and is "hero of the tetralogy.


Discusses how Sh arrives at a balance between various Elizabethan views of kingship.

*0888. Ross, Frank. "'Onc: More Unto the breach, dear friends...'." Paunch (Buffalo), No. 27 (April 1965), 36-45.


Reinterprets the puzzling lines 31-35 of the second Chorus in HV.


Compares Sh's treatment of Henry with the historical facts concerning that monarch.


A selection of well-known writings on the play, plus an Introduction by the editor. Some of the inclusions are full-length studies, others short snippets from books. Some deal with backgrounds, while others are interpretations of the play. Among the contributors are Tillyard, Campbell, Ellis-Fermor, Bullough, and Reese. Prepared for the convenience of students.


Argues that Henry is imitated from Marlowe's Tamburlaine.


Imagery suggests pacifism at variance with martial and patriotic spirit of the play.

Discusses the historical material Sh used plus his techniques for creating "epic" drama. Also believes Sh did not "descend" to the traditional concept of the epic hero that earlier chroniclers had made of Henry V. Sh was "far beyond the Elizabethan view of Henry V when he came to put him on the stage."


A selection of well-known critical comments and longer essays from Gildon and Johnson to the present, plus an Introduction by the editor. Among modern critics represented are Stoll, Van Doren, Ellis-Fermor, Traversi, Sprague, and L. C. Knights. The book has been compiled for the convenience of students.


Believes this episode is significant in interpreting Henry's character as king and also affects our view of the play as a whole. Henry becomes a more interesting character as he progresses from 1HIV to the end of HV.


Sees Henry V as a nearly perfect, "total" politician, who makes personal characteristics subservient to those demanded by his role as king.


According to SQ, the author deals with critical opinions and argues that Sh alludes to patriotic legend to satisfy expectations of his
audience, but he also accents intellectual implications of political government.


According to SQ, the author claims that the play is not patriotic propaganda. Henry is absolved from responsibility for the war in France. He is a Christian king who unifies the nation.


Traces Burgundy's speech in HV (V.ii.31-67) to a rare French news pamphlet trans. into English and printed by John Wolfe in 1593.


Reportedly argues that Henry develops into an ideal king, one who acts upon his ideas and ideals.


Henry VI, Parts One, Two, and Three

Editions

Arden, ed. H. C. Hart (1909-10)
Yale, ed. C. F. T Brooke (1918-23)
New Temple, ed. M. R. Ridley (1936)
New Cambridge, ed. J. D. Wilson (1952)
New Arden, Part II, ed. A. S. Cairncross (1957)
Penguin, ed. G. B. Harrison (1959)

Studies


According to SQ, the author sees Henry VI not as weak-minded, but as weak-willed, a characteristic that contributes to the play's irony.


Because of the differences in conception of the three plays, "their composition as a single unit [is] improbable," the author contends.


An historical study of the Jack Cade rebellion. Includes several references to Sh and an appendix, "Shakespeare on Jack Cade," in which the author comments upon the dramatist's treatment of the rebellion and related facts.


An investigation of the play's stylistic features plus conjectures about its origin.


Argues that Sh organized his material for these plays and gave them unity through an emphasis on character. The characters' attitudes affect the destiny of the nation.

Each play within the trilogy is an independent, artistically satisfying part of the whole, the author contends.

0917. Burckhardt, Sigurd. "'I Am But Shadow of Myself': Ceremony and Design in 1 Henry VI." MLQ, 28 (June 1967), 139-58.

Deals with the scene between Talbot and the Countess of Auvergne.


Relates imagery to the "kingly character."


Contains chapters on the three parts of HVI and RIII. The plays are studied individually and chronologically, not as a tetralogy.


Imagery in the three plays indicates man's degradation in civil war.


Doubts Tillyard's view of the moral and political purpose of HVI and RIII.


Action of these plays repeats and varies the theme of chaos resulting from discord in the realm.

On the nature of civil dissension and the various ways it is expressed in the three parts.


The plays' military action "forms the basis for the playwright's transformation of history into drama."


Sh found for these three plays "dramatic equivalents for the ambivalent judgments in his chronicle sources."


The author suggests that future work on these plays take into account the "harshly ironic insight into History, which Shakespeare, even at this early stage in his career, commanded."


Reportedly, the author discusses the Jack Cade scenes of HVI in light of the Marxist theory of class struggle. The Cade uprising is seen as a consequence of general disruption and is less disastrous than the battles of the nobility.


On the historicity of LHVI.

Argues that political maxims "were losing their influence" late in Elizabeth's reign. Studies ten plays of the period that reflect changes in political opinions. Only 2HIV, among Sh's histories, is discussed. It is a play "rigidly orthodox" in its treatment of rebellion, the author argues.


Riggs takes exception to the Tudor myth interpretations of this trilogy. He sees the three plays as "the sustained effort of one playwright, drawing on the resources of a long and varied humanistic tradition, to assess a literary ideal by setting it within the recent history of its own society." He also argues that Sh shared the humanistic approach to history taken by his contemporaries and that the HVI plays imply a deterioration of heroic idealism.


Supposedly argues that imagery in these plays underscores the degradation of man at war.


On Machiavellian influences in HVI. "The tale of Duke Humphrey's victimization by the competing Machiavels of the Henry VI plays may well be Shakespeare's emotionally-charged dramatic representation of the decline of political morality in sixteenth-century England."

Henry VIII

Editions

Arden, ed. C. K. Pooler (1915)
Yale, ed. J. M. Berdan and C. F. T. Brooke (1925)
New Arden, ed. R. A. Foakes (1957)
Penguin, ed. G. B. Harrison (1958)

Studies


Believes Fletcher played a part in the composition of the play. Law discusses sources employed and the use made of them by both Fletcher and Sh.


The episode of Katherine's vision may have derived from the funeral oration of the French Queen Margaret of Navarre.


General comments on the play. Believes Sh grew fonder of form in his later years.


Comparative comments on the play. Believes Sh grew fonder of form in his later years.


Compares the manner in which both artists made use of their sources and speaks of Sh's attitude toward history.


Reads HVIII as a play in which Sh equates "the expansion of England with the spreading cedar branches."


Argues that sentiment fuses with the historical plot.


A chapter in Part III deals with HVIII and Cymbeline. The former play, the author argues, has more in common with the romances than the earlier histories.


King John

Editions

New Variorum, ed. H. H. Furness, Jr. (1919)
Yale, ed. S. T. Williams (1927)
New Cambridge, ed. J. Dover Wilson (1936)
Arden, ed. E. A. J. Honigmann (1954)
Penguin, ed. G. B. Harrison (1957)

Studies

Calderwood, James L. "Commodity and Honour in King John." Univ. of Toronto Quarterly, 29 (April 1960), 341-56.

Proposes that KJ "represents a dramatic
crucible in which Shakespeare explores and tests two antagonistic ethical principles, Commodity and Honour."


The author sees Faulconbridge as "an embodiment of active and outraged nationalism" in the last two acts.


According to SQ, the author argues that we must "attune our attention to the spirit of Elizabethan England" in order to understand KJ.


Discussion of the play's structure. The author sees the question "Who should be king of England?" as the main one around which the plot is built. Extends a discussion by Calderwood (#0950).


Includes a short Afterword in which the author "traces the development of the John story through Shakespeare and notes the way in which later sixteenth-century writers attempted to reconcile the conflicting opinions of their sources."


According to SQ, this article appears in a "separately paginated supplement to ES, XLV,\" and the supplement carries the title "Presented
to R. W. Zandvoort on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday."


According to SQ, the article deals with certain problems of Queen Elizabeth that are mirrored in the play. The author sees many contemporary parallels in this and other plays and argues that only a nobleman close to the Queen "would have dared to write" this and other plays so saturated with contemporary parallels.


A reading of the play as a parable of Elizabethan times.


The ending is a triumph of commodity, not of Christian moral principles or national unity, the author claims.


Supposedly contains a summary in English.


On commodity, gain, and the new morality of
money in KJ. The author believes the Bastard rejects the "new morality."


Sh does not document historical fact in KJ; rather, he reveals historical truth. Thus, there is no mention of Magna Carta. The play is also a criticism of Tudor law, according to the author.


Looks at the play in a new way—as a dramatic work that uses philosophic débat to involve audience's mind in the action.


Argues that Sh's KJ is prior to The Troublesome Reign.


A structural analysis of KJ. That monarch is seen as a weak king responsible for the disintegration of society.

Compares the old play with Sh's KJ.


Sees the Bastard as rejecting "commodity" and as one who, "despite his trials, remains a symbol of honor and a 'bastard to the time'," that is to say, one who does not follow expediency and is not a traitor, as are the "sons-to-the-time" in the play.


Reportedly argues that the world of the play is without form or meaning.

Richard II

Editions

Penguin, ed. G. B. Harrison (1937)
New Cambridge, ed. J. Dover Wilson (1939)
Arden, ed. P. Ure (1956)
New Variorum, ed. M. W. Black (1956)
Yale, ed. R. T. Petersson (1957)
Pelican, ed. M. Black (1957)

Studies


An examination of passages in RII influenced by Erasmus' Adagia, Daniel's Civil Wars, and Lodge's Alarum against Usurers, among other sources.

0977. Quinn, Michael. "'The King is not Himself': The Personal Tragedy of Richard II." SP, 56 (April 1959), 169-86.

Discusses the public and private values in the play and attempts to demonstrate that the
tragic and historical aspects are inseparable. Also concerned with political and ethical judgments concerning honor, patience, and divine right as they apply to the main characters. A well-reasoned analysis.


On prudence and excess in RII and the histories.


Compares Sh's account of Richard's downfall with the historical facts and course of events.


Disagrees with Tillyard. See response by Robert Hapgood (#0990).


On the "blurred image" of Richard passed from the 14th to the 16th cent., and an attempt to explain these traditions in order to more fully appreciate Sh's achievement.

On a political line, or line removed for political purposes.


Discusses Richard's "intensely individual and distinct" personality and traces his struggle. Deals with issues taken up earlier by Travis Bogard and Peter Ure. Concludes that while Richard's actions are inconsistent, they all reveal a consistently self-indulgent personality.


A large portion of this book is devoted to a discussion of RII, which is studied against the political background of the period.


A response to Peter Phialas (#0982).


*0995. Cook, Canon A. M. The Lincolnshire Background of

Supposedly a 14-page pamphlet.


A study in which the author discusses how Sh "sustained tragic effects in a history play format" and how he portrayed dangerous political material and yet managed to escape accusation.


Says the play "is successfully read as a study of the failure in kingship of both Richard and Henry: since they can be said to divide the play between them, they can be seen as complements."


Use of the word "effeminate" in Daniel's Civil Wars and the possible influence on Sh in his conception of both Hal and Richard.

RenP, 1965, pp. 25-34.

An analysis of RII against the background of both medieval and Renaissance political theory. The author re-examines and questions some of the views of Tillyard and others that Elizabethan ideals (both social and political) were medieval in nature. Concludes that Sh achieved a wiser view of order and obedience than that contained "in the official Elizabethan world picture."


Comments on political doctrines in the histories and on how they have been interpreted by various critics over the years. Humphreys believes the histories are more concerned with abstract concerns—justice, order, obedience—than with practical political matters or with the gaining and use of political power.


Sees RII as "a profoundly, if narrowly, political play." In the author's discussion of the way politics works, he concentrates on Bolingbroke as supreme politician and Richard as an inept king ruling by right. It is the "clear and dramatic opposition [between] two kinds of political authority, resting on sanctions which are mutually irreconcilable," that make this play a powerful political drama."


Sees a close connection between style and theme and believes the play depicts "the downfall of a traditional, sanctioned conception of royalty and its replacement by a political force ...more competent, more truly self-aware, and more precariously built upon the foundations of its own desire for power."

According to SQ, the article deals with RII, RIII, and Romeo and Juliet, passim.


An attempt to discover Sh's views on kingship in this play. The author also discusses the political meaning of the play and its connection with the two tetralogies.


Discusses a reference in 1615 to the earlier staging and printing of Richard II's history, probably in the form of Sh's play. The reference indicates a "political design."


See Peter Ure's response (#1027).


King Richard II is the topic.


Discusses Richard II.


Discusses some of the financial exactions the historical Richard II demanded from his subjects in his last years. The author regards them as "essential ingredients" in Richard's tyranny and Bolingbroke's success in deposing him. Sh is not mentioned.


Argues that tragedy is modified in order to accent, instead, a political theme—particularly the conflict between king's prerogative and the rights of subjects to rebel. Thus, Richard's fall is less emphasized.


A reply to Peter Ure (#1027).


In German. The author argues that Richard matures too late and that political necessity demands his deposition.


Chapter I, "Shakespeare and the Historians,"
investigates Sh's use and adaptation of source materials. Chapter II discusses divine right. The last two chapters interpret the play and the character of the protagonist.


Concerns the historical Percies and Richard II's policies in regard to alienating the most powerful northern families. Does not mention Sh.


A response to A. L. French (#1015). Ure argues that French underrates the subtlety of the play.


According to SQ, the article is a discussion of dramaturgy emphasizing Bolingbroke's rise and Richard's fall.


Deals with theatrical truth and historical truth in relation to Sh's use of Holinshed in RII.


This short paper makes a comparison between the deaths of Richard II (as portrayed by Sh) and King Saul. Cannon also deals with their successors, the men responsible for their deaths.
He indicates why the murdering of an anointed king was considered a particularly heinous act. He also speaks of the punishments meted out to Exton (in \textit{RII}) and to the Amalekite.


On sun-water contrast as it reflects the play's dramatic action. Bolingbroke sins against Heaven, Richard against the land; hence, the image of the latter as "sun-king" is ironic.


Takes exception to some older studies on the language of \textit{RII}. Does not believe Richard's failure altogether involves an ability to verbalize but not to act. Sees a connection between the reality of language and social order.


Concentrates on the changes (in both character and political power) in Richard and Bolingbroke throughout the course of the play. The ancient natural pattern—the replacement of the old king by a new—conflicts with the ideal that kings must not be deposed. This conflict accounts for the ambiguity of the play, the authors argue.


The author employs these five plays to infer a biography of Sh's "evolving conceptions of his art." Metadrama is explained as a series of plays in which the dramatist writes of his convictions about poetry. The book was not well-received by Roy Battenhouse, \textit{SEL}, 12 (1972), 426-28. The argument is rather speculative and impressionistic.

Contains ten well-known essays and an Introduction by the editor. Contributors include Irving Ribner, E. M. W. Tillyard, Derek Traversi, Leonard F. Dean, Richard D. Altick, Peter Ure, Brents Stirling, Jan Kott, and Alvin B. Kernan. Compiled for the convenience of students.

1037. Draffan, Robert A. "'Without taking sides against poetry': Richard II." *English,* 20 (Summer 1971), 39-44.


Argues that the murder of Thomas of Woodstock is the mainspring of the first part of the play. We must understand some of the events prior to the play's action to fully appreciate it, says French. The author is favorable to Bolingbroke and to what he does—he is one who had no other choice.


Deals with Richard's impotency, both as man and king.


Concentrates on the structuring of the play. Regards Bolingbroke as a fit man to rule. Aumerle is a "menace to majesty," but Bolingbroke takes decisive action and, through it, confirms his right to the throne and reveals his qualities as "a just and beneficent ruler."


A study of the play and protagonist and
the "cyclical-historical context" applicable to both.


The play's symphonic structure casts light on the political situation and characters.


On "the theme of grief" in RII. Rather elementary.


Discusses couplets and rhyming patterns in relation to characters and themes of the play. Author believes Bolingbroke's couplets "become a signal not of order but of anarchy, both personal and social."


Reportedly, the article discusses the divided audience response generated toward both Richard and Bolingbroke because of the paradoxical qualities of both.


RII discussed at length; the first tetralogy treated briefly.


Includes a discussion of RII and of 1&2HIV.
Deals with the problem of successful kingship in the former play, the equilibrium between the political and the human world in the latter.


Includes a discussion of RII, which is studied (among other plays up to Measure for Measure) in light of the "technical procedures peculiar to the period," i.e., this particular period of Sh's career.


On the specter of Richard II as a usurped and murdered king and on the disaffection toward Henry IV felt throughout the kingdom.


Sees William Baldwin's Treatise of Morall Phylosophie (1584) as a possible source for the garden allegory.


Deals with RII, Hamlet and Macbeth, three plays in which the central action involves the killing of a king. Says the author, "it is not until Richard II that killing the king begins to acquire in Shakespearean drama the central, symbolic function it had in Agamemnon two thousand years before."


On the influence of Genesis. The consequences of the fall of Richard are more significant than the tension between him and Bolingbroke, the author believes.
Richard III

Editions

Arden, Ed. A. H. Thompson (1907)
New Variorum, ed. H. H. Furness, Jr. (1908)
Yale, ed. J. R. Crawford (1927)
Penguin, ed. G. B. Harrison (1953)
Pelican, ed. G. B. Evans (1959)

Studies


Takes exception to the Marlovian view of Richard and sees, instead, that Richard has more in common with the "dramas of lust and blood and Nemesis" of ancient Greece. The author finds the lust that propels Richard is sexual as well as a lust for political power.


Deals with the validity of the Yorkist title to the throne.


Driver's comparison of these two plays is meant to show "how the cultural and ideological background regarding time and history worked itself out in these two plays which take historical events as their theme." The author does not believe Sh was Greek in spirit, as many have argued, but he does recognize that dramatists --whether Greek or Elizabethan--share fundamental problems in regard to time and history. In Sh's case, his histories reflect a national consciousness and they stemmed from a domestic English drama made up of chronicle and morality play traditions. The Greeks, on the other hand, were more nature-oriented and their dramatic forms "emerged from Hellenic rituals of nature-religion." The Greeks attempted to understand nature, not the past; hence, their drama was
"anti-historical."


Believes Richardus Tertius (1579) served as a partial source for The True Tragedy of Richard the Third, but sees no connection between Richardus Tertius and Sh's play.


An extensive textual study of RIII.


Discusses the "necessary" contrast between history and tragedy in the play. Without the former, the play can become melodrama. Moreover, says Brooke, the contrast is "an important structural device, elaborated to its maximum effect in the use of contrasting linguistic and dramatic modes, with a consequence which can properly be called tragic."

According to SQ, the author argues that Sh humanized the views of history expressed in the Mirror for Magistrates and Halle's Union.


Article deals with history in Sh and with Sh's nationalism. Also discusses the fortunes of RIII on the continent.


A scene by scene commentary and study of the play against the background of Elizabethan drama. The trans. does not contain the sections on Sh's use and treatment of sources that appeared in Clemen's original German version, Kommentar zu Shakespeares Richard III: Interpretation eines Dramas (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht, 1957).


Argues that the play does not conform to the morality play pattern of the Tudor period. Instead, the world of the play is unreal, uncertain.


The author's purpose is "to investigate into the attitudes of historians to the traditions which grew up about Richard III." Sh mentioned passim.


In Russian, RIII is discussed as political, anti-tyrannical tragedy.


According to SQ, the author believes Richard changes his pose in accord with the natural progression of Anne's emotions.


On the manner in which the play dramatizes the conflict between ways of interpreting history and historical experience.

In Russian.


Reportedly argues that Richard is a comic Machiavel.


Discusses RIII and Sh's interpretations of his historical material.


On the dramatic purpose of Richard's request for strawberries from the Bishop's garden.


A re-investigation of the facts concerning the historical Richard III and whether he was responsible for the murder of the princes. The author attempts to get at the truth about this mysterious business. Sh briefly referred to.


On the debate in the play between Richard and Elizabeth and what it contributes to the structure and movement of the play. The author sees Richard's power begin to decline after his failure with Elizabeth.