EDMUND SPENSER AND THE HISTORY OF THE BOOK, 1569-1679.

DISSERTATION

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By

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* * * * *

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation fills the critical void on the history of Spenser and his editions. Applying the critical methods of the History of the Book, I situate each of Spenser's editions published from 1569 through 1679 within the context of its contemporary print culture. I study each edition's physical makeup, typography, format, and production history. Additionally, I investigate the lives of the various printers, publishers, booksellers, and editors who had a hand in producing the books. From the evidence I collect, I construct arguments concerning Spenser's relationship with the printing trade, his readership, and his literary reputation.

The first chapter examines Spenser's interactions with books and the book trade during his youth and how these interactions helped shape his literary career. The second chapter demonstrates how *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579) deviated from its Italian bibliographic model by substituting italic type with black-letter or "English" type. The choice of "English" type supported the book's promotion of the English language and literature. The third chapter argues that Spenser and his printer helped position *The Faerie Queene* (1590) within the epic tradition by imitating the appearance of contemporary editions of classical and Italian epics. The fourth chapter examines Spenser's first folio (1611-c.1625), demonstrating that it was not a monument to the author, as were contemporary folios, but rather a cheaply produced book sold in sections.

The fifth chapter reexamines the manuscript and printing history of *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. The final chapter argues that for many seventeenth-century readers, Spenser's deliberately archaic language had grown too obscure, resulting in efforts to regularize his works. Spenser's literary reputation was momentarily rehabilitated in 1679, when, during a time in which reprints made up a large percentage of English books, Spenser's works returned to folio and set the stage for a minor eighteenth-century rebirth.

Dedicated to all the Galbraiths, Quinns, Millers, and Pratts,
with hope for sustained health and happiness for all.

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My interests in Edmund Spenser and book history took root while studying at the University of Maine under Professors Burton Hatlen and Linne R. Mooney. I would like to thank them both for their inspiration and for helping me onto the path toward a Ph.D.

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Welcome to the world Audrey.

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INTRODUCTION

In university and college classrooms, students and scholars read the works of English Renaissance authors such as William Shakespeare, John Milton, and Edmund Spenser in modern critical editions that are centuries removed from the material forms in which these works first circulated. As recent scholarship in print history has demonstrated, reading is always an interaction between the reader and the physical text. Although we are not always conscious of it, the appearance of books (their typography, size, binding, illustrations, etc.) affects the ways in which we interpret them. This presents a problem for literary scholars, because the historical distance separating us from the texts we study can hinder our understanding of their original meaning and reception. If we are to understand how the early editions of English Renaissance authors were first received and by what audience, we must study these editions as material objects, whose appearance and production history provide evidence concerning cultural meaning.

As the field of The History of the Book continues to blossom within the greater study of English literature, scholars continue to produce significant work on the print history of English Renaissance authors such as William Shakespeare, John Milton, and John Foxe. Yet, similar studies of Spenser's works are notably absent. Subsequently, the literary history of perhaps the greatest Elizabethan poet is incomplete, as is his biography.

My dissertation, “Edmund Spenser and the History of the Book, 1569-1679,” fills the critical void on the history of Spenser and his editions. Applying the critical methods of The History of the Book, I situate each of Spenser’s editions published from 1569 through 1679 within the context of its contemporary print culture. I study each edition’s physical makeup, typography, format, and production history. Additionally, I investigate the lives of the various printers, publishers, booksellers, and editors who had a hand in producing the books. From the evidence I collect, I construct arguments concerning Spenser’s relationship with the printing trade, his readership, and his literary reputation.

Critical Methods or “What is Bibliography?”

Bibliography is a misunderstood term. Over a half-century ago, W. W. Greg observed that “the error has of course arisen through the use of the expression ‘a bibliography’ to mean a list of books on some particular subject and the assumption that a ‘bibliographer’ is primarily a compiler of ‘bibliographies’” (24). In hopes of remedying this misconception, Greg chose to define “bibliography” as “the study of books as material objects,” a definition that still resonates with many bibliographers, including myself. Still, the same misconception that troubled Greg remains today, to the extent that most departments of English do not recognize bibliography as a critical methodology. Thus, introductory courses in literary criticism do not normally include an introduction to bibliography, but rather relegate it to an elective, practical course or to an hour-long overview by the library’s English bibliographer. Of course, by doing so, many new scholars remain unaware of the various applications of bibliography and overlook the work that is being done in the field.

I firmly believe bibliography to be a critical methodology, which can add significantly to the study of literature. My dissertation is fundamentally a bibliographic project rooted in the work of D. F. McKenzie, who was perhaps the twentieth century's most influential bibliographer. In his landmark essay, "Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts," McKenzie set the groundwork for the modern study of the History of the Book. He expanded the definition of bibliography beyond the "New Bibliography" of Greg and Fredson Bowers, which tended to be more interested in comparing editions of books with the goal of establishing a perfect copy, or "Ur" text, which reflected the author's original intentions. Instead, McKenzie launched a "discipline that studies texts as recorded forms, and the processes of their transmission, including their production and reception" (4). He expanded the definition of texts "to include all forms of texts, not merely books or Greg's signs on pieces of parchment or paper" and demanded that bibliographers be concerned with how "forms affect meaning" (4).

McKenzie's essay "Printers of the Mind" (1969) was equally influential. He argued that bibliographic studies should replace its inductive approach (where particular observations are applied to the whole) with a deductive approach ("by which a general hypothesis dictates particular possibilities or 'predictions' and rules out others)" (17). For McKenzie, the result is a more rigorously historical approach to bibliography that stresses the "supreme importance of primary evidence" (62). The product of McKenzie's essay was a study of the Cambridge University Press, which debunked many well established and frequently argued assumptions in printing history and set a new standard to which all bibliographers in his wake would be held.

Building on McKenzie, Robert Darnton further defined the field in his essay "What is the History of Books?" He proposed "a communication circuit" that might serve as a general model for studying the History of the Book, which runs as follows: author → publisher → printers → shippers → booksellers → readers → author.

As I place each of Spenser's early editions published from 1569 through 1679 within the context of its contemporary print culture, I bear in mind the work of both McKenzie and Darnton. Building on as much primary evidence as possible, I investigate the production and reception of each text and on how its form affected meaning. In line with Darnton's communication circuit, I also investigate the various agents who were involved in the production and dissemination of each text.

Over the course of my studies, I have come to understand that each book tells its own story through its materiality. Bibliographers are simply the translators. We study each book as an artifact and construct its history, documenting how the book was produced and for whom. It must be said, however, that book history is, for the most part, a difficult endeavor. Documents are rare. Facts are uncommon. Evidence often exists only on title pages, prefaces, stationers' records, and in the casual scrawl of early readers. Despite the often scarcity of surviving information, we should never forget McKenzie's ardent argument for the "supreme importance of primary evidence." Indeed, book historians must be careful to interpret their evidence rigorously and with a great deal of caution. I hope that I have done so in my own work.

Dissertation Outline

The first half of my dissertation argues that Spenser was actively engaged with the English book trade during his lifetime (c.1552-1599). Chapter one sets the stage for the rest of the study by focusing on his interactions with books in his youth. During his years at Merchant Taylors' Grammar School and Pembroke College, Cambridge, Spenser grew familiar with the English and continental book trade through the purchase of his own books and through his various school libraries. He also learned firsthand through Richard Mulcaster and Jan van der Noot the powerful relationship between books and patronage, and the ways in which the circulation of one's work in print could be a conduit to the most influential men and women in England.

Chapter two's argument is threefold. First, black-letter type was called "English" type during the sixteenth century. This term conveyed a nationalistic significance. Second, the use of black-letter type in the first edition of Edmund Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* (1579) was a deliberate deviation from its bibliographic model, a 1571 edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia.* This deviation superimposed the English vernacular onto the Italian, emphasizing the book's promotion of English literature and language. Third, the material evidence suggests there were more agents than the printer, Hugh Singleton, involved in the design of *The Shepheardes Calender*, including Spenser himself.

Chapter three examines the material text of the first edition of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590), demonstrating how it was the product of a decade of change in the English printing trade. At the heart of this change was the increased influence of the continental printing trade. Thus, I examine the influence of continental literary works and printing styles on the printing of *The Faerie Queene.* I specifically investigate the

bibliographic influence of editions of Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* and Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. Spenser's *Faerie Queene* engaged these Italian epics typographically as well as textually. Indeed, Spenser and his printer incorporated typographical elements that characterized contemporary editions of these epics into the design of *The Faerie Queene*, so that it would resemble the epics that had influenced it.

The second half of my dissertation argues that in the period following his death (1599-1679) the English printing trade was not actively invested in Spenser. For much of the period, the stationers who held the rights to his works chose not to publish them. When his works did appear in print, they did little to advance the poet's posthumous reputation or popularity. Chapter four shows that, unlike other folios of its time, Spenser's first folio (1611-c.1625) was not a monument to the author, but rather an economically produced book, that was printed in sections and sold in various states. The folio's instability was a part of an intentional strategy by its publisher, Matthew Lownes, to create a publication that accommodated both bookseller and book buyer. The result was a "build-it-yourself" folio that was more cost-effective for the publisher and provided more buying options for consumers.

Chapter five reexamines the manuscript and print history of *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. Although scholars have recently revisited the perplexing history of the *View* from the point of view of the History of the Book, they have stopped short of a comprehensive examination. With this in mind, I examine in detail the career of Matthew Lownes, the stationer who first entered the *View* into the *Stationers' Register*. I construct a history explaining how he came to possess the text and why he never actually published it. I then turn to the print history of the first edition of the *View*. Of particular

interest is the life and career of James Ware, the Irish Antiquary who first published the *View* in 1633. Ware appears to have brought the text to the press in an effort to advance his political career, rather than to augment and advance the literary reputation of Spenser.

The final chapter looks at Spenser's publications from 1634 to 1679, or, more to the point, the lack thereof. I investigate that notion put forth by Thomas Fuller in his *Worthies of England* that Spenser's work would have been more "salable" if he had "more conformed to our modern language." I argue that Fuller's assertion is correct, as confirmed by a growing chorus of readers complaining about Spenser's "grandam words," the printing of a glossary of Spenser's "unusual words" in the *Calendarium pastorale*, and Edward Howard's *Spencer Redivivus,* a modernization of Book One of *The Faerie Queene*. I conclude the chapter with an examination of the publication of *The works of that famous English poet, Mr. Edmond Spenser* (1679), the second folio of Spenser's work. Situating Spenser's *Works* within the context of the burgeoning canon of English literary authors, I investigate the reasons why Spenser's works returned to the press after nearly a half-century of going unpublished.

Lacuna

In its current form, my study focuses on the publication of Spenser's major works, *The Shepheardes Calender* and *The Faerie Queene*, as well as the publication of his collected works. I regret that I did not complete a chapter titled "Spenser and William Ponsonby," which examines Spenser's working relationship with this influential stationer, who published all of Spenser's new work in the 1590s. Part and parcel of this chapter is a study of the publication history of Spenser's *Complaints* (1591), *Daphnaïda* (1591), *Amoretti and Epithalamion* (1595), *Clouts come home againe* (1595), *Fowre*

hymnes (1596), and *Prothalamion* (1596). It was not my intention to privilege Spenser's two major works over his shorter poems. Truth be told, time did not allow me to complete what I believe is a very important chapter in Spenser's history in print. As I work towards publishing my dissertation, I will complete this very necessary addition to my study.

CHAPTER 1

A THEATRE FOR WORLDLINGS: SPENSER AND BOOKS, 1561-1578

Like many Elizabethan writers and scholars, Edmund Spenser's life revolved around books. For the poor, but talented, young man, books were the means to a better life. They were a conduit to higher education, intellectual and influential coteries, and positions at court. Books could help foster friendships and attract the attention of the most powerful men and women of the royal court, including Queen Elizabeth I.

From his boyhood days at Merchant Taylors' school, where he blossomed under the guidance of headmaster Richard Mulcaster, through his formative years at Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he cultivated an intellectual and literary friendship with fellow student Gabriel Harvey, books played an important role in Spenser's life. It was during these early years that he came to understand the great possibilities offered through the printed word.

In his introduction to *Spenser's Reception History*, David Radcliffe makes the following argument:

> If English poetry does not begin with Edmund Spenser, a case could be made that English *literature* does. Spenser made two important decisions that set his poetry apart from earlier verse: he chose to imitate vernacular as well as classical

> writers, and he elected to market his works in printed books rather than circulate them in the more prestigious form of manuscript. (vii)

Spenser did indeed set English literature on a new path by imitating classical *and* English authors, and circulating his work in print. Both of these important and influential decisions sprang from Spenser's interactions with books in his youth. With this in mind, the following chapter documents the role of books in the early years of Edmund Spenser's life. It investigates the young poet's relationship with books and how his interactions with them set the stage for writing and printing books of his own.

Spenser's Boyhood

Little evidence survives of Spenser's earliest years and thus no definitive account of his youth can be written. Evidence exists of a John Spenser who was a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company and later may have risen to the position of alderman and mayor. Could this have been Spenser's father? Probably not. Documents concerning Spenser's career at the Merchant Taylors' School and Pembroke College identify him as a poor scholar. He was, therefore, more likely from a family that did not have the good fortune that John Spenser appears to have found. Edmund Spenser was probably the son of "an ordinary journeyman." As Andrew Hadfield observes, "his claims to gentleman status came through his own achievements—a university degree—and acquisition of land in Ireland"—achievements linked to his interactions with the written word (Hadfield, "Spenser").

Spenser's interactions with the written word probably began prior to his enrollment in Merchant Taylors' school. As was the case with most grammar students,

he likely learned to read in preparation for his formal education. As David Cressy observes:

> Little formal provision was made for the teaching of reading and writing; most educators assumed that the child would acquire these skills casually from his family, the parish priest or some other literate adult. It was rare for a school to be endowed specifically for the teaching of "petties." (Cressy 71-72)

The first letters Spenser learned to read likely appeared in large black-letter type on a hornbook, which consisted of a page of text attached to a wooden paddle and covered with a translucent layer of horn. The text often included the ABCs in upper and lower case, examples of consonant and vowel combinations, and a Biblical passage, most often the Paternoster. Like many students of his time, the first words Spenser probably read and wrote were "Our Father which art in Heaven."

Spenser then advanced to early ABC primers and to the broadside ballads and other popular books and pamphlets that circulated through the streets of London. It is safe to say that all the books he read in his early childhood were English language texts set in black letter. As we shall see in chapter two, black letter, or "English," was the main type used in English books printed in the English language. For languages other than English, printers followed continental printing norms, setting Latin in roman or italic, French in roman, Spanish in roman, and Italian in roman or italic. Spenser would first encounter these types when reading the classical works that would form the educational foundation of Merchant Taylors' School. Enrollment at Merchant Taylors' must have been a sea change for Spenser, a change that would tide him into challenging and rewarding waters that were hitherto unknown to him.

Merchant Taylors' School

Evidence suggests that Spenser entered Merchant Taylors' School at the age of nine in early 1561, the very same year the school was founded. The school was housed in a manor house formally called the Rose Manor, which was located near the center of London in the Parish of St. Laurence Poultney. The school's earliest statutes survive and provide a description of a student's typical day:

> The children shall come to the schoole in the mornying at seaven of the clock both winter & somer, & tarry there untill eleaven, and returne againe at one of the clock, and departe at five; and thrice in the day, kneeling on their knees, they shall say the prayers appointed with due tact and pawsing, as they be or shalbe hereafter conteyned in a table sett up in the schoole, (that is to say) in the morning & noone, & at evening. (from statute XXVII, qtd in Draper 246).

Students devoted a significant part of their eight-hour school day to reading, as indicated by another statute providing funds that "shall be bestowed every winter upon wax-candles, or other lights of wax, for the poore children to read on their bookes by in the winter mornings and evenings" (from statute XXXIX, qtd. in Draper 250). What books were the young students of Merchant Taylors' School reading by sunlight or by candlelight when the London days grew short?

Books at Merchant Taylors' School

Beginning with a proclamation from King Edward VI in 1548, *Lily's Grammar* became the authorized grammar used in English schools. It was, therefore, the Latin

grammar used by Spenser at Merchant Taylors' School. At this time, Reginald Wolfe held the patent of the authorized *Lily's Grammar*. Editions survive from various years, though as T.W. Baldwin observes, "several thousand copies were doubtless printed each year" (494).[1] Unlike the hornbook and ABCs that Spenser had grown up with, *Lily's Grammar* was not strictly a black-letter, English text. Rather, it was a hybrid of both language and typeface. Conforming to the typographical norms of the day, the English language appeared in black letter, while the Latin appeared in roman and italic. Thus, as Spenser learned Latin, he grew familiar with typefaces other than black letter. This newfound typographical literacy was an important steppingstone to reading books in classical and modern European languages, because these books were printed on the continent in roman and italic types, rather than the more familiar black letter.

Modeling itself on St. Paul's Grammar School, Merchant Taylors' School conformed to the "conventional curriculum" (Baldwin 419). Once Spenser and his fellow students had progressed beyond the first level Latin grammar, they advanced to books entirely in Latin, before branching out into the study of Greek and Hebrew. Surviving records of an examination held at the school in 1572 show that the students of Merchant Taylors' were well-versed in Horace, Homer, and Cicero, staples of the classical curriculum (Draper 16-17).[2] During the time Spenser was at Merchant Taylors' School, introductory textbooks in the classical languages were not produced in England, but were imported from the continent (Baldwin 494-5). This trend continued until 1569

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[1] *STC* 15613.3-16.

[2] The examination also extended into an examination of the Psalms in Hebrew. The school's focus on Hebrew was a natural extension of Mulcaster's distinction as a Hebraist.

when printer Henry Bynneman secured a patent to print these books at his shop. In 1570, he began his new venture by printing a Latin edition of Virgil.[3] Like their continental predecessors, Bynneman's editions were printed in roman and italic types befitting of the typographical representation of the Latin language.

No formal library existed during the time in which Spenser attended Merchant Taylors'. In fact, the school did not have a formal library until c.1661-62, when the school's master, William Turner, donated £50 toward establishing a collection (Rye 212).[4] Before the founding of this library it is likely that "a small chamber was used for the purpose in view of the number of books that had been collected prior to the year 1662" (Sayle 485). This chamber housed a cache of reference books to aid students with their study of classical languages and literature.

Because company account books from the years in which Spenser attended Merchant Taylors' School are missing, we lack records of books purchased for the school's in-house collection. Other documents with references to books are few but they provide an indication of the types of books to which Spenser may have had access. A court record from 1563, for example, shows the donation of "One boke entitelyd Nizolius siue thesaurus Ciceronianus" (Court Records, vol. I, f. 62; qtd. in Sayle 459). This most likely refers to an edition of Mario Nizolio's *Nizolius, siue Thesaurus Ciceronianus* printed in Basel by Ioannem Heruagium in 1559, a reference book kept to aid students with their study of Cicero. *Thesaurus Ciceronianus* is representative of the type of book housed at Merchants Taylors', as evidenced by a school inventory taken in

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[3] *STC* 24788.

[4] Five years later the library fell victim of the Great Fire of 1666 and had to be rebuilt (Rye 212).

1599, which lists a number of books given to the school by one Hugh Hendley. Although compiled several decades after Spenser's graduation, the list provides an idea of what sort of reference books the school kept:

> A catalogue of bookes gyven by Mr Henley for the schoole vpon wch are endorsed these wordes (Hugo Hinleus bonis literis) the names wherof are these
>
> Thesaurus linguae grecae Henr: Stephani bownd in three volumes in folio
>
> Cowpers Dictionary folio all rent
>
> Crispin and Grantes Lexicon. 4to
>
> Dictionariu[with tittle m] poeticum. 4to
>
> Nizolij thesaurus Ciceronianus folio
>
> Epitheta grae: Dinneri. 8°
>
> Epitheta Tectoris [sic]. 4° all rent
>
> Natalis Comitis muthologia. 8°
>
> Lycosthenis apothegmata. 8° all rent
>
> Other bookes gyven by Mr Willm[with tittle] Gerrard Esquir one of Mr Hyndleys executor^{s} with his name endorsed vpon them.
>
> Theatrum humanae vitae in fowre volumes in folio
>
> Erasmi adagia the last in folio
>
> Textoris officina in all 4to rent
>
> (Inventory of Contents of Schoolhouse—6 July 1599—Misc. Papers, qtd. in Sayle 459).

The descriptive "all rent," or all torn and ragged, helps identify the books the students used most often. Indeed, Thomas Cooper's "Dictionary" (likely his *Thesaurus linguae Romanae & Britannicae*),[5] Joannnes Ravisius Textor's *Epitheta*[6] and *Officina*, and Conrad Lycosthenes' *Apophthegmata*[7] are "the reference works which the boys used constantly in their compositions" (Baldwin 1.421).

The list of books donated to Merchant Taylors' School agrees in kind with catalogs of books held at other grammar schools. For example, a list from 1582-83 of books bought for St. Paul's Grammar school, the school on which the statutes of Merchant Taylors' School was based, shows that students were relying on the same or similar reference books, including Nizolio's *Thesaurus Ciceronianu*s and Cooper's *Thesaurus* (Baldwin 1.422). Cooper's *Thesaurus* must have been a fundamental resource, for it was also provided for the students at Norwich school, along with John Rider's Dictionary (Baldwin 1.417).[8] Editions of Cooper's *Thesaurus* extend back to 1538 and are reprinted consistently. A 1565 edition of Cooper's *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae and Britannicae* might have been one of the reference books Spenser used during his grammar school studies. As was the case of *Lyly's Grammar* and other polyglot books, Cooper's *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae and Britannicae* is a hybrid of language and typeface. English is set in black-letter type, whereas Latin is set in roman.

[5] *STC* 5686-90.

[6] *STC* 20762.5-65

[7] *STC* 17003.3-3.7

[8] *STC* 21031.5-36b.7

Spenser and Thomas Colwell

Like many of his schoolmates, Spenser supplemented his formal studies with a diet of vernacular books bought from booksellers who sold their wares not too far away from the Merchant Taylors' School in the stalls of St. Paul's Churchyard and Fleet Street. One bookseller that Spenser almost certainly patronized was Thomas Colwell, who ran a bookshop located in Fleet Street beneath the Conduit at the sign of Saint John the Evangelist from 1565 until the end of his career in 1575. Spenser was a student at Merchant Taylors' School during the height of Colwell's production (1565-1569), a time when the stationer was defining himself as a publisher of pamphlets, plays, and verse. Early in his career, Colwell printed and sold an assortment of books covering subjects as disparate as assizes and measurements, health, conduct of life, and navigation. As his career progressed, he printed more and more works of popular literature, including plays by authors such as Seneca and John Bale, and works of verse from poets such as Barnabe Googe. He also printed more and more broadsheets, which featured ballads and reported sensational news concerning monstrous births and the discovery of marvelous fish. Indeed, a study of Colwell's output confirms the printer's emphasis in the production of ballads:

> Between 1560 and 1575 Colwell entered 132 works in the Stationers' Register, almost a hundred of these as 'balletts', though some were obviously not properly classified. Morrison's *Index* leads on to forty-six items in the *Short-Title Catalogue* which were printed by Colwell. Just how much Colwell actually published is difficult to estimate; although he probably printed immediately most

or all of what he entered, he was equally prepared to print without the formality of registration. (Hale 223)

Evidence of Spenser's relationship to the bookshop of Thomas Colwell begins with a manuscript note that Gabriel Harvey inscribed in his copy of *A merye jeste of a man called Howleglas*. On the verso of the last page, he recorded the following transaction:

> This Howleglasse, with Skoggin, Skelton, & Lazarillo, given me at London of Mr Spensar XX. Decembris, 1578, on condition [I] shoold bestowe the reading of themover, before the first of January immediatly ensuing; otherwise to forfeit unto him my Lucian in fower volumes. Wherupon I was the rather induced to trifle away so many howers, as were idely overpassed in running thorowgh the foresaid foolish Bookes: wherin me thowgh[t] not all fower together seemed comparable for subtle & crafty feates with John Miller whose witty shiftes, & practises ar reportid amongst Skeltons Tales. (qtd. in Stern 49)

Thus, in a bibliographic wager, Spenser challenged Harvey to read four "foolish Bookes" or forfeit his more weighty volumes of the Greek writer Lucian.[9]

Scholars have identified the four "foolish Bookes" as "Till Eulenspiegel's *A Merye jest of a man that was called Howleglas* (*c*.1528), Andrew Borde's *Jests of Scoggin* (*c*.1566), *Merie Tales … by Master Skelton* (1567), and *The pleasaunt historie of Lazarillo de Tormes* (trans. D. Rowland, *c*.1569)" (Hadfield "Spenser").[10] It is safe to

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[9] Harvey refers to Skelton and Scoggin in *Four Letters and Sonnets* (7).

[10] Colwell printed Skelton's *Merie Tales* (22618) in 1567. Colwell entered *The Pleasaunt historie of Lazarillo de Tormes* in 1568-69 and on June 19, 1573 sold the rights to Henry Bynneman (Stern 24). No edition printed by Colwell survives. The "Earliest extant

assume that, at one point in time, Spenser acquired and owned these books, most likely between the years of c.1566-c.1569, a time during when three of the four books were produced and Spenser was still living in London. The three books printed from c.1566-c.1569 were all associated with the stationer Thomas Colwell. Unless Spenser received these books from another party who had originally bought them all from Colwell, we may assume that Spenser bought them from Colwell's shop while a student at Merchant Taylors' School. Indeed "foolish Bookes" like jest books and Skeltonesque poems were suitable fare for casual reading by a student of Spenser's age. By the time he passed them off onto Harvey, Spenser had long since graduated to Lucian. Perhaps he felt that his often socially withdrawn friend could use an injection of lewd humor to brighten his bookish days. After all, as Scogan reminds us, we should not take our educations too seriously:

> A Master of Art is not worth a fart,
>
> Except he be in Schooles,
>
> A Batchelor of Law is not worth astraw,
>
> Except he be among fooles. (*[v])

English edition is the 1586 octavo of A. Jeffes but date of entry in the *Stationers' Register* suggests that there was an earlier edition" (Stern 240). Harvey's mention of "L[a]zarillo" in his inscription in *Howleglas* indicates that there was indeed an earlier version. Colwell entered the *Jestes of Skogyn* in the *Stationers' Register* in 1565-66. A fragment of a book with the running headline "The iestes of Skogyn" survives (21850.3.) that may be the edition that followed Colwell's entrance of the text. Scholars date this fragment to c.1570.

These "foolish Bookes" were also the right price for a young scholar. Skelton's *Merie Tales*, for instance, cost only one 1 1/2d.[11]

Spenser likely owned a fourth book associated with Colwell, Barnabe Googe's *Eglogs epytaphes, and sonettes*. As many scholars have noted, Googe's *Eglogs* had an unmistakable influence on Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*. The only edition of Googe's eclogues came out in 1563. They were printed by Colwell, but sold by Raffe Newberry, who owned a shop near to Colwell's "in Fleetstrete a litle aboue the Conduit." Spenser likely acquired Googe's *Eglogs* from either the shop of Colwell or Newberry. All told, the ownership of Googe's *Eglogs* and the jest books he later tried to pawn off onto Harvey suggests that Spenser patronized Colwell's bookshop and perhaps others in the Fleetstreet neighborhood.

Spenser and "mother Cambridge"[12]

Spenser arrived at Pembroke College, Cambridge in May of 1569. He did not follow the usual path of university students, but came to the school as a sizar, a poor student who earned his education, room, and board by serving his master and fellow students.[13] In addition to the aid provided by his sizarship, Spenser received financial

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[11] The cost of 1 1/2d appears in the 1577 inventory of the bookseller Thomas Basandyne, who worked out of Edinburgh (Johnson, "Notes on English Retail Book-prices 1550-1640").

[12] FQ 4.11.34.

[13] Sizars comprised approximately 14-15% of the Cambridge student population. For example, of the eight-seven students enrolled in Pembroke College in 1573, thirteen were sizars (Judson 30). Of the 1813 students in the whole of Cambridge, 250 were sizars or subsizars (Judson 31).

assistance from the late Robert Nowell, a wealthy Lawyer and benefactor to English grammar schools. When Nowell died in February 1569, Spenser joined five of his schoolmates from the Merchant Taylors' School and other "certyn poor schollers of the scholls aboute London" in Nowell's funeral procession, as instructed in his will (qtd. in Hadfield "Spenser").[14] Nowell's will also established a fund to help poor scholars with their education. From out of this fund, Spenser received payments throughout his years at Cambridge. The first, a payment of ten shillings, came not too long after his arrival at Pembroke in November 1569. Two more payments of smaller amounts followed: six shilling in November 1570 and two shillings six pence in April 1571 (Hadfield "Spenser"; Nowell 28, 160). In addition to the payments received from Nowell's fund, Spenser received five payments "between 1571 and 1574, which may have been on account of ill health or further indications that he was a scholar in need of funds" (Hadfield "Spenser").

The image of Spenser as a poor, young, bookish scholar brings to mind Chaucer's Oxford Clerk, who prized his books over all material things, even food:

> A Clerk ther was of Oxenford also,
>
> That unto logyk hadde longe ygo.
>
> As leene was his hors as is a rake,
>
> And he nas nat right fat, I undertake,
>
> But looked holwe . . .
>
> For hym was levere have at his beddes heed
>
> Twenty bookes clad in blak or reed,

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[14] In addition to a gown to wear at the funeral, Spenser received one schilling.

Of Aristotle and his philosophie,

Than robes riche, or filthele, or gay sautrie. (*GP* 285-89, 293-96).

On some levels, the comparison is fitting, though one wonders whether or not Spenser could afford to buy and keep many of his own books.[15] Most young scholars owned a small collection of books housed in a chest, but did Spenser have the extra money to do so? The donation of eighteen shillings, six pence surely provided financial aid, but it could not have gone very far toward the purchase of books. By way of comparison, when Christopher Marlowe came to Cambridge a decade later, his Parker Fellowship paid him £3 6s 6d a year, an amount that allowed for extras such as books. Spenser certainly owned books, but must have also relied heavily on the books held at the Pembroke College Library and the Cambridge University Library. As we shall see, this was by no means simply making do. These two collections offered the young scholar substantial intellectual and literary fare.

The Pembroke College Library

Despite traveling seventy-three miles north from London and the heart of the English book trade, Spenser now had access to a wealth of books at his new home in Pembroke College, Cambridge. For someone of Spenser's talents and inclinations, it must have been a world of constant discoveries. As a B.A. student, he would not yet have access to the Cambridge University Library, but he did have the whole of the Pembroke College Library at his disposal.

[15] Spenser also did not eschew "to have office," but actively sought advancement.

Founded by Mary de St. Pol in 1347, Pembroke College is one of the oldest colleges at Cambridge University. From the very beginning, Pembroke's library, which predates the University Library, was an integral part of the College. An early version of the College's statutes detailed how library books were to be cared for and even provided a system by which the books could circulate (Clarke 370-1).[16] By 1417 the library was held in a central collection. Documents from that year record the purchase of skins for bookbinding and twenty-two chains, indicating the presence of a centralized chained library (Clarke 371). From approximately 1433 onward, "regular references to the purchase and sale of books also begin to appear in the college accounts " (371). By the end of the fifteenth century, the collection was housed in the new library located "on the floor over the hall in the east range of Old Courts" (371). The library remained in this location until the 1690s. The human threat enacted through censorship, theft, and neglect was (and still is) always a danger to library collections. Yet, the Pembroke College Library has remained surprisingly intact. Much of what had accumulated for nearly two centuries survives today (McKitterick 98).

No catalog exists of the Pembroke College Library from the years in which Spenser was in residence. The closest is an inventory taken for Marian Commissioners in January 1556/7.[17] Although the inventory provides a snapshot of the library's collection twelve years before Spenser's arrival at Cambridge, the collection remained at the core of the books available to Spenser during his years at Pembroke College. Some of the books

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[16] We do not know, however, if this system was actually implemented.

[17] See "Inventory of books drawn up for the Marian Commissioners, 1557" (Clarke 399-411).

in this inventory are manuscripts, but most are printed books covering a variety of subjects:

> Two thirds of them concern theology, an emphasis of the collection that had clearly been maintained since the late 15th cent. . . . The college's aim clearly remained to produce theology graduates who would pursue clerical careers, and the library mainly catered to their vocational needs. The rest of the collection was a mixture of history, arts, cannon law, classical literature, Italian humanism, medicine, and other subjects. (Clarke 399)

Only yards away from Spenser's quarters lay the opportunity to read the works of classical authors such as Plato, Livy, Pliny, and Plutarch,[18] and Italian humanists such as Pico della Mirandola and Boccaccio.[19]

An examination of the books held at Pembroke College demonstrates a near absence of any books printed in English or, for that matter, in England. Most are in Latin, Greek, or Italian, and carry imprints with locations such as Basel, Venice, Strasburg, and Rome. This is likely due to the age of the collection and the ways in which the London book trade developed later than continental printing centers. In the years following the Marian inventory, the library would acquire more books produced in England, as the English book trade continued to mature. Yet, while Spenser was a student, the foundation of the Pembroke College Library comprised of books printed on the continent. Spenser and his fellow scholars were therefore quite accustomed to continental books. Consequently, they grew accustomed to typefaces such as roman and

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[18] UC45 38, 43-44, 81.

[19] UC45 15, 41.

italics, which, by the time Spenser was a student, were used exclusively on the continent for languages such as Latin and Italian. In this way, the literacy of a university scholar was not only advanced in terms of foreign languages, but also in the types in which those languages appeared in print.

Spenser graduated with his B.A. in 1573 and began working toward his M.A. His progress meant that in addition to the books chained to the library shelves of Pembroke College, he now had access to The Cambridge University Library, a collection reserved only for the upper-level students. As fortune would have it, he came of age at just the right time to reap the full benefits of the University Library.

The Cambridge University Library

The University Library was a late development at Cambridge, whose common library or communis libraria dates back to the mid fourteenth century when the collection was nothing more than an assortment of books kept in chests (Oates, *Cambridge University* 2-3). The library evolved through the century from a small informal collection, to 330 bound and chained books in approximately 1473, to nearly six hundred volumes in 1529. Although the University Library had grown to a sizable collection by the early sixteenth century, in the coming decades its condition was one marked by increasingly frequent setbacks. From 1529 to 1557, the library's holdings declined from nearly six hundred books to just 175. Some books were stolen, some destroyed at the hands of religious zealots. Most were the victim of the subtlest human crime towards books, neglect. Modern notions of book conservation were non-existent at this time in English library history, as J.C.T. Oates notes:

> It is likely that the books perished less because of deliberate destruction than because they were thought to be useless. In the age of the English Reformation the "semblance of antiquity" was not yet accorded an automatic respect. Old manuscripts had not attained the status of curiosities worth of preservation whatever their content. When they represented obsolete disciplines (inconveniently embodied, moreover, in an obsolete form of book-production) they cease to be useful, and so they were allowed to moulder away until someone thought it worthwhile to throw them out as rubbish. (Oates, *Cambridge University* 81)

Needless to say, by the time Spenser arrived at Cambridge in 1569 the University Library was in a sad state of affairs. Until 1573, little effort was made to maintain the existing library or to add any new books to the dwindling collection. In fact, "between 1530 and 1573 the accounts show not a single item of expenditure on books as such or on their chaining or binding or repair" (Oates, *Cambridge University* 73). That Spenser initially did not have access to the University Library was not much of a loss for the young scholar, for, until the renovation of 1573, the Cambridge University Library was not much better than the one held at Pembroke. Catalogs of the University Library compiled in 1573 and early 1574 show that little had changed since 1557 (Oates, "Three Sixteenth-century" 310, 312-13).

The Renovation of the University Library

Just as Spenser was matriculating in the M.A. program in 1573, Andrew Perne, Master of Peterhouse, was breathing new life into the ailing University Library. In 1574

Perne solicited donations from a prestigious group of benefactors that included Matthew Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury (McKitterick 8). Each generously donated printed books and manuscripts to the decaying collection. The result was a library in which printed books outnumbered manuscripts for the first time (Leedham-Green & McKitterick 153). The new books provided "many of the core texts of Protestant theology, of history, of the sciences and of ancient literature" (McKitterick 8). Perne completed the transformation by the end of the year, reporting to Parker that "the singular beauty that the comely order your Grace's books doth bring to the University library, to the great dedication of the eye of every man that shall enter the said library" (qtd in Oates, *Cambridge University* 113).

Perne's renovation took place during Spenser's first year as an M.A. student, which, as luck would have it, happened to be the first year that he had access to the University Library. Surely the young scholar took advantage of this wealth of books. Although no catalog of the collection survives from the years directly following Perne's library renovation efforts, a catalog from 1583 indicates what the post-renovation collection contained. As expected, Spenser would have found a collection in which religious works made up the lion's share of the books, followed by books on subjects such as rhetoric, grammar, astronomy, geometry, and arithmetic. These printed books were only in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; none were in English or other modern languages (Leedham-Green & McKitterick 163-165). Indeed, "even Foxe's *Actes and monuments* was an imported edition, in Latin" (Leedham-Green & McKitterick 165). This is not terribly surprising, for as David McKitterick observes: "In the sixteenth century it was sufficient for the Library to have books in Latin, Greek and Hebrew; there were none in

English or other foreign languages until the 1580s, save for some medieval manuscripts" (9). Not only were there no books in English, there were few books printed in London. The 1583 catalog records only twelve books with an imprint identifying London. Eight of the twelve were printed in 1574, and were likely added to collection in the later 1570s.

The contents of the 1583 catalog reveals that Spenser continued to have access to classical authors such as Aristotle, Plato, Plutarch, Seneca, and Cicero. Indeed, Spenser's own literary work demonstrates that he had thoroughly explored and ingested all the major works of classical literature. Yet his works also demonstrate a working knowledge of English and modern continental literature. How did he have access to these texts? The libraries of Cambridge did not collect such books. What's more, as a sizar living off generous but small donations, Spenser probably did not have the financial freedom to purchase many books. He, therefore, had to search out English and modern continental works, likely with the aid of his schoolmates.

English and Continental Books: The Unofficial Curriculum

While at Pembroke College, Spenser must have had access to books of English and modern continental literature through the generosity of his fellow students, who were more financially capable of retaining their own personal libraries. One of these students was surely Gabriel Harvey. Originally a student at Christ's College, Cambridge, Harvey came to Pembroke College as an M.A. fellow in November 1570. From Harvey's surviving manuscripts and his copious inscriptions in the surviving books of his library, we may glean evidence about the academic and extracurricular goings-on at Pembroke. For example, in his 1573 Skeltonesque poem, "The Scholler Loove: or Reconcilement of

Contraries (a few idles howers of a young Master of Art)," Harvey chronicles his voracious reading habits:

> As close at Tullyes Orations and Aristotles Politickes,
>
> As on that never hearde tell of other trickes;
>
> And but for sleepinge and playinge, Iwisse,
>
> I had kund them both by harte longe ere this.
>
> All on the suddayne offended with those,
>
> I strayte gett me Plato or Xenophon by the nose,
>
> Twoe excellent fellowes in every circumstance,
>
> If ether of both had sufficient maynetance.
>
> Incredible it is,
>
> What in those twoe is.
>
> Within a daye or twoe immediately followinge,
>
> At Petrarche and Boccace I must have a flynge.
>
> Every idiot swayne
>
> Can commende there veyne.
>
> Chaucer[20]
>
> Nowe and then a spare hower is allotted to Gascoyne,
>
> Sage Gower
>
> As sum time I attende on gentle Master Ascham.
>
> The sownde well enowghe withoute makinge ryme
>
> That iump so will in cuntry, tunge and tyme.

[20] Harvey inserts "Chaucer," "sage," and "Gower" above his original lines of verse.

> Would God Inglande cowlde afforde a thowsande sutch and better,
>
> On condition my pore selfe knewe never a letter." (Harvey, *Letter-book* 133-4)

In addition to the classical writers Cambridge scholars were expected to read, Harvey reveals his interest in the works of continental authors such as Boccaccio and Petrarch, as well as English authors such as Chaucer, Gascoigne, Ascham, and Gower (though it should be noted that Harvey only allots the occasional "spare hower" to English authors). Later in the poem he also mentions the more modern continental authors Machiavelli and Aretino (Harvey *Letter-book* 135). Harvey is a self-proclaimed insatiable reader: "I reade and I reade, till I needs must cease, . . .All kinde of bookes, good and badd,/Sayntish and divelish, that are to be hadd." (134). His case might be singular, for his overly bookish behavior helped put him on the outs with his fellow classmates and led to the postponement of receiving his M.A.

That writers outside of the traditional curriculum were having an impact on the students of Cambridge is evident in a letter written from Harvey to Spenser in 1579. Here, Harvey bemoans the lack of interest in the study of classical literature and the increasing popularity of Italian and French authors:

> Tully, and Demosthenes nothing so much studyed, as they were wonte: Liuie, and Salust possiblye rather more than lesse: Lucian neuer so much: Aristotle muche named, but little read: Xenophon and Plato, reckned amongest Discoursers, and conceited Superficiall fellowes . . .Matchiauell a great man: Castilio of no small reputation: Petrach, and Boccace in euery mans mouth. . . . ouer many acquainted with Vnico Aretino: The French and Italian when so highlye regarded of Scholiers? The Latine and Greeke, when so lightly? (27-28)

The literary influences that permeate Spenser's work show that he shared his schoolmate's extracurricular reading interests. Not only did Spenser consume the classical authors offered in the official curriculum of Merchant Taylors' School and Pembroke College, he also consumed the popular continental and English authors that made up the schools' unofficial curriculum. The legacy of Chaucer, for example, whom Spenser lauds as "the Loadstarre of our Language" and "Dan Chaucer, well of English undefiled," may be seen in throughout Spenser's work (πii; 4.2.32).[21] Other influential English authors include Sir Thomas Wyatt and Surrey, whose work endured in new editions of *Tottel's Miscellany*. Spenser also read Italian authors such as Petrarch, Jacopo Sannazaro, Lodovico Ariosto, and Torquato Tasso. Clearly he had absorbed works by these authors by the late 1570s when he composed *The Shepheardes Calender* and had begun work on *The Faerie Queene*. In this way, Spenser's work was a hybrid of Biblical, classical, continental, and English vernacular traditions. Not only were his literary works a hybrid, so too was the typographical appearance of his printed work. As we shall see throughout this dissertation, Spenser's knowledge of English and continental printing styles contributed to the designs of *The Shepheardes Calender* and *The Faerie Queene*.

Books and Social Mobility

Perhaps even more important than the contents of books were the social and political ends that books could help achieve. On the most personal level, interest in

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[21] Spenser's many Chaucerian allusions include the invocation of Chaucer's "Wife of Bath's Tale" in Book VI Canto III of *The Faerie Queene*: "That good Poet sayd, / The gentle minde by gentle deeds is known" (1-2). The influence of Chaucer may also be found in *The Shepheardes Calender*. Spenser alludes to the apocryphal "Plowman's Tale" in both the "April" and "May" eclogues.

books could be used to enter into friendships and intellectual coteries. The friendship between Spenser and Harvey is an excellent example of how a mutual interest in books could help forward a relationship. Earlier we saw how Spenser, perhaps in an attempt to distract his overly serious companion, presented Harvey with a witty wager that challenged him to read four jest books in a short period of time or lose his four volumes of Lucian. There is no further mention of how the wager turned out, though it appears that Harvey made out better in the deal. Spenser's *Howreglas* remained in Harvey's library, as did a set of Lucian that appears to be the four volumes that Spenser looked to pinch. Thus, it appears Harvey ended up with all eight books, while Spenser was left empty-handed.

The exchange of books between Harvey and Spenser may have been a regular custom between the two, as evidenced by an inscription in Harvey's copy of Jerome Turler's *The Traveiler* (1575). Here Harvey records that the book was "Ex dono Edmundi Spenserii, Episcopi Roffensis Secretarii," i.e., "a gift from Edmund Spenser, the Secretary of the Bishop of Rochester." As Spenser's title indicates, he gave Harvey the book during 1578 while working in the service of John Young, the Bishop of Rochester. Just how many books passed formally and informally between the two young scholars are unknown. Nevertheless, books were undoubtedly at the center of their relationship.

Spenser and Harvey's relationship was established publicly in print in 1580 with the publication of five letters of correspondence between the two. Printed by Henry Bynneman, the collection appears in a quarto containing two sections with title pages reading: *Three proper, and wittie, familiar letters: lately passed betvveene tvvo vniuersitie men: touching the earthquake in Aprill last, and our English refourmed*

versifying and *Two Other, very commendable Letters, of the same mens vvriting: both touching the foresaid Artificiall Versifying, and certain other Particulars.* If we are to believe the "Welwiller of the two Authours" who supplied the dedication "to the Cvrteovs Buyer," the letters had been circulating in manuscript and were acquired "fourthe or fifte hande" from a friend who transcribed his copy from one written in Spenser's own hand. As many scholars have argued, however, it is more likely that either Harvey, Spenser, or both initiated the publication of the letters, despite the Welwiller's claim that neither were "priuy" to their publication.[22] The true objective behind the publication book is clearly self-promotion. As H. R. Woudhuysen rightly notes, the letters are "consciously self-promoting, a means of showing off the beginnings of the 'new' poetry and the literary and social milieu of London and Cambridge as the new decade began" ("Letters" 435). Indeed, the letters enhance Spenser's literary reputation by providing early notice of *The Faerie Queene* (care of Harvey), as well as establishing the putative existence of a body of literary works. These works include *Dreames* and *Dying Pellicane*, which according to Spenser are "presentlye to bée imprinted" (7). Though no record of the printing of these texts exists, the mention of these works, along with his *Epithalamion Thamesis* and *Nine Comoedies*, serves to augment Spenser's body of work and to advance his standing as an accomplished author.

Using the printing press as a means of self-promotion was not a new concept to Spenser. As we shall see in the next chapter, just a year prior, *The Shepheardes Calender* announced the arrival of England's new poet in a manner that placed Spenser in a literary lineage that included both Virgil and Chaucer. Despite his use of the pseudonym

[22] Virginia F. Stern proposes that Spenser initiated the publication of the letters (60-61)

"Immerito" in both *The Shepheardes Calender* and *Three proper, and wittie, familiar letters*, Spenser self-consciously promoted himself as the next great English poet. Indeed, even before he began printing his own work, he had learned first-hand the potential of print through his mentor Richard Mulcaster and through his participation in Jan van der Noot's *Theatre for Worldlings*.

Mulcaster and van der Noot

The influence of Richard Mulcaster on Edmund Spenser extended well beyond the halls of Merchant Taylors' School. Not only did his promotion of English language and literature have an enduring impact on Spenser's literary work, he likely provided his young pupil with his first taste of professional writing.

Spenser's first foray into writing for the press occurred in 1569 at a time when he was leaving Merchant Taylors' School to attend Pembroke College, Cambridge. The book on which he worked was the English translation of Jan van der Noot's *A Theatre Wherein Be Represented As Well the Miseries and Calamities that Follow the Voluptuous Worldlings* (more commonly known as *Theatre for Worldlings*).[23] To this publication, Spenser's contributed English translations of the book's "Epigrams" and "Sonets" (the Dutch immigrant Theodore Roest provided translations of the book's prose). Revised versions of almost all of Spenser's translated "Sonets" later appeared as *The Visions of Bellay* in his *Complaints* (1591).

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[23] Jan van der Noot, *A Theatre Wherein be Represented as Wel the Miseries & Calamities that Follow the Voluptuous Worldlings* (London: By Henry Bynneman, 1569), *STC* 18602.

There is no surviving documentary evidence that provides concrete evidence of how Spenser, still quite young, came to be involved in van der Noot's project. Most scholars agree, however, that Spenser's influential headmaster, Richard Mulcaster, probably had a hand in securing the job for his talented student. Mulcaster was a "friend of one of the leading members of the Dutch colony in London, Emanuel van Meteren; he wrote verse in his album [*Het Album van Emanuel van Meteren*] and was godfather to one of his children" (Forster 33). With this in mind, Forster proposes the following scenario:

> It is not difficult to imagine a situation in which Van Meteren approached Mulcaster saying that an exiled stranger, a fellow-townsman of his, had written a pious and profitable work which was to appear in English translation, dedicated to the Queen. The translator [Theodore Roest], himself a stranger, had produced a generally satisfactory rendering but had been unable to cope successfully with the very modern verse which formed an integral part of the work. Had Mulcaster perhaps a gifted pupil who would be able to help by translating the verses from French? (33)

Mulcaster is likely to have offered the task to one of his more bright and ambitious students. At this point in his education, Spenser must have already exhibited a great aptitude for writing verse and was subsequently rewarded for his interest and talent. Though uncredited, Spenser was in print at the age of seventeen. The promise of future writing and publishing must have been palpable.

Beyond just contributing to a published book, Spenser's participation in *Theatre for Worldlings* provided him with an immediate, concrete example of using the

publication of one's works as a bid for patronage. Van der Noot, a refugee from Antwerp and an ardent Protestant, dedicated both the English and French editions of his book to Queen Elizabeth. In his dedicatory epistle he records his recent flight into England and praises Elizabeth at length for her lineage, excellence, and learning. By emphasizing his own religious persecution, he hopes to curry favor and protection from the Queen.

Van der Noot was not the only figure in Spenser's youth that had used the press as a conduit to the Queen. Richard Mulcaster had also presented a book to Elizabeth. In 1559, two years prior to the founding of Merchant Taylors' School, he was commissioned to document the Queen's progress through London. The resulting text appeared later that year in two quarto editions printed by Richard Tottel under two variant titles: *the quenes maiesties passage through the cities of London to westminster the day before her coronacion* and *The passage of our most drad Soueraigne Lady Quene Elyzabeth through the citie of London to westminster the daye before her coronacion. Anno 1558. Cum priuilegio*.[24] A document surviving at the Corporation Record Office, Guildhall records the details of Mulcaster's involvement.

> Item yt was orderyd and agreyed by the Court here this day that the Chamberlyn shall geue vnto Rychard Mulcaster for his reward for makyng of the boke conteynynge and declaryng the historyes set furth in and by the Cyties pageauntes at the tyme of the Quenes highnes commyng thurrough the Cytye to her coronacion xls. wich boke was geuyn vnto the Quenes grace. (qtd. in DeMolen 8).

[24] *STC* 7589.5 and 7590.

Mulcaster's association with Queen Elizabeth had only just begun. As Richard DeMolen observes, the presentation of Mulcaster's *Quenes Maiesties Passage* to Elizabeth "represents the beginning phase of Elizabeth's patronage that finally culminated in the dramatic productions of the Merchant Taylors' boys" (8). Indeed, Mulcaster's students performed before the Queen eight times from 1572-1582 (DeMolen 12; Draper 252-53).

Mulcaster's work with processions and pageants also continued. In 1561 and 1568, he penned verses for pageants presented by the Mayor of London (Barker, "Mulcaster, Richard"; DeMolen 139-144). In 1575, he once again participated in an entertainment for the Queen, writing a Latin poem presented to Elizabeth during her visit to Kenilworth. Mulcaster's involvement in this event was at the invitation of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who owned a large estate in Kenilworth. In an effort to honor both Elizabeth and Leicester, Mulcaster's poem works to "flatter the queen and honor her host" (DeMolen).[25]

The Kenilworth celebrations distinguish Mulcaster's two most important patrons. In addition to serving in festivities concerning the Queen, he had also found a patron in Leicester. That Leicester and Elizabeth were Mulcaster's principal targets for patronage is evidenced by the dedications of his two principal publications: *Positions vvherin those primitiue circumstances be examined, which are necessarie for the training vp of children, either for skill in their booke, or health in their bodie* (1581) dedicated to Elizabeth, and *The first part of the elementarie vvhich entreateth chefelie of the right writing of our English tung* (1582) dedicated to Leicester.

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[25] For an English translation of the poem, see DeMolen 139-40.

Considering his previous experiences working for the Queen, it is fitting that Mulcaster would dedicate his first formal publication to Elizabeth. In his dedication, he acknowledges that his book "being very long" and the Queen's "leasure being very little" her reading of the whole book could be "iniurious to the common weale" (*ii^{v}-*iii). As a remedy, he entreats her to read at least some part of his work (*iii). He explains that through his book he hopes to establish national principles of education ("certaine groundes") to be followed "eare we begin to teach" (*iii). Furthermore, he hopes that Elizabeth will lend her support to his goal, that she "bestow vpon me the fauourable smile of your good liking, to countenance me in this course" (*iii^{v}). More than a merely bid for patronage, Mulcaster calls for England to adopt his educational principles and for the Queen to back him in this effort.

In Mulcaster's dedication to Leicester in *The First Part of the Elementary*, an established relationship of patronage between the two is evident. As if to avoid any potential disrespect to Leicester, Mulcaster begins by explaining the "considerations" which "enforced" him "to offer hir maiestie the first frutes of my publik writing" (*ii). He then notes Leicester's beneficence to him:

> For I do find my self excedinglie indetted vnto your honor for your speciall goodnesse, and most fauorable countenance these manie years. Whereby I am bound to declare the vow of my seruice vnto your honor not by the offering of a petie boke alone, such as this is, but by tendring whatsoeuer a thankfull minde can deuise in extremitie of power for so excellent a patron. (*iii^{v})

Dedicating one's printed work to influential persons was certainly a common practice, one that Spenser would witness time and again secondhand. Yet, through his

participation in van der Noot's *Theatre for Worldlings* and his student-mentor relationship with Richard Mulcaster, Spenser saw firsthand how one could use a printed work as a channel to patronage. It is not surprising therefore Spenser's would dedicate his first two publications to persons of great influence. He dedicated *The Shepheardes Calender* to Sir Philip Sidney and *The Faerie Queene* to Queen Elizabeth. William Ringler argues that Spenser initially intended to dedicate *The Shepheardes Calender* to Leicester.[26] If this is true, then Spenser dedicated his first two books to the very same persons as Mulcaster.

Of course, for Spenser, patronage was a way of life from very early on. From contributions to his education from Robert Nowell, to his sizarship, Spenser learned quite early the power of wealthy patrons. Books were a natural extension. As we saw earlier in this chapter, Radcliffe correctly argues that one of two important decisions that Spenser made as an author of literary works was "to market his works in printed books rather than circulate them in the more prestigious form of manuscript" (vii). The so-called "stigma of print," in which persons of nobility chose to circulate their work in manuscript rather than print, did not apply to Spenser. He was not one of the privileged classes, but rather a struggling up-and-comer who learned quite early that printed works could be a means to an end, the conduit from sizar to gentleman. Indeed, books helped elevate Spenser from a poor scholar to a Cambridge graduate, from humble origins to a landowner in Ireland, and from an unknown to England's most celebrated Elizabethan poet. His excellence in book learning moved him through Merchant Taylors' School and opened the door to his participation in van der Noot's *Theatre for Worldlings*. At

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[26] See Ringler, "Spenser, Shakespeare, Honor and Worship," *Renaissance News* 14 (1961): 160.

Pembroke College, he had at his disposal a wealth of books held in both the College and University libraries, which served to advance his studies and to fuel his own literary interests. As Spenser grew older, the exchange of books and the ideas and images printed within them were a means to stimulate and perpetuate friendships. As he embarked on his literary career, he knew personally through the examples of Richard Mulcaster and van der Noot the currency books held and the way in which a prefatory introduction could help you get your foot in the doors of the most influential men and women of England.

In addition to choosing to circulate his work in print, Spenser also made the important decision to "imitate vernacular as well as classical writers" creating poetry that was a hybrid of literary influences (Radcliffe vii). Spenser's ability to work effectively within the native English, classical, and continental literary traditions depended upon access to an extensive range of books. As we have seen, through the Pembroke College Library and the Cambridge University Library, Spenser had the works of classical and continental masters at his disposal. He supplemented these collections with modern continental and English vernacular books that were sold in the bookstalls of St. Paul's and Fleetstreet, and circulated among the students at Merchant Taylors' School and Cambridge. Spenser's extensive knowledge of books had a typographical impact on his work as well. Comfortable with English and continental printing styles, his printed works were typographical hybrids in design, combining elements from both traditions.

The fusion of classical, continental, and native English influences is evident in Spenser's first publication *The Shepheardes Calender*. Not only did he write within the pastoral tradition as exemplified by classical authors such as Virgil, he and his printer

designed the book to resemble Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. Yet despite these influences, Spenser's book remains quite English. As we shall see in the next chapter, *The Shepheardes Calender*'s Englishness is rooted in a deliberate decision on the part of Spenser to create a book that was both textually and typographically a hybrid of classical, continental, and English influences.

CHAPTER 2

SPENSER'S "ENGLISH" *SHEPHEARDES CALENDER*

> I suspect that the use of black letter in the *Shepheardes Calender* of 1579 was an intentional bit of antiquarianism.
>
> Ronald McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography*.[1]

One could easily interpret the use of black-letter type in *The Shepheardes Calender* as intentional antiquarianism. After all, an archaic type would complement the old-fashioned spellings and the crudely designed woodcuts that accompany each eclogue. These aesthetic elements highlight the text's archaic language, which the book's enigmatic commentator, E.K., emphasizes and defends in the poem's "Epistle." Nevertheless, it seems just as likely that the use of black-letter type had no significance at all. Perhaps it was simply a convention of the contemporary printing trade. Perhaps it was the only type its printer, Hugh Singleton, had available.

A reexamination of black-letter, or "English" type as it was called in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, presents an alternative possibility: that the choice of type for *The Shepheardes Calender* embodied a nationalistic significance. In physical appearance, the *Calender* followed its bibliographic model, a 1571 edition of Jacopo

[1] McKerrow 297n.

Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, nearly to the letter. The conspicuous exception was Singleton's substitution of black-letter type in the *Calender's* main body of text for the *Arcadia*'s roman and italic. In this essay, I argue that this typographic deviation represented a deliberate choice, which superimposed the English vernacular, as embodied in black-letter or "English type," onto the Italian vernacular, as embodied in roman and italic. Furthermore, I will demonstrate how this typographical shift supported the book's promotion of an emergent domain of English language and literature. Returning black-letter type to its original context as "English" type informs this conclusion. The essay begins, therefore, with a reexamination of black-letter type.

An "English" Type

> There being diuers Impressions of the Fruteful Sermon, it is to be obserued, that al the Quotations are taken out of the Booke printed in the English Pica, not in the Romane letter.

John Windet inscribed this curious printer's note on the verso side of the title page of his 1590 edition of Thomas Rogers' *A sermon vpon the 6.7. and 8. verses of the 12. chapter of S. Pauls epistle vnto the Romanes; made to the confutation of so much of another sermon, entituled, A frutful sermon &c*. The note uses typefaces to differentiate between editions of Laurence Chaderton's *A Fruitfull Sermon, Vpon the 3.4.5.6.7. and 8. Verses, of the 12. chapiter[sic] of the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes* (1584).[2] The meaning of "Romane letter" is clear enough, but the reference to "English Pica" may puzzle modern scholars. In modern bibliographic terms, "English" and "pica" refer only

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[2] The edition printed in "English Pica" is Laurence Chaderton, *A Fruitfull Sermon* (London: Printed by Robert Walde-graue, 1584), *STC* 4926.5. The edition in "Romane letter" is Laurence Chaderton, *A Fruitfull Sermon* (London: Printed by Robert Walde-graue, 1584), *STC* 4926.

to type sizes. However, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, “English” described both a type size and a typeface. More specifically, “English” referred to the typeface that is more commonly known today as “black letter.” Therefore, in Windet’s note, “Pica” represents the size of the type and “English” the typeface. “Pica English” is what modern bibliographers call “pica black letter.”

Samples of typefaces printed in Charles Butler’s *Oratoriae Libri Dvo* (1629) help contextualize Windet’s note (A4). The first samples found, “Primier,” “Pique [Pica],” “English,” “Great Primier,” and so forth are various sizes of roman type. After these, Butler lists the types used “pro sermone Anglico” (i.e., “for English discourse”): “English Roman,” “English Italicke,” and “English English.” The “English” used in all three of these examples refers to the size of the type, while “Roman,” “Italicke,” and “English” refer to the typeface. “English English” is what modern bibliographers call “English black letter.”

Curiously, modern studies of books as material objects have neglected the fact that, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, black-letter type was referred to as “English.” Consequently, they have neglected the implications of such a designation. Harry Carter, perhaps the twentieth century’s preeminent historian of typography, notes that “Englishmen called black letter ‘English’ just as ‘Dutchmen and Flemings called it ‘Duyts’ meaning ‘Deutsch’ or Germanic” (65). Although Carter does not explicitly say it, he tacitly acknowledges that black letter represented the vernacular language in the Germanic regions and in England. Simply put, black-letter or “English” type signified the English language

The use of black-letter type in England began with its first printer, William Caxton. Having learned the printing trade in Cologne and Bruges, Caxton conformed to the use of black letter in those regions and brought the practice to England when he established the first English press at Westminster in 1476. Thus, the black-letter style of Cologne and Bruges became the style of England.[3] Had Caxton traveled elsewhere on the continent to learn the trade, the style of English printing could have been radically different:

> It is interesting to speculate how the style of English and American print might have developed if Caxton had learned to work type, and print from it, in Italy or France. Had he done so, there might have been an earlier release from the thralldom of the black letter, not to mention an initial appreciation of the full resources of roman. (Chappel 74)

Prolific printers such as Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson carried on Caxton's black-letter style, forging a typographical standard that carried across most of the sixteenth century. During this time, printers and readers associated black-letter type with the English vernacular language.

Multilingual sixteenth-century books best exemplify the use of type to represent vernacular language. A text block from *Marcus Tullius Ciceroes three bookes of duties to Marcus his sonne, tourned out of Latine into English, by Nicolas Grimald. Wherevnto the Latine is adioyned* printed by Richard Tottel in 1583, affords a good example. Tottel divided the bilingual text into two columns, one for the Latin, the other for the English.

[3] For more on Caxton, see Norman Blake's *Caxton: England's First Printer* (London: Osprey, 1976).

Appropriately, he set each language in its own distinct type: Latin in roman, English in black letter. The works of printer John Wolfe further demonstrate the association of type with language. After cutting short an apprenticeship with the English printer John Day, Wolfe completed his training in Italy. Afterward, he returned to England, where he was very much involved in printing continental works both in their original languages and in translation. In doing so, he normally assigned type by language: roman for French and Latin, italic for Italian, and black letter for English.[4] Wolfe's 1588 edition of Castiglione's *The courtier of Count Baldessar Castilio* (i.e., *The Book of the Courtier*) provides a telling example. Wolfe divided the pages of this polyglot edition into three columns for the languages of Italian, French, and English, and set each language in its corresponding type: Italian in italic, French in roman, and English in black letter.

The relationship between type and language extended further into an association between type and national identity, as explained in a 1567 text entitled, "Dialogues Francois pour les Jeunes Enfans," which was published and perhaps written by Christopher Plantin, the famous Antwerp printer. The dialogue, a conversation between the unidentified G., H., and E.,[5] sets out to explain the arts of calligraphy and printing:

> G. Is it your opinion that, through being accustomed to make a book in a certain kind of type they have called such type after it?
>
> E. I understand it so, as in the composition of missals they called some missal types *canon* and *petit canon de messel, glose de messel; letter de Cicero,*

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[4] I base this on my examination of almost all of Wolfe's imprints from 1580 through 1592.

[5] As the modern editor Ray Nash notes, "The initials of the dramatis personae…are not identified in the long introductory verses written by Christopher Plantin, or elsewhere in the text" (23).

letter de S. Augustin, because they had been used to printing such authors with these types.

G. Where did the others get their names?

E. Some have taken them from nations which have used them commonly. Of this sort are some we call *romain* and *gros romain* or *texte*, ordinary *romain*, *petit romain*, and the italics, *letter francoise,* and Greek type. (13-14)

While "English" does not appear among his examples, the naming of roman, italic, and Greek indicates that type reflected, and perhaps symbolically represented, nationhood. The use of "English" type for the English language concurs with the dialogue's examples.

What becomes abundantly clear in looking at these examples is that type conveyed a cultural significance that, in the case of black-letter type, modern scholars have overlooked. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term "black letter" originated at about 1600. Yet, when Joseph Moxon examined type founding and printing in his *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* (1683-4) over three-quarters of a century later, he referred to black letter as "English" or "black English letter" (Moxon 19, 123). Moreover, a specimen sheet displaying type fonts donated to the Oxford University Press in 1693 demonstrates that "English" was still a common term at the close of the seventeenth century.[6] Here, the different sizes of black-letter type are labeled "English English," "New English English," "Pica English," and "Long Primer English." Therefore, when modern scholars use the term "black letter" for sixteenth- and early

[6] *A specimen of the several sorts of letter given to the University by Dr. John Fell late Lord Bishop of Oxford. To which is added the letter given by Mr. F. Junius* (Oxford: Printed at the Theater, 1693), *Wing* F622.

seventeenth-century books, they impose retrospective nomenclature and ignore the contemporaneous cultural and political significance of "English" type.

As scholars grow increasingly interested in the book as a material object and in its effect on its readership, typography must play a key role. Certainly there are many occasions when type is just type, when printing customs or the ownership of type determines its use. Nevertheless, the choice of type may often have a greater significance. Windet's aforementioned note on "English Pica" and "Romane letter" shows that both printers and readers were aware both of the use and nomenclature for different typefaces. This awareness becomes significant when the chosen type speaks to issues of language and nationhood. With the cultural significance of "English" type in mind, I return to the first edition of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* in order to demonstrate how its typography supported a greater nationalistic argument.

An "English" Text

Let us begin with a brief description of the typography of *The Shepheardes Calender*.[7] Hugh Singleton employed a sophisticated layout when he printed the first edition of the *Calender* in 1579.[8] The most striking typographical feature is the inclusion of twelve original woodcuts that correspond to each of the eclogues, because "no new

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[7] Edmund Spenser, *The shepheardes calender conteyning tvvelue aeglogues proportionable to the twelue monethes. Entitled to the noble and vertuous gentleman most worthy of all titles both of learning and cheualrie M. Philip Sidney* (London: Printed by Hugh Singleton, dwelling in Creede Lane neere vnto Ludgate at the signe of the gylden Tunne, and are there to be solde, 1579), *STC* 23089.

[8] For a complete descriptive bibliography of this and of other early Spenser editions, see Francis R. Johnson, *Critical Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Spenser Printed Before 1700* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933).

poetry had been so illustrated in England. . .within at least two decades and would not be for at least two centuries" (Luborsky, "The Allusive Presentation" 30). The title page, however, is fairly stark for a book of its era. This is mostly due to the lack of a decorative border, an element added to subsequent editions.[9] Black-letter, italic, and roman type all appear on the title page, which is "characteristic of many English books of the time and typical of Singleton's house style" (Luborsky, "The Allusive Presentation" 33). Following on the verso side of the title page, the envoy, "To His Booke," is set in a striking italic type. Next comes E.K.'s dedicatory "Epistle" and the "General Argument of the Whole Book," of which both are set in a roman type. The preliminaries end here, and the body of the text begins. Reflecting the arrangement of a calendar, the main text undergoes division into twelve eclogues corresponding to each of the twelve months. Each eclogue contains the following elements: a woodcut, the "Argument," the text of the eclogue, an emblem, and a "Glosse." Each of these elements appears in its own particular type: the "argument" is in italic, the text of the eclogue in black letter, the emblem most often in italic, and the gloss in roman. English printers commonly used different typefaces to differentiate among different sections of text.[10] In the case of the *Calendar,* different typefaces help distinguish the various elements of each eclogue.[11]

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[9] *STC* 23090 (1581), 23091 (1586), and 23092 (1591).

[10] An example of this printing practice dates as far back as Richard Pynson's 1509 edition of Sebastian Brant's *Stultifera navis* (London: Printed by Richard Pynson), *STC* 3545. In this book Pynson used roman type in order to set the preliminaries apart from the black letter of the main text.

[11] Mark Bland observes that the typography deployed in *The Shepheardes Calender* indicated "the different character of the constituent parts" ("The Appearance" 100).

This typographical pattern repeats itself through the rest of the book until we reach the colophon page, which, like the title page, uses black-letter, italic, and roman types.

This essay began with McKerrow's suspicion that the use of black letter for the *Calendar's* main body of text was a deliberate attempt at antiquarianism. He bases his argument on a perceived shift in the English book trade from a predominant use of black-letter type to roman, which he believes was well underway in 1579.[12] If McKerrow were correct, then Singleton's use of black letter would certainly be archaic or, at the very least, "old fashioned." In order for the use of black letter to be considered archaic, however, one must posit that someone involved in the printing made a deliberate choice to employ a type that was out of style or going out of style.

Contrary to McKerrow's suspicion, black letter had not gone out of style by 1579. Approximately 78% of English books published in 1579 were set in black letter, whereas 18% were set in roman, and 4% in italic.[13] Indeed, black-letter type continued to dominate English printing.[14] Most generally this is due to the enduring influence of black letter in England—the long arm of Caxton. On a more localized level, it surely had

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[12] McKerrow claims "about 1580 the use of black letter in plays and the higher kinds of English verse, as well as Latin books, had almost ceased" (*An Introduction*, 297).

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[13] I base this conclusion upon a detailed examination of the types used in English books printed in 1579. Using as a guide the chronological index in the third volume of the Pollard and Redgrave's *Short-title Catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1976), I examined 175 of the 243 titles printed in 1579, approximately 72% of the texts from that year (not including variants, issues, etc). Of interest was the type chosen for the main body of text. Of the 175 titles, 139 (79%) were set in black letter, twenty-eight (16%) in roman, and eight (5%) in italic. Sixteen out of twenty-eight titles set in roman and one of the eight set in italic were English language works.

[14] A more exhaustive census that I conducted of the years 1579-1592 demonstrates that roman type did not overtake black letter until 1590/1591.

everything to do with the availability of type in the possession of individual printers. Therefore, to determine Hugh Singleton's type supply and house style, we must examine his output.

Singleton was almost exclusively a black-letter printer.[15] Nevertheless, he used roman and italic types quite often. He would frequently set the main body of text in black letter, using roman and italic types for preliminary materials and paratext such as marginal notes. In this way, *The Shepheardes Calender* tends to follow Singleton's house style, as do other books that he produced during the same year. For example, in *A reply with the occasion thereof, to a late rayling, lying, reprochful and blasphemous libel, of the papists,* he set the main body of text in black letter, marginal glosses in roman, section titles in italic, sections of verse in both italic and roman, and concluding blocks of prayer in roman. This book exemplifies the breadth of Singleton's type supply. His *A necessary instruction of christian faith and hope, for Christians to holde fast* features a similar breadth of type fonts, whereby, in addition to the black-letter type of the main text, the book contains a dedication set in italic, a preface in roman, and marginal glosses in roman.

The anomaly among Singleton's imprints is the single text set entirely in roman type, John Stubbes' *The Discouerie of a Gaping Gulf Whereinto England is Like to be Swallovved by Another French Marriage* (1579). This scandalous text argued against Queen Elizabeth's proposed marriage to François, duc d'Anjou. When it came to the

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[15] I base this on my examination of twenty-nine of the thirty-eight books that Singleton printed between 1555 and 1579. In the early part of his career, 1548-1555, Singleton worked primarily as a publisher, rather than a printer. Of these books, Singleton set the main text of only one in a type other than black letter, namely John Stubbes' *Gaping Gulf* (*STC* 23400), which he set entirely in roman type.

attention of the queen, she issued a proclamation dated September 27 in order to punish those involved with producing such a "lewde seditious booke."[16] Arrested and imprisoned on October 13, both Singleton and Stubbes would be tried on October 30 (Mears, "Stubbe"). Stubbes suffered the punishment of having his right hand cut off, but Singleton appears to have received a pardon due to his old age (Mears, "Stubbe").

The circumstances concerning the *Gaping Gulf* controversy are helpful in constructing a chronology for the printing of *The Shepheardes Calender*. The *Calender's* "Epistle" written by E.K. is dated April 10, 1579, whereas Singleton entered the text into the *Stationers' Register* on December 5 of that same year (Arber II.362). At this point in his career, Singleton likely owned only one press (Byrom 131).[17] The *Gaping Gulf* tied up Singleton's lone press during most of August, and Singleton spent most of October in jail.[18] This suggests a few windows for the production of *The Shepheardes Calender*: the months preceding the printing of the *Gaping Gulf* in August, the month or so between the completion of the *Gaping Gulf* and his arrest, and the months following his October imprisonment. Singleton may have printed part of the *Calendar* before the *Gaping Gulf* and before his imprisonment, but the bulk of the printing probably occurred in and around its December 5th entry in the *Stationers' Register*.

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[16] *By the Queene. Although her Maiestie hath had so good proofe of Gods singular goodnes, in the continual preseruation of her from his first setting of her in the Crowne* (London: Christopher Barker, printer to the Queenes Maiestie, 1579), *STC* 8114.

[17] "Singleton ceased to own a press in 1581 or 1582: his name does not occur in the list of London printers drawn up in May 1583, by order of the Bishop of London, and in September of that year he was employing a deputy to print for him" (Byrom 154).

[18] Byrom fixes "the date of publication between 17 and 29 August" (138).

Because Singleton had only one press, we may assume that he had the type available to print the whole of *The Shepheardes Calender* in roman, as he had done with the *Gaping Gulf*. We also may assume that he could have used his italic types as well. It is important to keep this in mind as we shift to an examination of Francesco Sansovino's 1571 printing of Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. The first edition of *The Shepheardes Calender* faithfully followed this bibliographic model, or very nearly so, the only exception being the choice of type.

Sannazaro's *Arcadia*

S. K. Heninger has convincingly demonstrated that Sansovino's edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* was the bibliographic model for the 1579 edition of *The Shepheardes Calendar*.[19] Sannazaro's text is arranged into twelve eclogues containing the following elements: a woodcut, "Argomento," "Prosa" (a prose introduction), "Annotatione," an additional woodcut, the text of the eclogue, and further annotations. With only slight alterations, the *Calender* mirrors this arrangement: "Argument," text, emblem, and "Glosse." Sansovino set the *Arcadia's* "Argomento," "Prosa," and "Annotiatione" in roman type, and the verse of the eclogue in italic. Setting the body of an Italian text in italic type was appropriate, because italic and roman were the most popular typefaces in Italy, their country of origin (Carter 117; Johnson, *Type Designs* 102). Moreover, as the aforementioned 1567 dialogue attributed to Plantin demonstrates,

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[19] See Heninger, "The Typographical Layout of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*," *Word and Visual Imagination: Studies in the Interaction of English Literature and the Visual Arts*, ed. Karl Josef Holtgen, Peter Daly and Wolfgang Lottes (Erlangen: Universitatsbibliothek Erlangen-Nurnberg, 1988).

type often took the names of the nations "which have used them commonly" as in the example of "*romain*…and the italics." Thus, the use of italic for each eclogue's verse signified the Italian vernacular. So, too, did the roman type, which Sansovino used for the prose sections and for the supporting sections of arguments and annotations.

Although *The Shepheardes Calendar* follows the model of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* quite closely, it deviates typographically by substituting black letter for roman type in the prose and italics in the verse. Singleton could have set *The Shepheardes Calendar* in roman type, just as he had done with *Gaping Gulf*. Indeed, Singleton's *A reply with the occasion thereof, to a late rayling, lying, reprochful and blasphemous libel, of the papists* demonstrates a supply of both roman and italic types and their previous use for verse. If Singleton, or anyone else involved in the production of the *Calendar*, wanted thoroughly to imitate the 1571 edition of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* they had the means of doing so. Nevertheless, someone reached the decision to set the main text in type other than italic or roman. But to what end?

"Our English Tongue"

If we think about typography within its historical context, the choice of black-letter, or "English" type, for *The Shepheardes Calender* begins to take on a new cultural significance. The imposition of black-letter or "English" type in place of italic and roman connotes the imposition of the English vernacular onto Italian. Had Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* explicitly followed the typography of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, it

would have remained Italianate. Instead, we find a conscious move to *English* (i.e., translate) an Italian literary model.[20]

This typographical move is mirrored in E.K.'s "Epistle" by the construction of a literary heritage that foregrounds the English literary tradition over the classical and continental:

> Uncouthe unkiste, sayde the olde famous Poete Chaucer: Whom for his excellencie and wonderfull skil in making, his scholer Lidgate, a worthy scholler of so excellent a maister, calleth the Loadstarre of our Language: and whom our Colin Clout in his Aeglogue calleth Tityrus the God of Shepheards, comparing hym to the worthines of the Roman Tityrus Virgile. (13)

Although Virgil's eclogues are perhaps the primary literary influence on Spenser's *Calender*, E.K. focuses first on the English lineage of Chaucer, Lydgate, and "our new Poete" Spenser. In this way, E.K. highlights Englishness by focusing on English authors and by promoting the English vernacular, as suggested in his description of Chaucer as "the Loadestarre of our Language." Indeed, as E.K. notes, Spenser compares Chaucer to Virgil through the name "Tityrus," a name under which Virgil "secretly shadoweth himself" (13). Thus, in another layer of "Englishing," Chaucer, the English "Tityrus," supplants "the Roman Tityrus Virgile" (13, 171).

The types in which the works of Chaucer and Virgil appeared at this time physically exemplify the distinction between the English and Roman Tityrus. Predictably, editions of Chaucer from the years 1561 and 1598, the last editions of the

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[20] "English" as a verb denotes translation into English. See the title pages of *STC* 19809 and 13494 for examples of its use.

sixteenth century, appear in black letter.[21] Indeed, with the exception of an edition of the apocryphal *Plough-mans Tale* printed in 1606 that appeared in roman type,[22] Chaucer's works appeared in black letter across the seventeenth century.[23] The Latin editions of Virgil's work printed in England through the years 1570-1590 are all set in italic, a type often used for Latin verse.[24] In contrast, the editions of Virgil's works that have been "Englished" (i.e., translated into English) appear in black letter.[25] The only exception is an edition that appeared in italic. As the choice of type suggests, this edition was not printed in England, but rather "at Leiden in Holland" by John Pates.[26] Thus, translation into English was only part of "Englishing"; in order to fully "English" Virgil, the translation also had to appear in "English" type. Similarly, *The Shepheardes Calender* "Englishes" the Virgilian pastoral typographically, while subordinating the "roman" Virgil to the "English" Chaucer.

This cultural move was vital, for Spenser's literary project was as much about the promotion of the English language and a native literary tradition as it was about the

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[21] *STC* 5075, 5076, 5077, 5078, 5079.

[22] *STC* 5101.

[23] *STC* 5097 is a bilingual edition of *Troilus and Criseyde* printed in black letter for English and italic for Latin (1635). The others editions are of Chaucer's *Workes*: *STC* 5080 (1602), 5081 (1602), and Wing C3736 (1687).

[24] *STC* 24788, 24788a, 24789, 24790.

[25] *STC* 24801, 24802, 24806, 24807, 24816, 24817.

[26] *STC* 24806.

promotion of the author.[27] Indeed, the two were inseparable. Before an English poet could situate himself among his classical and continental predecessors, the English language had to be accepted as a viable vehicle for literature.[28] Moreover, E.K.'s naming of Chaucer as "the Loadstarre of *our* Language" [my emphasis] is an inclusive move, referring not only to Chaucer, Lydgate, Spenser, and himself, but also to the book's vernacular readers.

Throughout the "Epistle," E.K. articulates a nationalistic argument centered on the vernacular language. For example, his defense of Spenser's archaic English implies a linguistic reformation:

> For in my opinion it is one special prayse, of many which are dew to this Poete, that he hath laboured to restore, as to theyr rightful heritage such good and naturall English words, as have ben long time out of use and almost cleare disherited. (16)

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[27] Adding to the promotion of the native tradition is the invocation of *The Shepheardes Calender*'s namesake, *The Kalender of Shepherdes*. As E.K. reports in his "Epistle," Spenser titles his work, "the *SHEPHEARDS CALENDAR*, applying an olde name to a new worke" (Spenser, *The Yale Edition*, 19). *The Kalender of Shepherdes*, an English translation of the French *Compost et Kalendrier des Bergiers* first published in Paris in 1493, appeared in at least nineteen editions in England from 1503 through 1656. The book appeared for the first time with the title *The Shepardes Kalender* in 1570. Not only does the use of black-letter type in Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* correspond to the vernacular calendar tradition exemplified by the *Kalender of Shepherdes*, the *Calender*'s woodcut illustrations also invoke the *Kalender of Shepherdes* and its French cousin *Le Grant Kalendrier et Compost et Kalendrier des Bergiers*. See Ruth Samson Luborsky "The Illustrations to *The Shepheardes Calender*," *Spenser Studies: A Renaissance Poetry Annual* 2 (1981): 3-53.

[28] The promotion and defense of vernacular English appears throughout the evolution of English literature. For a good overview, see *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280-1520*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, et al. (State College: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999).

To “restore” England’s “rightful heritage” of language is to return to a “disherited” purer form of English. E.K. argues that Spenser’s language, though archaic, is a form of English unadulterated by the assimilation of foreign languages, unlike more hybridized usage:

> Which default when as some endevoured to salve and recure, they patched up the holes with peces and rags of other languages, borrowing here of the French, there of the Italian, every where of the Latin. . . .So now they have made our English tongue, a gallimaufray or hodgepodge of al other speches. (16)

The assimilation of foreign languages into English was unnecessary: “. . . our Mother tonge, which truly of it self is both ful enough for prose and stately enough for verse, which hath long time ben counted most bare and barrein of both” (16). E.K. makes good rhetorical use of the magisterial first person plural: “Our English tongue,” “Our Mother tonge.” This brings to mind the words written by Spenser in a letter to Gabriel Harvey: “For, why a Gods name may not we, as else the Greekes, haue the kingdome of oure owne Language.”[29] Written in April of 1580, shortly after the printing of *The Shepheardes Calender,* Spenser echoes E.K.’s defense of the English vernacular. Also apparent is the enduring influence of Richard Mulcaster, Spenser’s schoolmaster at Merchant Taylors’ School, whose championing of the English language surely set a powerful example on his young pupil. As Mulcaster writes in the *Elementarie* (1582), “our tung nedeth not to giue place, to anie of her peres” (80).

[29] Richard Helgerson uses this quotation as a touchstone for his book *Forms of Nationhood*: *The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

The responses of early readers of *The Shepheardes Calender* suggest the power of its nationalistic English message. William Webbe comments on Spenser in *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586):

> Whose fine poeticall witt, and most exquisite learning, as he shewed aboundantly in that peece of worke, in my judment inferiour to the workes neither of *Theocritus* in Greeke, nor *Virgill* in Latine, whom hee narrowly immitateth: so I nothing doubt, but if his other workes were common abroade, which are as I think in the close custodie of certaine of his friends, we should have of our own Poets, whom wee might matche in all aspects with the best. And among all other his workes whatsoeuer, I would wysh to haue the sight of hys *Englysh Poet* which his freend E.K. did once promise to publish. (Biii)

Echoing E.K.'s preface, Webbe favorably compares Spenser to classical models. Further, in a gesture of literary nationalism that verges on cultural imperialism, Webbe believes that if more of Spenser's works were spread abroad, one of "our own Poets" might match the best continental writers. Webbe's choice of phrase, "our own Poets," echoes the repetition of 'our' in E.K.'s powerful defense of "our Language." Indeed, Webbe's call for the publication of Spenser's *English Poet* refers back to E.K.'s mention of this mysterious text in the "Argument" of the October Eclogue, demonstrating the degree of attention Webbe gave to Spenser's work.[30]

The *Calender's* promotion of English language and literature continues to resonate in Thomas Nashe's "To the Gentlemen Students of both Universities," a preface

[30] In *Spenser's Secret Career*, Richard Rambuss argues that this text and other "lost works" by Spenser may have never really existed, and that E.K. alludes to them in order to give the appearance that Spenser had already produced a broad amount of work (53-56).

to Robert Greene's *Menaphon* (1589). The normally acerbic Nashe writes of Spenser: "I would prefer, diuine Master Spencer, the miracle of wit to bandie line for line for my life, in the honor of *England*, gainst *Spaine, France, Italie,* and all the worlde" (A2^{v}). Using language similar to Webbe's, Nashe chooses Spenser as the author who could successfully duel continental authors in what is best described as a literary battle. The "honor of England," as Nashe puts, is empowered or enacted by English writing.

In his *Apology for Poetry*, Sir Philip Sidney also praises Spenser and *The Shepheardes Calender*, but in the same stroke he criticizes Spenser's use of archaic language:

> *The Shepherds' Calendar* hath much poetry in his eclogues, indeed worthy the reading, if I be not deceived. (That same framing of his style to an old rustic language I dare not allow, since neither Theocritus in Greek, Virgil in Latin, nor Sannazaro in Italian, did affect it. (64)

Holding English literature to the classical standards set by Theocritus, Virgil, and Sannazaro, Sidney sees the use of "an old rustic language" as intolerable. E.K. anticipates arguments similar to Sidney's and predicts, "Other some not so wel seene in the English tongue as perhaps in other languages, if them happen to here an olde word albeit very naturall and significant, cry out streight way, that we speak no English, but gibberish" (16). Still, despite Sidney's reservations about Spenser's use of archaic English, he ardently defends the English language and its use for poetry, demonstrating that he would agree with the *Calender's* defense of the English language:

> Whereto our language giveth us great occasion, being indeed capable of any excellent exercising of it. I know some will say it is a mingled language. And

> why not so much the better, taking the best of both the other? . . .for the utterly sweetly and properly the conceits of the mind (which is the end of speech), that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world. . . .Our tongue is most fit to honour poesy, and to be honored by poesy. (72-74)

Throughout his *Defense*, Sidney uses the inclusive first person plural in a way that is similar to E.K.: "our Chaucer," "our comedians," "our tongue," and "our language" (33, 67, 72-74).

"Our language" and "our English tongue" are represented typographically by the "English" typeface, and the choice of this type for *The Shepheardes Calender* is a part of a new promotion of Englishness to which Webbe and Nashe are responding. To have fully imitated Sannazaro's *Arcadia* typographically would have produced a text that was, in appearance, Italianate or, at the very least, continental. The decision to replace the italic and roman type with black letter emphasized the *Calender*'s embodiment of Englishness. But whose choice was it?

In the Printing House

Scholars have long assumed that the master printer made decisions concerning the typographical design of texts and that the author seldom provided any input. Increasingly, however, scholars are recognizing the working relationships between authors and printers. Indeed, authors may have had more input into the physical appearance of their printed works than previously thought, even down to the level of type. Two primary documents shed light on this subject. The first is an advertisement

from a specimen broadsheet printed in 1592, which displays type produced by the foundry of Conrad Berner:

> Specimen and print of the finest and most beautiful types ever yet seen, assembled at great labor and cost at first by the late Christian Egenolff himself, the first printer in Frankfurt, and then by his widow, thereafter by his successors Jacob Sabon and Conrad Berner. Published for the benefit of all who use a pen, but more especially for the advantage of authors of printers' copy, so that they may judge in what type their work may best be done, but equally useful to type-casters and printers as showing what may be of service in every printing-office and business. (Qtd. in Carter, 99)

Most likely produced for display at the Frankfurt book fairs, this advertisement is aimed specifically at authors to help them better decide which type their work should be set in. This suggests that authors were making typographical decisions.

Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises* supports this notion. His discussion of "the Compositor's Trade" quite explicitly acknowledges that authors should play a role in the printing process:

> Although I have in the precedent *Excercises* shew'd the Accomplishments of a good Compositer, yet will not a curious Author trust either to his Care or Abilities in Pointing, Italicking, Capitalling, Breaking, &c. Therefore it behoves an Author to examine his Copy very well e're he deliver it to the Printer, and to Point it, and mark it so as the Compositer may know what Words to Set in Italick, English Capitals, &c. (250)

In Moxon's experience, a "curious" (i.e., attentive or careful) author did have an impact on the appearance of his printed text, down to the level of type.

One such "curious" author was Sir John Harington. Written communication from Harington to printer Richard Field survives in British Museum Additional 18920, the holograph manuscript that served as the copy-text for most of Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso*, printed by Field in 1591.[31] This manuscript provides an informative example of an author directing the physical appearance of the printed text. For instance, Harington specifically tells Field how he wants the end of his book to appear:

> Mr. Feeld I dowt this will not come in in the last page, and thearfore I wowld have immedyatly in the next page after the fynyshinge of this last booke, with some pretty knotte to [*ileg.*] set down the tytle, and a peece of the Allegory as followeth in this next page—I wowld hav the allegory (as allso the appollogy and all the prose that ys to come except the table in the same printe that Putnams book ys. (Qtd. in Ariosto, 557n)

In response to Harington's request for a "pretty knotte" to separate the end of canto forty-six and the title of the following section, Field inserted a large printer's ornament. By "the allegory," Harington refers to the "Briefe Allegorie of Orlando Furioso," the section that follows the final canto. Following Harington's instructions, Field set this section and the "Apologie of Poetrie" that begins the book in pica roman type, the "same print" Field

[31] The manuscript contains canto fourteen through the "Briefe Allegorie of Orlando Furioso" which, along with a life of Ariosto and a table of the principal characters, concludes the book. See Lodovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso. Translated into English Heroical Verse by Sir John Harington*, ed. Robert McNulty (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972), 557n.

had previously used in Putnam's 1589 *Arte of English Poesie*.[32] Both of Harington's instructions to "Mr. Feeld" in this example concern typography. Clearly this author chose how his book would appear, even at the level of choice of type.

Could Spenser or another agent outside of the printing house have contributed to the design of *The Shepheardes Calender*? The materiality of the text of the *Calender* suggests that there were agents other than Singleton involved in its design. The first evidence is the text's use of archaic English language. As Ernest de Sélincourt observes, "the spelling of Q1 [1579 edition] is definitely archaic, dialectical, experimental, of a piece with the general character of the poem; and in every succeeding edition, especially in every succeeding edition. . . it tends to become more normal" (viii). As E.K. makes clear in his "Epistle," it was the author's decision to use archaic language in the *Calender*:

> Framing his words: thewhich if many thinges which in him be straunge, I know will seeme the straungest, the words them selves being so auncient, the knitting of them so short and intricate. (14)

That the choice of archaic language was the author's own and that it was carried through the press without the normalization that begins to affect "every succeeding edition" implies that someone had instructed the compositor to keep the copy-text as is.[33]

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[32] Continuing to follow Harington's instructions, Field did not set the text of "the table" in pica roman as he did with the "Apologie" and "allegorie" section, but in the smaller long primer roman. Further signs of Field's interaction with the manuscript are printer's notes that organize the text by marking signatures and pagination. See W. W. Greg, "An Elizabethan Printer and His Copy," *The Library* 4 (1924): 105-106.

[33] Unless, of course, the copy text had many more archaisms, which the compositor normalized. This strikes me as unlikely.

The use of woodcut illustrations affords further evidence of outside contribution. Woodcuts were an anomaly for Singleton, who had not been involved in the production of an illustrated book in over twenty years (Luborsky, "The Allusive Presentation" 41). Procuring woodcuts was costly, so printers tended to make the most of the woodcuts they already owned by reusing them in various books. Yet, the woodcuts in *The Shepheardes Calender* appear to be made to order, and largely reflect the content of Spenser's eclogues. Singleton's continued struggle with poverty makes it unlikely that he would have commissioned original woodcuts for the book.[34] Similarly, neither Spenser nor Harvey appear to have been in a financial position to serve as the publisher of the text and, therefore, probably did not commission the woodcuts.[35]

It also seems unlikely that Singleton would have chosen Sannazaro's *Arcadia* as a model for *The Shepheardes Calender*. A reference to Sannazaro in Sidney's *Defense of Poesy* (composed c.1579-80) suggests that the Sidney circle, with which both Spenser and Harvey were associated, had access to the *Arcadia* around the time of the printing *Calender* (42, 74). Heninger believes that Harvey chose the model of the *Arcadia* in an attempt to flatter Sidney indirectly.[36] He further contends that Harvey is E.K. and that

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[34] See Byrom, 129-131.

[35] This suggests that a third party, perhaps Spenser's patron, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, provided the funds for the literary project. Noting the use of "his honor" in the *Calendar*'s "To his His Booke," William Ringler argues that Leicester was the book's original dedicatee rather than Sir Philip Sidney. "The Elizabethans were punctilious in their use of terms of address and used 'his honor' only when referring to a nobleman or person of equivalent dignity, 'his worship' when referring to a knight or a gentleman" (160).

[36] Heninger suggests "a tribute to Sannazaro would be construed as a compliment to [Sidney] the young aristocrat turned poet who chose to present himself as the English Sincero" (41).

his influence permeates the "Epistle" and glosses (47). While Harvey's hand does appear to infuse the paratext of the *Shepheardes Calendar*, Heninger's overarching argument is a difficult one to prove, particularly because, as he also argues, Spenser appears to incorporate Sannazaro's use of the sestina into his "August" eclogue (37).[37] This raises the possibility that it was Spenser who selected Sannazaro's *Arcadia* as a bibliographic model.

Lastly, Singleton's scattered use of Greek type, a practice that is not continued in the next three editions of the *Calender*, suggests involvement from outside the print shop. Thomas East, who printed the second edition for John Harrison II, transliterated the Greek into the Roman alphabet and did a poor job of it (Sélincourt xii). In the third edition, printer John Wolfe followed East's example and, despite being a rather savvy printer of continental works, managed to mangle the Greek. Taken within the context of the work of his successors, Singleton's use of Greek type in the first edition becomes an interesting anomaly, particularly because his own print history reveals no use of Greek type prior to *The Shepheardes Calender*.[38] In fact, in his 1574 printing of Heinrich Bullinger's *The Hope of the Faithfull*, much like East and Wolfe, Singleton opts to transliterate a portion of Greek into the Roman alphabet (N1). Singleton may have owned Greek type without using it, but this seems improbable. Type was expensive, and Singleton was not in the financial position to own fonts that he would not use. Singleton

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[37] Heninger argues that the absence of a gloss in the "August" eclogue indicates that it was completed after E.K. had written all of his glosses. Therefore, Sannazaro's *Arcadia* had a late influence on the *Calender.* Hence, the choice of the *Arcadia* as a model text for the printing of the *Calender* would also have come later in the process.

[38] I base this on my examination of twenty-nine of the thirty-eight books that Singleton printed between 1555 and 1579, none of which use Greek type.

either borrowed the type, or someone else involved in the *Calender* bought it specifically for the project. This evidence suggests that someone other than Singleton made the decision to use Greek type in the *Calender*.

The idea of an outside agent participating in the choice of Greek type for Greek text is significant, because it suggests an influence other than Singleton's on the choice of type. Here, Stubbes' *Gaping Gulf* provides a telling example, for the decision to print the book in roman type appears not to have been Singleton's and most likely came from Stubbes himself or the book's publisher, William Page.[39] Might someone other than Singleton have been responsible for the choice of type in *The Shepheardes Calender*? Here, Spenser becomes a strong candidate, because he was already familiar with the relationship between type and language through his participation in the publication of the English translation of Jan van der Noot's *A theatre wherein be represented as well the miseries and calamities that follow the voluptuous worldlings* in 1569.[40]

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[39] Using records of the Stubbes' trial, Berry reconstructs the events preceding the book's publication: "Stubbes wrote the book at his room in Lincoln's Inn on various dates before August 4. A Francis Chamberlain, 'late of the city of London, gentleman,' took the book on August 6 and 7 to Hugh Singleton and ordered him to print one thousand copies." Stubbes, *Gaping Gulf, with Letters and Other Relevant Documents,* ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Charlottesville: Published for the Folger Shakespeare Library by the University Press of Virginia, 1968), xxvi. A fourth man, William Page, was cited in the trial as the book's publisher. As the publisher, Page would have had financial responsibility for the book and may have also made decisions on its printing. Both Stubbes and Page might have wanted the book printed in roman type to reflect a more up-market audience, geared perhaps to a more learned international audience. Indeed, there is some speculation that Francis Walsingham may have been involved in its publication. See John N. King, *Spenser's Poetry and the Reformation Tradition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 235.

[40] Jan van der Noot, *A Theatre Wherein be Represented as Wel the Miseries & Calamities that Follow the Voluptuous Worldlings* (London: By Henry Bynneman, 1569), *STC* 18602.

Spenser's contribution to the *Theatre for Worldlings,* as modern scholars more commonly call it, was his first published work. As a young student about to set off for Cambridge from the Merchant Taylors' School, he contributed English translations of the epigrams and sonnets that had appeared in the Dutch and French editions of the *Theatre* published by John Day during the previous year.[41] Spenser based his translations on the French edition.[42] Similarly, Henry Bynneman, the printer of the English edition of the *Theatre*, used Day's French edition as his bibliographic model.[43] At the level of typography, Bynneman followed Day's precedent of setting the text of the epigrams and sonnets in italic, but deviated from Day by setting the English translation of the prose section that follows the verse in black-letter type rather than roman. As we have seen, both Tottel and Wolfe assigned black-letter type to English and roman to French. Likewise, Bynneman's choice of black letter for English and Day's choice of roman type for French followed English printing conventions, which associated type with language. As many scholars have observed, Spenser's participation in the *Theatre* would greatly

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[41] See Jan van der Noot, *Het theatre oft Toon-neel waer in ter eender de ongelucken ende elenden die den werelts gesinden ende boosen menschen toecomen* (London: John Day, 1568), *STC* 18601; and Jan van der Noot, *Le theatre anquel sont exposés & monstrés les inconueniens & miseres qui suiuent les mondains & vicieux* (Par le Seigneur Iean Vander Noot. London: John Day, 1568), *STC* 18603.

[42] "Spenser appears to have translated all 22 poems from the French, checking them against an English draft translation from the Dutch" (van Dorsten, "*A Theatre for Worldlings*" 685). Also see Leonard Forster, "The Translator of the 'Theatre for Wordlings,'" *English Studies* 48 (1976): 27-34, and W. J. B. Pienaar, "Edmund Spenser and Jonker Jan van der Noot," *English Studies* 8 (1926): 33-44.

[43] A comparison of the two books demonstrates that Bynneman closely followed Day's composition. Specific examples of agreement include the use of an ornamental, floral border for the title page (the Dutch version has an elaborately illustrated title page border), the inclusion of a dedication to Elizabeth (absent in the Dutch version), and typographically similar colophon pages.

influence his later works.[44] Indeed, he learns "a way of transmuting continental models into his own English voice; he learns to narrate and domesticate 'the world' as it comes to him in contemporaneous poetry" (Greene 241). Bynneman, too, domesticated the *Theatre*. Not only did he superimpose an English translation onto French language, he superimposed black-letter or "English" type onto the roman in the prose section. This change could not have been lost on Spenser. Deeply familiar with both the French and English editions of the *Theatre*, he surely was aware of this typographic shift and the relationship between type and language that it embodied. Perhaps, then, it was Spenser who decided that his text should appear in black letter. Ultimately, it appears that he did contribute to the design of his book in collaboration with Singleton and Harvey.

A Return to "English" Type

Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* was a literary project that promoted English language and literature. Its Englishness represented a distinctive component of the text. Therefore, Spenser, Harvey, E.K., and Singleton took measures to ensure that it looked like an English book. First, Spenser wrote in a consciously archaic style that embodied a purer form of English. Second, E.K., whom most critics see as a persona for Spenser, defended this archaism and further promoted the use and viability of the English vernacular in his dedicatory "Epistle" and glosses. Finally, the person or persons responsible for printing the *Calender* chose Sannazaro's *Arcadia* as their bibliographic

[44] On the impact of the *Theatre*'s use of the Book of Revelation on Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, see John N. King, *Spenser's Poetry and the Reformation Tradition*, 72-85. On the influence of the *Theatre's* visual poetics, see Ernest B. Gilman, *Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation: Down Went Dagon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 63-4.

model, but *Englished* the text by superimposing English printing styles onto the continental. The English vernacular represented by black-letter type had to replace the Italian vernacular represented by italic and roman, or the book would have appeared to be continental or, above all, Italianate. Thus, the culture of Englishness promoted so heavily in the text of *The Shepheardes Calendar* carried through to the material text. The choice of black letter was indeed intentional as McKerrow proposed, but those intentions worked more in the service of a growing nationalism than in that of a "bit of antiquarianism."

A little over a decade after *The Shepheardes Calender* appeared in black letter or English type, *The Faerie Queene* would appear in roman and in a design that was markedly continental. What happened in the course of a decade to cause this typographical shift is examined in the following chapter, as our focus shifts from Spenser's "English" *Shepheardes Calender* to Spenser's "Roman" *Faerie Queene*.

CHAPTER 3

THE FAERIE QUEENE (1590)

3.1. SPENSER'S "ROMAN" *FAERIE QUEENE*

Edmund Spenser's 1579 *Shepheardes Calender* and 1590 *Faerie Queene* are two very different books. Poetically, Spenser continued along the Virgilian path, swapping the modest, oaten pipe of the humble pastoral, for the proud, lofty trumpet of the romantic epic. Bibliographically, the two books are equally dissimilar. The *Shepheardes Calender* is heavily illustrated with twelve rustic woodcuts corresponding to its twelve eclogues. Its text is set in black-letter or "English" type to reflect its Englishness and its use of a consciously archaic English vernacular. Its general design is somewhat typical for a book printed in England; it begins with a set of preliminaries containing dedications and notes to the reader before moving into the body of the main text. *The Faerie Queene*, on the other hand, is scarcely illustrated, containing only a handful of woodcut borders and one illustration, a woodcut of Saint George and the Dragon placed deep within the book on the page preceding Book Two. The main text is set in roman type and the organization of the book is quite unusual, because the "Letter of the Authors" and dedicatory sonnets, which typically would have appeared in the preliminary matter, are

located at the back of the book. Only a brief dedication to Queen Elizabeth faces the first page of Book One. The *Shepheardes Calender* is a project promoting Englishness, in which vernacular elements are imposed onto continental models both poetically and typographically: *The Faerie Queene* is Italianate in its design, joining the bibliographic lineage of the two most popular sixteenth-century Italian epics, Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*.

The following chapter situates the bibliographic evolution of *The Shepheardes Calender* to *The Faerie Queene* within the broader evolution of the English printing trade during the 1580s, demonstrating how the physical appearance of *The Faerie Queene* was the product of a decade of profound change in English printing. At the heart of this change was the increased influence of the continental printing trade on the English. Part one of this chapter will situate the use of roman type in *The Faerie Queene* within typographical changes in the broader English printing trade. Part two will detail the ways in which the design of the first edition of *The Faerie Queene* borrowed typographically from contemporary editions of Italian epics such as Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*.

The publication history of *The Faerie Queene* begins with its entry into the *Stationers' Register* on December 1, 1588. The stationer who brought the text to the Stationers' Company that day was William Ponsonby. This chapter therefore begins with a look at his career and the events leading up to his involvement with Spenser.

“one ponsonby a bookebynder”

William Ponsonby’s modern reputation as “the most important publisher of the Elizabethan Age” has a great deal to do with the success he found in the final decade of his thirty-year career as a publisher and bookseller (McKerrow, *A Dictionary* 217). His late achievements began in 1590 with his dual publication of Sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia* and Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*. Up until this point, Ponsonby could be best described as a struggling bookseller, making his living primarily off of the publication of religious tracts and bookbinding.[1] Ponsonby published only four volumes between 1584 and 1589.[2] After 1590, however, he enjoyed a fruitful career, publishing not only the works of Sidney and Spenser but of authors such as Abraham Fraunce and Sir Walter Ralegh.

The acquisitions of Sidney’s *Arcadia* and Spenser’s *Faerie Queene* were certainly career-changing events for Ponsonby. Evidence of how he came to publish Sidney’s *Arcadia* may be found in a November 1586 letter written by Fulke Greville, a writer and close friend of Sidney, to Sir Francis Walsingham, Sidney’s father in law. Greville writes that he has heard from “one ponsonby a bookebynder” that someone was planning to print Sidney’s *Old Arcadia*. This unlicensed printing never did come to fruition, if it existed at all. Rather, four years later, Ponsonby printed the revised *New Arcadia*, which, as the letter indicates, Greville possessed in manuscript.

In a recent article examining the nature of the social transactions found in the contents of the Greville/Walsingham letter, Stephen Mentz argues that each of the three men cited in the letter had “some claim to power over the other two. Ponsonby knew the

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[1] In his 1586 letter to Francis Walsingham, Fulke Greville refers to Ponsonby as a bookbinder. See discussion below.

[2] *STC* 12262, 24109, 24110, and 12262.5.

book market and (presumably) the prospective publisher; Greville was Sidney's confidant and possessed the manuscript of *New Arcadia*; and Walsingham was Sidney's executor and the highest-ranking man involved" (158). From out of this triangle, Mentz sees three possibilities: first, that Walsingham's rank dominates and thus the "chain of command" leads up to him; second, that Greville is the "primary agent," who as the owner of the revised *New Arcadia* is asserting his power; and third, "that Ponsonby had manipulated the encounter to get what he wanted out of Greville and the Sidneys . . . in this interpretation, the image the letter creates of Ponsonby—deferential, unthreatening, loyal—served as bait to secure the Sidneys' trust" (157-160).

The last possibility would mean quite a coup for Ponsonby. Indeed, the transaction between Ponsonby and Greville appears to be clever wheeling and dealing on the part of the struggling stationer. It certainly appears as if Ponsonby, aware of Walsingham's power and Greville's connections, played his hand to the best of his abilities in what Joseph Loewenstein has rightly referred to as a "successful power play" (100). In return for informing on the unnamed (and perhaps fictitious) pirating printer, he appears to have been awarded permission to publish *Arcadia*.

The date of Greville's letter, November 1586, is scarcely a month after Sidney's death on October 17. Printers obviously saw the commercial potential in printing the works of a fallen national icon. Would-be copy-texts of *Arcadia*, in the form of manuscript versions of his work, had been circulating in coterie circles for some time; all a printer needed to do was get his hands on one. If we are to believe Ponsonby, it had taken only a month for at least one printer to begin preparations for bringing Sidney's work to the press.

In an effort to combat the commercial forces itching to capitalize on Sidney's work, the Sidney family appears to have attempted to block the printing of Philip's work or, at the very least, maintain control over it. Their decision may have been an attempt to protect their late scion from what modern scholars have labeled the "stigma of print." John Selden's often quoted remarks from his *Table-Talk* tell it plainly, "Tis ridiculous for a Lord to print Verses; 'tis well enough to make them to please himself, but to make them public, is foolish" (quoted in Marotti 228). It is not out of bounds to extend this "stigma" to the prose *Arcadia*, which, in addition to being peppered with verse, is a romance, a genre that falls under the broadest definition of poesy as defined by Sidney himself in his *Defence of Poesie*. Indeed, in this tract, Sidney seems to downplay his work on *Arcadia*:

> I will give you a nearer example of myself, who (I know not by what mischance), in these my not old years and idle time, having slipped into the title of a poet, am provoked to say something unto you in the defence of that my unelected vocation.[3] (5)

Sidney, in accordance with aristocratic norms, chose never to publish any of his work.[4] It should come as no surprise, therefore, that Greville expressed reservations about printing *Arcadia* in his letter:

> I think fit ther be made a stey of that mercenary book to | that sr phillip might haue all tho religious honor {s} *whi*ch ar worthily dew to his lyfe & deathe, many other works as bartas his semeyne, 40 of thespalm{s} translated in to myter w*hi*ch

[3] As Robinson notes, Sidney had recently completed the original *Arcadia* at the time he was composing *Apology* (5n).

[4] His translation of Philippe de Mornay's *A Worke Concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion* finished by Arthur Golding was published in 1587, after his death.

> require the care of his frends, not to amend for I think it fales w*i*th in the reache of no man liuving, but to see to the paper & other com*m*on errors of mercenary printing. (Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney* Appendix 3)

In this important part of the letter, Greville makes it clear that he wishes to protect his friend's reputation, particularly his religious honor. In order to do so, Sidney' works, such as his translation of the Psalms, must be kept in the control of his friends. Further, there is some trepidation about what the "com*m*on errors of mercenary printing" might do to Sidney's works.

Nevertheless, it appeared inevitable that Sidney's works would go to print. Not only might there have been plans to print *Arcadia* only a month after his death, a pirated edition of *Astrophel and Stella* appeared not only once, but twice after *Arcadia* was first published in 1590.[5] The best the Sidney family could do to keep control was to find a printer they could trust. They evidently found their man in Ponsonby. If we read the granting of the rights to publish *Arcadia* to Ponsonby as a reward for turning in the pirate printer, then he was certainly well rewarded for his show of loyalty to the Sidney family. In effect, he became the printer of the Sidney family circle, printing three editions of Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* and the 1595 edition of his *Defense of Poesy*, as well as translations by Philip's sister, Mary Sidney Herbert, the Countess of Pembroke.

The Printing of *Arcadia*

Approximately two years after Greville's letter to Walsingham, Ponsonby entered Sidney's *Arcadia* in the *Stationers' Register* on August 23, 1588:

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[5] *STC* 22536 and 22537.

> William Ponsonby Receaued of him for a booke of Sir Philip Sidneys makinge intitled *Arcadia:* aucthorised vnder the Archbishop of Canterbury [his] hand . . . . vj[d]

It is safe to assume that the printing of the book began shortly thereafter, or had begun shortly before.

The printing of Sidney's *Arcadia* would not be your run-of-the mill production. If Thomas Lant's *Sequitur celebritas & pompa funeris quemadmodu[m] a Clarencio Armorum et insignium rege instituta est* was any indication of how Sidney should be treated in print, *Arcadia* would be something exceptional. Lant's book, printed entirely from copper-plate engravings by Theodor de Bry, depicts Sidney's Funeral procession accompanied by Lant's poetry. It is one of most striking English books of its time. The printers of Sidney's literary work would have to treat their author with similar reverence. As Mark Bland argues, "It was in the interest of the editors, Ponsonby, and Windet to issue a volume that respected the highest standards of production" ("The Appearance" 109).

Ponsonby's choice of John Windet as printer of *Arcadia* is quite interesting, because he may have had social contact with the Pembroke family:

> Socially and politically, they were the most important, and highly taxed, parishioners of St. Benet, Pauls' Wharf, where Windet acted as one of the assessors of fifteenths from 1588: the printing-house was only a few yards from Castle Baynard, the Pembroke's London residence. ("The Appearance" 110)

Windet, therefore, may have been the personal choice of the Pembroke family, perhaps another example of the Sidney family choosing someone whom they thought they could

trust. What's more, Windet was a printer of the new generation. In contrast to his predecessors, he frequently printed in an elegant style that evoked the continental tradition, particularly in his use of typefaces other than black-letter or English. Thus, following continental models, Windet set *Arcadia*'s main body of text in english roman type, while setting the preliminary dedication to Mary Sidney, the Countess of Pembroke, in a large italic type. The choice of roman type in *Arcadia* was an anomaly, because English literary books almost always appeared in black-letter of English type. Evidence suggests that the decision was a deliberate choice made by Ponsonby, Windet, or a member of the Sidney family circle. For in the months preceding the printing of *Arcadia,* Windet came into the possession of a new font of English roman type.

> the contract for printing the *Arcadia* included the purchases of new english roman and italic type for the printing-house: something that is confirmed by a physical examination of the page. Apart from minor imperfections in the curvature of the 'long-s' and 'f' kerns, there is very little evidence of any damage, suggesting that the font had recently been heavily replenished. The typography of Sidney's *Arcadia* was not, therefore, an accident. . . . (Bland, "The Appearance" 110)

Prior to 1589, Windet had not yet set a book in English roman. Thus, the choice of roman type was deliberate. A printed edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* was thought to be important enough for money to be spent on a new font of type. Perhaps it was Windet himself who paid for the new font, but it seems more likely to have been paid for by Ponsonby or someone within the Sidney circle.

“A Fitting Companion”: The Printing of *The Faerie Queene*

Although Greville’s letter to Walsingham provides clues suggesting how Ponsonby came to publish Sidney’s *Arcadia*, little concrete evidence survives to explain how Ponsonby acquired the license to *The Faerie Queene*. Joseph Loewenstein has proposed one of the more convincing arguments. Citing evidence found in Ponsonby’s own words, he believes that it was most likely Ponsonby who sought out Spenser:

> Certainly Ponsonby describes himself as the more avid agent of publication in the prefatory epistle to the 1591 *Complaints*, his second Spenser issue: “Since my late setting foorth of the *Faerie Queene*, finding that it hath found a favourable passage amongst you; I have sithence endevoured by all good meanes. . . to get into my handes such smale Poemes of the same Authors; as I heard were dissperst abroad in sundry hands, and not easie to bee come by.” (102)

Ponsonby’s description of acquiring Spenser’s poems for the publication of the *Complaints* seems in keeping with what is already known of him. He was quite innovative, defining the role of the publisher in a trade that was traditionally built on the relationships between author, printer, and bookseller (Erickson 204-212). Ponsonby actively sought out potentially profitable works in a way that is quite similar to modern notions of a publisher. His dexterity in acquiring texts may be already well demonstrated in Greville’s letter, in which the publisher seems to know exactly what he is doing, and is, subsequently, rewarded for it. Perhaps a similar ambition brought him *The Faerie Queene*. Whatever the case, a little over three months after Ponsonby entered Sidney’s *Acadia* into the *Stationers’ Register*, he entered Spenser’s *Faerie Queene*:

> Ded [?Dicto] Primo Die Decembris

Master Ponsonbye Entered for his Copye, a book intytuled *the fayrye Queene dyposed in xij. Bookes. &c.* Aucthorysed vnder th[e h]andes of the Archbushop of Canterbery. And bothe the wardens . . vjd/

The choice of printer was John Wolfe. I will discuss in detail the reasons why Wolfe was the choice in the second half of this chapter.

The physical appearance of *The Faerie Queene* owes much to *Arcadia*, to which it functions as "a fitting companion" (McKerrow, "*An Introduction*" 218). Not only are the two books linked by the same publisher, they are linked typographically. This was "not a matter of Spenser's simply imitating Sidney, as *Arcadia* had yet to be published when *The Faerie Queene* went to press" (Bland, "The Appearance" 110). Rather there appears to a conscious strategy "to associate Spenser with Sidney through typography and format (they are matching quartos in eights)" (Bland, "The Appearance" 110). In this way, Wolfe and Windet, working under Ponsonby, were also working together, intentionally creating similar books.

The main typographical feature connecting *Arcadia* and *The Faerie Queene* was the use of english roman type, which, as we know from the production history of *Arcadia* was a deliberate choice that required Windet's acquisition of a font of the type. The deliberate choice of roman type for the main text of both *Arcadia* and *The Faerie Queene* represented a culmination of a decade of dramatic change in the English printing trade. Indeed, the typographical differences between Spenser's "English" *Shepheardes Calender* in 1579 and Spenser "roman" *Faerie Queene* in 1590 highlight a greater typographical shift from black letter to roman. As I will soon demonstrate, the use of

roman types of any size for English literary books was a rarity in 1590. Thus the typography of *Arcadia* and *Faerie Queene* was groundbreaking.

Roman Type in England

The question of *when* roman type began to supersede black letter in books printed in England—particularly English language books—has been one of considerable interest. Most scholars have agreed that it occurred sometime in the last decades of the sixteenth century.[6] In an effort to arrive at a more concrete understanding of when roman became the customary type used in English books, I conducted a study examining the types used in printed books from 1580 to 1591. The results are quite telling and confirm the informed conjectures of earlier scholars.[7] First, over the course of the decade, there is clearly a gradual decrease in the use of black letter, which is mirrored by a gradual increase in the use of roman. Secondly, 1591 was the year that the use of roman finally surpassed the use of black letter. In fact, there is a sharp spike in the use of roman, contrasted by an equally sharp decline in the use of black letter—a significant moment in the history of printing to which I shall return.

While the *when* can now be identified, the greater question of *why* remains. As any book historian will tell you, the history of typography is based strongly on precedent

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[6] For examples, see Bland, *The Appearance* 94, Katz 150, and McKerrow, *An Introduction* 297.

[7] Using the chronological index of the third volume of Pollard and Redgrave's *Short Title Catalog* as a base, I examined all the texts that were available for viewing either through the Early English Books series on microfilm or through *Early English Books Online*. Using this method, I was able to view approximately 74% of the books printed in the 1580s. For each book, I noted the type used for the main text. From this data I constructed a chart showing the evolution of the primary type used in texts from 1580 to 1591 (see Figure 3.4).

and tradition. As noted in the second chapter, William Caxton, the first English printer, learned to print in Cologne and Bruges, where black letter was the type used for the vernacular language. He brought black letter back with him to England and set an enduring typographical precedent of using black letter for the English language. Tradition looms large. Although precedents may be overcome, the process of change is rarely swift in the field of printing. "In typography," Harry Carter reminds us, "the more formal script will tend to drive out the less. The operation of this law is slow and meets with many hindrances" (26). With this in mind, a transition as profound as the shift from black letter (the less formal) to roman (the more formal) required a considerable amount of time. It is rather like the shift from manuscript to printed books. Far from an overnight experience, it took nearly a century for printed books to eclipse manuscript books. Even so, the tradition of manuscript books persisted.[8] Figure 3.4 provides an illustrated representation of the pace with which roman type overtook black letter in the 1580s. Yet this only shows the process in its final stages. Over a century of the use of black letter and of roman experimentation precedes it.

A History of Roman Type in English Books

Richard Pynson printed the first English book set in roman type in 1509. The book was Petrus Gryphus' *Oratio*, a Latin language text.[9] The same year Pynson printed

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[8] Arthur Marotti and Harold Love's work on seventeenth-century manuscript poetry demonstrates this point. See Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* and Love, *Scribal publication in Seventeenth-Century England*.

[9] Identified by many scholars, including Colin Clair in *A History of European Printing*, 113. Misidentified by Harry Carter as Savonarola's *Sermo Fratris Hieronymi de Ferraria in Vigilia Natiuitatis domini cora[m] fratribus suis recitatus* (*STC* 21800).

Sebastian Brant's *Stultifera Navis*, using roman for part of the table in the preliminaries and for the Latin verses in the main text. With books such as these, Pynson helped forge a precedent followed throughout most the century for using roman for Latin text, for preliminary materials (regardless of language), and within the main body of text as a way to offset black-letter type. As Carter observes, "Thereafter this kind of type was commonly used for Latin if it savoured of the New Learning. In the 1540s it occurs quite often in short passages of English, chapter summaries, poems, and prefaces" (92).

In the 1550s and 1560s, roman type made further inroads into English books. With some hesitation, Carter identifies the earliest English language book printed in England in roman type as Leonard Digges' 1555 *Prognostication of the right good effect…to judge the weather for ever.* He then notes the publication of the Geneva New Testament (*The New Testament of our Lord Iesus Christ conferred*) in 1557 and the Geneva Bible in 1560, both English language books printed in roman type. Though the Geneva New testament and Bible originated on the continent, they were widely available to English readers. Their influence on the acclimation of English readers to roman type must have been significant, familiarizing " a great many Englishmen and Scots to the new letter" (Carter 92).

The publication of these two books was a benchmark in the development of roman type in England. The Geneva Bible fast became "the most popular Bible in England" (Berry).[10] In 1576, when Christopher Barker printed the first edition in England, he followed the Geneva example and set the text in roman type. This trend

[10] Making his case, Berry points to the over 120 editions of the Geneva Bible printed between 1560 and 1611 (12).

continued. New editions of the Geneva Bible came out in England every year from 1575 to 1619, many of which appeared in roman type (Berry 14).[11]

While England clung to the black-letter tradition, continental countries, with the exception of the Germanic regions, shifted from early black-letter forms to roman and italic (of course, all the vernacular European languages were once printed in a black-letter type). Type founders introduced the first roman and italic faces in Italy in the late fifteenth century in an attempt to imitate the script hands that were being used in books associated with humanist learning. At this time "Roman type is only found in editions of the classics or the writing of humanists in classical Latin or in Italian" (Carter 76). "Roman typefaces were an imitation of humanist script," but, as Carter reminds us, "Roman is not to say humanistic" (45). Still, the association between roman script and humanistic work endured through the sixteenth century and beyond. In Italy, for example, roman type became the standard type in the early 1540s, though italic was often used as well (Carter 117; Richardson 125). The Italian adoption of these "humanist" types for the vernacular language resulted from the continued assimilation of these native-born types. These Italian types influenced French typography. Not only did France make the shift to roman very early on, the shift was founded on the assumption that roman type carried with it an intellectual and artist connotation.

The shift from black letter to roman in France began in the late 1520s. The shift was deliberate, a part of a humanist campaign begun by King Francis I in 1527 with the printing of *L'Histoire de Thucydide, Athenien* (Carter 79-81). By order of the king, Josse

[11] For examples from 1576 to 1590, see *STC* 2131, 2146, 2154, and 2882. Versions of the Geneva Bible are also set in black letter, perhaps suggesting different intended audiences.

Badius set the text in roman type. Only ninety-six of the 1225 copies were sold. The reason for the poor sale may have been typographical, i.e., "potential buyers were put off by the Roman type" (Carter 80). The king, rather than having the book reprinted in black-letter type, ordered the price dropped. Shortly thereafter, he ordered the printing of *L'Histoire des successeurs d'Alexandre le Grand* to be "of the same quality, paper type, and format" as *L'Histoire de Thucydide, Athenien* (quoted in Carter 80). In this way, King Francis thrust roman type upon French readers as a part of an attempt to cultivate the French arts. The movement to create a superior quality of typography led to a "Parisian fashion" that was "so good that it came to be adopted in all parts of the world, so that the type founders who had matrices for it supplied presses everywhere" (Carter 79). The influence of French roman type soon began to permeate the English printing community.

The Availability of Roman Type in England

Second to tradition, availability of type had the most profound effect on what types appeared in printed works. The "availability of type" means at least two different things. Most generally it means: does the printer own a font of a particular type? More specifically it means: is a particular font of type available to a printer at the time a particular book is being printed? In other words, the printer may own the type, but because it is being used for the printing of another book it may not be available for him to use. In order to study the growth of roman types in English printing, I will address the more general idea of the availability of type. Did English printers have access to roman type? What did they own and when did they begin to own it?

Before making any advances into the jargon-filled world of the English printing trade, a brief introduction to the making of type is in order. Type, the narrow bits of metal that impress letters onto paper, are the product of an industry unto itself. The first step in making type is punchcutting. Here, each letter of the alphabet is individually hand-carved in relief onto the end of steel punches. Each punch is then hammered into a small, copper block, leaving an impression of the letter. This creates a matrix. The matrix is then inserted into a mould, into which a molten alloy of lead, antimony, and tin is poured. When the alloy hardens, the result is the type. A full set of type containing multiple copies of each letter (the amount depends on the frequency of the use of the letter) is called a font. Printers normally owned multiple fonts of multiple typefaces: black letter, roman, italic, Greek, etc.

The type trade mainly dealt in the supply of matrices. As A. F. Johnson observes, "A founder's method of business would be to sell matrices struck from one set of punches to a number of printers" ("The Supply" 47). In this way, the printer bought matrices from type founders, who were sometimes the very same tradesmen who had cut the punches, but were certainly always the tradesmen who punched the matrices, a process referred to as justification.[12]

The 1570s and 1580s saw an increase in the availability of roman type in England, to the extent to which most English printers owned roman types of all sizes, including the two most commonly used sizes: pica roman and english roman. English

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[12] Speculation remains on whether it was more common for printers, having acquired matrices, to cast their own type, or whether printers took their matrices to a typefounder to have the type cast for them. Carter sees little evidence that post-1550 casters of type kept their own matrices; rather they would be supplied by the printers (95). Still there is evidence suggesting that printers often did cast their own type.

roman, a type measuring between 88-96mm in a twenty-line measurement[13] (the type used for Sidney's *Arcadia* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene)* had been in use in England since 1538. Thomas Petyt used a Garamond that year, while Reynard Wolfe used a Garamond four years later (Carter 86). After which, english roman fonts based on Garamond type found their way into many English books. Among the printers who owned them were: John Day, John Charlewood, Thomas East, Henry Denham, Thomas Creede, Adam Islip, Thomas Purfoot, Richard Tottel, John Windet, Robert Waldegrave, and John Wolfe. The names included in this list represent a good number of the most productive printers in the 1570s and 80s (Isaac 37-40).

Pica roman, a smaller type measuring between 76-80mm in a twenty-line measurement, was owned by "[Henry] Bynneman, John Day, [Thomas] Orwin, Thomas Purfoot, Robert Waldegrave, John Windet, and John Wolfe" (Isaac 40). This particular face was modeled on a type produced by the French typefounder Claude Garamond. Isaac further identifies a second example of pica roman owned by "[Edward] Alde, Charlewood, Creede, Denham, East, [Richard] Field, Islip, Orwin, Valentine Simmes, Thomas Vautrollier, [Roger] Ward, and John Wolfe" (40).

Pica roman was also a common type in the English book trade. As W. Craig Ferguson notes, "There were five main pica roman faces introduced into England between 1553 and 1574" (9). The earliest England printers used what scholars refer to as "Lyon" type, because of its similarities to the type designs of Jean de Tournes of Lyon (Ferguson 9). In approximately 1552, French typefounder Hubert Danviller brought the

[13] A twenty-line measurement is the process of measuring type size through which twenty lines of type are measured vertically and rounded off to the nearest millimeter. For more on this topic, see Gaskell, 13-14.

Lyon type, of which there are two faces, to England. The first type, "Lyon (a)," appeared in the printing of Nicholas Hill in 1553. John Kingston also acquired the type, using it from 1556 to 1576, while Richard Jugge used it solely in 1561. The type then disappeared from use for nearly a decade, reappearing again in 1589 (Ferguson 10). A second breed of "Lyon" appears to have been punched in 1557. Among the printers who used this "Lyon (b)" were Day, Rowland Hall, and Denham.

The next pica roman to appear on the scene was a Garamond used by John Day in 1567. The appearance of Garamond types likely stemmed from the emigration of Charles Tressel to London in 1566, one year before its first use by Day (Ferguson 12). That same year, the type also appeared in books printed in the shop of Bynneman (Ferguson 12). Purfoot also obtained a Garamond font in 1569. Hereafter the next Garamond is not found until 1576, when it is used in the printing house of Christopher Barker. Garamond pica roman was then "supplied to others fairly regularly until the late 1580s" (Ferguson 12).

A Guyot pica roman followed the Garamond. Francois Guyot spent the majority of his career working in Antwerp with printers such as Christopher Plantin, but immigrated to London in c.1568, where he resided at John Day's printing house in Aldersgate. Evidently he supplied Day with type before returning briefly to Antwerp prior to his death in 1570 (Oastler, 34-35, 39). Citing the gradual decline in the availability of Guyot's types on the continent following his emigration, Carter argues that it is possible that Guyot brought the whole of his typefoundry with him to London. In addition to Day, the printers who used Guyot's pica roman were: Denham, Bynneman, [Thomas] Marsh, and [Abel] Jeffes (Ferguson 14).

The last major pica roman type to appear in England was the Haultin pica roman. Jerome Haultin set up base in London in approximately 1574, while his uncle, Pierre Haultin, supplied him with matrices from Paris (Ferguson 13, Carter 86).[14] Over the following seven years, six English printers bought the type. The sale of the type stopped from 1582 to 1588, during which Garamond was the principal roman face (Ferguson 13). Among the printers who used Haultin roman were Vautrollier, Kingston, and Denham (Ferguson 13).

The availability of these types demonstrates that roman type was not only readily available in England from the 1570s through the 1590s, it was also owned by nearly every major printer in the trade. Perhaps most striking, however, is the way in which the introduction of roman type in England closely followed the arrival of continental type founders into London. In fact, there is a strong connection between the introduction of various faces of pica roman in English books and the emigration of specific type founders from the continent to England:

> There were five main pica roman Faces introduced into England between 1553 and 1574. All were well-known Continental faces, so that punches or strikes had to be brought over to England by someone. What is remarkable is that within months of the arrival of a type founder, a new pica roman face appeared in English books. (Ferguson 9)

In this way, type was not imported from the continent, but rather was produced by type founders located in England, namely: Hubert Danvillier, Poll Rotteford, Charles Tressel, Francois Guyot, and Jerome Haultin. To use Ferguson's own words, "The likelihood that

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[14] As Desgraves notes in his book on the Haultin family, Jerome paid his uncle "large sums in 1575 and 1576 for matrices of bronze" (xvii, xviii).

the arrival of the five men and the immediate appearance of the five faces was not a coincidence is rather strong" (Ferguson 9). Ferguson's study corroborates Frank Isaac's earlier argument that "the improved typography of Elizabeth's reign was due to the influx of refugee printers and type-founders from the continent" (360).

It is quite significant that roman type came to England through the emigration of type founders, rather than through the importation of the type or matrices.[15] Although roman type was used for the vernacular of many languages on the continent, English printers were not actively seeking roman type, but were slowly assimilating it into their printing practices only after it became available in England. It is also significant that the major type founders who ended up in England had emigrated from France (i.e., Guyot, Danvillier, and Haultin). The romanization of French type begun by King Francis I in 1527 had finally made its way off of the continent and into England, further influencing the English readers' acclimation to roman type.

Prior to the residual effects of continental type founders and books such as the Geneva Bible, English readers were not yet ready to deviate from their black-letter norm. Take for example, John Day's printing of William Alley's *The Poor Man's Library* in 1565. At a time when continental types had not yet begun to significantly assimilate into English print culture, Day decided to set the text in italics. Just as French readers were not quite ready to read *L'Histoire de Thucydide, Athenien* in roman type, the English readers were not quite ready for italic. "When Day republished this miscellany in 1571," John N. King observes, "He reverted to textura [a form of black letter] as the distinctively

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[15] On the question of whether or not type could have been imported from the continent, Ferguson replies, " I think this was a rare occurrence in the early days, and probably did not happen at all with common fonts" (9). At the very least, it appears to have not happened with the roman fonts discussed above.

vernacular typeface" ("Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*"). The significant difference between these two cases was that King Francis I pressed on with the use of roman. Day, protecting his commercial interests, gave his readership what they wanted. Without something akin to a conscious choice made at the national level, the acceptance of any typeface other than black letter in England required a great deal of time. In the 1580s, however, significant changes occurred in the English book trade that helped accelerate the process.

A New Generation of English Printers

The 1580s marked a time of significant turnover in the English Stationers' Company. As a result, a new generation of printers emerged:

> Between 1583 and 1590, Henry Bynneman, John Alde, John Day, Henry Denham, Henry Middleton, John Kingston and Thomas Vautrollier died; in 1587, Thomas Marsh ceased printing. The consequent availability of printing-houses permitted a number of new entrants to the rank of master printer, the most notable amongst the next generation being John Wolfe, the Eliot's Court Press, John Windet, Richard Field, and Peter Short. (Bland, "The Appearance" 96)

A quick comparison of the print stock of the two generations of printers reveals that both the older generation and the new owned roman type.[16] Thus, the choice not to use roman was clearly not based on the availability of the type, but rather on the conscious decision to continue the use of black letter. Again, the power of tradition in the printing trade

[16] See Frank Isaac, *English Printers' Types of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Oxford University press, 1936).

cannot be underestimated. Still, the best way to break tradition is a changing of the guard. The loss of eight of the most productive stationers within seven years opened up space for newcomers and new practices. The eight that either died or retired tended to be black-letter printers, tried and true. Their successors were more willing to experiment with typography.[17]

John Wolfe was one of the most influential and prolific printers of his day, at one time operating as many as five printing presses (Huffman, "John Wolfe" 326). He was also a printer with diverse training, having cut short an apprenticeship with John Day to receive the greater part of his training in Italy. Returning to the English scene in 1579, Wolfe brought his Italian training and his familiarity with the continental book trade to London, helping to introduce new texts and new typographical styles. The impact of his work on the new breed of English printers was profound. Not only did Wolfe's contemporaries adopt aspects of Wolfe's style, they also adopted his practice of extending beyond the English borders and language to find publishable texts. In Wolfe's influential wake, Richard Field began "printing books in Italian and Spanish" (Bland, "The Appearance" 203). In 1584, Charlewood printed several books in Italian, including the works of Giordano Bruno.[18] Also in 1584, John Windet, still in the very beginning of

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[17] Even John Day, a printer whose career is marked by typographical experimentation, as demonstrated in the example of *The Poor Man's Library* and his remarkable work on Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, remained principally a black-letter printer, both by force of tradition and by force of commerce.

[18] See, for example, *STC* 3935, 3936, and 3938.

his printing career, printed a volume of Aretino in Italian for John Wolfe, beginning what would be a fruitful relationship between the two stationers.[19]

As English stationers looked outside their own borders to find new works, the availability of continental books for English readers increased. Not only were continental books imported into England, they were also printed in England following Wolfe's precedent. As the second chapter notes, English printers normally set specific languages in the types that were associated with their country of use. Thus, Italian appeared in roman or italics, French in roman, Spanish in roman, and Latin in roman or italic. As a result, English readers grew increasingly familiar with continental typefaces, particularly roman. This led to a reading public that was increasingly literate in type other than black-letter or English.

Roman in English Literary Works 1580-1590

As roman type was increasingly used in English books, some genres took to it faster or slower than others. Literary works in the English language, for instance, were quite resistant to typographical change. As Figure 3.5 demonstrates, the shift from black letter to roman in English literary works was not as gradual as it had been for the overall production of the English printing trade. Rather, black letter dominates English literary works up until 1590-1591, when the use of roman dramatically surged and black letter dramatically dropped. When roman type did appear in English literary works in the 1580s, how was it used? Why does the decade end with such a major shift and what does it mean? I will answer these questions with an examination of a sample of the small

[19] *STC* 19912a.

number of English literary books that were set in roman type through this decade, revealing the ways in which roman type took on new roles and meanings

1582-1583: Verse for the Court

Thomas Blenerhasset's *A Revelation of the True Minerua* printed in 1582 by Thomas Dawson for Thomas Woodcock, is one of the earliest examples of the use of roman type in English literary works of the 1580s. Blenerhasset, who is best or perhaps only known as the author of the second part of the *Mirror for Magistrates* in 1578 (a book set in black letter), wrote *Revelation* as a celebration of Queen Elizabeth. The poem compliments the Queen, reflecting "the entertainments provided for the royal progresses of 1575 and 1578" (Blenerhasset, ed. Bennett vii).[20]

Why was this book printed in roman type? After all, the book's printer, Thomas Dawson, was primarily a black-letter printer.[21] In the years prior to the printing of the *Revelation*, Dawson had begun to set religious works in roman type, as seen in the works of John Calvin and John Knox in 1580 and a book of sermons by James Bisse in 1581.[22] In terms of English literary works, however, the only works Dawson set solely in roman type were Blenerhasset's *Revelation* and a set of Lyly's plays in 1584 (see below).[23] The decision to print the *Revelation* in roman, therefore, may not have been Dawson's, but

[20] For a recent discuss of the text, see Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, 119-123.

[21] I was able to view 109 books printed by Dawson from 1580 to 1591; 70% are set in black letter and 28% in roman.

[22] *STC* 4446, 4460, and 15074.8

[23] In 1589, Dawson set Thomas Lupton's dialog entitled *A dreame of the diuell and Diues* (*STC* 16947.5) alternately in roman and black letter, a common way of using type to separate speech in a dialog.

might have come from Blenerhasset. Typographical evidence suggests a close working relationship between the author and printer. First of all, the poem makes use of pattern poetry, which “requires a great deal of cooperation between printer and poet” (Blenerhasset, ed. Bennett xiv). There is also a letter from “The Printer to the Reader” in the book’s preliminaries in which Dawson added some notes that gloss corresponding stanzas of Blenerhasset’s text. These notes imply that either Dawson had intimate knowledge of the text, or, Blenerhasset may have arranged to have his own notes printed as if they were Dawson’s, perhaps in a manner similar to the E.K. figure in the *Shepheardes Calender*.[24]

If it was Blenerhasset’s choice, the decision to set the text in roman type may have been a continental influence connected to his own biographical background. During the years between the printing of *The Second Part of the Mirror for Magistrates* in 1578 and *A Revelation of the True Minerva* in 1582, Blenerhasset had been abroad. In “The Printer to the friendly Reader” of the former, the reader is told that the author is “now beyond the seas” (*ii). In the dedication of the latter, Blenerhasset explains, “How farre little Englande (my very good Ladie) doeth in perfect felicitie surpasse all the large kingdoms of the worlde, that trauell and small experience which I haie had, hath sufficiently taught mee” (*3). He further notes, “At my last return out of the Maine Ocean, being entred into that brod & boystrous bay of Portingale” (*3^{v}). The reference to “Portingale,” or Portugal, undoubtedly places Blenerhasset on the continent. Where else he was traveling during these years is unknown; however, if he had had any contact with

[24] The greater influence of the *Shepheardes Calender* on Blenerhasset’s *Revelation* is apparent in the poem’s Spenserian imitations. See Bennet x-xiii.

the French, Spanish, or even the Italian book trade, he would have experienced firsthand the use of roman type and continental printing styles. Perhaps when he returned to England, he brought back the practice with him.[25]

Another possible reason for the choice of roman could have to do with the intended audience of the poem. The poem's dedication from Blenerhasset to Lady Leighton, "one of the Ladies of the Queenes Majesties most honorable priuie chamber," is a clever way of getting his book into the most exclusive courtly circle, the Queen's privy chamber (*3). This political move suggests that he had every intention of having his book read by the Queen herself:

> And because your Ladiships exceeding great wisdom hath made you a very worthy member of her majesties most roiall Courte, and hath inriched you with such credite as may mightily defende all godly and good indeuours, hauing your place continually very near her maiesties elbow, thefore I haue set foorth this first part vnder your tuition, hoping that the matter therein contain shall please euen as many as shall reade it. . . . (*4)

Blenerhasset does not presume to mention the Queen's acceptance of the book outright, but by placing the book at "her maiesties elbow" through Lady Leighton, he insinuates that the Queen will be among the "many" that "shall reade it." Perhaps with a royal audience in mind, roman type was consciously being used as it had been for many years in France and Italy, as a type suited for a well-educated, aristocratic audience. This

[25] His only other printed work, *A Direction for The Plantation in Ulster*, is also set in roman, but the date of its printing, 1610, is well after roman had been adopted as the type for the English vernacular.

appears to be the case. As I will demonstrate, roman type was often used in English literary works that were associated with an aristocratic audience.

Also appearing in 1582 was George Whetstone's *A remembraunce of the precious vertues of the right honourable and reuerend iudge, Sir Iames Dier, Knight, Lord cheefe Iustice of the Common Pleas*, printed by John Charlewood in roman type. A year later another of Whetstone's works, *A remembraunce of rhe life, death, and vertues, of the most noble and honourable Lord Thomas late Erle of Sussex,* was printed in roman, this time by John Wolfe.[26] Why was roman the choice of type for these two works? Of the seventeen works of Whetstone's printed from 1580-1591, these two are the only ones printed in roman type. The fact that they are both anomalous in their choice of type and are not printed by the same printer suggests that either Wolfe followed a precedent set by Charlewood, or that someone, perhaps Whetstone, instructed both printers to set their texts in roman. Of the 121 titles printed by Charlewood that I examined from 1580 to 1591, only twenty-three are set in roman type. Whetstone's *A remembraunce of the precious vertues of the right honourable and reuerend iudge, Sir Iames Dier* is the only one of Charlewood's literary books set in roman until 1588, when he printed Thomas Watson's *The Lamentations of Amintas*.

Earlier works by Whetstone muddy the waters a bit. Printer Miles Jennings set Whetstone's *A Remembraunce, of the woorthie and well imployed, of the right honorable Nicholas Bacon* in italic 1579. Jones printed a similar elegiac verse on the life and death of Lord Francis, Earl of Bedford, *A Mirror of treue honour and Christian Nobilitie*, in 1585 in black letter. Likewise, Whetstone's verse tribute, *Sir Philip Sidney, his*

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[26] The imprint reads "Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe and Richard Jones, 1583" but the *STC* notes "Wolfe printed the whole."

honorable life, his valiant death, and true virtues, appeared in black letter. All of these works constitute a sub-genre of elegies among his plays and romances through which he celebrates the lives of recently deceased men of power, while perhaps promoting himself in the process. As he brags in his dedication to "the right Honorable and most graue personadges the temporall maiestrates *of England*" in *The English Myrror* (1586), "worthy personages, which in my time are deceased, have had the second life of their virtues bruted by my Muse" (Miiii^{v}).

Perhaps the choices of roman and italic had something to do with the genre of elegy writing. This may help to explain why the only other literary book appearing in roman type in the year 1583 was Robert Dallington's *A booke of epitaphes made vpon the death of the right worshipfull Sir VVilliam Buttes knight* printed by Henry Middleton. In this collection, English verses appear in roman, while Latin verses appear in italic. This is the only book of Dallington's printed in the 1580s, so there are no works of his to which to compare it.[27] The printer Middleton, however, is an interesting case. Although a member of the older generation of printers, he had increasingly used roman type through the 1580s.[28] This could be due to the fact that he was mostly a printer of religious tracts, which was among the first genres to switch to roman. Still, he was clearly a printer who had made the switch to roman quite early on. Therefore, in this case of Dallington's epitaphs, the choice may have simply been Middleton's.

[27] Dallington's next work *Hypnerotomachia* was printed in 1592 and set in roman, as was the trend at that time.

[28] An examination of seventy-four of the books Middleton produced in this decade demonstrates that only 32% were printed in black letter, compared to 59% are in roman.

Then there is, once again, the question of audience. In the case of these elegiac works, the authors were ambitious courtiers celebrating the lives of once very powerful men. The audience for such books would be the friends, family, and associates of the deceased nobleman. Could the use of roman have been an attempt to make the appearance of the book more suitable for reception by members of the aristocratic court, as perhaps in the case of Blenerhasset's *Revelation*? The examples found in 1584 might help shed some light on this question.

1584: Plays Performed for the Queen

In 1584 there was an anomalous moment in the history of printing. At a time when plays normally appeared in black letter,[29] three plays appeared in roman type: John Lyly's *Sappho and Phao* and *Campaspe,* and George Peele's *The Arraignment of Paris*.[30] As their title pages announce, all three dramas were printed after they had been performed for the Queen at court. Not only were Lyly's *Sappho and Phao* and *Campaspe* presented for the Queen, their content was meant to flatter her.[31]

Three quarto editions of *Campaspe* came out in 1584.[32] For the most part, the differences between the printings tend to be found on their title pages and in their

[29] As Bland notes, "Of the sixty-five editions of surviving plays that were printed between 1570 and 1590, fifty four were set in black-letter" ("The Appearance" 105).

[30] Mark Bland most recently recognized this anomaly ("The Appearance" 105).

[31] See Bevington, "John Lyly and Queene Elizabeth: Royal Flattery in *Campaspe* and *Sappho and Phao*" *Renaissance Papers* (1966): 57-67.

[32] The order of these three quartos is provided by Hunter who corrects the work of Chambers and Bond, and Pollard and Redgrave (2).

preliminaries. The title page of quarto one (*STC* 17047.5) reads "A most excellent Comedie of Alexander, Campaspe, and Diogenes, Played before the Queenes Maiestie on twelfth day at night." Quartos two and three (*STC* 17048 and 17048a) shorten the play's title and amend the date, "Campaspe, Played before the Queens Maiestie on newyeares day at night." The new date is, as David Bevington and G.K. Hunter note, a "genuine correction" (Lyly, *Campaspe* 2-4). While none of the quartos contain any preliminary dedication or note to the reader, they all include the prologue given at the Blackfriars and the prologue given at court. Interestingly enough, in quarto one the prologues are placed in a different order than in quartos two and three.[33] In the first printing, "the Prologue at black Friers" precedes "The Prologue at the Court." In the second and third printings the order is reversed, moving the prologue given at court to the beginning. Upon examining the books, it is clear that there is a mistake in the order of the gathering. In the first edition, "The Prologue at black Friers" is marked with the signature A3, despite being placed in the A2 location of the gathering. In the second edition, "the Prologue at black Friers" retains the A3 signature but is placed in the correct signature order after "The Prologue at the Court." With the exception of these changes, the three quartos are almost identical; both end with "The Epilogue at the Court" rather than "the Epilogue at the Black Fryers."

The effort to correct the prologue order is very intriguing. If the intent was to put the court prologue first, as the signature numbers imply, than the order was never meant to be chronological. Instead, the order is socially hierarchical—a privileging of the courtly over the popular. Similarly, the title pages of all three quartos refer only to the

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[33] Greg and Hunter both overlook this variant.

performance at court; none speak of the performance at Blackfriars. Thus, the choices being made in the presentation of the text suggest that the printer or author intended the printed play to be received as a court, rather than a public, drama.

Attention was certainly being paid to the physical appearance of text. As Hunter argues:

> He [Lyly] seems to have decided to print *Campaspe* (and *Sappho and Phao*) soon after their court performances (to advertise that success, I assume). The publisher was thus made directly responsible to a somewhat formidable court figure; and this no doubt imposed a more than usual meticulousness in the printing. Certainly these quartos were all well printed, and require little emendation. I have found no convincing evidence of authorial emendation in Q2; but the conditions of publication were such that the possibility must be entertained. (Lyly, *Campaspe* 3)

Although unnamed on the title pages, the printer producing these quartos for Thomas Cadman was Thomas Dawson, who had earlier printed Blenerhasset's *A Revelation of the True Minerva*.[34] As I demonstrated earlier, Dawson was primarily a black-letter printer and, with the exception of the works currently considered, printed no other English literary work in roman type. This suggests that Lyly may have had some editorial input, including the choice of type. Perhaps Dawson, being "made directly responsible to a somewhat formidable court figure," as Hunter puts it, decided to provide a courtly publication with a courtly appearance (Lyly, *Campaspe* 3). In this way, he could be following the precedent set by his own printing of *A Revelation of the True Minerva*. If it

[34] Identified by W. W. Greg in his *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama* (1.162-64) and the *STC* (2.125)

happened to be Lyly's choice, it would also have been an anomalous one. Of the dozen or so literary works published by Lyly through the 1580s, *Campaspe* and *Sappho and Phao* are the only ones set in roman type.

The use of roman type is continued in the second of Lyly's court plays, *Sappho and Phao*. Dawson is once again the printer working for Cadman. Of the works that I examined that were printed for Cadman, only three books other than the Lyly plays were set in roman.[35] The first two are French government documents that were perhaps retaining their native typeface.[36] The third is a literary work, Lodowick Lloyd's *Certaine English verses presented vnto the Queenes most excellent Maiestie* in 1586, which will be discussed shortly. Overall, Cadman's works normally appeared in black letter.

Like *Campaspe*, the two quartos of *Sappho and Phao* contain both "The Prologue at the Black fyers" and "The Prologue at Court," printed in that order. The signature numbers are correct, and there appears to be no effort made to reverse the order in the second printing, which was a reprint of the first with "little of substance. . .changed" (Bevington 142). That little was changed perhaps speaks to the lack of authorial involvement (Bevington 147). Why the prologue order of *Sappho and Phao* differs from that of *Campaspe* is unclear. While the hierarchical treatment of performances is not demonstrated in the order of the prologues, the title page does privilege the play's court

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[35] Cadman's *The Queen's majestie's enterainement at Woodstock* employs both black letter and roman. Black letter is used for the framing narrative of the text; roman is used for the text of the entertainments.

[36] *The french kinges declaration upon the riot, felonie, and rebellion of the duke of Mayenne* (*STC* 13098.5) an English translation of 1589 royal declaration by Henry III of France, printed by Ward, and similarly *A declaration exhibited to the French King by hys Court of Parlyament* (*STC* 13100) printed by Abell Jeffes in 1587.

performance. Like *Campaspe*, *Sappho and Phao* was performed both at Blackfriars and the court, yet the title pages of both surviving quarto editions from 1584 make no mention of Blackfriars.

The third play printed in roman type that year, Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, similarly promotes its performance at court. This, however, may have been the only site of its performance. Despite the fact that the group that performed the play, the Children of the Chapel, often performed at Blackfriars, there is no evidence to prove that the play was ever performed there.[37] The printer of *The Arraignment of Paris*, Henry Marsh, was of the older generation of printers and seldom printed in type other than black letter. In addition to *The Arraignment of Paris*, he printed only one other English language text in roman type, *An epistle [s]ent to divers [pa]pistes* published the following year. The anomalous nature of Marsh's use of roman type suggests that it was a deliberate choice, as likely was in the case of Lyly's plays.[38]

Linking the publication of all three of these plays is their association with the Queen and her court. Perhaps their choice of roman type was associated with their royal audience, as it may have been in the case of Blenerhasset's *Minerva*. Indeed, there appears to be a growing connection between the use of roman type in English literary works and a courtly audience, an association not simply confined to the English court.

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[37] As Leonard R. N. Ashley notes, no record of *Arraignment of Paris* exists before its publication in 1584 (49).

[38] As Bland reminds us, the chronological order of these three plays printed in roman has not been definitively determined ("The Appearance" 105). Therefore the question of whether the printing of Peele's *Arraignment of Paris* had influenced the printing of Lyly's plays, or vice-versa, is impossible to know.

1584-85: The Scottish Court

Thus far, London has been the location of origin for the books I have examined. Our discussion now moves north. In 1584, printer Thomas Vautrollier set two English literary books in roman type at his shop in Edinburgh, Scotland.[39] The first of the two shifts our focus from books produced for the court, to a book produced by the court, namely *The essayes of a prentise, in the diuine art of poesie*, a book of verse written by James VI of Scotland (later James I of England).

James broke new literary ground by printing his poetry at a time when gentlemen of the court were expected only to circulate their poetry in manuscript. In response to this "stigma of print," the material text of *The Essays of a Prentise* exhibits a hesitation to publish and an attempt to legitimize the printing of James's work. The apprehension toward publishing is apparent from the very outset. The title, *The essayes of a prentise, in the diuine art of poesie*, is noticeably ambiguous about the contents of the book. The title subverts "poesie" to the "more respectable term 'Essays" both by foregrounding "essays" and by physically shrinking the size of the word "poesie" on the printed page (Herman 1518). Perhaps more revealing is the title page's lack of a named author. In fact, the only concrete reference to James anywhere in the book is a Latin acrostic of his name "IACOBVS SExTVS" in a dedicatory poem titled "Acrostichon" (A1).

Competing against these typographical expressions of hesitation are typographical features that help assert literary authority. The first of which is the choice of roman type. Roman type, with its connection to humanism, associates James VI's work with a long

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[39] Edinburgh is the only site of the Scottish production of books during this decade. Printing in Aberdeen does not begin until the 1620s, Glasgow the 1630s. There is scattered printing in Saint Andrews from 1552 to 1573, but the trade there disappears until 1620 (*STC* Vol. 3, 213-215).

tradition of continental and, more specifically, classical works. As Arthur Marotti argues:

> One of the implications of the contrast between black-letter texts and roman texts is that the former was associated with the native literary tradition, whereas the latter was a classicizing mode: putting native vernacular verse in roman type, the form in which classical texts were printed, suggested that such texts were becoming canonized, monumentalized, set within a national literary tradition that was conceived as the continuation of a general literary tradition going back to such Latin poets as Ovid, Horace, and Virgil. (283)

Appropriately, in the first of several introductory sonnets, one "T.H." links the literary works of James back to the works of the Greeks and Romans:

> If *Martiall* deeds, and practise of the pen
> Haue wonne to auncient *Grece* a worthie fame:
> If Battels bold, and Bookes of learned men
> Haue magnified the mightie *Roman* name:
> Then place this Prince, who well deserues the same:
> Since his is one of *Mars* and *Pallas* race:
> For both the *Godds* in him haue sett in frame
> Their vertewes both, which both, he doth embrace.
> O *Macedon*, adornde with heavenly grace,
> O *Romain* stout, decorde with learned skill,
> The *Monarks* all to thee shal quite their place:
> They endless fame shall all the world fulfill.

And after thee, none worthier shalbe seene,

To sway the *Svvord*, and gaine the *Laurell* greene. (*ii)

In addition to the connection made between James's works and classical literature, James's literary lineage to the ancients is coupled with his martial skill. Through both of these strategies, James asserts his literary authority, wielding the sword and gaining "the Laurell greene." The woodcut illustration placed directly above the sonnet corresponds to the themes of the sonnet. A crown rests on the ends of a sword and a laurel branch, while a banner scroll reading "Marte et Minerva" unfurls in the background, representing James's dual roles as a "warrior and poet" (Luborsky, *A Guide* 481).

The "T.H." who penned the sonnet above may be the author of the second Scottish literary publication printed by Vautrollier using roman type. *The historie of Iudith in forme of a poeme* is *T*homas *H*udson's translation of the poem by the French poet Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas. From the outset, this book is very much associated with James VI. Not only is the book dedicated to James, its preliminaries contain two dedicatory sonnets written for him. The first of the two is accompanied by an elegant woodcut of a crown sitting atop the initials "I.P." corresponding to "Iacobus princeps" (Luborsky, *A Guide* 664). This appears to be the only use of this woodcut, suggesting that it was commissioned specifically for this book. The inclusion of the dedication, dedicatory sonnets, and woodcut suggests that the book was intended to be presented to King James I. The choice of roman type may have been part and parcel of a greater attempt to create a book whose appearance was appropriate for a royal audience, and perhaps even a typographical effort to associate Hudson's work with James's *Essays of a Prentise*.

1586: More Verses for the Queen and the Advent of the Emblem Book in England

The next English literary work to appear in roman type returns the discussion to the English royal court. Lodowick Lloyd's *Certaine Englishe Verses presented unto the Queenes most excellent Maiestie* printed by Roger Ward for Henry Haslop. The title of the poem sums up the relationship between its author and audience: a courtier, Lloyd, presenting his verses to the Queen. Implicit is the hope that the Queen will read Lloyd's work and be grateful for the compliment. Perhaps, as is often the hope, the Queen will reciprocate with patronage. Although little biographical information is available on Lloyd, he "appears to have been a notable figure at court" (Hadfield, "Lloyd, Lodowick"). The title page of his *Pilgrimage of Princes*, also published that year, identifies him "one of her Maiesties sergeants at armes."

Once again the choice of roman type seems deliberate. Richard Ward was almost strictly a black-letter printer. In fact, only one book among those I examined printed by Ward from 1580-1591 other than Lloyd's *Certaine Englishe Verses* was set in roman.[40] It seems unlikely that Ward alone chose to set Lloyd's text in roman. Perhaps the idea came from Lloyd himself. At any rate, the choice to set the text in roman appears to be connected with its royal audience. Roman type is yet again associated with the Queen.

Another roman text from the same year brings the genre of emblem books to England. It is Geffrey Whitney's *A choice of emblemes, and other deuises, for rhe moste parte gathered out of sundrie writers, Englished and moralized. and diuers newly deuised*

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[40] The book, *A Tale of Two Swannes* (1590), is a travel narrative of sorts describing the River Lee in Hertfordshire. Even this text is not wholly a roman text; Ward used roman for verse and black letter for prose.

imprinted at Leyden in the house of Christopher Plantin. Not only did Whitney introduce a continental literary genre, he brought with it the continental print style of Plantin. The impact of Whitney's *Choice of Emblems* in England is demonstrated through English imitations of the book in the centuries after its publication.[41] Like the earlier example of the Geneva Bible and New Testament, Whitney's work surely added to the English readers' growing familiarity with roman type.

Also intrinsically tied to the publication of the book is an attempt to win the patronage of the Earl of Leicester. Whitney not only dedicated the printed book to Leicester, an existing manuscript of the text reveals that Whitney presented a written copy of the book to him in 1585 (Whitney xi). Apparently Leicester rewarded Whitney for the effort, for in 1587 he was "at Yarmouth as 'one of the Quen's Lieutenants'" (Whitney vix). Whitney's successful dedication to the Earl of Leicester associates the text with the court. Thus, the book is at once both continental and courtly.

1587-88: Continental Styles and Continental Works

In 1588, John Wolfe printed a translation of Thomas Watson's Latin verses *The lamentations of Amyntas for the death of Phillis* in roman type for publishers Thomas Newman and Thomas Gubbin. The choice of roman in this case may be a reflection of the backgrounds of both the translator and printer. The translator, Abraham Fraunce, is perhaps best known for *The Arcadian Rhetoric*, or to Spenser scholars as one of the possible identities of Corydon in *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*. In his youth, Fraunce moved within the Sidney circle and joined that coterie in their literary experimentations,

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[41] For a helpful discussion on the literary impact of Whitney in England, see the introduction to Green's edition of Whitney (xxix-xxxv).

particularly with English hexameter verse, which is demonstrated in his translation of Thomas Watson's *Lamentations of Amyntas*. Fraunce is a good example of the growing number of young humanist scholars. He was "a successful popularizer of Latin and continental materials, and he contributed significantly to the growth of an increasingly sophisticated public culture in England" (Baker 142).

The same could very well be said of the printer John Wolfe. Wolfe was also very attuned to the continental literary scene and helped popularize continental books and print styles. Still, his earlier career exhibits the influence of both his English and Italian training. While, on the one hand, he printed many continental texts in the Italianate style he learned from the Giunta family in Florence; on the other hand, he also printed English language books as would any typical black-letter printer. By the late 1580s, however, Wolfe began to break out of traditional black-letter practices for English works and began printing works that had been translated into English in the typeface associated with their original language.[42] In this way, Wolfe may have chosen to set Fraunce's Latin translation in roman type, the typeface most often used with the Latin language.

Thus, the decision to print *The Lamentations of Amyntas for the Death of Phillis* could have come either from Wolfe or Fraunce, or from collaboration between the two. Roman type was as familiar to one, as to the other. The following year, publishers Newman and Gubbin reprinted *The Lamentations of Amintas*, but this time using printer John Charlewood rather than Wolfe. As I argued earlier, Charlewood tended to be a black-letter printer. Still, using the previous edition as an exemplar, he retained the

[42] For examples of Wolfe's translated works set in roman between 1587 and 1590, see *STC* 14003, 14004, 11256, 12506, 13096, 13102, 15213, 17784, 18145, 17943, and 15701.

original choice of roman type. This is surely a small, but important example of the slow assimilation of roman type.

A similar assimilation may certainly be seen in *Cassius of Parma his Orpheus* printed by Thomas Orwin, also in 1587. As the title advertises, the main text is *Orpheus* by Antonio Telesio (misattributed in the title to Cassius Parmensis), but the book also included portions of Homer's *Iliad*. The book is a humanist literary project undertaken by its translator, Roger Rawlyns, a law student at Lincoln's Inn. As the title page tells us, the text and its annotations are "most profitable for the framing of the manners of schollers." The printer, Thomas Orwin, set the verse in italic type, for both Latin and English, and the prose in roman. This follows a continental printing practice adopted by English printers for Latin and foreign language texts. Take, for example, John Wolfe's printing of *Annotationi di Scipio Gentili sopra La Gierusalemme liberata di Torquato Tasso* from the previous year. Tasso's original verse is set in italic; Gentili's prose annotations are set in roman.

Like Wolfe, Orwin was a printer who was comfortable printing in roman type.[43] Like the Wolfe/Fraunce connection above, the book is the product of a printer who was aware of continental printing styles, and a student who was aware of continental literature. Thus, the decision to use italic and roman type could have been made by either Orwin or Rawlyns.

Rawlyns' book also maintains a courtly connection, demonstrated in its three dedications. The first two are dedicated to the Earl of Essex, and the third "to his louing Masters and friends, the Students of Lyncolns Inne." These dedications place the book

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[43] An examination of 111 books he produced in the 1580s shows that nearly half appeared in roman.

both in the royal court and the Inns of Court. Subsequently the use of roman and italic type is associated with both the royal court and with humanist learning.

In 1588 Richard Jones printed yet another book of verse concerning Queen Elizabeth, the anonymous *An exhortacion to als [sic] English subiects, to joine for the defence of Queene Elziabeth [sic], and their natiue country*. In accordance with earlier examples of verse written in honor of the queen, this book's typography suggests an attempt to create a more elegant, and in this case, royal appearance. This is quite evident in the construction of the title page. Jones set decorative initial woodcuts of the letters "E" and "R," for "Elizabetha Regina," on either side of a small woodcut of Elizabeth's coat of arms inscribed with the motto of the Order of the Garter "Honi Soit Qui Mal Y Pense" or "Evil to him who thinks evil." This arrangement of woodcut elements cleverly creates a makeshift title page border. Evidently Jones did not own a woodcut border relating to Elizabeth. Rather than pay the price of commissioning one, he simply created one from his stock of materials. This speaks to the conscious desire to fashion a more elegant and courtly physical book. The use of roman type further adds to the creation of a more elegant book. It is certainly an anomaly in the career of printer Richard Jones, who printed only two books in roman in the decade of the 1580s.

1589: Post-Armada Patriotism and *The French Historie*

A look at the English literary texts set in roman type for the year 1589 begins with two texts that reflect post-armada English patriotism. The first is George Peele's *A farewell Entituled to the famous and fortunate generalls of our English forces: Sir Iohn Norris & Syr Frauncis Drake Knights, and all theyr braue and resolute followers.*

VVhereunto is annexed: a tale of Troy printed by John Charlewood for William Wright. The book actually consists of two poems, *A Farewell,* to which is appended an earlier unpublished work of Peele's *A Tale of Troy*. As the title suggests, Peele composed *A Farewell* to celebrate the departure of the "counter Armada" of Norris and Drake on their mission to destroy what remained of the Spanish fleet:

> You fight for Christ and Englands peereles Queene,
> Elizabeth, the wonder of the worlde.
> Ouer whose throne th'enemies of God,
> Haue thundred earst their vaine succestes bracues.
> O tenne times treble happy men that fight,
> Under the Crosse of Christ and Englands Queene,
> And follow such as Drake and Norris are. (A4)

The book's highly patriotic literary content is complemented by patriotic typographical content. A woodcut of Elizabeth's coat of arms looms large on the verso side of the title page, below which appears a short poem in Latin on the triumphs of Elizabeth. This woodcut was not commissioned for this work, nor does it appear to have been owned by Charlewood, for it had appeared the year before in Windet's printing of the second edition of *The Blessedness of Britain.* Windet had printed that book under the assigns of John Wolfe, so the woodcut could have originally belonged to either one of them. Charlewood must have sought out and borrowed the woodcut, demonstrating a concern for the appearance of Peele's work in print.

A similar interest may also be seen in the choices of type for the text. *A Farewell* is set in italic; *A Tale of Troy* is set in roman. The use of italic contrasts the roman,

serving to distinguish the two poems and to give the text of *A Farewell* a more striking appearance. As I argued in the case of *Cassius of Parma his Orpheus*, the decision to use contrasting roman and italic type reflects a working knowledge of printing practices that were more continental than English. Perhaps Charlewood, principally a black-letter printer, was reacting to the growing pervasiveness of continental books. Or perhaps the choice was Peele's, whose court drama *The Arraignment of Paris* was also set in roman.

Written by the unidentified "I.B.," *A mirrour to all that loue to follow the warres* is a short, patriotic poem printed by John Wolfe, which celebrates the military career of Peregrine Bertie, Baron Willoughby de Eresby, the Queen's "Lieutenant generall" ($A2^v$). The goal of the text was to inspire its readers to imitate Lord Willoughby so that the kingdom of the Queen might "be stored with many such Lord Willoughbies" ($A2^v$). As in Peele's *A Farewell*, the choice of typographical elements reflects the text's highly patriot content. On the verso side of the title page, Wolfe has placed a woodcut of Saint George and the Dragon. This is Wolfe's second time using this woodcut, the very same one that Wolfe later used in the first edition of *The Faerie Queene*.[44] Its placement in *The Faerie Queene* between books one and two, connects Saint George with the character of Red Crosse. In the case of *A mirrour to all that loue to follow the warres*, the patron saint of England is mean to correspond with Lord Willoughby. The text of the poem is set in roman type in a single-column. All told, the woodcut and choice of type once again create a more courtly appearance. Beyond a potential bid for patronage from Willoughby, the audience of this work are young gentlemen that the author hopes will follow the example of Lord Willoughby.

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[44] Wolfe had used it the year before in *A briefe discouerie of Doctor Allens seditious drifts* (*STC* 6166).

The last book in our survey, *The French Historie* by Anne Dowriche, is perhaps the most intriguing. Although they are worlds apart socially, Dowriche's book has some similarity to James VI's *Essayes of a Prentise*. In both cases, typography is used to overcome trepidation toward print publication. For Dowriche, the composition and publication of a history set in verse was a socially transgressive act, a fact that she alludes to in her introduction, " If you find anie thing that fits not your liking, remember I pray, that it is a womans doing" (A2^{v}). Here the modesty topos commonly used by English authors is gender specific. Traditionally, the women's place in the publication of books was confined to translation. Dowriche is certainly aware that she is pushing the boundaries and, to some degree, is uncomfortable with it. As in James's book, Dowriche's name does not appear on the title page, only the ambiguous "published by A.D." Not only do the initials act as camouflage, the misleading designation of publisher disconnects "A. D." from the role of writer. Her name does appear, however, as the signature of the dedication to her brother. Furthermore, "A. Dowriche" signs the "To the Reader." The use of roman type in Dowriche's *The French Historie* may have been an attempt to gain authority through typography. Although Dowriche refers to the "simple attire of this outer forme" of her book, its typographical appearance certainly must have stood out (A2).[45]

A Decade of Change

Looking back on the examples above, it becomes quite clear that the use of roman type for English literary books took on new meanings during the decade. First, books

[45] The use of roman type may also have to do with the book's subject matter and intended audience. As we have seen, roman was the chief type used in French printing.

associated with Queen Elizabeth, including poems written about the Queen, poems presented to the Queen, or plays performed for the Queen, began to make use of roman type. There was also a more general association between roman type and members of the court. The elegiac verse genre seen in the works of George Whetstone and Robert Dallington, for example, made use of roman type in their celebration of deceased men of the court. Then there were the poetic works of James VI. In this case, a member of the court was the one producing the literature. Although he does so with hesitation, typographical elements such as the use of roman type help him to assert his literary authority by drawing on the continued association between roman type and humanist and classical works. The same impulse that drove King Francis I of France to insist on roman type for the vernacular language endured and had at last begun to take hold in England and Scotland. This assimilation was assisted by the increased availability of roman type, the increased availability of continental books both imported and printed in England, and the subsequent increased familiarity with the use of roman type.

1590: *Arcadia* and *The Faerie Queene*

This decade of typographical change culminated in 1590 with the near simultaneous publishing of Sidney's *Arcadia* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene* by William Ponsonby. In the case of Sidney's *Arcadia,* the choice to use roman type was made in response to its increased association with an aristocratic audience and its continued association with humanist and classical texts. It is helpful to view the printing of the poetic works of James VI as a precedent. Though the text of James' *Essayes of a Prentice* reveals some hesitation toward print publication, it also contains typographical

elements that enhance the courtly nature of the book and its link to the classical texts of Greece and Rome. One such element was surely the choice of roman type. Similarly, there was clearly a concern with how the works of Sidney would appear in print. Through the use of english roman type, his *Arcadia* is at once connected to the court and to a long history of continental literary works. Typographically, his work bears resemblance to the books written by the very authors that he most admired— Sannazaro and Virgil, to name but two that Sidney praised in his *An Apology for Poetry* (74). In 1593 Gabriel Harvey wrote in response to *Arcadia* that Sidney was the "Paragon of Virtue in Print" (quoted in Marotti 232). Harvey, who may have had access to early manuscript copies of Sidney's *Arcadia*, singles out and praises the printed edition. Embedded in his compliment is the success of the printing of *Arcadia* and the recognition that Sidney had posthumously overcome the stigma of print.

Following the example of Sidney's *Arcadia,* the use of english roman type in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* carried the same associations**.** Earlier I argued that roman type was increasingly being used for books with courtly associations. Like many of the examples above, *The Faerie Queene* is, in its purest essence, a celebration of Queen Elizabeth. In *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*, Spenser intimates that he even presented his epic to the Queen (358-367). This audience with Elizabeth, as the traditional Spenser mythology tells it, resulted in Elizabeth granting a pension of 50 pounds a year for life to Spenser in February of 1591 (*Cal. Pat. Roll 33 Eliz*.; cited in Maley, *Spenser Chronology* 56). Whether or not Spenser actually presented his book to the Queen in person, she was certainly meant to receive it. Thus, the book opens with a dedication to Elizabeth.

The use of roman type also connects Spenser's *Faerie Queene* typographically to the humanist tradition and to the continental authors that inspired his epic. In this regard, the physical appearance goes much further than the use of roman type in appearing continental, as I will demonstrate in the second part of this chapter. In fact, Spenser and his printer designed the "roman" *Faerie Queene* to appear Italianate, a bibliographic nod to the textual and bibliographic influences of Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and, to a greater extent, Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*.

1591: The Aftermath

Before concluding the first part of this chapter, I would like to briefly return to the survey of the use of roman type in English literary books in the 1580s. As Figure 3.4 demonstrates, 1591 was the year in which printing standards definitively changed in the English book trade; roman had at last become the type most frequently used for the English vernacular, even for literary works. This shift is indebted to the paired printing of *Arcadia* and *The Faerie Queene*:

> The appearance of less expensive books imitated and assimilated the typography of these volumes. . .Their example, both as models of a new literature and as statements of a new political consciousness, were profoundly influential upon contemporaries. That was also true of their typography: set in English roman, they were visually distinct from the black-letter texts that preceded them, defining new conventions for the printing of poetry and prose. (Bland 107)

1591 was a monumental year in the English printing trade, the year of a typographical sea change resulting from a decade of continental assimilation, spurred on by a new

generation of printers such as John Wolfe and John Windet, the printers of *Arcadia* and *The Faerie Queene*.

3.2. TYPOGRAPHICAL CONVERSATIONS: ARIOSTO, TASSO, AND SPENSER[46]

As a student studying at Pembroke College, Cambridge, Spenser was one of the growing numbers of English readers with access to books printed on the continent. As we saw in chapter one, through his university libraries he had access to collections of books that contained few printed in England and fewer printed in the English language. Through this exposure to books printed in continental printing centers such as Venice, Basel, and Rome, Spenser grew accustomed to roman and italic types, and book designs that were more continental than English. By the time Spenser began writing and publishing his own poetic works, he had absorbed a wealth of books that could serve both as literary inspirations for his own writing, and for typographical inspirations once his works were ready for the press.

We cannot point conclusively to one specific book that served as the model for the 1590 *Faerie Queene,* as Heninger did with the Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and *The Shepheardes Calender*. We can, however, confidently conclude that the person or

[46] This section's title is adapted from "Textual Conversations," the title of an exhibit held at the University of Toronto's Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies (CRRS) during the 2003 annual meeting of the Renaissance Society. You may visit an on-line version of the exhibit at: http://www.crrs.ca/library/vaults/conversations/conversations.htm

persons involved in the design of *The Faerie Queene* drew elements directly from contemporary editions of Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* and more indirectly from Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*.

The Bibliographic Influence of Tasso and Ariosto Editions

Appended to the 1590 edition of *The Faerie Queene* is a letter from Spenser to Sir Walter Ralegh commonly known as the "Letter of the Authors." In this letter, Spenser provides on overview of his epic and explains his reasons and goals for writing it. In the process he pays homage to his literary influences:

> I haue followed all the antique Poets historicall, first Homere, who in the Persons of Agamemnon and Vlysses hath ensampled a good gouernour and a vertuous man, the one in his Ilias, the other in his Odysseis: then Virgil, whose like intention was to doe in the person of Aeneas: after him Ariosto comprised them both in his Orlando: and lately Tasso disseuered them againe, and formed both parts in two persons, namely that part which they in Philosophy call Ethice, or vertues of a priuate man, coloured in his Rinaldo: The other named Politice in his Godfredo. By ensample of which excellente Poets, I labour to pourtraict in Arthure, before he was king, the image of a braue knight, perfected in the twelue priuate morall virtues. (Spenser, Ed. Hamilton 737)

In a fashion similar to E.K.'s "Epistle" to *The Shepheardes Calender*, Spenser creates a literary lineage that ties himself to classical authors such as Homer and Virgil, and to the sixteenth-century Italian authors Ariosto and Tasso. It is by the "ensample" of these literary predecessors that Spenser penned his epic.

The "Letter of the Authors" is not the first document recording Ariosto's influence on Spenser. In a letter to Spenser printed in *Three proper, and wittie, familiar letters: lately passed betweene two universitie men* in 1580, Gabriel Harvey evaluates Spenser's earliest efforts on *The Faerie Queene*. Harvey judges his friend's work with an eye on the authors that influenced it, including Ariosto, who, according to Harvey, Spenser wishes "to emulate, and hope to ouergo, as you flatly professed your self in one of your last Letters" (50). Harvey's letter preceded the publication of *Jerusalem Delivered* in 1581, so Tasso's epic was not yet an influence on Spenser's burgeoning work.

Ariosto and Tasso, together with classical authors such as Ovid, Homer, and Virgil, were surely literary models for Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Their literary influences are well documented, but the bibliographic influence of their editions is overlooked. Spenser not only found inspiration in the words of his Italian predecessors; he found inspiration in how their words appeared in print. The manuscript Spenser provided for his printer John Wolfe does not survive. We cannot know, therefore, whether Spenser provided Wolfe with specific instructions on the physical layout of the text. Yet, we can identify and examine the sources that influenced the physical appearance of *The Faerie Queene* and, subsequently, the typographical elements that were communicated to Wolfe either directly from Spenser, his manuscript, or from specific bibliographic models.

Printed books often reflect the appearance of their manuscript copy-texts, thus typographical elements often begin as textual elements. When Spenser imitated the Italian romances of Ariosto and Tasso, he likely created a manuscript that in appearance reflected the typographical features of the printed books he was imitating. In this way,

we might imagine Spenser's manuscript versions of *The Faerie Queene* imitating the physical appearance of his Italian models. Textually, Spenser followed the canto structure used by Virgil, Ariosto, and Tasso. More specifically, he followed the canto structures of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* as they were physically manifested in contemporary printed editions. Thus a bibliographic communication circuit connects contemporary editions of *Orlando Furioso* and *Jerusalem Delivered* to Spenser, who assimilated literary and bibliographic elements of these works into his manuscript copy of *The Faerie Queene*. The circuit continues from Spenser to Wolfe, who received Spenser's manuscript and reproduced it in print. As we shall see, Wolfe's familiarity with Italian books completes the circuit, as he adds typographical elements drawn from his own knowledge of Italian printing.

The Italian Argomento

One textual element that Spenser derived from his Italian predecessors is the use of a headnote containing a brief verse summary that introduces each canto of his *Faerie Queene*. This practice is a direct imitation of the argomento used in both *Orlando Furioso* and *Jerusalem Delivered*. John Harington describes this practice in his "Advertisement to the Reader" of his translation of *Orlando Furioso*:

> Also (according to the Italian maner) I have in a staffe of eight verses comprehended the contents of every Book or Canto in the beginning thereof, which hath two good uses, one to understand the picture the perfecter, the other to remember the storie the better. (A1).

Spenser did not completely conform to the "Italian maner" and set his argomento in ottava rima like his continental predecessors. Rather he set his lines in a quatrain.

Printed editions of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* present the canto argomentos in many different styles over many decades. They usually appear hovering above the first stanza of the main text in an eight-line text block with every line indented but the first. Other times, they appear within the compartment of a decorative border set on the verso page facing the opening of each canto. Vincenzo Valgrisi set a new standard for how *Orlando Furioso* was to appear in print.[47] In his elaborately decorated editions, the argomento rests within in a decorative border, placed directly above the opening of each canto. Francesco de Franceschi imitated the Valgrisi style in his famous edition printed in 1584. His lavish edition was replete with engraved illustrations for the title pages, elaborate illustrations corresponding to the storylines of each canto, and the decorative borders that contained each canto's argomento.[48]

The appearance of early editions of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* (1581) imitated editions of *Orlando Furioso*. Like Ariosto's argomentos, Tasso's are written in ottava rima with all but the first line indented. As with editions of *Orlando Furioso*, the material appearance of the argomento varies somewhat from edition to edition. For the most part, however, the argomento is set within an arabesque floral border.

Let's imagine, once again, Spenser imitating the physical appearance of his Italian models while producing his manuscript version of *The Faerie Queene*. When writing the

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[47] For example, see *Orlando fvrioso di M. Lodovico Aristo, tvtto ricorretto et dinvove figvre adornato. . . .* Venetia, appresso Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1572.

[48] The Franceschi edition then became the model for Harington's translation in 1591.

argomento or headnote to each canto, Spenser likely inscribed the four lines of verse in the center of the page above the main text. Here, John Harington's manuscript copy-text for *Orlando Furioso* provides a helpful example. Harington centers each argomento above its corresponding text, reproducing in manuscript what had been done for decades in print.[49] By doing so, he indicates to his printer, Richard Field, where he wants the argomento to be set on the printed page. Similarly, Spenser likely also created a manuscript whose physical appearance provided cues to how the printed versions should eventually look.

Borrowing from *Jerusalem Delivered*

The design of the argomentos in the 1590 edition of *The Faerie Queene* bears close resemblance to two editions of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* printed by Erasmo Viotto in 1581.[50] In both editions, Viotto set the argomentos above the opening of each canto within a single row of an arabesque floral border.[51] Wolfe set the headnotes of the 1590 *Faerie Queene* in almost exactly the same fashion (Figure 3.1). This is not the only typographical feature that *The Faerie Queene* appears to have incorporated from the Viotto edition. The layouts of their dedications are also similar. In both, short lines of

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[49] See W. W. Greg, "An Elizabethan Printer and His Copy," *The Library* 4 (1924): 105-106.

[50] *Gerusalemme liberata.* Casalmaggiore, Antonio Canacci & Erasmo Viotti, 1581; and *Le Giervsalemme liberata, overo Il Goffredo del Sig. Torqvato Tasso : di nuovo ricorretto, et secondo le proprie copie dell'istesso autore ridotto a compimento tale : che non visi può altro più desiderare : con gli argomenti del Sig. Oratio Ariosti*. Parma: Erasmo Viotto, 1581.

[51] A similar design appears in a 32° edition of *Jerusalem Delivered* printed in Lyon in 1581 by Alessandro Marsilii.

text descend to the author's signature in the bottom right corner of the page. Indeed, the text of Spenser's dedicatory signature echoes the language used in the Casalmaggiore edition: "Humiliss. & deuotiss. seru" and "Her most humble Seruante."[52]

"Allegoria Del Poema"

We can say with confidence that Spenser or Wolfe had access to one of Erasmo Viotto editions of *Jerusalem Delivered*, because of similarities between its physical appearance and that of the 1590 *Faerie Queene*. This does not account, however, for Spenser's imitation of Tasso's "Allegoria Del Poema." Not only does Spenser acknowledge Tasso's influence in his "Letter of the Authors," the letter itself is modeled on Tasso's "Allegoria del Poema," which is often appended to editions of *Jerusalem Delivered*. Viotto's editions, however, do not contain the "Allegoria." Spenser, therefore, must have had access to another edition. It is hard to pinpoint which edition, for multiple editions printed prior to *The Faerie Queene* contain the "Allegoria." Interestingly enough, when they do contain the "Allegoria" it appears most often appended to the book.[53] Indeed, even the printer of a Spanish translation of the book

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[52] Fraunce used the same edition for his *Arcadian Rhetorike*. "Athough Fraunce on his title-page calls Tasso's poem *Goffredo*, the name of the early and unauthorized publication of the 1580, he is in fact and fortunately using the *Gerusalemme Liberata* in the authentic form. The variants of word and phrase from the modern texts that are frequent in Fraunce's selected passages are to be found in the Casalmaggiore edition of Canacci and Viotto of 1581" (Fraunce xxv).

[53] For example, see the following editions: 1) *Gierusalemme liberata: poema heroico*. . . . In Ferrara: Vittorio Baldinj, 1581; 2) *Gierusalemme liberata : poema heroico*. . . . In Ferrara: Appresso gli heredi di Francesco de' Rossi, 1581; 3) *Giervsalemme liberata, poema heroico del s. Torquato Tasso*. . . . In Ferrara, Appresso Domenico Mammarelli, e Giulio Cesare Cagnacini, 1582; 4) *La Giervsalemme liberata di Torqvato Tasso*. . . . Genova [G. Bartoli] 1590.

printed in Madrid in 1587 placed the "Allegoria" in the endmatter.[54] The frequency with which *Jerusalem Delivered*'s "Allegoria Del Poema" appears at the end of early editions may help answer the question of why Spenser's "Letter of the Authors" appears in the endmatter of the 1590 *Faerie Queene* rather than the preliminaries—a question that has puzzled scholars for some time. Clearly Spenser was imitating Tasso's "Allegoria" when he was writing his "Letter." It stands to reason that he could have also imitated Tasso's "Allegoria" bibliographically, placing his letter at the end of the work in the fashion of most editions of *Jerusalem Delivered*. If so, the decision constitutes another nod to Spenser's Italian influences.

Ottava Rima and the Spenserian Stanza

In addition to sharing specific typographical features with the Erasmo Viotto's editions of *Jerusalem Delivered*, *The Faerie Queene* has features common to multiple editions of both *Orlando Furioso* and *Jerusalem Delivered*, namely the textual influence of the ottava rima stanza form and its material representation on the printed page. The stanza form that Spenser chose for *The Faerie Queene* reveals an immediate debt to *Orlando Furioso* and *Jerusalem Delivered*. The form, referred to as the Spenserian stanza, consists of nine lines rhyming ababbcbcc. The first eight lines are written in iambic pentameter, the last in iambic hexameter, or an Alexandrine. Scholars have long recognized that the Spenserian stanza built on the ottava rima, the Italian stanza form

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[54] *Jerusalem libertada*. . . . Madrid, Pedro Madrigal, 1587.

consisting of eight lines rhyming: abababcc.[55] Indeed, Edward Phillips observed so in his 1675 *Theatrum poetarum* “Spencer's Stanza (which I take to be but an Improvement upon *Tasso*'s *Ottava Rima,* or the *Ottava Rima* it self, used by many of our once esteemed Poets)” (**3^{v}). Four years later Samuel Woodford noted that the “Stanza of Nine in Spensers *Faery Queen*” were “but an improvement of the Ottava Rime” (c2^{v}).

In editions of *Orlando Furioso* and *Jerusalem Delivered*, the use of ottava rima is presented typographically by indenting the last seven lines of the stanza. Spenser’s stanzas echo this design. The middle seven lines are indented, but its final hexameter line is not. Thus, attention is drawn typographically to the Alexandrine, the distinguishing feature of the Spenserian stanza. In this way, Spenser makes the ottava rima stanza form his own both poetically and typographically (Figures 3.2 and 3.3).

The Quarto Format

The bibliographic influence of *Orlando Furioso* and *Jerusalem Delivered* on Spenser’s *Faerie Queene* is not limited to the appearance of the book, but may also help explain the choice of the quarto format. The great majority of the first editions of Tasso’s *Jerusalem Delivered* printed from 1581-1590 appeared in quarto. None appeared in folio.[56] Likewise, editions of Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso* from 1526 to 1600 appeared

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[55] The Spenserian stanza could also be interpreted as an adaptation of Rime Royal, or the Chaucerian stanza (which Spenser uses in his “Four Hymns”), seven lines of iambic pentameter rhyming: ababbcc. Onto the Chaucerian stanza Spenser adds two lines, one of which is a line of iambic hexameter, which is meant to recall the dactylic hexameter used in the classical epics of Ovid and Virgil.

[56] See *The Short-title Catalog of Books Printed in Italy and Books in Italian Printed Abroad, 1501-1600, held in selected North American Libraries* (Boston: G.K. Hall) pp. 241-242.

mainly in quartos and octavos.[57] Editions printed in the 1580s were mainly set in quarto, including Franceschi's elaborately illustrated 1584 edition, which influenced the design of Sir John Harington's 1591 translation.[58]

Most scholars argue that the choice to print *The Faerie Queene* in quarto was purely of a matter of economics, i.e., folio books were more expensive to produce than quartos. Yet, as we shall see in chapter four, this was not always the case. In fact, it was less expensive to print *The Faerie Queene* in folio than in quarto. Thus, rather than being a question of economics, *The Faerie Queene* followed a precedent of epics appearing in quartos.

Also contributing to the choice of quarto format was the fact that no living English literary author had appeared in folio. Not even a recently deceased literary English author had appeared in folio. As we shall see in chapter four, it was not until the publication of Sidney's *Arcadia* in folio in 1593 that a contemporary English literary author appeared in folio. Thereafter, it was not until the publication of Samuel Daniel's *Works* that 1601 that a living English literary author appeared in folio.

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[57] Ibid. 87-92. None of the editions of *Orlando Furioso* listed in this catalog are folios.

[58] We must note, however, that editions like Franceschi's 1584 *Orlando Furioso* were large quartos, which may appear to be folios. For example the copy held at The Rare Books and Manuscripts Library at The Ohio State University, measures 26 cm with cropped pages. The standard measurements for folios are 30 cm or greater, while quartos measure between 19 and 30 cm (Gaskell 85). Thus, Franceschi's *Orlando Furioso* is closer in size to a folio than a quarto.

An Italianate Book and its Italianate Printer

Through the use of roman type and bibliographic elements drawn from Tasso and Ariosto, Spenser's *Faerie Queene* looked more like an Italian book than an English book, indeed more like *Jerusalem Delivered* than *The Shepheardes Calender*. The choice of the printer John Wolfe further amplified *The Faerie Queene*'s Italianate appearance. Earlier in the discussion, I described a communication circuit linking contemporary editions of *Orlando Furioso* and *Jerusalem Delivered* to Spenser, and then to Wolfe. Because of Wolfe's knowledge of the Italian printing trade and of Italian book design, Wolfe's participation completes the circuit.

The simplest reason for why John Wolfe ended up being the printer of *The Faerie Queene* was that Wolfe had printed the last edition of *The Shepheardes Calender* in 1586 for John Harrington. Thus, he was the last to print Spenser's work. Another reason was that by 1589 Wolfe was an extremely productive printer. In fact, at the time he was working on *The Faerie Queene*, he was operating at least four presses. As Loewenstein has observed: "With four or five presses, his was probably one of the two most efficient shops in London" (103). This made him a good choice if only for the availability of his presses.

A third and perhaps more telling reason for choosing Wolfe was his reputation for printing continental, and in particular, Italian books. If someone involved with printing *The Faerie Queene* wanted to produce a book that was more continental or Italianate in appearance, then he would want to employ the English printer who was most well-known

for printing Italian books in the Italian style. In the English printing trade of the 1580s, this printer was clearly John Wolfe.[59]

There is some debate about which was the first English book printed entirely in Italian. Some scholars name Stephen Meirdman's printing of *Cathechismo, cioe forma breve per amaestrare i fanciulli*. This book is undated, so the argument is hard to make. Most scholars name Wolfe's edition of Ubaldini's *La Vita di Carlo Magno Imperadore*, as does the book's author, Ubaldini, who writes in his dedicatory epistle:

> Reason to rejoice, that Italian works can be printed not less in London than they are printed elsewhere (this work being the first) by the study and diligence of Giovanni Wolfio her [London's] citizen; by the convenience of whom you may have other works in the same language from time to time, if the esteem you give to this one is such as must be expected of men desirous of long and honored reputation. (Original Italian qtd. from Lievsay 14-15)[60]

Further evidence of Wolfe being known for his study of Italian printing comes from *Una Essortatione al timor di Dio* printed by Wolfe in 1579. In the dedicatory epistle, the book's editor Giovan Battista Castiglioni explains that after some delay he was prompted to print the book by Wolfe's arrival from Italy (Lievsay 15-16). Not only does Castiglioni's epistle confirm Wolfe's reputation for Italian printing, he confirms that Wolfe had "learned the art of printing" in Italy (Original Italian qtd. from Lievsay 15).

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[59] For a detailed discussion of John Wolfe's Italian printing, see Clifford Chalmers Huffman, *Elizabethan Impressions: John Wolfe and his Press* (New York: AMS Press, 1987); and John Leon Lievsay, *The Englishman's Italian Books, 1550-1700* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969).

[60] I would like to thank Jefferson Slagle for his translation of this passage and the passage following.

Indeed from c.1572 through 1579,Wolfe was in Italy studying the art of printing under the famous Giunta family.

Wolfe's printed output includes the works of some of the sixteenth-century's most important Italian authors including: Torquato Tasso, Pietro Aretino, and Niccolo Machiavelli. Wolfe's reputation for printing Italian works was such that on two occasions he was labeled a Machiavel. Although the slur certainly referred to his notoriously controversial business practices, the association with Machiavelli also speaks to Wolfe's Italian training and his experience printing Italian texts.[61] Indeed, Wolfe would later print several works of Machiavelli.[62] This first person to label him a Machiavel was fellow stationer Christopher Barker in 1582. In the midst of a dispute regarding Wolfe's encroachment upon privileges belonging to other stationers, Barker confronted Wolfe and advised him to: "leave your Machevillian devices, & conceit of your forreine wit, which you haue gained by gadding from country to country, and tell me plainly, if you meane to deale like an honest man" (qtd. in Hoppe 246). The second occasion came later in the decade, when Wolfe had shifted from an agitator of the Stationers' Company to a Company Beadle working to enforce the very same regulations he had ardently challenged. In this capacity, Wolfe's participation in raiding the printing house of Robert Waldegrave in 1588 earned him admonition from none other than Martin Marprelate, who in his epistle to *Oh Read Over D. John Bridges* labeled "John Woolfe alias Machivilli" (qtd. in Huffman, *Elizabethan* 52). Wolfe's reputation as a printer of

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[61] For a discussion of Wolfe's conflicts with the Stationers' Company, see Harry R. Hoope, "John Wolfe, Printer and Stationer, 1579-1601" *Library*, fourth series 14 (1933): 245-263.

[62] See, for example, *STC* 17158, 17159, 17161, 17163, 17163.5, 17167.

Italian works was clearly well established. Whoever chose Wolfe to print *The Faerie Queene* surely knew of his reputation for working with Italian works.

Italian Title Page

The title page Wolfe designed for *The Faerie Queene* is particularly Italianate. As I mentioned above, Wolfe studied printing in Italy with the Giunta family. Not only did he return to England with a working knowledge of the Italian print-trade, he returned with a printer's device adapted from the Giunta floret, which he used as his own in many of his early English imprints.[63] Further along, Wolfe adapted the Giunta floret into something more his own. The addition of banderoles containing the words "Ubique Floret" was a new touch, although this too may be derivative of a Giunta mark in which banderoles reading "In Domino Confido" adorn the floret. The appearance of Wolfe's Giunta floret on the title page of the 1590 *Faerie Queen* immediately recalls his Italian training. Indeed, a comparison of the title page of *The Faerie Queene* with title pages from books produced by the Giunta family clearly demonstrates that Wolfe was employing a design that was Italianate.

Spenser and the Epic Tradition

Wolfe's Italianate flourishes were part of a greater design to link Spenser's epic typographically with the epics from which Spenser drew literary inspiration. In *The Faerie Queene*'s "Letter of the Authors," Spenser describes the creation of his English epic to Sir Walter Ralegh, and acknowledges the influence of "the antique Poets historicall" Homer and Virgil, as well as the more recent Italian authors Ariosto and

[63] See *STC* 10275, 10764.3

Tasso (592). By naming his literary influences, Spenser situates his epic within the greater historical epic tradition. Not only does Spenser borrow textually from his literary predecessors, he and his printer also borrow typographically. Readers who were familiar with contemporary editions of Italian epics such as Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* were meant to recognize the design of *The Faerie Queene* as one that conformed to the typographical appearance of epics in print. In this way, decisions concerning the appearance of *The Faerie Queene* helped Spenser assert his literary authority as the English epic poet, the English Virgil who had evolved from the pastoral to the epic.

In the process, the printing of *The Faerie Queene* transgressed English printing norms. The result was a profound shift in English literary works. *The Faerie Queene* and its typographical companion *Arcadia* set a new standard in English printing that forever changed the way English literary works were to appear in print.

Spenser and Print Culture

Spenser was likely the one who chose Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* as the bibliographic model for his *Faerie Queene*. As I demonstrated earlier, he surely communicated much of the elements of the physical layout of the book to Wolfe through the copy-text.[64] Indeed, from the material evidence found in both the 1579 *Shepheardes Calender* and the 1590 *Faerie Queene,* I believe that we may safely conclude that

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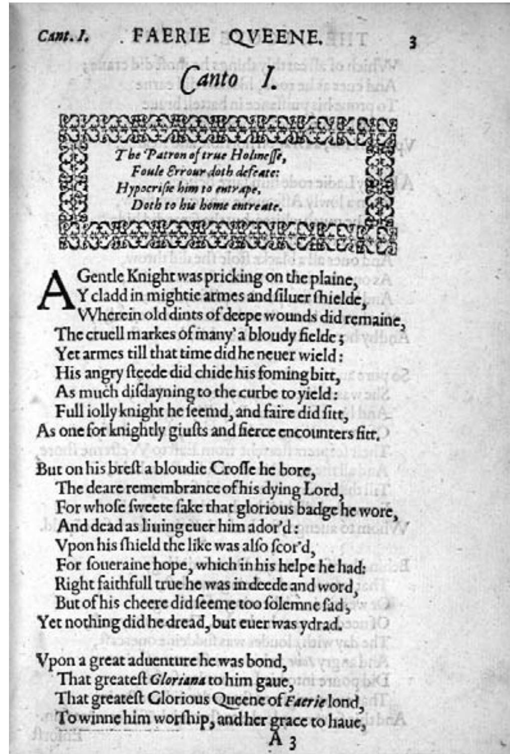
[64] Despite Wolfe's knowledge of Italian texts, none of the books he printed prior to the 1590 *Faerie Queene* are printed in the style of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* or Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered,* not even his edition of Scipione Gentili's annotations to Tasso's epic. In 1586, Wolfe printed *Annotationi di Scipio Gentili sopra La Gierusalemme liberata di Torquato Tasso* (*STC* 11728.8) with no illustrations or decorative features. This stripped down book bears little resemblance to any contemporary editions of the epic.

Spenser was directly involved with the printing of his two major works. Both books were designed after Italian exemplars that were literary influences of Spenser's. In this fashion, Spenser was directly engaged with contemporary English print culture.



Cant. I. FAERIE QVEENE. 3

Canto I.

The Patron of true Holineſſe,
Foule Errour doth defeate:
Hypocriſie him to entrape,
Doth to his home entreate.

A Gentle Knight was pricking on the plaine,
Y cladd in mightie armes and ſiluer ſhielde,
Wherein old dints of deepe wounds did remaine,
The cruell markes of many' a bloudy fielde;
Yet armes till that time did he neuer wield:
His angry ſteede did chide his foming bitt,
As much diſdayning to the curbe to yield:
Full iolly knight he ſeemd, and faire did ſitt,
As one for knightly giuſts and fierce encounters fitt.

But on his breſt a bloudie Croſſe he bore,
The deare remembrance of his dying Lord,
For whoſe ſweete ſake that glorious badge he wore,
And dead as liuing euer him ador'd:
Vpon his ſhield the like was alſo ſcor'd,
For ſoueraine hope, which in his helpe he had:
Right faithfull true he was in deede and word,
But of his cheere did ſeeme too ſolemne ſad;
Yet nothing did he dread, but euer was ydrad.

Vpon a great aduenture he was bond,
That greateſt *Gloriana* to him gaue,
That greateſt Glorious Queene of *Faerie* lond,
To winne him worſhip, and her grace to haue,
A 3

Figure 3.1. The design of the headnotes to each canto of the 1590 and 1596 editions of *The Faerie Queene* was modeled on the design of the argomentos found in editions of *Jerusalem Delivered* printed by Erasmo Viotto in 1581. Here we see an example from the 1596 edition of *The Faerie Queene*. Courtesy of The Ohio State University Libraries.

2

Dirò d'Orlando in vn medeſmo tratto
Coſa non detta in proſa mai, nè in rima;
Che per amor venne in furore, e matto,
D'huom, che ſi ſaggio era ſtimato prima;
Se da colei, che tal quaſi m'ha fatto,
Che'l poco ingegno adhor'adhor mi lima,
Me ne ſarà però tanto conceſſo,
Che mi baſti a finir quanto ho promeſſo.

But on his breſt a bloudie Croſſe he bore,
The deare remembrance of his dying Lord,
For whoſe ſweete ſake that glorious badge he wore,
And dead as liuing euer him ador'd:
Vpon his ſhield the like was alſo ſcor'd,
For ſoueraine hope, which in his helpe he had:
Right faithfull true he was in deede and word,
But of his cheere did ſeeme too ſolemne ſad;
Yet nothing did he dread, but euer was ydrad.

Figures 3.2 and 3.3. The Spenserian stanza builds on ottava rima both poetically and typographically. Courtesy of The Ohio State University Libraries.

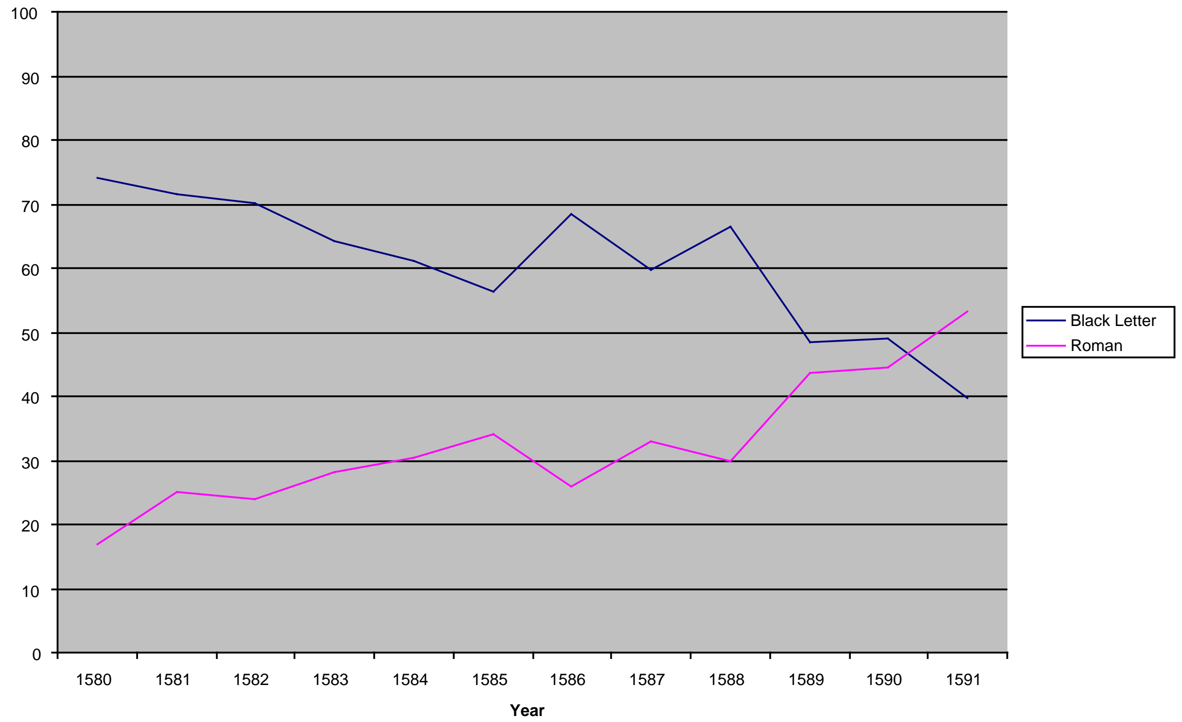


Figure 3.4. A study of the primary types used in books throughout the 1580s shows a slow decline in the use of black-letter type, mirrored by the slow rise of roman.

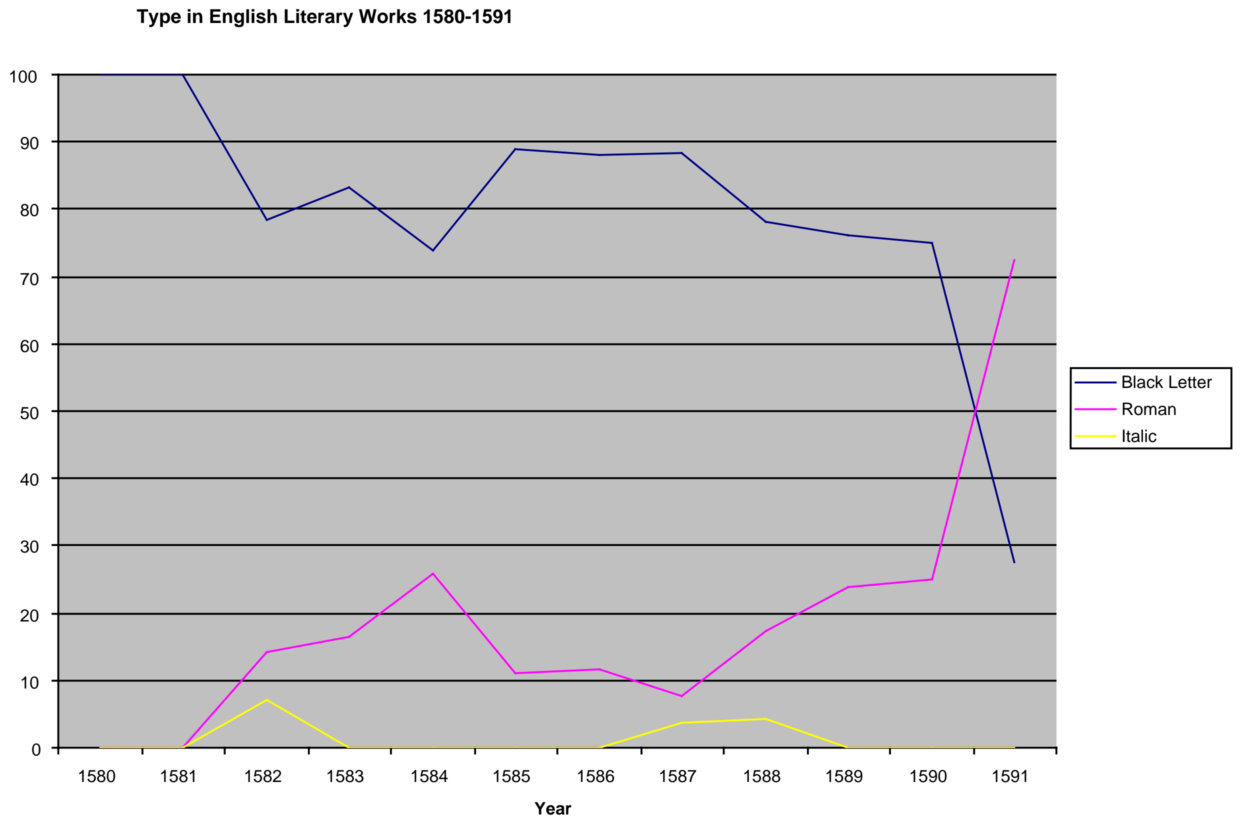


Figure 3.5. The use of roman as the primary type in English literary books was a gradual development in English printing. After 1590, however, there was a sharp increase in its use.

CHAPTER 4

SPENSER IN FOLIO

4.1. THE 1609 FOLIO *FAERIE QUEENE*

Moving from the Sixteenth to the Seventeenth Century

By the end of the sixteenth century, nearly the whole of Spenser's body of work had found its way into print, the exceptions being *The Faerie Queene*'s *Two Cantos of Mutabilitie* and *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. William Ponsonby, who had been Spenser's chief publisher, produced the last of his Spenser editions in 1596 when he printed parts one and two of *The Faerie Queene, The Fowre Hymns* (with the second edition of *Daphnaïda*), and *Prothalamion.* A year later, John Harrison II published the fifth edition of *The Shepheardes Calender*.[1] After this, twelve years would pass before any of Spenser's work would once again appear in print.

In the meantime, William Ponsonby died and the rights he held to Spenser's works transferred to his brother-in-law, Simon Waterson, a London bookseller who ran a

[1] Although the spelling of the title varies through the early editions, I will use the traditional uniform title of *The Shepheardes Calender*, except when quoting the titles of specific editions.

shop at the Sign of the Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard (Erickson 212). On September 3, 1604, shortly after Ponsonby's death, the *Stationers' Register* records:

> Master Waterson Entered for his copies, certen copies which were Master Ponsonbies. . . 1 *The Arcadia* by Philip Sidney ij *The ffayrie quene* both partes of Spencer 3 *The felicitie of man* by Sir R[ichard] Barc[k]ley 4 Master Edmondes his *Discours vppon C[A]EASARs Comentaries* both partes 5 *The Fflorentine History* by Machiauel[li] 6 *MAMILLIA* the second parte 7 The Card of ffantasie[2] 8 Lipsius *politiques* Englishe 9 Mounsieur [Du] Plessis [Mornay] *of life and Deathe* Englished by the Countesse of Pembroke. (Arber III.269)

Although Ponsonby held the rights to all of Spenser's works, save *The Shepheardes Calender* and the Spenser-Harvey correspondence, the only work that he officially transferred to Waterson was *The Faerie Queene*. It does appear, however, that the rights to all of Ponsonby's Spenser titles transferred along with *The Faerie Queene*.[3]

Two months after receiving Ponsonby's titles, Waterson transferred eight of the nine, including *The Faerie Queene*, to Matthew Lownes (Arber III.274). Interestingly, Waterson retained part of his rights to Sidney's *Arcadia*, which he entered into the *Stationers' Register* with Matthew Lownes (Arber III.274). The two later co-published a folio edition of *Arcadia* in 1605.[4] In the five years after receiving

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[2] I.e., Robert Greene's *Card of Fancy* or *Gwydonius*.

[3] Citing the absence of any dispute concerning Matthew Lownes's 1611 Spenser folio works, Johnson speculates: "It is possible that there was a private understanding whereby the rights to the other poems were included" (*Critical Bibliography* 44).

[4] The edition has two variant imprints: one reads "Imprinted for Simon Waterson," the other "Imprinted for Matthew Lownes" (*STC* 22543 and 22543a).

Ponsonby's catalog from Waterson in 1604, Lownes published four of the eight titles: Sir Clement Edmondes's *Obseruations vpon Cæsars Commentaries* in 1604[5] and 1609; Philippe de Mornay's *A Discourse of Life and Death* in 1606 and 1608; Robert Greene's *Card of Fancy* or *Gwydonius* in 1608; and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* in 1609.

With the exception of the addition of the *Two Cantos of Mutabilitie*, Lownes's 1609 *Faerie Queene* is, for the most part, a folio reprint of Ponsonby's 1596 quarto. It omits the letter to Raleigh, the commendatory poems, and dedicatory sonnets, which had appeared in the 1590 edition (Johnson, *Critical Bibliography* 23). Lownes's edition also omits the Saint George and the Dragon woodcut, which appears at the end of book one of *The Faerie Queene* in both the 1590 and 1596 quarto editions. This woodcut originally belonged to John Wolfe, the printer of the 1590 edition, who lent it to Richard Field, the printer of the 1596 edition.[6] Lownes evidently made no effort to acquire this woodcut or to commission a new woodcut to replace it. In fact, he commissioned no new woodcuts for the folio. Instead, generic reuse woodcuts supplied the decorative matter. There is nothing surprising about this practice. Indeed, reusing generic woodcuts was a very common practice. Yet not all folio printings at this time exhibit such a no-frills approach. The printers and publishers of other contemporary folios paid the extra expense of commissioning new woodcuts that specifically corresponded to their projects. Lownes, however, stuck to the more common, economical production style, a style that not only marked his 1609 *Faerie Queene*, but also his 1611 folio edition of Spenser's works.

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[5] In this edition, Lownes appears to have merely substituted the title page of Ponsonby's remaining copies with one bearing his name. Fortunately for Lownes, there was nothing on the verso side.

[6] The woodcut did not appear in any subsequent edition of *The Faerie Queene*.

Ultimately, the only significant bibliographic decision Lownes made was to upgrade *The Faerie Queene* from a quarto to a folio.

Why a Folio?

By the end of the sixteenth century, folio books appear to have become synonymous with monumental works. But this was not always the case. In the very beginning of English printing, folio publication was fairly standard. England's first printer, William Caxton, produced a great many of his books in folio. It was Caxton's successor, Wynken DeWorde, who first took advantage of the marketability of books produced in smaller formats. In particular, DeWorde mass-produced contemporary religious works and schoolbooks in cheaper quarto and octavo formats, reserving the folio format for major titles such as Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* (1498) and Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur* (1498). As the English printing trade expanded, DeWorde's model became the standard for most publishers.

The choice of whether to print a book in folio, quarto, or octavo (to name the most frequently used formats) was ultimately a practical one. From the point of view of the stationer putting up the capital, all publications posed a financial risk; folios, however, were typically a more expensive proposition. Paper was the chief determinant of the cost of producing a book and stationers had to acquire it before printing began. Because folio books usually required more paper, the stationer (in most cases the printer himself) needed to invest a significant amount of money up-front. For many stationers, this was too risky. Some diffused the cost of printing large folios by partnering up with other stationers. Others, confident that they could get a healthy return on their investment,

went it alone. Adding further complications, folio books took a longer time to print because of their size. Even with concurrent printing, a printer would have to decide whether or not printing a folio was worth the price of tying up one or more of his presses. From the point of view of the book buyer, folio books could also be problematic. They were expensive, oftentimes prohibitively so, and could be difficult to carry or to read anywhere other than at a table or lectern. Needless to say, the folio was not the size for the mass market. It is not hard to see why printers typically reserved the folio format for only the most monumental works.

When it came to publishing literary work, English printers reserved the folio format for only the works of the most famous English authors, and even these were few and far between in the sixteenth century. The works of Chaucer continued to appear in folio through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and were joined occasionally by writers such as John Gower.[7] Meanwhile, the great majority of English literary books appeared in quarto and octavo.

One of the books that helped move printing literary books in this new direction was the folio edition of Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, published by William Ponsonby in 1593. Five years later, Ponsonby published a second folio edition of *Arcadia* to which he appended "Certaine Sonets Written by Sir Philip Sidney," *Defence of Poesie*, *Astrophel and Stella*, and *The May Day Masque*. Although the title does not identify the folio as a "works," the 1598 Sidney folio was the first collected works of a contemporary English

[7] For Chaucer folios, see *STC* 5068-5076, 5076.3, 5077-5088, 5094, and 5096. For Gower, see *STC* 12142-12144.

poet to appear in folio.[8] Considering how few English authors found there way into folio, this was a milestone in the English book trade.

In the time between the publication of 1596 and 1609 editions of *The Faerie Queene*, *Arcadia* went through three folio editions: the 1598 edition published by Ponsonby, the suppressed 1599 edition published by Robert Waldegrave, and the 1605 edition co-published by Matthew Lownes and Simon Waterson. Evidently, Sidney's romance had not lost any of its popularity.[9] Despite being paired typographically with *Arcadia* in 1590, the 1596 *Faerie Queene* did not immediately follow the example of *Arcadia* and switch to folio. Still, the two texts continued to be linked. Just as one publisher, William Ponsonby, held the rights to both texts in the 1590s, Matthew Lownes held the rights to both texts in collaboration with Simon Waterson in the 1600s. Lownes co-published the fourth edition of *Arcadia* with Waterson in 1605, only four years before he published the folio *Faerie Queene*. It is not surprising, therefore, that *The Faerie Queene* would eventually follow the lead of its one-time publishing companion and shift from quarto to folio.[10] But the choice to print *The Faerie Queene* in folio was more than simply a case of Spenser's epic finally catching up with the printed example of Sidney's

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[8] The full title reads *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now the third time published, with sundry new additions of the same author*.

[9] Subsequent editions appeared in 1613, 1621, 1622, 1627, and beyond.

[10] Interestingly enough, what links the first folios of Sidney, Spenser, and, a little further along, Drayton is that they were all editions of weighty poetry: romance, epic, and hybrid of verse and chorography. In this way, genre appears to have played a part in the decision of what literature was suitable for folio publication. This might explain why earlier in the century longer English poetic works such as Gower's *Confessio Amantis* appeared in folios while the lyric poems of Wyatt, Surrey, and John Skelton did not.

romance. Matthew Lownes was shrewder than that. His decision to move from the quarto to the folio format was, strangely enough, also a matter of economics.

An Economical Folio?

Folios are not normally considered affordable publications. In early modern printing, folios were typically more expensive to produce than smaller formats because of the amount of paper needed for printing. Hence, when scholars discuss the format of the first edition of *The Faerie Queene* published by William Ponsonby in 1590, they assume that Ponsonby chose the quarto format because it was a less risky venture than a folio.[11] Contrary to this traditional line of reasoning, *The Faerie Queene* was less costly to produce in folio than in quarto. William Ponsonby's 1596 edition of both parts of *The Faerie Queene* was a quarto in eights printed in single columns of english roman type. In this format, the book required 139 unfolded sheets of paper per book. When Lownes published *The Faerie Queene* in folio in 1609, he made good use of the large folio page. Setting the text in double columns of the smaller long primer roman type, he required only ninety-two sheets per book (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). Because Lownes's folio actually required less of an investment of paper, the chief determinant of the cost of the book, it was less of financial risk than printing a quarto.

The folio edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* undoubtedly helped set the stage for printing Spenser's *Faerie Queene* in folio. But by setting the stanzas of Spenser's epic poem in double columns of long primer roman type, Lownes was not following the typographical design of *Arcadia*, which was, of course, nearly entirely a prose piece and

[11] For example, see Brink, "William Ponsonby's Rival Publisher" 186.

less suited for double columns. Rather, Lownes looked to an Italianate model, just as the creators of the first edition of *The Faerie Queene* had done nineteen years earlier. This time the model was most certainly John Harington's translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* printed in 1591 and 1607 by Richard Field.

Continued Bibliographic Conversations: Harington's *Orlando Furioso* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*

In chapter three, we saw how the 1590 edition of *The Faerie Queene* drew typographical elements from editions of the Italian epics of Torquato Tasso and Lodovico Ariosto. Specifically we saw the direct influence of early editions of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*. The bibliographic conversation between these Italian epics and their English counterparts did not end in 1590.

The conversation first continued in 1591 with the publication of John Harington's translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. As his bibliographic model, Harington chose Francesco de Franceschi's illustrious Italian edition of *Orlando Furioso* (1584) and took measures to ensure that his edition was every bit as grand.[12] Indeed, Harington was very much involved with the printing of his translation, as evidenced by the surviving manuscript of the copy-text, British Museum Additional 18920.[13] In this important artifact, Harington provides specific instructions to his printer Richard Field on how he wants his translation to appear on the printed page, down to the level of type. As we saw in chapter three, Harington chose the type in which he wanted specific sections of his

[12] "Franceschi modeled his edition on earlier editions printed by Vincenzo Valgrisi" (McNulty xlii).

[13] See W. W. Greg "an Elizabethan Printer and his Copy." *The Library* 4.2 (1923): 102-119.

book to appear by alluding to the model of Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589). He also proudly discusses his involvement in the design of his book in his "Advertisement to the Reader," which appears in the book's preliminaries. He calls attention, for example, to the fact that he personally commissioned copper engravings that imitated those found in the Franceschi edition: "As for the pictures, they are all cut in brasse and most of them by the best workemen in that kinde that have bene in this land this manie yeares; yet I will not praise them too much, because I gave direction in their making" (A1).

The "pictures" to which Harington refers are the forty-six illustrations that begin each canto with a visual representation of its plot.[14] While this was quite an extravagant investment on Harington's part, he did not completely imitate Franceschi's edition and commission copper engraved borders for the argomento proems.[15] His printer Field, however, did his best to imitate these design elements by constructing decorative borders out of various smaller woodcuts (Figures 4.3 and 4.4). As a result of the efforts of Harington and Field to replicate the magnificence of Franceschi's edition, the 1591 English *Orlando Furioso* was one of the most elegantly produced English books of its day.

Producing such an elegant book must have been quite expensive. Harington likely provided the finances for the project himself (McNulty xlii). Certainly little or no funds could have come from Richard Field, who, having taken up his freedom from an

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[14] On the purpose of these illustrations, Harington writes "The use of the picture is evident, which is, that (having read over the booke) you may read it (as it were againe) in the very picture" (A1).

[15] Franceschi's edition has nine different argomento borders.

apprenticeship with Thomas Vautrollier on February 6, 1587, was relatively new to the printing trade (Arber II.699). Field would go on to a very successful career, but in 1591 he probably was not in the position to finance such an elaborately designed folio.[16] He did, however, receive a seal for "A patent grawnted to Richarde ffeeld printer to imprinte a Booke called Orlando furioso in Englishe verse translated by John Harrington prohibitinge all other persons to imprynte the same duringe the time or tearme of xiiij yeres" (qtd. in Ariosto, Ed. McNulty l). As Robert McNulty notes such a patent was "an infrequent event for books printed at this time" (l). Field's patent was likely the result of Harington's connections at court (he was, after all, Queen Elizabeth's godson), coupled with the strong interest that Harington took in the book's production.

When Field printed the second edition of Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso* in 1607, his patent had expired, though the license he held through the *Stationers' Register* remained.[17] Harington was no longer the book's financier. As the imprint explains, Field printed the second edition "for Iohn Norton and Simon Waterson," who were now the publishers and financiers of the book. As we know, Waterson was collaborating with Matthew Lownes at this time. Only two years earlier the two had co-published the fourth edition of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. If Lownes had not already been familiar with the 1591 edition of Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso*, he surely was familiar with the 1607 edition through his continuing working relationship with Waterson.

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[16] Field definitely had the resources to design an elegant book, having already printed George Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* in 1589. Indeed, it was his work on Puttenham's book that likely earned him the job of printing Harington's *Orlando Furioso*.

[17] Field had entered the book in the *Stationers' Register* on February 26, 1591.

Spenser's Folio *Faerie Queene* and Harington's *Orlando Furioso*

The ongoing bibliographic conversation between sixteenth-century Italian epics and their English counterparts began a new discussion in 1609 as Lownes prepared to print his folio edition of *The Faerie Queene*. Just as Harington and Field used Franceschi's 1584 edition of *Orlando Furioso* as their model, Matthew Lownes and his brother Humphrey Lownes chose Field's 1591 or 1607 edition of Harington's translation as their model for transforming *The Faerie Queene* from quarto to folio.[18]

Lownes chose Harington's ornate edition as his model, but kept his expenses low by not investing in his edition to the extent that Harington had invested in his. The title page of the 1609 *Faerie Queene* exemplifies Lownes thrifty production in comparison to its bibliographic model. On the one hand, the title page to the 1591 and 1607 editions of Harington's *Orlando Furioso* features a woodcut border designed specifically for the book. Indeed, the border includes portraits of Ariosto, Harington, and even Harington's dog Bungy.[19] On the other hand, the title page to the 1609 *Faerie Queene* is merely a throwback to the simple designs of the quarto editions of 1590 and 1596. Beyond the text of the title and the imprint, the only other typographical feature is a large printer's ornament.

Keeping with the precedent set by the quarto editions, Spenser's name does not appear anywhere on the title page of the 1609 folio edition. Rather, his name only

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[18] Because the 1607 edition is basically a reprint of the 1591, it is hard to say which edition Lownes was using. He most likely turned to the 1607, which he probably had access to through Waterson.

[19] As Harington writes in the notes to Canto 43, Bungy's "picture you may see in the first page of the book and is knowne to the best Ladies of England" (373).

appears in the dedication to Elizabeth found on the verso side of the title page. For the dedication, Lownes's edition faithfully follows the text of the 1596 edition to the extent that the compositor kept nearly all the spellings. The only departure is in the layout of the text, which the compositor refashioned to ensure that no words were broken off at the end of the lines. He also retooled the design so that the name "Elizabeth" appears on its own line.

Although each book of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* leant itself well to the kind of narrative illustrations that adorned Harington's *Orlando Furioso* and the Italian editions that preceded it, Lownes decided not to commission any woodcuts for his folio edition. Nevertheless, using what resources Humphrey already owned, the Lownes brothers did their best to approximate the elegant look of Harington's *Orlando Furioso*. Indeed, from the second leaf on, the design of the 1609 *Faerie Queene* approaches the quality of its model, sans illustrations.

Argomento Designs

Showing the obvious influence of Harington's English edition of *Orlando Furioso*, the decorative borders for the argomento proems, or headnotes, in the folio *Faerie Queene* evolved beyond the floral borders of the quarto editions. Just as Field once assembled woodcut borders to imitate the copper engraved borders that adorned the argomentos of Franceschi's 1584 edition of *Orlando Furioso*, Humphrey Lownes constructed decorative borders out of smaller ornate woodcuts. Although Lownes was making do with what he already owned, the result is grander than the floral predecessors that appeared in the 1590 and 1596 editions, and hints at the elegance of Franceschi's

edition (Figures 4.5 and 4.6). The choice was both elegant and practical; constructing a large woodcut border out of thick, heavily decorated woodcuts helped fill the large folio page in a way that the quarto's floral design could not.

Double Columns and Numbered Stanzas

The next clear influence of Harington's *Orlando Furioso* on the folio *Faerie Queene* is the use of double columns of text. Both the 1590 and 1596 quarto editions of *The Faerie Queene* appeared in single columns of english roman type. As we saw above, Lownes saved on paper by switching from quarto to folio, but could only do so by printing the text in double columns of the smaller long primer roman type. This shrewd move was surely inspired by Field's work on Harington's *Orlando Furioso*, as a comparison of the two books demonstrates (Figures 4.7 and 4.8).

Lownes's 1609 folio *Faerie Queene* also followed Harington's *Orlando Furioso* by numbering the stanzas. This organizing feature became a staple of Spenser editions and remains a bibliographic element in editions of *The Faerie Queene* to the present day. The incorporation of stanza numbers immediately changed the way readers referred to *The Faerie Queene*. Prior to the inclusion of stanza numbers, reference was only made to the book and canto number. The earliest quotation of a passage from *The Faerie Queene* appears in Abraham Fraunce's *Arcadia Rhetorike*. Fraunce most likely references a manuscript copy of the text. His reference does not include a stanza number, citing only "2. book cant. 4.," paratextual information that Spenser likely included in his manuscript and was included accordingly in the first printed editions (E3). Similarly, when John Harington references *The Faerie Queene*'s Squire of Dames in his 1591 edition of

Orlando Furioso he cites only the Book and Canto numbers: "M. *Spencers* tale of the squire of Dames, in his excellent Poem of the Faery Queene, in the end of vij. Canto of the thirde booke" (373). Other references that predate the inclusion of stanza numbers include Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's *A Tract Containing the Artes of curious Paintinge* (1598), which cites "Faery Queene Cant. 12. li[ber].2.," and Joseph Wybarne *The New Age of Old Names* (1609), which cites "the Legend of Phaedria in the 2. booke of the Fayerie Queene" (51; 69).

After the publication of the 1609 folio, references to *Faerie Queene* begin to make use of stanza numbers, creating a new system for citing *The Faerie Queene*. Tristam White's *The Martyrdome of Saint George* (1614) affords a good example. In his dedication to the readers, White quotes a suitable passage from *The Faerie Queene* and cites it as "Lib.I.Cant.10.Stanz.60" (A2). Published in 1642, but written in 1628, Sir Kenelm Digby's *OBSERVATIONS on the 22. Stanza in the 9th. Canto of the 2d. Book of SPENCERS Faery Queene* also makes use of the folio *Faerie Queene*'s new paratextual elements, referring readers to a specific stanza. Henry More in his *An Explanation of The grand Mystery of Godliness* (1650) discusses "Una's Entertainment by Satyrs in the Desart" specifically identifying "Stanza 11" of "his *Fairy Queene*, Book 1 Canto 6" (pp.169-79). In this way, the typographical influence of Harington's *Orlando Furioso* not only changed the overall layout of *The Faerie Queene*, it changed the way readers interacted with the text.

Elizabethan Reverberations

As a result of imitating Harington's *Orlando Furioso*, the 1609 folio *Faerie Queene* adopted an Italianate appearance that had evolved out of nearly a century of editions of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*. Yet, supporting the overarching Italianate design of the 1609 *Faerie Queene* lay a foundation that was altogether English. As we have seen, in order for the Lownes brothers to create a design that approximated the elegance of Harington's edition, they had to work creatively with the woodcuts that Humphrey already owned. An examination of the book's woodcuts demonstrates typographical elements that are distinctly English. In fact, the majority of the woodcuts that appear in the folio relate thematically to Queen Elizabeth I.

Elizabethan elements first appear on the dedication page. Not only has the compositor redesigned the layout of the dedication to make "Elizabeth" the focal point of the page, he has included a large woodcut illustration at the head of the page that portrays Elizabeth's royal arms. This woodcut dates back to at least 1582, when it adorned the title page of Thomas Bentley's *The Monument of Matrons* printed by Henry Dedham. Its use in *The Monument of Matrons* was appropriate, because not only was the book printed during the reign of Elizabeth, the book itself was a celebration of the virgin queen.[20] Six years after the death of Elizabeth, the royal arms woodcut was as out-of-date as Spenser's dedication to Elizabeth, but clearly Lownes felt it was an appropriate addition to the dedication page. Indeed, woodcuts containing Elizabethan iconography appear all the way through the folio *Faerie Queene*.

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[20] Humphrey Lownes inherited Dedham's stock through Peter Short when Lownes married Short's widow.

In constructing headnote borders that imitate the argomento proem borders found in *Orlando Furioso*, Humphrey Lownes used four pairs of decorative blocks, three of which contain images associated with Queen Elizabeth. The pair featured at the beginning of Book One of *The Faerie Queene* is the most obviously Elizabethan. The first block depicts the English royal Lion and the letter "E"; the second depicts the Welsh dragon and the letter "R." The lion and dragon are the two creatures found on Elizabeth's royal arms, while "E. R." invokes the Latin "Elizabetha Regina" or "Queen Elizabeth" (Figure 4.9). As their theme suggests, the woodcut pair are decades old, dating back to at least the first folio edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* printed in 1593 by John Windet for Ponsonby.[21] 1593 was clearly a more appropriate time to use these woodcuts than 1609, which was six years after Elizabeth' death and well into the reign of King James I.

The second pair of woodcut blocks, initially used for the argomento of Canto Two, continues the Elizabethan theme. Although they do not contain "E. R.," they depict the same heraldic lion and dragon associated with Elizabeth's royal arms. The third pair of woodcut blocks to appear also contains Elizabethan iconography. In this case, the blocks depict a pair of crowned phoenixes. The phoenix, a symbol for death and rebirth was an emblem adopted by Queen Elizabeth.[22] These three sets of woodcut pairs

[21] This suggests that the woodcuts were passed down from Ponsonby to Waterson to Matthew Lownes. These are not the only woodcuts in both the 1593 *Arcadia* and the 1609 *Faerie Queene*. See also the woodcut at the head of A2r in *The Faerie Queene* and at the head of ¶3 in *Arcadia*.

[22] The emblem of the phoenix appears most famously in the Phoenix Portrait of Elizabeth by Nicholas Hilliard (c.1572). For discussions of this portrait and the phoenix imagery, see Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (Thames and Hudson, 1987): 79-83.

alternate as elements of the headnote designs (along with a fourth pair depicting cherubs). Since these woodcuts adorn the proems that begin each canto, these images recur quite frequently.

In addition to these woodcut pairs and the coat of arms adorning the dedication, yet another woodcut ornament invokes Elizabeth on the opening page of Book Five of *The Faerie Queene*. The illustration depicts Elizabeth's coat of arms for the second time, complete with the lion and dragon that appear so often throughout the book.

All of these Elizabethan woodcuts are at once both appropriate and out-of-date. Despite being clearly anachronistic, they suit *The Faerie Queene*. The book is so intrinsically connected to Elizabeth that the woodcuts are a fitting addition, despite the change in monarch. The easiest explanation for the use of these out-of-date woodcuts is that they were available and were the right size. Simply put, Humphrey Lownes may have chosen them merely because they fit the folio page. Indeed, these woodcuts do appear in other folios printed by Lownes. Still, as the examples given above demonstrate, there may have been a more deliberate trend in the choice of woodcuts, a trend that begins in earnest with the ornate dedication to Elizabeth and continues globally through the book.

A Curious Hybrid

Four years after Matthew Lownes co-published the fourth edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* with Simon Waterson, he followed the example of Sidney's romance and published Spenser's epic as a folio. In doing so, he fashioned the folio *Faerie Queene* in the style of Harington's *Orlando Furioso*. The choice resulted in an economical folio

that cost less to produce than William Ponsonby's 1596 quarto edition. Moreover, the choice resulted in a curious bibliographic hybrid—a book resembling an Italian epic but punctuated with out-of-date Elizabethan iconography. The hybrid nature of the book reflects the hybrid nature of the poet and his text. Ultimately, the typography of the 1609 folio *Faerie Queene* reminds us that Spenser was an Elizabethan poet creating an English epic from out of Italian and classical influences.

Coda: *Two Cantos of Mutabilitie*

Earlier I noted that the 1609 *Faerie Queene* amounted to a folio reprinting of the 1596 quarto edition. The one chief difference was the addition of the *Two Cantos of Mutabilitie*. Most scholars agree that the *Cantos* are a part of *The Faerie Queene*, as evidenced by their Spenserian stanza form, canto structure, and proem introductions. Little is known, however, about how and why they came to be included in the 1609 folio edition. Bibliographically, they begin in the middle of the same signature run that ends Book Six, so they were most likely not a last minute addition. Matthew Lownes probably had them in hand before he began production. Perhaps the acquisition of the *Cantos* was the impetus for Lownes to publish *The Faerie Queene* in 1609. Then again, no mention of the new text appears on the front title page or on the title page to the "Second Part of the Faerie Qveene." If the previously unpublished *Cantos* were a selling point of the new edition, then Lownes would surely have brought attention to them on the title page.

Of course, for Lownes to advertise the additions of the *Cantos*, he needed to be confident that they were in fact from *The Faerie Queene*. Whoever wrote the heading to the *Cantos* in the 1609 edition (presumably Matthew Lownes, unless he was reproducing

it directly from the manuscript copy-text he was using) is not positive that the *Cantos* were a part of Spenser's epic:

> Two Cantos of Mutabilitie: Which, both for Forme and Matter, appeare to be parcell of some following Booke of the Faerie Queene, Vnder the Legend of Constancie. Neuer before imprinted. " (Hh4)

The *Cantos* only "*appeare* to be parcell of some following Booke of the Faerie Queene" (my emphasis). What's more, the title heading does not identify what specific book of *The Faerie Queene* they are "parcel" of, only that they come from "some following Booke." In fact, only the running headlines of the 1609 edition identify the *Cantos* as a part of the "Seventh" book (Figure 4.10).[23] Whether or not the copy-text used by Lownes identified them as a part of the seventh book is unknown, though it seems likely that if it did, then Lownes would have included this information in the title heading to the *Cantos*. The "Seventh Booke" headline could just have easily come from the compositor, who merely constructed a headline that sequentially followed "The Sixth Booke." Despite the fact that the headlines to the 1609 folio are the only source of a connection between the *Two Cantos of Mutabilitie* and a seventh book, scholars often identify the *Cantos* as surviving parts of the seventh book.[24] Shrewd editors, however, rightly refer to the text only as the *Two Cantos of Mutabilitie* and cautiously avoid fixing them into any one book.

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[23] The headlines to Hh4-H6 read "The Seventh Booke Of The Faery Qveene;" the headlines to Ii1-Ii3 read "The Seaventh Booke Of The Faery Qveene."

[24] The 1679 folio follows the 1609 and c.1612-13 editions in printing the title heading and identifying the "Seventh Book" in the running headlines.

Although Lownes's copy-text does not appear to have supplied information regarding what book of *The Faerie Queen* the *Cantos* originated from, it is safe to assume that the copy-text did supply many of the other textual details. For example, it surely provided the canto numbers, which identify the fragment as the sixth, seventh, and "unperfite" eighth canto.[25] The copy-text likely also included the proems for the sixth and seventh cantos and the headnote that identified the book's overarching theme as the "Legend of Constancie."

Considering how little Matthew Lownes contributed editorially to *The Faerie Queene*, it is rather doubtful that he supplied any textual or bibliographic information on the *Cantos*. Rather he most likely acquired and reproduced a manuscript version of the *Cantos* complete with canto numbers and proems. Because Lownes had obtained the rights to Spenser's works from William Ponsonby through Simon Waterson, one might assume that the manuscript was Spenser's own and had also traveled through the same chain of stationers. But if this were the case, then Lownes surely would have been more confident that the *Cantos* were from Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. Lownes probably managed to get his hands on a circulating manuscript copy from a source outside of the Spenser-Ponsonby circle. Yet, no manuscript copies of the *Two Cantos of Mutabilitie* survive to suggest that the text was actually in circulation. Unfortunately, the material text of the 1609 folio edition is unable to tell us anything more. Unless more primary documents surface, the answers to when and how Lownes acquired the *Two Cantos of Mutabilitie* must remain speculative.

[25] This makes sense if Spenser wrote the headnote proems after each canto was completed. This is highly probable, because the headnotes describe the action of the full cantos.

4.2. SPENSER'S FIRST FOLIO WORKS, 1611-c.1625

Monuments—Stone and Otherwise

In 1620, Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, commissioned Nicholas Stone to erect the first monument to Edmund Spenser. It bore this inscription:

> HEARE LYES (EXPECTING THE SECOND
COMMINGE OF OVR SAVIOVR CHRIST
JESVS) THE BODY OF EDMOND SPENCER,
THE PRINCE OF POETS IN HIS TYME;
WHOSE DIVINE SPIRRIT NEEDS NOE
OTHIR WITNESSE THEN THE WORKS
WHICH HE LEFT BEHINDE HIM.
HE WAS BORNE IN LONDON IN
THE YEAR 1510, AND
DIED IN THE YEARE
1596.[26]

While the details of the inscription that first catch the eye are most likely the erroneous birth and death dates, more intriguing is the curious title given to Spenser, "The Prince of Poets in His Time." It is not the phrase "Prince of Poets," a fine title for Spenser, but rather the "in *his* time" (my emphasis). This wording is deceptive. What at first seems like high praise is, at a second glance, also restrictive, confining Spenser's literary title to the period in which he was alive.

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[26] Quoted from Judson's *Life of Edmund Spenser*, 207.

As a point of comparison, take Ben Jonson's famous exaltation of Shakespeare, "He was not of an age, but for all time." Written for Shakespeare's first folio in 1623—roughly the same time as the inscription on Spenser's tomb—Shakespeare's literary reputation is said to be without bounds. His works are not simply relevant to "his time," but "for all time." Four centuries later, Jonson's observation has certainly come to fruition and has become the most frequently quoted description of Shakespeare. Spenser's title is often quoted as well, but when modern scholars cite it they usually amend the monument's inscription to the unrestricted and unambiguous "Prince of Poets."

Monuments are not always made of stone. Equally reverential and often equally enduring are the *printed* monuments to authors, the folios. As Fredson Bowers observed, "it is true that in general the Elizabethans printed works in folio that they considered to be of a superior merit or of some permanent value" (76). More recently, Peter W. M. Blayney has noted:

> The folio format was usually reserved for works of reference (on subjects as theology, law, history, and heraldry) and for the collected writings of important authors, both ancient (Homer, Tacitus, Saint Augustine) and modern (Spenser, Sir Phillip Sidney, Bishop Joseph Hall)." (*First Folio* 1)

Blayney further cites Ben Jonson's folio *Workes* (1616) and the first folio of Shakespeare (1623), two folios that together have received the lion's share of scholarly discussion. In the case of both books, folio format constitutes an expression of authorship. As David Scott Kastan observes, "the ambition of the folio is to create Shakespeare as an author" (69). For Jonson's 1616 folio, Kastan's observation might be slightly altered to read

"Jonson's ambition in producing his folio is to create *himself* as an author." In this way, folios can serve to monumentalize an author, or, for authors to monumentalize themselves.

Spenser's work first appeared in folio in 1609, when Matthew Lownes published a folio edition of *The Faerie Queene*, printed by his brother Humphrey Lownes. Two years later, Matthew Lownes incorporated what was left of the original print run of the folio *Faerie Queene* into the first folio edition of Spenser's works: *The faerie queen: the shepheards calendar: together with the other works of England's arch-poet, Edm. Spenser: collected into one volume, and carefully corrected*, also printed by Humphrey Lownes.[27]

At first glance, the first folio of Spenser's works may appear to play the role of an apparently stable monument to the author. However, like Stone's 1620 monument to Spenser, appearances can be deceiving. A thorough examination reveals an economically produced and bibliographically unstable folio. Further examination of the folio's print history suggests that its instability was a part of an intentional strategy by its publisher, Matthew Lownes, to create a publication that accommodated both bookseller and book buyer. The result was a "build-it-yourself" folio that was more cost-effective for the publisher and provided more buying options for consumers. In short, Spenser's first folio was more a consumer's product than a printed monument to its author.

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[27] Even though Lownes published Spenser's folio works in parts over the course of nearly twenty years, I will refer to it as "Spenser's first folio" for purposes of convenience.

Spenser's Folio Works 1611-c.1625

How well the 1609 folio *Faerie Queene* sold is difficult to assess. Bibliographic evidence, however, demonstrates that sometime around 1610 or early 1611 much of the original print run remained unsold. Matthew Lownes used copies in stock as the foundation for a folio of Spenser's works, to which he added folio editions of the following: *The Faerie Queene*'s dedication to Elizabeth, the letter to Raleigh, and the commendatory poems and dedicatory sonnets; *The Shepheardes Calender*; and *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* with Spenser's other minor poems.[28]

Before Lownes could publish the whole of Spenser's printed works, he had to secure permission to print Spenser's most popular work, *The Shepheardes Calender*.[29] He had acquired the rights to all of the works of Spenser owned by Ponsonby, but this did not include *The Shepheardes Calender*. The rights to this book belonged to John Harrison II, who had published all of the four editions that followed Hugh Singleton's first edition in 1579. How Lownes came to print *The Shepheardes Calender* is uncertain, because no record of any transfer of the rights from Harrison to Lownes exists in the *Stationers' Register*. There are two possibilities: "Lownes may have made some private arrangement with him [Harrison] for the publication of this edition"; or, Lownes published it "without securing Harrison's consent" (Johnson, *Critical Bibliography* 39). The former is the more likely explanation, because Lownes's 1611 folio edition included

[28] A year or so later he also added *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale*.

[29] *The Shepheardes Calender* went through five editions from 1579 to 1597.

the twelve woodcut illustrations that had accompanied each month's eclogue in every preceding quarto edition of the book.

It is worthy of note that in the course of a no-frills production Matthew Lownes would go out of his way to acquire the use of these woodcuts. Unlike the Saint George and the Dragon woodcut, which Lownes chose not to include or reproduce in his folio *Faerie Queene*, *The Shepheardes Calender*'s twelve woodcuts are an intrinsic part of the book. Each illustration constitutes a more or less accurate visual representation of the story presented in its corresponding eclogue. Not only did Lownes find it essential to include these illustrations, his brother Humphrey Lownes had to devise a clever way to fit the quarto-sized woodcuts onto the larger folio page. He did so by buttressing each of the woodcuts with two layers of decorative borders, thus enhancing their size (Johnson, *Critical Bibliography* 39).

Harrison surely retained ownership of these woodcuts. Their appearance in the folio therefore suggests that Harrison and Matthew Lownes had entered into an arrangement that included permission to print *The Shepheardes Calender* and the use of the woodcuts. Lownes was most definitely in contact with Harrison for the second printing of the folio *Shepheardes Calender* in 1617. The title page of this edition bears the following imprint: "Printed by Bar: Alsop *for* Iohn Harrison the elder, and are to bee solde at *his* shop at the signe of the golden Anker."[30] The "for" in this imprint indicates that Harrison was the publisher of this edition. He either discovered that Lownes was printing his work and asserted his rights to the text, or, more likely, retained his rights

[30] Although this imprint reads "Iohn Harrison the elder," it most certainly refers to John Harrison II. As Johnson notes, John Harrison the elder had died earlier that year, his will having been proved on February 11, 1617 (*Critical Bibliography* 40).

throughout and amended an earlier arrangement with Lownes to include more participation in its production and sale.

With all of Spenser's previously printed work accounted for, Lownes published *The faerie queen: the shepheards calendar: together with the other works of England's arch-poet, Edm. Spenser: collected into one volume, and carefully corrected* in 1611. Rather than producing it in a single print run, he spread publication over a decade.

Each of the seven parts to the folio would go through two different printings from 1611 to sometime after 1620.[31] The parts are as follows:

1) Title Page and Dedication to Elizabeth, printed in 1611 and 1617.
2) *The Faerie Queene* part one, printed in 1609 and sometime between 1613 and 1617.
3) *The Faerie Queene* part two, printed in 1609 and 1612-13.
4) *The Shepheardes Calender,* printed in 1611 and 1617.
5) *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* and minor poems, printed in 1611 and 1617.
6) The letter to Raleigh, the commendatory poems, and dedicatory sonnets, printed in 1611 and 1617. [32]
7) *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale*, printed in 1612-13 and after 1620, but no later than 1629.[33] (Johnson, *Critical Bibliography* 33-44)

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[31] Johnson dates the second printing of *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale* after 1620, but no later than 1629, because the imprint names Humphrey Lownes (H.L.) and George Latham. Latham, who married Matthew Lownes's daughter, was freed from his apprenticeship in 1620. Humphrey Lownes died in 1630 (*Critical Bibliography* 42).

[32] As Johnson notes, "copies of the 1609 Folio of *The Faerie Queene*, when found separately, almost never contain it [i.e. the letter], and in most cases where it does appear it seems to have been inserted later" (*Critical Bibliography* 38).

Using the different states of the first two parts of *The Faerie Queene* as his guide, Johnson defines four groups under which copies of the Spenser folio may be classified:

> Group I: "Copies having the 1611 general title page, and the 1609 printing of both parts of *The Faerie Queene*." This group does not contain the 1612-13 printing of *Prosopopoia*.
>
> Group II: "Copies having the 1611 general title-page, the 1609 printing of the first part of *The Faerie Queene* and the 1612-13 printing of the second part."
>
> Group III: "Copies having the 1611 general title-page and the second printing of both parts of *The Faerie Queene*."
>
> Group IV: "Copies having the 1617 general title-page and the second printing of *The Faerie Queene*." (Johnson, *Critical Bibliography* 45-46)

While these groups classify surviving copies that contain all seven parts of Spenser's first folio,[34] other copies survive in more varied states, including single issues.[35] When copies do contain all seven parts, the order in which they are bound consistently varies, as demonstrated by a sample of twelve copies from the Rare Books and Manuscripts Library at The Ohio State University and the Folger Library (see Appendix). Remarkably, these copies rarely contain the same contents bound in the same

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[33] See note 31.

[34] Six if printed before the publication of *Prosopopoia* c.1612-13.

[35] In his 1933 *Critical Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Spenser*, Johnson noted that individual sections of *The Shepheardes Calender* and of *Prosopopoia* often survive as freestanding editions (*Critical Bibliography* 34). The Folger Library holds two single copies of the original 1609 *Faerie Queene* (Folger *STC* 23083 Copies 1 and 2), as well as two copies that contain only the 1617 editions of *The Shepheardes Calender*, the letter to Raleigh and *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* and the minor poems (Folger *STC* 23094 Copies 1 and 2).

order. Some patterns of placement do emerge. For example, the folios usually begin with the Title Page and the two parts of *The Faerie Queene*, and tend to end with *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*. Often, *The Shepheardes Calender* immediately follows *The Faerie Queene*. On the whole, however, the placement order varies.[36] Ultimately, the only real stability in Spenser's first folio is its instability.

An Unstable Book

The instability of Spenser's first folio is immediately apparent from its obvious lack of preliminary materials such as dedications, epistles, and tables of contents. Linking to either pagination or foliation as their system of reference, tables of contents are bibliographic controlling devices that organize a book's contents into a strict order. The Spenser folio has no table of contents.[37] Rather, surviving copies tend to move from the title page, with the dedication to Elizabeth on its verso side, directly into part one of *The Faerie Queene*. As a consequence, no fixed order in which the contents should appear exists.

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[36] The question of binding arises when comparing the variant orders in which Spenser's first folio was bound. An examination of the bindings of the copies held at The Ohio State University is instructive. Three of the four copies are in their original, contemporary bindings (PR 2350 1611a, PR 2350 1611b, and PR2350 1617). One of the three has been rebacked, but does not appear to have ever been disbound (PR 2350 1611a). Thus, the contents of all three folios remain as they were first bound near the time of publication. As Appendix 1 shows, none of the three copies are bound in the same order. This example, compounded by the sheer number of variant orders found throughout the samples from The Ohio State University and the Folger Shakespeare Library, precludes the notion that variant orders are the result of later rebinding. I would like to thank Harry Campbell for helping me to analyze these bindings.

[37] There is a list of contents on the verso to the title page for *Complaints Containing Sundry Small Poemes of the Worlds Vanitie,* a subsection found within the *Colin Clouts* section.

Adding further instability to the Spenser folio is its inconsistency in pagination. *The Faerie Queene, The Shepheardes Calender,* and *Prosopopoia* each has its own discrete pagination, yet no pagination exists for the letter to Raleigh, or for the section containing *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* and the shorter poems. The lack of any sequential pagination in the Spenser folio is mirrored by the lack of one continuous signature run.[38] Instead, each section of the folio (with the exception of the two parts of *The Faerie Queen*) has its own signature run. Discontinuous signing is not uncommon, but it normally does not result in this kind of bibliographic instability. Shakespeare's first folio, for example, is divided into three sections—Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies—each with its own pagination and signature collation. Yet, each section is not independent, because the book's "Catalogue" maintains control over its contents. The Spenser folio, however, has no overarching bibliographic control. Each section is self-contained and independent of the others.

Adding to this independence is the inclusion of a title page for each section and, at times, for individual works. For example, in the section that includes *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* and the minor poems there are a total of nine title pages. Providing title pages for each work within a collected works was not an unusual printing practice. For instance, each play in Ben Jonson's 1616 folio has its own title page; yet the order of the plays remain fixed under the control of the book's "Catalogue" and continuous

[38] For example, the signature collation of Ohio State's PR 2350 1611b group III copy breaks down as follows: 1) Title Page and Dedication, unsigned; 2) *Faerie Queen* parts one and two, A-2H6; 3) *Prosopopoia* A8; 4) *Shepheardes Calender*, A-E6, F4; 5) *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* and minor poems, A-L6, M2; letter to Raleigh, ¶8.

pagination. This is obviously not the case with the first folio of Spenser's works, which survives in many states, including single sections that survive as freestanding editions.[39]

Why is there such a lack of bibliographic control in the Spenser folio? If several different printers were contributing to its production, its instability might make sense. However, the same printer, Humphrey Lownes, printed all the sections, save the 1617 printing of *The Shepheardes Calender*.[40] The fact that a single printer was responsible for all the sections raises the question of whether the folio's instability could have been purposeful. Despite its instability, many copies survive bound together as a complete folio. Thus, the folio does, for the most part, remain stable as a complete collection. If this stability is not owed to bibliographic control, what is stabilizing the folio as a complete collection?

Consumer Control, or Build Your Own Spenser Folio

Labeling Spenser's first folio "unstable," as I have done thus far, may be to impose an anachronistic bibliographic point of view and overlook an intentional methodology. What modern bibliographers might find to be bibliographic *instability* may have been to the early seventeenth-century book trade a desirable *flexibility*. Constructing an unstable folio created more options for both publisher and book buyers.

[39] See note 35.

[40] Not only do the imprints of each section of the folio identify Humphrey Lownes as their printer, the same ornamental woodcuts owned by Lownes repeat through each section. The only exception to this is the second printing of *The Shepheardes Calender*, which, as its imprint tells us, was not printed by Humphrey Lownes, but by John Harrison II.

Book Buyers

Rather than ask *what* was maintaining bibliographic control, might it be more appropriate to ask *whom*? I argue that the printing of the folio created a flexibility over which the consumer exerted control. Because of the independence of the folio's sections, book buyers had more options. They could buy the whole folio at once, or in sections over a period of time. Or, if they had no interest in owning the complete works, book buyers could simply purchase any single part or parts of the folio.[41] The survival of freestanding editions of *The Shepheardes Calender* seems appropriate, because those who had already bought Lownes's folio edition of *The Faerie Queene* in 1609 may have wanted only to buy Spenser's other major work when it was produced in 1611 and 1617.[42]

Once customers had bought one or all of the sections of Spenser's folio, they could arrange the contents however they saw fit. The varied states of surviving examples clearly indicate that consumers were choosing the order in which their folios were bound. Bibliographers have long recognized that, for the most part, early booksellers did not bind books; rather, book buyers would bring the unbound gatherings of the book, which may have been sewn together, to bookbinders. Bibliographic evidence demonstrates that the sections of Spenser's first folio were sold in sheets and did not even come sewn

[41] Johnson first touched on this point, "separate sections could be assembled with the 1609 *Faerie Queene* and the new general title-page and issued as the collected works, or they could be sold separately to buyers who only wished to purchase certain individual works because they already had copies of the others" (*Critical Bibliography* 47).

[42] The survival of *Prosopopoia,* or *Mother Hubberds Tale* in single editions may also make sense if the authorities originally called in the first edition in 1591, as many scholars believe. Its publication in 1612 would have made this controversial text openly available for the first time.

together. That the folio exists in so many variant states of assembly implies that book buyers were not purchasing the folio pre-assembled in any fashion.

Publisher

The flexibility afforded by a book printed in parts also provided advantages for the publisher, who assumed financial risk in order to print a book. Matthew Lownes appears to have purposefully constructed a bibliographically flexible folio with the help of his brother Humphrey Lownes. Selling the folio as a whole would have been the most profitable option, but just in case the folio as a whole might not sell well, Matthew Lownes could sell parts of the folio and recoup some of his investment. In order to do this, Lownes had to produce a book that was bibliographically flexible by omitting a table of contents; by not having continual signatures, pagination or foliation; and by not sewing any of the parts together.[43] What's more, he had to keep production costs down. The print history of the first Spenser folio demonstrates a no-frills publication. As was the case in his 1609 *Faerie Queene*, Lownes commissioned no woodcuts, nor did he write nor solicit any new preliminary epistles or dedications. There was also no significant editorial investment. Lownes's editing of the 1611 editions of *The Shepheardes Calender* and the minor poems was limited and, on the whole, "distinctively sloppy"

[43] For a comparable example, see the publication history of Clement Edmondes's *Obseruations vpon Cæsars Comentaries* (1600-1609). In this case, Matthew Lownes and the stationers who preceded him employed a similar strategy of producing a purposefully flexible, market-oriented folio edition over the course of a decade. In fact, the headnote of the *STC* entry for Edmondes could very well describe Spenser's first folio: "While it is feasible to note a sequence in the printing of sections, it is impossible to say with certainty what combinations of them should be considered 'issues' or what one should expect to find with the purposefully ambiguous title-pages. Indeed, most copies as they survive today seem better to represent concatenations assembled by individual owners through the years" (Pollard & Redgrave Vol. 1, 338).

(Cummings 4-5; Wurtsbaugh 6-8, 33). Not only was Lownes's folio a no-frills, flexible product, it was a fairly economical book to produce. As we saw in the first part of this chapter, the cost of production was kept down by the use of the folio format.

Just as Lownes had used the folio format to cut down on costs when printing the 1609 edition of *The Faerie* Queene, he continued to economize in this way when he set the rest of Spenser's works to the folio page in 1611. Most of Spenser's work previously appeared in quarto and in single columns of english roman type. Shifting to the folio page, Lownes again set the vast majority of text in double columns of long primer roman type. Adding the new sections required only an additional sixty sheets of paper. In total, the 1611 folio, including *Prosopopoia* required a total of 152 sheets per book. On the whole, this is still quite a large production. But Lownes did not publish all of the parts of the folio at the same time. He began in 1609 with *The Faerie Queene* and added the rest of Spenser's works in 1611, therefore spreading out the production costs. After 1611, Lownes proceeded to print on an as-needed basis. Spreading out the production continued to help keep costs low, particularly because he never printed the two parts of *The Faerie Queene* during the same year that he printed *The Shepheardes Calender* and the minor poems. In this way, rather than producing a 152-sheet book all in one year, a quantity that consumed a great amount of money and time, he alternated between the production of 92 sheets and 60 sheets every two to three years.

The Folio and Notions of Authorship

The notion of an economical and intentionally unstable folio should give a modern bibliographer pause. Bibliographic instability and a lack of editorial concern are

at odds with traditional perceptions of folio books. So, too, is the notion of a no-frills, affordable publication. From a modern, bibliographic point-of-view, literary folios are thought to transcend their commercial roles and remain, in some degree, author-centered. Yet, this notion derives from the reputation of the two most frequently studied early modern English literary folios, Ben Jonson's 1616 folio *Workes* and Shakespeare's 1623 first folio. In these two examples, the folio undoubtedly functions as a monument to its author.

From the title page onward, the overall tenor of Shakespeare's first folio is a celebration of the Bard. Shakespeare's name not only begins the text of the title page, it appears in capital letters that are by far the largest on the page. Even more striking is the large engraved portrait of Shakespeare by Droeshout that fills most of the page. Ultimately, the whole of the preliminaries with its iconographic portrait of Shakespeare, its author-promoting title-page, and its words of high praise provided by Jonson, John Heminge, Henry Condell, and Hugh Holland, construct the pedestal on which sits the monument of Shakespeare's works. Similarly, the preliminaries to Jonson's 1616 folio also work to monumentalize their author. The book's title page is the most immediate and obvious example of this. A Roman theater, an amphitheater, and figures representing comedy and tragicomedy surround the title, *The Workes of Beniamin Jonson*, all of which are framed by an elaborate, classically influenced architectural design. Jonson is consciously placing himself in the milieu of classical literature, thus positioning himself within the neoclassical literary tradition.[44] Further asserting his role as an author committed to his art, Jonson quotes from Horace's *Sermones*: "neque, me, vt miretur

[44] For a detailed discussion of the title page, see Corbett and Lightbown (145-150).

turbo laboro: Contentus paucis lectoribus," i.e., "I do not work so that the crowd may admire me, I am contented with a few readers" (Corbett and Lightbown 146). Beyond the title page, the preliminaries contain poems supplied by contemporaries such as Francis Beaumont and George Chapman that praise Jonson and his works.

In comparison, the first folio edition of Spenser's verse is decidedly not a monument to its author. This is clear from the onset. The folio's ornate title-page border is not only a reuse, its details signify the life and works of Philip Sidney, having been first commissioned and used for Ponsonby's publication of the 1593 folio edition of *Arcadia*. In the top center of the woodcut border is Sidney's crest; on its two sides are a shepherd and an Amazon, representing the characters Musidorus and Pyrocles from Sidney's *Arcadia* (Figure 4.11). The choice of this woodcut border could be a question of availability. Ponsonby surely owned it and handed it down to Waterson, who then gave it to Matthew Lownes. Yet it could also be a reflection of Spenser's continued association with Sidney. Indeed, from its first use in 1593 through 1624, the border only adorned one other book outside of editions of Sidney's *Arcadia* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, when it appeared on the cover of Ponsonby's edition of Machiavelli's *The Florentine Historie* (1595).

The text of the title page also suggests that Lownes's folio was not dedicated to monumentalizing Spenser. The title of "THE FAERIE QVEEN," which appears first on the page in all capital letters, is clearly the selling point of the collection. Second to it is "The Shepheards Calendar," which, while not set in capital letters, appears in the second largest type. In contrast, "EDM. SPENSER," though set in capital letters, appears in the second smallest type on the page; only the words "carefully corrected" are smaller. The

size of Spenser's name is also noticeably smaller than the names of the producers of the book, the printer "H.L." (for Humphrey Lownes) and publisher "Matthew Lownes." What's more, their names appear in an italic type; a typographical move that, much like in today's books, places special emphasis on text. The closest Lownes comes to promoting Spenser is dubbing him "England's Arch-Poet."

The absence of any homage to Spenser continues in the folio's preliminaries. More to the point, the folio has a conspicuous lack of preliminaries. While the folios of Jonson and Shakespeare feature verse and prose that shower praise upon their authors, the Spenser folio contains only a reprint of *The Faerie Queene's* dedication to Elizabeth. Furthermore, Spenser's first folio includes no portrait of the author, as found in Shakespeare's first folio and contemporary folio works of Geoffrey Chaucer.[45]

All of this bibliographic evidence confirms that Spenser's first folio was chiefly a consumer-based product rather than a monument to the author. This becomes even more evident when we think about who was responsible for the publication of the folio. Unlike the folios of William Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, which were initiated and constructed by company colleagues or the author himself, Spenser's first folio was the product of a collection of stationers collaborating in a business venture initiated by Matthew Lownes. Unlike the men behind the folios of Shakespeare and Jonson, Lownes demonstrates no interest in monumentalizing Spenser. The materiality of his folio editions neither celebrates nor enhances Spenser's literary reputation. He did not commission a new title

[45] Interestingly enough, a Huntington Library copy of the folio provides an example in which a later owner of the book has affixed a Mezzotint portrait of Spenser to the flyleaf (Call #69580). This reader, no doubt influenced by enduring norms of folio production, found it necessary to correct Lownes's decision not to include a portrait of the author.

page border, he did not commission a portrait of the author, nor did he add any new preliminary text or end matter.

Compared to the folios of Shakespeare and Jonson, Spenser's first folio may come across as an inferior book, a cheap imitation of a proper literary folio. But rather than viewing the Spenser folio as an inferior anomaly, we should recognize that literary folios were not always intended to be monuments to their authors. Nor did folio publication always equal an expensive, lavish book. These modern notions of literary folios are anachronistic, colored by the exhaustive attention scholars have paid to the first folios and Jonson and Shakespeare. When scholars use these folios as the standard by which other contemporary folios are measured, the results can be misleading.

The Folio Revisited

For nearly the whole of the sixteenth century, only the works of the most famous English literary authors such as Chaucer appear in folio. Indeed, it was not until the very end of the sixteenth century that stationers printed the literary works of contemporary English authors in folio. Two influential literary folios during this time were Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* and Samuel Daniel's *Works*. Preceding Spenser's first folio by just a handful of years, these two books certainly influenced Lownes's publication of Spenser's works.

Sidney's *Arcadia*

As we saw above, William Ponsonby published the first folio edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* in 1593, three years after he had published the first edition in quarto. The shift

in format was accompanied by additions and revisions taken from the Old *Arcadia*, a new "To the Reader" penned by Hugh Sanford, and a decorative woodcut border commissioned specially for the folio's title page (Juel-Jensen 292-3; Stump 25). This border, described above, later appeared as the title page to Spenser's first folio and featured images corresponding to Sidney and his romance (Figure 4.11). In 1598, Ponsonby published a folio edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* "with sundry new additions of the same author." Like Spenser's first folio, the 1598 Sidney folio works lacks the bibliographic features later found in the folios of Jonson and Shakespeare, which serve to monumentalize the author. There was no added preliminary material and no additional woodcuts beyond what had already appeared in the 1593 edition. The lack of new bibliographic features continued in 1605 when Matthew Lownes co-published the fourth edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* with Simon Waterson.[46] To this new edition, they added no new material, nor did they commission any new woodcuts. The folio simply constituted a "page for page" reprint of the 1598 edition (Stump 14). Tellingly, even the title page border was an unrelated reuse. Replacing the border that had ornamented the 1593 and 1598 folios was an astrological-themed border featuring figures such as Ptolemy and Marinus, along with the personifications of Time, Geometry, and Arithmetic.[47]

The early print histories of Sidney's *Arcadia* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene* demonstrate that the two books tended to be associated with one another. Ponsonby published the first editions of both books in 1590 as a pair of quartos, which were linked

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[46] This does not include the controversial edition printed by Robert Waldegrave in 1599.

[47] For the history of this woodcut, see McKerrow and Ferguson, *A Dictionary* 93. The 1593 *Arcadia* border returned in the 1613 edition, also published by Lownes and Waterson.

typographically by roman type, an unusual choice for English literary works at the time.[48] The 1596 *Faerie Queene*, however, did not immediately follow the example of *Arcadia* in undergoing a shift to folio. Nevertheless, the two texts continued to be linked. Just as one publisher, William Ponsonby, had held the rights to both texts in the 1590s, Matthew Lownes held the rights to both texts in collaboration with Simon Waterson in the early 1600s. Lownes co-published the fourth edition of *Arcadia* with Waterson only four years before he published the folio *Faerie Queene* in 1609. It is not surprising, therefore, that Lownes would follow the example of *Arcadia* and move *The Faerie Queene* from quarto to folio.

Daniel's *Works*

Three years after the publication of the first folio works of a contemporary literary English author came another milestone in the English book trade: the first folio works of a living English literary author, namely *The Works of Samuel Daniel Newly Augmented* (1601).[49] Daniel's *Works* consists of three sections: 1) Title Page, Dedication to Elizabeth, and *The Civil Wars* books 1-6; 2) *Musophilus*, *A Letter from Octauia to Marcus Antonius*, *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*, and *The Complaint of Rosamond*; and 3) *To Delia*.[50] In addition to these three sections, some copies of the *Works* include

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[48] See Bland, "The Appearance" 108-10.

[49] Although many scholars treat Jonson's 1616 folio as if it were the first collection of literary works in folio published by a living author, Daniel's was the first. Daniel's collected works first came out in 1599 as a quarto under the title of *The Poeticall Essayes of Sam. Danyel*.

[50] The use pagination and foliation in these sections reflects their independent signature runs (A2, B-O6, P-T4; A-N6; A-B6, C4). The *Civil Wars* section uses foliation; the

Daniel's *A Panegyrike Congratulatorie*, which appeared two years later in the same format and with the same decorative title page border.[51]

In a manner not unlike Spenser's first folio, surviving copies of Daniel's folio *Works* exhibit a variation in contents from copy to copy, a bibliographic diversity which prompted an *STC* headnote declaring: "Daniel's works are unusually awkward from a bibliographical point of view" (1.281). As John Pitcher observes:

> About eighty copies of the edition have survived, and from these we can make out a quite deliberate plan, on the part of the poet and his publisher, to cater for different readers. The folio survives in two issues, with different dates on their title pages (1601 and 1602); they were printed on two or three distinct grades of paper; and they were presented and sold with a variety of contents. (14)

An examination of four copies held at the Folger Library and one copy held at the Library of Congress confirms the variety of contents to which Pitcher refers. Of the five copies, only two contain all three sections of the *Works*. The Library of Congress copy lacks *To Delia*. One of the Folger copies contains only *The Civil Wars* (*STC* 6237 Copy 4), while another includes *A Panegyrike Congratulatorie* (*STC* 6237 Copy 2).[52]

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section containing *Musophilus*, *A Letter from Octauia*, *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* and *The Complaint of Rosamond* uses neither foliation nor pagination; and the Delia section uses pagination.

[51] The design of *A Panegyrike Congratulatorie* appears "to complement (and be sold with) the *Works,*" which explains why it can often be found bound with the *Works* (Pitcher, "Essays" 14).

[52] John Pitcher's critical edition of Daniel's work forthcoming from the Clarendon Press should provide the most detailed bibliographic analysis of Daniel's early editions.

Waterson must have been confident that a folio collection of Daniel's verse would sell. In an "Apology" written for the 1605 edition of *The Tragedy of Philotas*, Daniel recalls "being called vpon by my Printer for a new impression of my workes, with some additions to the ciuill warres" (*Tragedy* 156; Pitcher, "Essays" 13).[53] Subsequently, Waterson appears to have made a significant investment in Daniel's *Works*.[54] An ornate woodcut border, complete with the Queen's royal arms, was commissioned specifically for the title page.[55] Even the layout of the book demanded more of an investment. Although there was ample opportunity to set Daniel's verse in double columns and subsequently save a great deal of paper (as Lownes later did with Spenser's poetry), the whole of the folio is set in the more ornate, but more paper-consuming, single columns of great primer roman.

The physical appearance of Daniel's folio *Works* suggests that Daniel and Waterson intended to produce an elegant edition that was suited for a distinguished audience and that would advance Daniel's literary reputation. Surviving copies confirm that they produced copies for some of the most influential men and women in England. A newly penned, verse dedication by Daniel to "Her Sacred Majesty" heads the *Civil Wars*, supplanting the last edition's dedication to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy. He also gave

[53] Although the "Apology" did not surface in print until the 1623 edition of the *Workes* (253-56), scholars have concluded "it *was* written in the fall of 1604 *for* publication with the '05 edition" (Daniel, *Tragedy* 40 n. 7).

[54] As Pitcher observes "the cost of materials and labour to make this folio cannot have been a small thing for Waterson, and he would not have risked the investment unless he was anticipated enough demand for these expensive books of English poetry" ("Essays" 13).

[55] McKerrow and Ferguson record no earlier use of the compartments that comprise this title page border (180). Its only other reuse was in Daniel's *A Panegyrike Congratulatory* in 1603 (Pitcher, "Essay" 14, McKerrow and Ferguson 180).

presentation copies to important figures such as Sir Thomas Egerton and Sir Thomas Bodley.[56] In fact, Daniel's work "was one of the few volumes in English, let alone English Verse, which Bodley allowed into his new library in the University of Oxford" (Pitcher, "Essays" 13).

Spenser's first folio clearly falls more in the tradition of the earlier folios of Sidney and Daniel than the later folios of Jonson and Shakespeare. Its print history is similar to that of Sidney's in that the major work (i.e., *Arcadia* and *The Faerie Queene)* appeared first as a stand-alone edition and was then followed by an edition that incorporated the rest of the works. The print history of Spenser's first folio is also similar to that of Daniel's *Works*. Like Waterson, Lownes produced a bibliographically flexible folio in sections, only he carried it further, reprinting the sections of Spenser's first folio over the course of a decade or more. Indeed, overall, Lownes went beyond his predecessors in taking measures to construct a flexible and economical folio. As we saw earlier, Lownes chose to save paper by printing in double columns of long primer roman type. Furthermore, unlike the publishers of the first folio edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* and Daniel's *Works*, he commissioned no new woodcuts or preliminary matter.

Lownes's choice to produce Spenser's first folio in a more flexible and economical fashion appears all the more pronounced when we compare his treatment of Spenser to his treatment of Michael Drayton in the publication of the first edition of *Poly-Olbion.* Printed by Humphrey Lownes a year after the Spenser folio in 1611, this folio

[56] See Harry Sellers, "A Bibliography of the Works of Samuel Daniel 1585-1623," *Proceedings & Papers of the Oxford Bibliographical Society*, 2.1(1927): 35-6; and John Pitcher, "Samuel Daniel's Letter to Sir Thomas Egerton" *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 47.1 (1984): 55-61.

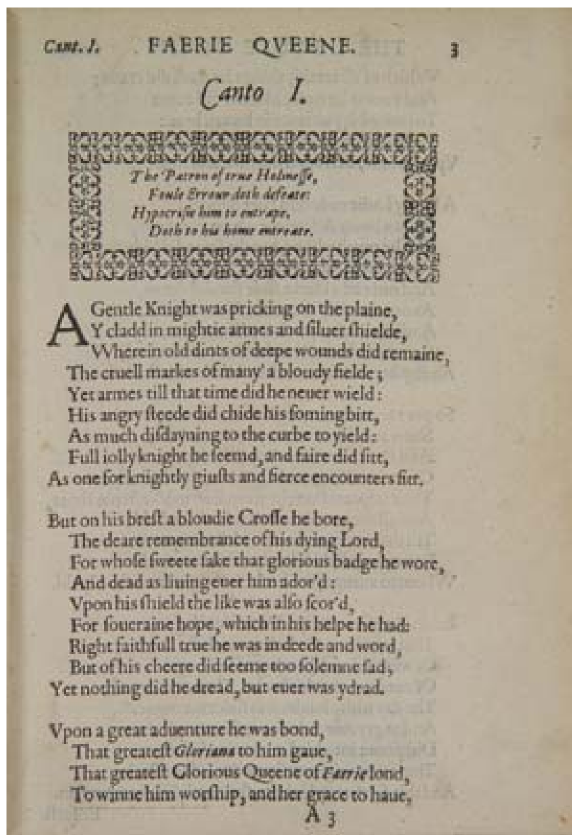
book begins with an elaborate frontispiece commissioned specifically for the book.[57] This frontispiece is accompanied by a poem, "Vpon the Frontispiece" which explicates the illustration. Containing over a dozen maps, the book is heavily illustrated to the extent that the preliminaries even include an epistle "From the Author of the Illustrations." These woodcuts and preliminary materials drove up the cost of producing this book, creating a greater risk for Matthew Lownes. Why was he willing to take a financial risk with Drayton? There are at least two answers. The first is that the participation of co-publishers reduced Lownes's risks. The imprint reads: "Printed [by Humphrey Lownes] for M Lownes. I Browne. I Helme. I Busbie." The "for" designates the stationers who follow as co-publishers of the work, making Matthew Lownes one of four stationers investing in the folio. The second possible answer is that Drayton's career was still in full swing and his popularity demanded an elaborate publication.

The reluctance of Matthew Lownes, or any of the other men involved in the production of Spenser's first folio, to invest in Spenser to the extent that other publishers had invested in Sidney and Daniel, and would later invest in Drayton, Jonson, and Shakespeare, suggests that Spenser's reputation and popularity did not demand such investment. Demonstrating this point, folio editions of the works of each of the other authors would come out within the coming decades or much sooner.[58] The stationers who held the rights to Spenser's works could have followed suit, perhaps even producing

[57] For an examination of the frontispiece, see Corbett and Lightbown 153-161, and Brink, *Michael Drayton Revisited* 83-84.

[58] The second Jonson folio was published in 1640, Shakespeare's in 1632. A folio edition of Drayton's poems was published in 1619, and a lavish edition of Daniel's *The Collection of the Historie of England* appeared in 1618. Editions of Sidney's *Arcadia* appeared in 1613, 1621, 1633, 1638, and beyond.

a monumentalizing folio in the fashion of the Jonson and Shakespeare folios, but they chose not to. Instead another half a century would pass before Spenser's collected works would again appear in a folio.


Cant. I. FAERIE QVEENE. 3

Canto I.

The Patron of true Holinesse,
Foule Errour doth defeate:
Hypocrisie him to entrape,
Doth to his home entreate.

A Gentle Knight was pricking on the plaine,
Y cladd in mightie armes and siluer shielde,
Wherein old dints of deepe wounds did remaine,
The cruell markes of many' a bloudy fielde;
Yet armes till that time did he neuer wield:
His angry steede did chide his foming bitt,
As much disdayning to the curbe to yield:
Full iolly knight he seemd, and faire did sitt,
As one for knightly giusts and fierce encounters fitt.

But on his brest a bloudie Crosse he bore,
The deare remembrance of his dying Lord,
For whose sweete sake that glorious badge he wore,
And dead as liuing euer him ador'd:
Vpon his shield the like was also scor'd,
For soueraine hope, which in his helpe he had:
Right faithfull true he was in deede and word,
But of his cheere did seeme too solemne sad;
Yet nothing did he dread, but euer was ydrad.

Vpon a great aduenture he was bond,
That greatest *Gloriana* to him gaue,
That greatest Glorious Queene of *Faerie* lond,
To winne him worship, and her grace to haue,

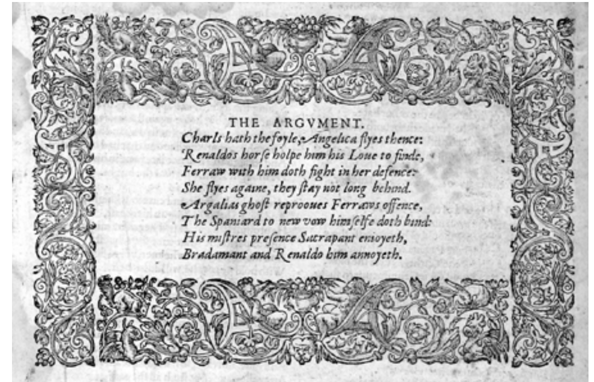
A 3

2 THE FIRST BOOKE OF Cant. I.

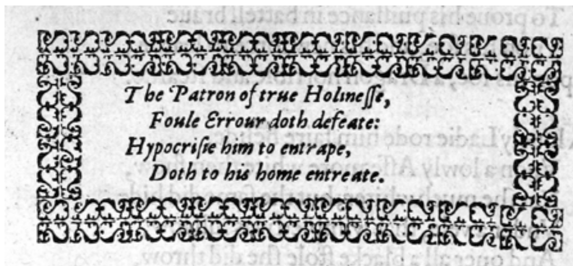
Canto I.

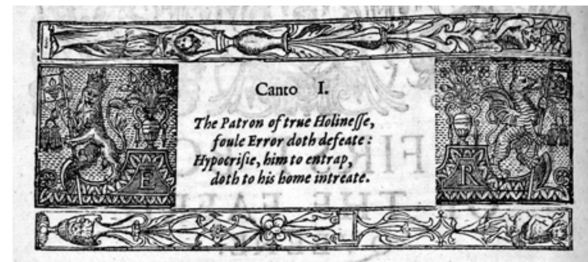
The Patron of true Holinesse,
foule Error doth defeate:
Hypocrisie, him to entrap,
doth to his home intreate.

Figures 4.1 and 4.2. The opening of Book One, Canto One from the 1596 and 1609 editions of *The Faerie Queene.* By using smaller type on the larger folio page, Lownes's edition required less paper and was therefore less expensive to produce. Courtesy of The Ohio State University Libraries.

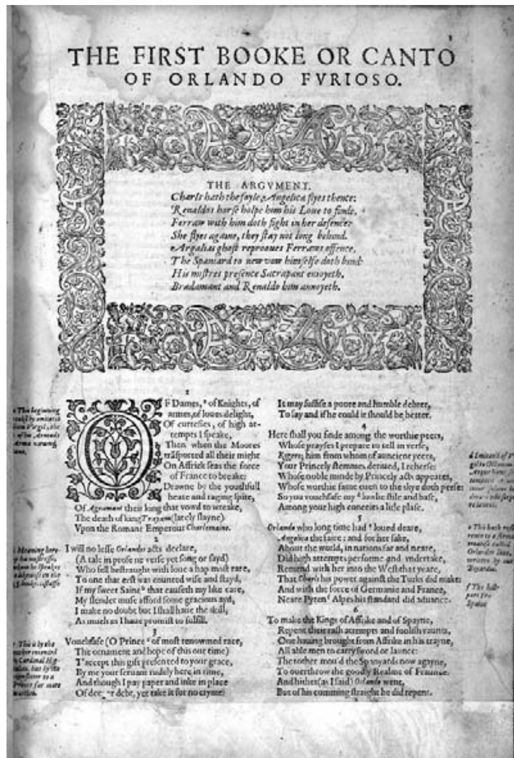


Figures 4.3 and 4.4. Argomento borders from Franceschi's 1584 edition of *Orlando Furioso* and Harington's 1591 translation of the same. Courtesy of The Ohio State University Libraries.





Figures 4.5 and 4.6. Argomento borders from the 1596 and 1609 editions of *The Faerie Queene*. The 1609 folio edition follows editions of Harington's *Orlando Furioso* in using smaller woodcut blocks to construct a decorative border that approximates Franceschi's 1584 edition. Courtesy of The Ohio State University Libraries.



THE FIRST BOOKE OR CANTO
OF ORLANDO FVRIOSO.

THE ARGVMENT.

Charls hath the foyle, Angelica flyes thence:
Renaldos horse helpe him his Loue to finde.
Ferraw with him doth fight in her defence:
She flyes againe, they stay not long behind.
Argalias ghost reproaues Ferraws offence,
The Spaniard to new vow himselfe doth bind:
His mistres presence Sacrapant enioyeth,
Bradamant and Renaldo him annoyeth.

1

OF Dames, of Knights, of armes, of loues delight,
Of curtesies, of high attempts I speake,
Then when the Moores trāsported all their might
On Affrick seas the force of France to breake:
Drawne by the youthfull heate and raging spite,
Of *Agramant* their king that vowd to wreake,
The death of king *Trayano* (lately slayne)
Vpon the Romane Emperour *Charlemaine*.

2

I will no lesse *Orlandos* acts declare,
(A tale in prose ne verse yet song or sayd)
Who fell bestraught with loue a hap most rare,
To one that erst was counted wise and stayd,
If my sweet Saint that causeth my like care,
My slender muse affoord some gracious ayd,
I make no doubt but I shall haue the skill,
As much as I haue promist to fulfill.

3

Vouchsafe (O Prince of most renowmed race,
The ornament and hope of this our time)
T'accept this gift presented to your grace,
By me your seruant rudely here in rime,
And though I pay paper and inke in place
Of dee[illegible]r debt, yet take it for no cryme:
It may suffise a poore and humble debter,
To say and if he could it should be better.

4

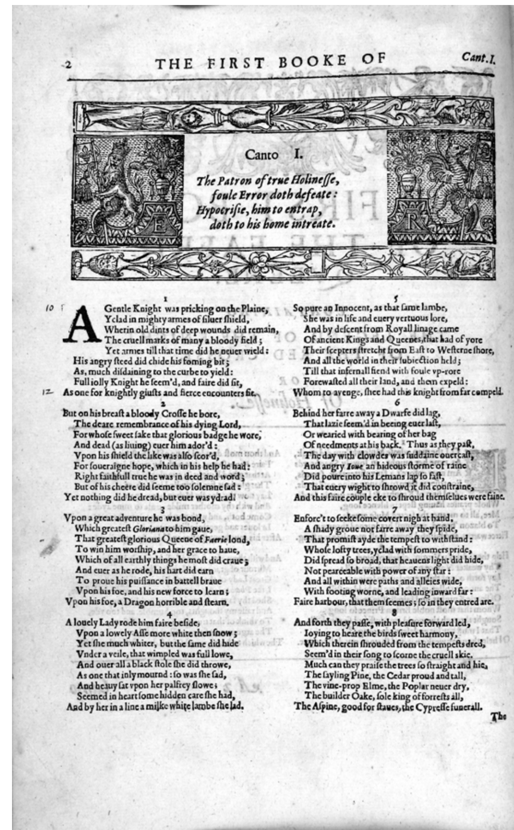
Here shall you finde among the worthie peers,
Whose prayses I prepare to tell in verse,
Rogero, him from whom of auncient yeers,
Your Princely stemmes deriued, I reherse:
Whose noble minde by Princely acts appeares,
Whose worthie fame euen to the skye doth perse:
So you vouchsafe my lowlie stile and base,
Among your high conceits a litle plase.

5

Orlando who long time had loued deare,
Angelica the faire: and for her sake,
About the world, in nations far and neare,
Did high attempts performe and vndertake,
Returnd with her into the West that yeare,
That *Charls* his power against the Turks did make:
And with the force of Germanie and France,
Neare Pyren Alpes his standard did aduance.

6

To make the Kings of Affrike and of Spayne,
Repent their rash attempts and foolish vaunts,
One hauing brought from Affrike in his trayne,
All able men to carry sword or launce:
The tother mou'd the Spanyards now agayne,
To ouerthrow the goodly Realme of Fraunce.
And hither (as I said) *Orlando* went,
But of his comming straight he did repent.



2 THE FIRST BOOKE OF Cant. I.

Canto I.

The Patron of true Holinesse,
foule Error doth defeate:
Hypocrisie, him to entrap,
doth to his home intreate.

1

A Gentle Knight was pricking on the Plaine,
Yclad in mighty armes of siluer shield,
Wherin old dints of deep wounds did remain,
The cruell marks of many a bloody field;
Yet armes till that time did he neuer wield:
His angry steed did chide his foming bit;
As, much disdaining to the curbe to yield:
Full iolly Knight he seem'd, and faire did sit,
As one for knightly giusts and fierce encounters fit.

2

But on his breast a bloody Crosse he bore,
The deare remembrance of his dying Lord,
For whose sweet sake that glorious badge he wore,
And dead (as liuing) euer him ador'd:
Vpon his shield the like was also scor'd,
For soueraigne hope, which in his help he had:
Right faithfull true he was in deed and word;
But of his cheere did seeme too solemne sad:
Yet nothing did he dread, but euer was ydrad.

3

Vpon a great adventure he was bond,
Which greatest *Gloriana* to him gaue,
That greatest glorious Queene of *Faerie* lond,
To win him worship, and her grace to haue,
Which of all earthly things he most did craue;
And euer as he rode, his hart did earn
To proue his puissance in battell braue
Vpon his foe, and his new force to learn;
Vpon his foe, a Dragon horrible and stearn.

4

A louely Lady rode him faire beside,
Vpon a lowely Asse more white then snow;
Yet she much whiter, but the same did hide
Vnder a veile, that wimpled was full lowe,
And ouer all a black stole she did throwe,
As one that inly mournd: so was she sad,
And heauy sat vpon her palfrey slowe;
Seemed in heart some hidden care she had,
And by her in a line a milke white lambe she lad.

5

So pure an Innocent, as that same lambe,
She was in life and euery vertuous lore,
And by descent from Royall linage came
Of ancient Kings and Queenes, that had of yore
Their scepters stretcht from East to Westerne shore,
And all the world in their subiection held;
Till that infernall fiend with foule vp-rore
Forewasted all their land, and them expeld:
Whom to avenge, shee had this knight from far compeld.

6

Behind her farre away a Dwarfe did lag,
That lazie seem'd in beeing euer last,
Or wearied with bearing of her bag
Of needments at his back. Thus as they past,
The day with clowdes was suddaine ouercast,
And angry *Ioue* an hideous storme of raine
Did poure into his Lemans lap so fast,
That euery wight to shrowd it did constraine,
And this faire couple eke to shroud themselues were faine.

7

Enforc't to seeke some covert nigh at hand,
A shady groue not farre away they spide,
That promist ayde the tempest to withstand:
Whose lofty trees, yclad with sommers pride,
Did spread so broad, that heauens light did hide,
Not pearceable with power of any star:
And all within were paths and alleies wide,
With footing worne, and leading inward far:
Faire harbour, that them seemes; so in they entred are.

8

And forth they passe, with pleasure forward led,
Ioying to heare the birds sweet harmony,
Which therein shrouded from the tempests dred,
Seem'd in their song to scorne the cruell skie.
Much can they praise the trees so straight and hie,
The sayling Pine, the Cedar proud and tall,
The vine-prop Elme, the Poplar neuer dry,
The builder Oake, sole king of forrests all,
The Aspine, good for staues, the Cypresse funerall.

The

Figures 4.7 and 4.8. Pages from the 1591 *Orlando Furioso* and the 1609 *Faerie Queene* illustrate how *The Faerie Queene* followed *Orlando Furioso* in using double columns and numbered stanzas. Courtesy of The Ohio State University Libraries.

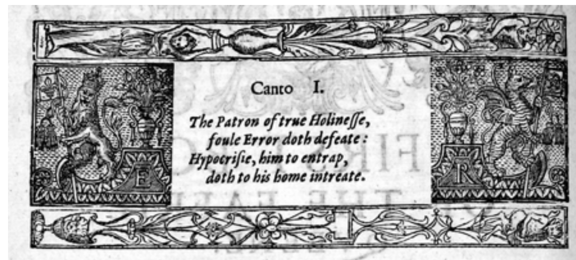
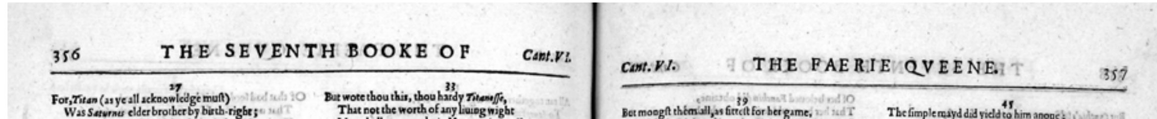


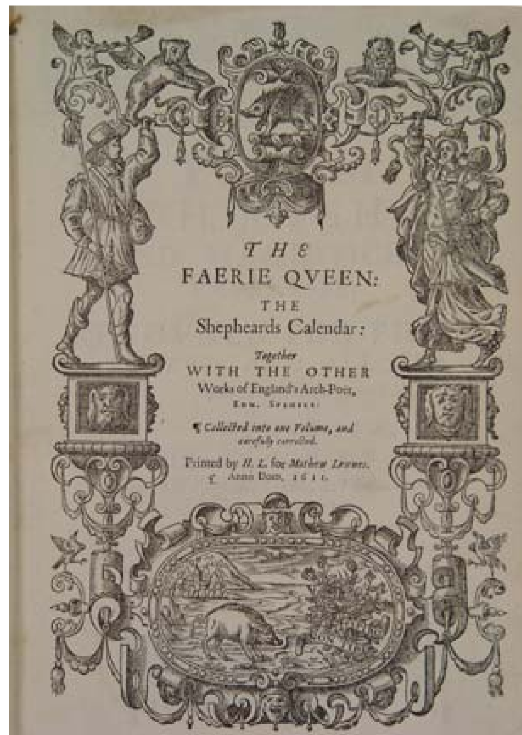
Figure 4.9. Humphrey Lownes's English royal lion and Welsh dragon, "Elizabetha Regina" woodcut blocks. Courtesy of The Ohio State University Libraries.



356 THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF Cant.VI.

Cant.VI. THE FAERIE QVEENE. 357

Figure 4.10. The running headlines to the *Two Cantos of Mutabilitie* suggest that they are a part of a seventh book of *The Faerie Queene*. Courtesy of The Ohio State University Libraries.



THE
FAERIE QVEEN:
THE
Shepheards Calendar:
Together
WITH THE OTHER
Works of England's Arch-Poët,
Edm. Spenser:
Collected into one Volume, and
carefully corrected.
Printed by H. L. for Mathew Lownes.
Anno Dom. 1611.

Figure 4.11. The title page border used for Spenser's first folio originally appeared in the early folio editions of Sidney's *Arcadia*. Thus, its images correspond with Sidney and his text. The Sidney family crest is in the top-center, the lion and the bear from the *Arcadia* are in the upper corners, and the characters Musidorus and Pyrocles stand on pedestals on each side. Courtesy of The Ohio State University Libraries.

CHAPTER 5

A VIEW OF THE PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND: A HISTORY

5.1. THE *VIEW* IN MANUSCRIPT

On April 14, 1598, a fledgling publisher named Matthew Lownes entered the following text into the *Stationers' Register*: "A viewe of the present state of Ireland. Discoursed by waye of a Dialogue between EUDOXUS and IRENIUS." Appended to the entry was a cautionary note from one of the Company wardens at that time, Thomas Man, which read: "vppon Condicion that hee gett further aucthoritie before yt be prynted." In the decades that followed, Lownes appears never to have published the text that most scholars believe to be Edmund Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland*. Although manuscript copies circulated from the mid-1590s onward, the text did not appear in print until 1633, when an Irish antiquary named James Ware published the *View* as both a single edition and in a collected edition with Meredith Hanmer's *The Chronicle of Ireland* and Edmund Campion's *Historie of Ireland* under the overarching title *The historie of Ireland, collected by three learned authors*.

What happened to the text in the meantime is clouded in uncertainty and consequently has been the subject of considerable scholarly debate, particularly within the last decade and a half. Two key questions have arisen out of recent scholarship. Did

government officials censor the controversial text by refusing to provide Lownes the "further aucthoritie" he required? Did the warden, Thomas Man, recognize that Lownes was infringing on William Ponsonby's unofficial monopoly on the works of Edmund Spenser and require Lownes to seek permission from Ponsonby, only to be refused?

Scholars such as Jean Brink, Andrew Hadfield, and Willy Maley have investigated these questions to very productive ends. Indeed, their work provides new insight into the history of the *View*. In her groundbreaking and controversial article, "Constructing the *View of the Present State of Ireland*," Brink took to task the prevailing theory that government officials blocked the publication of the *View*, demonstrating that there is no surviving evidence supporting such a theory. She was also the first to present the argument that censorship within the Stationers' Company halted Lownes's publication of the *View*. She further contended that there was insufficient evidence to assign the *View* to Edmund Spenser with any assuredness, an argument that elicited passionate responses from many Spenserians. Hadfield and Maley added to the discussion by observing that books on Ireland were all but absent during the reign of Elizabeth and that the reference to Ireland in the title alone would have demanded the need for further authority for the *View*. Hadfield, moreover, helped advance the theory of censorship from within the Stationers' Company, characterizing Lownes's entry of the *View* as an attempt to poach and "make money out of Spenser's work" ("Certainties" 199).

Although recent scholars like those named above have begun to apply the critical methods of the History of the Book to the history of the *View*, they have not done so completely. The following chapter adds to and amends the scholarship on this puzzling

text by fully investigating the early history of *View* from the point of view of the History of the Book. I push the debate in new directions by reexamining in greater depth the career of Matthew Lownes, situating his entry of the *View* within his greater career path. I also investigate his relationship, or lack of relationship, with William Ponsonby, and correct the notion recently argued by scholars such as Hadfield that the two stationers were somehow in "a series of disputes" ("Another Case" 29). Furthermore, I investigate the provenance of Bodleian MS Rawlinson B 3478, the manuscript of the *View* that Lownes submitted to the Stationers' Company. Finally, I reexamine the practices of the Stationers' Company and, more specifically, the practices of Thomas Man in the short period of time that he served as a Company warden. In short, I construct a more realistic view of the *View*.

The Early Career of Matthew Lownes, 1591-1596

The unanswered questions of how and why Matthew Lownes entered the manuscript of the *View of the Present State of Ireland* into the *Stationers' Register* preoccupy the recent scholarship on the history of Spenser's *View*. In order to begin to answer these questions, we must first investigate Lownes's career leading up to that moment.

Lownes began his career as a stationer in 1582, when he was apprenticed to Nicholas Ling. On the 6th of December 1585, he moved from Ling's printing house to that of John Busby, as the *Stationers' Register* records:

> Mathewe Lownes apprentise also of the said nicholas linge is likewise by consent of his said master put ouer to John busby to serue out the rest of the yeres of his

apprentiship / with the said John busby. Except the last yere of the ten yeres for which he was bound which last yere is Remytted to him" (Arber II.137)

If we are to take this note at face value, we must assume that Lownes returned to Ling's shop for the final year of his apprenticeship, after which he was sworn and admitted a freeman of the Company on October 11, 1591 (Arber II.710). It is important to note that neither of Lownes's masters was a printer. Likewise, Lownes was not a printer, though modern scholars sometimes label him as one.[1] Rather, under the tutelage of Busby and Ling, Lownes learned the trade of a bookseller and publisher. Having a notable influence on Lownes was his masters' strategy of co-publishing works with other stationers. Busby, for example, preferred "entering copy jointly with another stationer and arranging for that person to publish and sell the edition at the latter's shop" (Gerald Johnson 2). His main collaborator in the 1590s was Nicholas Ling. As we shall see, Lownes followed the example of his mentors and used the strategy of co-publishing throughout his career.

Lownes's early career was slow going. Between the time he took up his freedom and 1594, no record of any activity on his part survives (perhaps he was working as a bookseller at the shop of Ling or Busby). The imprints of Lownes's first publications confirm that by 1596 he had settled into a shop located in Fleet Street "in St. Dunstan's Churchyard," a location also described as "vnder S. Dunstons Church in the west,"[2] where he remained until 1602.[3] The printers he worked with on his earliest publications

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[1] See Hadfield, "Another Case", 27.

[2] *STC* 18348

[3] *STC* 23363

were Joan Orwin (the widow of Thomas Orwin),[4] her son, Felix Kingston,[5] and James Roberts.[6]

Matthew Lownes began his publishing career in 1595 with an edition of Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Castell of Health*. First published in 1537, the book had been a perennial seller, numbering at least fifteen editions before Lownes's in 1596, the last edition having appeared in 1587. In the years prior to Lownes's edition, Thomas Marshe had transferred the rights to *The Castell of Health* to Thomas Orwin (through Edward Marshe) on June 23, 1591 (Aber II.586). When Orwin died in 1593, his widow, Joan Orwin, took over the rights. Judging from the number of books that Lownes published with Joan Orwin and her son Felix Kingston, Lownes had forged a strong working relationship with this printing family.[7] It was through this business connection that Lownes began his career with the publication of *The Castell of Health*. The text had already proven itself and was a safe investment. It was a cautious and solid move.

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[4] Her name appears as both Joan Orwin and the Widow Orwin.

[5] Felix Kingston was the son of John Kingston and Joan Kingston (married 1553-1584). Joan Kinston later married George Robinson (1585-7) after which she married Thomas Orwin.

[6] Joan Orwin printed *STC* 7656, 12367; Kingston 4614, 22538, 24096; and James Roberts 7207, 17386.

[7] Humphrey Lownes may have made this connection for his brother. Humphrey had worked with Thomas Orwin in 1592 on Richard Johnson's *The Nine Worthies of London* (*STC* 14685.7). Indeed, the Lownes brothers may have made a habit out of making connections for each other. After Matthew Lownes worked with Felix Kingston on Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* in 1597, Humphrey worked with Felix Kingston on a half dozen publications from in 1598-99.

On April 15, 1596, Lownes entered Michael Drayton's *Mortimeriados* or *The Lamentable Ciuell Warres of Edward the Second and the Barrons* into the *Stationers' Register*. He published the text later that year. In all likelihood, Lownes received a helping hand from his former masters in acquiring this publication. Nicholas Ling had published the majority of Drayton's earliest publications, some of which he co-published with John Busby.[8] The publication of Drayton's *Mortimeriados* must have been a break of sorts for Lownes, because the up-and-coming poet Drayton had been making a name for himself with a steady stream of publications. Nevertheless, the way Lownes handled the publication of the book demonstrates that he was still working rather cautiously. There are two variants of the book's title page. The imprint on the first reads, "Printed by I[ames] R[oberts] for Matthew Lownes, and are to bee solde at his shop in S. Dunstans Churchyard." The imprint on the second reads, "Printed by I[ames] R[oberts] for Humfry Lownes, and are to be solde at his shop at the west end of Paules Church, 1596." Beyond the title page, the two issues are exactly the same. The reference to Matthew's brother, Humphrey Lownes, on the variant title page suggests that Humphrey participated in the production of the book as a co-publisher who shared the financial burden, despite the fact that he did not join his brother in registering the book in the *Stationers' Register*.[9] By engaging in a co-publishing strategy similar to those used by his former masters

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[8] From 1591-1600, Ling published or co-published the following Drayton titles: *STC* 7193, 7193.4, 7194, 7195, 7196, 7203, 7205, 7206, 7213, 7214. Ling co-published *STC* 7205, 7206, and 7214 with Busby. The greater part of Ling's Drayton editions were printed by James Roberts, who also worked briefly with Lownes.

[9] At this time, Humphrey Lownes, who later gained the most recognition as a printer, was already establishing himself as a stationer. It was not until 1600 that Humphrey switched over to the role of printer. As his printing career began to flourish, Matthew Lownes began partnering with him more frequently.

Busby and Ling, Matthew Lownes and his brother were getting the most out their print run of *Mortimeriados*. Co-publication, coupled with the ability to sell the same book at two locations, helped assuage any financial risk.[10] Humphrey's shop "at the west end of Paules Church" was located in the center of the London book trade, while Matthew's shop in Saint Dunstan's Churchyard in Fleet Street likely catered to the Inns of Court students.

Lownes's second publication in 1596 was *Fidessa, more chaste then kinde*, a sonnet cycle written by an author identified on the title page as "B. Griffin, gent." and printed "by the widdow Orwin." No record survives that suggests Lownes, or anyone else, entered this book into the *Stationers' Register*. Scholars have identified the author as Bartholomew Griffin, a man who appears to have had connections with the Inns of Court. The book's preliminaries, for instance, contain a dedication "To the Gentlemen of the Innes of Court" (along with a dedication to the as-of-yet unidentified "William Essex of LameBourne, in the Countie of Barke, Esquire"). In his dedication, Griffin refers to himself as a "young beginner" and further promises a pastoral work that can be expected "next term" (A4^{r-v}). Such language suggests that he, too, was a student, but no evidence places Griffin at the Inns of Court. Nevertheless, he could have been a student at a nearby Inn of Chancery (Sokol, "Griffin, Bartholomew"). As the imprint to Drayton's *Mortimeriados* records, Lownes's shop was located in Saint Dunstan's Churchyard, Fleet Street in the neighborhood of the Inns of Court. In this way, *Fidessa* appears to have

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[10] Matthew Lownes used a similar strategy with Simon Waterson for the publication of the 1605 and 1613 editions of the *Arcadia*. In this case, Lownes and Waterson were definitely co-publishers, as demonstrated by the entry in the *Stationers' Register* (Arber III.274).

been the product of an author and publisher who were both connected to the Inns of Court/Fleet Street locale. Griffin may have chosen Lownes as his publisher because Lownes's shop was located near the Inns of Court and, therefore, sold books to the very people to whom Griffin dedicated his book, "the Gentlemen of the Innes of Covrt."

Lownes's third publication from 1596 was Gervase Markham's *The Poem of Poems. Or, Sions Muse, Contayning the Divine Song of King Salomon, Devided into Eight Eclogues*. In producing this book, Lownes worked for the second time with printer James Roberts. Although Roberts served as the book's printer not its publisher, he was almost certainly the one responsible for bringing the text to the press. As with *Fidessa*, no record survives of anyone entering *The Poem of Poems* into the *Stationers' Register*. Richard Smith had published the first three of Markham's works, collaborating with printer John Charlewood for the first and Roberts for the second and third.[11] But the publisher Smith did not hold the rights to Markham's publications; rather it was his printers who held the rights, first John Charlewood and then James Roberts.[12] In the case

[11] *STC* 17346-47 and 17385.

[12] John Charlewood printed Markham's first publication, *A Discource of Horsmanshippe* for Richard Smith. Usually this sort of collaboration suggests that, as publisher, Smith held the rights to the work. Yet, it was Charlewood who entered the book into the *Stationers' Register* on 29 January 29, 1593 (Arber II.625). Later that year, Charlewood died and his widow Alice married printer James Roberts. Shortly thereafter, Roberts appears to inherit Charlewood's licenses (II.651). This was likely the beginning of Robert's association with Markham's works. On September 20, 1595, Roberts entered Markham's second publication, *The most honorable tragedie of Sir Richard Grinuile, Knight*, into the *Stationers' Register*. Neither Markham's third publication *How to chuse, ride, traine, and diet, both hunting-horses and running horses* nor Lownes's edition of the *Poem of Poems* appear to have been entered in the *Stationers' Register*. The fact that Roberts continued to be involved in the publication of Markham's work, however, indicates that Roberts was and continued to be the medium for bringing Markham's work out in print. The only text of Markham's that is not associated with Roberts at this time

of the *Poem of Poems*, therefore Lownes served as the bookseller and co-publisher, but at the behest of Roberts. As with his previous publications, Lownes was partnering up with another stationer to reduce his risk and to gain access to a text by an author who had already proven successful.

Lownes and Sidney, 1597

The only known record of Lownes's activity in 1597 is his publication of an edition of Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*. The 1597 date is, however, only speculative, as Lownes's edition is undated. The *STC* provides this conjectural date, but recent scholarship questions it. Bent Juel-Jenson argues that the book appeared in 1598, citing the state of Felix Kingston's printing device: "The device is in the second state, after 'T.M.' were removed. The earliest use of this form in a dated book by Lownes is in 1598, from which year this reprint of Newman's first quarto probably dates" ("Check-List" 310). In October of 1598, William Ponsonby entered *Astrophel and Stella* in the *Stationers' Register*, perhaps as a defensive move to secure his rights to Sidney's work. Scholars rightly assume, therefore, that Lownes's edition must have preceded Ponsonby's entry.

I will discuss Lownes's publication of *Astrophel and Stella* in greater detail later in this chapter when I turn to Lownes's possible conflicts with Ponsonby. For the time being, we must recognize that Lownes's decision to print the text, perhaps surreptitiously, was another wise move in his early career. Sidney's sonnet sequence had last appeared in print in 1591. Judging from the success of Ponsonby's editions of the 1593 folio *Arcadia*

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is his translation of Juliana Berners' *The Gentlemans Academie* printed by Valentine Simmes for Humphrey Lownes in 1595.

and the 1598 folio *Arcadia* with added works, Sidney's popularity continued to prosper. There was thus a likely market for a new edition of *Astrophel and Stella*. Ultimately, Lownes's decision to publish Sidney's sonnet sequence is consistent with his choice of earlier publications. The text was easy to acquire and had already proven successful. In fact, Lownes merely reprinted Thomas Newman's first edition of the text (Stump 39).

Lownes and *A Viewe of the Present State of Ireland*, 1598

In 1598, Lownes published a total of four new books, the most productive year of his career thus far.[13] On April 14, 1598, he entered *A viewe of the present state of Ireland. Discoursed by waye of a Dialogue between EUDOXUS and IRENIUS* into the *Stationers' Register*. Now that we have surveyed Lownes's career up until this point, we have acquired the following important facts:

1) He was a bookseller-publisher working within the Fleet Street and Inns of Court community.

2) He appears to have received the licenses and copy-texts for his publications from outside sources. His first publication, Elyot's *The Castell of Health*, belonged to Joan Orwin. His second publication, Drayton's *Mortimeriados*, surely came from his former masters Nicholas Ling and John Busby, who had published the majority of Drayton's earliest books. His third publication, *Fidessa, more chaste then kinde*, appears to have been brought to Lownes by the author Bartholomew Griffin because Lownes's

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[13] See Richard Carew, *A Herrings Tayle* (*STC* 4614); Thomas Churchyard, *[The] welcome home of the noble and worthie earle of Essex, as a new-yeres gift* (*STC* 5259.5); Victorinus Strigel, *A fift proceeding in the harmony of King Dauids harpe* (*STC* 23363); and Robert Tofte, *Alba. The months minde of a melancholy louer, diuided into three parts* (*STC* 2409).

bookshop was located within the Fleet Street/Inns of Court environs. His fourth publication, Gervase Markham's *The Poem of Poems*, was almost certainly brought to him by the printer James Roberts. His fifth publication (depending upon the date), Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, had already been published twice by Thomas Newman.

3) With the exception of *Fidessa*, Lownes usually shared the financial responsibility of publishing, a strategy he acquired from the masters under which he had apprenticed. This is certainly true of Drayton's *Mortimeriados*, which Lownes and his brother Humphrey sold at their respective books shops in Fleet Street and St. Paul's Churchyard.

4) Lownes's habit was not to enter his publications into the *Stationers' Register*. Rather, either another stationer entered them or they merely went unregistered. Up until his entry of the *View*, Lownes entered only one other work, Michael Drayton's *Mortimeriados* and, as when entering the *View,* he did so without first obtaining outside authority. Lownes did not enter another text into the register until 1599, when he collaboratively entered a translation of Tasso's *The Recouerie of Ierusalem* [i.e., *Jerusalem Delivered*] with John Jaggard.[14] After this, he did not enter any copy until March of 1601, once again without authority. After October of 1601, he began regularly to seek outside authority for his publications, most often from Zachariah Pasfield, the prebendary of St. Paul's.

5) Lownes printed popular titles from popular authors such as Elyot, Drayton, and Sidney. Moreover, the works he published tend to be literary. The only exception is Elyot's *The Castell of Health*. Drayton's *Mortimeriados* is written in verse; Griffin's

[14] *STC* 23698

Fidessa is a collection of sonnets; Markham's *Poem of Poems* is the Song of Solomon set in eight eclogues; and Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* is a sonnet sequence. The physical appearance of both *Fidessa* and *Poem of Poems* imitates the new literary style of Daniel's *Delia*, each poem appears on its own page with an arabesque floral border above and below it.[15]

Now that we have a better understanding of Lownes's early career, we may address one of the central questions in the publication history of the *View*: why does Lownes enter the *View* into the *Stationers' Register*? To this I add the question of who initiates the entry of the *View* into the *Stationers' Register*? Most scholars place the responsibility solely in Lownes's hands. For example, Hadfield writes, "in attempting this piece of poaching, Lowndes was hoping to publish a text which, in normal circumstances, would not have been entered into the world of print" ("Certainties" 199). Yet, after investigating Lownes's publications thus far, we know that at this point in his career it was more plausible that another agent brought the copy-text to him, rather than Lownes unearthing it himself. Hadfield also observes "the *View* was never intended to be a publishable document, but fell into the hands of someone who wanted to make money out of Spenser's work" ("Certainties" 199). By "someone" I assume that Hadfield means Lownes, but, again, why assume that Lownes was the only agent involved? This assumes that Lownes was aware of the *View*, either by owning a copy of the manuscript, or knowing of the manuscript through someone else's copy. Yet the majority of Lownes's publications leading up until 1598 appear to have been initiated by agents other than Lownes. Could someone other than Lownes have initiated the publication of the *View*?

[15] See Bland, "The Appearance," 121-123.

MS Rawlinson B 3478 and John Panton

MS Rawlinson B 3478 held at the Bodleian Library provides clues that help explain how Lownes came to possess a manuscript of the *View* and enter it into the *Stationers' Register*. As many scholars have noted, this manuscript is the copy that Lownes entered into the *Stationers' Register* on April 14, 1598, as evidenced by a note written on the final page in the hand of warden Thomas Man, which reads, "Master Collinges I pray enter this Copie for Mathew Lownes to be prynted whenever he do bringe other attoryte." Man's note clearly mirrors the cautionary note he wrote in the *Stationers' Register* that required Lownes to "gett further aucthoritie before yt be prynted."

Man's note is not the only inscription found on the manuscript that is helpful in establishing the manuscript's provenance. On the flyleaf appears the ownership inscriptions "Joh[ann]es: Panton Lincoln" and "Richard Bagnett his Booke." The name "Panton" also appears on the first page of the manuscript, this time with an accompanying date: "Io: Panton 1596." As this inscription tells us, Panton owned the manuscript prior to its entry in the *Stationers' Register*. Who was John Panton of Lincoln? In this case, "Lincoln" refers to Lincoln's Inn, of the Inns of Court. *The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn*, or the Black Books, records that one John Panton was admitted with the aid of Sir Thomas Egerton:

> 1594 May 29 John Panton, of co. Denbigh, at request of Sir Thos. Egerton, Master of the rolls'; in the meeting of the council of Lincoln's Inn on 3 November, 1594, it was decided: "At the request of Thomas Egerton, Master of

the Rolls, M[r] Panton, a gentleman of this Society, attending ordinarily upon the said M. R., whereby he cannot continue in commons, shall have a special admission." (2.39)

Panton's father, also named John Panton, began working for Egerton as a servant in 1576 when Egerton married Elizabeth Ravenscroft. Originally, the elder Panton had worked for the Ravenscrofts, but he went to work for the Egerton household following his marriage (Knafla 9-10). Nearly two decades later, Egerton saw to it that his servant's son had "special admission" to Lincoln's Inn in 1594. Further confirming the connection between the younger Panton and Egerton, the second of Panton's signatures found in MS Rawlinson B 3478 matches the signature of the John Panton that appears throughout the Ellesmere Manuscript, the records of Egerton (Variorum 511n). Indeed, the "references to Panton among the Ellesmere MSS show that he was the confidential agent of Egerton" (Variorum 511-2n).

As the inscription on the first page of MS Rawlinson B 3478 tells us, John Panton owned the manuscript of the *View* in 1596, approximately two years after he was admitted into Lincoln's Inn and two years before Lownes entered the manuscript into the *Stationers' Register*. Did the manuscript go directly from Panton to Lownes to Man? Evidence suggests that this is likely. The source of the manuscript of the *View* surely came from its owner at the time it was entered in the *Stationers' Register*, John Panton. Panton, or an associate of his from the Inns of Court community, likely brought the text to Lownes. Panton and Lownes are linked by their geographical location in the Inns of Court milieu. As we saw earlier in the case of Bartholomew Griffin's *Fidessa*, an author associated with the Inns of Court brought a manuscript to the nearby print shop of

Matthew Lownes in order to print his poem for a readership of the "Gentlemen of the Innes of Covrt." The same sort of transaction is likely to have taken place in the case of Panton and Lownes.

Panton may have acquired a copy of the text from his mentor Egerton. There is "a possible connection between *R* and *E*, Egerton's own manuscript of the *View*; but neither can have been copied from the other" (*Variorum* 503). Brink is right to call for a critical study of Spenser's manuscripts because "there is yet no critical bibliography of Spenser's manuscripts, and no article in *The Spenser Encyclopedia* addresses the bibliographical problems relating to the numerous manuscripts of the *View*" (Brink, "Constructing" 211). Perhaps such a critical study will uncover a coterie manuscript circulation of the *View* within the Inns of Court. At least three of the surviving manuscripts appear to have connections to the Inns of Court: MS Rawlinson B 3478, Sir Thomas Egerton's Ellesmere MS 7041, and MS Lambeth 510, which "bears the name, on the back cover, of Thomas Perrin, who may be Thomas Perrin of St. John's Coll., Oxon,. 1581-84, and the Inner Temple, 1586" (Spenser, *View,* Ed. Renwick, 307).

Censorship: Two Theories

The absence of any printed publication of the *View* following Lownes's attempt to enter it in the *Stationers' Registe*r*,* coupled with Man's cautionary notes in the *Stationers' Register* and on the final page of MS Rawlinson B 3478, has led many scholars to conclude that Lownes's effort to publish Spenser's text was somehow censored. As Maley puts it, "While critics may disagree as to why it was suppressed, they are united in their belief that it did suffer an act of official censorship" (*Salvaging Spenser* 163). For

quite a long time the most pervasive argument was that the state had censored the text, leading scholars to write such conclusive assumptions as "Spenser's work, being submitted to the Master Stationer in 1598 was refused registration and blocked by the government" (Brady 25).[16] A second, more recently developed theory argues that when Man asked Lownes for "further aucthoritie" he was not concerned with the controversial contents of the text, but rather he recognized that Lownes was attempting to print a text by an author whose rights unofficially belong to the more powerful stationer, William Ponsonby. In the following section, I will examine both theories, which scholars have not yet fully scrutinized.

The Ponsonby Theory

The most recent theory explaining why Lownes never printed the *View* suggests that Lownes's entrance of a copy of the *View* infringed on the unofficial monopoly over Spenser's work held by William Ponsonby. The Warden, Thomas Man, recognized this and demanded that Lownes seek "further aucthoritie," presumably from Ponsonby himself. As Jean Brink writes: "When Matthew Lownes entered the *View*, William Ponsonby was the recognized publisher of Spenser's works, and Ponsonby was on the verge of becoming a master warden. Thus, the cautionary note in the entry for the *View* could just as well signal a disagreement over publication rights as government censorship" ("Constructing the *View*" 207).

This theory has grown in popularity and seems credible to many scholars. As Christopher Highley notes: "Brink's argument that the *View's* failure to appear in print

[16] For an overview of modern views on the censorship of *A View*, see Brink 206-207.

can be explained by the internal workings of the printing and publishing trade of 1598 strikes me as persuasive" ("Spenser's *View*"). Hadfield is even more confident in the theory:

> A much more likely explanation is that *A View* failed to appear because of a serious disagreement between members of the Stationers' Company as to who had rights to publish Spenser's works. Matthew Lowndes was involved in a series of disputes with the more powerful William Ponsonby, who was about to become a master warden of the company, over rights to publish the works of both Spenser and Sir Phillip Sidney. ("Another Case" 29)

Hadfield and Maley subscribe to this theory in their recent edition of the *View*: "Matthew Lownes was, in fact, in dispute with the more powerful William Ponsonby over a number of texts, and it is possible that the work failed to appear on his insistence, as he certainly had the power in 1598 to prevent Lownes publishing a work by one of his major clients" (*A View* xxiii).

Much credence has been given to a theory that until now has gone unexamined in any great detail, yet many issues remain to be investigated. For example, how probable is it that Stationers' Company officials would censor Lownes? How probable is it that Thomas Man would recognize and enforce Ponsonby's unofficial monopoly over Spenser's works? We must also put Lownes's relationship with Ponsonby into context and examine the so-called "series of disputes" between Lownes and Ponsonby. In order to further gauge Ponsonby's possible reactions to Lownes's entry of Spenser's *View* in the *Stationers' Register* (if Ponsonby was even aware of it), we must also examine the ways in which Ponsonby reacted to printers who made inroads into his unofficial

monopolies, including Matthews Lownes and his publication of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*. We must also reexamine Man's cautionary notes. Is the language he used consistent with a "disagreement over publication rights?"

Ponsonby's Power

The theory of censorship from within the Stationers' Company spawns from Spenser's fruitful working relationship with William Ponsonby. In the decade of the 1590s, Ponsonby was indeed Spenser's chief publisher, publishing all of Spenser's new work. It is therefore understandable that scholars reviewing the censorship controversy take Ponsonby's interest in Spenser's works into account. Evidence also suggests that Ponsonby took measures throughout his career to protect his printing rights. Combining these known facts, Brink notes: "William Ponsonby, who published all of Spenser's works printed during his lifetime vigorously protected his own interests" ("Constructing the *View*" 209). The documented instances of Ponsonby protecting his printing rights, however, concern only his rights to the works of Sidney.

Ponsonby's publication of *Arcadia* in 1590 set off a clamor for Sidney's works in print.[17] In the decade that followed, other stationers tried to get in on the action. In 1591, Thomas Newman printed the first edition of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, but his print run was called in shortly thereafter, evidently at the request the Queen's lord treasurer, Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley (Stump 38). As the *Stationers' Register* records, the company paid John Wolfe to "ryd with an answere to my Lord Treasurer

[17] Up until this date, Sidney's literary works had only circulated in manuscript. For a thorough description, see H. R. Woudhuysen's exhaustive *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York : Oxford University Press, 1996).

beinge with her maiestie in progress for the takinge in of bookes intituled Sir P[hilip]: S[idney]: *Astrophell and stella*" (Arber I.555). An earlier entry from September 18 records monies paid "for carryeinge of Newmans bookes to the hall," almost certainly a reference to recalled copies of Newman's edition of *Astrophel and Stella* (Arber I.555). This was not your average recall. That Wolfe, a Stationer's beadle, rode to meet with Lord Burghley while the Lord Treasurer was on progress with the Queen to report that editions of *Astrophel and Stella* had been recalled, indicates how seriously the Stationers' Company handled this matter.

Who initiated the recall and why? There are at least two possibilities. Either Ponsonby was defending his rights to the works of Philip Sidney, or someone in the Sidney circle was attempting to control the publication of Sidney's work. It is highly unlikely that Ponsonby had direct connections to court, or specifically to Burghley. It is also highly unlikely that he had any indirect connections to Burghley through the Stationers' Company. It is more likely that either Ponsonby called upon connections in the Sidney circle or that someone in the Sidney circle acted on their own to see to it that Newman's book was recalled. One also has to question whether the Stationers' Company would have demanded that Newman's editions be recalled on their own accord. Newman had not entered his copy into the *Stationers' Register*, but neither had Ponsonby. This does not necessarily mean that Newman was trying to circulate the book under the radar; indeed, he was certainly not shy about putting his name on the cover. Undeterred by the recall of the first edition of the quarto, Newman published a second edition of *Astrophel and Stella* later that same year, after which no one is known to have taken any action against the second edition.

In 1595, Ponsonby found himself defending his rights to another of Sidney's works, *The Defense of Poesy*. That same year, Henry Olney published Sidney's treatise under the title *An Apology for Poetrie.* Ponsonby entered copy for the *Defence* on November 29, 1594, while Olney entered his on April 12, 1595 (Arber II.666, II.295). Whether or not Ponsonby's edition preceded Olney's in print is still up for debate.[18] Either way, the Stationers' Company recognized Ponsonby as the rightful owner of the license to the *Defence* and struck through Olney's entry in the *Register*, noting "This belongeth to master ponsonby by a former entrance And an agrement is made between them whereby Master Ponsonby is to enjoy the copie according to the former entrance" (II.295). Part of this agreement between the two stationers seems to include Ponsonby selling Olney's editions as his own, for "some of Olney's copies were taken over by Ponsonby and the first sheet replaced by Ponsonby's" (Duncan-Jones and Van Dorsten 67). Ponsonby's defense of his license was a fairly common act within the printing trade. In fact, Olney may have seen it coming. In his edition's "To the Reader," he calls his publication a "daring adventure" and anticipates being challenged, perhaps by members of the powerful Sidney circle: "Those great ones, who in the[m]selues haue interr'd this blessed innocent, wil with Aesculapius co[n]demne me as a detractor fr[o]m their Deities" (¶3$^{r\text{-}v}$; Stump, et al. 53)

The final example of Ponsonby protecting his publishing rights occurred in 1599, when Robert Waldegrave printed an edition of *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* . .

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[18] See Juel-Jensen, "Some Uncollected Authors XXXIV: Sir Philip Sidney, 1554-1586" *Book Collected* 12 (1963): 196-201; Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan van Dorsten eds., *Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford: Clarenden Press, 1973), 67; and William Henry Bond, "The Bibliographical Jungle" *TLS* 23 September (1949): 624.

.*With Sundry new additions* from his shop in Edinburgh, Scotland.[19] Ponsonby, who had published an edition in 1598, took action against Waldegrave, although he really did not have the right to do so, since the book was published in Scotland and was therefore not "under the jurisdiction of English law" (Brink, "William Ponsonby's Rival Publisher" 201). To get around this, Ponsonby craftily went after the English booksellers involved in the publication arguing that they had printed the book in England with a false title page claiming it had been printed in Edinburgh (Brink 210; Plomer, "Edinburgh Edition" 197). Ponsonby brought his suit to the High Court of the Star Chamber in November of 1599. Nearly three years later, on May 8, 1602, the Stationers' Company's Court of Assistants rendered a verdict. The defendants were ordered to pay a small amount of damages and Ponsonby seized all the unsold copies of Waldegrave's edition (Stationers' Company 1.87-88).

These three examples are the only documented cases of Ponsonby taking action against other stationers. In all three, Ponsonby was protecting his interests in the publication of Sidney's works. In the case of Newman's 1591 edition of *Astrophel and Stella*, Ponsonby may have drawn on higher powers through his connections in the Sidney circle, perhaps appealing to their desire to control the publications of the family's brightest star.[20] Ponsonby certainly did whatever he could to maintain control over the

[19] Brink has done the most thorough job of reconstructing this case and raises the possibility that Waldegrave had begun work on a folio of Sidney's works before Ponsonby began production on his. See Brink, "William Ponsonby's Rival Publisher" 185-205.

[20] This desire is evident in Greville's letter to Walsingham (see Chapter Two), in Mary Sidney's dissatisfaction with the first edition of the *Arcadia* and her subsequent editorial changes to the second edition, and in Olney's note to the reader in his edition of *An Apology for Poetrie*.

printing rights to Sidney, who was, at this time, nothing short of a "bestseller." Citing Ponsonby's concern for "imbeziled and purloined" manuscripts as expressed in his "The Printer to the Gentle Reader" from his publication of Spenser's *Complaints* in 1591, Hadfield writes that "Ponsonby was understandably concerned that none of Spenser's—or Sidney's texts should fall into unauthorized hands" ("Another Case" 29). But did this same concern really extend to Ponsonby's unofficial monopoly over Spenser's works?

Ponsonby, Spenser, and Lownes

Hadfield and Maley have written, "Matthew Lownes was, in fact, in dispute with the more powerful William Ponsonby over a number of texts" (*A View* xxiii). No concrete evidence, however, survives of any dispute between the two stationers, or of Ponsonby taking any action against Matthew Lownes. What Hadfield and Maley are referring to when they say "a number of texts" is unclear. The only texts that could possibly be in play are Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella,* which Lownes printed c.1597-98, and the *View*, which Lownes entered into the *Stationers' Register* but evidently never published.

Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* was the only book associated with Ponsonby that Lownes printed during Ponsonby's lifetime. The only evidence to suggest that Ponsonby took any action against Lownes's edition was Ponsonby's entrance of the text into the *Stationers' Register* on October 23, 1598, a date that probably falls after the publication of Lownes's edition. As with any entry in the *Stationers' Register*, Ponsonby's entry secured his rights to the text and prevented other stationers from publishing it (counting Lownes's edition, there were already a total of three unlicensed editions). Still, there is

no evidence to suggest that Ponsonby entered *Astrophel and Stella* as a reaction to, or as a part of a dispute with, Lownes. In fact, it seems just as likely, if not more likely, that he did so in order to include the sonnet sequence legitimately in the folio edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* he published that year. Ponsonby's attempts to squelch Waldegrave's folio of Sidney's *Arcadia* support this argument and suggest that he was taking all precautions involved in publishing Sidney's works in folio. Ponsonby never took any formal action, if any action at all, against Lownes.

Not only is there no evidence that Ponsonby was "in dispute with" Lownes over *Astrophel and Stella*, there is also no evidence that Lownes was trying to print the book surreptitiously. Lownes never entered copy for the book, but this does not necessarily imply that he was working clandestinely. It was not uncommon for stationers to print a book without entering it. In fact, if they could do so and get away with it (as they often did) they would be spared the added expense of formally receiving license for the work. In his early career, Lownes rarely entered copy into the *Stationers' Register*. In fact, prior to printing *Astrophel and Stella*, he had entered only one text into it and would not do so regularly in his career until 1601. Like Newman before him, Lownes printed his edition with his name on the title page, a move that suggests that he may not have been concerned with the consequences of printing Sidney's sonnets. After all, only Newman's first edition was called in; his second edition appears to have been published unchecked by any action on the part of Ponsonby or the Sidney circle. The only evidence of any apprehension surrounding publishing Lownes's edition of *Astrophel and Stella*,

comes not from Lownes but from Felix Kingston, who printed the book without his name appearing on the title page, a rarity for the printer.[21]

In the case of the *View*, once again, no evidence shows any action taken by Ponsonby against Lownes, save the nonappearance of an edition published by Lownes. In fact, the lack of an entry for Spenser's *View* on the part of Ponsonby argues against Ponsonby's involvement in any censorship of Lownes. If the warden Thomas Man blocked Lownes's entry of the *View* because of what he perceived as Ponsonby's unofficial monopoly over Spenser's work, than surely Man would have informed Ponsonby. If Ponsonby found out about Lownes's entry of the *View* and took defensive measures, as some critics have suggested, then surely he would have entered the text in the *Stationers' Register*, as he may have done in a defensive measure against Waldegrave with his entry of *Astrophel and Stella* in 1598. But Ponsonby probably never knew about Lownes's entry of the *View*, because Thomas Man probably never told him about it.

Thomas Man's Intervention?

In order for the theory of censorship from within the Stationers' Company to work, one must argue that Thomas Man knew that the *View* was a work written by Edmund Spenser and was therefore the publishing property of William Ponsonby. The surviving evidence, however, discounts this argument on both counts. There is no

[21] Kingston, who later had a long-lasting working relationship with Lownes, became a freeman in 1597, probably taking over the shop of his mother Joan Orwin. In the two years that followed, he printed his first twenty-nine books. Lownes's edition of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* is the only book Kingston printed without his name appearing on the title page. The only book other than *Astrophel and Stella* that Kingston's name does not appear on is William Perkins's *The Foundation of Christian* Religion (*STC* 19712). Here the imprint lists the name of his mother, "the widow Orwin." The editors of the *STC* have assumed Kingston's participation in the printing of this book.

evidence to suggest that Man knew that Spenser was the author of the *View*. Spenser's name neither appears in the entry, nor on the copy that Lownes entered, save for the ambiguous "finis 1596 E.S." that ends the text.[22] Some have argued that the lack of Spenser's name in Lownes's entry "is not especially significant" (Brink, *Constructing* 227n). However, the theory that Man demanded further authority from Lownes because of a potential infringement on the rights of Ponsonby to print Spenser's works hinges upon Man's knowledge that the copy submitted by Lownes was written by Spenser. All the evidence suggests that he did not have such knowledge.

Complicating matters, Man was equally familiar, if not more familiar, with John Harrison II, the stationer who owned the rights to the most popular of Spenser's works, *The Shepheardes Calendar*, than he was with William Ponsonby. Not only had Man served as an apprentice to John Harrison the Elder (Harrison II's half-brother),[23] he had engaged in joint publications with John Harrison II (Blagden 78; Plomer, *Wills* 48).[24] Harrison II had published editions of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar* as recently as 1591 and in 1597. Indeed, the 1597 edition was the most recently published edition of Spenser's work at the time Lownes entered the *View* in 1598. Thus, even if Man did

[22] As Brink notes, "On extra leaves unrelated to the manuscript text and inserted at some later date than when the manuscript was copied, the following inscription appears: 'A discourse touching the present State of Ireland wrytten Dialogue wise by Mr. Edmonde Spenser. A[nno] 1596.' The title and text of the *View* are in secretary, and under the title the attribution to Ed: Spenser, gent. was later inserted in italic handwriting and black ink, both hand and ink differing from the hand and ink used to write the original title" ("Constructing" 217-18).

[23] Harrison the Elder would later bequeath Man three pounds in his will. In this document he refers to Man as his "brother in law."

[24] For joint publications between Man and John Harrison II, see *STC* 4460, 10764.3, 13774, 19915, 22044, and 24251.5.

recognize that Spenser was the author of the *View*, we must recognize the possibility that he might have thought of the interests of his colleague John Harrison II rather than of Ponsonby.

Complicating matters even more is the familial connection between Lownes and Man. As Brink observes:

> Thomas Man, the Master Warden who approved the entry of the *View* to Matthew Lownes, was closely connected to the Lownes family. He was the father-in-law of Humphrey Lownes, the brother of Matthew Lownes. To celebrate his marriage to Thomas Man's daughter, Humphrey hired the Stationers' hall for his wedding feast. Thomas Man continued to promote Humphrey's career even after his daughter's death and his son-in-law's remarriage. ("Constructing" 209)

If Man knew that Spenser was the author of the copy and that Ponsonby had been publishing most of Spenser's work, would he have defended an unofficial monopoly rather than help his kinsmen?

"further aucthoritie"

The question of what Man meant in the cautionary note he inscribed in the *Stationers' Register* is also vital. Although the inscription is the most compelling surviving evidence in favor of the censorship of the *View*, scholars have not fully contextualized Man's language. As recent scholarship on the *View* demonstrates, so much depends upon the interpretation of the words "uppon Condicion that hee gett further aucthoritie before yt be prynted." More specifically, there is much to be found in the words "further aucthoritie." This wording is not used once by Man, but twice. On

the final page of MS Rawlinson B 3478 he wrote, “Master Collinges I pray enter this Copie for Mathew Lownes to be prynted whenever he do bringe other attoryte.” What does Man mean when he uses the word authority?

In order for stationers to legally print a book, they were expected to receive both authority and license.[25] The first requirement, authority (sometimes called allowance) was “the approval of a text by a representative of either the church or state” (Blayney, “The Publication” 396).[26] The second requirement, gaining license, was a function of the Stationers’ Company. Peter W. M. Blayney’s careful differentiation between authority and license is instructive to this discussion:

> Before the 1620s the Stationers’ Company clerks rarely used that word [license] as a synonym for *authority*…in the great majority of its appearances in the Stationers’ records (including more than two thousand book entries before 1590), the word *license* meant the *Company’s* permission to print—which was something fundamentally different from authority. When a publisher sought a license from one or more of the three elected officers (the master and wardens), the question of whether the manuscript had been authorized was certainly taken into account. If it had not, or if the officers considered the signatory to be of inadequate rank, they could (and often did) license it on condition that it should not be printed until “further,” “better,” or simply “lawful” authority had been obtained. (Blayney, “The Publication” 398)

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[25] For a concise discussion, see Blayney, “The Publication of Playbooks” 396-405, to which the following section is indebted.

[26] The Star Chamber decree of 1586 reinforced the need for outside authority “accordinge to the order appoynted by the Queenes majesties Injunctyons” (qtd. In Clegg 83).

In the parlance of the sixteenth-century book trade, the use of the word "aucthoritie" specifically referred to receiving permission from an outside authority. During his tenure as warden from July 1597 to June of 1598, therefore, Man never used the word "authority" in his cautionary notes when the stationer entering his copy had received outside authority.[27] Moreover, when his cautionary notes referred to conflicts or potential conflicts between stationers and not to the need for outside authority, they were clear and to the point. For example, on October 15, 1597 when William Jones entered copy for *Sainct Peters Ten Tears*, Man affixed the following note: "This entrance is condycionall that no other man haue Right to the seid book" (Arber III.93). On April 21, 1598 when Peter Short entered copy for a translation of Guillaume de Salluste *Du Bartas's An essaie of 'the seconde weeke' of the noble Learned and Devine*, Man added the note: "Provided that this entrance shall not be effectuall if any other haue Right to this booke by any former entrance" (Arber III.112). It seems doubtful, therefore, that Man's notes regarding the *View* refer to receiving permission from another stationer. If that had been the case, Man would not have used the word "aucthoritie," and instead would have written an explicit note akin to the examples above.

I believe that we may safely conclude that Man's cautionary note does not speak to a conflict or potential conflict between Lownes and Ponsonby, and that the non-appearance of *A View* was not the result of censorship stemming from Man and the

[27] The only exception is the entry for John Wolfe's *The kinges mandement for the publishinge of the generall peace between the ffrenche kinge, the Spanishe Kinge and the Duke of SAVOYE. . . .* Despite Wolfe's entering of the copy under the hand of one "master William Pigot," Warden Man still requires that "it be further Aucthorysed." The word "further" in this note, suggests that Pigot may not have held enough authority to authorize the copy. According to W. W. Greg, this is the only book for which Pigot is listed as an authority. Greg is unable to identify him, speculating that he may have been the text's translator (*Licensers for the Press* 77).

Stationers' Company. The theory simply does not hold up under examination. There is no evidence that Ponsonby took any action against Lownes, or that he took any action towards publishing the *View* himself. There is also no evidence that Man was aware that the copy Lownes submitted to him was written by Spenser; in fact, the evidence suggests he did not have had any reason to know that Spenser was the author. Moreover, Man's relationships with both the Lownes family and the Harrison family complicate the notion that Man associated Spenser's work only with Ponsonby and subsequently demanded that his kinsman seek permission from Ponsonby. Finally, the language of the note does not suggest a conflict with another stationer, but rather the need for outside authority. The need for outside authority leads us to the second and more convincing theory of censorship.

Government Censorship

The theory that state officials blocked Lownes's attempt to publish the *View* has traditionally been the most common explanation for why Lownes never printed the *View*. The theory suggests that Lownes, failing to license fully his copy and required by warden Man to "gett further aucthoritie," sought allowance from a state or religious official and was denied on the grounds that the content of the text was too controversial or incendiary to be printed. So popular was this theory that scholars had practically codified it into the history of the *View*. That is, until Jean Brink revisited the theory in her article "Constructing the *View of the Present State of Ireland*." After unsuccessfully searching for evidence supporting this deep-rooted theory, Brink concludes:

> Even if we were to accept the notion of effective censorship, the suppression of the *View* is unsupported by documentary evidence in either the *Acts of the Privy Council* or the state papers. In fact, the suppression of the *View* seems to be an invention of recent scholarship, which portrays the Elizabethan state as making extraordinary efforts to contain subversive texts. . . . The speculation that the *View* was suppressed by the government derives from an uncritical reading of a cautionary note in the Stationers' Register. (205-207)

As Brink suggests, all arguments concerning the state censorship of the *View* are rooted in Man's cautionary note: "vppon Condicion that hee gett further aucthoritie before yt be prynted." Brink was the first scholar to try to contextualize the meaning of Man's note. She demonstrates that such cautionary notes were fairly common at that time and argues "if the entry concerning the *View* is compared with similar entries in April 1598, we have insufficient evidence to conclude that the government suppressed the publication of the *View*" (208).[28] She is right to argue that much has been read into the *View's* history from this note, all without the support of any additional evidence, save the non-appearance of Lownes's edition of the *View*. Still the possibility of state censorship is still viable, as Brink concedes with her own cautionary note: "it is conceivable that the Privy Council suppressed the *View*, but the entry in the Stationers' Register, by itself, does not warrant that assumption" (209).

Perhaps there are more mundane reasons for Man's cautionary note. Man's request for outside authority could have been the result of an overall increase in the number of entries requiring or claiming authority. As Blayney notes, "In the three years

[28] She found that a survey "from January 1598 up to and including June 1598 indicates that over fifteen percent of all entries contain some kind of conditional note" (209).

before March 1596, only 20 percent of register entries claimed authority. After a stern warning from the High Commission (Stationers' Hall, Liber A, fol. 67^{v}: R. Myers, *Records*, reel 71), the percentage for the next three years was an improved 48 percent" (Blayney, "The Publication" 419). Lownes, therefore, entered the *View* during a time in which the Stationers' Company increased their attention to the requirement that stationers receive outside authority. The *View* was not the only text to receive a cautionary note on April 14, 1598. In fact, Man inscribed a cautionary note for each of the three books entered that day. The first text, Henry Petowe's *The Second parte of Hero and Leander* received a cautionary note requiring "further laufull aucthoritie" (208). The second text, *The true lamentable discourse of the burning of Teuerton in Deuon-shire*, received the same cautionary note as Petowe's text.[29] That Man required authority of all the texts entered in one day suggests that he was working systematically. All three needed "further aucthoritie," but this is appropriate, because all three were entered without it.[30]

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[29] Man's note "vppon the like condition as aforesaid" refers to the previous entry's cautionary note (III.111).

[30] Brink suggests that in the case of *The second parte of Hero and Leander* the difficulty was "that Edward Blount had assigned his rights to *Hero and Leander* to Paul Lynlay on March 2, 1598 (III.105)" ("Constucting" 208). She therefore argues that Man's note reflects a potential conflict between printers over the licensing of the text. However, no evidence beyond this cautionary note exists to support this argument. Moreover, these are two different texts with two different authors. Thus, there should be no conflict of interest. Also, if Man's note referred to a potential conflict of interests between printers, he would not have used the phrase "gett further lawfull aucthoritie." Rather he would have written something along the lines of "This entrance is condycionall that no other man haue Right to the seid book" (Arber III.93). Both books were printed later that year. See *STC* 17414 and 19807.

Of the three, only the *View* went unpublished. Both *Second parte of Hero and Leander* and *The true lamentable discourse* appeared later that same year.[31]

We must also recognize that Lownes's attempt to enter the *View* without authority by no means implies that he was trying to sneak one past the warden in an effort to poach a publication that should have been Ponsonby's. Rather, as we have seen, evidence demonstrates that in the early part of his career Lownes rarely entered copy into the *Stationers' Register* and when he did, he did so more often without first receiving authority.[32] The only book that Lownes entered into the *Stationers' Register* prior to the *View* was Michael Drayton's *Mortimeriados*, which he entered on April 15, 1598 and

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[31] See *STC* 19807 and 24093.

[32] The history of Lownes entering copy into the *Stationers' Register* shows a stationer who was not particularly concerned about licensing his publications. His next entry after the *View* does not appear until November 22, 1599, when he and John Jaggard "Entred for their copie vnder the handes of my lord Bysshop of London and Master Edward Barker and master man warden / All TASSO ranslated out of Italian into Englishe. Alias the Recouerye of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bullen" (Arber III.151). In this case, Lownes and Jaggard had received outside authority from the Bishop of London. Yet, two years later when Lownes entered Remigio Nannini's *Ciuill considerations vpon many and sundrie histories*, on March 30, 1601, he did so "under the handes of the wardens" but with no outside authority (Arber III.181). The authority of the wardens was evidently good enough in this case, for the book appeared later that same year (*STC* 18348). On October 24, 1601, Lownes entered John Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* with stationer Thomas Fisher "under the handes of the wardens," but again without outside authority (Arber III.193). There is the cautionary note: "Melida provided that he gett laufill licence for yt and transcript &c." Although there is no further record to suggest that Lownes followed through on this note, the play appeared the following year (*STC* 17474). The first instance of Lownes entering copy by himself with outside authority came on December 10, 1601. The book was called *vite Di tutti Gl'Imperadori* and he entered the copy under the wardens Barker and Seaton and one "master Pasfield," who was most likely Zachariah Pasfield, the prebendary of St. Paul's (Arber III.197). In the years that followed, Lownes frequently turned to Pasfield for outside authority. Nevertheless, on December 16, 1601, Lownes entered Emmanuel van Meteren's A *True Discourse historicall, of the Succeeding gouernours in the Netherlands, and the Ciuill Warres there Begun in the Yeere 1565* only "vnder the hands of the wardens" and without outside authority (Arber III.198). This apparently had little effect on the publication of the book, which appeared in print in 1602 (*STC* 17846).

printed later that year. Similar to his entry for the *View*, Drayton entered *Mortimeriados* without outside authority. In this case, however, the warden did not require him to get further authority. Lownes also entered *Mortimeriados* only by title, without mention of the author, just as in the case of the *View*. His entry for the *View*, therefore, accords with this earlier entry. Therefore, we should not be suspicious of Lownes's lack of authority for his entry. On the contrary, it is telling that Lownes bothered to enter the text at all. This suggests he believed that text was worth protecting and that he did not foresee any trouble in entering it. If Lownes had sensed that the Stationers' Company or government authorities might censor the text, he would have published the text without registering the copy, as he had previously done with earlier publications.

A Book About Ireland

As we have seen, Man's note requiring "further aucthoritie" could have been simply a systematic response, the result of the commonplace day-to-day duties of the warden in 1598, rather than a specific response to the *View*. But surely Man or the government official from whom Lownes might have sought authority would have been struck by the book's subject matter, so clearly indicated in the title. Herein is the most compelling argument for government censorship: books concerning Ireland are noticeably lacking at this time, as Hadfield and Maley observe:

> One should note the lack of books on Ireland published in the whole of Elizabeth's reign, but especially in the late 1590s when the danger from Hugh O'Neill's rebellion was at its height. Writing to Humphrey Galdelli in Venice in July 1599, Francis Cordale lamented that he "could send no news of the Irish

wars, all advertisements thence being prohibited, and such news as comes to Council carefully concealed." It is strange that anyone should have attempted to publish a work such as *A View* in 1598 as it would appear to be unlikely that the authorities would have allowed such a frank discussion of Irish issues to be aired in print, whatever the actual substance of the arguments. (*A View* xxiii)

If Lownes did take his copy to a state official, then that official quite likely would have refused to authorize the text due its subject matter. Still, we do know that the censors were not always the most thorough readers. Citing the example of the censorship of Sir John Hayward's *Henry the Fourth*, Highley reminds us that "Elizabethan censors, as far as we can tell, did not 'read' texts as do professional late-twentieth-century critics" (6). Hayward's text received authorization from Samuel Harsnett, the chaplain to the Bishop of London, on January 9, 1599. "When called to defend his action, Harsnett revealed that he had read only one page of Hayward's work before setting his hand to it " (Highley 6).[33]

The *View*: A History

At this point, any history of the *View* must remain hypothetical. But in an attempt to reconstruct the events surrounding Lownes's entry of the *View*, I offer the following:

On April 14, 1598, a novice publisher named Matthew Lownes brought a copy of Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland* to the Stationers' Company to license the text for printing. He was probably not the one who initiated the publication. That man was likely John Panton, who owned the manuscript of the text two years prior while a

[33] Of course, as Richard Dutton reminds us, Harsnett may have claimed to have read only one page rather than admitting that he had actually read more.

student at the Inns of Court. The provenance of three of the surviving manuscript copies, suggests that the *View* had been circulating in the Inns of Court milieu. When Lownes tried to enter the *View* in the *Stationers' Register*, the warden on duty, Thomas Man, entered the copy with the caveat "vppon Condicion that hee gett further aucthoritie before yt be prynted." Man also wrote a cautionary note on the final page of the copy reading, "Master Collinges I pray enter this Copie for Mathew Lownes to be prynted whenever he do bringe other attoryte." Man required "further aucthority" because Lownes had not yet received it. At this point, furthermore, the Stationers' Company was enforcing the requirement for authority in the wake of a warning from the High Commission in March 1596. Subsequently, Man systematically imposed the requirement, demanding further authority for the other two texts entered the same day that Lownes entered the *View*.

In order to fulfill Man's requirement for outside authority, Lownes brought his copy to a religious or government official, who recognized the dangers in printing a text on such a controversial topic and refused to authorize the text. Lownes did not anticipate such a reaction, or he would have published the text without entering it into the *Stationers' Register*. He shelved the project and continued work on the publications that made 1598 his most fruitful year to date.

Why doesn't the *View* appear in Spenser's first folio?

As we saw in chapter four, after Ponsonby's death in 1604, a great many of his titles passed from his brother-in-law Simon Waterson to Matthew Lownes. These titles included *The Faerie Queene* (Arber III.269, 274). Although this was the only one of Ponsonby's Spenser titles recorded in the *Register* as passing from Waterson to Lownes,

we may assume that the shorter works of Spenser published by Ponsonby in the 1590s also passed along with *The Faerie Queene.*

When Lownes published Spenser's works in folio in 1611, he included all of Spenser's literary texts that had been published, evidently even acquiring permission from John Harrison II to print *The Shepheardes Calender*. He also managed to unearth *The Faerie Queene*'s *Two Cantos of Mutabilitie*. In this manner, Lownes tried to create as complete a collected works as possible. If he had once possessed a copy of Spenser's *View*, why did he choose not to include it in his folio edition of Spenser's works? Brink raises this very important question in her article "Constructing the *View of the Present State of Ireland*" and offers the following explanations

> Among possible explanations of Lownes's failure to include the *View* in his folio editions of Spenser's complete works are the following: (1) By 1611 Lownes had lost or disposed of his manuscript of the *View* and could not obtain another copy; (2) Lownes did not think that Spenser was the author of the *View*. (Brink 222)

Brink's first explanation seems doubtful. Even if Lownes no longer possessed a copy of the *View*, he probably could have found another. The number of surviving manuscript copies suggests that the text was not restrictively rare. Even if it took him a while to locate a copy, the flexibility of the construction of his Spenser folio allowed the insertion of new works at any point in the long publication run (Brink 222). Regarding Brink's second point, Lownes was probably aware that Spenser was the author of the manuscript he had entered in the *Stationers' Register* a decade prior. As we have seen, at that point in his career Lownes was interested in publishing popular authors such as Elyot, Drayton,

and Sidney, and that his choice of texts, more generally, tended to be literary. A prose dialogue by Spenser followed suit.

The *View's* non-appearance in Lownes's folio could also hark back to the very reasons Lownes did not publish the text in 1598, namely its controversial contents. Perhaps the elements of the text that set off the authorities in 1598 remained contentious in 1611. Indeed, the editor of the first printed edition of the *View*, James Ware, still had some trepidation about publishing the work as late as 1633 and tried to defuse any potential controversy over the text's more contentious moments. As Hadfield notes:

> Ware was so careful to state in his preface to his edition of the *View* in *Ancient Irish Chronicles* (1633) that the text was only of antiquarian interest, that he wished "in some passages it had bin tempered with more moderation," and that only in the 1630s with Ireland relatively peaceful could it finally be published. Ware's statements would seem to imply that even had he wished to publish the work in his edition, Lowndes would either have been wiser to reconsider or actually been prevented from doing so. ("Certainties" 200)

A final possibility for why Lownes did not include the *View* in his folio edition of Spenser's works is that its genre of a prose dialogue did not fit in with what was wholly a collection of verse. As Highley observes:

> As well as granting Spenser a greater control over his text, the circulation of the *View* among a restricted coterie can also be related to his desire to preserve a carefully-honed public identity as "England's Arch-Poet"—an identity consolidated and perpetuated by the omission of the *View* from the early seventeenth-century editions of Spenser's collected works, editions published by

> Lownes. If the "stigma of print" held no anxiety for Spenser in relation to his poetry it may have had a different valence in relation to the highly polemical and prose *View*. (Highley 9-10)

Supporting Highley's observation is the lack of any prose works in Lownes's folio edition beyond Spenser's letter to Ralegh and the preliminary matter to *The Shepheardes Calender*. Accordingly, Lownes also chose not to publish the Spenser-Harvey correspondence printed in 1580. More than a half-century later, both the *View* and Spenser-Harvey correspondence turned up in the 1679 folio edition of Spenser's *Works*. As we shall see in chapter six, this folio's publisher included in his edition all the previously printed texts of Spenser regardless of genre. Lownes, it seems, was only concerned with the works that made Spenser "England's Arch-*Poet*" (emphasis mine).

The issue of genre, prose dialogue versus verse, has further economic implications. As we shall see in the second half of this chapter, James Ware's 1633 edition of the *View* was a folio in sixes, consisting of seventy-two leaves. The *View* therefore required a total of thirty-six sheets per book. All counted, Lownes's 1611 folio of Spenser's works amounted to a total of 152 sheets per book (he added sixty sheets of new material, *The Shepheardes Calender, Colin Clout, Amoretti*, etc., to the ninety-two sheets of the existing 1609 *Faerie Queene*). The *View* would have added another 36 sheets, increasing the total number of sheets needed for Spenser's works to 188 per book. If Lownes had included the *View,* the additions he printed in 1611 would have equaled the original amount of sheets needed for *The Faerie Queene*. Because the *View* is a prose piece, Lownes did not have the convenience of using double columns and a smaller type size, as he did with Spenser's verse. In this way, not only might the inclusion of

Spenser's prose work seemed unnecessary to Lownes, its inclusion would have driven up the cost of the production of the folio works by nearly a quarter of its original cost.

Of the many reasons why Lownes did not include the *View* in his folio, this is the most compelling argument. Lownes, who looks to be knowledgeable about Spenser's body of work (he is after all the publisher who unearthed the *Two Cantos of Mutabilitie*) was consciously leaving out both the Spenser-Harvey correspondence and the *View*. For most stationers the bottom line was always financial. In this case, rather than increasing the size of his folio by a quarter of the number of sheets per book, Lownes chose to leave off any works that did not correspond with Spenser's reputation as "England's Arch-Poet" and were therefore superfluous. The *View*, therefore, remained unpublished in print until 1633.

5.2. THE *VIEW* IN PRINT

When Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland* finally appeared in print in 1633, it was not the product of a single printer located in England. Rather, Spenser's *View* was printed in Dublin, Ireland by a new printing venture of the Stationers' Company called the Irish Stock or The Society of Stationers. The Society of Stationers grew out of the success of the English Stock, which had been initiated by two privileges granted by James I on December 19, 1603. The first privilege gave the Company the right to print and sell Psalters, Psalms, and primers. The second gave the Company the right to print almanacs (Blagden 92-93). Much like our modern notion of stock holding, members of the Company could buy shares in the English Stock, from which they earned dividends from the profits made on the sale of the works belonging to the stock.[34] In the past, individual stationers of the Company held these privileges and, thus, held monopolies over these popular and profitable publications. Subsequently, less prosperous printers contested these individual privileges. With the formation of the English Stock these privileges belonged to the Stationers' Company to be used for the "help and releife" of

[34] For a thorough discussion of the English Stock, see Blagden, 92-106.

the Company (Blagden 92). To this end, the company earmarked £200 of the yearly profits for aiding its poor members (Blagden 93).[35]

Out of the success of the English Stock grew the Latin Stock in 1616 and the Irish Stock in 1618. Prior to the formation of the Irish Stock, stationers appointed to the position of King's Printer in Ireland oversaw the book trade in Ireland. From 1604 to 1618, John Franckton held this position and by royal patent had "full, sole and complete license and authority" over the printing, sale, and binding of books produced in or imported into Ireland (qtd. in Welch 703). On March 9, 1618, a Privy Council act removed Franckton and transferred the patent to the members of the newly founded Irish Stock or Society of Stationers (Pollard, *Dictionary* 541). The new patentees were: Felix Kingston, Bartholomew Downes, and Matthew Lownes. To manage the Irish press, the Society of Stationers appointed an agent to work in Dublin. Filling this role from 1618 until 1639, when the stock was dissolved, were the following stationers: Felix Kingston (1618-19?), Thomas Downes (1618-20?), Thomas Snodham and Richard Higgenbotham (1619), Robert Young (1623-24, 1628), Arthur Johnson (1624?-28), and William Bladen (c.1626?-39) (*STC* Vol. 3, 163).[36] In addition to taking over Franckton's privilege as the King's Printer in Ireland, the Society of Stationers evidently bought out the press and printing supplies he had kept in Dublin (Blagden 108). Franckton's equipment provided the foundation, onto which Felix Kingston added new supplies when he served as the society's first agent in Dublin from 1618-1619 (Pollard, *Dictionary* 543).

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[35] According to Blagden, James specified this provision in "the promise given in May but only vaguely and indirectly in the letters patent" (93).

[36] Pollard provides the following stationers and dates: Felix Kingston (1618-19?), Thomas Downes (1618-1621?), Robert Young (1621?-1624), Arthur Johnson (1624-1631), and William Bladen (1631-1639).

The Irish Stock was never as successful as the English Stock. As M. Pollard notes, “A price-list printed in Dublin in 1620 offered, with Bibles and prayer-books, little more than the standard schoolbook fare that the Irish merchants had been supplying for the past century” (*Dublin’s Trade* 37-38). Around 1620, one observer remarked: “There is but one printer and he is scarce employed” (qtd. in Welch 705). Moreover, an entry in the *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company* records a debt owed by the Irish Stock to the Latin Stock:

> Whereas the Latine stocke, receiued from the Irish stocke, the som[m]e of Three hundred poundes, in ffebruarij. 1619. Nowe it is ordered that because the Irish stocke is endebted to the said Latine stocke, that the som[m]e of Three hundred poundes shalbe set of from the Latine and the Irish vndertake the payment thereof for parcell of the debte which the Irish oweth vnto the said Latine. (2.141)

The majority of the publications printed by the Society of Stationers were broadsheet proclamations, thus fulfilling their duty as printers to the Kings Majesty in Ireland. Second to proclamations was the printing of religious texts such as sermons. Most of the sermons and proclamations were Irish-related, a theme that expanded into the publication of works by the more notable figures in Ireland such as James Ussher, the Archbishop of Armagh. The Irish-related material published by the Society of Stationers soon expanded to include works of Irish church history. One of the antiquarians who began publishing with the Society of Stationers was Sir James Ware, a central figure in the advancement of Irish history and literature. It was Ware who finally brought Spenser’s *View* to the press in 1633.

Sir James Ware and Spenser's *View*

James Ware was born on November 26, 1594 in Dublin, Ireland, where his father held the position of auditor-general. While at Trinity College from 1610-1616, Ware studied under James Ussher, who at the time served as a Professor of Divinity and later Vice Chancellor, and would eventually become the Archbishop of Armagh. Ussher encouraged Ware's interest in history and introduced him to fellow antiquarians such as Sir Robert Cotton. Access to the copious libraries of Ussher and Cotton followed, influencing and furthering Ware's own publications. In 1626 and 1628, Ware published two works of Irish church history with the Society of Stationers: *Archiepiscoporum Casseliensium et Tuamensium Vitae* (The Lives of the Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel) and *De præsulibus Lageniae, sive provinciæ Dubliniensis* (Of the Bishops of Leinster, or of the Province of Dublin).[37]

In 1633 Sir James Ware published three previously unprinted texts related to the history of Ireland: Edmund Campion's *The Historie Of Ireland*, Meredith Hanmer's *The Chronicle of Ireland*, and Edmund Spenser's *A View of the State of Ireland*. These texts appeared in various states under variant title pages. In 1924, George Watson Cole identified and described the various states as follows:

a) *The Two Histories of Ireland* containing the works of Campion and Hanmer the latter linked to the former by mention on the title-page.

b) Spenser's *View of Ireland*, without the four leaves of "Annotations" subsequently added . . . and without the words "Whereunto it is added, etc."

[37] *STC* 25064 and 25065.

c) Spenser's *View*, with the sheet of "Annotations"; but still without the words "Whereunto is added, etc."

d) Spenser's *View* with the words "Whereunto it is added, etc.," appended to the title, but without the "Annotations." . . . We would naturally expect to find copies with this title bound before the volume containing the works of Campion and Hanmer; but few copies are really so bound.

e) Spenser's *View* with the words "Whereunto is added, etc." and with the "Annotations,". . . .

f) Copies with the title *The History of Ireland by Three Learned Authors* and with Mainwaring's [sic] "Dedication." (Cole 28)

In 1933, Francis R. Johnson reviewed Cole's works and agreed with his findings, except for Cole's argument that *The Two Histories of Ireland* preceded Spenser's *View of Ireland*; Johnson believes that Spenser's work came out first. Both Cole and Johnson correctly argue that Ware intended to publish Spenser's *View* both as a single edition and as a companion piece to *The Two Histories*.

A bibliographic examination of the books leaves little doubt that Ware intended to publish Campion and Hanmer's works as one collection. The preliminaries to Campion's section (A-L6 M4) are in the same gathering as the general preliminaries to the whole book of *The Two Histories*, suggesting that Campion's text was to head the book.[38] Also, the signature collation of Hanmer's section, which begins Aa and runs through Tt4,

[38] The ¶6 gathering breaks down as follows: ¶1 – General Title page for *Two Histories of Ireland*; ¶2^{r-v} – Ware's dedication "To the Right Honorable Thomas Lo: Viscount WentWorth, Lo: Deputy Generall of Ireland"; ¶3^{r-v} – Ware's "The Preface to the Svbseqvent Histories"; ¶4-5 – Campion's dedication to Robert Dudley from Dublin May 27, 1571); ¶5^{v}-6 – Campion's "To the loving Reader."

indicates that it was intended to follow Campion's lead text, which runs A-L6 M4. Ware's prefaces to *The Two Histories* further connect the two works, referring to both as if they were an inseparable pair. For instance, Ware writes: "These two Bookes (right Honorable) now published for common benefit" (¶2) and "In the meane while we are to accept if these tastes, the one left unto us by Edmund Campion, and the other by Doctor Hanmer" (¶3).

Spenser's *View* was clearly not a part of this publication, not yet anyway. Its first issues (letters b and c in Cole's list above) make no mention of the texts of Campion or Hanmer. The first state of the title page references only the *View*, as do Ware's preliminary dedication to Thomas Wentworth and the "Preface."[39] Likewise, the signature collation of the *View,* A-K6 k4 L4, suggests it was either to head a collected works or to appear on its own. This bibliographic evidence shows that Ware not only meant to include Spenser's text in his collection but also to publish it on its own.[40] Surviving single editions of Spenser's *View* confirm that it was sold independently.[41]

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[39] The second state only references Campion's History.

[40] The first to make this argument was Walter Harris. In his mid-eighteenth-century biography of Ware, he used Ware's dedications to Thomas Wentworth to support a publication schedule in which Spenser's *View* was printed first, followed by the works of Campion and Hanmer: "he published *Spencer's View of the State of* Ireland this Year [1633], and dedicated it to this Lord Deputy [Wentworth], as he did afterwards *the Chronicle of* Meredith Hanmer, *and* Campion's *History of* Ireland" (Ware, *The Works* 149).

[41] For example, Folger Library *STC* 25067a Copy 2; National Library of Ireland, Dublin, L.O. 1213; University of Texas, Austin, Texas, DA910.C36 1633.

Why the *View*?

As we saw in the first half of this chapter, Matthew Lownes originally entered the *View* for publication in the *Stationers' Register* in 1598, but never saw it through the press. He also did not include it in his folio of Spenser's works. Subsequently, the text circulated only in manuscript, until Ware decided to print it over thirty years after it was first written. Indeed, all three of the texts Ware decided to publish in 1633 were previously unpublished manuscripts. Ware acquired at least two of them from his mentor James Ussher. In a marginal note to his "Preface" to the *View*, Ware notes that he acquired the copytext "ex Bibliotheca Remi in Christo patris D. Iacobi Vsserii Archicp. Armachani" or, "from the library of James Ussher, the Archbishop of Armagh" (¶2^{v}). Ussher also evidently supplied Ware with the text for Hanmer's section, as Ware explains in his "Preface" to *The Two Histories*:

> These two Bookes. . .the one left unto us by Edmund Campion, and the other by Doctor Hanmer, who died (of the plague at Dublin in the yeare M.DC.IIII.) before he had finished his intended worke: out of whose collections, what now beareth his name hath bin preserved by our most Reverend and excellently learned Primate [i.e., Ussher]. (¶3$^{r\text{-}v}$)

What prompted Ware to acquire these unpublished manuscripts and to bring them to the press?

Antiquarianism

Ware explains his motives for publishing these works in the prefaces to both the *View* and to Campion and Hanmer's histories. Introducing the *View*, he writes:

> The sense of that happy peace, which by the divine providence this Kingdone hath enjoyed, since the beginning of the raigne of his late Majestie of ever sacred memory, doth then take the deeper impression, when these our halcyon dayes are compared with the former turbulent and tempestuous times, and with the miseries (of severall kindes) incident unto them. Those calamities are fully set out, and to the life by Mr Spenser, with a discovery of their causes, and remedies, being for the most part excellent ground of reformation. (¶2^{r-v})

The worth in publishing Spenser's *View* is the didactic exercise of seeing the former "turbulent and tempestuous times" and comparing them with the "happy peace" currently enjoyed in the kingdom (¶2). According to Ware, Spenser discovers the cause of the former miseries of Ireland and offers remedies, which "being for the most part excellent grounds of reformation" (¶2^{v}).

In the dedication of Campion and Hanmer's histories to Thomas Wentworth, the recently appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, Ware writes:

> These two Bookes (right Honorable) now published for common benefit, I doe here humbly offer to your Lordships view, as containing Annales and other worthy memorials of this Kingdome. And how-ever it cannot be denyed, that the judicious eye may discerne, especially in Campion, many slips, through want of necessary instructions, yet in regard of the great light which else-where these Histories doe afford to the knowledge of former times, and the good use which may be made of them by any who have leisure, desire, and ability to erect and polish a lasting structure of our Irish affaires, I am embouldned to present them to your Lordships patronage. (¶2^{r-v}).

Again, Ware believes that the recorded history of Ireland should be instructive for those that currently maintain the present state of Ireland. Along these lines, in "The Preface to the Svbseqvent Histories" Ware notes how little of the history of Ireland has been published despite the "choyse matter the affaires of this Kingdome doe afford to an Historian" (¶3). He hopes that historians, in the fashion of William Camden, will write the history of Ireland as they have written the history of England, but "in the meane while we are to accept of these taste, the one left unto us by Edmund Campion, and the other by Doctor Hanmer" (¶3$^{r\text{-}v}$). Indeed, Ware notes that there are still more documents for historians to gather and study. In particular he alludes to "auncient and moderne recordes, both in this Kingdome [Ireland] and England]" and "diverse manuscript Annales and Chartularies" found in the library of Robert Cotton (¶3^{v}).

In this way, Ware's decision to publish the Irish-related works of Spenser, Campion, and Hanmer constituted the beginning of a greater antiquarian movement to record the history of Ireland, both for posterity and for the edification of its present rulers. Ware's publications before and after the *View* and *The Two Histories* support these broader antiquarian goals. But the books Ware published before and after 1633 were quartos and octavos.[42] The *View* and *The Two Histories* were folios. Might the larger folio size of Ware's 1633 publications tell us more about his goal in publishing them?

[42] Following his 1633 publications, Ware published *De scriptoribus Hibernia* (1639) in quarto, a catalog of his own library (*Librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca Jacobi Waræi*, 1648) in quarto, *De Hibernia et antiquitatibus ejus, disquisitiones* (1654 and 1658) in octavo, and selected works of St. Patrick, *S. Patricio, qui Hibernos ad fidem Christi convertit Adscripta opuscula quorum aliqua nunc primùm, ex antiquis MSS. codicibus in lucem emissa sunt, reliqua, recognita* (1656) in octavo. It was not until the 1660s that Ware published any works in folio. For examples see, *Rerum hibernicarum annals* and *De præsulibus Hiberniæ, Commentarius* published in 1664 and 1665.

Spenser's *View* in Folio

The physical appearance of Ware's publication clearly demonstrates that he had more than antiquarian goals in mind when he published it. The book appeared in folio, a format the Society of Stationers rarely used.[43] They used the folio format twice in 1621, for an edition of the *Statutes of Ireland* and for the Dublin edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* in 1621. From 1622 to 1633, the Society of Stationers printed only three folios, and these were two-sheet proclamations, coming nowhere near the size of the *View*.[44] Although Ware had previously published two books of Irish antiquarian interest with the Society of Stationers, *Archiepiscoporum Casseliensium & Tuamensium vitae* in 1626 and *De praesulibus Lageniae, sive provinciae Dubliniensisi* in 1628, neither of the two appeared in folio, but rather in quarto.

The choice of folio for the *View* suggests that the text was an exceptional publication for the Society of Stationers. There was certainly name recognition in Spenser and Campion. Spenser's work had appeared in folio, but Campion and Hanmer's had not.[45] Unlike Lownes's folio editions of Spenser's works, the decision to print these texts in folio was most definitely not one that saved money. Verse was well suited to double columns and a smaller type size, prose was not. Therefore, setting the prose of Spenser, Campion, and Hanmer onto folio pages was a costly venture. Adding even more cost to these publications, Ware prefaced both Spenser's *View* and the

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[43] For folio publications prior to 1634, see *STC* 14211, 14222, 14224. For acts of Ireland with eight to fourteen folio leaves, see *STC* 14135, 14135.3, and 14135.7 in 1634. This count does not include two sheet publications.

[44] *STC* 14211 in 1627, 14222 in 1631, and 14224 in 1632.

[45] For Campion's titles, see *STC* 4535, 4536.5, and 12745; for Hanmer's titles, see *STC* 12744, 12745.5, and 12746. Hanmer's translation of the works of Eusebius of Caesarea did appear in folio in 1577, see *STC* 10572-6.

histories of Campion and Hanmer with dedications to Thomas Wentworth. Indeed, a later issue of Hanmer's *Chronicle* also contained a dedication to Wentworth from Hanmer's son-in-law, Matthew Manwaring. These dedications were necessary additions, however, because Ware had a more specific goal in mind than antiquarianism when he presented these texts to his "Lordships patronage," a goal he advanced with the choice of a folio production (¶2^{r-v}).

Spenser as a Means to Patronage

Behind Ware's philanthropic goal of Irish antiquarianism, lay another more self-serving goal, patronage. In 1632, Ware succeeded his father as Auditor-General. Earlier that year, on January 12, 1632, Thomas Wentworth, who had been a member of the English parliament in the 1620s and served as Lord President of the north from 1629-32, was appointed to the position of Lord Deputy of Ireland. Wentworth arrived in Dublin in July of 1633.

By dedicating both Spenser's *View* and *The Two Histories* to the newly arrived Lord Deputy of Ireland, Ware was looking for further advancement in the world of Irish politics. Indeed, the proximity of the date of publication to Ware's arrival in Dublin suggests that Ware may have planned for his publications to coincide with Wentworth's arrival. If so, then the choice of folio format made for a grander publication, one that would more effectively pique Wentworth's interests. Further enhancing the appearance of the book, William Bladen, the Society of Stationer's printer in Dublin at that time, used the most ornate woodcut border the Society owned for the title pages of both the

View and *The Two Histories*.[46] It was the same border that they had previously used for the Dublin edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* (1621) and the *Statutes of Ireland* (1621).[47]

Evidently, Ware's bid for patronage from Wentworth was successful. A letter from Wentworth to "The Lord Deputy of the Lord Treasurer" dated January 31, 1633/4, most likely following the publication of the *View* and *The Two Histories*, confirms Wentworth's interest in Ware:

> I thought fit to call to the Council my Lord of *Cork*, my Lord Mountnorris, The Master of the Wards, Master of the Rolls, Sir *George Radcliffe*, and Sir *James Ware* his Majesty's Auditor, whom indeed I take to be a very honest and able Officer. (191)

Wentworth's awareness of Ware may have had immediate results. In July of 1634, when Wentworth called together an Irish Parliament, Ware was elected as the representative of the University of Dublin (DNB Vol. 29, 816).

Ware's 1633 publications were not the only texts that Ware dedicated to Wentworth. He also dedicated his *De scriptoribus Hiberniæ* to Wentworth in 1639. Perhaps not so coincidently, the year was also another time of advancement for Ware. He was appointed to a position on Ireland's Privy Council in Ireland (Parry).

During his lifetime, Spenser had used his literary works as bids for patronage. Now a new up-and-comer was using Spenser's works to secure his own position in the world of British politics. In this case, James Ware published Spenser's *A View of the*

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[46] Bladen did not use this or any border for the general title page to *The Historie of Ireland, Collected by Three Learned Avthors*. Perhaps the text on the title page had grown too cumbersome to fit comfortably on an ornate title page.

[47] *STC* 22545 and 14130. For a history of the use on this woodcut, see McKerrow and Ferguson 204 (entry 274).

State of Ireland in folio as a part of an evidently successful bid for patronage from Thomas Wentworth. Furthering Spenser's reputation took a backseat to Ware's personal and political aspirations, part of which was the broader goal of the recording and preserving of Irish History.

The circulation of the *View* as both a single edition and as a part of *The History of Ireland by Three Learned Authors* suggests that Spenser held a greater cultural cachet than Campion and Hanmer, whose texts did not circulate as individual editions. Nevertheless, just as in the case of Spenser's first folio printed by Lownes from 1609-c.1625, the publication of Spenser's *View* in folio had less to do with the promotion and celebration of the author then it did with the goals of its publisher. A compelling demand for Spenser's work does not appear to be a factor at all in Ware's publication of the *View*. In fact, a drought of Spenser editions followed.

A Reluctance to Publish Spenser

Following the production of Ware's edition of *A View of the Present State of Ireland* in 1633, Spenser's works, for the most part, lay dormant. Prior to the publication of the 1679 folio edition of the works by Jonathan Edwin, there was only one Spenser publication, Theodore Bathurst's Latin and English edition of *The Shepheardes Calender* in 1653. All the while, the rights to Spenser's work continued to change hands.

In the years following Matthew Lownes's death in 1627, the *Stationers' Register* records a flurry of activity surrounding the rights to *The Faerie Queene*.[48] After Thomas Lownes inherited the rights from his father in April of 1627, he assigned them to his

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[48] The rights to *The Faerie Queene* appear to include the rights to the minor poems. See Chapter Four.

uncle Humphrey Lownes and Robert Young the following month (Arber IV.176, 180). This transaction included a catalog of titles such as: Sidney's *Arcadia,* Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, and Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*. More than a year later, on November 6, 1628, Humphrey Lownes transferred his share of the rights to his cousin George Latham and George Cole (Arber IV.205). How these rights transferred without the involvement of Robert Young is unknown. Evidence does demonstrate that Young did assert his rights to these titles and in 1629 successfully arranged for their transfer back into his possession (Arber IV.245). In the following decade, he published at least eight of the titles he inherited from Lownes, yet he never exercised his prerogative to publish *The Faerie Queene* or any of the other works of Spenser.[49] When Robert Young died in 1643, his rights passed on to his son James, who also never published any of Spenser's works (Plomer, *Transcript* I.122-26). After this, no further record of *The Faerie Queene* appears in the *Stationers' Register*.

The Shepheardes Calender fared only slightly better. Following its publication in Lownes's folio, it was published only once before the folio of 1679. This was the aforementioned Bathurst edition, co-published in 1653 by Mercy Meighen, Thomas Collins, and Gabriell Bedell. No entry for this edition survives in the *Stationers' Register*. The rights had transferred to John Harrison IV, who died sometime around 1653 (Jonson 9). Subsequently, his widow, Martha Harrison, held the rights until April 28, 1660, when the *Stationers' Register* records her transferring the rights to William Lee (Plomer, *Transcript* II.261-62). As in the case of James Young, William Lee never published any of Spenser's work.

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[49] See *STC* 1383, 1633, 6562, 14472,19985, 20641, 21654, and 22549.

Ultimately, this ownership history demonstrates that stationers who held the rights to Spenser's works in the middle of the seventeenth century were reluctant to publish them. As a result, *The Faerie Queene* and the majority of Spenser's works remained out of print or unsold on bookseller's shelves for decades.

"The Prince of Poets in His Tyme": Spenser in the Seventeenth Century

The publication history of Spenser's verse in the seventeenth century is quite telling, particularly when compared with that of the sixteenth century. From 1579 to 1597, there were fifteen printed editions of his work.[50] *The Shepheardes Calender* alone went through five editions before Spenser's death in 1599.[51] Conversely, in the time between the first folio of *The Faerie Queene* in 1609 and the end of the seventeenth century, there were only six new editions of Spenser's work.[52] If we were to gauge the popularity of Spenser's works by the number of editions printed, then the years from 1579 to 1597 eclipse the whole of the seventeenth century.

For seventeenth-century booksellers and book buyers, Spenser's works were no longer as popular as they had been while the poet was alive. Truth be told, the printing history suggests the seventeenth-century reading public lacked a driving interest in

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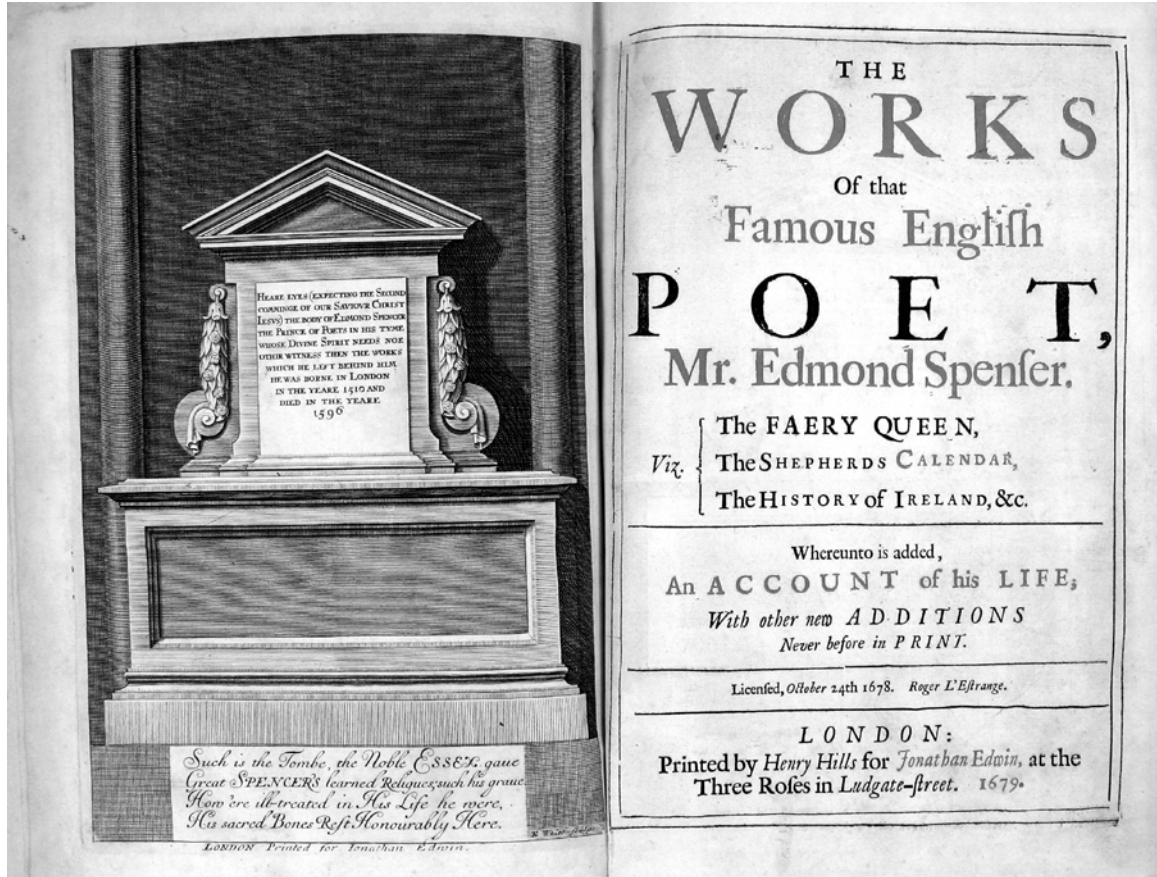
[50] Not counting the Spenser-Harvey letters (1580), the editions are as follows: five editions of *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579, 1581, 1586, 1591, and 1597), two editions of *The Faerie Queene* (part one in 1590, parts one and two in 1596), *Complaints* (1591), two editions of *Daphnaïda*, (1591 and 1596 with *Fowre Hymns*), *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* (1595), *Amoretti and Epithalamion* (1595), *Fowre Hymns* (1596), and *Prothalamion* (1596).

[51] *STC* 23089, 23090, 23091, 23092, and 23093.

[52] The 1609 edition of *The Faerie Queene*, the first and second editions of the folio works (1611-c.1625), *A View of the present State of Ireland* (1633), Bathurst's Latin and English edition of *The Shepheardes Calender* (1653), and the 1679 *Works*.

Spenser. This would explain why so many seventeenth-century stationers who held the rights to Spenser's works decided not to invest their money in new editions. It would also explain why, at the beginning of the century, Lownes did not see fit to invest a great deal of time and money in Spenser's first folio. It was not the right time. The right time would come in 1679 when Jonathan Edwin published *The Works of that Famous English Poet, Mr. Edmond Spenser. The Faery Queen, The Shepherds Calendar, The History of Ireland, &c. Whereunto is added, An Account of his Life; With other new Additions Never before in Print* (Figure 5.1). As the title suggests, Edwin's folio edition was indeed a printed monument to Spenser. The book's engraved frontispiece is intriguing. It portrays the 1620 monument that had declared Spenser "the prince of poets in his tyme." With the publication of Edwin's 1679 folio, Spenser finally appears to have transcended beyond "his tyme."



Heare lyes (expecting the Second comminge of our Saviovr Christ Iesvs) the body of Edmond Spencer the Prince of Poets in his tyme whose Divine Spirit needs noe othir witness then the works which he left behind him. he was borne in London in the yeare 1510 and died in the yeare 1596

Such is the Tombe, the Noble ESSEX *gaue*
Great SPENCER'S *learned Reliques; such his graue.*
How'ere ill-treated in His Life he were,
His sacred Bones Rest Honourably Here.

LONDON Printed for Ionathan Edwin.

THE
WORKS
Of that
Famous Engliſh
POET,
Mr. Edmond Spenſer.

Viz. The FAERY QUEEN,
The SHEPHERDS CALENDAR,
The HISTORY of IRELAND, &c.

Whereunto is added,
An ACCOUNT of his LIFE;
With other new ADDITIONS
Never before in PRINT.

Licenſed, *October* 24th 1678. *Roger L'Eſtrange.*

LONDON:
Printed by *Henry Hills* for *Jonathan Edwin*, at the
Three Roſes in *Ludgate-ſtreet.* 1679.

Figure 5.1. The frontispiece and title page to Edwin's 1679 folio edition of Spenser's *Works*. Courtesy of The Ohio State University Libraries.

CHAPTER 6:

SPENSER IN AND OUT OF PRINT 1634-1679

6.1. UNSALABLE SPENSER?

At Delphos shrine, one did a doubt propound,
Which by th'Oracle must be released,
Whether of Poets were the best renow'nd:
Those that survive, or they that are deceased?
The Gods made answer by divine suggestion,
While Spencer is alive, it is no question. (M2)

Anon. "On Mr Edm. Spencer, Famous Poet"
from *Poems, by Francis Beaumont Gent*.
(1653)

As the anonymous poet who wrote the lines above observes, Spenser's literary reputation never died, particularly within literary circles. Indeed, scores of allusions to Spenser turn up in print through the whole of the seventeenth century. For the poets who succeeded him, Spenser reigned in the pantheon of English poets.[1] The frontispiece illustration to John Cotgrave's *Wits Interpreter or the New Parnassus* (1655) makes this point quite clear. The engraver presents portraits of the preeminent English authors who together have formed a "New Parnassus." Here, Spenser finds himself in the good

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[1] See Ray Heffner's *Spenser Allusions in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971-1972).

company of Thomas More, William Shakespeare, Sir Francis Bacon, Ben Jonson, and, not surprisingly, Sir Philip Sidney.

While Spenser's literary reputation endured in the printed works of subsequent generations of English literary authors, new editions of his work all but disappear for a half a century after the publication of the *View* in 1633. As we have seen, the stationers who held the licenses to print Spenser's work decided not to produce new editions. In fact, no one officially owning the licenses to any of Spenser's works would ever print them again. Meanwhile, literary publications increased and thrived though the mid to late seventeenth century, as the literary output of publishers such as Humphrey Moseley and Henry Herringman began to forge an English literary canon. All the while, Spenser remained on the sidelines.

Spenser's "Grandam Words"

Perhaps the most obvious answer to the question of why stationers were unwilling to publish Spenser is that the poet was deceased. As earlier chapters of this dissertation demonstrate, Spenser was actively engaged with the English book trade during his lifetime. The production and dissemination of new works kept Spenser in the public eye and fueled the need for new editions of older works. In the years following his death, however, there were no new literary works to print and, consequently, less continued interest in his work. His literary counterpart, Sir Philip Sidney, however, did not share this same fate. Editions of Sidney's works were reprinted through the whole century. Was there something unique to Spenser's works that caused readers to lose interest?

We might find the answer to this question in Thomas Fuller's *The history of the worthies of England*. Published in 1662, Fuller's *Worthies* is an encyclopedia of sorts that chronicles the major places and people of England. Within a section discussing the various worthies of London, Fuller includes a brief biographical entry on Spenser. In characterizing Spenser's literary style, he makes the following observation:

> The many Chaucerisms used (for I will not say affected by him) are thought by the ignorant to be blemishes, known by the learned to be beauties to his book; which notwithstanding had been more salable if more conformed to our modern language. (219)

Evidently Spenser's language, archaic even during his own time, had not aged well. Citing Spenser's deliberate "Chaucerisms," Fuller argues that Spenser's works are not suitable for sale because they do not conform to modern language.

Fuller's observation is neither singular nor new. Even in the sixteenth century there were critics of Spenser's conscious use of archaic language. The first person to comment negatively on Spenser's language was Sir Philip Sidney, who in his *Apology for Poetry* famously delivers both compliment and complaint in one stroke:

> *The Shepherds' Calendar* hath much poetry in his eclogues, indeed worthy the reading, if I be not deceived. (That same framing of his style to an old rustic language I dare not allow, since neither Theocritus in Greek, Virgil in Latin, nor Sannazaro in Italian, did affect it). (64)

Evidently Sidney was not alone in his feelings about Spenser's archaic language. Later in the century, Edward Guilpin alluded to sentiments such as Sidney's in his 1598 *Skialetheia*, noting: "Some blame deep Spenser for his grandam words" (E1).

As the years separating readers from the first editions of Spenser's works increase so, too, do the complaints concerning his archaic language. Interestingly, the complaints are not limited to *The Shepheardes Calender*, which clearly had the most deliberate use of archaisms. Rather, readers extend the complaint to all of Spenser's works. In about 1620, for example, Thomas Jackson argued that "our Posterity in a few years will hardly understand some passages in the *Fairy Queen*, or in *Mother Hubbards* or other Tales in Chaucer, better known at this day to old Courtiers than to young students" (746). In this case, Jackson does not even reference *The Shepheardes Calender*, but names *The Faerie Queene* and *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale*, two texts that arguably only superficially employ archaic English language. Nevertheless, Jackson, like Fuller, likens Spenser's language to Chaucer's, even though nearly two centuries separate the two English authors. He also defines Spenser's audience as "old Courtiers" and notes that "young students" were not reading Spenser. Although the latter charge may be contradicted by the mass of surviving literary allusions to Spenser written by "young students," Jackson's larger point may have some validity. At the time of his observation, Matthew Lownes was nearing the end of printing Spenser's first folio, a publication Lownes likely sold through the 1620s. After this, no new edition of Spenser's works is available until the end of the century. Thus young students would have no new editions to purchase. Perhaps if there had been some driving interest from young students, then Lownes or his successors would have continued to print Spenser's works.

Critiques of Spenser's archaic language continue through the century. Second to Sidney, Ben Jonson issued the most famous critique. In his *Timber; or Discoveries* from his second volume of *Workes* (1640), Jonson writes that "Spenser, in affecting the

Ancients writ no Language: Yet I wuld have him read for his matter; but as Virgil read Ennuis" (116-7). Moreover, he argues:

> Words borrow'd of Antiquity, doe lend a kind of Majesty to style, and are not without their delight sometimes. For they have the Authority of yeares, and out of their intermission doe win to themselves a kind of crace-like newnesse. But the eldest of the present, and newnesse of the past Language is the best. For what was the ancient Language, which some men so doate upon, but the ancient Custom?. . . *Virgill* was most loving of Antiquity; yet how rarely doth hee insert *aquai*, and *pictai*! *Lucretius* is scabrous and rough in these; hee seekes 'hem: As some doe *Chaucerismes* with us, which were better expung'd and banish'd. (119)

A decade later William Davenant touches on the issue of Spenser's "obsolete language" in his *A Discourse upon Gondibert* (1650). Although he censures those attacking Spenser, in doing so he acknowledges the growing complaint: "it will not be expected I should forget what is objected against Spencer; whose obsolete language we are constrain'd to mention, though it be grown the most vulgar accusation that is lay'd to his charge" (12).

In 1669, Edward Howard repeats the charge. In his "Preface to the Reader" to *The Brittish princes an heroick poem*, he discusses the "Poets of our own Country, who are justly dignified by the Heroick Muse, of whom though the Catalogue be small":

> Of these the most considerable, I think may be granted our famous *Spencer,* and the late Sir *William Davenant,* (not considering *Daniel, Drayton,* and the like, rather Historians than Epicke Poets) the first of whom is by many granted a Parallel to most of the Antients, whose Genius was in all degrees proportion'd for

> the work he accomplished, or for whatsoever structures his Muse had thought fit to raise, whose thoughts were like so many nerves and sinews ready with due motion and strength to actuate the body he produced; nor was the success of his Poem less worthy of Admiration, which notwithstanding it be frequent in words of obsolete signification, had the good fortune to have a Reception suitable to its desert, which tells us the age he writ in, had a value for sense above words, though perhaps he may have received deservedly some censure in that particular, since our Language (when he writ) was held much improved, that it has been the wonder as well as pity of some, that so famous a Poet should so much obscure the glory of his thoughts, wrapt up in words and expressions, which time and use had well nigh exploded: And though words serve our uses but like Counters or numbers to summe our intellectual Products, yet they must be currant as the money of the Age, or they will hardly pass: Nor is it less ridiculous to see a man confidently walk in the antiquated and mothy Garments of his Predecessors, out of an obstinate contempt of the present Mode, than to imitate the expressions of obsolete Authors, which renders even Wit barbarous, and looks like some affront to the present Age, which expects from Writers due esteem of the tongue they speak. But this objection which I have presumed to mention against Renowned *Spencer,* (though it be a Common one, and the most is laid to his charge,) shews us that his building was rather mighty than curious, and like the Pyramids of Egypt, may expect to be a long Companion of times. (A5^{v}-A6)

According to Howard, the objection to Spenser's "obsolete" words is common. Although he ultimately does not believe it will prevent the survival of his reputation, he finds the

use of "words of obsolete signification" as inappropriate as dressing in out-of-date clothing and as useless as old coins. Words "must be currant as the money of the Age, or they will hardly pass."

The topic of Spenser's language continued through the later part of the seventeenth century. In *The Moral State of England* (1670) Richard Graham, the first Viscount Preston, comments on English poets. In the process, he catalogs the lists of critiques concerning Spenser. Unsurprisingly, the catalog ends with reference to complaints regarding Spenser's language:

> Spencer may deservedly challenge the Crown [of English poetry]; for though he may seem blameable in not observing decorum in some places enough, and in too much, in the whole, countenancing Knight-errantry; yet the easie similitudes, the natural Pourtraicts, the so refined and sublimated fancies, with which he hath so bestudded every Canto of his subject will easily reach him the Guerdon; and though some may object to him that his Language is harsh and antiquated; yet his design was noble; to shew us that our language was expressive enough of our own sentiments; and to upbraid those who have indenizon'd such numbers of forreign words. (66-68)

A year later, Sir Thomas Culpeper argued against the use of archaic language in *Essayes or Moral Discourses On several Subjects*. On this topic, Spenser remains the chief example:

> Some have thought to honour Antiquity by using such [words] as were obsolete, as hath been done by our famous *Spencer*, and others, though the times past are no more respected by an unnecessary continuing of their words then if wee wore

constantly the same trimming to our Cloaths as they did, for it is not Speech, but things which render antiquity venerable, besides the danger of expressing no Language, if as Spencer made use of Chaucerisms, we should likewise introduce his. (118)

Like many of the critics before him, Culpeper argues that Spenser's words were "obsolete." He believes, moreover, that if any author chooses to employ such words, then that author runs the risk of producing "no Language." Here, Culpeper repeats Jonson's charge that Spenser, "in affecting the Ancients writ no Language"; in other words a language unintelligible to a modern audience.

In 1675, Edward Phillips repeats the charge that Spenser's language is obsolete in his *Theatrum poetarum*:

> Nay though all the Laws of *Heroic Poem,* all the Laws of *Tragedy* were exactly observed, yet still this *tour entrejeant,* this Poetic *Energie,* if I may so call it, would be required to give life to all the rest, which shines through the roughest most unpolish't and antiquated Language, and may happly be wanting, in the most polite and reformed: let us observe *Spencer,* with all his Rustie, obsolete words, with all his rough-hewn clowterly Verses; yet take him throughout, and we shall find in him a gracefull and Poetic Majesty. . . . (**9[r-v])

According to Phillips, Spenser's words are so out of use that they have grown "Rustie." In a like manner, Francis Atterbury compares Edmund Waller's language to Spenser's, finding Waller's language current and Spenser's language as dated as old coins:

> 'tis a surprizing Reflection, that between what *Spenser* wrote last, and *Waller* first, there should not be much above twenty years distance: and yet the one's

> Language, like the Money of that time, is as currant now as ever; whilst the other's words are like old Coyns, one must to an Antiquary to understand their true meaning and value. (A4^v)

As the seventeenth century came to a close, even England's foremost author John Dryden expressed reservations about Spenser's work. In the dedication to his translation of Juvenal's *Satires* (1693), he critiques the lack of "Uniformity in the Design " of *The Faerie Queene*, before turning his sights on Spenser's language, "For the rest, his Obsolete Language, and the ill choice of his Stanza, are faults but of the Second Magnitude: For notwithstanding the first he is still Intelligible, at least, after a little practice" (viii). Dryden argues that in order to understand Spenser's writing one has to "practice" reading it until one becomes accustomed to it. It is important to remember that, like many of those who critique Spenser's archaic language, Dryden is not only talking about *The Shepheardes Calender*, but rather *The Faerie Queene*. If we take Dryden at his word, by the end of the century, all of Spenser's major poetic works had grown conspicuously dated.

Modernizing Spenser: *Calendarium pastorale* and *Spencer Redivivus*

Considering the growing chorus of complaints against Spenser's "grandam words," Fuller's assertion that Spenser's works would have been "more salable if more conformed to our modern language" appears to be correct. In fact, censure of Spenser's archaic language was not only confined to the pages of other author's books, but also manifested itself in new versions of Spenser's work. Supporting Fuller's argument,

translations and adaptations of Spenser's work in the mid to late seventeenth century demonstrate that Spenser's language had indeed grown out-of-date.

Calendarium Pastorale

In 1653, William Dillingham, a student of Emmanuel College, Cambridge working toward his Doctor of Divinity, published a Latin translation of *The Shepheardes Calender* entitled *Calendarium pastorale.* This octavo edition presents in parallel columns Spenser's English text and a Latin translation by Theodore Bathurst. Bathurst's translation of *The Shepheardes Calender* was nearly a half a century old. He likely began it while a student at Pembroke College Cambridge from 1602-1609 and finished it in 1616 (Kelliher "Dillingham").[2] Several manuscript copies of Bathurst's translation survive, including three found interleaved in copies of the 1597 edition of *The Shepheardes Calender*.[3]

The surviving evidence suggests that Bathurst's translation originated as an academic exercise prepared for the masters of Pembroke and Trinity Colleges, both of whom were students at Pembroke either during the time in which Spenser was a student there or shortly thereafter. One of the surviving manuscript copies in Bathurst's hand remains at Pembroke College. This copy contains a dedication from Bathurst to Samuel

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[2] Bathurst began his studies as Trinity College, Cambridge in 1602, but shortly thereafter moved to Pembroke College, where he took his BA in 1606 and his MA in 1609 (Kelliher, "Bathurst").

[3] The *Index of English Literary Manuscripts* records the following: "A MS text containing a draft dedication in Bathurst's handwriting is preserved at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and other MS copies are in the British Library (Department of Printed Books, 1077. e. 52 and C. 117. b. 10), in the Pforzheimer Library (MS 116), and in the Folger (MS J. a. 2)" (1.2.524).

Harsnett who served as master of Pembroke College from 1605 to 1616, the time in which Bathurst was finishing his studies there. Harsnett had attended Pembroke College as a student, taking his B.A. in 1581. Thus he matriculated into the College just a few years after Spenser received his M.A. in 1576. A second surviving manuscript containing only the January and February eclogues features a dedication to Thomas Neville, the master of Trinity College, Cambridge. Neville received his B.A. at Pembroke College in 1569, the same year that Spenser matriculated into the College as a sizar.[4] In this way, it appears that Bathurst's intention was to present Latin translations of Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender* to two headmasters who were in some way connected to Pembroke College's most famous poet. Whether or not Harsnett or Neville ever received a copy of Bathurst's translation is unknown. Furthermore, there is no evidence to suggest that Bathurst ever attempted to publish his translation.

In the *Calendarium pastorale*'s dedication to Francisco Lane, William Dillingham's explains how he came into possession of two autograph manuscripts of Bathurst's translation of *The Shepheardes Calender* shortly after Bathurst died in 1651. Dillingham notes that Bathurst had frequently worked on both manuscripts and that while he did not give equal attention to touching them up, the manuscripts deserved better than to be neglected or, as he puts it, "to be damned to be used as wrapping for tuna or mackerel or to be left to rot with the cockroaches and moths" (A4).[5] Rather, Dillingham prepared them for publication and dedicated them to Lane in gratitude for Lane's great

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[4] Whether of not Spenser had any relationship with Neville is unknown. He was certainly at odds with Spenser's friend Gabriel Harvey. In 1573, Neville was one of a group of fellows that "attempted to obstruct Harvey's admission as master of arts" (Scott-Warren "Harvey, Gabriel").

[5] I am indebted to Richard Rader for his help translating Bathurst's Latin dedication.

generosity to him. In this way, just as Bathurst had originally translated *The Shepheardes Calender* as exercises dedicated to his masters at Cambridge, Dillingham published Bathurst's translation in honor of one of his own mentors.

In the years prior to the publication of the *Calendarium pastorale*, Dillingham had already begun to establish himself as a minor player in the book trade. In 1651, after the premature death of his friend Nathaniel Culverwell, with whom he had been elected fellow of Emmanuel College, Dillingham helped bring Culverwell's *Spiritual Opticks* to print (Hutton, "Culverwell"). A year later he did the same for Culverwell's *The Light of Nature* (1652), which he dedicated to Anthony Tuckney, Master of Emmanuel College.

For the most part, Dillingham's edition of the *Calendarium pastorale* is an unremarkable, stripped-down book. None of *The Shepheardes Calender*'s original twelve woodcuts are reprinted or reproduced. Unlike the first quarto editions of *The Shepheardes Calender*, Dillingham's edition is a spare, economical publication that was meant to be an inexpensive, academic book that focused primarily on the relationship between Spenser's original text and Bathurst's Latin translation. The intended audience for the book was likely both his colleagues and fellow students of Emmanuel College and the students at the Inns of Court. The book's printers Mercy Meighen, Thomas Collins, and Gabriell Bedell printed and sold books out of their shop located at Middle Temple Gate in Fleet Street, an attractive location for booksellers catering to the students of the Inns of Court.

Appended to copies of Collins and Bedell's 1656 edition of Thomas Goffe's *Three Excellent Tragoedies* is a catalog listing the books available at the stationers' shop (Meighen retired or died in 1654). This catalog shows that Collins and Bedell frequently

dealt in literary books, particularly plays from authors such as Shakespeare, Jonson, and John Fletcher. Among the books listed under the section "Octavos" is the *Calendarium pastorale*. The entry is curious: "*Calendarium Pastorale*, by Theodore Bathurst, Latine and English." Despite the fact that Edmund Spenser is listed on both the Latin and English title pages with the title "Prince of Poets" or the Latin "Anglorum Poetarum Principe," Collins and Bedell make no mention of him. Moreover, they list only the Latin title, making no reference to *The Shepheardes Calender*. It had been over twenty years since the publication of Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland*. Was the name Spenser no longer marketable? Had Spenser become obscure?

Spenser's language had certainly become obscure. Someone, presumably Dillingham, felt it necessary to append the *Calendarium pastorale* with "A Glossarie; or, An Alphabetical Index of unusual words explained, which may be of use for understanding not only of this Poem, but of the Faery Queen also, and others of this author." This is no short glossary of a couple dozen words, but rather three and a half pages of well over 250 words. The "Glossarie" lists alphabetically the "unusual" words followed by their modern definitions. Words such as "Dight" and "Mote," for example, are glossed as "covered, adorned" and "might." The glossary even explains the y-prefix: "Y, A poetical affixe, often put at the beginning of a word before a consonant, especially participles of the time past: as, Yblent, blinded. . . ." It is no wonder that Spenser's language had come to be called "Chaucerisms."

The need for such a glossary suggests that, by the middle of the seventeenth century, Spenser's language had grown so out-of-date, that many of his words were foreign to contemporary readers. Even more remarkable is that a learned readership

would need such a glossary. Although the "Glossarie" was primarily meant for *The Shepheardes Calendar*, it is also quite telling that the editor would state that it could be used for the rest of Spenser's work, including *The Faerie Queene*. This is consistent with broader criticisms of the use of archaic language in Spenser's works. It appears that all of Spenser's oeuvre had, by 1653, become dated due to his use of archaic language, which even to a mid-seventeenth-century, learned reader was deemed "unusual."[6]

The "Glossarie" is not paginated, nor does it have any signature markings. This bibliographic evidence suggests that it was designed so that the book buyer could remove it and use it along side *The Shepheardes Calender* and any of Spenser's other poems. The typographical appearance of the glossary also symbolizes the relationship between the archaic words and their definitions. The archaic English is set in black letter, while the contemporary English is set in roman. On the most basic typographical level, the use of black letter and roman distinguishes the old words from the new. But roman type had long supplanted black letter by 1653. So, on a more cultural level, the use of black-letter or "English" type is meant to evoke the age and Englishness of the "unusual" words.

The "Glossarie" of the *Calendarium pastorale* suggests that by mid-century Spenser's language had grown so out of date that even academic readers required an aid to help understand the poet's words. It is not surprising therefore that an ambitious author might go beyond simply preparing a glossary explaining Spenser's unusual language, and modernize Spenser's work.

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[6] In 1674, Spenser turns up as an example in John Ray's *Collection of English Words not Generally Used*. Under the heading "North Countrey words," Ray lists "Yewd or Yod" meaning "Went" and cites examples found in "*Chaucero* Yed, yeden, Yode eodem sensu. Spencer also in his Fairie queen lib. I c. 10" (55-6). To illustrate the use of the word, Ray quotes *The Faerie Queene* 1.10.53.3-5.

Spencer Redivivus

Appearing in 1687 was one such modernization: *Spencer Redivivus Containing the FIRST BOOK OF THE FAIRY QUEEN, His Essential Design preserv'd, but his obsolete Language and manner of Verse totally laid aside deliver'd in heroick numbers*. The author is identified on the title page only as "a Person of Quality," but was most likely Edward Howard, an author of the period who, as we saw earlier, had already critiqued Spenser's "obsolete" language in his "Preface" to *The British Princes: An Heroick Poem* (1669).[7] As the title page makes clear, *Spencer Redivivus* is a full-blown modern translation of the first book of *The Faerie Queene*. Evidently Howard's feeling about Spenser's language had not changed over the course of the last twenty years. Going well beyond most of Spenser's critics, Howard does not merely argue that readers needed help with Spenser's language. Rather, in his "Preface," he argues that no one is really reading Spenser's works and that his reputation survives only through an impressionistic understanding of the greatness of the poet, rather than through a true working knowledge of his poetry:

> There are few of our Nation that have heard of the Name of Spencer, but have granted him the repute of a famous Poet. But I must take leave to affirm, that the esteem which is generally allow'd to his Poetical Abilities, has rather been from an implicite or receiv'd Concession, than a knowing Discernment paid to the Value of this Author: Whose Design, in his Books of the Fairy Queen, howsoever admirable, is so far from being familiarly perceptible in the Language he deliver'd

[7] See Leicester Bradner, "The Authorship of Spencer Redivivus," *Review of English Studies: A Quarterly Journal of English Literature and the English Language* 55.14 (1938): 323-26.

> it in, that his Stile seems no less unintelligible at this Day, than the obsoletest of our English or Saxon Dialect. (A3)

In short, few were actually reading Spenser, at least in Howard's experience, an argument perhaps verified by the lack of available editions through most of the century. The reason for Spenser's lack of readership, Howard argues, is that his language was as obsolete in seventeenth-century England as Anglo-Saxon. In fact, Howard argues that readers have for some time wished to have Spenser's work translated into modern English, a challenge to which he is willing to rise:

> I believe it ought to have been long ago wish'd, as well as readily embrac'd, by all politely judicious, that something of this Eminent Poet had been genuinely and succinctl[y] convey'd by the Purity of our Tongue. An Endeavour undertaken by me, supposing i[t] could not be less acceptable to others than my self[.] By which I have not only discharg'd his antiquate[d] Verse and tedious Stanza, but have likewise deliver'd his Sense in Heroick Numbers: much mor[e] sutable to an Epick Poem. (A3 ^{v})

In order for Spenser's genius to come through, Howard feels he must renovate Spenser's "antiquate Verse and tedious Stanza." His "Language being wav'd," Spenser is a great as Virgil or any other poet in Virgil's age (A4).

> Not but I grant that it is a Work of highest difficulty, and no less to be admir'd, if perfect, than some wondrous Architecture hardly to be equall'd in point of Design, Magnitude, and Beauty. But not impossible to be effected since there needs not be urged a surer Refutation of all Opposers, than the marvellous esteem of this Author, notwithstanding the Obsoleteness of his English and Verse, who liv'd

within a hundred years of our time. But how to excuse the choice of the Language he writ in, that he could not but know, was of too antiquate a Date, if not generally exploded by all Writers in the time he liv'd; or why he should not conceive himself oblig'd to impart the Tongue of that season as currant as he found it, I cannot apprehend.

Unless he was resolv'd, as is reported of him, to imitate his ancient Predecessor Chaucer, or affected it out of design to restore our Saxon English. However it was, the Reader may peruse him here, as far as I have gone, in more fashionable English and Verse; and I hope without Diminution to his Fame in any regard. (A7^{v})

The revising of Spenser's work will not only make his work intelligible to modern readers, it will result in the restoration of his fame, as explained in the commendatory poem "To The Author Of Spencer Redivivus":

Well to improve dead Author, and refine
His proper worth, resembleth power divine.
Or as Faith does of Resurrection tell,
When Souls by future Glory shall excel.
Thus does your Pen in this your Work provide,
That Spencer's Fame shall still renew'd abide. (A8)

In this way, Howard's focus on improving Spenser's language and reputation aligns with the goal explicitly stated in the book's title. It is Spenser that is being renewed or renovated (redivivus). If we are to believe Howard, Spenser and his literary reputation had become antiquated and were in need of repair.

Howard, of course, cannot be taken strictly at his word. As modern scholars have observed, his critique of Spenser may be read as a “self-serving exaggeration” (Radcliffe 25). Clare Kinney argues “Howard’s preface to *Spencer Redivivus* wildly overstates his author’s obscurity (‘his Stile seems no less unintelligible at this Day, than the obsoletest of our English or Saxon Dialect’)” (126). While certainly colored with hyperbole, Howard’s claim is not as “wildly” overstated as Kinney argues. Although he does argue that Spenser’s literary reputation is in need of some repair (an assertion belied by a multitude of references testifying to the contrary), Howard also focuses on the obscurity of Spenser’s language. As we have seen, Howard’s argument is not exceptional. Rather, he is one of many that see Spenser’s works as dated and therefore not “salable.”

Spenser’s Contradictory Seventeenth-Century Reputation

Spenser’s publication history in the mid to late seventeenth century bears Howard’s observation out. From 1633 to 1679, there is only the publication of the *Calendarium pastorale*. Yet, all the while, literary allusions to Spenser and the greatness of his poetry continue to thrive. As David Radcliffe has observed, “Spenser has always enjoyed more fame than popularity, an important distinction prior to the twentieth century” (Radcliffe 11). Herein is the great contradiction in Spenser’s seventeenth-century reputation: his fame waxed, while his popularity waned.

6.2. SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CANON FORMATION AND SPENSER'S 1679 FOLIO

Humphrey Moseley's "English Poets" and Spenser

On August 16, 1655, the *Stationers' Register* records the following transaction between Humphrey Moseley and Thomas Walkley:

> Humphrey Mosely Entred . . .by assignmt under the hand & seal of Tho: Walkley, to which the hand of Master Norton warden is subscribed, two books, the one entituled, *The Hierogliphicall figures of Nich: Flammett, wth Artephius his secret booke*; the other entituled, *Brittains Ida*, written by Edmond Spencer. (Plomer, *Transcript* II.7)

The timing of this transaction is very intriguing. In 1655, Moseley, a stationer specializing in English literary works, was completing a series of octavo editions of English poets that Peter Lindenbaum has appropriately labeled "Moseley's English Poets" ("Milton's Contract" 451). Acquiring the rights to mostly contemporary poets and publishing their works in a series of octavo editions that conformed in layout, Moseley was the publisher chiefly responsible for moving the English book trade into a period of great literary output lasting from 1645 to at least 1680. As Arthur Marotti observes:

> The number of poets Moseley published is extraordinary. He was responsible for printing the poems of Quarles (1642), Milton (1645), Waller (1645), Crashaw (1646 and 1648), Shirley (1646), Suckling (1646, 1648, and 1658), Cowley (1647 and 1655), Carew (1651), Cartwright (1651), Stanley (1651), and Vaughan (1651 and 1654). He also produced the famous 1647 folio of Beaumont and Fletcher and many quartos of plays. (260)

As this impressive list of authors clearly indicates, Moseley was virtually uninterested in publishing English writers from earlier generations, but rather focused on the work of contemporary poets—"Choyce Poems with excellent Translations, by the most eminent wits of this age," as he advertises them in a catalogue advertisement of his publications (a4).[8] Why then would Moseley acquire *Brittain's Ida*, a text that, at that time, was attributed to Edmund Spenser? Might Moseley have been making inroads to a collected works of Spenser in octavo?

Moseley's interest in Spenser and in publishing literary works more generally likely stemmed from his apprenticeship with Matthew Lownes. As we have seen in previous chapters, Lownes published or co-published many literary works, including Spenser's first folio, Sidney's *Arcadia*, and various works of Michael Drayton. Moseley certainly knew Spenser's works through Lownes, having worked with the stationer in the 1620s, a time when Lownes was still selling Spenser's first folio and likely producing a second folio edition of *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale*.[9] Decades later, Moseley

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[8] Reproduced in Edmund Waller, *Poems 1645 Together with Poems from Bodleian MS Don D 55* (Menston, Scolar Press, 1971).

[9] Lownes published this section of the folio sometime between 1620 and 1629. See chapter four.

would allude to Spenser in his “The Stationer to the Reader” which prefaces his edition of *Poems of Mr. John Milton*:

> Let the event guide it self which way it will, I shall deserve of the age, by bringing into the Light as true a Birth, as the Muses have brought forth since our famous Spencer wrote; whose Poems in these English ones are as rarely imitated, as sweetly excell’d. (a4^{r-v})

Beyond Moseley’s acquisition of *Brittain’s Ida*, there is no evidence confirming he was planning an octavo edition of Spenser’s work. The *Stationers’ Register* has no record of his acquisition of *The Shepheardes Calendar* or *The Faerie Queene*. It does seem likely, however, that Moseley was at least considering the prospect. Acquiring one of Spenser’s titles at a time when he was completing a rich series of the works of English poets could be a step in that direction.

Moseley’s House Style

In the course of printing his series of “English Poets,” Moseley adopted a typographical style “designed to get the reader to regard the volume as a group and perhaps to buy the whole set” (Lindenbaum, “Humphrey Moseley” 180). Each book appeared in octavo and had uniform title pages in which the text appeared partitioned into sections by horizontal lines. Many of the volumes also featured engraved portraits of their authors facing the title pages. Moseley first adopted this style for literary works he published in 1645. His edition of John Milton’s *Poems* from this year helped set the fashion for forthcoming publications. As was Moseley’s style, an engraved portrait of Milton faces the title page, which is sectioned into parts by horizontal lines (Figure 6.1).

The next volume of poetry to receive this typographical treatment was John Suckling's *Fragmenta Aurea* in 1646 (Figure 6.2). Thereafter, Moseley replicated this design in volumes such as Carew's *Poems, with a Maske* (1651).

Moseley did not restrict his literary output to verse. While still adding to his "English Poets" series, he embarked on publishing a series that one might call Moseley's "English Playwrights." Volumes in this series appeared throughout the 1650s and included playwrights such as Richard Brome (1653), James Shirley (1653), Philip Massinger (1655), and Thomas Middleton (1657). As he added these new volumes to his literary catalog, he continued to apply his house style (Figure 6.3). But the uniformity of Moseley plays went much further than the regular use of the octavo format, a frontispiece engraving of their authors, and a standardized layout for the title page, as Paulina Kewes notes:

> First, the title pages invariably observe the same formula: the number plus the words "New Plays", and a highly standardized typographical layout. Second, each volume presents the reader with an engraved portrait of the author. Third, each book contains plays only. Fourth, all the plays are "new", i.e., never published before. Fifth, Moseley adopted the strategy of publishing single-play octavos of the authors whose collections he had previously brought out (or was going to bring out) in that format so that the new volumes could conveniently be bound with the old. (9-10)

In this way, Moseley's house style worked as a marketing tool. The uniformity in format and design invited buyers to buy, and perhaps bind, a complete set. Indeed, some scholars argue that Moseley's publishing strategy constitutes an early form of serial

publication (Kewes 7).[10] Here again, we may see the enduring influence of his mentor Matthew Lownes. Lownes's edition of Spenser's first folio certainly constituted an early form of serial publication. Its sections were available for sale as individual editions, but the overarching conformity of design and format created sections that invited the buyer to bind them together. It appears that Moseley took his mentor's approach a step further and created a series of various authors in sections that book buyers could collect.

Perhaps the most famous of all of Moseley's publications is his 1647 folio edition of *The Comedies and Tragedies* of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, the first folio collection of plays published since the second edition of Shakespeare's folio in 1632. As we have seen, by 1647 Moseley had already defined his literary house style. It is not surprising, therefore, that he would also apply the style to Beaumont and Fletcher's first folio (Figure 6.4).

Moseley forged ahead with his publication of English literary authors right up until his death on January 31, 1661. In fact, it looks as though he was gearing up for new round of publications at the time of his death. Only six months prior, he had reentered dozens of his titles (Stationers' Company, VIII.271).

Herringman and Literary Publishing

After Moseley's death, Henry Herringman carried on the legacy of printing English literary works. A bequest of twenty shillings left to Herringman in Moseley's

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[10] This is central argument to Kewes's '"Give me the sociable Pocket-books": Humphrey Moseley's Serial Publication of Octavo Play Collections', *Publishing History*, 38 (1995): 5-21.

will suggests that the two were friends.[11] In August 1667, Herringman acquired the licenses to Moseley's bestselling books from Moseley's wife, Anne, and daughter, Anne, who continued to run his shop until 1667 (Plomer, *A Transcript* VIII.380). Thereafter, Herringman's career began to flourish, establishing his modern reputation as the most important literary publisher of the English Restoration. Resuming Moseley's extraordinary literary output, Herringman published the poems of Waller (1668), Donne (1669), Carey (1670), Crashaw (1670), and D'Avenant (1673). He also published folio editions of the works of Cowley (1668) and D'Avenant (1673). In carrying on Moseley's focus on English authors, Herringman conformed to the typographical template that Moseley had established in his octavo editions, creating a "highly visible and prestigious authorial canon" (Hammond 392). The folio of Cowley affords a good example (Figure 6.5). Both include an engraved frontispiece of the author and a title page arranged into sections by horizontal lines.[12]

Where is Spenser?

In the years before and after the publication of *Calendarium pastorale*, the English book trade saw a surge in the publication of literary works. As we have seen, the two principal publishers responsible for this surge were Humphrey Moseley and Henry Herringman, who helped construct the seventeenth-century literary canon. The authors

[11] Moseley may have served as a mentor to the young publisher; the two appear to have collaborated on the publication of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery's *Parthenissa* in 1655-56 (Wing O493).

[12] The appearance of Moseley's English author's series and its continuation by Herringman spread into the greater English book trade, creating a typographical standard for printing an author's works. For example, see Wing A2952, L2315, M3083, and R1234.

included in this canon were primarily Civil War and Restoration-era authors, such as Cowley, Suckling, and Milton. As the canon of authors began to be codified, so too did the way the works of these authors were meant to appear in print. Indeed, the literary output of Moseley and Herringman took on a physical appearance that came to set a standard for the look of mid- to late-seventeenth-century literary books.

Absent from catalogs of Moseley and Herringman were many English poets and dramatists whose stars had shone prior to the English Civil War. For example, missing from the new canon were Michael Drayton and Samuel Daniel, who all but disappeared after the first two decades of the seventeenth century. All the while, Sidney consistently remained in print. Folio editions of his *Arcadia* with his other works continued to come out through the whole of the century. Spenser did not share Sidney's fate. Like Drayton and Daniel, his works pretty much disappeared from the scene. Perhaps if Moseley had been interested in the previous generation of English poets and had added Spenser to his "English Poets" series, the great Elizabethan poet would have enjoyed more success in the second half the seventeenth century. Instead Spenser ended up being a late addition to the seventeenth-century English literary canon.

Jonathan Edwin and the 1679 Spenser Folio *Works*

Jonathan Edwin's folio edition of *The Works of that Famous English Poet, Mr. Edmond Spenser* set Spenser's introduction to the literary canon into motion in 1679. There is no concrete record of how Edwin came to print Spenser's works. There is no evidence, for example, that he had any connection to either James Young or William Lee,

who were the last stationers to own the rights to *The Faerie Queene* and *The Shepheardes Calender*, respectively. As Francis Johnson notes:

> There is no entry of this [Edwin's] edition in the *Stationers' Register*. It is listed in the *Terms Catalogues* for Michaelmas Term, 1678, under the heading of "Books Reprinted." Whether Jonathan Edwin made any arrangements with the owners of the copyrights to Spenser's works, or reprinted them without their consents, is not known. (*Critical Bibliography* 55)

Perhaps an examination of Edwin's career will shed light on his motives for bringing Spenser's works to the press.

Edwin began his career as a bookseller and publisher in the wake of the Moseley and Herringman's literary tradition. His career was brief, lasting only from 1671-79. In this time, he published and sold books dealing in "all kinds of literature, from sixpenny pamphlets dealing with the lives of pirates and murderers, to folio histories and classics" (Plomer, *Dictionary* 111). Trying to gauge Edwin's actual output is difficult. In order to identify which books a particular stationer printed, published, or sold, scholars rely mainly on the imprints of books and entries in the *Stationers' Register*. In the case of stationers such as Edwin, who worked mostly as booksellers, surviving evidence found in imprints and in the records of the Stationers' Company cannot identify all the books that they sold at their shops. Thus, the books listed under Edwin's entry in Wing's *Short Title Catalogue* primarily account for the books whose imprints identify Edwin, but neglect the books that he sold without mention in the books' imprints or *Stationers' Register*.

Helping to provide a full picture of Edwin's output are two surviving printed catalogs of books sold at his shop. The first titled "A Catalogue of some Books, Printed

for, and Sold by, Jonathan Edwin, at the Three Roses in Ludgatestreet," was printed in 1677 as part of Edwin's edition of Clement Edmond's *Commentaries of C. Julius Caesar* and survives in copies of the book. This catalog served as an advertisement informing readers of the *Commentaries of C. Julius Caesar* what other books were available at Edwin's shop. This particular catalog lists eighteen books, identifying the books by their titles and format.[13]

A second catalogue of "some Books, Printed for, and Sold by Jonathan Edwin, at the Three roses in Ludgate-street" survives in editions of Edwin's 1679 folio edition of Spenser's works. Edwin published this catalog as part and parcel of Spenser's *Works*, as Johnson observes:

> The catchword on Kkkk1v (p. 258) is 'Calen-' which indicates that the *Calendarium Pastorale* was intended to follow immediately after this page. The leaf [Kkkk2], containing on its recto *A Catalogue of some Books, Printed for, and Sold by Jonathan Edwin* . . . was intended to be cut out and inserted at the end of the volume and is so found in some copies. (*Critical Bibliography* 54)

In other editions the catalog remains tucked between *A View of the Present State of Ireland* and the *Calendarium pastorale*.

The catalog found in Spenser's *Works* highlights books Edwin sold at his shop in what was evidently the final year of his career. It consists of seventeen books, many of which carry over from the first catalog, particularly in the case of the folios. In both surviving catalogs, the folio books appear first and are clearly the selling point of the catalog. The folios Edwin lists in the catalog inserted into Spenser's *Works* are the

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[13] In the case of *The French way of exercizing the infantry*, Edwin's entry even notes that the books comes "sticht."

following: the *Works* of Edmund Spenser, Clement Edmonds' *The Commentaries of C. Julius Caesar*, Francis Bacon's *The Historie of the Reigne of King Henry the Seventh*, Sidney's *Arcadia. . .with some other new Additions*, *The French way of Exercising their Infantry*, and The Earl of Orrery's *Parthenissa*. The catalogue found in the *Commentaries of C. Julius Caesar* lists the same folios, with the exception of Spenser's *Works* and the addition of *LI sermons preached by the Reverend Dr. Mark Frank*. Edwin inserted Spenser's *Works* at the head of the second catalog, which may indicate that he wanted to feature his new acquisition.[14] Likewise, Clement Edmonds's *Commentaries of C. Julius Caesar* heads its respective catalog. The appearance of citations for Spenser's *Works* and Edmonds's *Commentaries of C. Julius Caesar* in their corresponding catalogs suggests that these catalogs may have circulated outside of their respective folios.

Although Edwin had no direct connection with any of the stationers holding the licenses to Spenser's works, his selection of folio publications indicates the indirect influence of Matthew Lownes. Four of the six folios that appear in the catalog found in Spenser's *Work* were once published in folio by Lownes: Clement Edmonds' *The Commentaries of C. Julius Caesar*, Francis Bacon's *The Historie of the Reigne of King Henry the Seventh*, Sidney's *Arcadia*, and Spenser's *Works*.[15] All of these publications appeared in new editions in the time between Lownes's death and the 1670s, with the exception of Spenser's works. As we have seen, none of Spenser's work had appeared in print since the *Calendarium pastorale* in 1653. *The Faerie Queene* had not appeared

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[14] The fact that the rest of this catalog's books remain in the same order as the first catalog suggests that the printer merely added new additions to the beginning of the list.

[15] In 1622 Lownes printed Francis Bacon's *The historie of the raigne of King Henry the Seuenth. Written by the Right Honourable, Francis, Lord Verulam, Viscount St. Alban* (*STC* 1159).

since Lownes's folio a half a century earlier. Edwin appears to have modeled his career in part on Lownes's. Perhaps that would explain why Edwin chose to reprint Spenser's works.

Of the six folios listed in Edwin's second catalog, five are reprints. It is not surprising that reprints would make up a good portion of Edwin's publications. At this time reprints made up a large percentage of the British book trade: "between 1668 and 1709 as many as 27 per cent of the books advertised in the *Term Catalogues* were reprints" (Barnard 19). Reprints were the order of the day and Spenser appears to be a suitable candidate for reprinting. Spenser's major works had been out of print for quite a long time. Indeed, the drought of Spenser's editions prior to 1679 may have necessitated Edwin to play up Spenser's life and reputation in his folio.

Mythologizing "Mr. Edmond Spenser"

From the outset, Edwin's 1679 folio edition of Spenser's works is markedly different than Lownes's edition. Edwin's folio follows the mid to late seventeenth-century typographical style of literary works popularized by Moseley and Herringman, marked by engraved frontispieces, most often of the author, facing a title page consisting of sections of text compartmentalized by horizontal lines (Figure 5.1). By conforming to this style, Edwin links Spenser typographically to authors such as Carey, Donne, Milton, and Waller. Thus, Spenser joins the new English literary canon that had been forged in print by Moseley and Herringman.

Efforts to thrust Spenser into the canon are supported typographically and textually through Edwin's folio. While Lownes's folio did little to advance the

posthumous reputation and popularity of Spenser, Edwin's folio is certainly constructed to be a monument that mythologizes the poet. From the title page onward, there is a clear promotion of the author that was altogether absent in Lownes's first folio.

> THE | WORKS | Of that | Famous English | POET, | Mr. Edmond Spenser. | Viz. THE FAERY QUEEN, | The Shepherds Calendar, | The History of Ireland, &c. | Whereunto is added, | An ACCOUNT of his LIFE; | With other new ADDITIONS | Never before in PRINT |

As the title page makes evident, Spenser has evolved beyond the first folio's abbreviated designation of "England's Arch-Poet, Edm. Spenser" to the unambiguous "Famous English Poet Mr. Edmond Spenser." The use of the label "Works" follows the growing tradition of printing the "Works" of English authors in folio. Under this general title, the title page lists three of Spenser's works. Unsurprisingly, his two principal works, *The Faerie Queene* and *Shepheardes Calender*, head the list. The third, *The History of Ireland*, is perhaps a little more surprising, yet it is a major work in terms of size. Moreover, when it first appeared in 1633, it did so in folio, perhaps giving it a certain cultural cachet lacking in Spenser's quarto works.

The folio's title page is also notable for its use of red and black ink. The use of red ink to highlight information on title pages was not uncommon at this time in the English book trade. Indeed, a number of the folio publications Edwin either published or sold feature the use of red and black ink on their title pages.[16] Still, the decision to use red ink equaled a commitment to spend more time and money in the printing of the title

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[16] In addition to Spenser's folio (Wing S4965), see Wing B1912, C200, N1399, and O490.

page. Evidently Edwin believed that Spenser was worth the extra investment. As Moxon records in his *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing* (1683-4), the process required preparing a frisket that exposed only the type that was to appear in black ink (299-300).[17] Then the pressmen printed the whole heap of sheets in black ink. Once this run was complete, they loosened the form and elevated the type that was to appear in red ink by placing small strips of scaleboard underneath them. They then prepared a new frisket that covered all the type except the portions to appear in red ink, beat the form with red ink, and reprinted all the sheets.

The use of red ink highlights the title page's selling points. First and foremost, "WORKS," "Famous Poet," and "Mr. Edmond Spenser" all appear in red ink in the two largest sized roman types on the page. Thus, the title page places the greatest emphasis on Spenser, his status as a famous poet, and his works. Also highlighted in red ink are the publisher's name "Jonathan Edwin" and the date "1679," a typographical move that focuses attention on information regarding where readers and booksellers could buy this new publication. "Calendar" is also printed in red ink. This typographical decision may ultimately have been an aesthetic move that helped balance the red and black ink on the page. It could, however, also be a nod to the fact that *The Shepheardes Calender* had been in fact Spenser's most popular work in terms of the number of editions. Indeed, William Bathurst's Latin/English edition of the *Calender* was the last of Spenser's works to appear in print prior to the publication of Edwin's folio.

[17] A frisket is a sheet of paper that covers the portions of the form that were not to be printed. Normally the frisket covered the wood that made up the sides and middle of the form.

Also highlighted on the title page in red ink is "An Account of his life." It is telling that attention should be brought to this text, for it is the only text found in the folio that had not appeared already in print. Here again, Edwin follows the standards set by Herringman and others. Through their examples, an account of the author's life had become standard in a literary folio works. Moreover, an account of the author's life served as an advertising feature. If an author was renowned enough that an account of his or her life should appear along with his or her works, then clearly that author's work was worth owning. In this way, the account of the author, along with features like the frontispiece portrait, helped stationers to further promote the authors they printed in folio.

"The Summary of the Life of Mr. Edmund Spenser," as it is later titled, is an account of Spenser's life that is prone to a type of mythmaking that is clearly meant to advance Spenser's literary value. In an attempt to augment the poet's reputation, his relationships with notable figures such as Sir Philip Sidney and Queen Elizabeth I are played up. One such moment is a charming, though no doubt fictitious, passage in which Spenser presents the ninth canto of Book One of *The Faerie Queene* to Sidney by way of one of Sidney's servants. As if straight out of a city-comedy, the passage features an awestruck Sidney, a gobsmacked servant, and an increasingly wealthy Spenser:

> Mr. Sidney (afterward Sir *Philip)* then in full glory at *Court*, was the Person, to whom he design'd the first Discovery of himself; and to that purpose took an occasion to go on morning to *Leicester-House*, furnish't only with a modest confidence, and the Ninth *Canto* of the First Book of his *Faery Queen*: He waited not long, e're he found the luck season for an address of the Paper to his hand; who having read the Twenty-eighth *Stanza of Despair*, (with some signs in his

> Countenance of being much affected, and surprised with what he had read) turns suddenly to his Servant, and commands him to give the Party that presented the Verses to him Fifty Pounds; the Steward stood speechless, and unready, till his Master having past over another *Stanza*, bad him give him a Hundred Pound; the Servant something stagger'd at the humour his Master was in, mutter'd to this purpose, That by the semblance of the Man that brought the Paper, Five Pounds would be a proper Reward; but Mr. Sidney having read the following *Stanza*, commands him to give Two Hundred Pounds, and that very Speedily, least advancing his Reward, proportionably to the height of his Pleasure in reading, he should hold himself oblig'd to give more than he had.

According to this account, this is how Spenser and Sidney came to be friends. So impressed with the young poet was Sidney that he arranged for him an audience with the Queen. Sidney is said to have "Entred him at *Court*, and obtain'd of the *Queen* the Grant of a Pention to him as *Poet Laureat*." Although Spenser likely received a pension of fifty pounds from Queen Elizabeth, there is no evidence that Sidney introduced him to Elizabeth or that he was ever officially given the title of Poet Laureate.

The emphasis on Spenser's close friendship with Sidney is clearly a central theme of this "Summary" of Spenser's life. In the description of Spenser's death following his escape from rebellion in Ireland, for example, the author writes:

> In this ill posture of his Affairs he return'd into *England*, where he his losses redoubled by the loss of his generous Friend Sir Philip Sidney; And thus, yielding to the impression of a Fortune obstinately adverse to him, he died, without the help of any other disease save a broken Heart. (A1^{v})

Spenser and Sidney must have been very close indeed, for despite the fact that Sidney had died a decade prior, Spenser's loss of his good friend and his benevolence contributed to his death in 1596 (an erroneous date claimed both in the frontispiece and in the "Summary").

The author of the "Summary" continues to spice up his account of Spenser's life with hyperbolic praise and continued references to Sidney:

> He was a man of extraordinary Accomplishments, excellently skill'd in all parts of Learning: of a profound Wit, copious Invention, and solid Judgment: of a temper strangely tender, and amorous; as appears every where in his Writing, but particularly in his Laments of Sir Philip Sidney, and in his incomparable *Daphnaida*. He excelled all other Ancient and Modern Poets, in Greatness of Sense, Decency of Expression, Height of Imagination, Quickness of Conceit, Grandeur and Majesty of Thought, and all the Glories of Verse. Where he is passionate, he forces commiseration and tears from his Readers; where pleasant and airs a secret satisfaction and smile; and where Bold, and Heroique, he inflames breasts with Gallantry and Valour. His Descriptions are so easie and natural, that his Pen seems to have a power of conveying *Idea's* to our mind, more just, and to the Life, than the exquisite Pencils of *Titan*, or *Raphael*, to our eyes. He was, in a word, compleatly happy in every thing that might render him Glorious, and Inimitable to future Ages. ($A1^v$ -A2)

Written in a style that amounts to modern advertising copy, such praise is akin to a marketing blurb featured on a modern book's flap-jacket.

The "Summary" also refers to Spenser's relationship with Robert Devereux, the second Earl of Essex. In describing Spenser's burial at Westminster, the author notes that it was "at the Charge of the most Noble *Robert Earl of Essex*" (A1 ^{v}). Although Essex was executed for treason in 1601, his reputation was slowly rehabilitated through the seventeenth century. By 1679, his posthumous status returned to that of the "Noble Essex" as evidenced by published works sympathetic to him.[18] Spenser's relationship with Essex is also featured on the frontispiece in the lines of verse beneath the engraving:

> Such is the tombe, the Noble Essex gaue
>
> Great Spencer's learned reliques; such his graue
>
> How 'ere ill-treated in His Life he were,
>
> His sacred Bones Rest Honourably Here.

The "Summary" also links Spenser to his most famous English literary predecessor, Geoffrey Chaucer. In the same passage discussing Spenser's burial at Westminster Abbey, it is noted that he was buried "near the renowned *Chaucer* (as himself desired)" (A1^{v}). In this way, Spenser's reputation is further endorsed by references to yet another notable English figure.

The account of Spenser's life concludes with a reprinting of portions of the correspondence between Spenser and Harvey published in *Three proper wittie familiar Letters, lately passed betvvene two Vniuersitie men* (1580). Abridged and out of their original order are the following letters: 1) A Pleasant and pitthy familiar discourse, of the Earthquake in Aprill last 2) A Gallant familiar Letter, containing an Answere to that M.

[18] See, for example, Thomas Corneille's *Le conte d'Essex* (1678) and John Banks's *The Unhappy Favourite or the Earl of Essex* (1681).

Immerito 3) *To my long approoued and singular good frende, Master G. H.* 4) To the Worshipfull his very singular good friend, Maister G. H. Fellow of Trinitie Hall in Cambridge.[19] It is interesting that Edwin would include sections of these letters, which once constituted a single publication, merely as an appendage to the "Summary" of Spenser's life. Yet, his strategy is not to reproduce the letters as works of Spenser's, but to continue his mythmaking by reproducing the parts of the letters that serve as "a Testimonial of his Familiarities with the most Ingenious and Learned men of those Times, and a Specimen of what kind of Wit was then in Vogue amongst them" (A2). The "men" to whom the author refers include Gabriel Harvey, but most importantly Philip Sidney.

Both Spenser and Harvey make mention of Sidney in their letters. In his "To my long approved and singular good Friend, Mr. G. H.," Spenser discusses the composition of English hexameters and the role of the English language in literature more generally. Playing up his relationship with Sidney, he sprinkles his discussion with references to his noble friend:

> I would heartily wish you would either send me the Rules or Principles of Art which you observe in quantities, or else follow those which Mr. Sidney gave me, being the very same which Mr. Dant devised, but enlarged with Mr. Sidney's own judgement, and augmented with my observations. . . .(A2)

The second letter of Spenser's appended to the "Summary," "To the Worshipful his very singular good Friend, Mr. G. H. Fellow of Trinity-Hall in Cambridge," includes references to both Sidney and Queen Elizabeth: "You desire to hear of my late being

[19] These are the titles used in the first printing (1580). Edwin's edition does not conform to these titles.

with her Majesty, must die of itself: as for the two worthy Gentlemen, Mr. Sidney and Mr. Dyer, they have me, I thank them, in some use and familiarity, of whom and to whom, what Speech passeth to your credit and estimation, I leave your self to conceive" (A2^{v}). In this way, the portions of the letters that Edwin chose to reprint do indeed associate Spenser with "the most Ingenious and Learned men of those Times," in particular, Sidney.

Passages from the Spenser/Harvey correspondance included in the folio also emphasize the depth of Spenser's literary canon, most of which was lost, as previously mentioned in the text of the "Summary":

> The remainder of his Works were embezill'd when he was in *Ireland*; for (besides his *Poems* in this Volume, The *View of the State of Ireland*, and some few Letters between himself and his intimate Friend Mr. *Harvey* which have bin Printed) many other excellent Pieces of his, highly valued by his learned Friends, are either wholly lost, or unkindly conceal'd from the Publique by private hands: mongst other these his *Nine Comedies*, so much esteemed by Mr. *Harvey*. The *Canticles* paraphras'd. The *Ecclesiastes*, and *Hours of our Lord*. His *Seven Psalms*. *The dying Pelican*. *The Sacrifice of a Sinner*. *Stemmata Dudleiana*, and *Purgatory*. *A Sennights Slumber*. *Epithalamium Thamesis*. *The Hell of Lovers*. (A1^{v})

Most of these titles are mentioned in Harvey's letter to Spenser titled "A Pleasant and pitthy familiar discourse, of the Earthquake in Aprill last" (reprinted in the 1679 folio as "To my Loving Friend Immerito" (A2). The repetition of references to Spenser's "lost"

work reinforces the depth of Spenser's oeuvre, embellishing and adding to his already established body of work.

All in all, the folio's preliminary pages engage in a mythmaking that was absent in Spenser's first folio. The title page celebrates Spenser as "That Famous English Poet," who deserves a folio *Works* within the literary canon established by Moseley and Herringman. The "Summary of the Life of Mr. Edmond Spenser" showers Spenser with hyperbolic praise, demonstrates the depth of Spenser's oeuvre, and links him to Elizabethan luminaries such as Elizabeth, Essex, and Sidney.

Spenser and Sidney Ride Again

Although it is certainly appropriate for any account of Spenser's life to mention his connections with Sidney, the folio's "Summary" goes overboard in its repeated mention of a strong relationship between the two. But there is a reason for its repeated mention. Not only does an association with Sidney help promote Spenser's reputation, it helped promote Edwin's bookselling. As we saw earlier, Edwin sold four folios that were at one time published by Matthew Lownes. Perhaps the most important of these folios was Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* and other works.

The print histories of Sidney and Spenser often progress in parallel. As we saw in chapter three, William Ponsonby published the first editions of *Arcadia* and *The Faerie Queene* nearly simultaneously in 1590 and in quartos that were strategically similar in design. A decade and a half later, Matthew Lownes (in conjunction with Simon Waterson) published corresponding folio editions of Sidney and Spenser in 1605 and 1609. After that, the two authors were separated for nearly half of the seventeenth

century. Although the same stationers continued to own the rights to both Sidney's *Arcadia* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (which appeared to be bundled with the rest of his works, save *The Shepheardes Calender*), *Arcadia* continued to appear in print while *The Faerie Queene* went unpublished. George Calvert published editions of *Arcadia* in 1655, 1662, and 1674 (Wing S376-70). His 1674 edition of *Arcadia* is among the folios for sale listed in both of the surviving catalogues of Edwin's books. The *Stationers' Register* records that Edwin acquired *Arcadia* from George Calvert on March 13, 1674 (i.e., 1674-5). Whether Edwin acquired the rights to *Arcadia* before or after Calvert published the 1674 edition is unclear.   The lack of Edwin's name in the book's imprint may indicate that the book was published without any initial involvement on Edwin's part. It is likely, however, that Edwin was involved in the production of this edition of the book from the beginning.

Three years after his acquisition of *Arcadia*, Edwin published the *Works* of Spenser. Like William Ponsonby and Matthew Lownes before him, Edwin followed the acquisition and publication of Sidney with the acquisition and publication of Spenser. Thus, for the third time in his print history, the publication of Spenser's work followed the publication of Sidney's. In fact, each of the three of Spenser' major publishers, Ponsonby, Lownes, and Edwin, also owned the license to Sidney's *Arcadia*. Furthermore, every edition of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* appeared in the wake of Sidney's *Arcadia*. If Edwin was modeling part of his bookselling practices on the career of Matthew Lownes, then it made sense that he would acquire *The Faerie Queene* after he acquired *Arcadia*.

Building on the connection between the two great Elizabethan poets, Edwin promoted his edition of Sidney's *Arcadia* through his edition of Spenser's *Works*. Edwin had remaining copies of Sidney's *Arcadia* for sale at the time he began selling Spenser's *Works*, as evidenced by the inclusion of *Arcadia* in the 1679 catalog printed as a part of Spenser's *Works.* Book buyers who purchased or read Edwin's edition of Spenser's *Works* likely read the advertisement of what other books Edwin had for sale. If book buyers read the "Summary of the Life of Mr. Edmond Spenser" and the excerpts of the Spenser/Harvey Letters, then they would have been repeatedly reminded of Sidney. Thus, reading the *Works* of Spenser generated an interest in Sidney, perhaps inducing the buyers of Spenser's *Works* to purchase the *Arcadia* from Edwin. In this way, not only did Edwin follow the practices of Ponsonby and Lownes by selling both the works of Sidney and Spenser, he did his best to promote the works of Sidney through the works of Spenser.

The Order of the Folio: Spenser's Oeuvre

Once the preliminary pages of the 1679 folio have made the case for Spenser, his works follow. The textual instability that characterized the first folio is no longer present in the 1679 folio. Although there is no table of contents, a continuous signature run unites the sections of the book into a fixed order that is consistent through surviving copies of the book. The book is paginated, though not continuously. *The Faerie Queene* and *Prosopopia or Mother Hubberds Tale* both have their own pagination, as does *The Shepeardes Calender* and the remaining works.

In selecting the *Works* of Spenser to publish, Edwin simply gathered all of Spenser's work that had previously appeared in print. Unlike Matthew Lownes before him, Edwin chose to include Spenser's prose and reprinted portions of his correspondence with Harvey. He also added to Spenser's oeuvre with the inclusion of the 1633 edition of *A View of the State of Ireland* and the apocryphal *Brittain's Ida*. Not missing any of Spenser's work that had appeared in print, Edwin even chose to include Bathurst's Latin translation of *The Shepheardes Calender*.

Several features about the order of the 1679 *Works* are worthy of note. *The Faerie Queene* appears first after the "Summary" and appended letters. This certainly conforms to the standard set by Lownes's 1611 folio works. Although there was no fixed order to Lownes's folio, surviving copies nearly always begin with *The Faerie Queene* introduced by the dedication to Queen Elizabeth.[20] That both the 1611 and the 1679 folios begin with *The Faerie Queene* is quite telling. Although *The Shepheardes Calender* had been the most popular of Spenser's works in terms of the number of editions, Spenser's epic had clearly eclipsed his pastoral and had become his most famous or important work.[21]

The physical appearance of *The Faerie Queene*, and the rest of the folio for that matter, is markedly spare. The printer, Henry Hills, used no woodcut initials or borders to decorate Spenser's epic. Indeed, the tradition established in both the previous quartos

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[20] Unlike the 1611 edition, the 1679 folio noticeably omits the dedication to Queen Elizabeth. Why Edwin chose to exclude the dedication to Elizabeth in unclear. Perhaps in the latter part of the seventeenth century a dedication to Queen Elizabeth was outdated and therefore superfluous.

[21] Evidence of this may be found in the greater number of allusions to *The Faerie Queene*. Indeed, examination of seventeenth-century allusions demonstrates the Spenser's epic was increasingly held in higher regard than his pastoral.

and folio of setting each canto's proem within a decorative border is discarded. Instead, Edwin produced a barebones, economical text set in double columns.

Following *The Faerie Queene* is *Prosopopia or Mother Hubberds Tale*. The choice to follow Spenser's most famous work with one of his shorter poems may appear incongruous, but the publication history of *Prosopopia* demonstrates that Spenser's beast fable had grown in popularity over the decades, to the extent to which it joined *The Faerie Queene* and *The Shepheardes Calender* as one of Spenser's most popular works. As we have seen in previous chapters, *Prosopopia* first appeared in 1591 as a part of the collected volume of Spenser's work titled *Complaints*. The text circulated only briefly before being called in by the authorities, evidently at the behest of William Cecil, Lord Burghley who felt the depiction of *Mother Hubberd's* crafty fox hit a little too close to home. When Matthew Lownes reprinted *Prosopopia* in 1613, he removed it from its original context as a part of the *Complaints* and printed it as its own section. Some scholars have argued that Lownes delayed publishing *Prosopopia* until the death of Burghley's son in 1612, lest he open old wounds and put himself in danger. All the same, the choice to publish *Prosopopia* as its own section may have also been a shrewd business move. In 1613, the reading public had not had the opportunity to purchase a copy of Spenser's scandalous text for some twenty years. Perhaps Lownes foresaw a demand for it and created a section that could be sold as an individual edition.

Prosopopia did indeed enjoy a newfound popularity in the seventeenth century. As Radcliffe notes, "*Mother Hubberds Tale*, not much admired today, was read and imitated by neoclassical satirists. It was particularly popular during the reign of James I, when courts became a byword for corruption" (Radcliffe 9). *Prosopopia* joined *The*

Faerie Queene and *The Shepheardes Calender* as the most popular of Spenser's works, as recorded seventeenth-century allusions to *Prosopopia* suggest.[22] It makes sense, therefore, that Edwin would print *Prosopopia* on its own rather than as part of the *Complaints*. It also makes sense that *Prosopopia* would join *The Faerie Queene* and *The Shepheardes Calender* as the first three texts in Edwin's folio.

The Shepheardes Calender does indeed follow *Prosopopia*. As in the case of *The Faerie Queene*, the *Calender* appears adorned only with a few generic woodcut initial letters. In fact, the twelve woodcuts corresponding to the twelve eclogues are noticeably absent. What became of the woodcuts is unclear. The last stationer on record owning the rights to *The Shepheardes Calender* was William Lee who had acquired the rights from Martha Harrison in 1660. The woodcut illustrations likely passed to Lee with the rights to the text. There is no evidence, however, that Lee passed the rights onto any other stationer. The woodcuts probably remained in his possession. In their absence, Edwin appears not to have made any attempt to replace them.

Colin Clouts Come Home Again follows *The Shepheardes Calender*. The side-by-side placement of Spenser's pastoral poems is quite interesting. By setting the two alongside each other, Edwin plays up the thematic connections between them, treating *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* as if it were a sequel to *The Shepheardes Calender*. This relationship is constructed typographically. The catchword that appears on the bottom of the final page of the *Calender* reads "Colin." Because "Colin" is the first word of the forthcoming title, it is set in a very large roman type (Figure 6.6). This catchword

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[22] For allusions to *Prosopopia* or *Mother Hubberds Tale*, see Heffner *Spenser Allusions*. As expected there are more many more allusions to *The Faerie Queene* and *The Shepheardes Calender* than any of Spenser's other work. *Prosopopia* leads the shorter poems with the most allusions.

bridges the two works, helping to link the final stanzas of the *Calendar* where Colin Clout hangs up his pipe, with the beginning of *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* where we find the “Shepherds boy” once again “Charming his oaten pipe unto his peers” (55).

Appended to *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* are the same shorter poems that appeared in the *Colin Clouts* section of Spenser’s first folio. After these poems comes *The Faerie Queene’s* “Letter of the Authors” and dedicatory sonnets. Why Edwin chose to separate these texts from *The Faerie Queene* by hundreds of pages is curious. Perhaps, Edwin’s printer, Henry Hills, was following a copy of Lownes’s edition in which the “Letter of the Authors” and the dedicatory sonnets appeared apart from *The Faerie Queene*, as it does in many surviving states (see Appendix).

The latter part of Edwin’s folio is a hodgepodge of the remaining works of Spenser. Following the “Letter of the Authors” and dedicatory sonnets are reprints of the apocryphal *Brittain’s Ida*, *A View of the State of Ireland*, and *Calendarium pastorale*. Clearly, Edwin decided to reprint any work of Spenser’s that had appeared in print. Edwin’s reprint of the *Calendarium Pastorale* is intriguing. With the original English *Shepheardes Calender* already appearing earlier on in the folio, there was clearly no need to print the *Calendarium Pastorale* with parallel columns of English and Latin as Dillingham had done decades before. Edwin, therefore, printed only the Latin translation. Nevertheless, he reprinted every other part of Dillingham’s edition including the original dedication to Francisco Lane, a note to the reader regarding the restoration of a missing stanza from the June eclogue that had been missing from the first folio, and the Glossary of “unusual words.”

Thus, the 1679 folio *Works* ends with the reminder that a glossary was needed in order to best understand Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*, "the Fairy Queen also, and others of this Author" (391). Indeed, the very last pages of Spenser's final seventeenth-century edition tell us that at the end of the century, Spenser's poetry was at once out-of-date and deserving of enshrinement in a folio edition. This was perhaps a fitting way to end an erratic century of Spenser in print. Ultimately, Edwin's folio edition embodies the continued contrast in Spenser's seventeenth-century literary reputation—his literary fame remained current, though his literature had grown out of date.

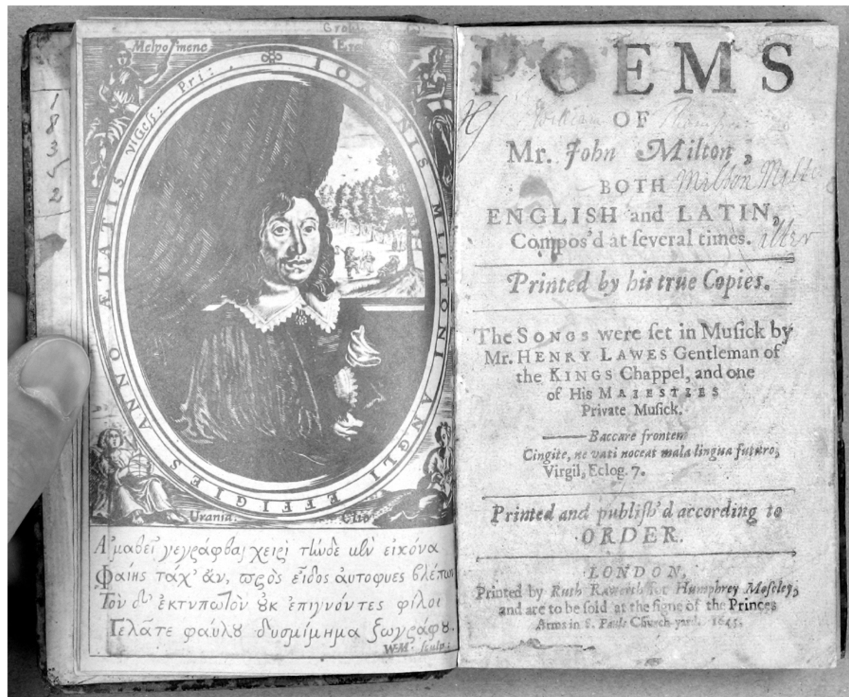
Coda: Portraits of Spenser

Edwin clearly designed a folio that served to enhance Spenser's literary reputation, but one of the most common features of a mid-to-late-seventeenth-century folio works was missing, a portrait of the author. In lieu of a portrait of Spenser, the folio features a copperplate engraving depicting the tomb Anne Clifford, Countess of Dorset, commissioned from Nicholas Stone in 1620 to memorialize Spenser. The inclusion of an engraving of the author's tomb rather than of the author's likeness is an intriguing deviation from what had become the norm for literary folios.

Edwin's decision to include an engraving of Spenser's tomb most likely stemmed from the lack of any extant portrait of Spenser on which to base an engraving. Modern editions of Spenser's work usually use one of two popular likenesses of the poet. The first is an unknown portrait imitated by eighteenth-century engravers including Francis Kyte in his engraving of Spenser, Geoffrey Chaucer, John Fletcher, and Francis Beaumont for a print published by John Bowles entitled "Worthies of Britain" (c. 1727)

and George Vertue who produced an engraving of Spenser in 1727. The second likeness is a unknown portrait used by engraver James Thomson for his nineteenth-century engraving. These illustrations constitute our modern perception of Spenser's visage, even though both were produced well after Spenser's lifetime.

The only portrait of Spenser produced before 1679 appears to be the miniature that appeared on the title page of John Cotgrave's *Wits Interpreter or the New Parnassus* (1655, 1662, and 1671). Here, Spenser is featured with the Parnassus of great English writers including Shakespeare, Jonson, Sidney, and Thomas More, each with their own miniature portrait. The portraits of many of these authors are based on previous portraits. The miniature of Shakespeare, for example, is clearly based on the Droeshout engraving first used in Shakespeare's first folio. Spenser's portrait, however, appears to be a generic depiction of the poet. Thus, lacking an existing likeness of Spenser beyond this generic drawing, the engraver of the frontispiece illustration for the 1679 folio *Works* could not produce a portrait, and instead engraved an image of Spenser's tomb.



POEMS
OF
Mr. John Milton,
BOTH
ENGLISH and LATIN,
Compos'd at several times.

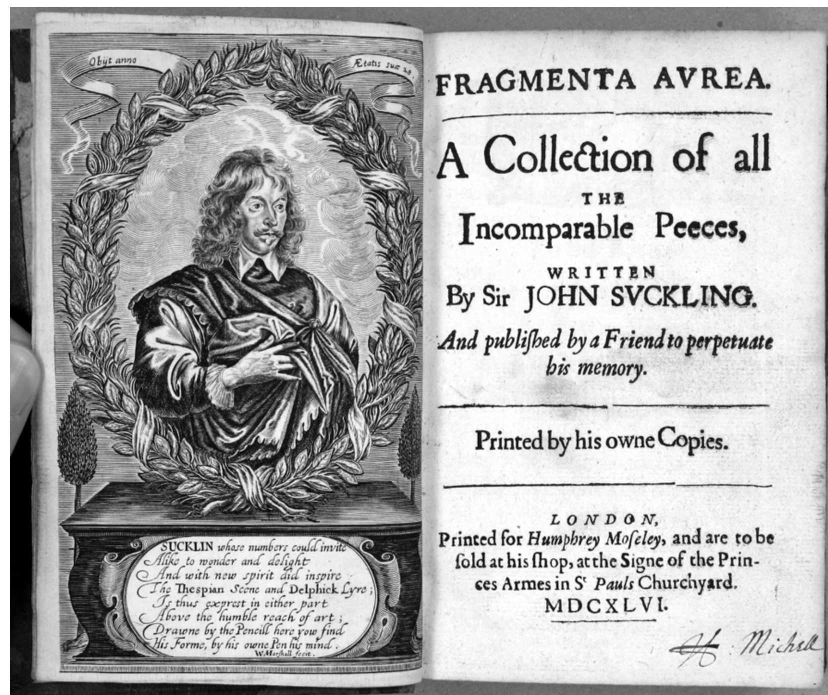
Printed by his true Copies.

The SONGS were set in Musick by
Mr. HENRY LAWES Gentleman of
the KINGS Chappel, and one
of His MAIESTIES
Private Musick.

——Baccare frontem
Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro,
Virgil, Eclog. 7.

Printed and publish'd according to
ORDER.

LONDON,
Printed by *Ruth Raworth* for *Humphrey Mosely*;
and are to be sold at the signe of the Princes
Arms in S. *Pauls* Church-yard. 1645.



FRAGMENTA AVREA.

A Collection of all
THE
Incomparable Peeces,
WRITTEN
By Sir JOHN SVCKLING.

And published by a Friend to perpetuate
his memory.

Printed by his owne Copies.

LONDON,
Printed for *Humphrey Moseley*, and are to be
sold at his shop, at the Signe of the Prin-
ces Armes in St *Pauls* Churchyard.
MDCXLVI.

SUCKLIN whose numbers could invite
Alike to wonder and delight
And with new spirit did inspire
The Thespian Scene and Delphick Lyre;
Is thus exprest in either part
Above the humble reach of art;
Drawne by the Pencill here you find
His Forme, by his owne Pen his mind.

Figures 6.1 and 6.2. Moseley adopted a house style for his "English Poets" series as exhibited in the title pages and frontispieces for John Milton's *Poems* (1645) and John Suckling's *Fragmenta Aurea* (1646). Courtesy of The Ohio State University Libraries.

SIX NEW
PLAYES,
Viz.
The
BROTHERS.
SISTERS.
DOUBTFULL HEIR.
IMPOSTURE.
CARDINALL.
COURT SECRET.

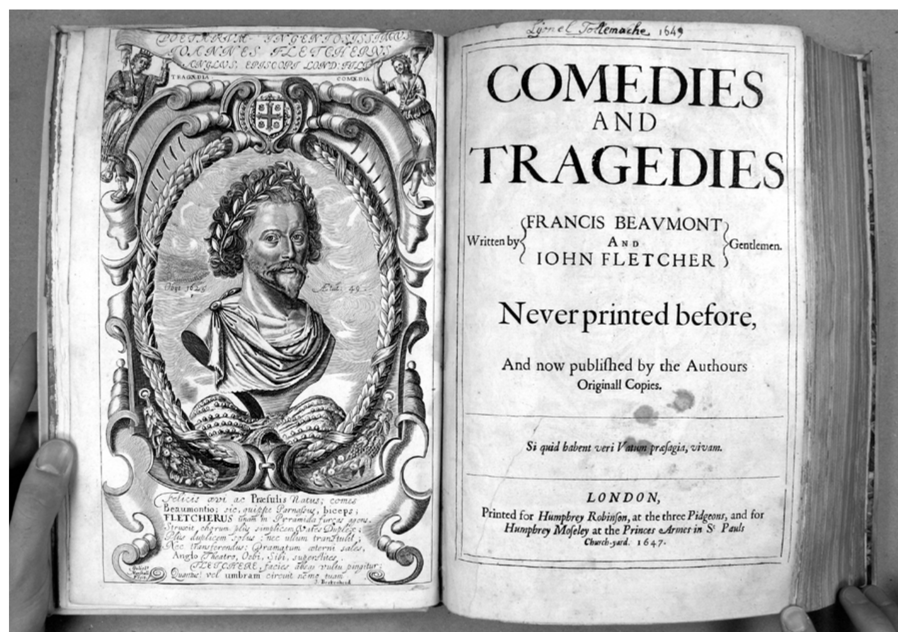
The Five first were acted at the
Private House in
BLACK FRYERS
with great Applause.
The last was never Acted.

All Written by JAMES SHIRLEY.

Never printed before.

London, Printed for Humphrey Robinson at the Three
Pigeons, and Humphrey Moseley at the Prince's
Armes in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1653.

Figure 6.3. Moseley's house style extended to his publication of English plays as exhibited in the title pages and frontispieces for Shirley's *Six New Plays* (1653). Courtesy of The Ohio State University Libraries.



Lyonel Tollemache 1649

COMEDIES
AND
TRAGEDIES

Written by FRANCIS BEAUMONT AND IOHN FLETCHER Gentlemen.

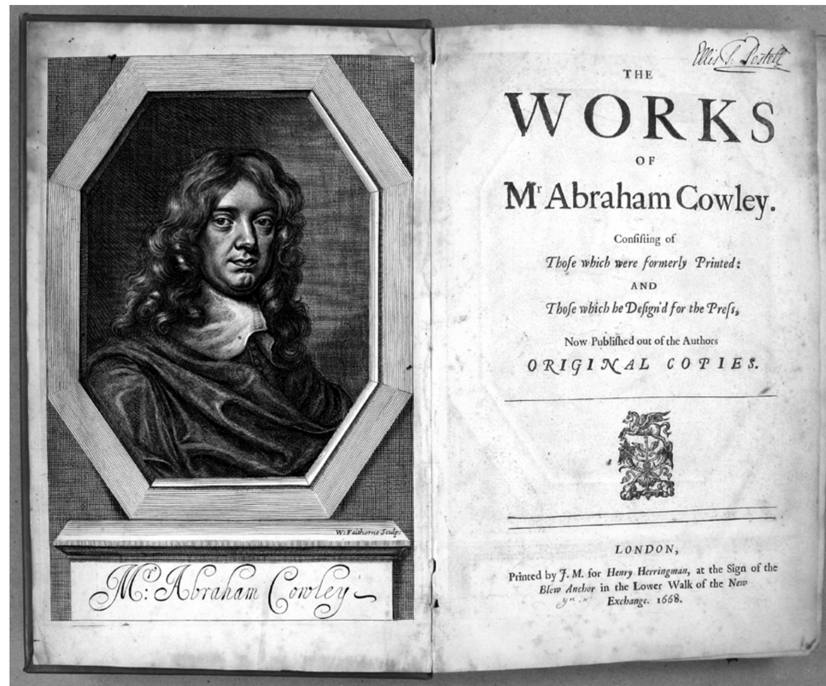
Never printed before,

And now published by the Authours
Originall Copies.

Si quid habent veri Vatum præsagia, vivam.

LONDON,
Printed for Humphrey Robinson, at the three Pidgeons, and for
Humphrey Moseley at the Princes Armes in St Pauls
Church-yard. 1647.

Figure 6.4. The title page to *The Comedies and Tragedies* of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher. Courtesy of The Ohio State University Libraries.



M^r. Abraham Cowley

THE

WORKS

OF

Mr Abraham Cowley.

Confifting of

Thofe which were formerly Printed:

AND

Thofe which he Defign'd for the Prefs,

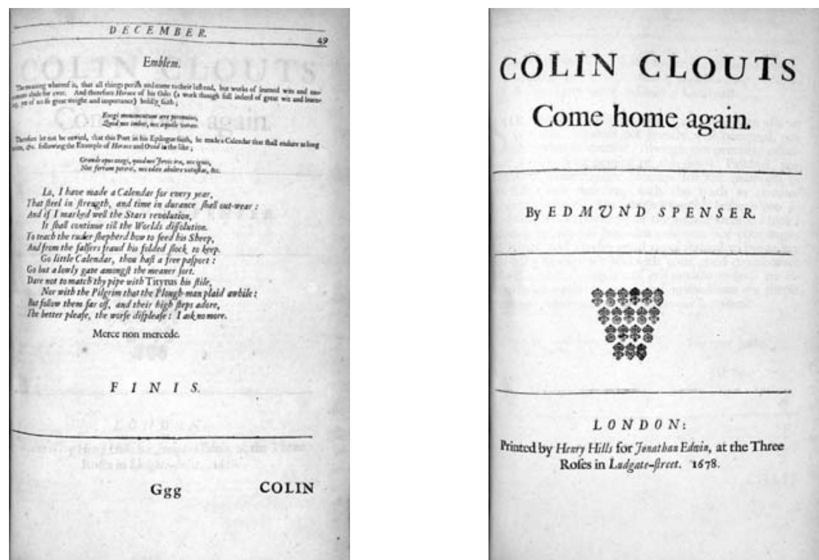
Now Publifhed out of the Authors

ORIGINAL COPIES.

LONDON,

Printed by *J. M.* for *Henry Herringman*, at the Sign of the *Blew Anchor* in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange. 1668.

Figure 6.5. Herringman's folio editions of the works of Cowley (1668) employed the typographical design made customary for English literary authors by Mosely. Courtesy of The Ohio State University Libraries.



DECEMBER. 49

Emblem.

[illegible]

Lo, I have made a Calendar for every year,
That fteel in ftrength, and time in durance fhall out-wear:
And if I marked well the Stars revolution,
It fhall continue till the Worlds diffolution.
To teach the ruder fhepherd how to feed his Sheep,
And from the falfers fraud his folded flock to keep.
Go little Calendar, thou haft a free pafport:
Go but a lowly gate amongft the meaner fort.
Dare not to match thy pipe with Tityrus *his ftile,*
Nor with the Pilgrim that the Plough-man plaid awhile:
But follow them far off, and their high fteps adore,
The better pleafe, the worfe difpleafe: I ask no more.

Merce non mercede.

F I N I S.

Ggg COLIN

COLIN CLOUTS

Come home again.

By EDMUND SPENSER.

LONDON:

Printed by *Henry Hills* for *Jonathan Edwin*, at the Three Rofes in *Ludgate-ftreet*. 1678.

Figure 6.6. Edwin treats *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* as if it were a sequel to *The Shepheardes Calender*, a relationship established typographically by the large catchword "Colin." Courtesy of The Ohio State University Libraries.

APPENDIX

COPIES OF SPENSER'S FIRST FOLIO (1611-c.1625)

Copies held at the Rare Books and Manuscripts Library of The Ohio State University:

Pr 2350 1611:

1) General title page and dedication – First Printing (1611)
2) *The Faerie Queene* part one – Second Printing (c.1613-17)
3) *The Faerie Queene* part two – Second Printing (c.1612-13)
4) *The Shepheards Calendar* – First Printing (1611)
5) *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale*– First Printing (c.1612-13)
6) *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* and minor poems – First Printing (1611)
7) Letter to Raleigh, etc. – First Printing (c.1611)

PR 2350 1611a

1) General title page and dedication – First Printing (1611)
2) *The Faerie Queene* part one – First Printing (1609)
3) *The Faerie Queene* part two – First Printing (1609)
4) Letter to Raleigh, etc. – First Printing (c.1611)
5) *The Shepheards Calendar* – First Printing (1611)
6) *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* and minor poems – First Printing (1611)

PR 2350 1611b

1) General title page and dedication – First Printing (1611)
2) *The Faerie Queene* part one – Second Printing (c.1613-17)
3) *The Faerie Queene* part two – Second Printing (c.1612-13)
4) *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale* – First Printing (c.1612-13)
5) *The Shepheards Calendar* – First Printing (1611)
6) *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* and minor poems – First Printing (1611)
7) Letter to Raleigh, etc. – First Printing (c.1611)

PR2350 1617:

1) General title page and dedication – Second Printing (1617)
2) *The Faerie Queene* part one – Second Printing (c.1613-1617)
3) *The Faerie Queene* part two – Second Printing (c.1612-13)
4) *The Shepheards Calendar* – Second Printing (1617)
5) Letter to Raleigh, etc. – Second Printing (c.1617)
6) *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale* – Second Printing (after 1620)
7) *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* and minor poems – Second Printing (1617)

Copies Held at The Folger Shakespeare Library:

***STC* 23083.8**

1) *The Faerie Queene* part one – First Printing (1609)
2) *The Faerie Queene* part two – First Printing (1609)
3) *The Shepheards Calendar* – First Printing (1611)
4) *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* and minor poems – First Printing (1611)
5) Letter to Raleigh, – First Printing (c.1611)

***STC* 23083.9**

1) General title page and dedication – First Printing (1611)
2) Letter to Raleigh, etc. – First Printing (c.1611)
3) *The Faerie Queene* part one – First Printing (1609)
4) *The Faerie Queene* part two – Second Printing (c.1612-13)
5) *The Shepheards Calendar* – First Printing (1611)
6) *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale* – First Printing (c.1612-13)
7) *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* and minor poems – First Printing (1611)

***STC* 23084 Copy 1**

1) General title page and dedication – First Printing (1611)
2) *The Faerie Queene* part one – Second Printing (c.1613-1617)
3) *The Faerie Queene* part two – Second Printing (c.1612-13)
4) Letter to Raleigh, etc. – First Printing (c.1611)
5) *The Shepheards Calendar* – First Printing (1611)
6) *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale* – First Printing (c.1612-13)
7) *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* and minor poems – First Printing (1611)

***STC* 23084 Copy 2**

1) General title page and dedication – First Printing (1611)
2) *The Faerie Queene* part one – Second Printing (c.1613-1617)
3) *The Faerie Queene* part two – Second Printing (c.1612-13)
4) Letter to Raleigh, etc. – First Printing (c.1611)
5) *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale* – First Printing (c.1612-13)
6) *The Shepheards Calendar* – First Printing (1611)
7) *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* and minor poems – First Printing (1611)

STC 23084 Copy 3

1) General title page and dedication – First Printing (1611)
2) *The Faerie Queene* part one – Second Printing (c.1613-1617)
3) *The Faerie Queene* part two – Second Printing (c.1612-13)
4) Letter to Raleigh, etc. – First Printing (c.1611)
5) *The Shepheards Calendar* – First Printing (1611)
6) *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale* – First Printing (c.1612-13)
7) *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* and minor poems – First Printing (1611)

STC 23084 Copy 4

1) General title page and dedication – First Printing (1611)
2) *The Faerie Queene* part one – Second Printing (c.1613-1617)
3) *The Faerie Queene* part two – Second Printing (c.1612-13)
4) *The Shepheards Calendar* – First Printing (1611)
5) *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale* – First Printing (c.1612-13)
6) *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* and minor poems – First Printing (1611)
7) Letter to Raleigh, etc. – First Printing (c.1611)

STC 23085 Copy 1

1) General title page and dedication – Second Printing (1617)
2) *The Faerie Queene* part one – Second Printing (c.1613-1617)
3) *The Faerie Queene* part two – Second Printing (c.1612-13)
4) *The Shepheards Calendar* – Second Printing (1617)
5) *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale* – First Printing (c.1612-13)
6) Letter to Raleigh, etc. – Second Printing (c.1617)
7) *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* and minor poems – Second Printing (1617)

STC 23085 Copy 2

1) General title page and dedication – Second Printing (1617)
2) Letter to Raleigh, etc. – Second Printing (c.1617)
3) *The Faerie Queene* part one – Second Printing (c.1613-1617)
4) *The Faerie Queene* part two – Second Printing (c.1612-13)
5) *The Shepheards Calendar* – Second Printing (1617)
6) *Prosopopoia or Mother Hubberds Tale* – First Printing (c.1612-13)
7) *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* and minor poems – Second Printing (1617)

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