

Abstract

Change and Continuity in English Historical Thought, c.1590-1640
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the degree of D.Phil. in the Faculty of Modern History, Trinity Term, 1983.

This is a survey and analysis of the writings of English historians in the half-century before 1640. It is based on manuscript as well as printed sources; an attempt is made throughout to connect English historiography with contemporary European works.

The central argument is that while there was no radical break with medieval and Tudor historical thought, the meaning of the word 'history' had expanded by 1640 to include antiquarian and philological research, previously considered related and useful disciplines, but not regarded as 'history'. Attention is also drawn to the conspicuous rarity of historical debate in this period, to the problem of historical scepticism and to the historians' deterministic and teleological views of the past.

The introduction briefly examines the words 'history' and 'historiography' and their Renaissance and modern meanings. Chapter I surveys the theoretical assumptions about history common in the period, of which Sir Walter Raleigh was a typical exponent. Certain Catholic authors dissented from the secular and sacred historical traditions accepted by most English protestants.

Chapter II examines the theme of 'union' in early Jacobean historiography and offers detailed sections on the works of John Speed and William Martyn. Chapter III studies the historical thought of John Hayward and Samuel Daniel. Chapter IV discusses three antiquaries who also wrote narrative histories: William Camden, Francis Godwin and George Buck. Chapter V shows how history was used as a means of presenting advice to the king by Francis Bacon, Robert Cotton and William Habington. Chapter VI surveys the historiography of the ancient world, focusing on Degory Whear, Edmund Bolton, Peter Heylyn, Fulke Greville and certain other writers.

Chapters VII and VIII discuss the historical works of John Selden, whose Historie of tithes marks an important break with several common assumptions about the writing of history and about the past itself. The last chapter examines the historical thought of Lord Herbert of Cherbury and surveys the minor historical literature of the 1630s. The conclusion reiterates the most important findings.

An appendix establishes the correct identity of Edward Ayscu, an early Jacobean historian who is usually confused with several namesakes.

Abstract

This is a study of English historical writing and historical thought during the half-century before 1640. Although printed material remains, as in previous studies, the most important source, some hitherto unexploited manuscript sources (correspondence, unpublished tracts and historical notes) have been used to derive a clearer understanding of early seventeenth-century ideas about history and history-writing. Such sources add to our sometimes scanty information about the personalities of the historians and their influences upon or relationships with one another.

The contemporary distinction between antiquarianism and history is explored in detail. Contemporaries used the word 'history' in several senses, of which the most common denoted the literary representation of the great events of the past, of the lives of great men, or of the rise and fall of kings and peoples. Such accounts were intended to commemorate their subjects and to teach by example from the past. The lessons taught might be moral, religious or political, or any combination of these.

Antiquaries and philologists investigated the origins and past development of the social institutions, language and culture of their own time, but they did not consider these pursuits as 'history'. Their works were not called 'histories', since they did not deal with great events and did not derive moral or political lessons from the past; the antiquary was not an 'historian'. By 1640, however, antiquarian works were more commonly being called 'histories' by their authors; 'history' had come to denote any investigation of the past, whether or not it had a didactic function.

The influence of continental works of scholarship and artes historicae (tracts on the correct writing or reading of histories) was of great importance in resolving the tension between antiquarianism and 'history' proper. French writers such as Jean Bodin, Henri de la Popelinière, Joseph Scaliger and Etienne Pasquier had a particularly important impact. The 'modernising' influence of Italian political historiography, while not unimportant, was a less effective agent of change than has previously been supposed.

Early Stuart historians shared a set of assumptions about the past: its meaning, its events and its personages. This they had inherited from medieval and Renaissance predecessors. They also shared a Thomist-Aristotelian cosmology; as a result, their analyses of historical events and their causes were restricted within a number of traditional categories and distinctions. Aristotle's three pure and three perverted forms of government and the corollary distinction between kings and tyrants were particularly important and are commonplace. Such classical concepts are generally found compounded with Christian beliefs in rise, fall and judgement. It is suggested that the Renaissance historical outlook was a natural (rather than an awkward and contrived) hybrid of the classical and Christian traditions.

The strength of inherited notions about historical movement and about particular historical events and personages, combined with the utilitarian purpose of history-writing, ensured that late Elizabethan and early Stuart historians, unlike modern ones, were loth to question or depart from tradition. Only very rarely did they debate the facts of the past or construct innovative interpretations of history. This was partly because they regarded historical facts as self-evident and in the main unquestionable, to be studied for instruction rather than

investigated and clarified for their own sake or for the sake of understanding the present. This attitude was also partly a consequence of historians' reluctance to admit that historical truth was an unfixed, subjective quantity, dependent as much on the historian's tastes, his selection of evidence and his ideological point of view as on the existence of or dearth of data. Between absolute truth and a sceptical denial that there could be any reasonably certain knowledge of the past, there was as yet no room for compromise. Thus, the opinions and judgements of medieval and early Tudor chroniclers ossified and passed virtually unchallenged from the sixteenth into the seventeenth century. Opinions, if they changed at all, did so slowly; even the most erudite authors were reluctant to deny explicitly traditions such as the notorious myth of the foundation of Britain by Brutus the Trojan, one of the few issues which had frayed the tempers of Tudor historians: though non-historians had long had recourse to historical arguments for the purpose of polemic, particularly (in the sixteenth century) in defence of the Anglican church. On the rare occasions when an author did challenge commonplace views, he invited the scorn of his fellows. It is suggested that widely differing historical interpretations and frequent debate among historians emerged only after this period, during the civil wars, as history became tied to conflicting ideologies and political or religious groups. The same phenomenon had already appeared outside England during the French religious wars of the previous century.

Certain other issues receive briefer treatment. It is argued that early Stuart historians had little sense of the accidental, contingent or irrational in history. Because they saw the hand of God as the cause of all causes, not as a divine clockmaker who would allow events to follow their own course, historians could not imagine that the events

which they described might have happened differently, or not at all. Concepts such as 'fortune' and 'fate' were used to rationalise the apparently inexplicable; they were not admissions of the indeterminate nature of history, and they were generally subordinated to 'providence' or the plans of God. Some authors, confronted with an abundance of historical data, reveal the beginnings of a consciousness of the contingent.

The application of the teleological interpretation of sacred history (the movement of events toward a natural, divinely-determined end) to secular history is also examined. The historians' Thomist view of causation admitted final causes - ends for which things were designed, or purposes for which they occurred - in a way most historians would not today. It was thus perfectly acceptable to depict an event as the natural and inevitable - because providentially pre-ordained - consequence of another event years or centuries in the past. The most concrete example of this is the commonplace belief in the sixteenth century that fifteenth-century history had moved naturally toward the restoration of order by Henry VII. This notion was adapted in the early seventeenth century to suggest the providential inevitability of James I's proposed union of England and Scotland. It is suggested that in this sort of teleology - a secularisation of more traditional apocalyptic views of history - may be found hints of what would later become the so-called 'Whig' interpretation of history.

The introduction examines the meanings of the words 'history' and 'historiography' in Renaissance England, with due attention to classical and medieval antecedents, and raises issues for subsequent discussion. In addition, it gives a brief overview of some of the secondary literature on historiography. Chapter I surveys the theoretical framework of

historiography: historians' beliefs about historical causation, their thoughts on the purpose of the historical exercise and their attitudes to the 'controversial' element in history and the problem of conflicting sources. Sir Walter Raleigh is seen as the embodiment of Christian humanist ideas about history and historiography, and as a typical exponent of the Tudor historical tradition. The writings of certain Roman Catholic authors (Robert Parsons, Richard White and Richard Broughton) reveal the extent to which ideological perspective could stimulate dissent from historical traditions; at the same time, it is pointed out that ecclesiastical or sacred history, written as history, was a relatively unpopular subject for historians' pens in the early seventeenth century.

Chapter II shows the important influence of James I's projected union of England and Scotland on historical writing in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Historians perceived the union of the island under one prince as the fulfilment of a divine plan and as a higher form of Henry VII's union of the houses of York and Lancaster, celebrated in a century of Tudor chronicles. John Clapham, Edward Ayscu, George Saltern, John Lewis and William Harbert are among the authors treated. The chapter also presents more detailed discussions of the histories of John Speed and William Martyn. The former was the collaborative effort of Speed and several helpers, the latter a set of unlinked biographies.

Chapter III deals with Sir John Hayward's published and unpublished histories and with the historical thought of Samuel Daniel. Close attention is paid to their political thought (and particularly to their different readings of Jean Bodin's Methodus and République), to their analyses of historical change, and to their treatments of specific problems such as the legitimacy and consequences of the Norman conquest. Daniel's Collection of the historie of England was the most subtle and imaginative overview of English history yet written, and is in many ways

the first recognisable ancestor of later Whig historiography, both in its focus on gradual constitutional improvement and in its peculiar mixture of political ideas. Reprinted several times up to the early eighteenth century, Daniel's history had wide influence and has been unjustly neglected.

Chapter IV shows how antiquaries like William Camden, Francis Godwin and George Buck could also write narrative histories, and how they pressed the line between antiquarianism and history to breaking point without themselves crossing it. Camden's historical method consisted of rigorous adherence to rather than imaginative criticism of his evidence. Godwin was his less-successful imitator. Buck, however, employed the methods of the antiquary to question a long-standing and seemingly irrefutable tradition: the Tudor myth of the evil Richard III. Buck found himself strangled by his assumption that Henry VII was destined to rule England, whether or not Richard had been a bad king.

Chapter V explores the influence of Machiavellian historical thought upon Francis Bacon, Robert Cotton and William Habington. Their histories are interpreted as attempts to teach Kings James I and Charles I how to deal with current problems. Bacon's contribution to historical theory is found to be heavily influenced by continental thought. The writings of la Popelinière and of Bartholomew Keckermann are suggested as specific sources of his categories of history. Though Bacon used 'history' in a variety of senses, and perceived the importance of antiquarian research, his didactic inclinations and his belief in certain historical truth did not allow him to dignify the scholar with the status of historian. His own History of Henry VII is a good example of the statesman-historian's approach to history-writing. Cotton's Henry III and Habington's Edward IV are taken as even more pointed and topical historical advice-books than Bacon's work.

Chapter VI discusses the historiography of the ancient world, and particularly that of the rise and fall of the Roman republic as perceived by Fulke Greville, William Fulbecke and Peter Heylyn. Rome's transformation from a republic into a monarchy was universally seen as good and inevitable by historians who themselves wrote from a monarchical perspective: Augustus restored order in Rome in the same manner as Henry VII would do in England. Several of these authors, including Heylyn, Degory Whear and Edmund Bolton, also wrote artes historicae, which are discussed in the course of the chapter. The Catholic Bolton alone integrated antiquarian evidence into a narrative history; a number of his manuscript remains are used to investigate his career and connections, and it is found that he was not the unimaginative, time-serving pedant he has generally been thought to be.

Chapters VII and VIII focus on the dissolution of the history/antiquarianism barrier in the historical works of John Selden. Chapter VII begins with an exposition of two works which come particularly close to integrating the philological and historical: Camden's Remaines and Richard Verstegan's Restitution of decayed intelligence. The chapter continues with a brief survey of Selden's career and his scholarly contacts; it examines the increasing sophistication of Selden's early works and his growing familiarity with the works of French scholars such as Scaliger and Pasquier. Chapter VIII begins with a close study of Selden's Historie of tithes (1618), a work of philological antiquarianism which its author unashamedly and consciously called a history. As such, it was the first of its kind. The book's controversial subject ensured it a readership, despite the attempts of the clergy to suppress it. Selden continued to carry out his methodological revolution in later works, most notably the second edition of Titles of Honour (1631). A number of post-Seldenian authors are examined to demonstrate the extent

to which antiquarianism, philology and history had been conceptually integrated in the 1620s, 1630s and after, albeit by only a small number of writers.

Chapter IX begins with the historical thought and practice of Selden's friend, Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Herbert was the first practising English historian to address directly the problem of historical scepticism. In his philosophical treatises he postulated a theory of historical knowledge which admitted imperfection without denying the possibility of reasonably certain historical truth. Herbert carried many of his ideas into practice in his account of the reign of Henry VIII, a work of detailed research, executed in the spirit of moderate scepticism, which shares Selden's critical attitude to historical evidence. The second section of the chapter surveys the historical literature of the 1630s and shows that, though a few authors had made substantial departures from convention, the more widely-read popular writers, such as Thomas Heywood, continued to write entirely traditional histories, devoted to wars, politics and the lives of kings - real or mythical.

The conclusion reiterates the more important points and argues that the age was neither one of 'historical revolution' nor, on the contrary, one of complete stagnation, but a period of transition exhibiting elements of change and of continuity. An appendix assembles the genealogical evidence on Edward Ayscu (an interesting historian of Anglo-Scottish relations from the Norman conquest) who has been confused with several relatives of the same name.

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN ENGLISH HISTORICAL THOUGHT

c. 1590 - 1640

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Modern History
of the University of Oxford in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of D. Phil.

Trinity Term, 1983. ^{MT} ✓

Preface

Throughout the research and writing of this thesis I have incurred more debts than I can hope to repay. First and foremost, my supervisor, Dr G.E. Aylmer, allowed me enough rope to move freely without, I hope, letting me hang myself; he is always ready with a perceptive comment or a useful piece of information, and on more than one occasion has pointed out the forest while I was searching for shrubbery.

I owe a great deal to my undergraduate teacher, Professor Paul Christianson, at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. As well as suggesting several new lines of enquiry and lending me his own unpublished essay on John Selden, he patiently read the first draft of the thesis from start to finish. Many other friends have been no less kind in offering advice and helpful criticism.

A Commonwealth scholarship funded my research in Britain, and a graduate award from St Peter's College, Oxford, allowed me to visit several foreign libraries. I wish to acknowledge the kindness of the staffs of all the libraries cited, especially the staff of Duke Humfrey's Library, the Bodleian, Oxford. Mrs Greta Ilott converted a baffling typescript into readable form with great care and efficiency.

As well as the sizeable debt to the printed works of other scholars cited in the notes, I owe much to informative conversations and stimulating seminar exchanges with Mr Peter Burke, Professors Anthony Grafton, Joseph M. Levine and Fritz Levy, Dr Blair Worden, and especially Dr Kevin Sharpe. I was fortunate to be invited to the Pacific Northwest Renaissance Conference at the University of Alberta in March, 1983, where I received many useful comments on sections of chapters IV and V.

Above all, I wish to thank my parents, who have contributed much more than they realise. The faults of the work, needless to say, are mine alone.

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Abbreviations

Only the most frequently cited journals and secondary or primary works are listed here; full details of all works are given in the bibliography.

<u>Alum. Cant.</u>	<u>Alumni Cantabrigienses</u> (pt.1, to 1715), ed. J. and J.A. Venn (1922-27).
<u>Alum. Ox.</u>	<u>Alumni Oxonienses: the Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714</u> , ed. J. Foster (1891-92).
<u>Am. H.R.</u>	<u>American Historical Review.</u>
Bacon, <u>Works</u>	<u>Works of Francis Bacon</u> , ed. J. Spedding, R.L. Ellis, and D.D. Heath (1857-59).
Bacon, <u>Letters and Life</u>	<u>Lord Bacon's Letters and Life</u> , ed. J. Spedding (1861-74).
<u>Biog. Brit.</u>	<u>Biographia Britannica</u> (1747-1766).
<u>B.J.Ry.L.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.</u>
B.L.	British Library, London.
B.L. MS Add.	British Library, Additional Manuscripts.
B.L. MS Cott.	British Library, Cottonian Manuscripts.
B.L. MS Harl.	British Library, Harleian Manuscripts.
B.L. MS Lans.	British Library, Lansdowne Manuscripts.
B.N. Coll. Dup.	Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Collection Dupuy.
<u>Bodl. Lib. Rec.</u>	<u>Bodleian Library Record.</u>
Bodl. MS	Bodleian Library, Oxford, Manuscript, (followed by shelfmark).
Bodl. MS Rawl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson Manuscript.
C.U.L.	Cambridge University Library.
<u>Cal.S.P.Dom.</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic.</u>
<u>Camdeni Epistolae</u>	<u>Gulielmi Camdeni et Illustrum Virorum ad G. Camdenum Epistolae</u> , ed. T. Smith (1691).
<u>DNB</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography.</u>
<u>Eng. Hist. Rev.</u>	<u>English Historical Review.</u>

Abbreviations cont'd...

<u>Eng. Lit. Hist.</u>	<u>English Literary History.</u>
Folger	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.
Fuller, <u>Worthies</u>	T. Fuller, <u>Worthies of England</u> , ed. J. Nichols (2 vols., 1811).
Fussner, <u>Historical Revolution</u>	F.S. Fussner, <u>The Historical Revolution</u> (1962).
Hearne, <u>Curious Discourses</u>	T. Hearne, <u>A Collection of Curious Discourses</u> , ed. J. Ayloffe (1775).
<u>Hist. MSS. Comm.</u>	<u>Historical Manuscripts Commission Inspectors' Reports.</u>
<u>History and Theory</u>	<u>History and Theory</u>
<u>H.L.Q.</u>	<u>Huntington Library Quarterly.</u>
Huppert, <u>Perfect History</u>	G. Huppert, <u>The Idea of Perfect History</u> (1970).
<u>J. Eccles. H.</u>	<u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History.</u>
<u>J. Eng. Ger. Phil.</u>	<u>Journal of English and Germanic Philology.</u>
<u>J.H.I.</u>	<u>Journal of the History of Ideas.</u>
<u>J. War. Court. Inst.</u>	<u>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.</u>
Kelley, <u>Foundations</u>	Donald R. Kelley, <u>Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship</u> (1970).
Levack, <u>Civil Lawyers</u>	Brian P. Levack, <u>The Civil Lawyers in England, 1603-1641</u> (1973).
Levy, <u>Tudor Historical Thought</u> <u>Library</u>	F.J. Levy, <u>Tudor Historical Thought</u> (1967). <u>The Library.</u>
<u>Mod. Lang. Notes</u>	<u>Modern Language Notes.</u>
<u>Mod. Lang. Quart.</u>	<u>Modern Language Quarterly.</u>
<u>N.Q.</u>	<u>Notes and Queries.</u>
Pocock, <u>Ancient Constitution</u>	J.G.A. Pocock, <u>The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law</u> (2nd ed. 1967).
<u>P.Am. Phil. Soc.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.</u>
<u>P.B.A.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the British Academy</u>
<u>P.M.L.A.</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Modern Language Association.</u>

Abbreviations cont'd...

<u>P. & P.</u>	<u>Past and Present.</u>
P.R.O.	Public Record Office, Chancery Lane (London).
<u>Rev. Eng. Stud.</u>	<u>Review of English Studies.</u>
<u>Rot. Parl.</u>	<u>Rotuli Parliamentorum.</u>
Sharpe, <u>Sir Robert Cotton</u>	K.M. Sharpe, <u>Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631</u> (1979).
<u>S.T.C.</u>	<u>A Short-Title Catalogue of Books... 1475-1640</u> , ed. A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave (1926).
S.P.	State Papers, Public Record Office, domestic series 12 (Elizabeth I), 14 (James I), 16 (Charles I).
s.n.	new style date.
<u>Stat. Reg.</u>	<u>Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640</u> , ed. E. Arber (1875-1894).
<u>Stud. Phil.</u>	<u>Studies in Philology.</u>
<u>Stud. Renaiss.</u>	<u>Studies in the Renaissance.</u>
<u>Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymmrodorion</u>	<u>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.</u>
Wing	<u>Short-Title Catalogue of Books... 1641-1700</u> , ed. Donald Wing (1945).
Wood, <u>Ath.Ox.</u>	Anthony Wood, <u>Athenae Oxonienses</u> , ed. P. Bliss (1813-20).

Note on Conventions

Spelling in all quotations from original sources has been unchanged. Punctuation has occasionally been amended to avoid confusion. Translations, except where otherwise noted, are my own. In most cases, translations are presented in the text with the corresponding passages given in original form in footnotes.

Dates are old-style, except where indicated (s.n.). The year is taken to begin on 1 January; in some cases, the date is written 21 Feb. 1628/29, to avoid ambiguity.

INTRODUCTION

HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

It is naturall to all Nations, to seeke out their antiquities and to preserve the memorie of publike affaires: by reason whereof there are histories found everywhere.

Loys Le Roy
Of the interchangeable course, or
variety of things in the whole world
 trans. R. Ashley (1594)

The wanderer through a world inhabited by historians long dead may enjoy the reassurance that the road has been travelled before. Most of the ditches, potholes, and wrong forks have been marked. There are, of course, fresh ones to avoid.

What is historiography? It is an ambiguous term. The Renaissance made no distinction between historiographers and historians; both were men who wrote histories. The French kings had their official historiographers, Paolo Aemilio and his successors; so did the Venetian republic, and the Medici of Florence. William Camden and John Hayward, two of the more prominent writers in the present study, were once retained as 'historiographers' in James I's abortive Chelsea College. They were supposed to write histories, as was James Howell, the first historiographer-royal appointed by the frenchified Charles II in 1661.¹

Today, we mean something different by historiography, although the fuzziness remains. The word can now mean any of three things:

- a) the aggregate harvest from a period or tradition of historians' works (e.g. 'Victorian historiography', or 'Whig historiography'); or
- b) it can denote a group of historical writings about a subject (e.g. the historiography of the Industrial Revolution); or finally, c) it can mean the study of historical writing itself - the history of history.

1 Denys Hay, 'The Historiographers Royal in England and Scotland, Scottish Historical Review, xxx (1951), 15-29.

It is as well to confess at the start that I see no way around this ambiguity. Although this whole study is historiography in the third sense, an essay on the development of historical writing in Renaissance England, there will be occasions to use the word in its other senses; the meaning intended should be clear from the context. The unsatisfactory alternative would be to restrict the word to one meaning, imposing a clarity that did not exist for the English historians (historiographers?) whom we are about to track down.

Eduard Fueter launched his sweeping Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie at the turn of the century with the Italian Renaissance; he brought it to rest with the giants of the last century - Ranke, Treitschke, Taine and Burckhardt. Since then, the literature has proliferated. A number of general histories of historical writing, or of 'historical thought', have appeared, from the encyclopaedic surveys of Shotwell, Thompson and Barnes,¹ to the more philosophically inspired interpretations of Meinecke,² Croce,³ Collingwood⁴ and, more recently, of Isaiah Berlin,⁵ B.A. Haddock,⁶ and the late Sir Herbert Butterfield.⁷

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- 1 Eduard Fueter, Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie (Munich and Berlin, 1911); J.T. Shotwell, Introduction to the History of History (N.Y., 1922); J.W. Thompson, History of Historical Writing (2 vols., N.Y., 1942); H.E. Barnes History of Historical Writing (2nd ed., N.Y., 1963).
 - 2 Friedrich Meinecke, Historism: the Rise of a New Historical Outlook, trans. J.E. Anderson (1972).
 - 3 B. Croce, Theory and History of Historiography, trans. D. Ainslie (1921), and History as the Story of Liberty, trans. S. Sprigge (1941).
 - 4 R.G. Collingwood, The Idea of History, (Oxford, 1961).
 - 5 Isaiah Berlin, 'The Divorce between the Sciences and the Humanities' in his Against the Current: Essays in the History of Ideas, ed. H. Hardy (Oxford, 1981), pp. 80-110.
 - 6 B.A. Haddock, Introduction to Historical Thought (1980).
 - 7 H. Butterfield, Man on his Past (Cambridge, 1955); and The Origins of History (1981).

Patches in the picture have been filled in by specialists; English historiography has done rather well. D.C. Douglas painted a glowing portrait of the scholarly community on the eve of the Enlightenment; Thomas Peardon found his own golden age exactly a century later in the reign of Georges III and IV; there is no shortage of monographs and biographies of great historians like Clarendon, Gibbon, Macaulay and Seeley.¹

The two most well-known studies of Tudor and early Stuart historical writing are F.S. Fussner's The Historical Revolution and F.J. Levy's Tudor Historical Thought.² Fussner's under-rated volume has many virtues, not the least of which are its informative chapters on the Cottonian library and on John Selden. Its two major deficiencies are an insular focus and a penchant for inapplicable, Baconian categories. Fussner studied the 'historical revolution' as an English phenomenon, with little reference to the breezes blowing fresh ideas from across the channel. He also pigeonholed the five major authors in his work - Raleigh, Camden, Stow, Bacon and Selden - under anachronistic chapter headings such as 'territorial history', 'local history' and 'problematic history'. In fact, Stow's

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- 1 D.C. Douglas, English Scholars, 1660-1730 (2nd ed., 1951); T. Peardon, The Transition in English Historical Writing, 1760-1830 (1933); B.H.G. Wormald, Clarendon: Politics, History and Religion 1640-1660 (Cambridge, 1951); the literature on Gibbon is too staggering to mention. On Seeley, Macaulay and other Victorians see D. Wormell, Sir John Seeley and the Uses of History (Cambridge, 1981) and J.W. Burrow, A Liberal Descent: Victorian Historians and the English Past (Cambridge, 1981).
 - 2 F.S. Fussner, The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought 1580-1640 (1962); F.J. Levy, Tudor Historical Thought (San Marino, Cal., 1967). The list of works is considerable: C. Whibley, 'Chroniclers and Historians of the Tudor Age' in his Literary Studies (1919), pp.1-59; L.F. Dean, Tudor Theories of History of Writing (University of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philology, no.1, Ann Arbor, 1947); T. Wheeler, 'The New Style of the Tudor Chroniclers', Tennessee Studies in Literature, VII (1962), 71-77; J.A. Epperson III, 'English Historiography in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries' (Univ. California, Berkeley, Ph.D. thesis, 1966) adds little. Herschel Baker, The Race of Time (Toronto, 1967) and May McKisack, Medieval History in the Tudor Age (Oxford, 1971), while more specialised, are very satisfying. P. Burke (ed.) The Renaissance Sense of the Past (1969) provides both extracts and perceptive commentary.

Survey of London and Camden's Britannia were not even called histories by their authors. They were exercises in 'antiquarianism' or 'chorography', two related but not synonymous fields. Not surprisingly, Fussner's general thesis that the period 1580-1640 (roughly the years we are here concerned with) witnessed a 'revolution' in historical writing, a decisive break with the past as sharp as the contemporary revolutions in science and political thought, has been disputed.¹

F.J. Levy's deservedly widely-read Tudor Historical Thought begins with the late medieval chronicles and ends, as will we, in the early Stuart period. Its wider lens makes even clearer just how much things had changed between Polydore Vergil's arrival in England in 1502 and Camden's death in 1623, though Levy is at pains to suggest a process of gradual change rather than a sharp break at any stage. His attention to foreign, especially Italian, influences throughout the period adds a needed dimension to the picture.

Levy's book is less informative than Fussner's for the early seventeenth century; he packs a large and heterogeneous collection of

1 Much of Fussner's argument was anticipated by J.F. Jameson as early as 1890, 'The Development of Modern European Historiography', Atlantic Monthly, LXVI (1890), 322-33. For an incidental critique of Fussner see H.R. Trevor-Roper's review of C. Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution, History and Theory, V (1966), 61-82; Fussner also tends to divide his subjects into progressive opponents of the crown and reactionary supporters, but such a view has a respectable pedigree, for example, in H. Butterfield, The Englishman and his History (Cambridge, 1944), pp. 31-67. The most categorical denial of the 'historical revolution' thesis, though it deals mainly with post-1660 historiography, is Joseph M. Levine, 'Ancients, Moderns and the Continuity of English Historical Writing in the Later Seventeenth Century' in Studies in Change and Revolution, ed. P. Korshin (1972), pp. 43-75. A highly informative bibliographical overview of the whole question is supplied by Joseph H. Preston; 'Was there an Historical Revolution?' J.H.I., XXXIII (1977) 353-64, who concludes that there was no break with the past deserving of the title 'revolution'.

'politic historians' into a single chapter, which itself owes much to a short section in Fueter.¹ But his implied definition of 'historical thought' as any thought about the past or about the discovery of the past is usefully broad, and is accepted here; this study is concerned with contemporary attitudes to the past, and with developments, theoretical and practical, in the art of writing history, with close attention to the senses in which the word 'history' was used by its practitioners. I hope to add to rather than controvert the works of my many predecessors by asking different questions.

Even more specialised articles and books have sprung up over the years, on minor antiquaries such as Laurence Nowell and Joseph Holland, on more well-known writers such as John Bale, and on the antiquarian movement as a whole.² We know a great deal about the origins of historically-minded literary criticism,³ about post-Reformation concepts of fortune and providence, and on the relation of these to literature,

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- 1 Levy, Tudor Historical Thought, ch. VIII; cp. the account in Fueter, Geschichte, pp.166-170 on Camden, Hayward, Bacon and Herbert of Cherbury as descendants of the Florentine 'politic history' tradition.
 - 2 R. Flower, 'Laurence Nowell and the Discovery of England in Tudor Times', P.B.A., XXI (1935) 47-74; R.A. Caldwell, 'Joseph Holland, Collector and Antiquary', Modern Philology, XL (1942-43), 295-301; J.W. Harris, John Bale (Urbana, Ill., 1940) and H. McCusker, John Bale, Dramatist and Antiquary (Bryn Mawr, Penn., 1942); R. Warnicke, William Lambarde, Elizabethan Antiquary, 1536-1601 (1973). In general, see R. Schoeck, 'The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries and Men of Law', N.Q., n.s., I (1954), 417-21; Stuart Piggott, Ruins in a Landscape (Edinburgh, 1976) and especially Linda van Norden, 'The Elizabethan College of Antiquaries' (Univ. California, L.A., Ph.D. thesis, 1946) and 'Sir Henry Spelman on the Chronology of the Elizabethan College of Antiquaries', H.L.Q., XIII (1949-50), 131-160.
 - 3 E.N. Adams, Old English Scholarship in England from 1566 to 1800 (1937); A.B. Ferguson, Clio Unbound: Perception of the Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England (Durham, N.C., 1979), while not on historiography per se, opens a promising perspective based on wide and deliberate reading of literature not technically considered 'history' in the Renaissance.

politics and historical consciousness.¹ Professor Pocock's study of the myth of the 'ancient constitution' shows that the Norman conquest was an acute problem in historiography three hundred years ago.² Kevin Sharpe has recently reminded us of the political implications of history, antiquarianism and scholarship and has provided a most useful portrait of that great parliamentary bibliophile, Sir Robert Cotton.³ We lack comparable studies of two even more important figures: the reclusive Camden, a leading citizen of an international community of scholars; and the polymath John Selden, who as much as Cotton was a political animal whose scholarly and parliamentary careers intertwined. Both figure prominently here; Selden receives two whole chapters not because I have tried to be definitive, but because in the present context he

merits greater attention than his peers, even his great mentors and older contemporaries Camden and Cotton.

It has become clear that one cannot usefully study English historiography without reference to European developments. We may now reap the rewards of recent scholarship on the French Renaissance, especially the studies by Donald R. Kelley and George Huppert.⁴ England

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- 1 Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (1971), chs. 3 and 4, passim; H.A. Kelly, Divine Providence in the England of Shakespeare's Histories (Cambridge, Mass., 1970); C.A. Patrides, The Grand Design of God: the Literary Form of the Christian View of History (1972), espec. chs. 5 and 6, is the best introduction to the literature, with a superb bibliography.
 - 2 J.G.A. Pocock, The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law (2nd ed., N.Y., 1967). See also Pocock's stimulating essay 'The Origins of Study of the Past: a Comparative Approach', Comparative Studies in Society and History, IV (1961-62), 209-246.
 - 3 Kevin Sharpe, Sir Robert Cotton, 1586-1631: History and Politics in Early Modern England (Oxford, 1979); cf. M.A. Fitzsimons, 'Politics and Men of Learning in England, 1540-1640', Review of Politics, VI (1944), 452-83.
 - 4 D.R. Kelley, Foundations of Modern Historical Thought: Language, Law and History in the French Renaissance (N.Y., 1970); George Huppert, 'The Renaissance Background of Historicism', History and Theory, V (1965), 48-60, and The Idea of Perfect History: Historical Erudition and Historical Philosophy in Renaissance France (Urbana, Ill., 1970).

was less isolated from the warm currents of continental scholarship than has been supposed; as early as the fifteenth century, European books were being imported and foreigners were making visits for long periods.¹ The continuing life of Latin as a scholarly language cemented an international community of letters, despite the barriers of religion and physical problems of communication and transportation. From More to Selden, the English members of this literary realm were a handful, but far larger numbers were exposed to foreign books. Many less well-known historians (as opposed to enlightened antiquaries such as Pocock's Sir Henry Spelman) were indebted to earlier French authors in one way or another.

Two issues seem not to have been confronted in previous works on English historiography. The first, alluded to above, is that antiquarianism and history were two related but not identical disciplines. I contend that regardless of the later eighteenth-century separation between 'erudits (technicians of history like Mabillon, Wanley and Hearne) and imaginative philosophes like Voltaire,² history and 'erudition' grew more familiar with each other in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, somewhere along the way someone made an intellectual leap which converted the meaning of the very word 'history' into something more recognisably modern. At the risk of giving away the ending, I believe that Selden's Historie of tithes (1618) marks a seminal moment in the evolution of the word 'history' and, by implication, of English historical writing.

1 H.R. Plomer, 'The Importation of Books into England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', Library, 4th ser., IV (1923-4), 146-50; Sidney Lee, The French Renaissance in England (Oxford, 1910).

2 For this dichotomy see: A.D. Momigliano, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian' in his Studies in Historiography (1966); Paul Hazard, The European Mind, 1680-1715, trans. J.L. May (1953), pp.48-52.

Now to the second point. G.R. Elton has recently commented perceptively on the subjective and unscientific nature of historical writing:

Because its materials are necessarily partial, and the products emerging from individual minds more partial still, history always has posed and always will pose the sort of problems which give rise to dispute, acrimony and the writing of hostile reviews.... Debates among historians are coeval with the writing of history.¹

How true! The simple fact that I am attempting to 'correct' or at least 'complement' my predecessors, and that sooner or later someone will point out the flaws in the present work is an immediate instance. Far greater examples such as the debates over the 'Rise of the Gentry', the causes of the Renaissance or the Industrial Revolution, or the origins of the English Civil War further bear out Elton's comment. The historian's graven image - the full professor's as much as the eager graduate student's - is originality; we all struggle to say new things, often about very old topics.

But have debates always occurred? We recognise now that the subjective, fallible historian is bound to disagree with his equally fallible colleagues and that this often gives way to acrimonious academic controversy. Even if M. Levich is right in suggesting, from a logician's point of view, that many disagreements are not disagreements at all, but the misunderstanding of one historian's meaning by another,² it is undeniable that the last word on most historical subjects will never be said. Marc Bloch provides the most cogent explanation of this situation:

The past is, by definition, a datum which nothing in the future will change. But the knowledge of the past is something progressive which is constantly transforming and perfecting itself.³

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- 1 G.R.Elton, The Practice of History (Sydney, 1967), p.16., emphasis mine.
 - 2 M. Levich, 'Disagreement and Controversy in History', History and Theory, II (1962-63), 41-51.
 - 3 Marc Bloch, The Historian's Craft, trans. P. Putnam (Manchester, 1954), p.58.

Historical truth, like philosophical or religious truth, is in the eye of the beholder; it is not an immutable quantity with an objective, absolute life of its own. And we realise that this is as it should be; our understanding of the past increases only when new ground is broken, or old ground, fallow for a while, is reploughed.¹ Historical research is a dialectical process.

Englishmen of the Tudor and early Stuart periods did not share our enthusiasm for historical debate, for several reasons. They could not, for a start, admit that 'truth' was a chameleon, in religion, politics or history. They felt uncomfortable with their sources when these disagreed. They avoided contradicting one another as much as possible; on the rare occasions when they did, they were so convinced of the 'rightness' of their case as to heap abuse on their opponents which would make most modern reviewers cringe. The insults heaped on Polydore Vergil for questioning the historicity of King Arthur provide a good example.

Tudor and early Stuart writers did not recognise historical debate as a productive thing. When they engaged in it, they did so because they had yoked history to the service of ideology or of personal animosity. The Reformation produced Catholic and Protestant historical arguments,² as did the French religious wars;³ Anglican apologists such as John Jewel appealed to the past against their Catholic opponents.⁴ But on the whole,

1 For a recent discussion of the notion of relative historical truth see W.H. Dray, 'Interpretive Frameworks in Historiography', Queen's Quarterly, 89, no. 4 (Winter, 1982), 722-740.

2 G.D. Nicholson, 'The Nature and Function of Historical Argument in The Henrician Reformation' (Cambridge Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1977).

3 See, e.g., D.R. Kelley's excellent biography of François Hotman: a Revolutionary's Ordeal (Princeton, N.J., 1973) and Dorothy Thickett, Estienne Pasquier (1529-1615): the Versatile Barrister of Sixteenth Century France (London and N.Y., 1979).

4 Ferguson, Clio Unbound, pp.171-224; J.A. Preston, 'English Ecclesiastical Historians and the Problem of Bias, 1559-1742', J.H.I. XXXII (1971), 203-20.

within Tudor England the waters remained relatively calm - and stagnant. Although there are hints of dissent throughout the period, it was only with the civil war in 1642 that history became the ball in an ideological tennis match. When the smoke cleared in 1660, historical truth had become historical interpretations, though for a long time the protagonists would not admit that their opponents just might be right: they remained polemicists first, historians second.

Despite all the nuances in Tudor and early Stuart histories, it is possible to speak broadly of the 'Tudor view of history' without being absurdly simple-minded.¹ One can certainly not speak of the 'Hanoverian' view of history, only of Whig, Tory and Republican views, and of the many shades in between.² Between about 1590 and 1640 historians first came to grips with the inadequacies of a monochromatic picture of the past. Some ideas had certainly changed before then; long before Selden it had become fashionable to disavow, or at least question, the Yorkist-Tudor myth of a Trojan descent; but it had taken a century for the point to sink in.³ We shall be interested in the reasons that impelled these men to echo one another from Polydore to Camden; the reasons why historiography in the early seventeenth century had reached a consensus on most subjects, and why it avoided resolving the unclear ones in the dialectic of debate.

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- 1 Butterfield, Englishman and his History (Cambridge, 1944), pp.12-18 goes so far as to equate (not unreasonably) the Tudor and the later Tory views of history, in contrast with an emerging 'Whig' view.
 - 2 Duncan Forbes, "'Scientific Whiggism': Adam Smith and John Millar", Cambridge Journal, VII (1954), 643-70 demonstrates that not all 'Whigs' shared the classic view of an unchanged ancient constitution held by writers like Blackstone; cf. Q. Skinner, 'History and Ideology in the English Revolution', Historical Journal, VIII (1965), 151-178.
 - 3 Sidney Anglo, 'The British History in Early Tudor Propaganda', B.J.Ry.L., LIV (1961-62), 17-48; J.E. Housman, 'Higden, Trevisa, Caxton and the Beginnings of Arthurian Criticism', Rev. Eng. Stud. XXIII (1947), 209-17.

From historiography we turn to 'history' - an even more elusive creature. The word has a long tradition, and the literature on it is substantial. In 1934 Karl Keuck traced the genesis of 'history' and its related forms from antiquity to the nineteenth century.¹ Very recently, Gerald Press has given a detailed outline of the senses in which ancient writers used the word.² 'History' - *ιστορία* - initially meant an enquiry into anything, such as Herodotus' enquiries into the reasons for the Graeco-Persian wars.³ The father of history did not mean to study the past in itself; he merely wished to explain why the Greeks and the Persians hated each other.

History also came to mean a true account of the facts of nature and the world, as in Aristotle's Historia Animalium or Pliny's natural history; or, it could mean simply a literary form, surveying the facts of the past, as in Polybius or Livy. It would also come to mean the fictive product of imagination, in the form of tales about gods and heroes. But never in ancient historiography did 'history' mean simply 'the past': Ereignisse rather than Darstellung der Ereignisse. Greek antiquity was not conscious that 'history' qua 'the past' was an entity capable of analysis.⁴ It is incorrect, therefore, to speak of a dichotomy between

1 J. Karl Keuck, Historia: Geschichte des Wortes (Emsdetten, 1934).

2 G.A. Press, 'History and the Development of the Idea of History in Antiquity', History and Theory, XVI (1977), 280-296, and The Development of the Idea of History in Antiquity (Montreal and Kingston, 1982), to which I owe most of the following paragraph.

3 Seth Benardete, Herodotean Inquiries (The Hague, 1961), pp.1-6.

4 The 'meaninglessness' of the past as a whole applies more to Greek than Latin thought, and the Romans produced many more historians. Livy and Polybius (a Greek writing of Rome) both saw a pattern of sorts in Rome's rise to power; so did Lucius Florus, the first century A.D. 'epitomist' of Livy, who would be very popular in early Stuart England. See below, ch. VI, passim. Press, Development, does not cite Florus.

the Graeco-Roman view of 'history' as 'meaningless cycles of flux and reflux' and the linear, teleological, 'optimistic' Judaeo-Christian view which supposedly leapt up in opposition.¹ The Greeks and early Christians had different views of time, not of history. G.W. Trompf has shown that even these were not implacably opposed and that the Renaissance idea of historical recurrence descended from both parents.²

From our point of view, the reappraisals of both Trompf and Press are of great importance. If there was no sharp line between Christian and classical views of time to begin with, then the Renaissance 'reconciliation' of the two becomes more comprehensible; not, indeed, a modus vivendi reached by clever humanists, but a rich, complex debt to two related traditions.

In this light, we ought to ask what the Renaissance meant by 'history'. It seems, in England at least, to have several modes of usage. Most often, it meant a didactic literary form: 'histories' rather than history. This could be either a true account of the past, such as Bacon's history of Henry VII, in which case the scope was narrowly conceived to be politics, religion and the deeds of great men, which instructed the reader in lifemanship. On the other hand, it could also

1 The phrase is C.A. Patrides', Grand Design of God, pp. 8-9; cf. Hajo Holborn 'Greek and Modern Concepts of History', J.H.I., X (1949), 3-29. Other examples of the opinion disputed by Press are myriad: Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time, trans. F. Filson (Philadelphia, 1950) best demonstrates Press's point that the image of conflicting patterns of history is an optical illusion created by early Christian apologists and magnified by their modern successors.

2 G.W. Trompf, The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought: from Antiquity to the Reformation (Berkeley, Cal., 1979).

be an entertaining fiction (history as 'story') such as John Marston's History of Antonio and Mellida, Thomas Deloney's Strange Histories or the popular allegorical morality tales called A record of auncient histories. Such works were more amusing than edifying and have no more real historical content than similar exercises founded on the Bible, such as Daniel Dyke's Sixe Evangelical histories, a collection of scriptural episodes from which the author drew moral precepts.¹

History qua story could also be quasi-factual, as in Shakespeare's history plays, combining true historical characters with imaginary scenery, dialogue and minor characters. All these meanings have in common the notion that the 'history' is a literary genre with a function; its job is to instil good moral values or useful political advice, distilled from the examples of the past in the assumption that similar situations will recur.

In addition to the above senses, we find history in its scientific or 'Aristotelian' (or, perhaps, 'Plinian') mode, as the product of an enquiry into nature as it manifests itself in the present.² But as in the ancient writings, the use of history simply to mean 'the past' is

1 J. Marston History of Antonio and Mellida (1602); Deloney, Strange Histories of kings, princes etc. (1607); anon., A record of auncient histories, Gesta Romanorum, ed. R. Robinson (1595); D. Dyke Sixe Evangelical histories (1617). M. Spufford, Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth Century England (1981), pp. 219-57 notes the absence of any kind of rural 'folk memory' of events such as the Wars of the Roses.

2 A list of these might include R. Dodoens, A nieuwe herball, or historie of plantes, trans. H. Lyte (Antwerp, 1578); R. Remnant, Discourse or historie of Bees (1637) and E. Topsell, The historie of four-footed beastes (1607). More famous is Bacon's general use of the term to denote the fruits of any kind of enquiry, whether into nature or the past, for which see below, Ch. V, sec. i.

rare, although the imprecision of the English language leaves the question open; we cannot, for example, distinguish as Latin can, between historia (history as narrative or enquiry) and historicus (matter pertaining to historiae).¹ The random use of the definite article in Renaissance English provides no help. Was the 'history' in Raleigh's The History of the World the book itself, or the subject discussed in it? If the first, why call it the history since there were others? If the latter, why call it 'part one'? This ambiguity never occurred to Raleigh.² A millennium of Christian chroniclers, men who really did see apocalyptic meaning in history, had so obfuscated the term as to make any precise definition impossible. For the same reason, Shakespeare called his play The Famous Historie of the Life of King Henry the Eighth and John Ford his The chronicle historie of Perkin Warbeck. John Clapham wrote The historie of Great Britannie (1606), though there were others. No one stopped to sort out a semantically precise definition of history. And this brings us back to an earlier point: the English historian assumed at all times that the course of events corresponded with its representation. There was no need to separate history-as-past from history-as-book because history-writing was not a subjective process.

1 In this thesis, 'history' will denote either the past itself or, more often, its investigation and literary representation. J.A.H. Murray (ed.) New English Dictionary (1884), V, i, p.305, s.v. 'history' lists the several senses and finds no use of history as 'the aggregate of past events in general' before 1654. The Germans, significantly the nation most given to idealist philosophies of history as organic entity, escape the ambiguity to an extent, having developed an unrelated word for the historical account, Geschichte. For some thoughts on the senses of history see J. Huizinga, 'A Definition of the Concept of History', in Philosophy and History: Essays presented to Ernst Cassirer ed. R. Klibansky and H. Paton (Oxford, 1936), pp. 1-11.

2 Devoid of articles, medieval Latin historiography from before Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica right up to Polydore's Anglica Historia is entirely ambiguous on this point; the ambiguity was passed on. For the variety of related forms (gesta, carmina and annales) see: Keuck, Historia, ch. II; V.H. Galbraith, Historical Research in Medieval England (1951); Antonia Gransden, Historical Writing in England, c.550-1307 (1974), app. D, pp.524-529; and Beryl Smalley, Historians in the Middle Ages (1974).

In most cases, one can safely take the English writer to mean the tale as well as its subject. When a historian comments on the dignity of history, and its instructive value, he means the past as it is 'truthfully' represented in a literary medium, the only way it could usefully be comprehended. History-as-past was not the object of philosophical enquiry, though historical examples might be; Machiavelli found in Roman and Italian history the evidence for his political theories, as did Jean Bodin.

This should not be especially surprising; the refusal to confront history with reason was another heirloom from the classical past. The father of history had very few progeny and the number of classical historians from Herodotus to St Augustine - nearly a millennium - is not large. Greeks and Romans alike viewed history as a branch of rhetoric. The past was an object of memory, not of reason; in itself it was irrational. The *ἱστορία* or historia was mere description or information, not thought.¹ In the sense that history remained a mnemonic rather than a philosophical discipline, such a view endured and thrived in the Renaissance. Francis Bacon declared flatly that history was allied to the faculty of memory, as philosophy to reason and poetry to the imagination.²

Not that history-as-past was the meaningless puzzle that had bewildered the Greeks; the Middle Ages had inherited the Old Testament view of the past, in which time acquired both a linear pattern and an apocalyptic goal. Past, present and future came to be perceived as heading somewhere in God's good time. The events of history revealed the outlines

1 Press, Development, p.50. Even Thucydides, an apparent exception, did not see meaning in the past as a whole, though he tried to give a rational explanation for the Peloponnesian war. He did not, of course, consider his work a 'history'.

2 See below, Ch. V, p.173.

of the plan and the immediate will of God in the world, manifest in the miraculous.¹

This teleological vision of history was to prove remarkably resilient in the Renaissance, as was the idea that divine providence controlled events. Reformation chronologers continued to chart worldly events on a divine timetable which pointed toward the millennium, outdoing their medieval predecessors in eagerness and in the sophistication of their calculations. It is thus correct to speak of the early modern view of 'history' qua past and its providential meaning, the lack of a firm Renaissance definition of the word notwithstanding. But the kind of philosophical speculation on the course of history itself, as an object moving under its own steam, was non-existent in this period; any pattern history held was externally dictated by God, not internally propelled. Until history had become a process separate from God there could be no Hegel, Marx or Toynbee. There is a crucial difference between Renaissance awareness of temporal change - what von Leyden called its sense of 'perspective' - and later 'historicist' contemplation of that change and its potentialities. In this sense, Meinecke was quite right to begin his study of Historismus with the Enlightenment.²

In the familiar sense of history as an account of past events, almost no one in Elizabethan England seems to have taken the Herodotean approach: that to understand our present predicament we must trace its

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- 1 I. Berlin, Historical Inevitability in Four Essays on Liberty (Oxford, 1969), p.51 ff. notes that the roots of the 'teleological outlook... reach back to the beginnings of human thought'. It first appears in the Hebrew 'historical' tradition. Berlin uses the word history in a looser sense than Press, Development, pp.53-60.
 - 2 W. von Leyden, 'Antiquity and Authority: a Paradox in the Renaissance Theory of History', J.H.I., XIX (1958), 473-92; Meinecke, Historism, pp. 156-198 concerns England. For the emergence of philosophy of history from historiography proper see Hayden White, Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe, (Baltimore, Md., 1973), pp. 141-43.

emergence through time, taking all factors, not just politics and personal motives, into our account. In France, Guillaume Budé had arrived at this understanding in connection with his study of Roman law; before too long, disciples like François Baudouin, François Hotman and, later, Etienne Pasquier, began to study the past understood as the ancestor of the present, while court historiographers continued to recall it to glorify their patrons' ancestors or teach by example.¹

Two French writers particularly influential in England, Jean Bodin and Henri de la Popelinière, usefully analysed both histories and history, the past. In the Methodus (1566), Bodin sought a release from the chaos of evidence in contradictory historical accounts: he showed the reader how to judge histories and how to understand the geographical and cosmic laws that had sculpted the present from the past.² Such knowledge could be used in the government of a state. Bodin was much more interested in understanding history than in writing it.

A practising historian, which Bodin was not, la Popelinière was heir to the Italian and German tradition of artes historici: the art of writing history. In his Histoire des histoires (1599), which begins

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- 1 D.R. Kelley, 'Budé and the First Historical School of Law', Am.H.R., LXXII (1967), 807-34, and Foundations, chs. IV and V; Julian H. Franklin, Jean Bodin and the Sixteenth Century Revolution in the Methodology of Law and History (N.Y., 1963), ch. VIII (Baudouin), IX (Bodin). On traditional French historiography to the early sixteenth century see Sarah M. Farley, 'French Historiography in the Later Middle Ages, with special reference to the "Grandes Chroniques de France"' (Edinburgh Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1969).
 - 2 D.R. Kelley, 'The Development and Concept of Bodin's Method', in Jean Bodin, ed. H. Denzer (Munich, 1973), pp.123-150; M.J. Tooley, 'Bodin and the Mediaeval Theory of Climate', Speculum, XXVIII (1953), 64-83. Throughout the thesis, all references are to Beatrice Reynolds' translation of Bodin, Method for the Easy Comprehension of History (N.Y., 1945) and to Richard Knolles' 1606 translation of the République as Six Bookes of a common-weale.

with a history of historiography, he approached the subject from the opposite end: writing rather than reading. La Popelinière put his finger right on the problem. 'Two kinds of people have tried to do history, the one by imagination, the other by fact': the fable-mongering chronicler versus the antiquary.¹ He wanted l'histoire accomplie, a general history which took every facet of the past into consideration. This was his answer to the 'Pyrrhoniens', those who doubted that historical fact could be known, or that reading history was even worthwhile.² The historian must be his own researcher, and weigh every detail in his account; la Popelinière had no time for the so-called histories which confined themselves to wars and kings: histoires rompues et particulières.³ It is true that his idea of histoire accomplie (perfect history) left no room for improvement. One has the feeling that once the perfect history has been written and the facts ascertained as closely as is possible for fallen humans, it need never be revised. Despite the massive amounts

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- 1 'Deux sortes de personnes ont travaillé à bien former l'Histoire, les uns par imagination, les autres par effect.' H. Lancelot Voisin de la Popelinière, L'Histoire des histoires (1599). This volume includes two other works, separately paginated: L'Idée de l'Histoire accomplie (from which, p.18, comes the present quotation) and Le Dessein de l'histoire nouvelle des François.
 - 2 La Popelinière, L'Histoire, p.6; for the French historians' confrontation with scepticism and the use of 'method' in historical study from Bodin to Pierre Bayle, see J.L. Darroch, 'Method and History: the Importance of Dialectic, Rationalism and Scepticism in the Development of Historical Consciousness and Methodology in Early Modern France, 1555-1700' (Univ. Toronto Ph.D. thesis, 1980); Franklin, Jean Bodin, ch. V, pp. 83-102 contains a good account of sixteenth-century historical pyrrhonism. Barbara J. Shapiro, Probability and Certainty in Seventeenth-Century England (Princeton, N.J., 1983), pp. 119-162 contains a discussion of historical knowledge: it appeared, unfortunately, too late to take account of its findings.
 - 3 La Popelinière, L'Idée, p.85; on la Popelinière see Corrado Vivanti, 'Le scoperte geografiche e gli scritti di Henri de la Popelinière', Rivista Storica Italiana, 74 (1962), 225-49, 242-44 which compares him with Bodin; and Huppert, Perfect History, ch. 8. For la Popelinière's influence in England, see below, especially chs. V, VI and VIII, on Bacon, Bolton and Selden.

of research that had taken place in French archives during the preceding century it was still possible to foresee the day when the last word would be said. It is significant that la Popelinière makes no reference at all to the Recherches de la France of his older contemporary Etienne Pasquier, a work of erudition, based on a life in the archives, that the author himself found necessary to revise several times as he uncovered more facts.

In Tudor England the antiquaries, in the tradition of Varro the Roman and Flavio Biondo the Florentine,¹ also set out to study the present by surveying its surviving physical monuments and 'antiquities'.² They were helped by the flood of historical manuscripts released by the dissolution of the monasteries;³ they were hindered by an inability to focus their efforts into a general repository, a history, though the best of them organised the material geographically, in the form of 'surveys' of towns, counties and, in Camden's case, the whole island.

The antiquaries could not put their knowledge into histories because they did not consider themselves historians. The latter were men who wrote books recalling to the present the great events and men of the past. Historians looked for guidance to Tacitus and Polybius, or Livy and Cicero, rather than Varro; to Guicciardini and Machiavelli rather than Biondo.

It was a long time before anyone in England brought a philosophical approach to the writing of history; though Bacon and others composed

1 D. Hay, 'Flavio Biondo and the Middle Ages', P.B.A., XLV (1959), 97-125; Fueter, Geschichte, pp. 110f. on Biondo and his disciples.

2 M. Friedländer, 'Growth in the Resources for Studies in Earlier English History, 1534-1625' (Chicago Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1938); C.E. Wright, 'The Dispersal of the Monastic Libraries and the Beginning of Anglo-Saxon Studies', Trans. Cambridge Bibliog. Soc., I (1949-53), 208-37.

3 See below, ch. III.

elaborate explanations of what it meant to write histories, and constructed detailed taxonomies of the genre's many sub-species, most authors pondered neither long-term causation nor the nature of historical knowledge. It was, ironically, a poet, Samuel Daniel, who produced the first general history of England which is easily recognisable as such. It may be because Daniel was a poet that he conceived England's story in epic terms, and that he tried to explain what he saw around him historically. But the gap between the historical imagination of a Daniel and the erudition of a Camden had to be bridged. No one had yet stated what seems to us the obvious: history is not simply the recovery of facts about the past, nor the endless retailing of episodes from the past for instruction. It could also be the product of reason, imagination and memory combined: the recovery of the facts through the diligent, critical scholarship practised by many of the antiquaries, and then the moulding of the facts into a useful, cohesive explanation of events, for the ultimate purpose of understanding how we got where - or when - we are. The topics which the historian could explore in a 'history' could be anything that pertained to the past, his evidence anything that promised relevant information. It is this formal dichotomy between erudition and history, between memory and imagination, between history as res gestae and history as study of the process of change that narrowed considerably in our period.

The following chapters are intended as a broad survey of the 'historical' literature of the period, with the closest attention being paid to those works actually regarded by their authors as histories. Thus, in discussing Camden, I am primarily concerned with his Annales

and not the Britannia, save only to restate the differences between the two.¹

To use a metaphor loved by Jacobean historians, I have tried to steer clear of rocks on either side, in order to establish both change and continuity. A study in which only a handful of acknowledged 'greats' were arranged like a ring of performing seals would create a false impression of the historiographical jungle, though by definition we must be concerned with spotting and tagging the innovators. The opposite extreme would be a compendium of names and titles, and brief descriptions of their contents; of this kind of survey there are several examples, all highly informative.² I have tried to strike a balance by discussing major authors against a background populated by their more commonplace contemporaries, many of whom have interesting things to say.

The price of this approach is the abandonment of a strictly chronological scheme. This is not too high a cost. Historiography in no way became 'modern' overnight, and it is best to rid ourselves of that notion at the start. The most sophisticated works discussed here were written in the second decade of the seventeenth century; dozens of the most conventional appear throughout the civil war and beyond.

1 I have studied but will not discuss histories of foreign states written by Englishmen, or translated by Englishmen from foreign works: for example, Richard Knolles, The generall historie of the Turkes (1603); Thomas de Fougasses, The generall historie of the magnificent state of Venice, trans. W. Shute (1612); Louis de Mayerne Turquet, The generall historie of Spaine trans. Edward Grimeston (1612); and Grimeston's The generall historie of the Netherlands (1608). These works constitute a genre unto themselves and the absence of a number of them on the same subject would render any conclusions tenuous at best. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the word 'generall' in these titles denotes the authors' coverage of their subjects from ancient origins to modern times; these are not 'general' in the sense of including aspects of the non-political past.

2 See above, p.2, n.1.

It is essential to keep the context in mind at all times, and I have tried to do so by making as wide reference as possible both to lesser historians and to pseudo-historical literature, poetry, drama and prose. Obviously one cannot be exhaustive, and for any definitive statement about 'popular' views of the past one would have to plough through almost limitless masses of literature with no apparent historical content, to catch the contemporary mind off-guard. That, valuable as it would be, is not my purpose. Similarly, if the thesis seems to wander from one contemporary problem to another - from the epistemological problems of 'British history' in Chapter II, to the political thought behind John Hayward's histories in Chapter III, to the study of ancient history in Chapter VI, this is only because the interests of the historians themselves were diverse. Some features of the landscape are more remarkable than others at one point, less so further down the road.

The most important sources are those which have been frequently used: the printed works of the historians and antiquaries themselves. Much can be gleaned outside these, from letters, printed and unprinted, from commonplace books and notes made by historians and from the occasional historical manuscript left unpublished by its author. Such data help us understand the scholarly environment and the problems faced by historians; they can even clarify the purposes and prejudices with which some wrote - how the past emerged from the present!

From Frankfurt, the Dutch epigrapher and librarian Janus Gruter complained to Camden that during market-time he was interrupted by a thousand men and could get nothing done.¹ Renaissance historians were not abstract intellects, thinking large or small thoughts secluded in their study. They formed a community which was itself an atom in the wider world. Many of them knew one another; many more were influenced by the same works and sources; but they all studied the past amid the toil and trouble of their own daily lives.

1 Gruter to Camden, 25 Sept., 1615, Camdeni Epistolae, p.159.

CHAPTER I

CAUSATION, CONTINGENCY AND CONTROVERSY:THE STRUCTURE OF TUDOR AND EARLY STUART HISTORIOGRAPHY

i) Fortune, Providence and the Irrational

Eight years after Jean Bodin had published his important Methodus, another ars historica appeared in England. Thomas Blundeville, one of the Earl of Leicester's followers, abridged and translated into English two Italian discourses on the correct manner in which histories should be written and read. The true order and methode of wryting and reading Hystories was the first completely theoretical statement on the issue by an Englishman, though Blundeville added little to his sources, Francesco Patrizzi and Giacomo Aconcio.¹ Both were sixteenth-century Italian humanists; the Protestant Aconcio had himself spent his last years in Leicester's service.² Blundeville's ideas were all entirely representative of humanist historical theory, and the True order provides a particularly clear statement of Tudor ideas of history and the domain of the historian.

Drawing first on Patrizzi, Blundeville asserts that politics is the proper province of the historian. The history of a city or country should proceed from its beginning to its end, 'bycause every thing hath hys beginning, augmentacion, state, declinacion, and ende'. Historical change,

1 T. Blundeville, The true order and methode of wryting and reading Hystories (1574), ed. H.G. Dick, H.L.Q., I (1940), 149-170. The tract was based on F. Patrizzi, Della Historia Diece Dialoghi (Venice, 1560) and G. Aconcio, Delle osservationi et avvertimenti che haver si debbono nel legger delle historie, an unpublished manuscript (P.R.O., SP12/34/53) now printed in Aconcio, De methodo e opuscoli religiosi e filosofici ed. Giorgio Radetti (Florence, 1944) pp.305-313. Blundeville appears to have derived the idea of a 'method' not from Bodin but from the latter's master Ramus, via Aconcio, who was one of Ramus's correspondents, ibid. p.409.

2 Blundeville, True order, p.152.

like life, occurred in cycles. The state was a body and the history should be its biography, dealing with 'the trade of lyfe, the publique revenewes, the force, & the maner of gouvernement'.¹ Blundeville was not advocating a complete history in the sense of one that took cultural and social change into account. His mind was fixed firmly in the life cycle of the organic civitas understood as a purely political entity. 'Hystories bee made of deedes done by a publique weale, or agaynst publique weale, and such deedes, be eyther deedes of warre, of peace, or else of sedition and conspiracy.'² This is to be the history of great men, for their lives help one understand the six Aristotelian kinds of government into which mankind has organised itself: monarchy, aristocracy and polity and their perversions, tyranny, oligarchy and mob-rule.

All those persons whose lyves have beene such as are to bee followed for their excellencie in vertue, or else to be fledde for their excellencie in vice, are meete to be chronicled. And if they were publique personages or governours, then they are to be considered in as many divers ways, as there be divers kindes of gouvernement. Whereof according to Aristotle, there be six.³

An historical event occurs in the finite dimensions of space and time, and the historian should, therefore, be precise as to both. He must also be accurate and truthful, or he is no historian, but a storyteller. He must accurately describe the causes and outcomes of events, 'without either augmenting or diminishing them, or swarving one iota from the truth'. The writer should even avoid constructing set speeches for his character.⁴

1 Blundeville, True order, p. 155.

2 Ibid., p. 156.

3 Ibid., p.159: even a Platonist like Patrizzi analysed history within an Aristotelian political framework: Beatrice Reynolds, 'Shifting Currents in Historical Criticism', J.H.I., XIV (1953), 471-491, esp. pp. 484-487.

4 Blundeville, True order, pp. 157, 164.

Aconcio, whose Della osservationi forms the second part of Blundeville's treatise, presents three reasons why histories are worth reading. Though it may be argued that histories 'winne fame' for the writer and provide a pleasant pastime for the reader, their 'chiefe & principall' functions are didactic:

First that we may learne thereby to acknowledge the providence of God, wherby all things are governed and directed. Secondly, that by the examples of the wise, we maye learne wisdom wysely to behave our selves in all our actions, as well private as publique, both in time of peace and warre.

Thirdly, that we maye be stirred by example of the good to followe the good, and by example of the evill to flee the evill.¹

At this point, Blundeville's tract becomes much more interested in the providential aspect of history, departing somewhat from Patrizzi's focus on the worldly life cycles of the state.² The reader should learn, by past example, how to act on this earth, and he should note the role of God in events, 'for what causes and by what meanes hee overthroweth one kingdome & setteth up an other'.³ The two interlock, for the deeds of man are ultimately also those of God.

Nothing new takes place under the sun, and nothing is mere accident. 'God by his providence useth, when he thinketh good, to worke marveylous effects.... Nothing is done by chaunce, but all things by his foresight, counsell and divine providence.'⁴ Blundeville is equally

1 Blundeville, True order, p. 165.

2 'la providenza del grande Iddio nel governo di tutte le cose riconoscere.'. Ibid., p.150 n.7, and Aconcio, Della osservationi, p. 306.

3 Blundeville, True order, p.165.

4 Ibid. James VI of Scotland recommended his son to read histories: 'By reading of authenticke histories and chronicles, yee shall learne experience by theoricke, applying the by-past things to the present estate, quia nihil novum sub sole.' Basilicon Doron, in Political Works of James I, ed. C.H. McIlwain (N.Y., 1965), p.40.

emphatic that one does not study historical facts for their own sake.

'I can not tell whyther I may deryde, or rather pittie, the great follie of those which having consumed all theyr lyfe tyme in hystories, doe know nothing in the ende, but the discents, genealogies, and petygrees of noble men, and when such a King or Emperour raigned, & such lyke stuff....'¹ Again, this is nothing more than his readers expected to hear.

History was the record of the process of change over time, as it occurred in nature, of which society is part. All nature is beneath God and subject to mutability, a general tendency to change. Only God, above nature, escapes the corrosion of time. As Spenser put it, 'nothing here long standeth in one stay'.²

Engrained in the Elizabethan mind were two seemingly contradictory notions of the movement of time. The Judaeo-Christian tradition taught, via Revelation, that all events proceeded in a straight line, from Creation to Apocalypse. Certain classical writers asserted a different pattern, based on the cycles observable in nature. Types of government not only grew and declined: one type tended to change into another, said the Greek historian Polybius, in a predictable anacyclosis.³ Humanists like Blundeville had no difficulty synthesising these two streams. The

1 Blundeville, True order, p.170; Dean, Tudor Theories of History Writing, p.6.

2 Spenser, Faery Queene, VII, vii, 47. (Works of Edmund Spenser, ed. E. Greenlaw et al. Baltimore, 1932-1949, vol. VI, p.177); A.B. Ferguson, Clio Unbound, pp. 384-7; Herschel Baker, The Race of Time (Toronto, 1967), ch.1; H. Weisinger, 'Ideas of History During the Renaissance', J.H.I., VI (1945), 415-435; R. Chapman, 'Fortune and Mutability in Elizabethan Literature', Cambridge Journal, V (1952), 374-382.

3 C.A. Patrides, The Grand Design of God (1972); J.G.A. Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment (Princeton and London, 1975), ch. III, pp.49-80; above all, G.W. Trompf, The Idea of Historical Recurrence in Western Thought (Berkeley, 1979), ch. 2 (Polybius), ch. 5 (the Renaissance).

Judaeo-Christian view, as Trompf has shown, was itself not strictly linear; the very concept of divine judgement rewarding and punishing individuals, and of the rise and fall of empires and cities, reveals the Christian time scheme as a spiral rather than a straight line. Nor was the idea of historical recurrence confined to classical writers.¹ Renaissance practitioners of history like Sir Walter Raleigh, as much as theorists like Blundeville, drew eclectically on Moses and Polybius, Fortuna and providence.

Both systems of time were equally deterministic. Events were fixed and unchanging, points pre-plotted on a timetable. Whether one adhered to a view of time as proceeding from Creation to Apocalypse, during which period God foreknew and ordained the death of every sparrow, or to a view according to which the same events and even specific personae recurred, time and time again, there was little room for the irrational. In their Renaissance forms, the Christian and classical views of time, as much as of space, are both 'closed systems' in which man's actions affect only man and not the ultimate outcome of events, except insofar as they are immediate instruments of a higher plan. Put simply, history in the Renaissance was not the realm of the contingent or the irrational. Even the completely unexpected was foreshadowed, if one could but read the signs.²

'It may seem to you that there is contingency in human affairs,' argued Melanchthon, 'but in this idea, rational judgement must be overruled.' He believed that 'all things come to pass according to divine purpose'.³ Yet strange things seemed to happen in history. Why did

1 This is the persuasive thesis of Trompf, Historical Recurrence, pp. 116-178; cf. C.R. North, The Old Testament Interpretation of History (1946), p.124.

2 Hence the popularity of almanacs, which plotted history generally into the future, and of attempts to project apocalyptic history into the future. Both would have been impossible if writers assumed an open-ended future.

3 Melanchthon, Loci Communes, trans. C.L. Hill (Boston, 1944), pp.74, 81.

Alexander the Great and Henry V sicken and die at the peak of their powers? How was Henry VII able to defeat a skilful and ruthless usurper? Why did men like Thomas Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell, on top of the wall at one moment, suddenly pitch over and shatter at its foot? The manifest occurrence of unpredictable, unlikely events was a Sphinx's riddle.

Generally, the irrational was rationalised as 'fortune', 'fate' or 'chance' and traditionally personified as the unpredictable medieval goddess Fortuna, whose womanly whims determined the rise and fall of men and nations, and the outcome of battles. Yet fortune herself was, if unfathomable by man, essentially rational, and could occasionally be mastered, as Machiavelli put it, by a strong man who knew not to rely on her.¹ As Philosophy told Boethius, fortune is always, by nature, 'constant to her own inconstancy'.² Fortune was not the realm of chance, in the sense of an existential randomness of events; it was only man's admission that human faculties could not grasp all the data necessary to predict an event. One could deny the mere accident by ascribing the apparently accidental to an external force which could humble the mightiest at the bat of an eyelid. 'Fortun's a right whore,' complains Lodovico, opening Webster's The White Devil. 'If she gives ought, she deales it in smal percels, that she may take away all at one swope.'³

Fortune provided a mode of explanation of events which could easily be reconciled with and subordinated to her Christian counterpart, providence. Edward Hall, addressing the deposition of Richard II, asked, 'But O Lord, what is the mutabilitee of fortune?' It was a rhetorical question. Fortune was the divine instrument which determined Richard's

1 Machiavelli, The Prince, ch. XXV (trans. G. Bull, 1961, pp.130-33).

2 Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy, II, i, 35-60 (trans. S.J. Tester, 2nd ed., 1973, pp.177-78), Basil Willey, The Seventeenth Century Background (N.Y., 1953), pp.11-16. In general see Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (1971), pp.90ff, 144, 784f.

3 John Webster, The White Devil, I, i. 4-5 (Complete Works of John Webster, ed. F.L. Lucas, 1927, vol. IV, p.111).

fall, and she was fickle only in the eye of the human beholder. Similarly, Henry V was 'a capitaine against whom fortune never frowned nor mischance once spurned'. Hall blamed Henry's untimely death on 'cruel Atropos' but had the pious warrior thank God 'for that chiefly that he called him out of this miserable life at suche tyme when he was of most perfite remembraunce bothe towarde God and the world'.¹ In the anonymous play Edward III (1596), King John begs 'Sweet Fortune' to turn. Edward III, victorious over him, thanks

Just-dooming Heaven, whose secret providence
To our gross judgment is inscrutable.²

Raphael Holinshed could speak both of 'the Lords vengeance' on the house of York, and of Richard III's 'misfortune and unluckinesse'. Fortune's fickleness is the unifying theme in the stories making up the popular Mirror for Magistrates. The ghost of the earl of Salisbury, 'chaunceably slayne with a piece of ordinaunce' muses that 'this Goddes gideth al the game'.³ Henry VI, imprisoned after his fall, subordinates fortune to God:

Woulde god the day of birth had brought me to my beere,
Than had I never felt the chaunge of Fortunes cheere....
But god doth gide the world, and every hap by skill.
Our wit and willing power are payased by his will.⁴

Map-maker and antiquary John Norden asserted that 'naught befallles, but by supernall hest'.⁵ To subordinate fortune/chance to God or to providence was not simply convenient, but necessary in the context of a Christian cosmology in which God was accepted as omnipotent First Cause. It is significant that Guicciardini, amid the turmoil of sixteenth-century

1 Edward Hall, Hall's Chronicle (1809), pp. 15, 112.

2 The raigne of King Edward the third, III.i.124; iv.136, in Elizabethan History Plays ed. W.A. Armstrong (1965); F.J. Levy, Tudor Historical Thought, pp.175-177; E.M.W. Tillyard, Shakespeare's History Plays (1980, 1st ed., 1944), pp.40-50; H.A. Kelly, Divine Providence in the England of Shakespeare's Histories (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), passim.

3 R. Holinshed, Chronicles (1587), vol. III, 760-61; The Mirror for Magistrates, ed. Lily Bess Campbell (Cambridge, 1938), p.143, l.5.

4 Mirror, pp.213, ll.17-18, 37-38.

5 J. Norden, Vicissitudo Rerum (1600), stanza 28.

Florence, probably came closer than anyone to a theory of history in which fortune really was Polybius' random Tyche, but his English translator still turned fortune into the rational Christian providence.¹ Henry Carey, Lord Leppington, scrupulously explained the intent of the Italian historian he was translating:

Where the author names Princes in wicked actions, he means Tyrants; and where he writes of Fortune, he understands her to bee a Cause unknowne to us; which as all others depend upon God, the cause of all causes.²

The Elizabethans and their successors took it for granted that the sins of the wicked were punished on earth as they were in heaven. Providence, like fortune, was the instrument of God, by which his will was done. Holinshed had described the fall of the House of York as the product of divine revenge on its bloodshed in the Wars of the Roses. 'For such is Gods justice, to leave no unrepentant wickednesse unpunished.'³ Richard III was almost unanimously believed to have fought a lost cause.⁴ God wanted him dead, and in the words of lawyer and antiquary Sir John Dodderidge, 'raised up Henry Earle of Richmond... to [execute] justice upon that unnaturall and bloody usurper'.⁵ Edward Ayscu ascribed the English victory over the Scots at the battle of Musselborough in 1550 to divine intervention. 'God gave the victory to the Englishmen, onelie by the working of his divine power, and not by either power or pollicie of man.'⁶

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- 1 Providence, not fortune, ordains the death of Alexander VI in Geffray Fenton, trans. The historie of Guiccardin (1579), p.308. Fenton does retain fortune in its more formulaic usage, e.g. p.685. Cf. Patrides Grand Design of God, p.73; Myron P. Gilmore, Humanists and Jurists (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp.1-60.
 - 2 V. Malvezzi, Romulus and Tarquin, trans. Henry Carey (1637), p.144.
 - 3 Holinshed, Chronicles, III, 761.
 - 4 For the exception, Sir George Buck, see below, ch. IV, sec. iii.
 - 5 J. Dodderidge, The historie of the antient and modern estate of the principality of Wales (1630), p.28.
 - 6 Edward Ayscu, A historie contayning the warres, treaties, marriages, betweene England & Scotland (1607), p.318.

Whether a writer used fortune, fate, providence or any combination of these to explain the causes and the outcome of historical events, the result was the same. The course of history was predetermined. Every cycle of nations and dynasties from the Ptolemies to the Plantagenets was foreknown by God. In most cases, this determinism did not occasion a discussion of free will, though Edward Ayscu explicitly adopted Boethius' idea of the nunc stans, the eternal now, to explain how God perceives all time at an instance. 'But he, that seeth the state of all things and time at one instant, knoweth what is fittest to be admitted in every season, and disposeth of the successe, of all that man purposeth, to the best advantage of such as serve him.'¹ Sir Walter Raleigh applied the same idea in his History of the World.²

ii) The Causal Framework.

Tudor historians, like their European precursors of the early Renaissance, worked within a framework of concepts which was fundamentally Aristotelian. Blundeville's belief in history as a record of and guide to the fluctuations of states, within the six Aristotelian categories, has already been indicated. His view of causation, of how events take place, is similarly Aristotelian, though, like fortune, christianised in a Thomist rather than strictly classical form.

Causation is fourfold. An event has efficient, material, formal and final causes. In the case of a great historical event, such as a war or peace treaty, the material cause is 'the matter wheron the doer worketh, the deede of peace, of warre, or of sedicion'. The formal cause is 'the meanes and maner of doing'; the 'cause efficient is the doer

¹ Ayscue, Historie, p. 321.

² Sir Walter Raleigh, The History of the World (1614), I, i. secs. xii-xiv (pp.17-19); Boethius, Consolation of Philosophy, V, iii, 20-100; V, vi, 60-75 (ed.cit. pp. 397-401, 427).

himselfe'. The final cause was particularly important to Patrizzi/Blundeville as the motive or end for which an event takes place: 'and note here, that by the cause, I meane the ende'. These causes are the animating forces in the world, and hence in history.¹ Behind all these causes lay the cause of them all: the First Cause is God, as the section on Blundeville taken from Aconcio reveals. It is by 'the providence of God [that] all things are governed and directed'.²

Important as was the efficient cause, historians were equally concerned with the final cause of events, the end or purpose for which they were ordained, and the consequences to which they led. Thus the victory of Henry Tudor at the battle of Bosworth Field had four sorts of subordinate causes. God, the first cause, wished the usurper Richard III destroyed. He accomplished this through secondary efficient causes, like Henry himself. Material causes included Stanley's defection to Richmond's side, and 'accidental' events like Richard's legendary fall from his horse. The formal cause was the battle itself, the scene in which all the matter was given shape. The final cause was the purpose for which the victory had been ordained, the union of the two houses.

English writers seldom delineated these causes as explicitly as Blundeville in practice, but this is the way they perceived history. That is to say, their view of history, like Aristotle's view of nature, since it ascribed movement to a final cause, was teleological; they wrote history teleologically. Edward Hall entitled his work The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke because the union itself, the restoration of order, was the focal event, the natural

1 Blundeville, True order, p.157.

2 Ibid., p.165; Thomas Aquinas, Summa Contra Gentiles, I, 49, 2 (trans. Anton Pegis, Notre Dame, 1955, p.180); Willey, Seventeenth Century Background, p.22; R. Weil, 'Aristotle's View of History' in Articles on Aristotle, 2: Ethics and Politics, ed. J. Barnes et al. (1977), pp.202-217; Hajo Holborn, 'Greek and Modern Concepts of History', J.H.I., X (1949), 3-29.

point towards which the conflicts of the fifteenth century progressed.¹ Neither Hall nor any other Tudor historian ever asked the question, 'What if Henry VII had lost the battle?' because such questions were absurd. The fates of Henry VII and Richard III had long been laid down, and they worked to God's purpose, which was the restoration of order in England after a chastening century of anarchy. For the Tudor historian and playwright, Henry VII's victory and the Tudor dynasty were inevitable.

iii) The Reasons for Studying History

As indicated in Blundeville's work, Tudor historians saw their function as educative. The history taught God's presence in time, and it taught men how to behave in all kinds of situations. Richard Grafton urged the rising Robert Dudley in 1563 to read history for two reasons:

Beside many profitable causes... for which histories have bene written, the chieftest in polecie is this, that the examples in tymes passed are good lessons for tyme to come: But the principall commoditie in the highest respecte is the settinge foorth of the course of Godds doinges, and in disposing the estates of men to the advauncement of his glorie.²

Cicero had called history the magistra vitae and lux veritatis because from history one learned by example what philosophers taught only by precept.³ Sir Thomas Elyot believed history was an excellent medium for the communication of experience. 'The knowledge of this Experience is called Example, and is expressed by historie, whiche of Tulli is called the life of memorie.' Again, the writer sees secular history as the

1 Hall, Chronicle, 'Introduccion', pp.1-3; Tillyard, Shakespeare's History Plays, pp.43-45.

2 R. Grafton, An abridgement of the Chronicles of England (1563), sig. Bii.

3 Cicero, De oratore, II.36 (ed. E.W. Sutton, 1942, p.307).

fluctuation of states:

For it nat onely reporteth the gestes or actes of princes or capitaynes, their counsayles and attemptates, entreprises, affaires, maners in lyvinge good and bad, descriptions of regions and cities, with their inhabitants, but also it bringeth to our knowledge the fourmes of sondry publike weales with their augmentations and decayes and occasion thereof.

Roger Ascham similarly asserted that 'surely one example is more valuable, both to good and ill, than twenty precepts written in books'. Because similar situations tend to repeat themselves, histories are instructive, 'and breed staid judgment in taking like matter in hand'.¹

Time after time this didactic function was stressed, and it had not in the least declined in the next century. An anonymous writer recommended in 1619 that the would-be courtier be a 'well-red Historian', for history was more instructive than philosophy.² Richard Brathwait offered the earl of Southampton a statement almost indistinguishable from Blundeville's forty years earlier. History is 'the compendiarie director of affaires'. It should concentrate on principal events, not 'impertinent circumstances' and 'frivolous tales'. Brathwait suggested that history was particularly instructive for statesmen, teaching them principles of justice and law.³ Robert Powell used biblical rather than classical examples of 'the lives of good and bad subjects', but still quoted Cicero's old saw: 'History is the Herauld of Antiquity and the life of time, and well deserves Cicero his appellation, Magistrum [sic] vitae'.⁴

1 Sir Thomas Elyot, The Boke named the gouvernour (1531) ed. H.H.S. Croft (1880), vol.II, 384, 386; Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster (1570) in Whole Works of Roger Ascham, ed. J.A. Giles (1864), III, 142, 229.

2 A.D.B., The court of the most illustrious James the first (1619), pp. 46, 160.

3 R. Brathwait, The Schollers medley (1614), sig. A3v, p.3.

4 R. Powell, The Life of Alfred, or Alured (1634), Preface, no. sig.

Histories also deterred evil deeds in great men, for the historian would ensure that these outlived the doer. Fama mala, depicted as a foully spotted trumpeter in the wonderfully graphic frontispiece to Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, was a creature to be feared by those who wished to be celebrated, not excoriated, by posterity.¹ In this way, history maintained the connection between a mortal and the future, rescuing him from oblivion. Sir John Hayward pointed out that as well as life on earth and in heaven, great men could expect a 'life of fame' through history.²

The principal consequence of this utilitarian theory of historiography was a lack of interest in establishing the truth of the past for its own sake, through the cumulative process of research, selection, interpretation and argument. When the historian spoke of the 'truth' of histories, he meant their moral as much as their factual verity. The flowing rhetoric of the Italian historians who imitated Livy was calculated to inculcate 'true' principles of behaviour in readers by entertaining and persuading them. In these terms, inventing fictional speeches for characters in a narrative was entirely permissible, and was a practice endorsed by the great 'modernist', Francis Bacon. Sir Philip Sidney had his doubts: he asked what the difference was between a fable and a fact if both taught the same moral.³ The lesson drawn from the event was more important than the event itself, a point driven home by the glosses to

1 Raleigh, History of the World (1614), frontispiece (see Fig.I:1 below, p. 45); L.B. Campbell, Shakespeare's Histories (San Marino, Cal., 1947), p.80; E.B. Benjamin, 'Fame, Poetry and the Order of History in the Literature of the English Renaissance', Studies in the Renaissance, VI (1959), 64-84.

2 J. Hayward, Lives of the III Normans (1613), sig. A2v.

3 Sir Philip Sidney, A defense of poetry (1580?), in Miscellaneous Prose of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. K. Duncan-Jones and J. van Dorsten (Oxford, 1973), p.89.

Simon Goulart's Admirable and memorable histories which highlighted 'Ruines, strang, pitifull and wonderfule' and the fate of traitors, thieves and vagabonds.¹ Even if one eschewed the set speech, as did William Camden, and sought, through diligent research in records and manuscripts, to paint the picture of the past as accurately as possible, the end was not historical truth per se, but some external purpose: panegyric of a dead or living king or nobleman; entertainment; or the edification of the reader.

iv) Disagreement, opinion and controversy

Because sixteenth-century historians were not particularly interested in advancing historical knowledge to greater levels of accuracy and sophistication, they did not often quarrel over their subject. There was no dialectical clash of ideas in Tudor historiography, on a regular basis, and there were very few major historical controversies. This is a point which, perhaps more than any other, separates the modern structure of historiography from theirs, and it is impossible to overstate its importance.²

Historians saw no need for debate. By the end of the sixteenth century a nebula of stereotyped opinions and topoi about the character of past kings and nobles, about the causes and consequences of great events and about the whole course of history from the Creation to the present, had hardened into a rigid orthodoxy. By this I do not mean that every historian and antiquary agreed on every point, which was

1 S. Goulart, Admirable and memorable histories, trans. E. Grimeston (1607), sig. b2.

2 There is no shortage of surveys of Tudor historiography, though none make this particular point. W.R. Trimble, 'Early Tudor Historiography, 1485-1548', J.H.I., XI (1950), 30-41, hints at the establishment of an historiographical consensus. Whibley, 'Chroniclers and Historians', p.3, remarks on the similarity of Tudor histories: 'not so much separate works as variations of the same legend'.

manifestly not the case, particularly where the thin data of 'antiquity', the distant past, were concerned. Nevertheless, there was fundamental agreement on the main points of English and classical history: that England had always been or had had a tendency toward monarchical government, that certain kings were good or bad, that evil deeds had a 'boomerang' effect, and that certain types of human activity had generally proven beneficial, and others disastrous.

Individual historical figures became associated with particular vices or virtues, accomplishments or failure, and were judged good or bad on this basis. For certain English kings the jury was unanimous. Henry VII was uniformly (and necessarily, under the Tudors) considered a good king, Richard III the archetypal tyrant. Edward I and Henry V were successful, Edward II a failure. On most there was a somewhat wider range of opinion. Richard II was generally seen as a bad, or at least badly misled king; but hindsight showed that Henry IV's usurpation had more dire consequences in the long run, as Polydore Vergil and Edward Hall had revealed. Once a number of influential histories had been produced in the early Tudor years, and were popularised by the relatively new medium of print, it was far easier to imitate than to question them. While one might take issue with a particular opinion of fact - whether Richard II was stabbed or smothered, the number of men killed at the Battle of Hastings, or the motives of Queen Isabel in helping to dethrone Edward II, no one ever questioned the fundamental 'facts' of history, nor sought to reshape them into an innovative interpretation.¹ To coin a term, there was often 'second-order' refinement and rejection of facts

1 The major exception to this is King John, who began the 16th century as a persecutor of the church and killer of his nephew, and was then turned into a proto-protestant, anti-papal hero by John Bale's King Johan and Foxe's Acts and Monuments, two obviously different views. By the time of Shakespeare's King John, the two opinions had merged somewhat, but there was no consensus as to whether he was a good or bad king. See Campbell, Shakespeare's Histories, pp. 132, 140ff; cf. Butterfield, The Englishman and his History, p.24.

(though historians even resented doing this), within a wider framework, but almost never did there occur 'first-order' disagreement, shifts away from one set of beliefs or assumptions to another.

In fact, the sixteenth-century historian did not construct 'interpretations' at all; nor did he very often criticise colleagues (sources were another matter) and revise his own views, because he simply did not know that 'interpretations' existed. The word is never used in the sense in which we intend, that is, a coherent explanation of a related and sequential series of historical facts. On rare occasions, a writer would criticise another's factual inaccuracy, as Ralph Brooke attacked William Camden for genealogical slips in the latter's Britannia, or as John Stow quarrelled with Richard Grafton over the latter's failure to list his sources.¹ Polydore Vergil was attacked by English and Welsh writers for debunking the British history of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the legends of Brutus the Trojan and King Arthur.² The indignation of Geoffrey's defenders, from John Leland in the 1530s to George Saltern in the 1600s, reveals that anyone who challenged existing beliefs was, prima facie, not seen as brave and original - just wrong.

The word 'opinion' was used quite commonly to describe a view of a particular fact. Thomas Lake spoke of 'three common opinions' in his sources on the origins of sterling money.³ In his and the writings of other Elizabethan antiquaries, one does find evidence of different opinions; the antiquaries recognised the conflicting testimony of their sources. But they did not debate among themselves, nor did they resolve

1 R. Brooke, A discoverie of certaine errours (1596); Stow made a collection of materials against faults in Richard Grafton's chronicle, B.L. MS Harl. 367, fos. 1-4, 11.

2 T.D. Kendrick, British Antiquity (1970, 1st ed., 1950), pp.78-98; Levy, Tudor Historical Thought, pp. 130-33.

3 T. Lake, 'Of sterling money' (1590) in T. Hearne, A Collection of Curious Discourses, ed. J. Ayloffe (1775), I, 10. Camden speaks of (and questions) the 'receaved opinion' that Joseph of Arimathea was the first Christian in England, *ibid.*, II, 165.

any of the issues they discussed.¹ Moreover, as we have suggested, antiquarian erudition did not count as history, though it could be used in its writing, because it did not reveal the workings of providence, and taught no valuable lessons.²

Generally, historians preferred to follow the leader. Originality in historical thought was no more a virtue than innovative religious opinion. The Renaissance concept of a single, unitary truth did not allow a subjective element, at least in theory.³ Insofar as human knowledge could grasp it, a fact was a fact. In sixteenth-century religious debates, one could either doubt an opponent's sincerity or his evidence. There was no question of allowing each man his opinion on an issue, of 'agreeing to differ'. There was only one truth in religion, absolute and immutable, and the enemies of that truth were the enemies of religious unity. John Jewel commented that 'the bond of unity is simple verity'.⁴

So in history. Scholars of the Italian and French Renaissances deplored the deficiencies of chronicles and histories, which disagreed in their accounts of the same event. The task facing the Elizabethan author was not the discovery of new facts, nor the reweaving of the old

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- 1 A fact of which one of their number, Arthur Agard, complained. Hearne, Curious Discourses, II, 160, and below, ch. VII, sec. i, p.243.
 - 2 Sir John Coke recommended to Fulke Greville that he choose a proper historian to occupy his chair of history at Cambridge: 'Whereas if you plant but a critical antiquarie instead of an historian, nothing can bee more unthrifitie nor vaine.' Coke to Greville, 15 Sept. 1615, in N. Farmer (ed.), 'Fulke Greville and Sir John Coke: an Exchange of Letters on a History Lectureship and Certain Latin Verses on Sir Philip Sidney', H.L.Q., XXXIII (1969-70), 217-36, 220f.
 - 3 Isaiah Berlin, 'The Divorce between the Sciences and the Humanities' in Against the Current, ed. Henry Hardy (Oxford, 1981), p.87.
 - 4 Jewel, An Apology... of the church of England, in Works, ed. J. Ayre (Cambridge, Parker Society, 1848) III, 69; Conrad Russell, 'Arguments for Religious Unity in England, 1530-1650', J.Eccles.H., XVIII (1967), 201-226, pp. 202, 225.

into new cloth, but the harmonising of conflicting accounts. Edmund Campion observed in 1571, when most of his sources agreed on a particular issue, 'they are in effect one writer, seeing the latest ever borrowed of the former, and they all of [Giraldus] Cambrensis'.¹ Camden, writing to Justus Lipsius in 1604, confronted the problem of Constantine the Great's birth in Britain. 'All histories', he observed, 'in one voice assert that he was born in Britain, except the two Greeks, Cedrenus and Nicephoras.' He believed that objective, if not absolute and perfect, historical truth was, however, obtainable, refusing to take a Pyrrhonist stand. One simply has to use common sense and choose between sources. 'The truth of history, and its reliability, is supported since most historians agree in their accounts.'²

One reason why the questioning of accepted historical opinions continued to cause discomfort was that it seemed to play into the hands of sceptics like the anti-intellectual Cornelius Agrippa and his English reader, Philip Sidney, who, though he saw some value in the political lessons of history, denied the possibility of accurate historical knowledge. 'Laden with old mouse-eaten records', the historian wastes his time sorting through histories which are themselves based on hearsay and which often disagree. If two opinions were equally plausible, how could one know the truth?³ Richard Mountagu would fling this charge at Selden

1 Edmund Campion in James Ware (ed.) Two Histories of Ireland (1633), p.21.

2 'Historici omnes, qui de loco natali Constantini max. scripserunt, una voce, praeter duos Graeculos, Cedrenum & Nicephorum, in Britannia natum asserunt: & historiae fides ut certa favenda, cum in idem plures ut testes consentiunt.' Camden to Lipsius, 18 Aug. 1604, Camdeni Epistolae, p.64.

3 Sidney, Defence of Poetry, ed. cit., p.83; Charles G. Nauert, Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought (Urbana, Ill., 1965), pp.299, 326; Agrippa's Of the vanitie and uncertaintie of artes and sciences was translated by James Sandford in 1569; F.J. Levy, 'Sir Philip Sidney and the Idea of History', Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, XXVI (1964), 608-17; A.C. Hamilton, 'Sidney and Agrippa', Rev. Eng. Stud. n.s. VII (1956) 151-57.

in 1618 over the latter's Historie of tithes.¹ In 1611, Robert Chester's Annals of Great Brittain, an Arthurian romance, complained that 'there yet remaines in this doubtfull age of opinions a controversie of that esteemed Prince of Brittain'.² Richard Brathwait remarked approvingly on 'the generall union of Historians, about the time, place, and occasion, so concordantly jumping, as if all... had beene set downe by one penne'. He added that most modern historians agreed on most things with their predecessors. 'The like harmony of Historians in their Relations, though writ in severall ages, may be gathered from the Annals both of antient and our more moderne authors.'³ Brathwait suggested that the conflicting facts in some histories could be harmonised by 'a judicious collation or comparing of Histories one with another'.⁴ He clearly believed that one historical truth existed objectively, just waiting to be seized upon and set down. He urged the reconciliation of divers opinions, for 'Opinion is a maine opponent to judgement'. He could not conceal his disgust that 'the very chieftest Historians have opposed themselves one against another' on some points of fact.⁵

What was lacking in Tudor and early Stuart historiography was a reason for divergent points of view. History, except ecclesiastical history, had yet to be associated with ideological and political conflict. In France, the wars of religion had resulted in a flood of historical

1 See below, ch. VIII, sec. ii, p.291.

2 R. Chester, Annals of Great Brittain (1611), p.34.

3 R. Brathwait, A survey of history (1638), p.241. The Survey was an expansion of Brathwait's Schollers medley (1614).

4 Brathwait, Schollers medley, p.28.

5 Ibid., p.104. Brathwait's examples are all classical, not contemporary.

writing and in bitter clashes among historians and scholars. By contrast, English historians, in the waning days of Elizabeth I, had little to get excited about.¹ They all agreed on essentials, and wrote from an ideologically unified perspective, that of the Tudor monarchy. Whether William I was a conqueror or not had not yet become an issue of importance. Antiquaries, chroniclers and historians all agreed that he had won England by the sword.² They also agreed that evil was repaid with evil. The standard account of English history after Edward II was built around the metahistorical pattern whereby every successive dynasty was destroyed in the third generation. Edward III's grandson was deposed by Henry IV, as was the latter's grandson, Henry VI; Edward IV's third successor, Richard III, was also deposed.³ William I's spoliation of the New Forest in Hampshire was properly requited when two of his sons perished there.

These historical patterns depended on the assumption that events periodically recurred. So did people, as Plutarch's parallel lives, translated by Sir Thomas North in 1579, so clearly demonstrated. Elizabeth I was hypersensitive to comparisons between herself and Richard II. Henry VII was compared with Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, by Charles Aleyn in 1638.⁴ William Harbert's A Prophecie of Cadwallader (1604) and Robert

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- 1 There is nothing in Elizabethan or early Stuart secular historiography even in the Tithes controversy, which quite compares with the Huguenot François Hotman's opinion of his Catholic opponent, Papire Masson, as 'a renegade Jesuit and hired sycophant, who should be taken to the asylum of Saint Mathurin in Paris, where maniacs are cared for, and put to death by whipping'. Hotman, Francogallia (1573), ed. R.E. Giesey and trans. J.H.M. Salmon (Cambridge, 1972), p.371.
 - 2 Hearne, Curious Discourses, I, 286 (Dodderidge), 303f. (Camden); E. Evans, 'Of the Antiquity of Parliaments in England: Some Elizabethan and Early Stuart Opinions', History, new series XXIII (1938-39) 207-221 reveals that even Sir Henry Spelman and Sir Robert Cotton did not 'challenge' popular opinion; Q. Skinner, 'History and Ideology in the English Revolution', Historical Journal, 8 (1965), 151-178.
 - 3 Tillyard, Shakespeare's History Plays, pp. 59-64.
 - 4 Hist. MSS Comm., 4th Report (1874), col. 300; Campbell, Shakespeare's Histories, p.191; Charles Aleyn, The historie of that wise prince Henrie the seventh (1638), p.56.

Fletcher's The nine English worthies (1606) consisted entirely of Plutarchian comparisons between great English worthies and their classical 'types'.¹ James I was constantly flattered by comparisons with Solomon, Augustus and Henry VII.² Early Stuart panegyrists and historians made much of James' double descent from Henry VII, and described his projected union of the kingdoms as the logical, and inevitable, consequence of the union of the Roses.

v) A Case Study: Raleigh

There is perhaps no better place to begin a study of early Stuart historiography than with Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, the Boethian product of a decade's imprisonment in the Tower under sentence of death. It is in one sense an enigma: it is the only work of its scope produced in the English Renaissance, though European and medieval examples existed aplenty. On the other hand, it is like a gigantic pond in which all the currents of sixteenth century thought merge; it typifies much of what we have said so far about the intellectual framework of historiography. There are no striking innovations. Raleigh was often absurdly uncritical of his sources and inconsistent in his judgements. He planned a history universal in its spatial and temporal range, but ground to a halt in 130 B.C. Raleigh was familiar with a wide selection of continental authors, including some of the foremost French érudits, though he did not share their attitude to the value of archival research. His use of nearly seven hundred writers is commendable for a prisoner,

1 William Harbert, A prophecie of Cadwallader, last king of the Britaines (1604); Robert Fletcher, The nine English worthies (1606).

2 Graham Parry, The Golden Age Restor'd: the Culture of the Early Stuart Court, 1603-1642 (Manchester, 1981), pp. 1-40.

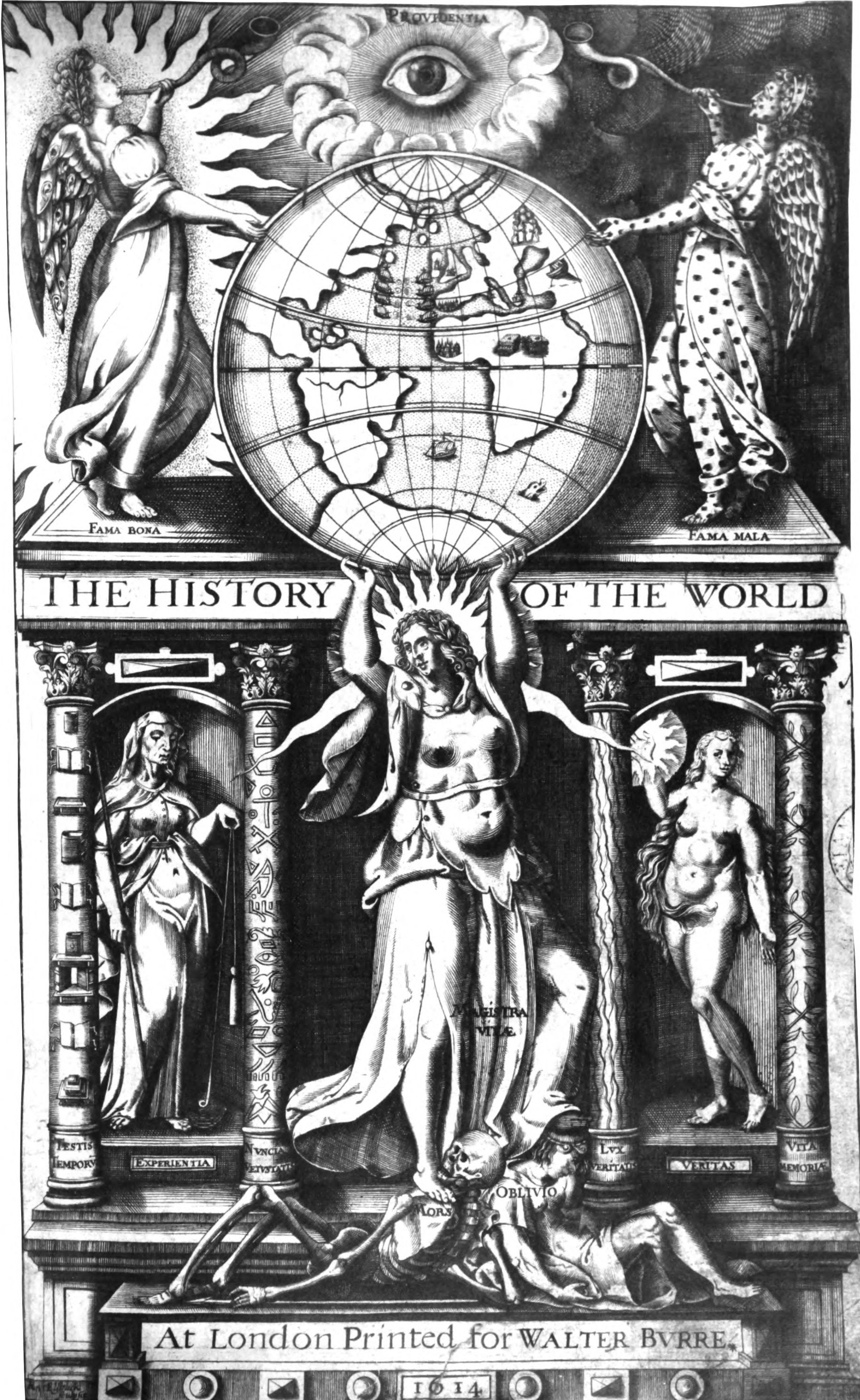
but by no means remarkable. Only four years separates his universal history from John Selden's Historie of tithes, yet the two are worlds apart.¹

The frontispiece to the first edition of the History (Fig. I:1) supposedly designed by Raleigh himself, is a picture worth a thousand pages. Central is the female figure of the magistra vitae, history herself, bearing the world. She is flanked on either side by two winged angels with trumpets, fama bona and fama mala. The title of the work crosses the centre of the page, supported by four columns. Between these stand the figures of experientia and veritas, an old and a young woman respectively. The magistra herself stands on top of a skeleton (death) and a figure of everyman (oblivion). The eye of providence oversees all in a fusion of classical and biblical traditions.

The History begins with Creation and ends, five books and fifteen hundred pages later, with the Roman subjection of Macedonia in 130 B.C. It is neither sacred nor profane history, but both.² Such universal histories were not new. The first had been written in the fourth century by Eusebius, who had also compiled the first chronology to chart synchronously the events of all the great empires of the world. Borrowing

1 William Oldys compiled a list of writers cited in the History for his 1736 reprint, vol. I, no pag., following p.ccl; even more useful is Walter Oakeshott (ed.), 'Sir Walter Raleigh's Library', Library, 5th series, XXIII (1968), 285-327, which includes works of Vignier (no.287), Scaliger (no.402), Jean de Serres (no.82) and three by la Popelinière (nos. 70, 91, 510). Of the plethora of studies of Raleigh or his History, the following have proven especially useful: C.H. Firth, 'Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World', P.B.A. VIII (1918), 427-446; Nadja Kempner, Raleghs Staatstheoretische Schriften: die Einführung des Machiavellismus in England (Leipzig, 1928); T.N. Brushfield, The Bibliography of the 'History of the World' and of the 'Remains' of Sir Walter Raleigh (1886); Ernest Strathmann, Sir Walter Raleigh: a Study in Elizabethan Skepticism (N.Y. 1951), pp. 219-253; C.A. Patrides' introduction to his edition of the History (1971); and Linda Hardy, 'The Idea of Providence in Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World' (Oxford Univ. M. Phil. thesis, 1979). C. Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (Oxford, 1965), ch. IV is fascinating if disputable.

2 Raleigh devotes a section of Book III to the connection between sacred and profane history, especially where the two conflict as to the date of an event. History, III.i.1 (pp. 1-2).



PROVIDENTIA

FAMA BONA

FAMA MALA

THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD

HISTORIA

PESTIS
TEMPORIS

EXPERIENTIA

VINCIA
VIRTUTIS

LUX
VERITATIS

VERITAS

VITA
MEMORIA

MORS

OBLIVIO

At London Printed for WALTER BURRE.

1614

mainly from the more recent chronologies of Beroaldus and Joseph Scaliger, Raleigh appended one of his own, enabling the reader to establish at a glance the date of an individual biblical or historical event and the events taking place elsewhere at the same time.¹

Raleigh's dabblings in the ancient sceptics' writings and his own contribution to the literature had left him with a dim view of the reliability of ancient histories.² However, instead of denying the possibility of historical knowledge outright, he retreats under the handy umbrella of bibliolatry. For him, the Old Testament is an unimpeachable source, and one which relegates all profane histories to supportive positions: 'all Histories must yeeld to Moses'.³ Only when the Hebrew account of the world ends should one turn to pagan histories:

And if any prophane Authour may receive allowance herein, the same must bee with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so farre as the storie of Nations is therein handled, wee must know that both the truth and antiquitie of the book of God finde no companion equall, either in age or authoritie. All record, memorie, and testimonie of antiquitie whatsoever, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath beene borrowed thence, and therefore later then it, as all careful observers of time have noted: among which thus writeth Eusebius in the Proeme of his Chronologie.⁴

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- 1 For the chronological context of Raleigh's work see Katherine R. Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain (Oxford, 1979), pp.180-191; for a very different use of Scaligeran chronology and the principle of synchronism, see below, ch. VII.
 - 2 Raleigh, The Sceptic, in Works (Oxford, 1829) VIII, 548-556; one wonders whether Strathmann, Raleigh, ch. 7, takes this extremely amusing little essay rather too seriously.
 - 3 Raleigh, History, I, viii, 2 (p.130).
 - 4 Ibid.

Profane writers contend endlessly on the antiquity of nations. It is impossible to discern who is right. Where Jean Bodin postulated general rules against which specific claims could be judged, Raleigh, fifty years later, falls back on the scriptures and their commentators, and on chronologers.¹ He does not deny the possibility of human historical knowledge, but it is difficult to reach, and much of the record remains forever wiped clean by the ages. In the place of truth is the unfortunate substitute: 'Opinion, that can travaile the world without a passeport.'²

There are two reasons for studying history says Raleigh, echoing Aconcio. The first is to reveal 'God's judgements upon the greater and the greatest'. Secondly, history is instructive. 'In a word, wee may gather out of History a policy no lesse wise than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-passed miseries; with our owne like errours and ill-deservings.'³ Typically, history is the realm of the definite and preordained, for God's judgements, though they operate in time, exist outside it. 'The judgements of God are for ever unchangeable; neither is he wearied by the long process of time.'⁴

Not only are all events preordained; God's judgements are also consistent. The central theme of the book is that 'Ill doing hath alwaies beene attended with ill successe'.⁵ A brief prefatory essay on English

1 E.g., Ibid., I, viii, 7 (p.143); Bodin, Method, ch. V, p.85: 'Since however, the disagreement among historians is such that some not only disagree with others but even contradict themselves, either from zeal or anger or error, we must make some generalisations as to the nature of all peoples or at least the better known, so that we can test the truth of histories by just standards and make correct decisions about individual instances.' Bodin does not appear in the History or Oakeshott's Library List, but Raleigh would undoubtedly have been familiar with the Methodus and République, at least via their critics, such as la Popelinière.

2 Raleigh, History, 'Preface', sig. Av.

3 Ibid., sig. A2v.

4 Ibid., sig. A3.

5 Ibid., sig. A3.

history since the Norman conquest recounts the by now painfully familiar saga of the misdeeds of English kings and barons. God destroys the children of Henry I for their father's use of 'force, craft, and crueltie' against his older brother Robert. Edward III is criticised for putting his uncle Kent to death. This sin is visited on his grandson by Henry IV whose own grandson is deposed, and so on. The same gloomy tale ends with Henry VII: 'a politicke Prince hee was if ever there were any'. Henry was '(no doubt) the immediate instrument of GODS justice' in destroying the evil Richard III. Cleverly Machiavellian, Henry succeeds in casting blame for his unpopular acts on to his ministers. Yet this politic behaviour still draws the vengeance of God.¹ His grandchildren die heirless. Raleigh's ambivalence to the realpolitik of Machiavelli represents a tension in early Stuart historiography, between the desire to recommend effective worldly policy and the desire to advocate moral behaviour, a tension he never faces directly. Other historians, using their narratives more specifically as media for transmitting political advice to the king, would confront the same problem, and the distance that 'politic' historians had travelled from their moralising forebears appears to have been somewhat overstated.²

The History is full of examples of the rise and fall of individuals and entire nations. Adhering closely to the universal chronicles of the Reformation, such as Carion's chronicle,³ Raleigh has no difficulty at all in reconciling the political life-cycle of growth, stasis and decay

1 Raleigh, History, sig. B-Bv.

2 Raleigh cites approvingly the 'goodlie pollicie' of Machiavelli in History, V, pp. 380, 711; but contradicts Machiavelli on the importance of rulers taking counsel in Maxims of State, Works, VIII, p.16, no. 15. Like Machiavelli, Raleigh confines his discussion in Maxims and History to the six Aristotelian states. On politic history see below, ch. V, and Levy, Tudor Historical Thought, ch. VII.

3 Oakeshott, 'Raleigh's Library', item 294; Firth, Apocalyptic Tradition, 183.

with his belief that all history is a progression. The decline of every nation merely foreshadows the end of the world itself. Thus he reflects on the beginning of Carthage's decline in the first Punic war:

So as this glorious Citie, ranne the same fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and since. The ruine of the goodliest peeces of the world, foreshewes the dissolution of the whole.¹

Raleigh devotes several sections of his first chapter to the relationship between fortune, providence and foresight. 'God foreknew all things before he had created them.'² His solution to the problem of free will is thoroughly traditional: he does little more than paraphrase Boethius. Prescience does not cause things, though it knows them; providence, on the other hand, both foreknows and causes them:

Now providence (which the Greeks call pronoia) is an intellectual knowledge, both foreseeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not only behold all past all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which prescience (simply taken) is not.

Predestination represents a 'special case' of providence confined to men and their salvation.³ Raleigh makes crystal clear the subordination of intermediate causal agents to God in a lengthy section 'Of fortune'. Fortune herself he rejects as 'a power imaginary', constructed out of ignorance, 'as if there were no cause of those things'. Men often use words such as fate or necessity to explain the inexplicable, 'because of many effects there appear unto us no certain causes'.⁴ Raleigh recognised fortune for what it was, a useful means of accounting for apparently random events, but not as an ultimate arbiter of those events.

1 Raleigh, History, V, i.2 (p314); cp. Bodin, Method, pp. 291-302.

2 Raleigh, History, I, i. 13 (p.18).

3 Ibid., I, i.13-14 (pp.18-19); Boethius, Consolation, V, vi. 60-80 (ed. cit., p. 427).

4 Ibid., I, i. 15 (pp.19-22). The 17th-century owner of the Bodleian Library copy of the History (shelfmark K.3.6.Art) writes, p.20, 'Note nothing doon by chance or fortune but by God himself'.

Thus he could continue to use the device himself, just as he could accept the influence of the stars and of fate as 'an obedience of second causes to the First'.¹

The narrative frequently digresses while the author intrudes to draw a comparison or plead a case, always with didactic intent. He answers the question once put by Livy: could Rome have withstood Alexander the Great? The answer is no, and he then asserts that English soldiers are, in any case, better than those of all the ancient states. The great navigator advocates seapower in the ancient world by comparing its benefits in Saxon times and in the days of the Armada. He cannot resist the temptation to justify his own conduct during the Spanish war, and, well aware of the naval rot that had set in by 1614, he points out that England will never be able to resist an invader without seapower.²

When his biblical chart runs out, Raleigh is forced to rely on profane histories. Conscious of the spuriousness of some documents, such as the pseudo-Berosus of Annianus of Viterbo, a fifteenth century forgery purporting to be the work of an ancient Chaldaean sage, he nevertheless uses such material freely to fill in the holes left by more reliable works: 'where other Histories are silent, or speake not enough.'³ It is worse to leave a gap in universal history than to use dubious sources. The loss of many profane sources has rendered absolute certainty impossible. He compares the historian with a geographer mapping territories 'whereof as yet there is made no true discovery'. It would be harmful for a geographer to map territories he does not know. He may drive ships on to rocks, and risks ridicule by future explorers.

1 Raleigh, History, preface, sig. D2; I, i.11 (p.14); V, i. 8 (p.356).

2 Ibid., V.i. 1 (pp.309-14); V, i.9 (p.359); Livy, History of Rome (1914), IX, xvii-xix (trans. Roberts, 1914, vol. II, pp.180-85).

3 Raleigh, History, II, xxiii.4 (p.570); on the pseudo-Berosus see Kendrick, British Antiquity, pp. 71-72.

The historian can do no such physical harm, and he can fill in gaps in ancient accounts by using conjectures arrived at by common sense, since there is no chance that he will be challenged or supplanted by later historians' discoveries.¹

There is a dark element in Raleigh's History which sets him aside from the precursors whom he otherwise resembles so closely. He cannot resist cutting historical legends down to size. One traditionally great figure of history was Regulus, the noble Roman who recommended that the Senate not return its Carthaginian prisoners, and then kept his word by returning to Carthage to meet a horrible death. Raleigh pokes a sceptical finger at the legend, accusing Regulus of *ostentation* and (more perceptively) indicating that the historians who praised him all lived under Roman rule. 'Philinus, the Carthaginian, perhaps did censure it otherwise.'² Henry VIII gets the most critical treatment he had yet received. The hero of Hall's Union and initiator of the Reformation posed a problem. How could one reconcile his many bloody deeds with their pious consequences? Most historians had ignored this problem, of necessity in the reign of Henry's daughter. Raleigh, however, gives Henry his first real drubbing. His crimes, in addition to the decimation of the nobility, include attacking his peaceable nephew James V of Scotland. God repays this deed by ensuring that the Tudors should be superseded by the Stuarts. As with all his 'divine judgements', Raleigh is hopelessly obscure as to their relation to the overall design of history. Would the Tudors continue to rule if Henry VIII had been a pleasant man? In a sense, the question is irrelevant, because Henry's evil deeds, like those of Richard III, are pre-programmed.³ Raleigh's

1 Raleigh, History, II, xxiii.⁴ (pp.573-74).

2 Ibid., V, i.8 (p.356); Philinus was a lost historian of the Carthaginian side who was used by Polybius, History, I.13-64.

3 Raleigh, History, Preface, sig. Bv. Raleigh is 'overkilling' the Tudor here. Henry VII's Machiavellism had already merited the Tudors' extinction before Henry VIII was born. See above, note 1, p.48.

villains are not the masters of their own fate. But ~~neither~~ was any other person in history. How one was supposed to learn valuable lessons from the past when the future was already mapped out, is a tension in the didactic view of historiography that did not resolve itself in Raleigh's day, nor in the rest of the period.

The History of the World was immensely popular. It supposedly aroused the wrath of James I because it was 'too saucy in censuring princes'. It was one thing to criticise 'established' bad monarchs for tyranny, but quite another to issue the blanket condemnation of monarchs (though never of monarchy) which appears in the History. Consequently, the first edition appeared without the author's name.¹ This could not prevent it running into another edition in 1614, four more by 1630 and an abridgement, highlighting the work's apocalyptic scheme, in 1636.² Its popularity was largely due to the fact that it was the only book available in English which reduced all history into a single, relatively coherent narrative, elegantly written. The public could further rely on Raleigh's maps and chronologies, and it fulfilled the expectations of a reader who wished to have an instructive study of the past in which every event could be shown to have an underlying significance. To the Renaissance mind, entranced by notions of cosmic harmony, a history that put everything in its proper place was more than welcome.³

1 C. Firth, 'Raleigh's History of the World', p.442, advances the interesting if unprovable theory that Raleigh's name was excised because he was 'civilly dead' as a convicted traitor. On the 'king/tyrant' distinction and its use in Elizabethan literature see W.A. Armstrong, 'The Elizabethan Conception of the Tyrant', Rev.Eng. Stud., XXII (1946), 161-181.

2 Tubus Historicus (1636); K. Firth, Apocalyptic Tradition, p.185.

3 Another factor may well be its compactness, compared with the bulky Speed and Holinshed who were however, covering a different part of history. As late as 1655, Raleigh was still popular with undergraduates: Raleigh is the only book on history not by a classical author in the book list of one John Legg of Cambridge: Inner Temple Library, Barrington MS 84, fos. 3-7.

Raleigh was, emphatically, not the last of a dying breed, a 'medieval' in a world of emerging modern historiography. The didacticism which permeates his book endured in the theory and practice of historiography until the end of the century, and beyond. Many of the problems he faced, such as the conflict or absence of sources, continue to perplex historians. The major difference between him and most of his successors is that he was simply more articulate about assumptions which they took for granted.

vi) Ideology and Dissent: the case of the Catholics

I have suggested that where there was no clash of ideology, political or religious, there was unlikely to be a clash of historical interpretation. English Catholics writing history in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart period reveal the converse - the immense potential for historical disagreement and controversy when the past was turned to for polemical rather than didactic purposes.

The Reformation had initiated an historical controversy all across Europe over the development of the 'true' church from Apostolic times to the present. Countless polemicists turned to historical arguments to justify the Catholic or Lutheran position. Many set down their arguments in the form of actual histories. Carion's chronicle, edited by Melanchthon, revived the concept of the four monarchies of the world which Bodin was to take such pains to refute. The idea was elaborated by Johannes Sleidan in his De quatuor summis imperis.¹ The most

1 Sleidan's De quatuor summis imperis was translated into English by S. Wythers in 1563. On Bodin, the four monarchies, and Carion, see Firth, Apocalyptic Tradition, pp. 15-22; 196-200.

ponderous polemic of all was the compilation called the Magdeburg Centuries (1539-1546). Into this work Matthias Flacius Illyricus and his helpers stuffed every historical fact which supported their thesis that the doctrine of the Roman church had wandered further and further away from apostolic and patristic teaching, which, they claimed, was represented by the Reformers.¹ The formal reply of the Counter-Reformation to the Centuries was the even larger Annales Ecclesiasticae of the Neapolitan Cardinal Baronius, who was Vatican librarian from 1597 to 1607. His work traced the history of the church from its beginnings to the end of the twelfth century, arguing that the Catholic church had developed naturally and continuously from its origins to the present.²

Englishmen participated in the historical debate. The early Lutheran reformer Robert Barnes' Vitae Romanorum pontificum depicted Catholicism as an unmitigated disaster.³ More famous is the work of John Foxe. The Acts and Monuments began as an account of 'Protestant' martyrs from Wyclif to the reign of Mary Tudor, but Foxe soon expanded it into a general history of the church, in which the Roman forces of darkness contended with those of Christ over the ages.⁴ The more sophisticated Bishop John Jewel did not write history as such, but he made extensive use of historical arguments to defend the Anglican church from Catholic assailants.⁵

1 Denys Hay, Annalists and Historians (1977), pp.122-125.

2 Eric Cochrane, Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance (Chicago, 1981), pp. 458-63.

3 Barnes, Vitae Romanorum pontificum (Basel, 1535); C. Hill, Anti-Christ in Seventeenth-Century England (1971), p.9; R. Pineas, 'Robert Barnes's Polemical Use of History', Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, XXVI (1964), 55-69.

4 Hill, Antichrist, pp.13-14; Firth, Apocalyptic Tradition, pp.81-86.

5 J. Jewel, Apology, Works, III, 69; P.K. Christianson, Reformers and Babylon (Toronto, 1978), pp.32-33; A.B. Ferguson, Clio Unbound, pp.182-194.

Foxe's account itself soon hardened into a framework of interpretation within which future historians were to work, though considerable scope still remained for filling in the details of the account and calculating the apocalyptic schedule. By the end of the sixteenth century, the English church and its doctrine had stabilised sufficiently to render humanist ecclesiastical history less necessary. The most able scholars of the reign of Elizabeth, Camden, Stow and Lambarde, poured their energies into works of antiquarian erudition or into profane chronicles and histories. Lambarde's Archaionomia (1568) and Perambulation of Kent (1576), Camden's Britannia and Stow's Survey of London are devoid of any attempt to plead the case of the Anglican church, except incidentally. Camden integrated an account of Elizabeth's ecclesiastical record into his Annales, though he 'touched them but with a light and chary hand'.¹ When James I established Chelsea College as a centre for Anglican polemic, he appointed Camden and Sir John Hayward as historiographers. The college was soon moribund as much from lack of interest as anything else.² Though it would be revived as a consequence of the religious issues of the Civil War, protestant sacred history, except where integrated into profane histories such as those of Camden and John Speed, was a rare bird. When it did appear it was usually in the form of examples cited by pamphleteers seeking to make a point, as in William Prynne's Histriomastix (1632).³

1 Camden, Historie of...Princesse Elizabeth, trans. R. Norton (1630), Preface, sig B2v.

2 DNB, s.v. 'Camden, William'; T. Fuller The Church - History of Britain (2nd ed., 1656) Bk. X, pp.50-53: according to Fuller (p.51) the two historiographers were 'learnedly to record, and publish to posterity all memorable passages in Church, and Commonwealth'. Their function, in short, was less to promote an already-accepted (within the church) interpretation of the ecclesiastical past than to describe events of the present for the benefit of future readers - they might have just as accurately been called 'chroniclers'.

3 On some of the uses of arguments from sacred history by Catholics and puritans to challenge orthodox positions, see Gerald Cragg, Freedom and Authority: a Study of English Thought in the Early Seventeenth Century (Philadelphia, 1975) pp.193-218, 281-90.

From a different perspective, however, a number of Englishmen, all Roman Catholics, continued to write history that was to varying degrees polemical. Nicholas Sanders, a former fellow of New College, Oxford, died in 1581 having spent his final years in Ireland provoking Catholic rebellion. His posthumously published Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism (1585) was a scurrilous attack on English reformers and kings since Henry VIII which earned him the name 'Dr Slanders'. It was difficult to take seriously a book which accused Henry VIII, 'a most impious and sacrilegious tyrant' of being the father of his own promiscuous queen, Anne Boleyn.¹

Much more formidable was the work of Robert Parsons, Jesuit missionary and controversialist. Among his polemics was A Conference about the next succession to the crowne of Ingland, published abroad in 1594 under a pseudonym.² In this tract Parsons attempted to show that the heir to the childless Elizabeth ought not^{to} be the Calvinist James VI of Scotland, but one of a number of Catholic princes, of whom he favoured the Spanish infanta, daughter of Philip II, his former master. Parsons fooled no one with his claim that he was 'neutral' on the issue and was merely conjecturing as to who the heir would be. The Conference was a direct attack on the legitimacy of the Tudor (and by implication the Stuart) dynasty. Since the days of Polydore and Thomas More it had been accepted as little short of gospel that God had raised Henry Tudor to destroy Richard III and restore unity to the warring kingdom. The title of Edward Hall's Union, we have seen, reflects the importance of that fact; the accession of Henry VII marked an epoch for Tudor

1 N. Sanders, Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism (1585), trans. David Lewis (1877), pp.25, 237; DNB. s.v. 'Sanders, Nicholas'.

2 R. Doleman (alias Parsons), A Conference about the next succession to the crowne of Ingland (Antwerp?, 1594).

historians, a kind of secular Incarnation. No one had since disputed the teleological inevitability inherent in such accounts, for to do so would have been to accuse Henry (and his successors) of usurpation.

Parsons aimed his erudite guns below the water-line of the Tudor interpretation of history. He noted that all historians since Polydore 'do take al right from the house of Lancaster'.¹ He knew that they agreed that the Yorkist claim had been superior, and that Henry VII's claim was based more upon his marriage to Edward IV's daughter Elizabeth than upon his distant descent from Edward III via his mother Margaret Beaufort. Parsons rejected the Tudor claim by rejecting the Yorkist. Richard II's deposition was a divinely and popularly approved act. Henry IV was perfectly legitimate.² The Lancastrians were also better kings and kinder people than the bloodthirsty Yorkists who seized their throne. Edward IV was a usurper; so was his son-in-law Henry Tudor, and, Parsons implied, so would be Henry's great-grandson, James VI.

The historical and genealogical sleight of hand which Parsons performed to prove his point was only a small part of his work, which was not written as historical narrative. The tract was nevertheless an attack on the anticipated future as much as on the accepted picture of the past, and English scholars were at pains to refute it.³ It shows forcefully that conflicting historical interpretations largely depended on conflicting ideological points of view. There was as yet no such thing as disinterested academic debate.

Less well-known than Parsons but more able as an historian was his slightly older contemporary, Richard White of Basingstoke, or Vitus

1 R. Doleman (alias Parsons), A Conference about the next succession to the crowne of Ingland (Antwerp?, 1594), p.56. Parsons, Conference, Part.Two, p.57.

2 Ibid., Part II, p.67.

3 Most notably, John Hayward, An answer to the first part of a certaine conference (1603). For Hayward, see below, ch. III, sec. i.

Basinstochius (1539-1611). A fellow of New College from 1557 to 1564, he may have there encountered Nicholas Sanders. White left England for good early in Elizabeth's reign and enjoyed an illustrious continental career as professor of civil and canon laws in the English college at Douai. After the death of his second wife he was ordained by dispensation of Clement VIII.¹

A competent classicist and jurist who wrote a commentary on the Roman laws of the Twelve Tables,² White's main interest was in British history, and he spent his last few years compiling a series of eleven books on the history of Britain from the Flood to the Norman conquest. The Historiarum Britannicae Libri XI appeared between 1597 and 1607. In Latin, it was not widely read in England, though John Selden made considerable use of it.³ White's main purpose seems to have been the writing of a textbook for the college and an introduction to early English history, or 'antiquity', for a Catholic audience. His most well-known supporter was no less a figure than Baronius himself, with whom he had corresponded.⁴

Despite his connections with the counter-reformation, White managed to maintain a scholarly objectivity of sorts. His work is neither a polemic like Parsons' or Sanders', nor a strictly ecclesiastical history like his successor, Richard Broughton's, though White's heroes are all pious Catholics, who invoke Mary and the saints.⁵ It was more an attempt

1 DNB, s.v. 'White, Richard'; Fuller, Worthies, I, 413.

2 Richardi Viti Basinstochii ad leges decem virorum (Antwerp, 1597).

3 R. White, Historiarum Britanniae libri (I-XI)... cum notis antiquitatum Britannicarum (Arras and Douai, 1597-1607). For Selden's use of White see below, ch. VII: Fuller, Worthies, I.413, notes that White was 'often cited by Mr Selden, which makes me believe much merit therein'.

4 Baronius to White, 2 July, 1600, printed in White, Historiarum, Book IX, p.172. It is perhaps significant that the publication dates of White's work are coterminous with Baronius' term as Vatican librarian.

5 E.g. Ibid., VIII, 17: 'Nomen Sanctae Mariae inclamat alta voce.'

to bring Polydore Vergil up to date. On most points he could agree with (and cite) the statements of English protestant authors. He readily quoted Camden to prove 'that Britain received the Christian religion in the beginning of the church'.¹ He was skilful in reinterpreting accepted stories to suit his perspective. It was, for example, a commonplace that the first Christian king in Britain was Lucius, a legendary figure of the second century who appears in Bede, and was accepted by John Foxe.² It was also widely held that Lucius was the first great lawgiver of British history, and that he had borrowed from Eleutherius, the bishop of Rome, divine and Christian precepts for the foundation of common law. Protestants like Foxe and Jewel had no difficultyⁱⁿ accepting this legend, since an alleged letter from Eleutherius to Lucius survived.³ Since the Roman church of the second century was not yet corrupt, the legend established Britain as a Christian kingdom, independent of Rome, before the conversion of St Augustine of Canterbury in the late sixth century, after the rot had set in. White accepted the legend, but twisted it to support a tie between Britain and a papacy which was already acknowledged as the apostolic see, not just as another bishopric. St Peter had already established papal authority by preaching in Britain before his martyrdom. White skirts the issue of Lucius' temporal laws, dwelling instead on his conversion by Eleutherius' delegates, and his acts of piety:

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- 1 White, Historiarum, III, pp. 382-3: 'Britannos ipso Ecclesiae principio religionem Christianam accepisse.'
 - 2 Bede, Ecclesiastical History, I. iv (ed. V.D. Scudder, 1910, p. 9); Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. Josiah Pratt (1877) vol. I, 308-310; Jewel, Reply to Mr Harding's Answer, Works, I (1845), p. 306. George Saltern, Of the antient lawes of great Britaine (1605) sig H3; the myth was not exposed until the 19th century; Kendrick, British Antiquity, p. 113.
 - 3 Lambarde printed it in Archaionomia (1568), fo. 131.

Lucius, king of the Britons, forthrightly sent letters to Eleutherius by Elvanus and Medwinus, two holy men; in which letters he craved that he and his people be received into the number of Christians.¹

White appended extensive Notae to each book. These were often longer than the text itself, and reveal him as an extremely well-read antiquary. His work had a number of idiosyncracies. He rarely gave dates for events, merely reporting them in order. He ignored much of the critical scholarship of the preceding fifty years, though the Notae make it clear that he had read it, continuing to rely on discredited documents like the pseudo-Berosus and the Galfridian legends of ancient Britain, myths no longer accepted, except with the greatest caution, by most English antiquaries. Brutus, Arthur and all the kings and giants of ancient lore feature prominently in his account, and one feels this is not even tempered by the moderately sceptical 'better-this-than-nothing' attitude of Raleigh.²

Much more candidly polemic were the ecclesiastical histories of another Douai seminarian, Richard Broughton. Born near the end of Mary's reign, he left England in the 1580s for the English college and was ordained in 1593. Shortly after, he was sent to England to proselytise. It seems unlikely that he was the same Mr Broughton who was a member

1 'Statim Lucius Britannorum Rex, litteras per Elvanum and Meduinum viros divinarum rerum peritos ad eum mittebat; quibus litteris supplicibus petebat, ut se ac suos in Christianorum numerum reciperet'. Historiarum, V, 401. White does call Lucius a 'gloriosus ac praepotens Rex'; Ibid., V, 403, 436 (nota 2).

2 Book VIII, for example, is completely Arthurian, culling material of such wide-ranging reliability as Geoffrey, his medieval critic William of Newburgh, Polydore and Camden's Britannia. White did try to round off a few of Arthur's sharper edges by rejecting elements such as the prophecies of Merlin, 'rightly prohibited by the recent Council of Trent', and Arthur's supposed future return. Ibid., VII, 76 (nota 21); VIII, 58-60.

of the Elizabeth society of antiquaries, though his works suggest he had some contact with its members.¹ A learned Greek and Hebrew scholar, he served as vicar-general to Thomas Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon in England from 1625 to 1631. He seems to have had powerful patrons, including the duchess of Buckingham, and in 1626 he was quite openly sojourning in Oxford.²

Like White, Broughton was at heart an historian, but he was much more interested in arguing a case. His An ecclesiasticall protestant historie (1624) set out to prove that the pope had always exercised 'fatherly charge and care' over the church in Britain, from St Peter to St Augustine. The topic was nothing new: Parsons himself had tackled it in his massive, three-volume Treatise of the three conversions of England, an undisguised polemic against Foxe, John Bale and the Magdeburg Centuriators. Parsons' argument, based largely on Baronius, had rested on the proposition that the Roman Church of St Augustine's day was exactly the same in doctrine and liturgy as that imported earlier by Joseph of Arimathea and, later, Lucius.³ Broughton was more conciliatory: he deliberately relied on the writings of 'the best learned protestant Antiquaries'.⁴ Matthew Parker, chronicler of the archbishops of Canterbury who had preceded him, Camden, Holinshed, Stow and Selden all furnished him, unintentionally, with material which was ingeniously reshaped into an argument 'proving' the historicity of Rome's claim to spiritual jurisdiction in Britain. He made particular use of 'the Theater writers',

1 Ayloffe, editing Hearne, Curious Discourses, II, p.424, disputes this attribution by Hearne, but Broughton cites a manuscript by John Leland in his Ecclesiasticall protestant historie (Douai, 1624), p.105, among other MSS, which he can only have had from Camden or another of the Cottonian circle, whom he refers to by name frequently.

2 Wood, Fasti Oxonienses, ed.P.Bliss (1815), I, 428-9.

3 R. Parsons, A treatise of three conversions of England (3 vols., St Omer, 1603-1604), I, 8; 160.

4 Broughton, An ecclesiasticall protestant historie, p.8.

by which he meant the 1611 compilation edited by John Speed. Going much further than White he establishes that the first founder of a hierarchical order of the church was St Aristobulus, a disciple of St Peter. He turns Joseph of Arimathaea (the traditional first Christian in Britain) and his son, a bishop, into the subordinates of 'Archbishop' St Aristobulus, and hence of St Peter and Rome.¹ Correctly pointing out that the protestants had admitted the legitimacy and holiness of all bishops of Rome up to and including Eleutherius, he asks how they can deny the legitimacy of the church since Eleutherius' day.² Like White, he makes of Lucius the obedient pious son of the church, using the famous letter from Eleutherius to good effect. The pope

by his [Lucius'] suite and petition interposed himselfe in the ordeyninge, altering, or correctinge and settlinge, the very temporal lawes themselves in this kingedome, to governe and Rule and direct it, even in civill and meerely humane thinges.

He makes explicit what White had only implied, that Eleutherius was the first Christian lawmaker, and Lucius but the 'Vicar, or Vicegerent in his kingdome'.³

Broughton filled out his account in the much lengthier Ecclesiasticall historie of great Britaine (1633), which he dedicated to the Duchess of Buckingham and her mother, the Countess of Rutland. The work was organised like its predecessor, in centuries, and extended to AD 600.⁴ His catalogue of sources numbered over five hundred works, several in manuscript. Again, his strategy was to turn the Anglican view of church history to his side. He reiterates his assertion that

1 Broughton, An ecclesiasticall protestant historie, p.29.

2 Ibid., p.p. 64-68.

3 Ibid., pp. 109, 117.

4 Broughton, The Ecclesiasticall historie of great Britaine (1633). A projected continuation past AD 600 was aborted by White's death in January, 1635.

Lucius had asked the pope 'for civill and temporall lawes, also to be allowed by him to rule heare in temporall affaires'. He does not quite adhere to his rule of using protestant histories only, for he cites Baronius.¹

Broughton's was a clever work which left his Anglican opponents with little room to manoeuvre. They could not refute his fundamental thesis that English episcopal hierarchy was of apostolic origins without allowing the arguments of antiprelatical writers that episcopacy was not an historically established form of government. In a way, Broughton almost succeeded in reconciling Catholic and Anglican positions on the history of the English Church at precisely the time that Laud's hierarchy was attempting to find a modus vivendi with Rome. But no historian bothered to take issue with him.² Camden and Speed were dead, and the other 'best protestant antiquaries and historians' had other things to talk about.

1 Broughton, Ecclesiasticall historie, pp. 252, 295-304, 386-406, passim.

2 This may be ascribed partly to the increasing Arminian influence over the church: Laud had just become archbishop when the Ecclesiasticall historie was published. A complete study of Catholic historical thought in the period would be massive, and is beyond the scope of this section, which is merely designed to show that historians could, if they wrote from a different ideological point of view, either stay within the tradition as did White, or dissent as Parsons did from the Tudor myth and as Broughton did from the Protestant interpretation of the history of the church. Conflicting beliefs, in short, render possible, but do not necessitate, historical debate.

O happy union! labour'd long in vain,
 Reserved by God to James his joyfull raigne,
 And Annes; O blessed couple so esteemed,
 By all fore-knowing Jove, that He them deem'd
 Worthie each other, and to wear that Jemme
 Blest Brittaines now united diademe.

- Patrick Hannay, Two Elegies on the Death
 of Queen Anne (1619) sig C2.

CHAPTER II

EARLY JACOBEOAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

i) The Union of the Kingdoms

In April 1605, Francis Bacon wrote a letter to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere on the subject of recent English history. It was miraculous, said Bacon, that the nation had survived the reign of a child, a near-usurpation by Lady Jane Grey, and the reigns of two women, one wed to a foreign king, the other unmarried and heirless. That England had endured intact and avoided renewed civil war over the succession was a sure sign that England was under the 'providence of God'.¹ Bacon went on to suggest that since the two realms of England and Scotland were now 'joined in monarchy for the ages to come' as Great Britain, it would be an honour to the king if they 'were joined in History for the times past'. Bacon wanted 'one just and complete History...compiled of both nations'. What Bacon really meant was that he wanted Ellesmere's support in rewriting English history in order to incorporate its evident 'end', the union of the monarchies.² His burgeoning political career prevented him from carrying out this scheme, but the idea was an interesting one.

1 Bacon, Letters and Life, III, 249-52.

2 Ibid.; Bacon, A Brief Discourse touching the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland (1603?), Letters and Life, III, 90-99. Bacon was also one of the commissioners appointed to negotiate the union.

Bacon's plan was no accident, and hints at what is the dominant theme of Jacobean historiography: that the union of the kingdoms was the end result of a divine plan, a higher form of the union of the Roses in 1485. The topic of union was, of course, not confined to historians. It was one of the most important political issues in the first five years of James' reign. Between 1603 and 1608 the king proposed a number of different plans which would bring about a 'perfect union' between the kingdoms. James wanted the island renamed the kingdom of Great Britain and envisaged a single realm, ruled from London. He was prepared to concede separate parliaments after initial opposition, but he greatly desired a common body of law and a common religion.¹

The union ultimately foundered not so much because people were opposed to the idea in principle (everyone could agree that unity was better than division); but because no formula satisfactory to the king and the parliaments of both realms could be worked out. It had, however, received a great deal of support. Bacon argued the case in the Commons, while in the Lords it was advanced by Ellesmere and Robert Cecil. Wider support came from outside Parliament. John Thornborough, bishop of Bristol, pointed to the metaphysical superiority of unity and argued for the 'necessity' of a union of the two realms under one name. Sir Henry Savile, the foremost classical scholar of his day, and an editor of medieval chronicles, wrote, at the king's command, 'A treatise of union' showing the historical advantages that had accrued to united realms, such as Spain. Savile suggested that the main advantage of a union in name was that

the ancient enmitie and hartburning betweene the two nations will by that meanes the sooner bee quenched, when they shall communicate not only in the head but in the name of the bodie.

1 Brian P. Levack, 'Toward a More Perfect Union' in After the Reformation: Essays in Honour of J.H. Hexter, ed. Barbara C. Malament (Manchester, 1980) pp.57-74, p.70; D.H. Willson, 'King James I and Anglo-Scottish Unity' in Conflict in Stuart England, ed. W.A. Aitken and B.D. Henning (1960), pp.41-55.

John Hayward, having recently attacked Robert Parsons's assault on the inevitability of a Stuart succession, also lent his pen to the cause of the union. Hayward asserted that Henry VII had had such a purpose in mind, being a very farsighted king, when he had married his daughter Margaret to James IV of Scotland.¹ Sir William Cornwallis pointed out that the two nations 'differ not in language'; this was 'a signe that God ever meant to have us one Kingdome'.²

The first historian to lend support for the union was the obscure John Clapham. Born in 1566, Clapham had been a clerk to Lord Burghley since about 1590, in which position he would likely have encountered Burghley's ward, Francis Bacon, his elder by five years. It may have been Bacon who gained Clapham's admission to Gray's Inn in 1602.³ The following year, Clapham was appointed one of the six clerks of chancery, a position he held until December 1618, a few months before his death.⁴ Clapham kept the good graces of the Cecils even after Burghley's death in 1598. The old man left him £6.13s.4d. a year for life, and in 1605 Robert Cecil helped him with the revisions for his Certain observations concerning the life and reign of Queen Elizabeth, which he had begun in 1603, and which is largely a biography of Burghley. Among Clapham's other friends was Sir Thomas Bodley, founder of the Oxford library. The £5 which Clapham donated to the Bodleian in 1606 was used to buy

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- 1 J. Thornborough, A discourse plainely proving the evident utilitie and urgent necessitie of the desired happie union of the two famous Kingdomes of England and Scotland (1604), pp.28-33; H. Savile, 'A treatise of . . . union by comandment written', Bodl. MS e. Mus.55, fos. 93-112; Lincoln's Inn Maynard MSS vol. 83, no.3 (unfoliated) is a contemporary copy of the work included with several other papers pertaining to the union commission of 1604; John Hayward, A Treatise of union of the two realmes of England and Scotland (1604), p.55.
 - 2 W. Cornwallis, The miraculous and happie union of England and Scotland (1604), sig. E.
 - 3 Gray's Inn Admission Register, 1521-1889, (1889), p.103; Hist. MSS Comm., Hatfield, VIII (1899), pp.255, 296, 328.
 - 4 Hist. MSS Comm., Hatfield, XVIII (1940), p.44; T.D. Hardy, Catalogue of Lords Chancellors (1843), p.109; P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, no.31 1909. Inquisitions post mortem, p.76.

several books, including his own Historie of great Britainnie (1606).

Clapham also contributed Latin verses to the memorial volume on Bodley's death in 1613.¹

Clapham had published a translation of part of Plutarch's Moralia, from the French version by Amyot, in 1590, and a Latin poem, based on Ovid, the following year. In 1602 he turned to history, publishing a Historie of England from Julius Caesar's invasion to the recall of the Roman legions in the fifth century AD. In 1606, when union fever was at its height, he reprinted the first book, added a new preface, and expanded it up to the reign of Egbert, who was the first Saxon king to rule over a united England following the age of the 'heptarchy'.²

Clapham had access to the public records, but he based his survey of British and Saxon history, the period before such records began, on a small number of printed sources. These included Caesar and Dio Cassius, Tacitus's Annales, Histories and Agricola and a few English works: Bede, William of Malmesbury, William of Newburgh and the St Alban's Chronicle, supplemented by Stow, Holinshed and Grafton's chronicles, and Camden's Britannia. Clapham's original purpose was to compose a brief history of England free of the 'barbarous' language of the chronicles. He believed that though translations of Roman, French and Italian histories were both available and delightful, 'yet is not the knowledge of them altogether so pertinent, and proper to us', as knowledge of English history.

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- 1 M. Friedländer, 'Growth in the Resources for Studies in Earlier English History, 1534-1625' (University of Chicago, Ph.D. thesis, 1938), p.143; W.D. Macray Annals of the Bodleian Library (2nd ed., 1890), p.28; Iusta funebria Ptolemaei Oxoniensis T. Bodleii (1613), pp.133-34; for the best biography see the introduction to J. Clapham, Elizabeth of England, ed. E.P. and C. Read (Philadelphia, 1951), pp.4-11; Hist. MSS Comm., Hatfield, XVII (1938), p.359, overlooked by the Reads.
 - 2 J. Clapham (trans.) A philosophical treatise concerning the quietness of the mind (1590); Narcissus (1591); The historie of England (1602); The historie of Great Britannie (1606). This second edition adds a short preface, sig. A3 and omits the longer preface in the first edition.

Clapham did not wish to rock any boats; he kept an open if uneasy mind on the issue of Brutus and the other mythical kings. He accepted Arthur's historicity, but not the wholesale reliability of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Nevertheless, he was but an architect constructing a house from the raw materials of chronicles: a 'continued History' as he called it. His definition of historical truth was faith to his sources, not their criticism. He delivered things 'as I received them from others'.¹

Justifying the change of title from the Historie of England to The Historie of Great Britannie, he says his work has been occasioned by the union of the two monarchies. He had already written of the union as the culmination of English history:

The Roman oft assayed, but in vain,
To make a perfect Conquest of this Isle;
The warlike Saxon and the sturdy Dane
Pursued the same in tempering force with Guile;
The Norman race, as forward as the best
Made proof but sped no better than the rest....
Success of time hath made two kingdoms one,
Now link'd in league, never to be divorced....

No wit, or power of Man, but God alone
Hath wrought this work, for he himself is one.

The history itself is quite ordinary, and begins with the establishment of 'civill kinds of government' by the Romans. This was thitherto unknown in the island, whose many princes ruled a variety of regions.² Under the Romans, these different kingdoms were maintained as 'a kind of absolute government in several'. The course of Clapham's narrative runs through all the stock events of British history, including the reign of Lucius. Clapham explained him as a kind of princeling, governing 'by permission of the Roman lieutenant', yet accepted him as the legislator

1 Historie of England, preface, sigs. A3-B2; Historie of Great Britannie (1606), pp.199, 302.

2 Clapham, Verses Gratulatory upon the King's Majesty's Entrance, in 2nd draft MS of Certain Observations, printed in Elizabeth of England, pp.118-119; *ibid.*, p.105; Historie (1606), p.4. All further references will be to the 1606 edition of the Historie.

of a law code which was superior to imperial law.¹ Due attention is paid to the familiar tale of Constantine the Great's British birth and conversion.² Part one ends with the Roman forces' evacuation of Britain.

The second part is a potted narrative of the succession of British and Saxon kings to Egbert's accession in the ninth century. Clapham's choice of a terminus ad quem is significant. In summarising the achievements of Egbert's reign in a brief epilogue, he commented that Egbert had 'ordained that the inhabitants (who had been a long time distinguished by divers names), should be made an entire nation, and being governed by one prince, should bear jointly one name'. He noted that this was a significant turning point in English history, the first foundation of an 'absolute government', though Clapham knew that Egbert had really been only primus intra pares ruler of the heptarchy.

The greatest part of the Ile [was] made, in a maner, one Monarchie, which forme of government it seemed in some sort to retaine, even during the continuance of the seven-fold regiment of the English Saxons, amongst whom some one Prince was alwaies of greater power than other, and had a right of superioritie above the rest.³

This quotation could easily be applied to James VI and I. There is little doubt that Clapham, whether or not he wrote at Cecil's behest, saw in Egbert's reign an analogue of James' union. Significantly, he stressed that Egbert's monarchy was beneficial and that it had preserved the inherited constitutions of the different kingdoms. Indeed, it was the earlier West Saxon tyrant, Sigebert, who had attempted to change 'the antient lawes and customes' not the amalgamating Egbert.⁴ But more

1 Historie, p.108.

2 Ibid., pp. 136-139.

3 Ibid., pp. 295-6.

4 Ibid., pp. 278; 293ff.

importantly, Clapham's book shows that support for the idea of union in no way depended either on a belief in Brutus, or on an admiration of the ancient Britons, whom Clapham regarded as barbarians.

A more sustained and detailed effort to justify the union historically was published in 1607 by Edward Ayscu. Several men of the same name have been confused, but there seems little doubt that the author of A historie contayning the warres, treaties, marriages, and other occurrents betweene England and Scotland, from King William the Conqueror, untill the happy Union of them both in our gracious King James was the Edward Ayscu who lived between 1550 and 1616 in Cotham, Lincolnshire, a county in which several branches of the Ayscough family were prominent.¹

As the title suggests, Ayscu read his history backwards from the great consummation of 1603. In the dedication of the work to Prince Henry, Ayscu spoke of the union as an act of God designed to strengthen British protestantism against the papal antichrist. He wished to rewrite Anglo-Scottish history, he said, to harmonise the conflicting and hostile accounts of English and Scottish historians.² Unlike Clapham, who merely used the reign of Egbert as a suggestive analogy, Ayscu actually fulfilled Bacon's wish that the two kingdoms be united in history. An introductory chapter on the first inhabitants of the island asserts a common parentage for Scots and English; all were descended from ancient barbarian tribes such as the Goths, as the Britons descended from the Gauls and their father, Gomer, grandson of Noah.³ The whole work is permeated by the

1 The DNB entry, s.v. 'Ayscu, Edward' is to be disregarded, for it confuses two, possibly three Ayscoughs. There were many in Lincolnshire at this time. For the evidence as to which of several possible Ayscus or Ayscoughs wrote the Historie, see Appendix, below, p. 331ff.

2 Ayscu, Historie, 'To the Reader', sig [A7V], dated 24 March 1606/7 at Cotham, Lincs.

3 Ibid., pp.12-20; Ayscu's discussion was clearly influenced both by Camden's Remaines (1605) and Richard Verstegan's A restitution of decayed intelligence (1605), for both of which see below ch.VII, pp.244-50. He seems not to have read any French literature on the subject, such as Bodin's Methodus, though he clearly read Latin.

belief that union was inevitable and preordained in the fullness of time. Like Clapham, Ayscu did not accept Brutus as the first king of all Britain, and he followed Camden in deriving the name 'Britain' from the barbarous way in which the ancient people, the Britons, had painted themselves. The true founder of Britain was Gomer, whose name had underlying significance: when translated into English via Latin, Gomer meant 'ending'.

And herein the providence of God is also to be observed, who by the signification of the name of our first parent in this part of the world, foreshewed his purpose therein.¹

Ayscu, too, believed the Britons to be a barbarous lot, 'nurtured and framed to a more civile carriage of themselves' by Roman and Christian influence.² His first chapter summarises events up to the Norman conquest. This was a complete break with Saxon government: William abrogated all laws and established his own. The island, for the first time, was under 'two absolute Kings'.³

Ayscu then narrows the scope of the narrative to Anglo-Scottish relations. Quoting from a charter he found in Roger Hoveden, he establishes that King William of Scotland had done homage to Henry II of England in 1175, thus supporting one of the arguments of the unionists and reassuring the reader that England had remained the dominant state.⁴ Ensuing wars between the two realms are treated by Ayscu as a breaking of fealty. Alexander II's invasions of England in 1215 and 1217 are duly requited with his death in 1249: 'the heavie hand of the Lord ceassed not here'.⁵

1 Ayscu, Historie, pp. 4-6.

2 Ibid., pp. 7-12.

3 Ibid., pp. 45-47; Ayscu says nothing on the origins of parliament.

4 Ibid., p.68; Levack, 'Perfect Union', p.65.

5 Ayscu, Historie, pp. 78, 89.

Edward I, that archetypal good king, conceives 'how exceeding beneficial it would be to both nations, if by any good meanes they might bee united and made on monarchie', and begins the subjugation of 'the rebellious Scots'.¹ Ayscu frequently tipped his hat in respect for Scottish heroes like William Wallace, but he had no doubt that God intended England to rule Scotland. This absolute subjugation might have been accomplished by Edward III, but the time was not ripe. Edward frittered away his efforts in France, though Scotland was 'a more convenient and fit member of the Crowne of England, then the one halfe of France'. The two kingdoms had much more in common with each other than France, sharing the same climate and being 'so like in there language, lawes, manners, customes, complexion, constitution of bodie and disposition'. Quite inconsistently, he praised Henry V for re-invading France, rather than Scotland, thereby encouraging peace between the two kingdoms.²

The union was brought one step closer by Henry VII's union of the two houses and by the marriage of his daughter to James IV. The latter, after making the initial mistake of assisting the pretender Perkin Warbeck, soon foresaw that the kingdoms would be united and that this would be advantageous to Scotland.³ Ayscu unconsciously undermined his own case here, for many anti-unionists were afraid that the benefits of union would all fall on Scotland, which could offer nothing in return.⁴

1 Ayscu, Historie, pp. 90, 123.

2 Ibid., pp. 177, 219, 275.

3 Ibid., pp. 242, 247-8; James I had himself spoken of Henry's union of the two houses and of his descent from Henry in providential terms in his first speech to the parliament of 1604 and in the proclamation of his new style: Political Works of James I, ed. C.H. McIlwain (N.Y., 1965), pp. 271-273; T. Rymer and R. Sanderson, Foedera, (1727-35), XVI, 526, 603.

4 Levack, 'Perfect Union', p. 65.

Again the union nearly took place when a marriage between Mary Queen of Scots and Edward VI was temporarily considered. The divine hand held things up: union would not come about till the reign of James.¹ The rest of the sixteenth century brought the two realms closer together under the great princes Elizabeth and James. Ayscu discreetly ignores the 'auld alliance' between France and Scotland, but his fear of 'that man of Rome and his agents' again emerges when he attributes the death of Mary Stuart to Spanish and papal plotting. Finally, he explicitly attacks Robert Parsons' view of the succession, arguing that James was Elizabeth's handpicked and proper successor.²

Ayscu's work was more sophisticated than Clapham's in two senses. He used a larger body of sources and frequently printed charters and treaties to support a point. He also managed to write an explanatory history of the union, a thematic narrative which traced it from its origins to its consummation, rather than merely justifying it by an analogy with an earlier reign. Like Hall's chronicle, Ayscu's described a movement from division to unity. Ayscu shared the teleological perspective of both Hall and Clapham, organising his whole narrative around the end towards which English and Scottish history had moved. He was putting new wine in an old bottle: reapplying the metahistorical framework of Hall in order to make the union of the kingdoms (he does not merely say crowns) appear inevitable. For him and others, the union - which in 1608 was still quite possible - was a providential goal through which the events of English history could be placed in a meaningful pattern. He judged people and events by their contribution to the union.

1 Ayscu, Historie, p.321.

2 Ibid., pp. 388, 393-94.

Ayscu's historiography is whiggery in its nascent form, a link between the apocalyptic teleology of biblical, medieval and Reformation sacred history, and the secular, constitutional teleology of the later whig tradition.¹

The union of the kingdoms did not occur for another century. James abandoned his plans in 1608, though he continued to style himself 'King of Great Britain'.² As an historical theme, it dominated the first decade of the century, and persisted even after that. It cut across all levels of historical writing. In 1605 a Bristol lawyer and member of the Middle Temple, named George Saltern, presented the king with a manuscript of his treatise Of the antient lawes of Great Britain. 'Some learned and grave gentleman' had asked Saltern 'to put in writing what I could touching your Godly intention of the union'.³ The Antient lawes was a follow-up to the first, lost, tract and argued that through all the invasions by Saxons, Danes and Normans, the ancient constitution, established by Lucius, had survived intact. As with Clapham, the point

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- 1 This seems to run against Ernest Tuveson's thesis that a strictly cyclical view became a teleological degenerative and then progressivist outlook. E.L. Tuveson, Millennium and Utopia: a Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress (2nd ed.; N.Y., 1964), p.70.
 - 2 S.T. Bindoff, 'The Stuarts and their Style', Eng. Hist. Rev., LX (1945), 192-216.
 - 3 B.L. MS Royal 17B.VI fo. 1, Saltern, Of the antient lawes of Great Britain (1605). Saltern is even more obscure than Clapham. He was son of William Salterne of Bristol, and was admitted to the Middle Temple 15 July 1584, and called to the bar 20 Nov., 1590. His contemporaries at the Temple would have included William Martyn and George Buck. J. Hutchinson, A Catalogue of Notable Middle Templars (1902), p.214; Middle Temple Admission Register (1949), I, 53. Edmund Howes acknowledged Saltern's help in revising John Stow's Annales (1615), p.1087. A George Salter or Saltern of Bristol who had commercial dealings turns up contemporaneously in Hist. MSS Comm., Hatfield, X (1904), p. 215; Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth-Century Bristol, ed. P. McGrath (Bristol Record Society Publications, vol. XIX, 1955), pp.120-21; City Chamberlain's Accounts in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, ed. D.M. Livock (Bristol Record Society Publications, vol. XXIV, 1966), p.81. In 1631 a George Saltern was steward of the court at Bristol: Cal.S.P. Dom., 1631-1633, p.192.

was to reassure those who, like Sir Edwin Sandys, feared that the union would subvert the ancient laws.¹ Saltern is a classic example of the insular 'common-law mind', stressing the imperviousness of the laws to foreign influence and their resilience in times of great change. Thus was James I's union advocated at nearly the same time by one writer who thought the laws had not changed at all (Saltern even accepted Brutus and Arthur wholesale), and another, Ayscu, who believed that the conquest had abrogated the ancient constitution entirely.²

Unlike the shrewder Ayscu, Saltern tied his case to Brutus' coat-tails. So did John Lewis, whose History of Great Britain remained unpublished till 1729. A former barrister in the Marches court, Lewis had inherited from earlier Welsh authors like Humphrey Llwyd and David Powell a reluctance to part with any aspect of British mythology. Some time after the succession he sent the king a proposal for a ten-book history, asking his 'incoragement or discouragement'. The reaction must have been favourable, for Lewis sent six books of the work to James some time between 1605 and 1612.³

Lewis's purpose was to write a complete history of Britain leading from the founding of a unified kingdom by Brutus (whom, he reluctantly conceded, was probably not a Trojan) to the reunion under James. He got

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- 1 Levack 'Perfect Union', pp.59-60; Levack, 'The Proposed Union of English Law and Scots Law in the Seventeenth Century', Juridical Review, new ser. XX (1975), 97-115.
 - 2 Saltern, Antient lawes, sig. L4, even goes so far as to suggest that every calamity to hit Britain since Lucius resulted from temporary deviations from his laws, which constituted a covenant with God. Saltern was more Cokean than Sir Edward Coke himself.
 - 3 John Lewis, The History of Great-Britain, ed. [Hugh Thomas] (1729); B.L. MS Royal 18.A.XXXVII, fos.1-20 (proposals for a history of Britain). Since 1729 the MS has disappeared, a copy of the first part (to Brutus) surviving as MS Harl. 4872, fos. 242-341. The work cites Camden's Remaines (1605) and refers to Prince Henry as prince of Great Britain, not Wales, the title he acquired in 1610; but in Harl. 4872, fo.247v, Lewis lists Samuel Daniel's history, the first part of which appeared in 1612, suggesting that he spent several years writing the work.

only as far as Cadwallader, the last king of the Britons, whose prophecy that the British would rise again was recorded by Monmouth and had already served the Tudors quite well. Lewis' book was clearly modelled on Richard White of Basingstoke's, which he cites,¹ but reveals an even less critical attitude to the ancient legends. Paradoxically, his is one of the most determined attempts to deflate the arguments of the detractors of Brutus and Arthur, from Polydore to Camden. Lewis rounds on these sceptics for dismissing the British History: 'a History ought not to be rejected for some Fables in it.'² Lewis' response was to accept almost everything: Arthur appears in all his glory, complete with speeches.³

Cadwallader had already popped up as a prophet not only of the return of the Britons, but of their rule over the entire island, in A prophecie of Cadwallader by the precocious William Harbert, then a twenty-one year old undergraduate at Christ Church. Like Lewis, a Welshman, Harbert was probably distantly related to the Herberts, earls of Pembroke, and he dedicated his poem to Sir Philip Herbert, later the fourth earl. Modelling himself on Plutarch, he eschewed a narrative to write parallel lives of English and Roman worthies up to and including James I, 'our second Brute'.⁴ Taken together, these provided another account of the way in which Cadwallader's dream of the return of the Britons had been fulfilled in the new king of 'Britain'.⁵ Harbert's poem was lightweight

1 Lewis, History, II, 3, 14.

2 Lewis claims to know Camden personally, *ibid.*, I, 39.

3 *Ibid.*, V, 158; VI, 179-96.

4 Alum. Ox., p.696; DNB, sv. 'Herbert, William'; Harbert, A prophecie of Cadwallader, last king of the Britaines (1604), sig.A3, Hv.

5 Harbert was not the only poet inspired by the union: in 1605 the prolific tailor-chronicler Anthony Munday or Mundy wrote and staged a pageant entitled The triumphs of reunited Britannia.

and vulgar, but attracted the attention of Fulke Greville, a poet and patron much interested in the lessons to be drawn from Roman history. Greville briefly considered Harbert for his chair of history at Cambridge, but rejected him as too young.¹

At an even lower level, genealogists, tracing the ancestry of James VI and I, also insisted on applying Hall's vision of history to the greater union; again, Henry VII's reign served as a kind of prototype of James'. George Owen Harry, a parson whose Genealogy of the High and mighty monarch, James...King of great Brittain was used by John Lewis, put the case more explicitly - or heavily - than most:

By uniting and knitting together all the scattered members of the Brittish Monarchy under the government of him, as one sent of God, to fulfill his divine predestinate will, revealed to Kadwallader, as our ancient Histories doe testify, fifteene hundred yeeres past that the time should come, that the Heires descended of his loynes, should bee restored agayne to the Kingdome of Brittain, which was partly performed in King Henry the seventh; but now wholly fulfilled in his Majesties owne person.²

Future melted into present and past as history confirmed the workings of prophecy.

In 1608, the year the union came apart, another genealogy arguing the same case appeared, this time by Morgan Colman. Like John Clapham, Colman had once been a servant to Lord Burghley, and had tutored his son Thomas in 1588.³ By 1596, he had become steward to Thomas Egerton, later Lord Ellesmere, James's chancellor; like Clapham, he may have drawn the

1 N. Farmer (ed.), 'Fulke Greville and Sir John Coke: an Exchange of Letters on a History Lectureship and Certain Latin Verses on Sir Philip Sidney', H.L.Q., XXXIII (1969-70), 217-36, p.220 f. For Greville see also below, ch. VI, sec.ii.

2 Lewis, History, III, 57,77; Harry, Genealogy (1604), pp.39-40; a manuscript of this is B.L. MS Add. 6928, fos. 29-68.

3 Colman to Burghley, 2 Jan., 1587 and 12 Oct., 1588, B.L. MS Lans. XCIX (Burghley letters), fos. 139, 141; B.L. MS Add. 38, 139 (Manwood papers), fo.218v. shows Colman living at York House in 1592; Wood, Ath. Ox., II, 198.

inspiration for his contribution to the union propaganda of 1608 from this government connection.¹ A brief poetic account of the succession of kings ends with the predestined union:

Henry the seventh doth union first procure
And in his bloud brings backe the Britaines raigne,
Drawing in Scotland (of brave Albions Maine
A famous moitie) by sweete Hymens hand....
All rights conjoind in stewarts four-fold crowne
Whose mystical high name the heavens decree
Shall of their giftes the sole dispenser bee.²

Colman and Harry were not historians, but such prophetic panegyrics further illustrate the belief that some kind of divine plan had been consummated. Not all these writers were government mouthpieces, and even when they did write to advocate the king's plan and, presumably, to gain royal favour, their choice of an argument is no less significant for that. Keith Thomas has demonstrated the profound adherence to ancient prophecy and argument from past example that was so much a part of early modern belief.³ The political use of history did not depend on pseudo-historical heroes like Cadwallader and Brutus, as Ayscu and Clapham had shown, but they could certainly be used to good effect. Just as Eusebius had once turned the rule of Constantine into the moment of Christianity's triumph, so the historical and quasi-historical literature of the first decade of the seventeenth century turned that of James into another great fulfilment of God's plan. The fact that the union failed ought not blind us to the importance it played in the historical writer's horizon, and it demonstrates well the teleological, present-minded outlook which shaped historians' descriptions of the past.

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- 1 Bodl. MS Rawl. D.406 (Egerton accounts), fos. 1-55; genealogies and heraldic MSS by Colman are B.L. MS Stowe 75, fo. 22, and Bodl. MS Lat. Misc. a.1, executed respectively in 1592 and 1604.
 - 2 Colman, The genealogies of King James I and Queen Anne, his wife, from the Conquest (1608), n.p., n.sig.
 - 3 Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic (1971), ch.13, pp. 493-96, 509-14.

ii) John Speed and the Labyrinth of Ambiguity

John Lewis had referred to the ancient times depicted in Monmouth's British History as a 'labyrinth'.¹ The further back in time the historian looked, the thinner was the source material and the rarer were the verifiable facts. The dearth of evidence in the period before the Norman conquest, often broadly referred to as 'antiquity', meant that the course of English history was ambiguous: the further back one went, the more ambiguous it became. This had two implications. First, it meant that there was much wider room for conjecture, invention and outright disagreement than in more recent periods. No one had any trouble agreeing on the course of later medieval history, as we have seen. This held less true of ancient times. We saw George Saltern and Edward Ayscu, with radically different opinions of the effects of the Norman conquest on English law, could both argue in favour of the union of the kingdoms. Beyond the conquest, the sea was extremely rough. Although a number of myths had been seriously doubted or at least cleansed of the patently fabulous, most writers were reluctant to make a definitive statement. It was far safer to repeat a legend wholesale, to present the varying 'opinions' to the reader and let him decide, or to skirt the issue entirely and refer the reader elsewhere.² A great deal of ink had been spilled over seventy-five years in defending or prosecuting myths, but no one had as yet dared to synthesise even these limited debates - to say even a tenuous 'last word'. White and Lewis were uncritical, Saltern

1 Lewis, History, III, 23. Lewis also entitled the first chapter of Book I 'Of the uncertainty of Antiquity'.

2 Even John Selden, writing notes to his friend Michael Drayton's Poly-Olbion (1612), refused absolutely to commit himself in print, though 'disclaiming in it, if alleg'd for my own opinion'. There is little doubt, though, that he had rejected the myths (see below, Ch. VII, sec.iii). Whether Drayton himself believed half of what he wrote is quite doubtful: Drayton, Works, ed. J.W. Hebel et al. (2nd ed., Oxford, 1961), IV, p.viii*; I.Gourvitch, 'Drayton's Debt to Geoffrey of Monmouth', Rev. Eng. Stud., IV (1928), 394-403.

absurdly so, and Ayscu and Clapham too limited in their scope and their familiarity with source material. Even Camden declined to commit himself on Brutus, aye or nay.¹

The second consequence was more beneficial. The ancient period, because of its cobwebs, attracted not only narrative historians, but antiquaries. In the study of the old English past (the classical past, we shall see, presented fewer problems) the approaches of the antiquary and the historian overlapped. Ayscu, Lewis and White all leaned as heavily on the Britannia and Remaines of Camden as on classical histories and medieval chronicles. For most derivative writers, a modern authority such as Camden carried as much weight as an old chronicle.

Late Elizabethan and early Stuart historical writers all agreed that the history of England needed to be re-written in the form of a continuous narrative rather than a chronicle. Annals and chronicles were not distinguished from histories in the formal philosophical sense argued by Croce and Collingwood, and rejected by Arthur Danto.² But a distinction was nevertheless made. The case against chronicles was threefold. Sir Henry Savile was pained by the corrupt Latin of the medieval chronicles, a point with which Edmund Bolton concurred two decades later.³ Chronicles were also, even in English, merely disjointed reports of events rather than stylish flowing narratives. A more profound objection was that chronicles and annals (the bare lists of a year's events) related nothing but the event itself, with no

1 For Camden and the British myths see below, ch. IV, sec.i., p.

2 R.G. Collingwood, The Idea of History, pp.202-203; Benedetto Croce, History as the Story of Liberty, p.16; Arthur Danto, Analytical Philosophy of History (Cambridge, 1965), pp.115-142.

3 Henry Savile (ed.), Rerum anglicarum scriptores post Bedam (1596), ep. dedic., sig. **V** ij; Edmund Bolton, Hypercritica in Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, ed. Joel Spingarn (Oxford, 1907), I, .96, and below, ch. VI, sec. vii. p.233.

reference either to prior or motivating causes, and no attempt to piece the events together into a picture of a whole reign or series of reigns. Bacon, for one, wished above all that 'events be coupled with their causes'.¹ Finally, it was objected that the biased opinions of popish monks were not to be credited,² though no one questioned the value of medieval chronicles as source material - they were still better than nothing at all.

Such objections could only be answered by a narrative history of Britain which avoided the pitfalls of the chronicles. A good attempt was forthcoming. The Merchant Tailors' Company had already produced a superb antiquary and reliable chronicler in John Stow, who had died very old in 1604. Another tailor, John Speed, sought to outdo him. As early as 1598, Speed had been patronised by Fulke Greville, who secured him a waiter's room in the customs house and the lease of a prebendal estate held of the chapter of St Paul's Cathedral by the Tailors' Company.³ This freed the fifty year-old Speed from manual employment and allowed him to concentrate fully on two projects: a complete geographical description of the realm in the form of detailed maps, and a comprehensive history of England from antiquity to his own time.

Though warned of the difficulties facing him by several 'judicious' friends,⁴ Speed was aptly named. He made good use of his connections

1 Bacon, De augmentis scientiarum, Works, IV, 301.

2 For example, John Speed and John Barkham reject the monastic view of King John as a murderous tyrant but are forced to rely on such chroniclers as the staple of the History of Great Britain (1611), pp.483-507.

3 Cal.S.P. Dom 1598-1601, p.62; Speed, Theatre of the empire of Great Britain, Warwickshire, p.53; DNB, s. v. 'Speed, John'. The large number of tailors practising history is worth further discussion; Anthony Munday, author of A briefe chronicle of the successe of times, from the Creation (1611), a Stow-esque compilation, was also a tailor.

4 Speed, The history of Great Britain (1611), sig Pppppp2.

with the best antiquaries of the decade, especially Sir Robert Cotton, whose library was already the biggest repository of medieval manuscripts and charters. The first four books, the geographical section, incorporated maps by Christopher Saxton, John Norden and others,¹ as well as a few of his own. The history itself was a bigger challenge, and ultimately proved too much for an individual. Suffering for years from the stone, Speed asked Cotton for help. Cotton first found him an assistant. This was Edmund Bolton, a London recusant then in his mid-thirties, who presently published a treatise on the theory of heraldry, The elements of armouries (1610).² Cotton also provided Speed with a rough narrative of the reign of Henry VIII which took account of the foreign perspective offered by Guicciardini, and drew up from the Valor ecclesiasticus and the charters in his possession, a list of the monasteries and abbeys in England prior to the dissolution.³ John Barkham or Barcham, a prebendary of St Paul's who was then chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, provided his knowledge of old coins and wrote the reign of King John for the History. He may also have written the reign of Henry II, though this was initially assigned to Bolton.⁴ Francis Bacon, keen as we know for

1 'the Chards for the most part traced by others': Speed, History, sig Pppppp3.

2 Ibid. This statement of acknowledgements by Speed is incomplete and must be supplemented by reference to Speed's marginal notes and to Bolton's later remarks in Hypercritica, p.98; Speed to Cotton, n.d. (1610?), Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men of the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Camden Society, old series, vol. XXIII, 1843), pp. 108-109.

3 Bolton, Hypercritica, p.98; Speed, History, pp.786-802.

4 Fuller, Worthies, I,306, says Barkham wrote all the life of King John. The story that Bolton's life of Henry II was too favourable to Thomas à Becket and was replaced by an account by Barkham, though plausible enough in view of the Foxean tone of the History, originates very late in Philip King, The Surfeit to A.B.C. (1656), pp.21-2. Bolton, Hypercritica, p.98, claims to have written only the speech of Dermot Macmurgh, king of Leinster (History, pp.462-63). Speed nevertheless credits Bolton with writing at least parts of 'the lives of our middle English Kings: whose Stories and raignes (by the Judicious) may by their stiles bee knowne to bee writ with another pen': History, sig.Pppppp3. It seems fair to infer that the whole thing came under Speed's editorial hand, though in analysing the work I shall take 'Speed' to represent the collective viewpoint in the History rather than that of Speed the individual.

a rewriting of history, provided a fragmentary account of Henry VII. John Davies of Hereford lent Speed a manuscript pertaining to Lambert Simnel's rebellion. John Clapham provided copies of parliament rolls, and Sir Henry Spelman helped Speed with the section of the Theatre (the geographical books) on Norfolk.¹ George Lord Carew, who had made large collections of Irish history in the course of several years there, may have helped Speed with Irish affairs, though these receive comparatively little attention in the History. A former envoy to France, Carew also wrote the life of Henry V. The herald William Smith assisted Speed with his genealogies.² The final product, published in 1611, was written by Speed from the collections, sketches and lives provided by Bolton, Cotton and the others, though it is impossible to tell with how much revision on Speed's part. Cotton acted as a kind of associate editor, checking the proofs for Speed before printing.³

The principal difference between Speed and the chroniclers he tried to surpass was that the History was - or tried to be - a continuous narrative, in which one paragraph led to the next. It was based loosely on two humanist models, the history of Polydore Vergil and the recent history of France by Bernard du Haillan, to which we will return.⁴

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- 1 Bolton, Hypercritica, p.98; History, p.660: 'the copy whereof I had from the learned Mr. John Clapham'; *ibid.*, p.733; Theatre, Norfolk, p.35.
 - 2 Bolton, Hypercritica, p.98; History, sig. Pppppp3 credits Smith but not Carew.
 - 3 Speed to Cotton, n.d. Original Letters, p.113. Speed asks Cotton for help on the life of Henry V (according to Bolton written by Carew) which suggests he did not merely insert Carew's piece without revisions.
 - 4 Speed comments that Gildas was not a 'perfect historian', History, p.321, in a clear allusion to the term used for unbroken narrative by Bacon in the Advancement of Learning (for which see below, ch.V, sec.i, p.173. I wish to thank Professor Joseph Levine of Syracuse University, N.Y., for a stimulating discussion of Speed's claim to be a historian rather than a chronicler. Camden, without considering the problem, referred casually to 'Speedes Chronicle' in a draft list of books: Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.5.20, fo.115v. Though Speed has no specific classical model, he was clearly familiar enough with classical histories and follows the structure of Polydore much more than that of Holinshed or Stow. Speed's device of numbering monarchs seems to come from du Haillan's L'histoire de France (~~Paris~~, 1576).

Instead of merely repeating what his sources told him, Speed took a critical look at them. He had read Bodin's Methodus and knew that the further back one went in time, the more elusive became the truth. 'The Records of Great Britaine are eaten up with Times teeth', he lamented.¹ Nevertheless, enough of them survived, and it should be possible to glean from them a reliable, true history.

Histories were the record of the past, commemorating the accomplishments and fates of the most famous peoples and places, saving them from oblivion. 'For when as Empires and Kingdomes, Common weales and Cities, do end and perish, yet the Histories thereof do remaine and live.'² True to his humanist aspirations, he believed that history also served as the instructive mistress of life.³ Like Bodin, he felt that the history of an entire people was as helpful as a relation of the deeds of great men, but mainly because a whole country provided a bigger target to hit at a distance than did individuals.

The biggest problem facing an historian is that histories before the Flood are 'uncertaine' and from then till the first Olympiad, 'fabulous'. Men had not always kept a record of events. The ancient Greeks, before Herodotus, and the early Romans, had been primitive and unlettered. In Britain, the Druids who had ruled Britain before the Romans were 'meerely barbarous, [and] never troubled themselves with care to transmit their Originals to posteritie'. The stories that had survived had become contaminated with the fables of poets.⁴ Antiquity was 'a Labyrinth of ambiguitie', and it was impossible to tell with any

1 Speed, History, p.153.

2 Ibid., p.152.

3 'For me to shew the utilitie of Historie, were to light a dimme candle before the bright Sunne', Ibid., sig Pppppp2.

4 Ibid., pp. 153, 157.

certainty what had been done when, and by whom. 'Things [are] so farre cast into the mistie darknesse of obscuritie and oblivion, that there is no hope left us, so lately born, to discover them.'¹ Therefore, it was safer to sketch the verifiable, the manners and customs of a people as a whole, and draw moral lessons from its rise and fall.

Speed had absorbed this sceptical attitude to the details of the earliest history both from his antiquarian friends and from 'learned Bodine'.² It was not an Agrippan or even a Sidneyan statement on the impossibility of achieving historical truth; it was simply a pragmatic recognition that one could only go so far back before the signposts disappeared. He was confident that where reliable histories were available (the Romans' were the best) the truth would out. Speed never feels very happy dealing with uncertain antiquity, even in the Saxon period, and can scarcely conceal his relief when he arrives at the Norman conquest. 'I am lastly approched to these times of more light, and unto affaires of more certaine truth.'³

Paradoxically, it is precisely when dealing with the distant past that Speed is at his best, and the early part of his History, which he liked least, is vastly more sophisticated and interesting than the later sections. Speed was the first English historian to incorporate non-literary evidence into an historical narrative for more than its curiosity value. He was forced to do so by the contradictions and lacunae in the written record. Having obtained Roman, British and Saxon coins

1 Speed, History, pp.157-58.

2 Ibid., pp. 153, 154.

3 Ibid., p.411.

from Cotton, he had them engraved for inclusion in his book. The engraver, he complained to Cotton, was an unreliable man, and many of the spaces set aside for coins were left blank.¹ Cotton also allowed Speed to see and print the inscriptions on a number of ancient altar pieces. He used the inscriptions to establish with greater certainty the names of British kings.² Since the data on individuals were so sparse, Speed focused on the collective history of the groups which had populated Britain. He included chapters on the 'customs' and 'manners' of the Britons and Saxons, examining their pagan religious rituals, which he despised as 'diabolicall superstition', their 'inhumane sacrifices' and their rudimentary and minimal clothing. This was not a great insight. Speed had read as much in Camden, Clapham and Richard Verstegan.³ The discovery of the savages of the New World in the previous century had given historians an idea that civilisations develop from a primitive stage. It would no longer suffice to depict a Briton or a Roman in the garb of an Elizabethan soldier.⁴ A growing familiarity with external descriptions of ancient Britain by classical writers drummed this point in. Drawing on Tacitus and Caesar, 'the best Recorders of kingdoms affairs', Speed described the early Britons as a savage painted race, naked except for chains worn about the neck, who knew no proper manners until the invading Romans made them 'more civill'. Life for them was truly nasty, brutish and short, even if they did have civil government of a sort. Ignorant of the benefits of monarchy, they were 'governed after the manner of an Aristocratie, that is by certaine great Nobles and Potent men, then under the Command of any One as an absolute Monarch'.⁵ On the other hand, says Speed, Britain was an aristocracy

1 Speed, History, pp. 173, 175; Speed to Cotton, n.d. Original Letters, pp. 108-9, 111-113.

2 Speed, History, pp. 219, 228f., 239.

3 Ibid., pp. 167-68, 286.

4 Speed draws an analogy between the nakedness of the Britons and that of 'the wilder Irish, and Virgineans', Ibid., p.179.

5 Ibid., p.170; this passage seems directly inspired by Clapham, Historie (1606), pp. 4, 22.

with a difference. It was really a bunch of little monarchies, for whereas in a classical aristocracy 'the rulers are all Peeres of one Comon wealth', in ancient Britain the nobles were sovereign rulers, 'as many Princes' over several autonomous 'publike weales'.¹ The pronounced distaste which Speed showed for any religion or culture that did not meet his own protestant, monarchist standards shows that he was no incipient Vico.²

The analysis of civilisation proved too much for Speed as he went on. Once he arrived at the Danish invasions, he rapidly turned into a narrator of events. The inscriptions and coins, previously used as evidence, become unexplained decorations to his chapter headings, simply showing the image of the king whose reign is about to be recounted. His section on the 'maners' of the Danes is very thin compared with comparable sections on the Britons and Saxons.³

By our standards, the earliest parts of the History are the most exciting, for nowhere had history and antiquarianism ever been blended so well. But Speed regarded this as a deficiency, forced on him by the dearth of facts. One had to discuss the more general aspects of history, not because they were intrinsically more important, but because it was impossible to be precise as to dates and deeds. While rejecting Brutus, the Trojan descent and most of the British history quite explicitly, he accepted a pruned Arthur, but found it impossible to verify the dates of his successor, as all his sources gave them differently. 'Such extremes are wee driven unto,' he sighed, 'that have our relations onely from them.'⁴

1 Speed, History, p.170.

2 Another example is his scathing view of the Irish; Theatre, p.137.

3 History, pp. 385-86.

4 Ibid., pp. 316-17, 319.

Speed was following the blueprint laid out in Bodin's Methodus pretty closely. Bodin himself had not seen the reconstruction of the origins and cultures of ancient peoples as an end in itself: for him it was a prolegomenon to the understanding of politics for 'history for the most part deals with the state and with the changes taking place within it'. Like Bodin, Speed also believed that the 'divine vengeance' was a ruling force in the subjugation of one people to another.¹ Bodin's own chapter on the origins of peoples had been designed to discover general rules against which the truth or likelihood of assertions could be judged; Speed adopted his criterion of a common language to explain the British and Gaulish joint descent from the ancient Cimbri.² Speed regarded his investigations into the distant past not as an exciting exercise in historical anthropology, but merely as a necessary and difficult clearance of foliage before his proper business as an historian could begin.

Once he became sure of his sources, Speed found it much easier to turn them into a series of regnal narratives; like du Haillan, he even numbers the kings from the arrival of the Saxons to the union of the kingdoms. The union was the beginning of a new sequence: James I was 'monarch no. 1'.³ The History becomes what most histories of the period were - one damn king after another. Points previously buttressed in marginal notes by half a dozen citations now got one. We can see this process at work in his recently discovered notebook on the Yorkist kings. For Edward V and Richard III, Speed largely reprinted More's history verbatim, though he attempted to supplement it with notes from Commynes, Hall, Grafton and Stow.⁴ He cut out transcripts from these histories, pasted them together

1 Speed, History, pp. 281-83, 385; Bodin, Method, p. 336.

2 History, p. 161; Bodin, Method, pp. 334-364.

3 History, p. 883 ff.

4 B.L. MS Add. 57336, fos. 26v, 55. These notes are incorporated in History, pp. 714, 717.

on a page and added his own reflections on the meaning of the event described. Literally 'scissors-and-paste' historiography!

Speed's assessment of individual reigns and of the course of English history towards the union of the kingdoms is entirely derivative. It is clear from his notebook that he actually believed the union was the final stage of an intricate divine plan; there was no need to write an insincere panegyric in an unpublished manuscript. Elizabeth of York should have married the king of France, 'but better destiny attending her, she was reserved to [illegible] the union and marie with the only heir of Lancaster which was Henry of Richmond, afterward King of England', from which marriage sprang 'James our great sovereign and great Britanes monarch'.¹

A devout man, Speed was as interested in sacred genealogy and history as in profane, and enjoyed a ten-year license to provide such genealogies for the Authorised Version of the Bible. Some time between 1616 and 1618 he drew up a life of Christ in which he sought to prove that Jesus was an earthly king, descended from David. He presented the manuscript to James Montagu, the bishop of Winchester. The tract shows a piety which also pervades the History.² Entirely sceptical of the prodigies, omens and natural signs recorded by pagan historians, he has no difficulty attributing events directly to God.³ The affinity with Raleigh is striking, though the two were very different writers. Whereas Raleigh generally raised God to the position of supreme cause, working through supra-human but sub-divine agents such as fortune -

1 MS Add. 57,336, fo.61; this MS is in very poor condition and the bracketed word is blurred beyond recognition.

2 Cal. S.P. Dom. 1603-1610, p. 639; B.L. MS Add. Egerton 2255. Montagu was bishop from 1616 till his death in 1618, confining the date of the MS to these years.

3 E.g. History, pp.421, 557, where he ascribes the defeat of Edward II at Bannockburn to 'Gods anger against the English'. Speed reports natural phenomena such as earthquakes, 'prophesies and prodigies' without necessarily accepting them, e.g. ibid., pp.432, 616, 725.

the 'concatenation of means' - Speed often refers to God alone; though Speed's analysis of the movement of history is based on a cyclical succession of the rise and fall of invading peoples and individuals, there is also less sign of fortune's wheel.¹ Moreover, Speed did not blend his protestant, Foxean views with the political judgements made by Raleigh. There was not a Machiavellian bone in his body.² Though he could criticise Henry III as 'a prince whose devotion was greater than his discretion', he blamed the unrest of Henry's reign on 'papall overswayings', noting that 'God almighty did strangellie deliver him'. Edward I's subordination of Wales is not hailed as a good idea, but simply as the timely execution of God's will; the Welsh were going the way of the Romans, British, Saxons and Danes before them, for 'the ruin of a nation is by God decreed'. The four nations, like the four world empires, each came to an end on schedule, 'fulfilling their times by Heavens assignement'.³

Speed's verdicts on individual kings are a function of his religious convictions, which manifest themselves in a preference for biblical rather than classical similes and parallels.⁴ In general, he follows the opinions of John Foxe. This holds true even in the reigns for which he had considerable assistance. King John, as furnished by Barkham, is a good prince, the noble victim of papal incursions and monkish poisoners. Speed/Barkham even doubts John's murder of his nephew, Arthur - the mere fabrication of hostile chroniclers:

1 See, however, Levy, Tudor Historical Thought, p.199. I do not agree that Speed (or any other contemporary) 'equated' fortune with providence.

2 'The Florentine secretary was scarce born at this time [1460], but the Divell was as great a Master then as afterward.' History, p.670; cf. p.614 for an explicit rejection of 'reason of state'.

3 Ibid., pp. 539, 321, 385, 544, sig Pppppp2v.

4 E.g., Speed compares Elizabeth with Deborah; *ibid.*, p.831, and likens Lanfranc to Rehoboam's sage in 1 Kings 12.6, History, p.418.

But not to trouble our selves with refuting a
 Gooses gagling against Foxes true relation;
 easie it is to observe the hatred of Monks
 against that King, both in thus procuring
 his death then, and his dishonour (a second
 death) in their slanderous inventions ever since.

Similarly, Henry VIII is 'a most magnanimous and heroical prince'. His
 minion, Cromwell, rises not through fortune but through God as a 'pillar
 for the Gospels defence'. Speed jumps at the opportunity to accept
 Sleidan's statement that Anne Boleyn was a full-fledged Lutheran,
 attacking Nicholas Sanders along the way. The quarrel of the two Seymour
 brothers in Edward VI's reign is laid not at the door of the duke of
 Northumberland, but ascribed directly to the devil, 'so subtle is the
 old serpent'.¹ He has comparatively little to say about Elizabeth,
 since he knew that Camden, a 'farre more noble pen', was then writing
 her life, but he consistently describes her as Deborah leading God's
 people to victory over the pope and Spain.² For Speed, if a king was
 both active and religious, he had a sure recipe for success. Piety
 is 'the soveraigne ornament and safety of soveraigne princes'. The
 best thing Speed could say about a king was not that he was a shrewd
 or 'politic' prince but that, like Henry V, he showed 'how divine a
 beautie Christian goodnes hath'.³ The use of material derived from
 Cotton, Bacon, Guicciardini and Machiavelli made little impact on what
 was didactic narrative of the moral, not political kind.⁴

1 Speed, History, pp. 506, 753, 770, 779, 809.

2 Ibid., pp. 831, 841. The allusion to Camden is made specifically
 in order to extricate Speed from a detailed discussion of Mary
 Stuart's troubles.

3 Ibid., pp. 574, 621.

4 B.L. MS Titus B.I. fos.6-53 (Cotton's notes from Guicciardini on
 the reign of Henry VIII); Kevin Sharpe, Sir Robert Cotton, p.240;
 Speed does use the word 'politicke' to describe Henry IV, but also
 has him offer his son advice both 'prudently and Christianly',
History, p.621.

Speed had provided a summary. His work was reprinted and revised several times and thoroughly eclipsed the chroniclers as a standard work of reference with a good index. It was regrettable, but hardly surprising, that he abandoned his ambitious antiquarian approach for a straightforward political and religious narrative, and that he often left things unrecorded. But with all its faults, the History was still the most complete version of English history yet written.

iii) William Martyn's Sad Stories of the Deaths of Kings

The virtues of Speed's book appear more clearly when compared with his immediate successor, William Martyn, who was born in Exeter in 1562. He was admitted to the Middle Temple on 1 May, 1582, and called to the bar in 1589, having first been educated at Broadgates Hall (Pembroke College) Oxford. He returned to Exeter, where his family was prominent, and served as its Recorder from 1607 till his death in 1617.¹ Martyn almost certainly knew George Saltern and Sir George Buck, master of the revels, his contemporaries at the Temple, and probably John Barkham, also from Exeter. Aside from these connections, he was removed from the centre of historiographical activity, in London,² and to some extent insulated from its influence. This may explain why his history has nothing to say on the union of the kingdoms, though this had been a dead issue for six years by the time Martyn wrote, in 1615.

1 D. MacLeane, Oxford College Histories: Pembroke College (1900), p.34; Hist. MSS Comm., Exeter (1916), p.55. The DNB date of Martyn's recordership, 1605, is based on an error in Wood, Ath. Ox., II, 199; Fuller, Worthies, I, 306; J. Hutchinson, Catalogue of Notable Middle Templars, 159; Middle Temple Admission Register, I, 53; on the Martyn family see Wallace MacCaffrey, Exeter, 1540-1640 (2nd ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1975), pp. 255, 262-63.

2 Besides the Temple connection, a George Salter, perhaps the man mentioned above, p.74, n3, was in contact with William's kinsman, John Martyn, in 1623, Hist., MSS Comm., Exeter, p.132. Martyn also probably knew Sir George Buck, admitted to the Temple a year after him, Hutchinson, Catalogue, p.159. For Buck see Ch. IV, sec.iii.

Youth's Instruction, Martyn's first work, was a Polonian exercise offering his son, Nicholas, advice on living virtuously and avoiding sin. He had nothing to say about the uses of history here, though he mixed a few historical examples, picked mainly from Richard Grafton, with classical and biblical ones.¹ In 1615, however, he published The historie and lives of the Kings of England to the death of Henry VIII.

The Historie got off to a promising start. Unlike Speed, Martyn had nothing against chronicles as such, and he used the words 'chronicle' and 'history' interchangeably. He did complain that the 'histories of this kingdome are frequently interrupted by too too [sic] many intervening occurrences, and by a multitude of extravagant observations', which could apply equally to the chronicles' digressions or to the moralising of Raleigh and Speed. If the latter, Martyn rapidly broke his own rules, for his is one of the most sententious histories of the period.²

Perhaps following the lead of Samuel Daniel, Martyn avoids peering back beyond the Norman conquest. He begins with the end of the Saxon period and the victory of William. The rightful king, he unfortunately turned out to be a great dissembler and tyrant, who ruled England 'as a Conqueror, with more Policie than by profitable laws'.³ Besides making frequent pessimistic Tacitean observations on human behaviour, Martyn occasionally indulges in outright invective against his story's villains. He turns the observation of Holinshed that Richard III could never rest securely in his tyranny into a scathing lecture directed at Richard

1 William Martyn, Youths instruction (1612, repr. 1613).

2 Martyn, The historie and lives of the Kings of England (1615, repr. 1615, 1628, 2nd ed. with continuation, 1638). All references will be to the expanded edition of 1638.

3 Martyn, Historie, p.2.

himself rather than the reader:

But wicked and bloudy Tyrant, let such as hate thy vices, demand of thee some questions; and then thou shalt plainly see, and be thine own Judge, whether this land did ever breed a more ungodly monster than thy selfe..... Could not the gastly examples of Gods severe judgements, wrathfully poured downe upon such murderers, make thee affraid to kill thine owne kinsmen?¹

Aside from the remarkable enthusiasm of the author, there was nothing new about this Richard, nor about Martyn's other kings, the usual gallery of heroes and villains.

Martyn is perplexed by the problem of the illegitimate king or usurper, and how such a prince can nevertheless prove to be an effective ruler. Stephen, for example, was a clear usurper, having ridden roughshod over the title of Maud, Henry I's daughter and heir. But, says Martyn, this is simply human nature, and 'if a kingdome may be obtained (though with the breach of a most solemn Oath) no scruple is then made'. Yet Stephen proved a beneficent monarch.² So was Henry I, who had usurped the throne from his brother Robert. Even Richard III, monster that he was, made some good laws, and John, though he finally gave in to papal pressure, was personally 'very wise, politike and wonderfull valiant'.³ Martyn, for all his moral outrage at sin, was more capable than Speed of judging a reign for its political consequences and of seeing the human motives behind events.

If he is lukewarm with John, Martyn is vitriolic in the condemnation of Edward II's many crimes. Edward's 'adulterous consortship of wanton Curtizans, and shamelesse Whores' leads Martyn to offer perhaps the most

1 Martyn, Historie, p. 247; Holinshed, Chronicles, III, 735; Speed had addressed questions to his characters, e.g. Henry IV in History, p.614, though not with such moral fervour.

2 Martyn, Historie, p. 25ff.

3 Ibid., pp. 49-50.

scathing denunciation of that king before 1640. Like Raleigh a year earlier, Martyn was on thin ice here.¹ Perhaps aware of this, he apologises for his description by pointing to the utility of the study of wicked princes. Just as good kings 'are crowned with many blessings from above', so evil ones and their people 'are severely punished by God, before whom Princes must fall as well as the common subjects'.² Martyn covers himself partially with an unequivocal condemnation of any kind of rebellion, but he has no hesitation about calling a ruler a villain. It is clear enough, despite his conclusion that Henry VIII was overall 'a famous, a worthie and a most noble King' that he really thought the second Tudor odious, 'busily imployed in cutting off his subjects heads'.³ Unlike Speed, he had no illusions about Henry's motives for dissolving the monasteries. Sheer greed and personal spite against the pope were the immediate causes of the Reformation, whatever the godly consequences.⁴

Martyn gradually grew bored with his history, and the reign of Henry VIII is little more than a rewriting of Stow and Holinshed in chronicle form. He concluded with the wish that someone else 'will (with more sufficiencie) write the rest'.⁵ His book surpassed Speed's

1 Martyn, Historie, p. 74. Raleigh skips lightly over Edward's reign, History of the World (1614) Preface, sig.A3v. Of other portraits of Edward II, cp. Drayton, The Barons Warres in Works of Michael Drayton, ed. J.W. Hebel et al., vol. II, esp. canto V, verses 62-69, and Sir Francis Hubert's The deplorable life and death of Edward the Second (1628, revised ed. 1629). Hubert rewrote the pirated 1628 version of his poem in 1629, and is more sympathetic to Edward than Martyn. The Hubert poem was widely circulated in manuscript copies such as the present B.L. MSS Add.28, 021 and 34, 316. I exclude here the extremely damning portrait by 'E.F.', The historie of the life and raigne of King Edward II (1680) usually thought to be taken from a manuscript written in 1627 by Henry Cary, first Viscount Falkland. This is almost certainly a bogus work contrived by polemicists in the Exclusion Crisis of 1680. It employs political language of the post-1640 period and uses at least one source not available before 1640, Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle.

2 Martyn, Historie, p.77.

3 Ibid., pp.321, 331: W.A. Armstrong, 'The Elizabethan Conception of the Tyrant', Rev. Eng. Stud., XXII (1946), 161-181.

4 Martyn, Historie, p. 321.

5 Ibid., p.331.

in realistic depiction of characters and analysis of politics, but fell short of it in another respect. Speed at least saw a pattern to history, and one reign led naturally to the next. Martyn contented himself with a series of unrelated biographies.

Ironically, despite his best efforts to avoid the fate of Raleigh in his own assessment of evil kings, Martyn may have been too saucy in censuring Scottish princes. Instead of the noble and far-sighted James IV whom we saw in Ayscu, and who turned up again in John Ford's play on Perkin Warbeck, Martyn's Stuarts are blatant liars. James IV committed a 'wilfull breach of his Promise, and of the peace' by invading England in 1513; his son also practised 'crafty dissimulation'.¹ Fuller was 'credibly informed' that either these or other passages had angered King James. On 25 February, 1615, little over a month after the date of Martyn's preface, John Pultar, a messenger of the king's chamber, was ordered to arrest Martyn and bring him before the council. He appeared on 14 March, but no one could decide what to do with him, and he was left in Pultar's hands. By 3 April the attorney-general - Francis Bacon - had prepared a case and charged Martyn with having 'written a History of England, wherin were many passages so inaptly inserted, as might justly have drawne some heavy and seveare sensure up on him for the same'. Bacon did not specify the offending passages, but it is likely that either Martyn's anti-tyrannical tirades or his observations on

1 Martyn, Historie, pp.285, 324; Ayscu, Historie, pp.247-8, 289; J. Ford, Perkin Warbeck, IV, iii. in Elizabethan History Plays, ed. W.A. Armstrong (1965). Interestingly, Martyn has nothing to say about the union - probably not because he rejected it, but because there is no connecting theme in his work.

the Scottish kings caused his troubles. Fuller's statement that the king's anger eventually cooled seems correct, for the reissue of 1615 deletes nothing. But the shock was too much for Martyn, who 'never recovered his former cheerfulness' and died two years later.¹

In Exeter, Martyn had enjoyed no access to unprinted sources, and his biographies were derived entirely from Stow and Holinshed's chronicles, perhaps shaped by a reading of Samuel Daniel's recently published history. He included a number of documents such as the articles of the deposition of Richard II, and a table listing by name all the dukes, earls and other peers since the conquest, taken from Speed and Camden's Britannia. Nevertheless, his book proved popular, and was reprinted in 1638 with a continuation to the death of Elizabeth I by 'B.R., master of arts'.² Like many sequels this did not live up to its progenitor. B.R. lifted his accounts almost verbatim from Camden's Annales of Elizabeth and Francis Godwin's Annales of Edward VI and Mary.³ At least Speed had been honest about it.

1 Fuller, Worthies, I, 306; Wood, Ath.Ox., II, 199; Acts of the Privy Council in the Reign of James I, II, 1615-16 (1925), pp.62, 67, 73, 100. Martyn was ordered to acknowledge his fault in writing and allowed to go free. A bond he had issued as surety for his appearance was returned to him.

2 Stat. Reg. IV, 393. B.R. is possibly Barnard Robinson, born 1608, B.A. 24 July 1630, M.A. 27 June 1633 (Queen's College, Oxford), though the evidence hardly permits any firm identification: Alum. Ox., p. 1266.

3 A comparison of texts indicates that B.R. plagiarised the Norton translation of Camden, Historie (1630) and Morgan Godwin's 1630 translation of his father Francis' Annales.

CHAPTER III

KINGSHIP, LAW AND CONQUEST: HAYWARD AND DANIEL ON THE
EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH STATE

It has been said of James I that he disliked and feared history because he knew that his own performance would appear poor by comparison with past monarchs such as Elizabeth, or because he knew that the lawyers and antiquaries, researching into ancient laws and precedents, were busily forging chains to bind his prerogative. His 'mislike' of Sir Henry Spelman's attempt to revive the moribund society of antiquaries in 1614 has been cited too often, since it is by no means clear exactly why the king objected to the society. He may simply have disliked the antiquaries' independence, for when Edmund Bolton proposed an 'academy royal' to produce a complete history of England, barely three years later, the king considered this seriously.¹ Phoebe Sheavyn's suggestion that literary patronage declined under James I now seems questionable; in any event, more books on historical subjects were published in 1620 than in any earlier year.²

On the whole, the charge that James was a new Tiberius, restraining the historical originality of the Cremutii Cordi of his day, is an empty one. William Martyn was left to his own devices, without a word in his book being altered. Even Raleigh's history was left untouched, except for the removal of his name. James' record here is no worse than Elizabeth's. It was the late queen who had forced excisions from

1 Linda van Norden, 'Sir Henry Spelman on the Chronology of the Elizabethan College of Antiquaries', H.L.Q., XIII (1949-50), 131-60; Anne Barton, 'Harking Back to Elizabeth: Ben Jonson and Caroline Nostalgia', Eng. Lit. Hist., 48 (1981), 706-31. For Bolton, see below, ch. VI, pp. 229-241.

2 P. Sheavyn, 'Patrons and Professional Writers under Elizabeth and James I', Library, new ser. VII (1906), 301-36; E.L. Klotz, 'Subject Analysis of English Imprints for every tenth year from 1480 to 1640', H.L.Q., I (1937-38), 417-19.

Holinshed's chronicle, and who candidly admitted that she feared comparisons with Richard II.

On the credit side, the reign of James I witnessed the writing of some of the most original pieces of historical scholarship yet conceived in England, such as Spelman's Archaeologus¹ and Selden's Historie of tithes. As we shall see, objections were made to Selden's brilliant book. The king called Selden in to discuss the subject with him on three occasions, and then put him to work supporting the royal claim to sovereignty of the neighbouring seas.² Elizabeth would probably have had the book burnt. As in Scotland, James was a great lover of belles lettres;³ he simply preferred that scholarship be carried out under the royal aegis.

Under James I, the humanist historical tradition in England reached its peak in five historians who were a cut above their contemporaries. All enjoyed the patronage of the king or of an influential patron at the court, and all knew and used Cotton's library. The next two chapters will be devoted to these men.

i) John Hayward: Sovereignty, Civil Law and History

John Hayward (1564?-1627) has been underrated as an historian. Certainly the originality of some of his work has not yet been fully

1 Spelman's Archaeologus was written under James, though unpublished until 1626. Camden to Spelman, 19 Sept., 1619, B.L. MS Add.25, 384 (Spelman correspondence) fo.5; cf. the letters of various French scholars to Peiresc in 1619 in praise of the book. B.N. Coll. Dup. MS 663 fos.13-19v.

2 Selden, Opera Omnia, ed. D. Wilkins (1726), vol. III, cols. 1400, 1451-58.

3 J. Wormald, Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625 (1981), pp. 177-90.

appreciated, partly because the most interesting two-thirds of his notorious history of Henry IV has never been published, and partly because he has been overshadowed by the enormous erudition of Camden and Selden.¹

Born at Felixstowe, Suffolk, and educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, Hayward was a civilian by profession. After receiving his LL.D. in 1591 he enjoyed a steady, if unspectacular, career in the court of arches and the high court of admiralty, receiving the support of Sir Julius Caesar and of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, who commissioned him to write a history of the Howard family.² From 1616 Hayward was a master in chancery, and in 1619 he was knighted and given honorary admission to Gray's Inn. He dabbled in religious and devotional writing and was accounted 'better read in theological authors than in those belonging to his own profession'; his legal knowledge certainly falls short of the erudition of his older contemporaries, Alberico Gentili and John Cowell, and his junior, Arthur Duck.³ Hayward's conception of the purpose and scope of histories, outlined in his preface to Sir Roger Williams' Actions of the lowe countries (1618) is straightforward enough. He praises Williams' 'compleate Historie' because it contains

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- 1 Sidney Lee, 'Hayward, John', in DNB; L.F. Dean, 'Sir Francis Bacon's Theory of Civil History Writing' in Essential Articles on Francis Bacon, ed. B.W. Vickers (Hamden, Conn., 1968), 211-35, p.216; more favourably, S.L. Goldberg, 'Sir John Hayward, "Politick" Historian' Rev. Eng. Stud., new series VI (1955), 233-44; N. Scarfe, 'Sir John Hayward, an Elizabethan Historian, his Life and Disappointments', Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, XXV (1950), 79-97.
 - 2 Brian P. Levack, Civil Lawyers in England (1973), pp.237-8; Thomas, Earl of Arundel to Cotton, 19 Aug. and 13 Sept. [1609 or 1610, from Padua], Bodl. MS Smith 71, fos. 95, 125.
 - 3 Hayward, The sanctuarie of a troubled soule (1st complete ed., 1616); Dauids teares (1622); T.D. Hardy, Catalogue of Lords Chancellors (1843), p.109; Wood, Fasti Oxonienses, I, 368; Levack, Civil Lawyers, pp.96-7, 103-6, 134, 221, 232. On 22 June, 1604, Hayward and the antiquary Francis Tate debated at the Middle Temple 'Of the precedency of Doctors and Masters of the Chancery before Serjaunts att lawe'. B.L. MS Add 22587, fos. 33-36.

'sieges, assaults, surprizes, ambushes, skirmishes, battailes, lively described'. Hayward was pleased that the book contained 'great varietie both of persons and of actions; much mutabilitie of fortune, many changes in affaires. Admirable advices, unexpected events, ponderous judgements'. It avoided 'senseless fictions' of ancient British kings (not surprisingly, since it was about sixteenth-century Holland!).¹ Within this entirely conventional humanistic framework Hayward, unlike his civilian betters, brought his knowledge of the law to bear on historical writing.

Hayward achieved his greatest notoriety over his earliest work, The first part of the life and raigne of King Henrie the IIII (1599).

Because he was a follower of the Earl of Essex, and his history seemed to condone the deposition of Richard II, he was examined by the council twice and imprisoned, probably narrowly escaping his patron's fate.² Especially alarming was the history's prefatory letter from 'A.P. to the Reader' and the dedication to Essex. 'A.P.' was likely the earl himself. The suggestion that histories taught 'not onely precepts, but lively patterns, both for private directions and for affayres of state' was indisputable but tactless, and Elizabeth cannot be blamed for feeling threatened.³

Despite the suggestive preface, the published Henry IIII, which covers only the first year of the king's reign, is quite innocuous.

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- 1 Roger Williams, Actions of the lowe countries, ed. J. Hayward (1618) sig. A2.
 - 2 P.R.O., S.P. 12/274/58-62; 12/275/25, 28, 33; 12/278/17; M. Dowling, 'Sir John Hayward's Troubles over his Life of Henry IV', The Library, 4th ser., XI (1930-31), 212, 24; Campbell, Shakespeare's Histories, pp. 186-90. Bacon pointed out that Hayward was guilty of felony not treason, having lifted many of his sententiae from Tacitus.
 - 3 Hayward, The first part of the life and raigne of King Henrie the IIII (1599), sig. A3. Hayward's book was brought up at Essex's trial. Campbell, Shakespeare's Histories, p. 190; R. Heffner, 'Shakespeare, Hayward, and Essex' P.M.L.A., XLV (1930), 754-80.

Richard II is exposed as a bad king, less because he was evil than because he failed to govern prudently. He raised unworthy favourites, exacted large sums from his subjects (including a fictitious 'benevolence' invented by Hayward for dramatic effect) and invaded traditional liberties. His banishment of Henry Bolingbroke was 'against the custome of the Realme'. Hayward knew his Machiavelli and realised that when Richard lost 'both the feare and love of his subjects' his days as king were numbered.¹ Using the set speech for more than rhetorical effect, Hayward put his own knowledge of English history and of the laws of other realms into the mouths of his characters. Archbishop Arundel persuades the exiled Bolingbroke to invade England by citing examples of the deposition of tyrants in Sweden, Denmark, Germany and ancient Britain, knowledge the original Arundel would probably have lacked.²

The arguments for deposition would alarm Queen Elizabeth, but to Hayward the act of rebellion was anathema. Bolingbroke only intended to set the king right, but found that half-measures were impossible:

he that aymeth at a kingdome, hath no middle course
betweene the life of a prince, and the death of a
traytor.

He was driven to depose his monarch and mount the throne. Really, he should have stayed in exile. Hayward's own point of view was that of the bishop of Carlisle, 'a man learned and wise', whom he gives an exceptionally long speech warning of the consequences of the rebellion. The bishop is extremely learned: so much so that he quotes from books written in the sixteenth century!³ To the traditional argument that

1 Hayward, Henry IIII, pp. 50, 55, 77; Machiavelli, The Prince, trans. George Bull (1961), chs. XVII, XXIV.

2 Hayward, Henry IIII, p.66.

3 Ibid., pp. 65, 100, 106; Levack, Civil Lawyers, pp. 113-114.

deposition will bring divine vengeance, Hayward adds a lawyer's case.

Rebellion is bad because it is against human as well as divine law.¹

Giving examples from classical and biblical writers, from France, Spain, Muscovy, Turkey, Ethiopia and Persia, the bishop points out that nowhere, including England, is there 'any custome, that the people at pleasure should elect theyre king'.² Hayward himself would show how right the bishop's prognostications were to prove.

Politically, Hayward was unimpeachably orthodox; the most he was guilty of was opportunism. If he offered general advice to his monarch and commended virtuous men like his patron, then he also offered a warning to Essex himself, who would have done well to listen. Sadly, Hayward's troubles deterred him from finishing his history, though he did continue it up to the fourth year of Henry's reign. This still-unpublished sequel, apparently written about the same time as the Henry IIII, was found among Hayward's papers at his death. It is more than twice the length of the printed work, and in many ways more interesting.³

1 Hayward, Henry IIII, p.134, where Hayward falls back on Hall's scheme of the deposition of every third king from Henry IV to Henry VII.

2 Ibid., p.107.

3 Folger Shakespeare Library, MS G.a.12, fos. 1-79. I have seen no other discussion of this MS, which as far as I know is unprinted, and am grateful to the Folger Library for allowing me to read and quote from it. On fo. 79 is written, in an early seventeenth-century hand, 'I found this peece among Sir John Haiwoods papers which I bought, written in his owne hands. 1628'. The copy includes under-scored passages and seems intended for print. The original owner may have been John Bill, the king's printer, who witnessed Hayward's will, which is printed in Hayward, Annals of the First Four Years of Queen Elizabeth, ed. J. Bruce (Camden Soc., 1st ser., VII, 1840), pp. xli-xlvi.

The continuation, like Henry IIII, part one, mixes religious and legal elements, and gives us a clearer picture of Hayward's politico-historical ideas. Noting with some regret the growth of Lollardy, he puts Henry IV's reign in a European context, lamenting the decay of religion all across fifteenth-century Europe. 'Cheifely by reason of a great disunion in the church', he complains, describing the Great Schism, 'the common cause of christianitie was generally neglected.' Hayward believed that this 'miserable schisme' had allowed the growth of heresy and caused 'distruction in everie christian countrie and common wealth'.¹ For him, Lollards were not early protestants but violators of the principle cuius regio, eius religio. It was probably this irenicism which appealed to James I, leading to the king's choice of Hayward to fill, with Camden, the post of historiographer at the ill-fated Chelsea College in 1610.²

The narrative of the tract is conventional, though written in a wry, entertaining style. Once one king had been deposed, rebellion came easily. Henry had his hands full with Welsh and Scottish incursions and the Percy uprisings. Despite his capable, if 'unsettled and unjust' government, Henry made some blunders which had dangerous consequences. His was 'the first invasion which I find... by any king of this land upon religious possessions'. This example would proceed 'further by degrees' and inspire Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries.³ His piety told Hayward that such incursions were bad, but he was still capable of seeing their consequences as an historical development rather than merely criticising them as blasphemy.

1 Folger MS G.a.12, fo. 2v.

2 Hayward, Annals of...Elizabeth, introduction, p.xvii.

3 Folger MS G.a.12, fo. 46v.

Hayward's Henry continues to be the textbook new prince. Confronting Hotspur's army, he tries to avoid a fight, and then holds back some of his forces, worrying that

fortune might change upon him, having good experience of her mutabilitie by such things as shee had taken from others and cast upon him; hee held it a manifest defect in judgement to putt the whole body of his state upon adventure of battaile.

This was straight from Machiavelli's Discourses, though the spirit is that of Il Principe.¹ Henry survives only because he is cleverer than his opponents, and more ruthless.

Most interestingly, Hayward dwells on Henry's use of parliament to legitimise his rule. In a long passage giving details of the debates, he describes how the parliament of 1402 finally struck a bargain with the king. In exchange for a subsidy, he revived three statutes of Edward III, providing for the liberty of the subject from certain kinds of military service:

And thus both the king and the people held themselves now contented; the king being furnished for the time with money and the people in hope of after ease, willingly submitting themselves to the present burden.

In this interesting episode, Hayward had come close to postulating, though he never developed the point, a new relationship between king and

1 Folger MS G.a.12, fo. 60, underscored in MS; Machiavelli, Discourses II, 12; III, 12 (ed. Bernard Crick and trans. L.J. Walker, 1970), pp. 305-310, 440-443; Machiavelli, The Art of War, trans. E. Farneworth and ed. N. Wood (Indianapolis, 1965), p.124. Hayward may have been exposed to Machiavelli through his printer, John Wolfe, who had published several surreptitious editions of the Florentine's works: H. Sellers, 'Italian Books Printed in England before 1640', Library, 4th ser. V (1924-25), p.107.

parliament, dating from Henry's reign, which anticipates Stubbs's theory of the 'Lancastrian experiment'.¹

The accession of James I saw Hayward, only recently emancipated from the Tower, even more active. Early in 1603 he attacked Parsons' Conference in order to defend the Stuart succession. Fighting on Parsons' own ground, he restated the traditional opinion that the Lancastrians were usurpers and the Yorkists (and hence the Tudors and the Stuarts) the true Plantagenet heirs.² He stressed the sanctity of an unbroken primogenitural succession and pointed to the 'pure anarchie' of democratic or elective principalities.³ Striking while the iron was hot, he wrote to the new king recommending the uses of history and historians, including Sallust and himself.⁴ Whether voluntarily or by command, he then turned to argue the case for the union of the realms, and it is here that he really became innovative. History, he argues, shows that momentous changes such as the union were often necessary. He points out that the Saxons and Danes were able to invade Britain only because the inhabitants were at odds. A united Britain would be safe from foreign threats.⁵

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- 1 Folger MS G.a.12, fos.42-46v; Hayward's account in the continuation is based mainly on Walsingham's Historia Anglicana, but the parliamentary sequence seems to have come straight from the Rolls of Parliament, for which see Rot. Parl., III, 485-521. The statutes involved were 1 Edw.III, st.2, cap.5; 18 Edw.III, cap.7; and 24 Edw.III, st.5, cap.8, all confirmed by 4 Hen.IV cap.13: Statutes of the Realm (1816), II,137.
 - 2 J. Hayward, An answer to the first part of a certaine conference, concerning the succession (1603), sig.K-K2; Lily Campbell, Shakespeare's Histories, p.185, plausibly suggests that the bishop of Carlisle's speech in Henry VIII was Hayward's first answer to Parsons.
 - 3 Hayward, An answer, sig. B2, R 3.
 - 4 Hayward to King James, 6 June, 1603. Bodl. MS Smith, 70, fos.23-25.
 - 5 Hayward, A treatise of union of the two realmes of England and Scotland (1604), pp.1-13 passim.

A perfect union of laws, not just kingdoms was required. Hayward questions the assertion that such a great change in English law has never been made. The continuity of the common law, he says, is a fact 'not commonly received'. His civilian mind was geared towards codes and statutes rather than custom, and he even believed that 'some times entire alteration of government is necessarie'. The Romans had profitably exchanged an anarchic republic for the benefits of monarchy under Augustus.¹ Few would have questioned the assertion that changes in government were natural; such was the character of commonwealths. Hayward actually sees such changes as good things. He plays down the profundity of legal alterations by distinguishing between the substance of a government - its absolutely sovereign character - and its accidental form:

The Romane Empire did alwaies remaine, although the government thereof was sometimes regal, sometimes popular, and sometimes mixt; although the soveraigntie was transferred, from Kings to Consuls, and from Consuls to Emperors.²

The empire always existed as a sovereign body; only the office in which sovereignty reposed had changed. It matters not that the sovereignty is shifted from one form of government to another, as long as it is absolute and unbroken. Taking his cue from Bodin, he rejects any kind of mixed sovereignty. While addressing the issue of secular control

1 Hayward, A treatise of union of the two realmes of England and Scotland (1604), pp.11,13, expanding on a position in An answer, sig. Fv. Hayward seems to be twisting Sir Thomas Smith's Polybian statement that mutations of governments are natural into an argument for their deliberate change, a point explicitly rejected by Smith, De republica Anglorum (1583), pp.5,17.

2 Hayward, Treatise of union, p.51.

over the church elsewhere, he defined sovereignty as 'an absolute and perpetual power'.¹ The union would preserve and enhance sovereignty, no matter what it did to the form of government and laws of the realms. Sovereignty was not for Hayward, an arbitrary rule, but autonomy and supremacy. The king could make laws and could occasionally use his prerogative to override them, though only in great matters on which the safety of the people depended.²

Evidently, the exchange of one form of government for another and the modernisation and codification of law was less harmful in Hayward's eyes than the exchange of one king for another by rebellion, the sheer breaking of law: Hayward had to avoid, at all costs, supporting the arguments of Parsons. He capped his piece with a standard plea for the historical necessity of a union, which Henry VII had 'aimed at... when he married his eldest daughter Margaret into Scotland'.³

Hayward's appeal fell on deaf ears, but ensured his favour with the king. He enjoyed the patronage of Prince Henry and at his request wrote his finest work, the Lives of the III Normans, Kings of England. Henry had complained of the poor quality of other histories of England

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- 1 G.L. Mosse, 'The Influence of Jean Bodin's République in English Political Thought', Medievalia et Humanistica, V (1948), 73-83; Hayward makes numerous references to Bodin. In his council examination in 1601, he had cited Bodin (not 'Bodius' or 'Boethius' as misread in Cal.S.P.Dom., 1598-1601, p.540) on the subject's duty to the king in a monarchy; P.R.O., S.P.12/278/17. Hayward specifically cites Bodin (probably the Six Bookes of a Commonweale) in An answer, sig.D3, and A reporte of a discourse concerning supreme power in affaires of religion (1606), p.13; The Bodinian text distinguishing between a state and a government is Six Bookes, trans. R. Knolles (1606), Bk.II, ch. vii, p.249.
 - 2 Hayward, Reporte, pp.7-8; Levack, Civil Lawyers, pp.100, 114.
 - 3 Hayward, Treatise of union, p.55.

and asked Hayward to write a new one. 'For his owne instruction, he more desired... to know the actions of his Auncestors.' The prince died shortly thereafter, but Hayward published the work in 1613, with a dedication to Prince Charles.¹

The source material of the III Normans was available in the chronicles printed by Savile, Camden and others.² Hayward did no original manuscript research, but he did apply his knowledge of classical and legal texts to the analysis of William I's conquest and its significance. He played down the 'conquest' itself by stressing William's right to the throne. Prior English and ancient history showed that foreigners and even bastards could duly inherit crowns. Edgar Aetheling's right to Edward the Confessor's crown was the best, but he was too weak to defend it, and 'not gracious to the English'. Harold, on the other hand, had no right at all. William was a compromise between a weak heir and a strong usurper.³

Although William's 'entrance was not by way of conquest, but with pretence of title to the crowne',⁴ the new king made great changes. He paid only lip service to existing laws, as codified by the Confessor, of which 'hee changed the greatest part, and brought in the customes of Normandie in their stead'. A wary new prince, he carried out his legal changes 'by degrees' to avoid rebellion.⁵ He was tacitly supported by the English themselves, 'who have alwaies been inclinable to accommodate themselves to the fashions of France'.⁶ Hayward admired William both

1 Hayward, lives of the III Normans, Kings of England, sig. A3.

2 Goldberg, 'Hayward', p.238; Bruce's introduction to Annals of... Elizabeth, p.xxii erroneously suggests Hayward used a manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle. Hayward does not seem to have been interested in the Saxons or their language.

3 Hayward, III Normans, pp.43-45, 50, 122.

4 Ibid., p.122.

5 Ibid., pp.96, 123.

6 Ibid., p.124.

for his swift and ruthless victory, and for his prudent government. He was also pious, generally beneficent to the clergy, and impeccably moral - the perfect model for a future king of Britain.¹

Hayward appears to follow Sir Thomas Smith's definition of sovereignty, or 'rule', as the power to 'controwle, correct, and direct all other members of the common wealth'.² Hayward's idea that great changes in government are legitimate as long as sovereignty remains perpetual appears in his account of William II's succession. Though Robert was William's elder son, the king was entitled to leave his crown to whomever he liked, an assertion that Hayward supports with reference to 'the best approved interpreters of the Canon and Civill law'. Ordinarily, a king has no such right to alter succession by proximity of blood, but in a new state such as Norman England, the right of succession depends on the king's will, for earlier customs are abrogated and new ones have not yet developed. William Rufus was certainly not elected, however, so the sovereignty could still be said to have passed unbroken.³

No matter what the justice of his title, Hayward leaves his youthful reader in no doubt that William II was a bad king who levied too many taxes, oppressed the clergy and ultimately paid the price for his father's enclosure of the New Forest by perishing there himself. Hayward did not often appeal to the divine judgement, but he clearly believed it was a powerful force in history.⁴

1 Hayward, III Normans, pp.108, 116.

2 Smith, De republica Anglorum, p.1. Smith, however, believed that sovereignty in England while 'absolute', was divided among the estates: see J. Daly, 'The Idea of Absolute Monarchy in Seventeenth-Century England', Historical Journal, 21 (1978), 227-250, p.228.

3 Hayward, III Normans, pp.143-46.

4 Ibid., p.218. Hayward calls 'the secret working and will of God' the 'cause of all causes', *ibid.*, p.46.

Henry I's succession is also defended by reference to civil and canon law, and to the lack of a legitimate common-law custom. Henry was another prince Hayward admired. It was he who 'first instituted the forme of the high Court of Parliament, as now it is in use'. Hayward, whose knowledge of Saxon history was thin, avoids any comparative discussion of the Saxon witenegemot, merely asserting that earlier assemblies had consisted only of certain nobles and prelates, summoned at the king's will, and without the commons.¹ Like his father, Henry was a dissembler. He promised to restore Edward's laws only to make his subjects more obedient:

And albeit in trueth they were never either reviewed or corrected, yet the onely hope thereof did worke in the people a favourable inclination to his part.

Again, prudent policy is balanced by piety, wisdom and courage. Henry I had a few vices, but these were 'farre exceeded by his vertues'.²

Hayward's study was marred by a civilian's lack of appreciation of the common law and importance of custom, and a relative lack of familiarity with the Saxon past. Like John Speed he had little sympathy for the Middle Ages and regarded any departure from classical models as a decline. As far as Hayward was concerned, if the Normans had come close to introducing the civil law to England in place of barbarous custom, it could only be an improvement.³

The history suffers, too, from Hayward's failure to integrate his material. He relegated the interesting events of each reign to a series of annals, following the life of each king.⁴ His need to provide a

1 Hayward, III Normans, pp. 228, 283.

2 Ibid., pp. 242, 312.

3 Hayward's model in all his histories was Tacitus. In Dauids teares (1622), 'To the Reader', sig. [A7] he extolled the ancients in general as superior to the writers of his own age, 'which cannot neerely approach them'; E.B. Benjamin, 'Sir John Hayward and Tacitus', Rev. Eng. Stud., new ser. VIII (1957), 275-6.

4 Hayward, III Normans, pp. 129-39, 211-20, 302-14.

princely model that was pious as well as prudent led him to demonstrate that as politic as the three Normans were, their few misdeeds nevertheless ensured their extinction after three reigns.¹ Prudence ought not to include vice and impiety. As he had said in 1606, religion is the cohesive element in any kind of government, and the king must be personally worthy of the trust placed in him as supreme head of the church and state.²

Despite his ill-treatment at her hands, Hayward's model head of the ecclesiastical polity was Elizabeth. As a supplement to the III Normans he drew up Annals of her reign, on the model of his Henry IIII. Like that book, this project did not get past the fourth year, since in Hayward's circles it was by now well known that his colleague Camden was embarked on a full-scale history of Elizabeth's reign, with the king's support. Based on printed sources where Camden would turn piles of documents upside down, and including set speeches, Hayward's Annals were a summation of the events of 1558-1562, seeded with Tacitean political lessons derived from these events and supported by similar examples from other times.³ The Annals extol Elizabeth as an ideal ruler of church and state. Hayward tried to integrate prodigies, omens, peripheral events and interesting digressions, such as a short account of the history of St Paul's Cathedral from Saxon times to the present,⁴ but the result is a disjointed history which borders on chronicle, not unlike Speed.

In his last historical work, The life and raigne of King Edward the Sixt, published posthumously in 1630, but written before 1625,⁵ Hayward

1 Hayward, III Normans, p.297.

2 Hayward, Reporte, p. 8.

3 Hayward, Annals of Elizabeth, pp. 15, 42, 67.

4 Ibid., p.90.

5 Folger Shakespeare Library MS 1467.2 is a presentation copy bearing James I's arms.

used the manuscript journal and literary remains of Edward VI, then in the Cottonian library, to supplement Holinshed, Stow, Grafton, Sanders' Anglican Schism and Foxe.¹ The chronicles rather than the manuscripts remained his guide, and the source of the statutes and letters which he printed. When the chroniclers report more than thirty-five hundred of Kett's rebels slain at the battle of Dussindale in 1549, and the king's journal only two thousand, he chooses to follow the chronicles.² He studied the reign thematically, apologising 'for not alwaies observing the just order of time, but sometime coherence or propinquity of matter'. As in the Annals, he tried to integrate the function of story-teller and compiler of facts, with even less success. The fundamental problem was that the child Edward himself was not interesting enough to lend unity to a badly organised work. After the execution of the Duke of Somerset, 'few matters of high nature or observable note happened in England during King Edward's life'.³ Hayward lost interest from this point and summarised the events of Edward's last two years briefly, with little analysis.

The Annals and Edward VI were disappointing after Hayward's high achievement in his earlier works. It is true that he marked a departure in the realistic depiction of men and events, the first really Tacitean 'politic' historian in England, though in no sense did he 'relegate' God to the background. He accepted both the influence of fortune and the role of divine judgement. His most important contribution was his use of medieval and civilian legal erudition as an aid in analysing events, and in his perceptive, if brief, description of the impact of the Norman conquest on English law and monarchic sovereignty.

1 Hayward, The life and raigne of King Edward the Sixt (1630), p.3. The journal is now B.L. MS Cott. Nero C.X; Goldberg, 'Hayward', pp.240-41.

2 Hayward, Edward VI, p.77.

3 Ibid., p.143.

ii) Samuel Daniel and the Emergence of the Present

In his eagerness to show that any change in the form of a government was legitimate so long as there was always a sovereign power, Hayward had assumed a static condition of 'absolute' kingly sovereignty in England since the conquest, as the less sophisticated Clapham had dated it from Egbert's supremacy. Had he written a complete history of England, it is unlikely that he would have had much to say about further long-term developments in the settling of government. As an opponent of Parsons, he could imagine neither a successful elected king, nor a civil state in which there had not been some indisputably supreme power.

As an historian, Hayward's mantle fell, oddly, not to his Chelsea colleague Camden, nor to another civilian, nor to other Machiavellian politic statesmen/historians such as Raleigh or Bacon. It lighted instead on a court poet. Samuel Daniel (1562-1619) was neither a great antiquary like Camden, nor a lawyer like Hayward. Nevertheless, he managed to produce what is arguably the first important (from the point of view of subsequent historiography) narrative history of England.

The border between history and poetry, the media of memory and imagination respectively, though clear enough in the theorists from Aristotle to Bacon, was in practice much more ambiguous. Poets still picked history as their subject, as did dramatists. Some even attempted to reconcile the two. Ben Jonson glossed his Roman play, Sejanus, with notes from his classical sources. For him, 'truth of argument' was all-important.¹ Michael Drayton versified Camden's Britannia as Poly-Olbion, adding some research of his own, and inviting

¹ Jonson, Sejanus his fall, in Ben Jonson, ed., C.H. Herford and Percy Simpson (Oxford, 1925-52), vol. IV, pp. 350, 473-85.

a young lawyer and antiquary named John Selden to provide learned notes and 'illustrations' for it.¹

Drayton's friend Dr William Slatyer (1587-1647) believed that 'Poesie should shadow Historie', since both drew lessons from the past. He tried to imitate Drayton in a narrative rather than a topographical poem. Slatyer's Palae-Albion (1621) was a kind of versified Speed or Polydore, a regnal history from earliest times to the present, and though Slatyer was scarcely critical of the myths of ancient Britain, he documented his tales with extensive marginalia. Palae-Albion impressed Camden with the breadth of its 'historicall learning'.²

Samuel Daniel was both poet and historian. A long career at the courts of Elizabeth and James had made him, like Drayton, many important acquaintances among the antiquaries, historians and lawyers of his day. He numbered Camden and Cotton among his friends, as well as John Cowell the civilian;³ he began his career as tutor to William Herbert, the future third Earl of Pembroke, a connection which he never broke.⁴

Daniel's early work was typical Elizabethan historical drama and poetry. His play Philotas (1605), about the downfall of an ambitious nobleman under Alexander the Great, aroused the wrath of Robert Cecil for its unflattering portrait of Craterus, the sycophantic royal adviser

1 Drayton, Poly-Olbion, Works of Michael Drayton, ed. J.W. Hebel, vol. IV. Selden's notes are dealt with separately below, ch. VII, pp.

2 William Slatyer, Palae-Albion: the History of Great Britanie (1621) preface, (no sig); Kendrick, British Antiquity, pp.74-75; Bodl. MS Smith 17 (Camden's commonplace book), fo. 75v.

3 Fuller, Worthies, II, 288; Wood, Ath. Ox., II, 268-274; J. Rees, Samuel Daniel (Liverpool, 1964), pp. 133, 147.

4 Brian O'Farrell, 'Politician, Patron, Poet: William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, 1580-1630' (Ph.D. thesis, University Of California, Los Angeles, 1966), pp. 207, 219.

who causes Philotas' death. Philotas was inevitably seen as the earl of Essex, an identification which Daniel vigorously denied.¹ He escaped any penalty for his play, but his experience again illustrates the tendency of the Elizabethan mind to read history allegorically.

Continental travel had exposed Daniel to a number of French authors of the late sixteenth century. From Montaigne, whose Essays were translated by Daniel's brother-in-law, John Florio,² he inherited a sceptical attitude to history and a freedom from Hayward's devotion to the classics.³ He also owed much to Loys Le Roy's De la vicissitude ou varieté des choses en l'univers (1579) which was translated into English in 1594. One of the earliest shots fired in the 'battle of the ancients and moderns', it unequivocally denied that there was nothing new under the sun. His tenth book shows that while many modern inventions are merely improvements on things discovered by the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Greeks and Romans, three things, the compass, artillery and printing, are entirely new. The modern world was in no sense the inferior of the ancient, for it had restored the greatest part of the ancient arts and tongues, 'after that they had bin lost almost twelve hundred yeares, and other new, invented in their places'.⁴

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- 1 Daniel, Philotas, in Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel, ed. A.B. Grosart (5 vols., 1885-96), vol. III, pp.178-181; H. Sellers, 'A Bibliography of the Works of Samuel Daniel, 1585-1623', Proceedings and Papers of the Oxford Bibliographical Society, II (1927-30), 29-54, pp.51-52; Brents Stirling, 'Daniel's Philotas and the Essex Case', Mod. Lang. Quart., 3 (1942), 583-94; cf. however G. Wilkes, 'Daniel's Philotas and the Essex Case: a Reconsideration', ibid., 23 (1962), 233-42.
 - 2 M. Eccles, 'Samuel Daniel in France and Italy', Stud. Phil., XXXIV (1937), 148-67; Daniel, 'To Sir Thomas Egerton', Poems and A Defence of Ryme, ed. A.C. Sprague (Chicago, 1950), pp. 101-107.
 - 3 F.A. Yates, John Florio (1934), p.213; R. Himelick, 'Montaigne and Daniel's To Sir Thomas Egerton', Philological Quarterly, 36 (1957), 500-504; J.M. Green, 'Montaigne's Critique of Cicero', J.H.I., XXXVI, (1975), 595-612; Cecil Seronsy, Samuel Daniel (N.Y., 1967), pp.107-111.
 - 4 Loys le Roy, Of the interchangeable course, or variety of things in the whole world, trans. R. Ashley (1594; French ed., Paris, 1579), fos. 17, 107-113; Huppert, Perfect History, pp. 104-117.

Le Roy's sense of historical change would exercise a profound influence on Daniel. Less clear, but perhaps even deeper, are Daniel's debts (for he borrowed often) to Bodin. Daniel never cites Bodin, but the latter's works were well known in England by 1600; in 1579, the year Daniel arrived at Oxford, Gabriel Harvey commented at Cambridge that everyone seemed to be reading Bodin.¹ The Six Bookes of a Common-weale, or République, was translated by Richard Knolles in 1606. The Methodus, remaining in Latin, was less popular than its sister, but was, as we have already seen, influential among historians. Bodin's idea of historical change seems to have influenced both Le Roy and Daniel. Change was neither perpetual decay nor an endless repetition of the same things over and over. In the Methodus, Bodin uses virtually the same language as Le Roy to deny the existence of a golden age in the past: this is the delusion of old men, regretting the 'good old days'. Many ancient devices cannot compare with entirely new modern inventions 'with which the life of man has been aided in a remarkable way'.²

This was only one of Bodin's many faces. Another was that of the political thinker, the student of the state and of sovereignty. Between the Methodus (1566) and the Six Bookes (1576), as the French religious wars heated up, Bodin modified his own ideas of sovereignty. In the later book he freed the sovereign prince from the ties of local law to which he had tied him in the Methodus. While Bodin still asserted

1 Letter Book of Gabriel Harvey, ed. E. Scott (Camden Soc. new ser. XXXIII, 1884), p.79; J. Brown, 'Bodin et Ben Jonson', Revue de littérature comparée, XX (1940), pp.66-81; Mosse, 'Influence of Bodin's République', art. cit.

2 Bodin, Method, trans. Reynolds, p.302; Le Roy, Variety of things, fo.125; Tuveson, Millennium and Utopia, pp.56-59; C. Seronsy, 'The Doctrine of Cyclical Recurrence and Related Ideas in the Works of Samuel Daniel', Stud. Phil., LIV (1957), 387-407; J. B. Bury, The Idea of Progress (1920), pp. 37-49.

that the prudent king would work within positive as well as natural and divine law, and avoid altering or breaking positive laws except with good reason (an idea we have already seen recur in Hayward) he denied that the king shared any sovereignty with his nobles or people. The 'mixed state', that amalgam of monarchic, aristocratic and popular government advocated by Polybius, did not and could, exist. Bodin also denied the right of the subject to rebel against or kill his monarch.¹ Bodin was scrupulous in distinguishing between the sovereign - the person of the governor - and the sovereignty, an abstract quantity which pertained to the community and which the sovereign himself exercised, but did not own and could not alienate. He also popularised the use of the word 'state' (état) in a recognisably modern sense, to mean the social community as a whole, not the 'estate' of a prince nor the 'estates' he consulted.²

Hayward's citations and his concept of supremacy suggest a sympathy with the Bodin of the Six Bookes, with a monarch who did not need to work at all times within the positive laws of the realm, but would do so for the sake of a peaceful state.³ Daniel's debt to Bodin's political side is more selective, for his was a more eclectic mind. As we shall see, he tempered his views on the development of absolute sovereignty in England with a moderate, constitutionalist coating derived from one of his major historical sources, du Haillan's L'histoire de France.

1 Bodin, The Six Bookes of a Common-weale, trans. Knolles (1606), I, viii, .84-86, 88: 'unto Majestie or Soveraigntie belongeth an absolute power, not subject to any law'. On kings and tyrants, *ibid.*, II. iv, 211-12; on rebellion, *ibid.*, II, v, 219-26; J.H.M. Salmon, The French Religious Wars in English Political Thought (Oxford, 1959), pp. 47-50; Salmon, 'Bodin and the Monarchomachs' in Jean Bodin, ed. Denzer, pp. 359-78.

2 Quentin Skinner, Foundations of Modern Political Thought (Cambridge, 1978), II, pp. 286-90, 354-58.

3 As late as 1648, Sir Roger Twysden believed Bodin to have subordinated the French king to the equivalent of English common law; Salmon, French Religious Wars, p.68; cf. above, p.108, n.1.

Recent scholarship has pointed to Daniel's extraordinarily well-developed 'sense of the past'.¹ Better than most of his contemporaries, he knew that history was a record of long-term change as well as the ebbs and flows of individuals and nations. In Musophilus (1599), dedicated to Fulke Greville, he defended history as the means by which men 'the dead living into counsell call'.² In A Defence of Ryme (1603) he rejected Thomas Campion's attempt to refound English poetry on the basis of classical models. To Daniel, such an artificial return to antiquity ignored natural developments and assumed too readily that what was good in antiquity was still equally valid. Daniel understood both that the present was the product of the past, and that it was different. Custom and nature should determine the language of modern poetry. Classical forms ought not be elevated into Platonic ideals, for man is no longer in classical times:

Me thinkes we should not so soone yeeld our consents
captive to the authoritie of Antiquitie, unlesse we saw
more reason: all our understandings are not to be built
by the square of Greece and Italie. We are the children
of nature as well as they....³

The debt to Le Roy here is pretty clear. But unlike Le Roy, Daniel refused to condemn medieval culture: to assume that an age has nothing of value to offer is 'arrogant ignorance'. The barbarian 'Goths, Vandales, and Longobards' may have overwhelmed much good ancient learning, but they have 'left us still their lawes and customes, as the originalls of most of the provincial constitutions of Christendome'. For Le Roy

1 A.B. Ferguson, 'Historical Thought of Samuel Daniel', J.H.I., XXXII (1971), 185-202; W. Blisset, 'Samuel Daniel's Sense of the Past', English Studies, 38 (1957), 49-63.

2 Daniel, Musophilus, line 192, in Poems and Defence, p.74; Greville tried to find a parsonage for Daniel in 1595; Hist.MSS. Comm., Hatfield, V (1894), p.166; D. Norbrook, 'Panegyric of the Monarchy and its Social Context under Elizabeth I and James I' (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1978), ch. 4, studies Greville and Daniel in tandem.

3 Daniel, A Defence of Ryme, in Poems and Defence, pp. 131, 139.

there were ancients and moderns; of the primitive times before civilisation and of the Middle Ages he tended to speak in slighting terms.¹ Daniel, by contrast, appreciated each age on its own merits, recognising that history was 'but a mappe of men' which in no way helped one apprehend the past in its substance. A century before Vico, he called for a greater appreciation of and empathy with the accomplishments of the past without denying those of the present.²

The Civile Wars, Daniel's versification of the period covered by Hall's chronicle, shows that he not only understood the medieval character, but appreciated it as well. For him the Middle Ages were perhaps the happiest time in human memory, an age of piety, faith and, in the early Plantagenet period, of political harmony. From about the mid-fourteenth century, things began to go wrong. Daniel saw the world's ensuing misery in the development of printing, which tempted men to challenge what was best taken on faith, and of artillery, which killed more effectively.³ England shared the tendency of the world to improve and decline, 'Nemesis', a sort of super-fortune which determines that a rising civilisation will eventually fall, descended on England in the civil wars of the fifteenth century. Prosperity would always return after each period of decline. It would not be the prosperity of a restored golden age, either mythical or historical, but a new zenith in civilisation.⁴ This

1 Daniel, Defence of Ryme, in Poems and Defence, p. 140; Le Roy, Variety of things, fo.17.

2 Daniel, Defence of Ryme, in Poems and Defence, p.143; Daniel, The Collection of the historie of England (1618), p.101.

3 Daniel, The Civile Wars, Bk VI, verses 26-36, (Works, II, pp. 225-229); Daniel is almost without a doubt reacting to the praise of artillery and printing (along with the compass) by Le Roy, Variety of things, fos. 111, 116v.

4 Seronsy, 'Cyclical Recurrence', art. cit., pp. 390, 394-5.

ingenious adaptation of Bodin and Le Roy afforded Daniel a subtle means of asserting historical improvement while allowing for social and political setbacks such as the Black Death and the wars of the Roses. His own age was one of progress, as had been the high Middle Ages.

Not surprisingly, this view of history lent itself to a panegyric of the age of James I (and in particular the union of the crowns) as the new peak in an age of achievement. 'Shake hands with union, thou mightie state', he had written on James' accession.¹ In the Civile Wars, begun earlier but mainly written and revised after 1603, Daniel showed the advantages of strong government and the horrors of civil strife,

thereby to make the blessings of Peace, and the happinesse of an established Government (in a direct Line) the better to appear: I trust I shall doe a gratefull worke to my countrie, to continue the same, unto the glorious union of Henry 7: from whence is descended our present happinesse.²

Though it was probably the most interesting version of Hall's saga, outside Shakespeare, the elements of the poem were largely the same. Stereotyped characters performed on the relatively narrow stage of the fifteenth century, a stage on which the scenes, from Richard II's deposition to Henry VI's defeat at Wakefield, were by now familiar. In the 1609 edition he announced a new project.

And because I finde the common tongue of the world is Prose, I purpose in that kinde to write the Historie of England, from the Conquest: being encouraged thereunto, by many noble and worthy spirits.³

1 Daniel, A Panegyrike congratulatory, v.2 (Works, I, p.143); Cp. Civile Wars, Bk. VI, v. 45, (Works, II, p.232).

2 Civile Wars, ep. dedic., (Works, II, p.6).

3 Ibid., II, p.8. Possibly the 'worthy spirits' were Camden and Greville - one can practically rule out Pembroke since the dedication to his mother, Mary, would not have left him unnamed.

Daniel's familiarity with Montaigne's work had nurtured a scepticism toward the possibility of exact knowledge of the past, and the first problem he confronted in dealing with earlier English history was the old one of reliability of sources. In the Civile Wars Daniel had reported what his sources told him, but he recognised the contradictions in accounts of even that recent period, ascribing them to the 'bias of men's affections'. The historian's task was 'to recite them, not to rule them'.¹

After writing a preparatory Breviary,² Daniel composed The first part of the historie of England (1612). He begins by complaining that his work must be 'raised of many scattered peeces [and] variable and uncertaine relations of times, diversly affected'. His material is the 'best approved monuments': English and French printed chronicles, printed statutes and a number of manuscripts - Rishanger's chronicle, Richard Fitzneal's Dialogus de scaccario (then ascribed to Gervase of Tilbury) and a few close rolls, all of which he had from Cotton. Later, describing the Becket controversy largely from the printed papal correspondence in Roger Hoveden, he concluded that letters were 'the best peeces of History in the world, and shew us more of the inside of affayres then any relations else'.³

1 Daniel, Civile Wars, Works, II, pp. 6, 8.

2 Bodl. MS Tanner 84 is one of four known MSS of this tract, often assigned to Raleigh. Rudolph Gottfried, 'The Authorship of A Breviary of the History of England', Stud. Phil. LIII (1956), 172-190, settles the question of authorship in Daniel's favour; Q. Skinner, 'History and Ideology in the English Revolution', Historical Journal, 8(1965), p.157, mentions the Breviary, but does not ascribe it to Daniel, and does not discuss his history.

3 Daniel, The first part of the historie of England (2nd issue, 1613), pp.1-2 (the first issue, 1612, was limited by Daniel to his friends); Daniel lists many of his sources in 'Certaine Advertisements to the Reader' in his continuation, The collection of the historie of England (1618), sig. A3; cf. p.78. He promised an appendix of documents, which was evidently completed (he refers frequently to it in the text) but never printed. May McKisack, 'Samuel Daniel as Historian', Rev. Eng. Stud. XXIII (1947), 226-243; R. Gottfried, 'Samuel Daniel's Method of Writing History', Stud. Renaiss., III (1956), 157-74; W.L. Godschalk, 'Daniel's History', J. Eng. Ger. Phil., LXIII (1964), 45-57.

Knowing that ancient times were uncertain, he restricted his investigations principally to the time after the Norman conquest, though (like Speed and Ayscu) he gave some account of the earlier period. God, he says, has deliberately caused the disappearance of evidence, in order to restrict the historian's search to a narrower period, 'as if the same were sufficient, both for example and instruction, to the government of men'. Daniel still assumes that the lesson to be drawn from the past is much more important than the facts themselves. Complete accuracy is both impossible and unimportant:

the 10 of July, and the 6 of August, with a yeare
over or under makes not a man the wiser in the
businessse then done, which is onely that hee desires.¹

In any case, human nature does not change and

we shall finde still the same correspondencies to
hold in the actions of men: virtues and vices the
same, though rising and falling, according to the
worth, or weaknesse of governors: the causes of
the ruines, and mutations of States to be alike.

The beginnings of peoples are 'as uncertaine as the heads of great Rivers' and will not add to our virtue.²

Daniel's friends not only gave him the idea of writing the history; they influenced its contents as well. Through Camden and Cotton, the poet would likely have met John Selden and John Hayward. Selden's Jani Anglorum, published in 1610, was a short study of changes in English law from British times to the early post-conquest period. Selden expressed an ambivalence toward the impact of the conquest, and though he concluded that William had ratified most of the Saxon laws, his indecision would lead him to modify his own position several times in subsequent works.³

1 Daniel, First part, pp. 2-3; Collection, sig. A4.

2 Daniel, First part, p. 3; Cp. Montaigne, Essays, trans. J. Florio, ed. J.M. Stewart (1931), I, 153.

3 Selden, Jani Anglorum facies altera, Opera, II, 997-1030 anticipates and may have influenced Daniel's statements about early English history. See below, ch. VII.

Hayward, as we have seen, felt no such ambivalence. From his civilian point of view, the common law dated only from the conquest. We know that the III Normans was nearly finished by August, 1612; Daniel could easily have read it before finishing his own work, or at least discussed the matter with Hayward. Certainly his own position on the influx of Norman custom closely resembles that in the III Normans.¹ Another civilian, John Cowell, was a close friend of Daniel. Cowell's controversial Interpreter (1607), burned in 1610 for its absolutist views, acted in harmony with Bodin (at different points, both Methodus and Six Bookes) and du Haillan's L'histoire de France (1577) to give Daniel his theme: the gradual development of England into a unified 'state' with an 'absolute' government by hereditary monarchy. Like du Haillan and the early Bodin, and unlike Cowell and the later Bodin, Daniel did not equate absolute sovereignty with theoretical freedom from the positive laws of a state.²

Daniel seems to have followed Speed in his choice of du Haillan as a model. Speed had simply mimicked du Haillan's device of numbering monarchs sequentially (and du Haillan's bulk!). Daniel was more influenced by du Haillan's ideas. The Histoire traced the history of the French state from Pharamond to Charles VII and delineated the gradual changes in government as an elected monarchy (under the Gauls, the Merovingians and the Carolingians) gave way to an hereditary one. Daniel would apply the same model to early British and English history. Du Haillan's political thought struck a moderate balance between the later Bodin and the Monarchomachs. His kings were both absolutely supreme and

1 Goldberg, 'Hayward', p.238; Daniel, like Hayward, asserts a complete break with Saxon institutions (except certain laws for domestic security), a position Selden had not yet reached, but would arrive at in Titles of Honour, (1614).

2 John Cowell, The Interpreter, (1607), s.v. 'King', 'Parlament', 'Prerogative' and 'Subsidie'; Levack, Civil Lawyers, pp.103-106.

at the same time restrained by positive laws from free exercise of their wills. But du Haillan's view of French history as an ageing process, from infancy under the Merovingians, through Carolingian maturity to Capetian senescence was too pessimistic for Daniel.¹ For him things were still improving through England's equivalent of the Capetian age, under the Normans.

In the preface to the First part, Daniel divided his projected work into periods according to the type of government England had enjoyed. The first part would take the story up to King Stephen, concentrating on the better-known portion of that period, from 1066. Part Two would concern the Plantagenets, who had 'a greater magnificence, and glory of state then ever: intermixt with strange varieties and turnes of Fortune'. Daniel never finished this second part; he ended with Edward III, the point at which the Civile wars began. Nor did he write the third part, on the Tudor period, which he believed was qualitatively different from earlier times. It was

a time not of that virilitie as the former, but more subtile, and let out into wider notions, and bolder discoveries of what lay hidden before. A time wherein began a greater improvement of the soveraigntie, and more came to be affected by wit then the sword.

Treasure from the New World, he hints, enabled Tudor monarchs to establish an unchallengeable rule, free from the baronial challenges of the later Middle Ages.²

1 Bernard Girard du Haillan, L'histoire de France (Paris, 1576), pp. 324-27; Kelley, Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship (N.Y., 1970), pp. 233-37; Salmon, 'Bodin and the Monarchomachs', art. cit., pp. 365, 373-4. Du Haillan was the historiographer royal to Henry III. On du Haillan see Farley, 'French Historiography', diss. cit. pp. 206-10, 221f; P.M. Bondonio, 'Henri III et l'historiographe du Haillan', Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, XXX (1923), 507-9.

2 Daniel, First part, sig. A3 (emphasis mine).

Modestly, Daniel confines himself to 'those affaires of action, that most concerne the government'. His theme is the growth of England from a divided conglomerate of tribes into a unified state under a single absolute government. He uses the word 'state' more consistently and frequently than any of his contemporaries to mean a social and political community, existing independently of the people in it and the government ruling them. This usage derives, at least indirectly, from Bodin's Six Bookes.¹

Like Speed, Daniel rejected large sections of the British History as spurious. His ancient Britain was neither Clapham's collection of monarchies nor Speed's aristocracy of autonomous princes, but a land divided among independent tribes each led by a warrior chieftain. Cassivellaunus, the first of these for whom the facts were reasonably sure (he appears in Caesar's account) was elected 'by the common counsell' of his tribe, in time of war, 'to have the principall administration of the State, with the businesse of warre'. Though he was called a king, 'it was no monarchie'.² Daniel, perhaps oversimplifying, suggests that all the Britons shared this form of leadership and derived it from their relatives, the Gauls.³

A study of the savages in the new world showed that all nations began in a state of 'first and naturall free nakedness', establishing

1 Daniel, First part, sig. A2v.; Du Haillan uses 'état' in the modern sense, but not consistently, suggesting Bodin's Six Bookes as a more likely immediate source for this aspect of Daniel's thought: Du Haillan, L'histoire, pp. 2, 128, 130. Other English authors who use the word 'state' in the Bodinian sense are Greville and Raleigh in the Treatise of Monarchy and Maxims of State respectively.

2 Daniel, First part, p.5; Cp. du Haillan, L'histoire, p.129 (gloss): 'L'histoire des anciens Roys pleine de Fables', and his opinion that the French monarchy was elective until Hugh Capet in the eleventh century, p.19.

3 Daniel, First part, pp.5-7; R. Verstegan, Restitution of decayed intelligence (1605), pp. 25, 46 is more concerned with Saxons than Britons. A more likely source is Camden's Remaines (1605), pp.1-6, (in which Daniel is referred to as a modern Lucan), or Selden, Jani Anglorum, Opera, II, 979. The ultimate source is Tacitus' Germania; S. Kliger, The Goths in England (Camb., Mass., 1952), pp.115ff.

civil government only when forced by danger from abroad or anarchy within. Nor, when government began, was it always monarchical. To assume a monarchy always existed in Britain is to be guilty of anachronism, 'to give entertainment to those narrow conceits as apprehend not the progresses in the affaires of mankind.'¹ On these grounds, Daniel felt justified in dismissing Monmouth's 'line of absolute kings', pointing out that since the ancient Britons were unlettered, the record of their rulers from Brute to Cassivellaunus must be the invention of a later age. Unlike Speed and Clapham, who regarded the ancient Britons as savage heathens, desperately in need of Roman and Christian civilisation, Daniel assessed them on their own terms. A simple people, they were 'more just and honest' than later men. This Tacitean appreciation of the noble savage immediately sets Daniel apart from his predecessors.²

Monarchy, however, is a good thing, and it was the Britons' lack of it which allowed the Romans to divide and conquer. Under Rome, Britain was governed by tributary princes. Abandonment by Rome left 'the state of Britayne' once more at the mercy of invaders. The Saxon conquest was much more important than the Roman, for it involved the 'generall subversion of a state', not simply the superimposition of a foreign overlord. The Britons were completely extirpated by the pagan Saxons.

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- 1 Daniel, First part, p.6. This seems an oblique shot at Thomas Smith's assertion that England was always an 'absolute' monarchy (or monarchies) of some kind (an idea developed by Speed and Clapham). De republica Anglorum, ch. 9, pp. 9-10. 'Progresses', of course, need only mean change, not 'progress'.
 - 2 Daniel's possible sources here include Tacitus; Bodin, Method, p.99; and perhaps given the focus on elective rule, Hotman, Francogallia ed. R. Giesey and trans. J.H.M. Salmon (Cambridge, 1972), p.221; as well as the explicitly listed du Haillan, L'histoire, Bk. I, passim.

Instead of appealing to providence Daniel remarks that the same thing had happened elsewhere at this time:

this was an absolute subversion, and concurred with the universall mutation, which about that time happened in all these parts of the world; whereof there was no one country, or Province, but chaunged boundes, inhabitants, customes, language, and in a manner all their names.

Amid the 'generall dissolution', English history begins

with a new Bodie of people, with a new state, and government of this Land, which retained nothing of the former....¹

Under the Saxons, the English state continued to evolve. Saxon laws were supreme 'without mixture of any other', until the conversion by Augustine 'ordered' these according to ecclesiastical law. Gradually, the many Saxon kingdoms swallowed each other up until Egbert 'in a manner attained to a soverainty of the whole'. Unlike Clapham, whom he appears to have read, Daniel did not see this 'settling of a Monarchie' as a permanent change. The Danish attacks, 'as if ordain'd to revenge their slaughters', soon vitiated Egbert's accomplishment.² After a half-century of confusion, Alfred restored order, codified the laws and ruled over or received homage from all the English. His son, Edward the Elder, went further and subjected Mercia completely. Later, Edgar became 'the first and most absolute monarch of this land', the first indisputably supreme king. He revived a decaying navy in order to keep out invaders. Nevertheless, his too was only a temporary calm, 'being too short to close the dissevered joynts of a commixed Kingdom which was onelie to have been the worke of time'. The quarrels of his successors turned the sovereignty to the Danes, and Canute 'was by most of the Clergie

1 Daniel, First part, pp. 20, 24, 26-28. Du Haillan, L'histoire, p.2, places a similar emphasis on the need for unity and collective security as an argument for the Franks' institution of Monarchy.

2 Daniel, First part, pp.29-33. Daniel's phrasing here strongly resembles Clapham, Historie of Great Britannie (1606), pp.295-6.

and Nobilitie chosen King'. His rule was just, if short-lived, as was that of the stopgap Edward the Confessor, but though no regime lasted very long, England was now one realm.¹

Daniel extended his view that British kingship was elective to the Saxon period. On Edward the Elder's death, he approved the election of Athelstan, a bastard, over his legitimate but infant brother Edmund. Harold II was similarly elected to the kingship on the Confessor's death. Hayward had considered Harold 'a manifest usurper, naked of all true title to the Crowne', both because Hayward admired William and because he held the right of inheritance to rest with the named heir, William. Daniel does not cite Hayward: he has a different idea. Harold was perfectly legitimate and he made 'all provisions for defence, that a politicke and active Prince could do'. Only 'fortune' let him down. The weakness of his nobles, corrupted by a few years of peace, allowed William the victory.²

Breathing a Speedian sigh of relief that the facts were now more plentiful and certain, Daniel begins section two of the First part with a review of the Conquest. Duke William's title was spurious, for the Confessor's gift was 'against the Law and custome of the Kingdome'. The right to the throne was not the property of the king but of the kingdom. After Harold's death, though, the three estates (nobles, clergy and commons) submitted. The nobility, now used to monarchy, decided they 'must have a King' and chose William. The Clergy were indifferent and the Commons, lacking noble leadership, powerless to resist the Normans.³

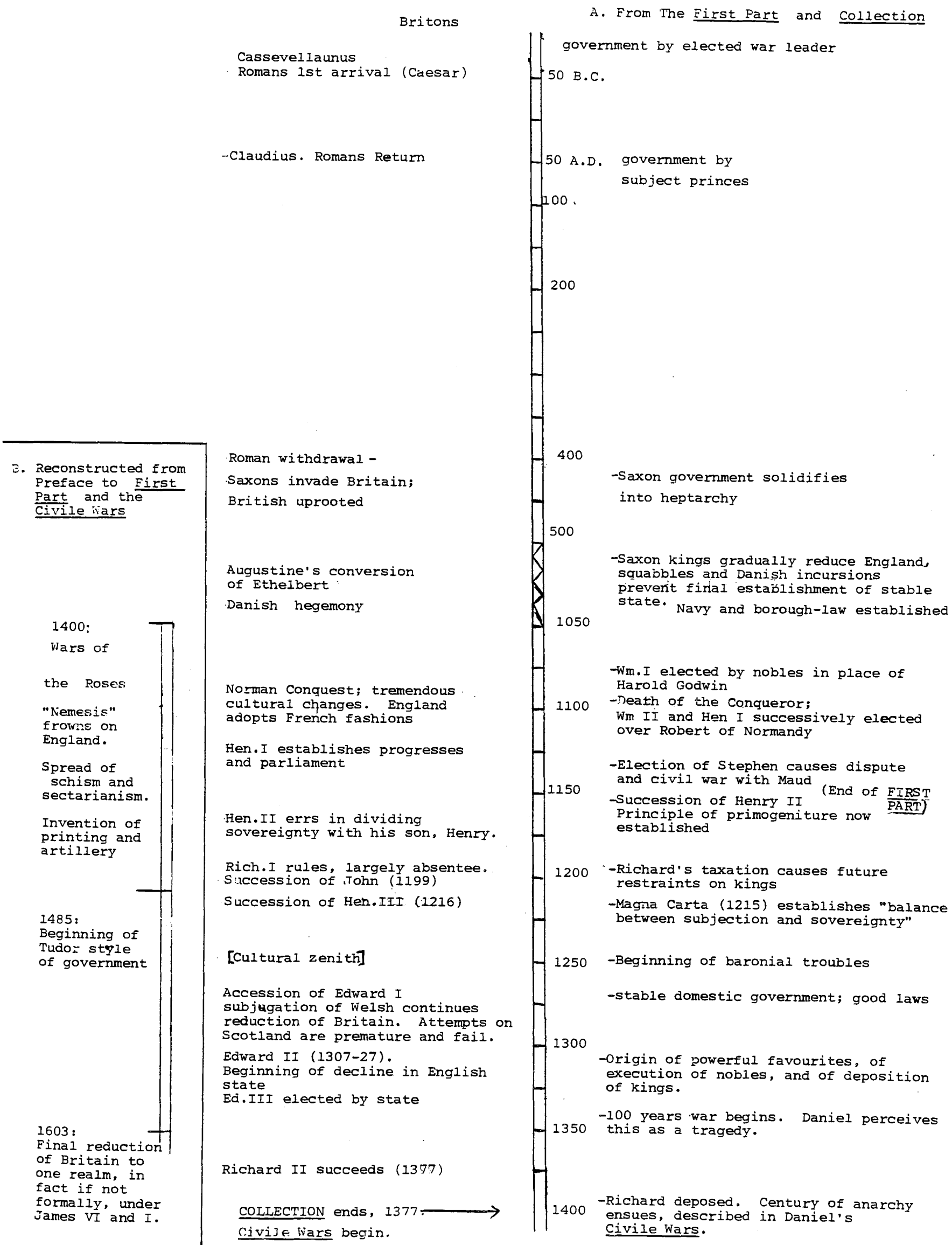
1 Daniel, First part, pp. 35, 41-42, 50-53, 61.

2 Ibid., pp. 39, 67-69. Macbeth, p.62, is a usurper, but he was a regicide with no electoral title; cf. Hayward, III Normans, p.48.

3 Daniel, First part, pp. 96-97, 102-3; the debt here to du Haillan's own account of the conquest is especially marked: 'Les Prelats & Barons Anglois voyans qu'ils ne pouvoient mieux pour les gouverneur & deffendre que le Duc Guillaume, forcez de la necessite, ils delibererent le recevoir, & congnoistre pour leur Roy', L'histoire, p.352; cf. Bodin, Six Bookes, VI, ii, 652-3 (alienation of public treasure).

Fig. III:1

SAMUEL DANIEL'S INTERPRETATION OF ENGLISH HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT



William's conquest initiated a new phase in English history. Like the Saxon conquest, it was not just a change of rulers. The state received:

an alteration of lawes, customes, fashion, manner of living, language, writing, with new formes of fights, fortifications, buildings and generally an innovation in most things but Religion.

The Normans were a civilising influence. They built French castles in place of the 'little homely cottages' of the English. The court began to speak French, and the Scots, overrun with Saxon exiles, began to speak English.¹

The greatest impact of the conquest was on the law. In the Breviary, which remained unpublished until 1693, Daniel had asserted, in accordance with Selden's Jani Anglorum, that William examined the English laws

which were then composed of Merchenlage, Danelage, and Westsaxlage; whereof some he abrogated and some allowed, adding other of Normandy....

By 1612, Daniel had changed his mind and reached a position approximating Hayward's - a complete break. William repressed a series of rebellions and 'beganne to governe all by the customes of Normandy'. He made a token confirmation of the Confessor's laws, but neither this, nor similar pledges by Henries I and II and John, prevented 'generall innovation'. The people merely believed they had their old laws:

And though there might bee some veines issuing from former originals, yet the maine streame of our Common law, with the practice thereof, flowed out of Normandy, notwithstanding all objections can bee made to the contrarie.

This was the first universal law in England and, says Daniel, a six-century pedigree is perfectly respectable.²

1 Daniel, First part, pp. 73, 112-113. Daniel attributes William's speedy conquest to the well-developed Saxon borough-law, whereby the members of a tithing were responsible for each other's good behaviour. The law, 'may be some cause we finde no popular insurrection before the Conquest'. Ibid., p.130.

2 [Daniel], An Introduction to a Breviary of the History of England (1693), p.57; Daniel, First part, pp.120, 122; cp. Hayward, III Normans, p.242; Selden, Jani Anglorum, Opera, II, 997.

William found that existing laws for 'peace and security' were a strong 'chaine to hold the whole frame of the State together' and altered these little. But other changes were more momentous. Judicial trial by combat came into vogue, the laws were written and administered in French, and landholding patterns changed, the number of tenants-at-will increasing.¹ Daniel is ambiguous on the subject of feudal tenures: he did not have the tools of scholarship to come to any striking conclusion, though he suspects that tenures had somehow changed; he wonders whether escuage, the sum payable on a knight's fee in place of military service was new, or perhaps 'an imposition formerly laide, though now newly named'.² He also notes the separation of ecclesiastical and temporal courts, which confines the clergy to a spiritual jurisdiction.³ William's Normans were eventually swallowed by the greater body of the English: there was no longstanding Norman yoke. Although William had set the monarchy on a new foundation, it had not yet ceased to develop, nor had it solidified into the more stable system of primogeniture of later years.

Daniel would prove unimpeachably orthodox in condemning the deposition of legitimate kings such as Edward II, but how a king got to the throne was another matter entirely. He gives Hayward's interpretation of the succession of William Rufus a twist which must have made Hayward's blood curdle. The Conqueror bequeathed his crown to his eldest son Robert, Duke of Normany, but the state whose representatives

1 Daniel, First part, pp.123, 126-9. In addition to Daniel's cited source, 'Gervase of Tilbury' (the Dialogus de scaccario) he may have read Selden, Duello (1610), Opera, III, 84; Cowell, Interpreter s.v.'escuage'; two papers on escuage by Cotton, now B.L. MS Cott. Titus F.IV, fos. 58-61.

2 Daniel, First part, p. 136.

3 Ibid., p.130; Selden was to expand on this very point in his Historie of tithes (1618), ch. XIV, sec. ii.

(the nobility) are tempted by offers of money for the Normans and 'liberties' for the English, choose William Rufus instead.

For the succession in right of Primogeniture,
 beeing none of his, and the elder brother living,
 howsoever his fathers will was, hee must now bee
 put, and held in possession of the Crowne, by the
will of the kingdome.

Again, the word usurper is never used, and Daniel thinks that Rufus could have been a great king, 'absolute in state', a sovereign acting within the now-established laws, had he not tried to be 'absolute in power', governing tyrannically. Daniel never defines what he means by 'absolute'; he seems to intend not arbitrary power but an unchallenged supremacy of the king governing with the consent of the state - the meaning of du Haillan and the earlier Bodin.¹

After Rufus' death (which as usual occurs by divine vengeance in the forest which his father had depopulated) the state once again chose his successor, this time Henry I. A good king, Henry governed well, 'for the good and quiet of the state'. He invented royal progresses 'to see how the State was ordered'. He rescinded many of the Draconian laws of his father, 'by the consent of the State'. Nevertheless, the collective misdeeds of his family cause the extinction of most of his children. Daniel had less sympathy for reason of state than Hayward, and was as firm a believer in divine judgements.²

Henry's most important deed was his summoning of 'the first parliament' at Salisbury in 1116. Never clear as to exactly how the 'state' had been choosing and advising kings, he is even more ambiguous

1 Daniel, First part, p.150 (emphasis mine); Bodin, Method, p.203.

2 Daniel, First part, pp. 171, 193, 194-95.

here. He defines parliament as an 'Assembly of the State', but does not commit himself on its antiquity. A gloss in the 1613 edition refers to the 1116 assembly as the first parliament. By 1618, the gloss had been altered to read 'first parliament after the Conquest'¹

With Stephen, Daniel's approval of elective kingship was beginning to dissipate: Henry's successor had 'no Title at all', but again was 'by meere election advanced to the Crowne'. Stephen spent his reign fighting with his aunt Maud, but despite his dubious title, he ruled beneficially and never exacted money from his subjects.²

In the Collection of the historie of England (1618), Daniel continued the tale to the death of Edward III, coming 'to a State full built, to a Government reared up with all those mayne Couplements of Forme and Order, as have held it together ever since', though, as he had said before, individual kings were not so secure as the Tudors would become.³

In his assessment of the kings after Stephen, he shows a remarkable freedom from the stereotypes to be found in other historians. He judges each king on the evidence, rather than fitting the facts to a preconceived portrait. This leads him to some interesting reappraisals. Richard I is demoted from the pious crusader Daniel had briefly described in the Civile Wars to a self-centred absentee:

This was the end of this Lyon-like king, when he had reigned nine yeares and nine moneths, wherein hee exacted, and consumed, more of this kingdome, then all his predecessors from the Norman had done before him, and yet lesse deserved then any, having

1 Daniel, First part, p. 194; Collection (1618), pp. 56, 78 (emphasis mine). The gloss remains the same in the editions of 1621 and 1634.

2 Daniel, First part, pp. 199, 228f.

3 Daniel, Collection, p. 222.

neyther lived here, neither left behind him
monument of Piety, or of any other publique
worke, or ever shewed love or care to this
Commonwealth, but onely to get what hee could
from it.¹

Harsh words indeed! The one good effect of Richard's reign was that his excessive taxes, in the name of the crusades, caused restraints to be put on future kings: 'their boundlessness came to be brought within some limits'. They learned 'to provide for themselves'.² John was an even worse despot and tax-taker, until 'The Great Charter [was] made to keepe the beame right betwixt soveraigntie and subjection'.³

Even Edward I, though he passed a great number of statutes, which Daniel summarises, could be as ruthless and untrustworthy as his father and grandfather. And what king ever shed so much blood? Edward's Welsh invasion was a good idea, though it proceeded from 'a desire more martiall than Christian'.

For in such Acquisitions as these, the Sword is not to give an Account to Justice, the publique benefit makes amends. Those miserable Mischiefes that afflicted both Nations come hereby extinguished. The Devision and Pluralitie of States in this Isle, having ever made it the stage of bloud, and confusion: as if Nature that had ordained it but one Peece, would have it to bee governed by one Prince, and one law, as the most absolute glory and strength thereof, which otherwise it could never enjoy.

And so inevitability raises her head yet again. The time had come to subdue the Welsh, but not the Scots: Daniel saw Edward's intention of 'reducing this whole Isle under one government' as noble, but presumptuous, for 'God had fore-decreed to make it his owne worke by a clearer way, and ordained it for an unstained hand to set it together'.⁴

1 Daniel, Collection, p. 107; Civile Wars, Book I, verse 14 (Works, II, p.16). I have found no other such statement about Richard I in this period.

2 Daniel, Collection, p.107.

3 Ibid., p. 111.

4 Ibid., p. 159 (emphasis mine), 162.

Another virtue of Daniel's history is his attention to the origins of institutions, such as progresses and duels, or of sumptuary laws, and especially of political tendencies. Seeing the whole course of English history as a unified, integrated picture, he points out how evil deeds and mistakes recur, not simply because of divine justice, but because they set bad examples. Piers Gaveston, Edward II's minister-favourite, was 'the first Privado of this kinde ever noted in our History'. Edward's reign sets two other bad precedents: Thomas of Lancaster's execution, the first of a noble since William I's time, 'opened veines for more to follow, and procured a most hideous revenge, which shortly after insued'; and Edward's own deposition is the first, but not the last example of this 'execrable doctrine'.¹ Daniel was applying here the same approach that had worked for the antiquaries: in order to study an historical phenomenon, find its 'originall', its first occurrence in the written record, and trace it forward in time.

There was much in Daniel's eclectic political thought to raise eyebrows. Like Cowell, Hayward and Bodin of the Six Bookes, he saw the absolute undivided sovereignty of the monarch as essential, but unlike them, he fettered his monarchs, after the conquest, within 'those bounds wherein by the law of the state they are placed'.² He was thus able to reconcile the abrogation of the old law with the binding quality of the new. This closely resembles the position of the earlier Bodin and especially of du Haillan.³

1 Daniel, Collection, pp. 174-75, 180, 184.

2 Ibid., p.138.

3 Bodin, Method, pp.282-86; Six Bookes, VI, v, 723; II, iii, 207; W.H. Greenleaf, 'Bodin and the Idea of Order', in Jean Bodin, ed. Denzer, pp.23-38. Perhaps the clearest single example of Daniel's borrowings from the Six Bookes is his criticism of Henry II for crowning his son as joint king (Collection, pp.84-85), thereby erecting a 'devided soveraignty'. Cp. Bodin, Six Bookes, II, iii, 209, which uses this very example to prove the same point, confusing, however, Henry I and Henry II: Bodin's knowledge of English history was by no means perfect.

If any history deserved to be censored by a tyrannical monarch, nervous of the past, Daniel's janus-faced book was a good candidate. Subsequent writers ignored his first face, that of the panegyrist of absolute sovereignty, and seized upon the student of elective monarchies. Marchamont Nedham, the republican propagandist, inserted sections from Daniel's section on the British warleader or dux bellorum in his Case of the Commonwealth stated (1650).¹ In the later troubles of the 1680s, William Petyt took down excerpts from the Collection on the Conqueror's token obedience to existing English law, deftly ignoring Daniel's plain statement that the conquest had, in fact abrogated Saxon laws.² Daniel's depiction of the power of the state to choose its head, from Cassivellaunus to Edward III, ensured his popularity after 1688. The real-life election of William III to the throne vacated by James II bore an interesting resemblance to the estates' submission to William I and the nobles' election of the Conqueror, as described by Daniel. The whig bishop, White Kennett, included Daniel's history with the republican Milton's history of Britain and the parliamentarian Arthur Wilson's anti-Stuart history of James I. There was more than a stylistic similarity between Daniel's Tacitean verdicts on certain kings and Arthur Wilson's own depiction of James I as a bungling Tiberius.³ In Kennett's edition Daniel's thought lived into the eighteenth century.

From the point of view of historiography, Daniel's history is of great significance. It was, like the Civile Wars, an epic, but on a grander scale. Daniel added nothing to historical knowledge, and he did not dig deeply for material. In his analysis of causation he appealed to God and fortune as much as anyone. He lacked Hayward's understanding of the law and the antiquarian erudition of a Camden, Selden or Spelman.

1 Kliger, Goths in England, p.142.

2 Inner Temple Library, MS Petyt 512, vol. E, fo.170; MS Petyt 533, vol. 1, fo.345 contains Petyt's excerpts from Daniel on Magna Carta .

3 A Complete History of England, ed. J. Hughes with White Kennett (2nd ed., 1719), vol. I. The edition also contained Hayward's Edward VI.

Yet something was different. Daniel was the first man to write a history of England which incorporated an idea of gradual constitutional progress. Ayscu's single-minded account of the events leading to the union was comparatively one-dimensional. Though he seems to have shared the belief that the union was on the divine timetable, Daniel's analysis was much more sophisticated than that of Ayscu, Clapham, or Speed, and his canvas was coloured with social and cultural as well as constitutional developments. By wedding political thought and an appreciation of cultural change together in an historical narrative, by applying poetic imagination to the realm of memory, this unassuming poet became, no doubt unintentionally, the distant progenitor of English constitutional history; in many ways he was the first whig historian.¹

1 J.P. Kenyon, The History Men: the Historical Profession in England since the Renaissance (1983), introduction, pp. 11-12, offers a view of Daniel quite antithetical to mine, according to which Daniel held an 'essentially Tory' view and gave 'sturdy support' to monarchical right in the Middle Ages. This seems to be an oversimplification of the nuances in Daniel's thought.

CHAPTER IV

ANTIQUARIES AND THE NARRATIVE TRADITION:CAMDEN, GODWIN AND BUCK

i) William Camden: Antiquary and Historian

The theoretical gap between antiquarianism and narrative history is nowhere better demonstrated than in a very great representative of both forms, William Camden (1551-1623). Successively a schoolmaster, antiquary, herald and historian, Camden was heir to two traditions. The first was that of topographical or 'chorographical' research, originating with Varro and Strabo, continued in Renaissance Italy by Flavio Biondo and founded in England by John Leland and William Lambarde.¹ The second tradition was that of the humanist historian of his own life and times: this reached back to Polybius, via Jacques-Auguste de Thou, Francesco Guicciardini and Leonardo Bruni. In the mind of William Camden, these two traditions enjoyed an amicable co-existence, but not a marriage.

While still a young man, Camden began to correspond with foreign scholars. The Dutch geographer Ortelius, who visited Britain in 1577, met Camden and suggested he compile a complete description of the island and her Roman antiquities.² Camden had already made investigations of his own, and Ortelius's prodding sent him to work again.

1 E. Cochrane, Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance (Chicago, 1981), pp.34-40; Denys Hay, Annalists and Historians (1975), pp.102-7; F.J. Levy, Tudor Historical Thought, pp.125-34.

2 Ortelius was not the last Dutchman to visit Camden. The poet Janus Douza the elder visited in 1572: Leiden Univ. MS BPL.1406 (Douza's album amicorum) fo.141 v. The virtuoso Bernardus Paladinus (Berend ten Broecke, d.1633) came at an unknown date: Royal Library, the Hague, MS 133, M.63, (Paladinus' album amicorum) fo.281v.

Camden's Britannia (1586), dedicated to Lord Burghley, was the result of his detailed investigation of the ancient geography, place-names and artefacts of Roman Britain.¹ Unlike Leland, who had gone mad in 1550 trying to visit every place of interest himself, Camden relied on second-hand sources, including Leland's own collections, for much of his material.² Still, this was an enormous challenge for a schoolmaster of 35. In subsequent editions (1587, 1590, 1594, 1600, 1607), Camden added much genealogical material and gradually expanded the scope of the book to include the British, Saxon and Danish past as well as the Roman. Not surprisingly, the Britannia contained a number of errors. In replying to the criticisms made in 1596 by the York herald, Ralph Brooke, Camden revealed himself as a shy man, hypersensitive to criticism, who wished to study the past, not to engage in controversy. Many of Brooke's charges were correct, and inspired Camden to take more care in the documentation of his assertions. On the other hand, Brooke's comment that a 'meere scholler' was unfit to write history was pointless, for Camden had never said that the Britannia was a history.³ Camden used histories and chronicles among his sources, and frequently digressed to give the historical details attached to a particular place or family,

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- 1 Camden, Britannia, sive florentissimorum regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae chorographica descriptio (1586, 1587, 1590, 1594, 1600, 1607) translated by Philemon Holland as Britain (1610). All references unless otherwise indicated will be to the translation which Camden personally supervised.
 - 2 Camdeni Epistolae, App. p.85; Kendrick, British Antiquity, p.49; F.J. Levy, 'The Making of Camden's Britannia', Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance XXVI (1964), 70-97, is definitive.
 - 3 Ralph Brooke, A discoverie of certain errours (1596), 'To Maister Camden'; Camden first replied in 'Ad Lectorem', pp. 1-3, 16-18, 29, appended to the 1600 edition of Britannia; Levy, Tudor Historical Thought, p.157.

but the work itself was not a history, because it was not didactic and it did not confine itself to war and politics.

The Britannia was an enormously influential work, as we have already seen. Camden confronted the pantheon of British history - Brutus, Samothès, Albion and the other ancient kings and giants. He found them dubious. He admitted the facts were unclear, but defended conjecture as a means of filling in the gaps. He refused to commit himself on the veracity of Geoffrey of Monmouth; that would be 'to strive with the streame and current of Time; and to struggle against an opinion commonly and long since received'.¹ Nevertheless, he was so clearly sceptical that the Britannia, through sheer weight of learning, all but put the lid on Brutus' coffin, at least as far as the best scholars were concerned; nor was he open to the charge made against Polydore Vergil of being an ignorant foreigner. Henceforward, other, less erudite men, both historians and antiquaries, could take Monmouth with a grain of salt and appeal to the authority of Camden.²

Camden himself cherished a love of the remnants of the past, particularly old coins and epitaphs, whose inscriptions could fill in details in the outline of the past. He studied epitaphs briefly in a short discourse for the Society of Antiquaries in 1600, and published a detailed study of the tombs in Westminster Abbey later that year.³ He undoubtedly stimulated the interest in Roman inscriptions in Janus Gruter, the Dutch scholar who had spent his youth in England from 1567 to some time after 1577. Gruter's own mammoth study of Roman inscriptions

1 Camden, Britain (1610), p.5.

2 Stuart Piggett, 'William Camden and the Britannia', P.B.A., XXXVII (1951), 199-217.

3 B.L. MS Cott. Jul. F.VI. fo. 408; 'Of Epitaphs', 3 Nov. 1600 (printed in Hearne, Curious Discourses, I, 228-232); Camden, Reges, Reginae, nobiles et alii in ecclesia collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii sepulti (1600).

kept their friendship active and provided a link between the scholars of Western Europe and those of England.¹

The virtues and failings of the Britannia have been well studied elsewhere, especially by Professor Levy. More relevant is Camden's Annales of Elizabeth's reign, begun at royal command in 1608 and published in 1615 in a Latin edition extending to 1588. The circumstances surrounding the writing and publication of this work, the only contemporary history of the period, are almost as interesting as the book itself.²

James I was unhappy with the portrait of his mother, Mary Stuart, as a murderess and adulteress by his ex-tutor George Buchanan, a dislike accentuated by Buchanan's dangerous republican beliefs. James regarded Buchanan as the architect of the rebellion of 1566 against Mary. He had tried to persuade Jacques-Auguste de Thou, the Gallican Catholic, to incorporate a more favourable sketch of Mary in his Historiae sui temporis.³ As the politique heir of Bodin, with no love of the kind of rampant clericalism which had destroyed Mary, de Thou seemed a good choice. Anxious to please, the Frenchman had sought the aid of Camden on the subject of recent British and Irish history, but had finally endorsed Buchanan's view in print, much to the annoyance of the king of England. James complained of de Thou's book, the first part of which appeared in 1606, to his librarian, Patrick Young, who had a suggestion:

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- 1 J. Gruter, Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romanae, 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1602-3); L. Forster, Janus Gruter's English Years (1967), pp.4-5. By 1607 the Britannia itself contained a collection of inscriptions.
 - 2 Camden, Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha (1615); H.R. Trevor-Roper, Queen Elizabeth's First Historian: William Camden and the Beginnings of English Civil History (1971) is an excellent account of the work and its background, to which I can only add a few points regarding the king's involvement.
 - 3 Camden to de Thou, 16 Apr., 1605, B.N.Coll.Dup. MS 632 (de Thou correspondence) fos.101-102v.

why not set the record straight with a complete history? 'It is not my purpose to repel or requite such a libel with more libels,' Young wrote the king some time in 1606 or 1607.

I merely wish to show your serene Majesty a man, certainly not of the lowest sort, who from archives and embassies (on this and the other side) from witnesses of each kingdom and from the original letters of those queens, which he saved from the flames, might be able to compile a complete history of the two queens, Mary and Elizabeth.¹

This might be a reference to either Camden or Cotton - Young does not give a name. But Camden seems the stronger candidate. Cotton could have suggested such an idea himself, without a middleman. Camden, on the other hand, was hitherto little known to the king. A decade earlier he had been given a collection of Elizabethan state papers by Lord Burghley, patron of the Britannia, who had suggested Camden write a life of Queen Elizabeth: these presumably are the papers to which Young refers. On Burghley's death in 1598, Camden abandoned the project: as he later told de Thou, he found the writing of history a tiresome, odious task.² He preferred to edit his chronicles, to revise the Britannia (putting it, in 1607, into a style modelled on de Thou's

1 de Thou to Camden, 10 Feb., 1605 (s.n.), Camdeni Epistolae, pp.68f; Young to the king, n.d. (1608?) Bodl. MS Smith 76 (Young correspondence) fo. 5, printed in Patricius Junius: Bibliothekar der Könige Jacob I und Carl I von England (Leipzig, 1898), p.3: 'Sed non est mei instituti maledicta maledictis rependere aut repellere, hoc tantum Serenissimae Ma.Vestrae significare volui, esse quendam non infimae sortis hominem, qui duarum Reginarum, Mariae et Elisabethae, historiam universam ex archivis, legationibus hinc inde legatorum ac senatorum utriusque regni, immo et ipsarum Reginarum literis autographis, quas ex incendio servavit, summa fide conscriptam apud se habeat.' The lack of a date makes it impossible to guess exactly when Camden came under the king's command.

2 Camden, The historie of the most renowned and victorious Princesse Elizabeth, late Queene of England, trans. Robert Norton (1630), sig. B-B3v, the first complete English edition. For convenience, all references will be to this translation, with corresponding pages of the first London Latin editions (Books I-III, 1615; Book IV, 1627) in parentheses; Camden remarks that history is 'Inchoatio invidia, continuatio labor finis odium': Camden to de Thou, 10 Aug., 1612, Bodl. MS Smith 74, fos. 25-28, a copy of B.N. Coll. Dup. MS 632, fos. 103-103v.

history) and to issue the Remaines of his researches, an important little book to which we shall return.¹ But he still had the papers, and was an obvious choice to salvage Mary Stuart's historical reputation. Young's suggestion, complemented by the voice of George Carew, de Thou's friend and James' ambassador in Paris, was persuasive.²

The original plan was to have Camden draw up his Annales for de Thou's use in the hope that the Frenchman would change his mind about Mary Stuart and the revolution of 1566, and alter subsequent editions of his work. Probably because he was wary of controversy and wished to avoid offending de Thou, Camden communicated with his friend, and with the king, through intermediaries. Cotton played courier between the king and Camden, while from 1610 the visiting Huguenot scholar, Isaac Casaubon, communicated with de Thou on behalf of the king. The letters of de Thou and Casaubon show that the former believed Cotton to be the author, and Camden merely the translator. The confusion was compounded by Cotton's likely authorship of a set of memoirs on Elizabeth which were also sent to de Thou at James' command. Francis Bacon, who contributed corrections to the manuscript of the published Annales, also believed Cotton to be the author.³ Indeed, it is likely that Cotton, a younger man who boasted a Scottish ancestry, had a greater share in the writing of the published Annales, especially the sections on Scotland, than has been hitherto acknowledged. Camden was now elderly, and by his own admission he knew little about Scottish history.⁴ Even in 1612,

1 Camden to de Thou, 22 Nov., 1607, B.N. Coll. Dup. MS 836 (de Thou correspondence) fo.145. For the Remaines, see below, Ch. VII, pp.244-46.

2 G. Carew to Salisbury, 2/12 Sept., 1606, P.R.O., S.P. 78/53/155c; Trevor-Roper, William Camden, p.14.

3 Casaubon to de Thou, 20 June, 1612, and 1 July, 1612, Isaaci Casauboni Epistolae (The Hague, 1638), pp.345-46, 349; Trevor-Roper, William Camden, pp.114-16; Bacon, Works, VI, 349-64. John Chamberlain, a close friend of Camden, told Dudley Carleton as early as 29 Jan., 1612, that the Annales were 'collected with the help of Sir Robert Cotton and written by Mr Clarenceaux', Chamberlain Letters, ed. N.E.McClure (Philadelphia, 1939), I, 332.

4 Camden to de Thou, 16 Apr. 1605, B.N. Coll.Dup. MS 632, fos.101-102v.

when Camden finally told de Thou that he was the author, he refused to take all the credit.¹

The publication of the Annales became necessary when de Thou, having received a copy of the manuscript up to 1572, refused to alter what he had written about Scotland. James ordered Camden and Cotton to publish the first part of the Annales in 1615² - much to Camden's surprise, as he told his Dutch friend, Jan de Laet.³ Printing began on 13 March and by 8 June Camden could write in his journal, 'Annales prodierunt'.⁴ Because the second part, from 1588 to 1603, was only published in 1625, at Leiden, it has been assumed that the king had no interest in continuing the saga, that he dreaded Elizabeth's name and that he 'opposed publication'.⁵ Camden himself certainly opposed their publication in English before his death, having already received much criticism for his handling of Scottish affairs. To ensure that the work would be published, he sent a copy to Pierre Dupuy, de Thou's literary executor.⁶ This became the source of the Leiden edition.

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- 1 Camden to de Thou, 10 Aug., 1612, B.N. Coll. Dup. MS 632, fos. 103-103v. Much light on this problem is cast by K. Sharpe, Sir Robert Cotton, pp. 89-95.
 - 2 King James to Camden and Cotton, 25 Feb., 1615, Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. R.5.20, fos. 14-14v (copy in Camden's hand).
 - 3 Camden to de Laet, 18 June, 1616, Camdeni Epistolae, p.167.
 - 4 Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.5.20, fos. 14-14v.
 - 5 Trevor-Roper, William Camden, pp.10, 19, 27. John Kenyon, The History Men, p.10, similarly supposes that the king only very reluctantly permitted the work to go ahead.
 - 6 Camden to 'Right Honourable', n.d., Camdeni Epistolae, p.351; Dupuy to Camden, 5 Dec., 1619, *ibid.*, p.293; Camden to Dupuy, 29 Aug., 1620, Bodl. MS Smith 74, fos. 53-54; Dupuy to Camden, 22 Nov., 1620, Camdeni Epistolae, pp. 310-11; Camden to Dupuy, 17 Dec., 1620, B.N. Coll. Dup. MS 699, fo. 210; Trevor-Roper, William Camden, pp.19f.

But the herald again underestimated King James' interest. Only a few months after his death (November, 1623), the king began to show a renewed interest in the corrections to the first three books and in the unprinted fourth book. James ordered Cotton to interpolate the corrections, and commissioned an English translation of the first part by Abraham Darcie, a Frenchman.¹ The translation appeared in 1625, and the Latin fourth book may only have been held up till 1627 because the complete Leiden edition made it unnecessary. Far from quaking at the sacred name of Elizabeth, James went out of his way to ensure that the second part of the Annales would eventually be printed. Why was he so interested? For this we must turn to the work itself.

Camden modelled himself on the two most admired classical historians of his day. He aspired to the level of truth and impartiality achieved by Polybius, and also to that historian's understanding of the causes and consequences of political events in the long and short terms. He had received a copy of Polybius from Casaubon, the Greek's most recent editor.² Camden's friendship with Sir Henry Savile and his acquaintance with John Hayward, had also taught him the virtues of a later Roman historian, Tacitus. He 'learned of Tacitus that weighty and remarkable occurrences are to be digested by way of annals', and organised his facts into a year by year account.³ His annals were not

1 Conway to the wardens of the Stationers' Co., 25 June, 1624, P.R.O., S.P. 14/168/41 restrains the stationers from printing the Annales as translated by Abraham Darcie until Camden's corrections are inserted by Cotton and he has examined the second part (Book IV). Cotton took only five days, apparently, for Conway lifted the restraint on 30 June; S.P. 14/214/p.132.

2 P. Burke, 'A Survey of the Popularity of Ancient Historians, 1450-1700', History and Theory, V (1966), 135-52; Camden, Historie (1630), sig. B2 (1615, sig. A4); Casaubon to Camden, 5 Sept., 1609, Camdeni Epistolae, p.126.

3 Camden, Historie, sig. B3 (1615, sig. A4v); Camden prepared his material under appropriate years in a workbook, now part of Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.5.20, fos. 81-93.

simply lists of events, a mere record of the facts of each year; they were continuous narratives which, strung together, formed a complete history. The problem with annals was that they restricted the writer's freedom to place individual events in a sequence of cause and effect longer than a year. Camden skilfully overcame this by the use of foreshadowing and recall, always giving the necessary background to an event and hinting at the outcome he would later describe in full.¹ Tacitus, and more recently de Thou, had done the same. The themes of the book - Scotland, Ireland, rebels, papists and puritans- all ran together like the voices of a fugue. The annal itself was merely the measure on the scoresheet.

Anticipating criticism of his own views, Camden resolved to rely on the opinions of his sources and of surviving witnesses, rather than recording his own perceptions, for 'it is a question whether an Historian may lawfully doe it'.² He eschewed fictional speeches, though nearly all his contemporaries employed them, probably because they could easily be challenged by eye-witnesses. In 1615 a great many men who had grown up under and served Elizabeth, at least in her later years, were still alive, with memories of their own: Camden knew he could not possibly please everybody. This as much as natural inclination forced him to rely, like de Thou, on an enormous range of primary sources (there were few secondary ones) in the form of state papers, charters, letters, statutes, parliamentary diaries and council records.³ He had many of

1 E.G., Historie, I, 106 (1615, p.132), where Hugh O'Neal is introduced as a young man 'who proved afterward the disturber, yea the plague of his country'.

2 Ibid., sig. B2v-B3 (1615, sig. A4v).

3 He does not, however, document his statements in glosses. A modern critical edition would be most welcome.

these from Burghley, and Cotton supplied others. Camden would reward Cotton by leaving him his own collections, thereby making the Cottonian library one of the richest sources of sixteenth-century political history. From these documents, Camden built up the first English narrative history based almost entirely on primary sources.

Troubles in Scotland, the reign and fall of Mary Stuart and its subsidiary events - the murders of David Riccio and Henry Darnley - Mary's complicity in French and papal plots and her final doom, figure prominently in the first three books of the Annales. Rather than praise Mary uncritically and unpersuasively, in reaction to Buchanan, he steered a middle course and described a worthy, virtuous, but unfortunate princess. 'Thrust forward into dangerous designes', she was the pawn, not the willing accessory, of the Guises, the Spanish, Ridolfi, Babington and the pope.¹ Her deposition was the product of greed and self-interest on the part of her supporters and enemies alike; her eventual death was a painful necessity, from which Camden exonerates Elizabeth.² Only once, in his eulogy of Sir Francis Walsingham, the secretary whose spies provided the evidence at her trial, did Camden feel he might have gone too far, but even this was left untouched.³ Throughout his account, Camden adduced evidence in the form of letters and state records, printed in extenso.

Camden skilfully tied the tragedy of Mary to other themes in Elizabeth's reign, such as the threats of Rome and the Counter-

1 Historie, III, 113 (1615, p.458).

2 Ibid., III, 115-122 (1615, pp.460-469). Camden rather elliptically suggests that much of Elizabeth's grief was for the benefit of James, as was the victimisation of Secretary Davison.

3 Ibid., IV, 20-21 (1627, pp.25-6); Camden to 'Right Honourable', n.d., Camdeni Epistolae, p.351.

Reformation and of domestic rebels such as the northern earls, and to the equally tragic tale of the executed Duke of Norfolk.¹ But the full picture was even more panoramic. The main subject of the Annales was Elizabeth herself, the embodiment of England, who epitomised for Camden the via media in all things. This included the church, for though Camden did not wish to meddle with ecclesiastical history, he was forced, like de Thou, to integrate it into his account, because in actuality it had been inseparable from politics. Throughout, he usually treats religion as a secular issue, and dissidence as a political offence, not a heresy.² Camden never distinguishes between the reformed religion of Edward VI's reign, of which he elsewhere spoke favourably, and that of Elizabeth, for to do so would be to imply that the Elizabethan church, and its Jacobean successor, was perhaps not as reformed as it could be. His point was precisely the opposite: once Elizabeth had 'by authority of Parliament', re-established protestantism, no further change was desirable.

The Protestant Religion being now by authority of Parliament established, Queene Elizabeths first and chiefest care was, for the most constant defence thereof, against all the practises of all men amidst the enemies in that behalfe; neither indeed did she ever suffer the least innovation therein.³

Camden saw the church through the eyes of his former patron, Burghley, and gave short shrift to religious dissenters from either side. The

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- 1 Historie, II, 40 (1615, pp.217-18); Norfolk was the brother of the Earl of Northampton and grandfather of the second Earl of Arundel, successively Earls Marshal and patrons of Cotton and Camden.
 - 2 Historie, IV, 27-29 (1627, p.34ff.) presents an exception, Hacket's 'blasphemous madnesse' of 1591. Cf. Ibid., II, 98 (1615, p.285) for 'the execrable impietie of Matthew Hamont'.
 - 3 Ibid., I, 31 (1615, p.40); Camden praises the Edwardian reformation in his letter to James Ussher of 10 July, 1618; Camdeni Epistolae, pp. 246-48. His view of the supremacy of the king-in-parliament in ecclesiastical matters is in accordance with Richard Hooker's Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, ed. R. Houk (N.Y., 1931), VIII, vi. 214ff. Elements of his political thought came from Fortescue's idea of 'politique' government: see 'William Camden's "Discourse Concerning the Prerogative of the Crown"', ed. F.S. Fussner, P.Am. Phil.Soc. 101, no. 2 (April, 1957), 204-15.

politique in him, the admirer of de Thou and Bodin, had no patience for puritans, 'breathing nothing but the purity of the Gospell' who 'calumniated the Ecclesiastical policy (as corrupted with Romish dregs)'.¹

On the other side, the schemes of the papacy, the Spanish and the League were a constant menace. Elizabeth was always careful to balance protestantism with prudence by cunningly playing off her Catholic opponents against each other and never deliberately picking a fight. Camden himself, who had several recusant friends, is careful to distinguish between the ordinary English Catholic, who obeyed his queen and ignored the 1570 papal bull of excommunication, and the insidious Jesuits (especially Robert Parsons) whom every protestant prince had to fear.²

The queen was as astute in politics as in religion. Coupling open neutrality with underhand involvement, she persistently supported the underdog in any dispute, aiding the Dutch rebels against the Spanish and Henry IV against his ultramontane opponents.³ In handling domestic affairs, Elizabeth listened to the advice of her councillors and the grievances of parliaments, though she generally knew best herself. Her refusal to name a successor, irksome to parliament, was designed to prevent an early transference of loyalty. Camden notes that many turned to James VI anyway 'in a false belief that the dispraise of the predecessor is a most pleasing delight to the successors'.⁴ Elizabeth favoured and protected worthy counsellors such as Burghley, but she did have an unfortunate weak spot for men of less worth and more ambition, such as the Earl of Leicester and his step-son, Essex.

1 Historie, I, 16, 107; II, 55 (1615, pp.23, 132-3, 233).

2 Ibid., I. 134; III, 10-11 (1615, pp.166, 326-7). Edmund Bolton was a Catholic, as was (till 1615) the Earl of Arundel.

3 Ibid., II, 54 (1615, p.232); IV, 12-13 (1627, pp. 12-13).

4 Ibid., IV, 222 (1627, p.284).

Leicester in particular is painted as an unscrupulous self-seeker.¹
 This was Camden the follower of Burghley talking again, here falling short of his ideal of Polybian impartiality.

All things considered, Elizabeth handled her parliaments with royal kid gloves, presided over the crushing of English and Irish rebellions, and ruled a wealthy, prospering island kingdom, feared and respected by all foreign powers.

Thus sate she as an heroicall Princesse and Umpier
 betwixt the Spaniards, the French, and the Estates.

France and Spain were the scales in the balance of Europe, a balance precariously held by England's Elizabeth.²

Camden's Elizabeth appealed to James I as much as his Mary because most of what he praised in Elizabeth was still Jacobean practice, at least as far as the king was concerned. Like Elizabeth, James was the supreme governor of a balanced, reformed church. Like Elizabeth, 'who had alwaies made peace the summe of her cogitations', he was a peacemaker. Elizabeth, in the 1570s, had promised to support Spain or the Dutch states, depending on which side tried harder to make a peace. She had avoided a war until it became absolutely necessary. James ended the Spanish war in 1605 and consistently held to a policy of directing foreign affairs from above the fray. From 1618, he attempted to halt the burgeoning thirty years' war by diplomacy, without involving England in an expensive conflict.³ His predecessor had also

1 Historie, I, 72, 75; III, 64-65, 145 (1615, pp.91, 94, 391-92, 496).

2 Ibid., II, 86 (1615, p.271).

3 Ibid., II, 89 (1615, pp.274-75); IV, 16 (1627, p.20). Camden's own attitude to Spain is one of suspicion and, as he told Dupuy in 1620, he thought the Annales' fourth book might not be published if times changed 'et Anglia in Hispanos propendeat'. Camden to Dupuy, 29 Aug., 1620, Bodl. MS Smith 74, fo. 53.

put up with no nonsense from firebrand puritans or ill-mannered MPs. This was music to James' ears; he once scolded his counsellors for failing to deal with outspoken members the way Elizabeth had dealt with Peter Wentworth.¹ Camden not only described Elizabeth as the architect of the policies currently practised by James; even better, he also depicted the historical James VI, the future 'Monarch of Britaine', as her godson, admirer, protégé and personally chosen successor. James learned the arts of kingship from his godmother, brought his own factious kingdom to heel, and proved himself worthy to unite the two realms. Camden exonerated James from any involvement in Essex's rebellion, nor is there much sign of the sparks that occasionally flew between the two princes.²

In the early 1620s, James' Fabian tactics towards the Spanish and the Empire came under attack from puritan polemicists like Thomas Scott, who appealed to the age of Elizabeth by using the ghosts of the queen and some of her worthies to speak for him. Scott saw Elizabeth as Foxe's and Speed's new Deborah, leading a holy crusade against Spain and Rome, culminating in the apocalyptic defeat of the Armada. In Scott's Vox Coeli, the queen attends a heavenly conference at which war with Spain is the main topic. Through his ghosts, Scott urged the king to take immediate steps to defend the realm and regain the Palatinate by attacking Spain, as Elizabeth would have done. The king greeted the tracts with hostility, not because he disliked being

1 Lake to Salisbury, 2 Dec., 1610, P.R.O., S.P.14/58/54.

2 Camden, Historie, I, 83; III, 120-21, 132; IV, 69 (1615, pp.103, 466, 481; 1627, p.88). Besides the personal information available to Camden of the king's involvement with Essex, there are many Cottonian, Hatfield and state papers which give a more uneven picture of the monarchs' relations. See the sources listed by H.G. Stafford, James VI of Scotland and the Throne of England (N.Y., 1940), pp.210-24, 253.

compared with Elizabeth but because he himself did not see her as a warrior queen.¹ The best way to counteract the growing image of Elizabeth the protestant crusader was to present an alternative. It is not stretching a point to suggest that the king's sudden interest in the publication of the remainder of the Annales and in the translation was in large part due to his and his advisers' wish that he be perceived as the champion of an Elizabethan foreign policy, a prudent peacemaker rather than a belligerent warlord or a quivering coward.

As a work of historiography, the Annales is unrivalled for its time in its grasp of the complexity of causes behind effects, of wheels within wheels, and of the domino effect linking one event to another years and miles away, though he deliberately avoided reading between the lines. Camden's attitude to fortune is ambiguous. Like Raleigh, he treats it as a rhetorical device rather than dismissing it. Following Bodin's Methodus, he discounted astrological influences as the cause of the earl of Essex's downfall, 'though Fortune many times failed him'.² The victory of the English over Irish rebels in 1579 is ascribed to fortune, but though Camden knew that rebellion was an offence against God, he never ascribes anything directly to divine intervention. He feels obliged to report but places little stock in omens such as the earthquake of 1580 which preceded the renewed hounding of the English Catholics.³ On the whole, he appeals to the superhuman much less than other historians of Elizabeth, such as Foxe and Speed.

1 T. Scott, Vox Coeli (1624); for Scott's other works see M.A. Breslow, A Mirror of England: English Puritan Views of Foreign Nations, 1618-40 (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), ch. 3 passim; L.B. Wright 'Propaganda against James I's "Appeasement" of Spain', H.L.Q., VI (1943), 49-72. More offensive statements than Scott's, also appealing to Elizabeth's reign, are the anonymous Tom Tell-Troath (1621?) Harleian Miscellany, II (1809), 419-38; and anon., 'To the blessed saint Q. Elizabeth', P.R.O., S.P. 14/180/107.

2 Camden, Historie, IV, 189 (1627, p.241); Bodin, Method, p.86.

3 Camden, Historie, II, 69, 106 (1615, pp. 251, 297).

It seems fair to say that Camden's understanding of the web of interlocking events he was describing (most of which were within his memory), complemented by the abundance of his evidence and by his close study of Polybius and de Thou, brought him the closest of all his contemporaries toward an appreciation of the contingent in history. Thus, England was saved from Spanish invasion in 1578 by the sudden death of King Sebastian of Portugal. Spanish forces were sent there instead. Whether or not Camden assumed this to be the will of God, as all things were by definition, he explained it, in completely earthly terms, as just one of those lucky things.¹ Partly because the short time-scale of a single reign did not allow it, there is also less sign of the teleological approach which permeates other histories. Although he had Elizabeth groom James VI for the succession from an early age, Camden read the evidence of his documents forward, not backward. He would make reference to the distant outcome of an event, but he never described that outcome as inevitable, for a congeries of related events contributed, in his account, to the occurrence of another event in the future. Like the memorialists before him, Polybius, Guicciardini, and de Thou, he was part of the events he described, and could see them from two positions, that of the observer as much as the historian.

Regrettably, Camden left no theoretical tract, beyond the short preface to the Annales. He was a doer rather than a theorist. We do not know how he would have handled the problem of long-term political development, though the close friend of Samuel Daniel had no doubt given the matter some thought. Not an especially original mind, he was always dependent on models, whether Ortellius, de Thou, or Polybius. His most interesting historical insights were captured in his short Remaines, which was not a history.² The Annales was a superb and

1 Camden, Historie, II, 93-94 (1615, pp.280-81).

2 See Ch. VII, sec. i.

fascinating account of recent history, elegantly written, and glowing with a brilliant understanding of the events of his own lifetime, yet it is still a bit disappointing. The man who introduced European methods of scholarship to England and pioneered the application of pure research to the investigation of the past, was unable, or unwilling, to immortalise his vast erudition in the form of a general history of England. Though matters of the economy, of foreign exploration, of architecture and of art are given their place in the Annales, Camden confidently affirmed that 'matters of warre, and matters of Policy, are things most proper to History'.¹

ii) Imitating Camden: Francis Godwin and the Early Tudors

Among Camden's many friends and admirers was Francis Godwin (1562-1633), successively bishop of Llandaff (1601) and Hereford (1617). Godwin accompanied Camden on an antiquarian excursion into Wales, and the older man was godfather to one of Godwin's sons, Thomas.² Godwin sent Camden transcripts of a Saxon charter in 1608 and offered to have several others copied for him. In 1620, when Godwin was fifty-eight and Camden nearly seventy, Godwin lamented that they might never meet again. On this occasion, he urged Camden to publish the second part of the Annales, which had been finished by 1618, adding his voice to the continental chorus crying out for a book which Camden himself gladly never saw in print.³

1 Camden, Historie, sig. B2v (1615, sig. A4); A.B. Ferguson, Clio Unbound, pp. 26-27.

2 B.L. MS Lans. DCCCCLXXXIV, fo. 204 (biographical notice by White Kennett); E. Gibson, 'Life of Camden' in Britannia (1695 ed.), sig. D; Camdeni Epistolae, App., p.85; Hearne, Curious Discourses, II, 390; DNB, s.v. 'Godwin, Francis'; Levack, Civil Lawyers, pp. 63-64.

3 Godwin to Camden, 27 May, 1608, Camdeni Epistolae, p.109; Godwin to Camden, 9 Oct., 1620, *ibid.*, p. 308.

Godwin had historical and antiquarian interests of his own. In 1601 he published a Catalogue of the bishops of England, which is still consulted by historians. For this he was rewarded by Elizabeth with the see of Llandaff. In 1615 he expanded the work, adding a short essay on the conversion of England to Christianity, which would be one of Richard Broughton's targets. For this Godwin was translated in 1616 to the wealthier see of Hereford.¹ Despite the publication of Speed in 1611, Godwin was unhappy with the historiography of the past century. The best we have, he said, is Polydore Vergil, who is praised, because he is the most recent and the most 'polite'. Hayward's Edward VI was not yet written, so Godwin, inspired by Camden's study of Elizabeth, turned his hand to a Latin account of the political events of Henry VIII, Edward, and Mary. His Rerum anglicarum...annales enjoyed royal support, and was published by John Bill, the king's printer. In 1630, the bishop's son, Morgan, translated the book and added corrections under his father's supervision.²

The bishop prefaces his book with a complaint: why has no one replaced Polydore Vergil? Historians have wasted their time by pasting bits and pieces to the Italian's account of English history, which now looks inadequate and erratic.³ Though, as usual, no one in particular is criticised, Godwin was obviously unimpressed by Speed. Someone ought to 'compile a History of our Nation worthy of the British name'.

1 Godwin, A Catalogue of the bishops of England (1601); Broughton, Ecclesiasticall historie of Great Britain (1633), pp. 255ff.

2 Godwin, Rerum anglicarum Henrico VIII, Edwardo VI et Maria regnantibus, Annales (1616). All references will be to the enlarged and corrected translation by Morgan Godwin, Annales of England (1630). The bishop's own corrections may be seen in B.L. MS Add. 45, 140 (Scudamore papers, vol. I) fos. 6-9 (1616). The autograph MS of the Latin version is B.L. MS Cott. Titus C.XI.

3 Godwin, Annales, sig. A2.

Godwin makes no reference to Richard White or John Lewis, though he would probably have known at least the work of the former. A man 'versed in our Antiquities' [antiquitatum] should do for history what 'master Camden hath already done for the description of the island.... Our Antiquaries [eruditorum] may justly be taxed of sloth'.¹

Godwin saw a definite relationship between erudition and history, but he wanted a didactic narrative of great men, 'examples of most eminent Vertues', rather than a complete or 'perfect' history (in the Popelinièrian sense) which covered social, religious and cultural change.² Nevertheless, his call for a history by the eruditi, concentrating on truth rather than style, shows that, in theory at least, he had a higher regard for the capacity of the scholar to write history than did most of his contemporaries.

Unhappily, Godwin's Annales fall short of his own mark, and are a dim shadow of Camden's own Elizabeth, which served as a model. Since the chances of an eyewitness challenging him about Mary Tudor's reign were, by 1616, rather remote, Godwin did not put anything like the effort of Camden into his research. His principal sources were Guicciardini, de Thou, du Bellay, Sleidan, Stow, and a number of unnamed Scottish writers. He used George Cavendish's then unpublished Life of Wolsey extensively for Henry VIII's reign, and his son's translation lifts speeches and scenes almost verbatim from this source.

1 Godwin, Annales, sig. A 2.

2 Ibid., for la Popelinière, see above, introduction, and below, ch. VI, sec. vii .

He used a few of the state papers which were in the Tower or in Cotton's hands,¹ but in no sense was his account based on these records as Camden's had been.

Godwin's history presents no striking insights that were not to be found in his sources, though his use of Cavendish and his episcopal point of view led him to a more favourable assessment of Wolsey than usual. Certainly the cardinal's ambitions were harmful to himself and others in the short term; but, asks Godwin, what prelate has ever before or since wielded such power? Wolsey was a good counsellor, entirely responsible for the successes of Henry's early years. Using the analogy of Tacitus' Nero, Godwin describes Henry as an incipient tyrant, restrained only by the leash of his own Seneca, the cardinal. Even Wolsey's greed had a valuable end:

It made way for that great alteration which afterward hapned in the estate of the Church. Blessed be that Almighty Power, that converts the wicked designs of men to the good of his Church, and his owne glory.²

Sharing his sources' attitude to the motives behind political activities, he is as scathing about Henry VIII's reasons for breaking with Rome as Raleigh, two years earlier. 'Hee tooke this course more to satisfie his Lust then his Conscience.'³ Like Raleigh, but at much greater length, Godwin manages to combine a celebration of the Reformation with a distaste for the king himself. The assumption, as always, is

1 Annales, p.141, citing unspecified 'publique records' on Anne Boleyn's trial and death, probably those in B.L. MS Cott. Otho C.III and Letters and Papers... of Henry VIII, ed. J. Gairdner (1887), X, no. 876. Godwin does not name his sources, but they can be pieced together from his occasional marginal references. The Scottish writers who best suited him were George Buchanan, Rerum Scoticarum historia (Edinburgh, 1582) and John Leslie, De rebus gestis Scotorum posteriores, libri tres (Rome, 1578). Cavendish had already been used by Holinshed, but Godwin's excerpts do not follow the Chronicles (1587).

2 Annales, pp. 58, 97, 207.

3 Ibid., p. 86.

that God allows evil with some greater good in mind, and Godwin certainly found providence a useful explanatory tool. Francis I's many tactical blunders led to his defeat at Pavia, but these were the direct work of God.

The Divine Power having decreed to chastise him,
permitted him through impatience to run headlong
into these errours.

Luckily, 'Gods speciall favour' ensured that this was but a temporary setback for the French king, not the disaster it might have been. Providence allows the death of Thomas Howard, fiancé of Henry VIII's niece, Margaret, so the maiden can marry the Earl of Lennox and produce Henry Darnley, 'the Father of King James... the most happy Unitor of divided Britaine'.¹ God prevents a massacre of the pilgrims of grace by causing a 'chance' flood. Quite unlike Camden, Godwin's analysis of the sudden political changes under Henry and Edward VI is fixed to 'Fortunes Wheele', which raises and destroys Wolsey and Cromwell in rapid succession. 'The Court of England' is a stage, 'whereon are represented the vicissitudes of ever various Fortune'.²

Henry's reign takes up two-thirds of Godwin's book, and those of Edward and Mary are even less interesting. The Annales were a failure, when set against Camden's work, because Godwin was neither as diligent a researcher as Camden, nor as sharp an analyst of the nexus of politics. Camden may have had models, but he possessed a freedom from the influence of secondary sources that Godwin could not begin to imitate. Like the majority of historians of the day, Godwin was a reteller of tales to which he had little to add.

1 Annales, pp. 63, 159.

2 Ibid., pp. 143, 149, 174.

iii) Sir George Buck and the Rehabilitation of Richard III

The courtly poet Samuel Daniel had managed to break away from received opinions on the character of certain kings by judging their records for himself rather than through the eyes of his sources. Another courtier, who as master of the revels from 1607 to 1621 was responsible for the censorship of Jacobean drama, carried out a full-scale revision of the reputation of Richard III, the archetypal tyrant and usurper. Sir George Buck had a score to settle. His great-grandfather had been executed for fighting on Richard's side at Bosworth, and the fortunes of his extremely old family had been poor ever since. By vindicating Richard he could clear his own name.¹

Whatever Buck's motives, the History of King Richard the Third rates as one of the most original pieces of historical writing in the early seventeenth century. Through careful research, faultless documentation, and a skilful destruction of the credibility of the architects of the Ricardian myth (especially Thomas More), Buck carried out the first single-handed reappraisal of a king's reign in the history of English historiography.² Not surprisingly, he did not publish it. The Ricardian myth was one of the most firmly held in the Tudor tradition. It had been restated as recently as 1614 by Christopher Brooke, a friend of Sir Robert Cotton,³ and it is likely that Buck's elaborate arguments would have been unfavourably received by all but the most open-minded historians - not a great number. Popular historical

1 Mark Eccles, 'Sir George Buc, Master of the Revels', in Thomas Lodge and other Elizabethans, ed. C.J. Sisson (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), pp. 411-506.

2 Excluding, of course, the rehabilitation of King John at the Reformation by authors like Bale, which was not nearly as sophisticated, since it simply denied that the monkish chroniclers could be trusted.

3 Christopher Brooke, The ghost of Richard the Third (1614); Brooke was an MP for York in every parliament from 1604 to 1626 and a friend of Cotton, Selden, Jonson, and Drayton, DNB, s.v. 'Brooke, Christopher'; Sharpe, Sir Robert Cotton, p.198.

conceptions, no less than scientific theories, do not die, but fade away, and to suggest that Richard was a good king would, to the Jacobean mind, be rather like suggesting that man had descended from the ape. After he went mad and died in 1622, Buck's manuscript, which he was still revising, was bowdlerised by his opportunistic great-nephew, also named George; the original work gathered dust through the centuries, until Arthur Kincaid edited it in 1979.¹

Buck's acquaintances and interests were wide. He was one of the few historians with anything good to say about Ralph Brooke, Camden's foe. He was friendly with John Stow till his death in 1605, and then with Cotton and Camden. He was servant to Lord Admiral Charles Howard in the Spanish war and subsequently the friend of the earls of Northampton and Arundel. He incorporated in his History a brief history of the Howard family, nearly ruined at Bosworth.² In a poem called Δαφνὺς Ποικυστεφάνος, written in 1602 but published in 1605, he contributed to the 'union' literature by tracing James' descent back to Henry II and presenting him as the uniter of the realms.³ Another work, the 'Commentary upon the... Liber Domus Dei' was a weighty and learned manuscript of nearly five hundred folios, giving the origins of all the noble families 'whose ancestors have bene at the least simple barons' and tracing their descents. It included a detailed investigation of the Buck and Howard families. Buck gathered his material from charters, rolls, private and public archives, 'private evidences, histories and other monuments authentick'.⁴

1 Sir George Buck, The History of King Richard the Third, ed. A.N. Kincaid (Gloucester, 1979), Introduction, pp.xvi ff, lxiv-lxxxvi. Kincaid's superlative edition and introduction necessitate an explicit expression of debt.

2 Buck, History, intro. passim, pp. 7, 110-118, 204. Buck contributed The third universitie of England to the 1615 continuation of Stow's Annales, ed. Edmund Howes.

3 Buck, History, introduction, p.xxiii; Buck, Δαφνὺς Ποικυστεφάνος (1605), again pirated by George Buck, Esq. as The Great Plantagenet or a continued succession of that royal name (1635). Buck's kinsman friend and patron, Charles Howard, was one of the union commissioners in 1604.

4 Bodl.MS Eng. misc. b.106, fos. 19, 31, 386v, 389.

The 'Commentary' was finished by 1619, at which time Buck was hard at work on the History of King Richard the Third. The heated reception a year earlier of an even greater work of historical revisionism, Selden's Historie of tithes, may have deterred Buck from finishing his History, though it is impossible to guess what Buck might have done with the manuscript had he not gone mad. Selden would have been well known to him, through Cotton and Arundel, to whom the History is dedicated. Buck also worried that his work would be taken for a 'paradox', a skilful but insincere defence of an indefensible subject for the sake of rhetorical display. He had seen the amusing Encomium of Richard III by Sir William Cornwallis which was then making the rounds in manuscript; unlike Cornwallis, the master of the revels was entirely in earnest.

My scope was to write this unhappy King's story
faithfully and at large, and to plead his cause,
and to answer and refell the many accusations and
calumnations brought against him,

confessed Buck in his preface.¹

Using a large array of English and French sources, printed and unprinted, and drawing on the works of 'good historians and learned antiquaries', Buck built up a dossier for the defence. His antiquarian interests overlapped with his historical ones. Part of his study included an investigation of the historical origins of the name 'Plantagenet', executed

according to the methods I have held for the searching
of the originals of the most ancient noble families in
England, of their surnames, in my Commentary.²

He organised the History in five books. The first two give a chronological overview of Richard's life and reign, along with a digression

1 Buck, History, pp. 3, 8; Wm. Cornwallis, The Encomium of Richard III, ed. A.N. Kincaid (1977), first printed in Essayes of Certayne Paradoxes (1616) but known in MS well before.

2 Buck, History, pp. 11, 16-17.

on 'the nobility and greatness of the House of Howard'.¹ The remaining books are topically arranged. In Book III, Buck attacks the credibility of Thomas More, whom he believed was only the lackey and copyist of the sinister John Morton, bishop of Ely, who figures as the villain. Here, Buck tries to clear Richard of the murder of the little princes by suggesting that Perkin Warbeck really was the Duke of York and that Edward V, his brother, had simply succumbed to infirmity.² Book IV returns to Richard's own title, argues the bastardy of Edward IV's children, again attacks More, and accuses Henry VII, obliquely, of treason against his lawful king.³ The final book eulogises Richard's character, his good laws and his charitable works.

Rather than simply asserting that Richard was innocent of many charges, Buck engages in a multi-pronged strategy. He reveals the Protector Richard as a subject loyal and kind to his nephews, who only took the crown when forced to do so by the 'election' of the barons, who recognised the superiority of his title.⁴ Buck points out that Lord Hastings was not as innocent a victim of Richard as he seemed, and that his execution, Richard's bloodiest deed, is partially excusable 'in reason of state and policy'. Despite his use of this phrase, Buck was no Machiavellian, and the 'excellent politicians' of his work are not Richard but Morton and Henry VII. Buck 'abhorred' such 'Artes Imperii' but, he asked, why should Richard be condemned for what Edward IV and Henry VII did much more often?⁵

1 Buck, History, p.67.

2 Ibid., pp. 138-42, 169, 172.

3 Ibid., p. 198.

4 Ibid., pp. 25, 29, 127. Daniel's views on election may be an influence here, though Daniel believed it could supplant a title, while Buck is at pains to stress that Richard's title was legitimate. Buck cites Daniel in MS notes in his copy of Godwin's Catalogue of the bishops of England (1601), Bodl. shelfmark 4° Rawl.569, p.26.

5 Buck, History, pp. 28-29.

Richard might have continued safely on the throne, but 'Fortune, that inconstant and unfaithful dame' soon deserted him. Buck balances on a tightrope here: one half of him is convinced that fortune was responsible for Richard's eventual fall, the other that Henry's accession was preordained by God. 'But it may haply be thought that I neglect the will of God in ascribing so much to Fortune,' he apologises. 'But yet I pray you to think that I know not that punishment which is not the will of God and by his divine privilege.' God makes the plans, but Richmond's invasions are 'the formal and efficient and final cause of all the mischiefs and calamity' which befall England in 1485.¹

Buck points out that all the chroniclers who have slandered Richard 'would have highly extolled him and his virtues' if he had won at Bosworth. Yet, despite this interesting 'if...then' speculation, he himself could not envisage a scenario in which Richard had actually triumphed. He seriously believed the prophecy which had foretold Henry's reign. Richmond was destined to be king, and if he forced a showdown with Richard, he would have to win. Nevertheless, Buck does speculate that Henry could have come to the throne by more peaceful means if he had waited till Richard died to inherit the crown:

I do not mislike his having of the crown and his possession of the kingdom, as I have said before that it was foretold by a divine prophet that the Earl of Richmond should be a king. And I hold also that he was ordained from above to be the sovereign of the land. But...I utterly mislike that he would not tarry the Lord's leisure and receive a kingdom in His Time; and that would have been time enough.²

Buck has painted himself into a corner here. Having asserted that God intended Henry to rule, he crosses himself by suggesting that the occasion of Henry's accession, if not the fact, was dependent on Henry's being in a hurry. 'The Lord's leisure' would have preferred him to wait. Buck's whole position was illogical insofar as it tried to make contingent

1 Buck, History, p. 68.

2 Ibid., pp. 128, 213. The prophecy is first mentioned on p.38.

an event which must logically have been under God's control. Buck's own providential convictions would not let him take the final step - recognising that Henry could have been defeated and killed.

Occasionally Buck goes overboard in Richard's defence, naively comparing Richard's generosity and sincerity with the machinations of Morton, giver of 'Machiavellian advice', and with Henry himself, who 'overreached Perkin [Warbeck] with his arts and his policy', and exterminated virtually all his Yorkist rivals. Richard chivalrously offers to fight Henry in single combat, but 'made choice of a man which loved no combats'.¹ Still, Buck will admit some flaws in his hero. Richard is determined to destroy Henry (practically the only evil thought he has) to the point of being wilful and obstinate. Prodigies and omens warn his advisers that a confrontation with Henry will lead to their destruction, but Richard ignores advice and meets his doom at Bosworth.²

Buck had overstated his case in reaction against an accepted view, and even a century later, the editor of the diluted version by George Buck Esq. could not fathom why anyone would want to defend Richard III.³ In 1619, Buck probably would not have convinced more than a handful of his friends. Unknown except in the pirated version, which makes a much weaker case, the History had little influence on future historiography, but it is nonetheless a milestone. An historian had taken a different point of view on an important episode in English history, and from that position re-ordered and re-shaped the evidence until it revealed an entirely different picture, while unravelling the arguments of his

1 Buck, History, pp. 37-8, 102, 149, 159.

2 Ibid., pp. 98-101.

3 A Complete History of England, ed. J. Hughes with W. Kennett (2nd ed., 1719), vol. I, preface, sig. Av.

opponents, albeit dead ones. What was needed, before such a clash of interpretations became general, was a conflict of ideologies on a much larger scale. This did not happen before the civil war, but the examples of Camden, Buck, Hayward and Daniel suggest that beneath the placid, tepid surface of Jacobean historiography, warmer currents were churning.

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORIAN AS COUNSELLOR

Throughout the sixteenth century, Europeans looked to history for instruction. In his History of Florence, as much as his Discorsi and the notorious Il Principe, Machiavelli dredged up the past to serve as the statesman's guide, subordinating history to political philosophy. He was neither the first nor the last to do so.¹ Giovanni Botero's Della ragione di stato attacked Machiavelli in 1589; but because Botero also viewed politics in Machiavelli's amoral fashion, he succeeded only in spreading the ideas he had planned to refute, and in creating a popular tag for them: reason of state.² Works such as Botero's, combined with the increasing popularity of the two most 'politic' of ancient historians, Tacitus and Polybius,³ helped spread a 'Machiavellian' attitude to politics and thus, incidentally, his attitude to history as the guidebook of political life. This occurred in spite of Machiavelli's own unpleasant reputation.⁴ Among the most praised of recent historians by the beginning of the seventeenth century were a Frenchman, Commynes, and another Florentine, Guicciardini. Both were popular, like Tacitus and Polybius, because they wrote of the causes and consequences of human endeavour in realistic terms.

It has often been said that later sixteenth-century historians 'reacted' against the 'rhetorical' histories of Livy and the Italian

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- 1 On Machiavelli see: A.H. Gilbert, Machiavelli's Prince and its Forerunners (Durham, N.C., 1938), pp.vi, 15, 234; E. Cochrane, Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance (Chicago, 1981), p.266; F. Gilbert, Machiavelli and Guicciardini (Princeton, N.J., 1965), passim; Q. Skinner, Machiavelli (Oxford, 1981), pp. 78-88 on the History of Florence.
 - 2 G. Botero, Reason of State, ed. P.J. and D.P. Waley (1956), pp. xiii, 80f.; R. Polin, 'Le concept de Raison d'Etat avant la lettre d'après Machiavel' in Staatsräson, ed. R. Schnur (Berlin, 1975), pp.27-42.
 - 3 On Tacitus and Polybius see below, ch. VI, passim.
 - 4 F. Raab, The English Face of Machiavelli (1964); N. Orsini, '"Policy" or the Language of Elizabethan Machiavellism', J.War.Court.Inst., IX (1946), 122-34.

humanists. In France, writes George Huppert, history was 'rescued from rhetoric and allied with erudition' by la Popelinière and his érudit predecessors.¹ This is quite true in the sense that history came to be a discipline distinct from the orator's, an activity which required truth, whether of the moral or factual sort. But 'truth' by no means precluded rhetoric. It was the use of golden words to support the patently fabulous which became unpopular, not the use of rhetoric per se. Edmund Bolton, for instance, had nothing against Velleius Paterculus's flowing style except the apparent lack of substance which it concealed.² No early Stuart historian complained of another writer's good style, though many (as we saw in chapter II) abhorred the crudities of medieval chronicles. Rhetoric books such as Farnaby's Index Rhetoricus (1625) continued to enjoy multiple editions throughout the seventeenth century.³

Historians aimed to teach, and they could not afford to neglect rhetoric if they wished to persuade readers to emulate the good and godly. Figures of speech such as amplification, hyperbole and parable did not have to support the fabulous; they could also be used to drive home the point of the factual. In no sense did historians wish to purge history of rhetoric, and a persuasive, eloquent style is evident from More's larger-than-life depiction of Richard III's villainy to Camden's celebration of the virtues of Queen Elizabeth. As long as history was linked to any theory that the present could learn from the past it might be distinct from rhetoric, but never very distant.

1 Huppert, Perfect History, p.178; J. Brown, The Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem of Jean Bodin (Washington, D.C., 1939), p.65.

2 Bolton, Hypercritica, in Spingarn (ed.), Critical Essays, I, 85.

3 W.S. Howell, Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700 (Princeton, N.J., 1956), pp. 116ff., 319ff.

While most historians filled their works with generalisations of either the political or moral variety (and usually both, since they were uniformly loath to admit the difference) a few went even further. Instead of looking to the past for general guides to behaviour, they followed Machiavelli to look for specific parallels which could be imitated in similar situations. It is no coincidence that three English historians before 1640 who had absorbed Machiavelli's approach to politics and his method of writing history produced what may be called princely advice books, in which a specific king was studied in order to teach one in the present how better to run his kingdom. This sub-genre, which did not last very long, had its clearest antecedents in Florentine historiography, but its immediate stimulus was that phenomenon which has come to be called the crisis of counsel, the belief that the king was not getting the right advice from the right people. Francis Bacon was the first of these writers, and by far the most sophisticated in his understanding of Machiavelli's creed.¹ He set a pattern which would be imitated by the last of these writers, William Habington. A third, Sir Robert Cotton, did not follow Bacon's model, but his contribution to the genre was much less properly a history than a reign epitomised around a collection of precepts.

i) Francis Bacon: History, Theory and the Art of Persuasion

Bacon's ideas on history and his practical efforts at writing it have received more attention than those of any other Renaissance Englishman. Bacon was a more prolific writer than most and, since

1 N. Orsini, Bacone e Machiavelli (Genoa, 1936), p.35; L. Jardine, Francis Bacon: Discovery and the Art of Discourse (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 163ff.

the publication of the Spedding edition of his works, he has been by far the most accessible. He was also among the most articulate of writers. Whereas one must reconstruct most other writers' attitudes to historiography from prefaces to their works and scattered comments in their letters, Bacon left behind, in the Advancement of Learning and other works, a concise, eloquent and systematic presentation of his beliefs. Moreover, Bacon's historical ideas were only part of a broader vision of the potential of human enquiry.

There have been several approaches to Bacon's historical thought. Some scholars, such as George Nadel, have concentrated entirely upon his theoretical statements, listing and explaining his intricate divisions of the branches of historical study, and his use of the word 'history' to mean a variety of things, from the natural histories of the winds, or of 'dense and rare' (history in its Plinian or Aristotelian mode) to the 'civil' history of man, which is what the historiographer is concerned to study.¹

Other scholars have focused on his only major work as a practising historian, the History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh. They have examined his use of sources and judged him, often anachronistically, by modern terms of critical scholarship.² Still others have studied Bacon both as theorist and historian, and have differed in conclusion. Fussner, making rather exaggerated claims for Bacon's theoretical modernity (and failing to take note of the sources from which his thought

1 G. Nadel, 'History as Psychology in Francis Bacon's Theory of History', History and Theory, V (1966), 275-87.

2 J. Kirkwood, 'Bacon's Henry VII: a Model of a Theory of Historiography', Renaissance Papers (1965), 51-66; H. White, 'The English Solomon: Francis Bacon on Henry VII', Social Research, XXIV (1957), 457-81; T. Wheeler, 'The Purpose of Bacon's History of Henry VII', Stud. Phil., LIV (1957), 1-13, and Wheeler's 'Bacon's Henry VII as a Machiavellian Prince', Renaissance Papers (1957), 111-117.

was derived) was forced to conclude that the Henry VII was a failure both by Bacon's standards and by modern ones.¹ Stuart Clark, in contrast, has tried to bridge this gap between theory and practice by putting Bacon in his intellectual place, and by stressing the conservative and derivative strains in his thought.² Most recently, in the best study of the Henry VII, Jonathan Marwil has convincingly demonstrated that the work must be considered as a product of Bacon's career and habits of mind.³

The Advancement of Learning and its Latin successor, the De Augmentis Scientiarum, contain between them an ars historica unrivalled in complexity in the similar works of Peter Heylyn, Degory Whear and Edmund Bolton.⁴ As in his scientific works, Bacon's forte was not personal originality, but a knack of digesting and reshaping for an English audience the ideas he had picked up from others. His ideas on historiography can all be traced to earlier writers, classical, French and Italian. Fussner believes that Bacon's theory marked a 'radical break' with tradition, stressing his reduction of ecclesiastical history to a mere sub-category or 'civil' history. This change, first made in the Descriptio Globi Intellectualis, was an obvious departure both from the first version of the Advancement and from Bodin's tripartite

1 Fussner, Historical Revolution, pp.253-274.

2 D.S.T. Clark, 'Francis Bacon: the Study of History and the Science of Man' (Cambridge University Ph.D. thesis, 1971) and 'Bacon's Henry VII: a Case-Study in the Science of Man', History and Theory, XIII (1974), 97-118.

3 J.L. Marwil, The Trials of Counsel: Francis Bacon in 1621 (Detroit, 1976), pp.149-202. Still informative is L.F. Dean, 'Francis Bacon's Theory of Civil History-Writing' in Essential Articles for the Study of Francis Bacon, ed. B.W. Vickers (Hamden, Conn., 1968), pp.211-235.

4 For these writers see below, ch. VI, secs. v , vi and vii.

division of history, into natural, divine and human.¹ But Bacon would have been surprised at the suggestion that he was 'reducing' anything. He simply regrouped the various branches of human history, ecclesiastical, literary and civil (proper) under the larger portmanteau category of civil history: the study of man as distinct from the study of nature. This was less a brilliant flash of insight than a response to the work of de Thou and Camden, who had both written 'civil' history but included much ecclesiastical matter in their narratives. In the interim, Bacon may also have seen the historical work of Bartholomew Keckermann, who asserted unequivocally that the church could not be studied autonomously.²

Bacon's idea of a systematic 'history' of the intellectual world, and of 'perfect' civil history, show a clear debt, hitherto un-noted, to la Popelinière's L'Idée de l'Histoire accomplie, which Bacon had read. Both wanted 'history' to cover all aspects of human accomplishment, but there are some important differences. Bacon restricted the term 'perfect history' to one form of civil history proper (i.e. political history), whereas la Popelinière's histoire accomplie referred not to a literary branch of conventional history-writing, but to a general history of all aspects of a nation's past.³ Moreover, Bacon

1 Fussner, Historical Revolution, pp.255-263; Bacon, Works, ed. Spedding et al., (7 vols. 1857-59), III, 329-30; IV, 293-94; V, 505-7; Bodin, Method, trans. Reynolds, pp. 15-19.

2 B. Keckermann, De natura et proprietatibus historiae, Commentarius (Hanover, 1610), p.114.

3 H. de la Popelinière, L'Histoire des Histoires, avec l'Idée de l'Histoire accomplie (Paris, 1599), Bk. II. Bacon's debt to la Popelinière has been hitherto unexplored. G.W. Sypher, 'Similarities between the Scientific and the Historical Revolutions at the end of the Renaissance', J.H.I., XXVI (1965), 353-368, draws many parallels between them but mistakenly asserts that Bacon had not read la Popelinière. For an explicit reference to la Popelinière by Bacon before 1605 see 'Francis Bacon's Advice to Fulke Greville on Research Techniques', ed. V.F. Snow, H.L.Q., XXIII (1960), 369-78, p.371.

was even less an advocate of 'history for its own sake' than la Popelinière. He was as concerned as any of his contemporaries with what history had to teach the present. In his desire to systematise and methodise the historical sources from which one drew moral and political precepts, he reveals a similar debt to Bodin's Methodus. Always assuming that a standard of absolute certainty was obtainable,¹ Bacon's goal was to make history more reliable and trustworthy, so that it could better serve as a pedagogic tool; his 'science of man' was a more sophisticated kind of didactic utilitarianism, but didactic nonetheless.

Bacon by no means eschewed rhetorical techniques, except when used to disguise a lack of truth. Rhetoric was essential in the communication of knowledge and learning to the learned and to the vulgar.

The duty and office of Rhetoric is to apply Reason
to Imagination for the better moving of the will.

Bacon had read his Cicero and pays attention in the Advancement to the ways in which a writer should use style, the third of Cicero's five categories of rhetoric, to present the thoughts that he has found and organised. His other works are peppered with parables, analogies and fables designed to explain and to persuade;² and rhetoric could be applied to the realm of memory as much as to that of imagination, as Bacon's theory and practice of history suggest.

The many categories of Bacon's civil history are well known, and are represented in Figure V:1.³ History served the faculty of memory

1 H.G. van Leeuwen, The Problem of Certainty in English Thought, 1630-1690 (The Hague, 1963), pp.1-12.

2 Bacon, Works, III, 409 and 384-92, 409-13 passim; Howell, Logic and Rhetoric, pp.368-372; J.L. Harrison, 'Bacon's View of Rhetoric, Poetry and the Imagination', in Essential Articles, ed. Vickers, pp.253-71; E. Berry, 'History and Rhetoric in Bacon's Henry VII' in Seventeenth Century Prose, ed. S.E. Fish (N.Y., 1971), pp.281-308.

3 The figure and the following summary are derived from the De Augmentis Scientiarum, Book II, Works, IV, 292-314.

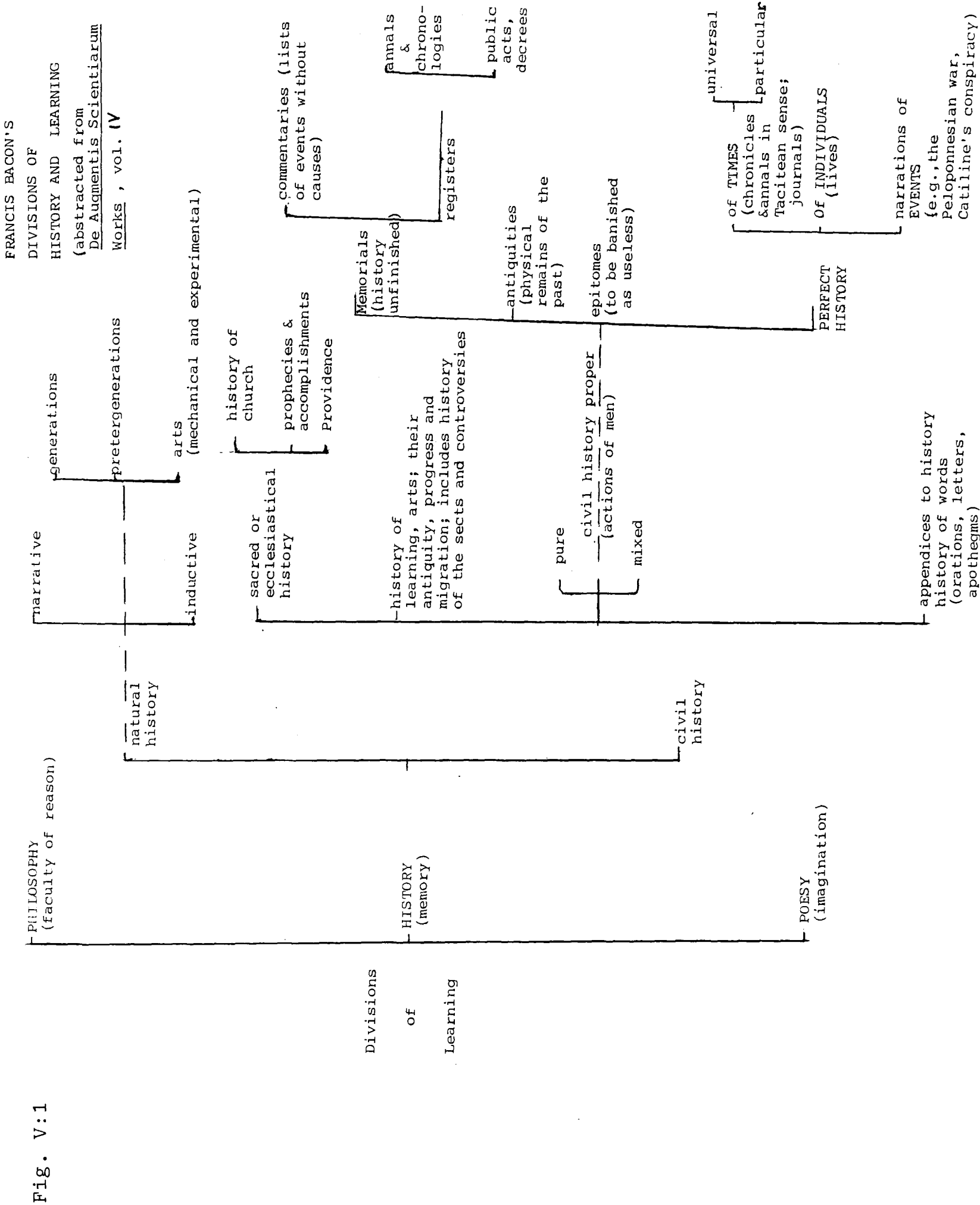
as philosophy served reason and poesy the imagination. Bacon uses history in the broad ancient sense of enquiry into or description of phenomena (as opposed to natural philosophy, the use of reason to explain nature). It can be natural or civil, and need not pertain exclusively to the past, as his 'catalogue of particular histories' shows. He explicitly equates history with 'experience'.¹

'Civil' history, the description of the human world, is more narrowly conceived as dealing with the past. It has several divisions: sacred or ecclesiastical history; the history of learning and the arts (a category perhaps inspired by Loys Le Roy); and civil history proper, the actions of men.² This, too, has several subdivisions. Bacon struggles to slot every conceivable sort of history into an exhaustive plan and the result is a good deal of ambiguity. 'Annals' for instance, can be two different things: either bare lists of events (a subcategory of 'memorials' or 'history unfinished'); or, following Tacitus, one of several kinds of 'perfect history', a continuous narrative of events, their causes and their consequences [see Fig.V:1 on the following page]. Borrowing to a degree la Popelinière's distaste for 'ruminated' histories (histoires rompues et particulières) he nevertheless uses 'perfect' history in a very different way to mean not a general history of a nation but simply a complete, unbroken narrative.³ The simplest way to explain the difference between them may be to say that la Popelinière wanted a single general history which covered all

1 Works, IV, 265-70, 293.

2 Works, IV, 300, 304; Bacon may owe this either to Le Roy's Interchangeable course, or variety of things (for which see above, ch. III, sec. ii) or to la Popelinière's call (L'Idée, pp. 191, 359-63) for a cultural history of 'les offices, les loix, coustumes, les formes de vivre, de parler, guerroyer et autres choses nécessaires à la forme de l'estat'.

3 la Popelinière, L'Idée, p.85; closer to Bacon's meaning is Keckermann's statement, 'Historia politica est vel perfectioris status, vel imperfectioris', De natura...historiae, p.106. But Bacon used the term several years earlier in the Advancement (1605), Works, III, 333.



aspects of France's past, whereas Bacon's scheme called for a large number of 'perfect histories' (i.e. narratives) on a variety of different subjects - with the emphasis on political events. Thus, for example, he desired 'a perfect course of history for Graecia - from Theseus to Philopoemon... and for Rome from Romulus to Justinianus', with the single reservation that the earliest period, antiquity, is 'muffled from our sight'.¹

Bacon's equation of history with 'experience' has important implications for the history of scientific empiricism. Arno Seifert has argued that Bacon's thought is the culmination of a Renaissance tendency to treat empirical knowledge (cognitio) as 'history'. This tendency can be seen in Bodin's use of the term historia naturalis and in other artes historici. According to Seifert, 'history' becomes in Bacon the 'namegiver' of early modern empiricism, reviving the old Aristotelian sense of the word. The popularity of the term 'natural history' in ensuing centuries strongly supports his case, though the originality and importance of Bacon's particular contribution to empirical theory remains a matter for dispute.²

More fully than any English predecessor, Bacon understood that history could be any form of empirical investigation, not simply an account of the great deeds of the past. He did not, of course, see the study of the past as a worthwhile pursuit in itself; for him it was simply one aspect of a larger programme of enquiry, the purpose of which was to guide men in the present and future. Nor - and this should be stressed - did he equate philological scholarship or antiquarianism with history. His inclusion of 'antiquities', remnants of the past which have escaped the 'shipwreck' of time, suggests an

1 Bacon, Works, III, 335.

2 A. Seifert, Cognitio Historica: Die Geschichte als Namengeberin der frühneuzeitlichen Empirie (Berlin, 1976), pp.52, 98 ff., 116-138.

awareness of the potential of non-literary evidence of the kind being used by antiquaries, but he regarded the collector of antiquities as merely a research assistant;¹ the real historian was to be a statesman, not a scholar. Similarly, Bacon seems to have had little sympathy for the kind of advanced grammatical and philological study associated with the French Renaissance.

Away with antiquities, and citations or testimonies of authors; also with disputes and controversies and differing opinions; everything in short which is philological.²

Bacon was, it seems, as disdainful of the idea of historical disagreement as were his contemporaries. His aim was to eliminate all doubts and arguments as to what happened in the past, by purging historical writing of the fabulous. Historical certainty was obtainable by careful observation of the past. Definitive histories could be written when the fantastic was purged. Once again we sense the Renaissance conviction that the last word on any historical subject could and would eventually be said.

Like Camden, Bacon emphasised that he wished 'events to be coupled with their causes'.³ The statesman was in a better position to do this than the naive monkish chroniclers who had observed but never understood the political events they recounted. Fueter correctly pointed to his allegiance to a 'Polybian-Florentine' school of historiography.⁴ Though Tacitus, not Polybius, was his favourite ancient historian,⁵ Bacon approved of Polybius's modern successors, especially Machiavelli and Guicciardini. He was greatly influenced by Guicciardini and by

1 Bacon, Works, III, 334; IV, 303-4.

2 Ibid., IV, 254 (emphasis mine), 301; the remark is made specifically about natural history, but it is not difficult to see its application to civil history.

3 Ibid., IV, 301; for final causes see *ibid.*, III, 358.

4 Fueter, Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie, pp.168-170; Dean, 'Bacon's Theory', p.222; W.J. Bouwsma, 'Three Types of Historiography in Post-Renaissance Italy', History and Theory, IV (1965), 303-14.

5 Snow (ed.), 'Bacon's Advice to Greville', p.373; Bacon Works, III, 335.

Commynes, and though his Henry VII was not, like theirs, a memorial of recent and contemporary events, their penetrating analyses of human nature appealed to him.¹

Bacon's debt to Machiavelli is more obvious, and he refers to him many times (not always favourably) throughout his works.² He was thoroughly familiar with the ideas 'which the Italians call ragione di stato' from Botero and other post-Machiavellians, and he praised 'politiques' such as Caesar and even Sulla (generally excoriated in this period and ours as a vicious tyrant) for their political acumen.³ When he came to describe the character of Henry VII, he invested him with the qualities, positive and negative, discussed by Machiavelli. Like the latter, Bacon turned to the past as crude ore from which he might extract evidence for his political maxims. The Advancement defined the ground over which the historian should hunt, the methods to be used to ensure a reliable sample, and the categories for the presentation of material. The Henry VII is a practical attempt to learn from the past; or, more correctly, to teach from the past, for Bacon knew what he wanted to say about Henry VII before he opened his first book. To this extent it is reconcilable with the utilitarian tenor of his overall plan of historiography.

Bacon's ambitious collection of histories, civil, natural and literary was never realised. The project remained, like the Great Instauration, a magnificent blueprint. He returned to civil history in 1621, however; following his impeachment and disgrace, he promised the king a complete history of the period from 1485 to 1603. As early

1 V. Luciani, 'Bacon and Guicciardini', P.M.L.A., LXII (1947), 96-113.

2 For example, Works, III, 345, 471; VI, 403, 408, 470; VII, 55.

3 Ibid., III, 271 (emphasis in text), 471; VI, 473.

as 1605, in his letter to Lord Ellesmere, he had suggested 'one just and complete history' of the two nations of England and Scotland. Like Samuel Daniel, he was cognisant of the Tudor era as a particularly meaningful period, an idea which would influence James Harrington decades later.¹ Bacon's interests in 1621 were more mundane and personal than scholarly, as they had been in 1605 before his rise to power. He wished to be restored to influence if not to office, and when the first part of the planned history, the Henry VII, failed to accomplish this, he abandoned the project, despite the keen interest of Prince Charles. The parallel between his own situation and that of the disgraced Machiavelli a century before is striking.² Bacon, too, used history to convince his prince that he was worthy to give counsel. But, whereas Machiavelli chose to study history randomly in Il Principe, extracting events from their historical context in order to illustrate his ideas, Bacon chose instead to write a proper chronological narrative. In terms of his own categories, he opted for 'perfect' rather than 'ruminated' history. A narrative had tremendous advantages over a collection of aphorisms and maxims. Instead of imitating Sir Robert Dallington's Aphorismes civill and militarie (1613), extracted out of Guicciardini for the education of Prince Henry, he chose a narrative because it would be readable. It would also be more popular, a fact which ought not be under-rated in view of the desperate financial straits of the ex-chancellor in the summer of 1621. Impregnating a history with precepts was also a more subtle means of displaying his wisdom, and subtlety was one of Bacon's virtues (except when proclaiming his own abilities); even in the history he lets his characters speak for him without the

1 Works, III, 336; IV, 306 and Letters and Life, III, 249-52; for Harrington, see Pocock, Ancient Constitution, p.142.

2 Bacon, Letters and Life, VII, 405, 436; Skinner, Machiavelli, pp. 21-24.

frequent Tacitean sentences other authors were prone to, a practice he himself had criticised in a 'perfect' history.¹

Bacon picked Henry for several reasons. He had already written a short sketch of the king's reign for Speed in 1611. Since he wished to confine himself to the Tudor dynasty, and since Camden had already done Elizabeth, Henry VII was the logical candidate. Bacon admired none of the middle three Tudors (who, again, had been dealt with by Godwin), nor could they be made easily into analogues or models. Bacon was also influenced by early Stuart historians' general tendency to consider Henry VII's union of the roses as a foreshadowing of James' union of the kingdoms, which he had unsuccessfully promoted. Despite his failure, he returns to this idea as late as the Henry VII, commenting of Henry's truce with Scotland that 'the truce drew on the peace; the peace the marriage; and the marriage the union of the kingdoms'.² Bacon ascribed Henry's success not only to the efficient cause, Henry's shrewdness, but the final cause, the working out of God's plan for the reunion of the realms in Henry's descendant. We find this theme also in the Advancement and in a short work revealingly called the Beginning of the History of Great Britain.³

No Xenophon, Bacon avoided writing a panegyric on Henry VII and is often more critical of his subject than were his two main sources, Speed and Hall. Bacon's Henry is a flawed character, whose mistakes frequently cause disaster, though he has fortune on his side. He was extremely shrewd, but even he 'would be blinded (now and then) by human

1 Bacon criticises as 'midwives' those who interrupt their narratives with sentences and aphorisms: Works, IV, 311. In the Advancement (III, 339) he thought that such works were not history at all but belonged 'amongst books of policy'.

2 Bacon, The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh, ed. F.J. Levy (Indianapolis, 1972), p.195; cf. p.65. All references to the Henry VII are to this modern edition, which collates Spedding's with the first (1622) edition.

3 Bacon, Works, III, 336; VI, 275-79.

policy'. Generally, he administered justice well, 'save where the King was party'.¹ He was merciful, though he could be ruthless when threatened. Above all, he was excessively rapacious. This aspect of his character was tempered by wise 'counsellors of ancient authority with him' such as Sir Reginald Bray and Cardinal Morton. His later advisers, however, being more 'servile', drove him to 'extremities, for which himself was touched with remorse at his death'.² He was not a paragon, but a paragon would not be a particularly convincing model.

Henry's fortune was the product of his nature and of providential decree: he seized the throne from a tyrant with the aid of 'the Divine Revenge',³ and then kept it, surviving a series of rebellions to found a stable dynasty. His greatest virtue was his acceptance of wise counsel, and this facet of his character is stressed. 'The wisest princes,' he had long before written, 'need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel.'⁴ Bacon consistently praised Solomon, the biblical king James liked to be compared with, for his pronouncement that 'in counsel is stability'.⁵ Henry VII, though he never lost control over his servants, 'was served by the ablest men that were to be found' and was in turn loyal to them. 'He never put down or discomposed councillor or near servant, save only Stanley, the Lord Chamberlain.'⁶ His most able counsellors were Bishop

1 Bacon, Henry VII, pp.240-41.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p.67.

4 'Of Counsel', Works, VI, 423.

5 See e.g., Works, III, 266, 298, 448; VI, 423; Graham Parry, The Golden Age Restored (Manchester, 1981), pp.21, 26.

6 Bacon, Henry VII, p. 244. Bacon is less attentive to the problems of counsel (such as faction) than Machiavelli: The Prince, ch. XXIII (trans. Bull, p. 127).

Foxe and Cardinal Morton. As Marwil has shown, Bacon attributed many of his own ideas (which were in turn culled from Machiavelli) to Henry, Morton, and Foxe; he assumed that all wise minds think alike.¹

Bacon's adoption of rhetorical devices is evident in the set speeches he composes for his characters. Cardinal Morton, acting as Henry's speaker, persuades parliament to support the king in an alliance with Brittany against France. Morton's speech is itself an exercise in rhetoric, dividing a problem point by point in order to persuade the houses to Henry's side. Good counsellors have their uses in parliament also, as Bacon knew from experience.²

Henry's career offered no answer to specific problems facing James I in 1621, and Bacon makes very few allusions to contemporary politics (though it is not too difficult to read the acid portraits of Empson and Dudley, servile men who replace the king's older and more reliable ministers, as a poke at the new Lord treasurer, Lionel Cranfield, who had hastened Bacon's impeachment in the Commons). Instead, Bacon presents a general set of rules which any monarch could follow, whether un tipico nuovo principe like Henry or one whose claim is entirely legitimate, for no one regarded James as a new prince. Nor had he been rebelled or plotted against, except by Catholics. Bacon was much more interested in displaying his general understanding of politics, his worthiness to give advice: for him, the crisis of counsel was that he was not giving it. Cleverly insuring against the future, he dedicated the work to Prince Charles.

1 Marwil, Trials of Counsel, pp. 181-83, 195.

2 Bacon, Henry VII, p. 107.

As a history, the work has been dealt with unkindly by those who see it as the failure of the great progressive to carry his ambitious instauration of history into reality. In a sense, Bacon broke many of his own rules. As Marwil points out, the Henry VII is really neither a 'life' nor a 'history of times'. It is far too broad in scope for a life; though Henry is the unifying element, he is frequently in the wings. Bacon also felt he had to proceed annalistically, padding out the narrative of a year with details not proper in a life. On the other hand, because Henry is so dominant, the work is not a 'history of times' either.¹ But this inconsistency is less a fault of the history than of the strangling complexity and rigidity of the Advancement's schema, and Bacon is no worse an offender than John Hayward had been in the Lives of the III Normans. The forms of history were simply not as well-defined as Bacon the theorist would have liked.

Given Bacon's limited time and resources, he did rather well. Contrary to current belief, he did use original sources, despite his exile from London. John Selden acted as his research assistant, gathering material from the Tower and from Cotton's library and sending it to the banished ex-chancellor. This included royal proclamations, 'commissions touching state' and a list of the men assigned to levy the benevolence of 1502.² Thus the statesman used the antiquary's research to write history. And this is exactly what he had always said

1 Marwil, Trials of Counsel, p.154.

2 Selden to Bacon, 20 Aug., 1621, Leiden University Library, MS Pap. 2, (no fol.). This interesting letter, in Selden's hand, has never to my knowledge been printed or even discussed (it is contained in a collection of Anglo-Dutch correspondence); it effectively proves that Bacon did feel a need for documentary sources from the capital, denied by Marwil, Trials of Counsel, p.153. Selden had already acted as a legal adviser to the chancellor in February, 1621: Bacon, Letters and Life, VII, 332-333.

should happen. Bacon himself looked first to Speed, filling out his account with material from Hall, Stow and occasionally Bernard André. Given his scissors-and-paste method, he manipulated his material ingeniously and persuasively. Though the work has long been dismissed, rightly, as a source for Henry's reign, and though it contains many factual errors (such as the year of Henry's death!), its portrait has survived the centuries virtually intact. Bacon created the modern Henry VII in the same sense that More had moulded the definitive Richard III and Camden the definitive Elizabeth.

The immediate reception of the work is rather amazing. Fulke Greville praised it, as did the king. Selden (hardly a disinterested opinion) ranked it with Camden's Annales.¹ Though it failed to restore Bacon to the council, it was the most readable attempt to use narrative history as a vehicle for political advice. Its very didacticism makes it much less inconsistent with Bacon's general emphasis in the utility of history than has often been supposed.

ii) Sir Robert Cotton and the Crisis of Counsel

Sir Robert Cotton was an important figure in early Stuart historical writing and antiquarian scholarship. He had the greatest single collection of manuscripts then in existence in England, and he freely lent them to all who wished their use, as we have seen. His collection placed him at the centre of several overlapping circles of scholars, historians

1 Selden, 'To my singular good friend, Mr Augustine Vincent', in Vincent's Discoverie of errours (1622), sigs. a-a2.

and public figures, and most of the historians in this study had at least some contact with him.

As an historian and scholar, Cotton himself was not especially outstanding. Though he had a greater command of the material in his own library than anyone else, he lacked both the linguistic talents and erudition of a Camden, Selden or Spelman. Despite some shrewd insight into the nature of the post-conquest knight's fee, there is little evidence in either his occasional writings or his antiquarian discourses that he achieved Spelman's depth of understanding of feudal tenures.¹ Nevertheless, it is clear that both he and Camden often broke the rules of the society of antiquaries by looking to French sources in their investigations.²

The majority of Cotton's work consisted of antiquarian researches, performed either for the society or for one of his successive patrons.³

1 Pocock, Ancient Constitution, pp. 135, 202; D.C. Douglas, The Norman Conquest and British Historians (Glasgow, 1946), p.27; Sharpe, Sir Robert Cotton, p.24. Cotton may have correctly understood the nature of the knight's fee, but it seems to be pushing the evidence contained in his notes on escuage (B.L. MS Cott. Titus F.IV, fos.60-62v) and elsewhere to say that he had the same understanding of the problem to be found in Spelman's 'Feuds and Tenures by Knight Service', Reliquiae Spelmanniae, ed. E. Gibson (1698), pp.1-46. Cp. Cotton 'That the Kings of England have been pleased usually to consult with their Peers in the Great Councel, and Commons in Parliament of Marriage, Peace, and War' (1621) in Cottoni Posthuma, ed. J. Howell (2nd ed., 1672), p.14.

2 'Tenures', 28 Nov., 1591, B.L. MS Cott. Faustina E.V. (antiquarian discourses), fo.67; B.L. MS Stowe 1045 (Tate collections), fo.29; 'Of th'antiquity, services and duties appertaining to a knights fee', 9 Feb., 1599, MS Stowe 1045, fo. 60. Cf. Cotton and Camden's discourses on 'The Antiquity, Authority and Succession of the High Steward of England', Hearne, Curious Discourses, II, 3, 8, 38-40.

3 Many were reprinted by Howell in Cottoni Posthuma.

Like Camden, he distinguished between history and antiquarianism, though by using the same sources in both pursuits and by encouraging others to do so he contributed to the dissolution of this dichotomy. Without Cotton and his collections, Camden, Clapham, Daniel, Speed and innumerable others would have been severely hampered in their researches; Selden's Historie of tithes would have been inconceivable, and Selden did well to dedicate it to his friend. Cotton would have been, today, the ideal reference librarian - one of Bacon's industrious collectors of antiquities. He helped many men in their writing as well as their research and at one point helped an anonymous friend compile a topographical study of Britain in the context of world geography, a work which was not simply a revision of the Britannia but an attempt to place Britain on a wider map.¹

Most of Cotton's own work is much shorter. He contributed at least two works of humanist historiography. His authorship of the life of Henry VIII in Speed is suggested both by the contemporary testimony of Edmund Bolton, who was in a position to know,² and by the frequent references in the life to Guicciardini's History of Italy, on which Cotton had taken extensive notes.³

The Short view of the long life and raigne of Henry III presents problems of its own. The tract was published in 1627 and, because much of it is critical of overmighty favourites, created trouble for Cotton and his publishers. He escaped punishment both by denying that he had published it (the real sin) and claiming that he had written it fifteen years before, in 1611 or 1612.⁴ Cotton's testimony is the

1 This work, described as a topographical 'history' by Sharpe, Sir Robert Cotton, p.256, is B.L. MS Sloane 241. Technically, it considers itself a 'history' no more than did the Britannia.

2 Bolton, Hypercritica, p.98.

3 B.L. MS Cott. Titus B.I. fos. 6-53.

4 P.R.O., S.P. 16/54/4, p.5.

only evidence for a date this early and it must, under the circumstances, be highly suspect. Two other possible dates, 1614 and 1622, head two manuscript copies of the tract, but both dates could very easily have been written in after 1627.¹ It seems safer to let the tract speak for itself. It is certainly a poke at overmighty favourites, and given that Cotton's patrons in 1612 and 1614 were the earls of Northampton and Somerset respectively, these dates, though not impossible, present many more problems than 1622 or 1627. Central to the work is the problem of the evil counsellor, the minion who gains near-sovereign control of the council by taking advantage of an unsuspecting, well-intentioned master, only to turn against him. Cotton is less likely to have written it in 1612 or 1614, for his patrons were then in positions of trust and, in his view at least, no crisis of counsel yet existed.²

Cotton, like Bacon, was concerned with the realities of political life, not with its moralities. His Henry III is nevertheless probably the work least influenced by Machiavelli of those studied in this chapter. Henry III fitted the roles of neither tyrant nor new prince, and Cotton was more concerned with the maintenance of legitimate, peaceful rule by king-in-council, in an inherited kingdom than with the seizure and consolidation of power. If Cotton had wished to criticise Charles I and not his counsellors, he could have made a far more convincing

1 C.U.L., MS Dd 14 28 (2), fo. 1; Thomas Crosfield noted the application of the tract to 'our state at this present': Diary of Thomas Crosfield, ed. F.S. Boas (1935), p.12 (3 March, 1627). B.L. MS Add. 60, 284, fos. 1-16v concludes with the remark 'Finis: AD, 1622' but does not appear to be in Cotton's hand. Other MSS of the work include: P.R.O., S.P. 16/88/1; B.L. MS Harl. 252, fos. 129-136; and B.L. MS Royal App. 7, fos. 72-77.

2 Sharpe quite rightly does not commit himself on this matter, but inclines, as do I, to a later date (Sir Robert Cotton, pp. 239-40). A more affirmative conclusion is probably impossible.

analogy out of Edward II; but Henry, like Charles, was an inherently good prince, who simply needed good advice. On the other hand, there is a hint of Machiavellism in Cotton's depiction of Montfort, exercising his 'vertue', though the real model was probably Tacitus' Sejanus. In any case, the Henry III is full of the kind of precepts supported by example that Machiavelli had excelled at; in many ways, it is like an extended chapter of Il Principe and is about as historically accurate.

The problems facing Henry III in the thirteenth century were, as far as Cotton could see, very similar to those facing Charles I in the late 1620s. What is a king to do, even an inherently good one, when he lacks worthy counsel? Human nature drives men to seek honour and preferment, says Cotton, echoing Bacon's essay 'Of Ambition'; rewards given the subject 'maketh the mind only capable of meritt, nothing of duty'.¹ Henry's troubles were specific. A 'surfeit of peace' had allowed abuses in government to arise, and young, ambitious men had replaced worthy old counsellors such as Pembroke, de Burgh and Roger Bigod, second earl of Norfolk. The last name was an odd choice for Cotton; Norfolk had been one of the barons to confront King John at Runnymede and had died in 1221 having never, until a few months before his death, enjoyed Henry's favour.²

The king makes the initial mistake of employing Frenchmen such as Simon de Montfort in high office. This damages his reputation with his subjects, 'for nothing is more against the nature of the English then to have strangers rule over them'.³ The rise of Montfort is rapid and he

1 Cotton, A short view of the long life and raigne of Henry the third (1627), p.5; Cp. Bacon, 'Of Ambition', Works, VI, 465-67.

2 Ibid., pp. 4, 6. The reference to Norfolk, restored as lord steward by Henry III only months before his death in 1221, after his opposition to John, suggests an oblique reference to Cotton's last patron, the Earl of Arundel, heir to the defunct dukedom of Norfolk.

3 Cotton, Henry III, p. 11; is it likely that Cotton would have presented such a sentence to the 'stranger' King James or the Scottish Robert Carr in 1614?

is soon the de facto ruler:

hee draweth all publike affayres into his owne
hands, all favours must passe from him, all
preferments by him, all suites addressed to him,
the King but as a cypher set to adde to this figure.¹

The magnates, predictably, begin to grieve, while famine causes popular riots. Calling a parliament does little good. Without trusty and respected counsellors to conduct his business, the king is unable to control the Commons, which gives him so little money that he becomes dependent on it, an improper state of affairs.

Thus Parliaments that before were ever a medicine to
heale up any rupture in Princes fortunes are now
growne worse then the mallady.

Thus begins a change of 'sole power into the rule of many'.

The king's council is soon dominated by a triumvirate of Montfort, Gloucester and Despenser and their followers. These force upon the king the provisions of Oxford, thereby infringing his sovereignty still further. They also 'forst agayne the King to call a Parliament'.² When Henry finally saw the error of his ways and tried to restrain Montfort, it was almost too late. Fortunately, most of the kingdom remained loyal and the proud former counsellor, refusing to submit to the king's mercy, was vanquished and killed. Montfort was to Cotton much more the Machiavellian citizen 'exercis[ing] his vertue' than the king himself, a passive figure throughout.³

Henry learned his lessons. He realised that

reward and reprehension justly laid doe ballance
government, and that it much importeth a Prince
the hand to bee equall that holdeth scale.

Henry reformed his household and court and put 'nobly borne' men into seats of judgement and counsel. He himself sat with his council daily,

1 Cotton, Henry III, p. 14.

2 Ibid., pp. 19, 25, 29-34 (mispaginated as 33).

3 Ibid., p. 42

taking advice, but ruling himself as a sovereign ought.¹ In fact, this is a travesty of history, for the real Henry remained much the same after 1265, a pious nonentity. Cotton also all but ignores the really important issue of the reign, which was the pope's influence over Henry's government. This was simply not germane.

Cotton himself states that examples are more useful than 'general rules', which are not always applicable to specific situations.² The Henry III is an extended example. It is not a work of historical scholarship, even on the level of Bacon's Henry VII, despite Cotton's use of a larger number of manuscript sources (which, of course, belonged to him!)³ The characters are cardboard cut-outs and the pictures of Montfort and Henry deliberately one-sided and inaccurate, even by contemporary standards. It is a rhetorical parable, designed to persuade the reader, Charles I, to a course of action which is illustrated by analogy from the past.

Cotton's own inclination to give advice, whether asked for it or not, reveals itself in many of his other works, including The Danger wherein the Kingdom now standeth and the remedy, published in 1628.⁴ Again, using history to illustrate his arguments, he urged the calling of a parliament to settle the kingdom's grievances and the king's finances, a change of perspective from the Henry III, which stressed the importance

1 Cotton, Henry III, pp. 45-46.

2 Ibid., p. 6.

3 Cotton used at least ten different sources, including rolls from the tower, which are cited in the margins in the same manner as in his antiquarian and political tracts in Cottoni Posthuma. The main authority used is Matthew Paris' Chronica Maiora, first published in 1575.

4 Cottoni Posthuma, pp. 308-20.

of the council rather than parliament. This may have been stimulated by the continued failure of the opponents of Buckingham, Pembroke and Arundel, to supplant the duke. In the Henry III he was advising Charles I to displace an upstart like Buckingham and take the advice of a 'nobly born' counsellor such as his patron, Arundel. Like Bacon, a more skilful writer, Cotton constructed his narrative around a set of precepts already drawn up.¹

iii) William Habington and the Crisis of 1639

William Habington's Historie of Edward the fourth is the last historical advice-book before 1640, and is perhaps the one most concerned with finding an answer to the problems of the present in an earlier reign. F.J. Levy dismisses it as a failure.² As a work of historiography, it was certainly thinly researched and was based upon even fewer sources than its model, Bacon's Henry VII. There may, however, be an explanation for this speedily composed history in the peculiar circumstances of the year in which it was written.

Born on the first anniversary of the gunpowder plot, 5 November 1605 (an inauspicious date for a Catholic), *he was the son of Thomas Habington* (1560-1647), *a recusant who had been in and out of prison* and whose brother had been executed for complicity in the Babington plot. Thomas Habington was a capable antiquary. Permanently exiled to his Worcestershire manor of Hindlip, he had no direct access to the Cottonian

1 'A Colectyone of Preceptes', Bodl. MS Tanner 103, fos. 196-198v. This criticises not favourites per se, but 'too absolute inward favorits'. The list contains many precepts not included in the Henry III, suggesting that the history was written around the list rather than the list derived from the history; cf. Sharpe, Sir Robert Cotton, pp.239-40.

2 Levy, Tudor Historical Thought, p.272.

or other London libraries, but he managed to write an impressive Survey of Worcestershire from the material he found in local church records.¹ Thomas sent his son to be educated by Jesuits in France.

William was pressed to join the order but, on his own son's testimony, 'by excuses got free and left them'.² The experience left William with pronounced francophobia which is detectable in almost all his writings. Afterwards, he returned home to be instructed 'in matters of history' by his father, but found poetry more to his liking.

His marriage in 1633 to Lucy Herbert, the daughter of William, first Baron Powys, placed him directly in the powerful Herbert family.³ His father-in-law's first cousin was Philip Herbert, fourth earl of Pembroke. In 1636, Pembroke backed Habington for the position of ambassador to Rome, but the king chose Sir William Hamilton, a Scotsman supported by the queen.⁴ It is not surprising that Habington was never one of Henrietta Maria's circle of wits. Though he was, like his friends Davenant and Shirley, a 'son of Ben', his poetry lacks the sensual and erotic imagery of much early Cavalier verse; he has been not unjustly dubbed a 'Catholic Puritan'.⁵

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- 1 T. Habington, A Survey of Worcestershire, ed. J. Amphlett (Oxford, 1893), I, 16-17; Poems of William Habington, ed. K. Allott (1948), introduction, pp. xi-xliv, contains the best lives of Thomas and William, but nothing on their historical works.
 - 2 Wood, Ath. Ox., III, 222-25, received his information from Thomas Habington the younger, William's son.
 - 3 Sir Henry Herbert, another relative, also spoke of 'my cozen Abington': Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, ed. J.Q. Adams (1917), p. 58.
 - 4 Habington, Poems, p. xxxiv; Gordon Albion, Charles I and the Court of Rome (1938), p. 157.
 - 5 Habington, Poems, pp. xxix ff.; 154, 156-57.

The Scottish rebellion which began in 1638 turned him from poetry back to history, possibly at Pembroke's prodding. The Lord Chamberlain, who opposed the first 'Bishops' war', was one of the main architects of the shaky Treaty of Berwick; he led a court faction which urged moderation. Before long, he found himself at odds with the newly-formed alliance between Henrietta Maria and Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, Charles' principal adviser from September 1639. The chances of the moderates to maintain an accord with the Covenanters began to decline from the moment Strafford arrived back in England.¹

Habington had already written at the king's request a history of Henry V's reign, which has not survived. This may well have been a contribution to the cult of Charles I the warrior, a cult which expressed itself in the 1630s in the art of Van Dyck. Henry V would have appealed to Charles as an analogue in rather the same way Henry VII, the peacemaker, had appealed to his father.² Edward IV would have equal appeal, and it was to his reign Habington turned in 1639.

The Historie of Edward the fourth is misunderstood if taken for a serious attempt at scholarship: it is, like Bacon's Henry VII, an exercise in Machiavellian counselling, and Habington spent little time in its research. His earlier works explicitly cite Machiavelli's works with approval,³ though in the history Habington maintains the ambivalence toward Machiavellian politics typical of the time. Like Bacon, Habington began with Speed, availing himself of the latter's marginal references.

1 For Pembroke see DNB, s.v. 'Herbert, Philip'; Cal.S.P. Dom., 1639, pp. 319, 360, 398, 401, 432. Habington praises Pembroke's ancestor, William Herbert, executed by the Lancastrians in 1469 in his Historie of Edward the fourth (1640), pp. 29, 46.

2 Habington's son refers to the life of Henry V in a letter to Wood, 5 June 1672, Bodl. MS Wood F.39, vol. A-A, fo. 2.

3 Habington, The Queene of Arragon (1640), sig. A2v. refers to Il Principe; Poems, p. 96, refers to the Discorsi.

He never wandered very far afield, though he incorporated material directly from Hall's chronicle and from Commynes, his main source for Edward's relations with France, though Habington shared neither Bacon's approval of Commynes nor Commynes' own pro-French bias.

The influence of Machiavelli shows fairly early as Habington commends Edward both for allowing the crowd to believe it has chosen him king (though Edward wisely never relies on a popular title), and for the ruthless execution of a grocer who had joked about making his own son king.

The extraordinary punishment of such saucie language, was not then unnecessary to beget authority, and make men cautious to dispute the descent of Princes.¹

Edward's fear of the continued Lancastrian threat was justified. Indeed, he was not wary enough, for he carelessly ignored the continuing existence of Henry VI and Queen Margaret. As Machiavelli had shown, 'A Prince cannot live securely in a principality whilst those are alive who have been despoiled of it.'² Edward's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville is a gross error which alienates his lieutenant, Warwick, and the king of France. Habington is uniformly hostile to the influence of women on their husbands and portrays both queens, Margaret and Elizabeth, equally unsympathetically. His own likely antipathy toward Henrietta Maria's party was probably given shape by Machiavelli's chapter in the Discorsi on 'how women have caused the downfall of states'.³

1 Habington, Edward IV, p.11; cp. Machiavelli's commendation of Cesare Borgia's necessary cruelty in the Romagna, The Prince, ch. XVII (trans. G. Bull, 1961, p.95).

2 Machiavelli, Discourses, III, ch. 4 (ed. B. Crick, 1970, pp. 394-5).

3 Ibid., III, 26, p. 477. Habington points out (Edward IV, p.33) that 'Reason of state argued sharply against a marriage so unequale to Majestie'.

Habington condemns Edward for profitless cruelty and dishonesty, such as he showed when he executed Lord Wells, the father of Warwick's commander, Sir Robert Wells, despite having given the victim a safe-conduct. This was 'an act barbarous and unfaithfull' - but Habington cannot seem to make up his mind here, for Edward's perfidy had the good effect of provoking Sir Robert into a premature attack in which he was routed. This illustrates Habington's ambivalence toward Machiavellism and reason of state: bad acts may be necessary, but they are still bad.¹ Edward's tendency to perjure himself for political gain was his greatest fault and was the crime 'which rendered him most odious to the societie of man' and to God, who visits his sins upon Edward's children. Similarly, Habington considers only to reject the Machiavellian doctrine that 'no faith was to be held with an enemy' though he recognised that Edward's enemies could actually outdo him in the art of deception.²

The second half of the history is principally concerned with Edward's diplomatic affairs. Habington is positively scathing in his denunciations of the foreign rulers with whom Edward had to deal, especially the French. He describes Louis XI's payment of an annuity to Edward as a 'tribute' not, as Commynes called it, a pension. 'There is much controversie among French and English writers about the name. They call it a pension, we a Tribute.' Habington's recognition that his sources did not agree merit the word 'controversie', but as usual, one view (the English one) is regarded as undeniably correct; he attacks Commynes with indignation for 'an apparent defect in order and method'.³

1 Habington, Edward IV, p.55, following Hall's Chronicle (1809 ed., p. 276).

2 Ibid., p.230; The Prince, ch. XVIII (ed. cit. pp. 99-102).

3 Habington, Edward IV, pp.134, 146; Commynes, Mémoires sur Louis XI, ed.J. Dufournet (Collection Folio no. 1078, Paris 1979), p. 497.

King Edward became increasingly susceptible to lust and expensive pastimes in his later years. In order to impress foreigners he 'began to addict himselfe to a profuse hospitality'.¹ This and the endless demands of the queen and her horde of kinsmen cost money, which Edward raised by a variety of unpopular means such as executing penal laws purely for their revenue. He called a parliament in 1474 which reversed Henry VI's attainders and willingly granted him a subsidy, but when forced later that year into a war with France he had to use other means. Hall had referred to Edward's extortion of a free gift from his wealthier subjects as a 'benevolence' and had simply commented that it was a cunning means of raising extra money. Habington goes further. He asks why Edward did not call a parliament:

The ordinary course for supply was by Parliament, and that at this time was held difficult if not impossible: in regard the king but a little before had dissolved the Assembly, having received² for discharge of his debts a large contribution....

Habington is quite clear that Edward should still have summoned parliament and holds that it probably would have been pliant, for

the subject repents not the free Gifts of the Kingdomes substance, when hee sees the returne of it in triumph; but repines if the least part of his contribution bee the reward of parasites, or persons to whom fortune, not merit, gives a growth.³

The final years of Edward's reign were dominated by the rise of the even more ruthless and cunning duke of Gloucester, who successfully allowed the queen to ruin the duke of Clarence, his brother, while staying above the fray himself. Gloucester's reputation increased enormously through his command in the pointless Scottish war of 1482,

1 Habington, Edward IV, p. 176.

2 Ibid., p. 130; Hall's Chronicle, p.308, makes no such comment; Speed, History, p. 686, ignores the benevolence entirely. Cp. the comment by Bacon, Henry VII, p.240.

3 Habington, Edward IV, p.196.

a conflict fomented by the French. Again, Habington expanded on his sources. Neither Hall nor Speed had anything bad to say about Gloucester at this point, nor do they even attempt to judge the consequences of the war. Habington is forced to admit that the successful invasion of Scotland and capture of Berwick redeemed Edward in the eyes of his people, who once again compared 'their felicity with the misery of their fathers, to blesse the present government'.¹

Following his Baconian model to the bitter end, Habington ends with a brief character of the king. He praises Edward's generally just administration of the laws. He notes that the king's behaviour improved after the Scottish war and that his earlier severity and avarice were 'not imputed to the king: But to Tiptoft, Earle of Worcester, and some under informers: or else to the Queene and her necessitous kindred'. The reference to Tiptoft is perhaps inspired by the commendation of Cesare Borgia by Machiavelli for executing his own governor, Remirro d'Orca, after making him the scapegoat for unpopular policies.²

Although most of the history deals with general rules of politics for princes, a number of clues suggest that Habington had more in mind than the production of simply another politic history. His discussion of the Scottish war and the power it gives an overmighty subject points straight at Strafford, Pembroke's nemesis in 1639. Habington had finished the work by 15 November, 1639, five months after Strafford's return to England. Strafford had managed to ally himself with the queen, and while Habington's recurring criticisms of Edward's indulgence of his wife (repeating Henry VI's error) are probably not directly aimed at Henrietta Maria (that would have exceeded the bounds of good taste and safety) they at least suggest the unpopularity and problems awaiting an uxorious prince.

1 Habington, Edward IV, pp. 200-203, 205-208; Hall's Chronicle, pp. 331-333; Speed, History, p. 689.

2 Edward IV, p. 226; The Prince, ch. VII, p.58. If so, the analogy is tenuous, since Tiptoft was killed by the Lancastrians, not by his master.

The prologue of the history (which is dedicated to the king) reveals the author's didactic purpose. 'Faction begot many tempests' observes Habington, 'but Soveraigntie found a happie calme in the destruction (since no gentler way had authoritie) of mighty opposers.' Expressing gratitude for the peace of the last decade he implores the king to be merciful to his enemies if possible.

If you shall be forc't to draw your sword, may your enemies submit and tast part of your mercy: if not, perish in your Victories.¹

As we have seen, the history also recommends the calling of parliament as the usual means of securing supply for a war. It is unknown whether Pembroke actually pressed the king to call a parliament in the spring of 1640, and by the autumn he was no longer sufficiently influential to do so; but he certainly saw a parliament as the best means of ridding himself and the king of Strafford, and both he and his client, Sir Henry Vane the elder, contributed to the earl's ruin in 1641.² Habington's references to Edward's parliaments smack strongly of an attempt to persuade the king to take this road out of his financial morass.

Any specific link between Pembroke and the Historie of Edward the fourth must remain conjectural: we have none of the correspondence that may have passed between them. On the whole, though, the internal and external evidence strongly suggest both such a connection and a certain topicality. The history may therefore be read as an attempt not simply to imitate Baconian didactic narrative, but to carry the historian's function as counsellor to a level Bacon would not have

1 Habington, Edward IV, sig. A2-A2v.

2 S.R. Gardiner, History of England, 1603-1642 (10 vols., 1884), IX, passim, for the events of late 1639 and 1640; Brian Manning, 'The Aristocracy and the Downfall of Charles I', in his Politics, Religion and the English Civil War (1973), p.51.

contemplated. But Habington's work, published in 1640, seems to have had no greater impact upon the king than Bacon's had had years before on James I.

Habington left the court in 1641 and returned to Hindlip, probably frightened by the increasing anti-Catholic feeling in the city and the eclipse of his patron at court. It is possible that he had fallen out with Pembroke over the publication of his play The Queene of Arragon; his son told Anthony Wood that the work had been performed and published by Pembroke against the author's will. He was also shocked by the popular disturbances which followed the dissolution of the Short Parliament; these are the subject of his only extant letter.¹ He spent the next few years in financial hardship, relying on the charity of friends and family.²

Despite his troubles, Habington did not remain idle. In 1641 he published his last work, Observations upon historie, a tract modelled, as the title suggests, on the Discorsi, though with no particular text such as Livy in mind. Habington claimed to have been compiling these observations for several years, and for once we may believe such a claim, for the work has no pattern or thread to suggest that it was written at one time. Habington abandoned his earlier attempt to harvest political lessons from an entire reign and turned to a more traditional method of extracting episodes from history and commenting upon them.³ Since it focuses on neither a specific text nor a particular king, it soon crumbles into disorder.

1 Habington to Mary Habington, 22 May, 1640, printed in Poems, pp. xxxiii.

2 Hist. MSS Comm., Various Collections, I (1901), p.316; *ibid.*, II (1903), p.320.

3 Habington refers to history as 'that great instructor of the present, and certaine prophete of the future' in Observations upon historie (1641), sigs. A3v-A4.

Presented for recusancy in April, 1642, Habington became an active royalist in the civil war and was among the garrison of Worcester at its surrender in July, 1646.¹ He died on the last day of 1654. Wood claimed he was 'not unknown to Oliver the usurper',² though in what capacity, if any, it is unknown. At least he lived to see a genuine new prince on the throne.

Of the three would-be counsellors, only Bacon produced a history which can still be read with enjoyment by a wide audience. It has literary merits not to be found in Cotton or Habington's histories, which remain obscure. Habington's was reprinted in 1659 as Praeces Principum: or the President of Illustrious Princes; but long before then the crisis of counsel had become a crisis of rather a different sort, and the historian was out of his depth.

1 Hist. MSS Comm., Various Collections, I, 319; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1645-47, p.456.

2 Wood, Ath. Ox., III, 225.

CHAPTER VI
THE ANCIENT WORLD

i) The Subject

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw much discussion of British history among English antiquaries and their European friends. Letters, books and manuscripts flew back and forth across the channel. In Paris, André Duchesne wrote a history of the British Isles in French. De Thou's interest has already been mentioned. Pierre Dupuy, Camden's friend, arranged the translation into French of Bacon's Henry VII, and used Francis Godwin's Annales in his own researches. Jean Hotman, son of François, had spent time in England as Leicester's secretary; he helped arrange the French translation of the first part of Camden's Annales in 1617. Nicholas Fabri de Peiresc imported English histories and collected British and Saxon coins; he visited Cotton in 1606. In Holland, Gerard Voss contemplated writing the life of Mary, Queen of Scots, while Jan de Laet assisted Henry Spelman and his Cambridge Saxon lecturer, Abraham Wheloc, in the compilation of an Anglo-Saxon dictionary.¹

The main topic of correspondence was not, however, Britain, but the ancient world. As late as our period the focus of Renaissance scholarship remained the restoration of Greek and Roman culture. In France, Guillaume Budé had edited the Pandects of the civil law and initiated the study of ancient coins.² Other civilians, François

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- 1 A. Duchesne, Histoire générale d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse et d'Irlande (Paris, 1614); Peiresc to Dupuy, 28 Apr. 1624 (s.n.), Lettres de Peiresc, I, 31; B.N. Coll. Dup. MS 447 fos 77-101 (Dupuy's Histoire de plus illustres favoris); Hotman to Camden, 21 Oct. and 12 Nov., 1617 (s.n.), Camdeni Epistolae, pp.201, 202-3; Peiresc to Camden, 1 Sept., 1617, Lettres de Peiresc, VII, 761; L. van Norden, 'Peiresc and the English Scholars', H.L.Q., XII (1948-49), 369-89; Voss to James Ussher, n.d. [c. 1634] Bodl. MS Rawl. lett. 84 (f) (Voss letters) fo. 59, Spelman to Wheloc, 13, 17 and 20 Sept., 1639, C.U.L. MS Add. 7596 (Spelman-Wheloc letters) fo. nos. 15, 24, 25 (unfoliated).
- 2 D.O. McNeil, Guillaume Budé and Humanism in the Reign of Francis I (Geneva, 1975), p.29.

Baudouin and François Hotman, also studied the law historically, while Jacques Cujas turned the study of law and grammar into a science.¹ Cujas' Huguenot disciple, Joseph Scaliger, developed the science of chronology. Through his near-flawless editions of ancient authors, and his massive knowledge of oriental tongues, Scaliger came closest of all to reconstructing the life of the ancient world.²

The religious wars ensured that by 1600 the centre of gravity had shifted to the low countries. When Scaliger, who fled to Leiden in 1593, said that France would never produce another Budé, he was not praising Budé.³ Scaliger's great predecessor at Leiden, Justus Lipsius, and his followers Janus Gruter, Daniel Heinsius and Gerard Voss, were all Dutchmen. Still, France was far from becoming a wasteland. The Pithou brothers, François and Pierre, were both lawyers who studied the ancient past. Isaac Casaubon edited Polybius before leaving for England in 1610. The Jesuit Fronton du Duc, editing the Old Testament, borrowed a Greek Genesis from Cotton.⁴ For these and other scholars, the ancient world remained as fascinating as the Middle Ages.

With the conspicuous exception of Sir Henry Savile, whose edition of St John Chrysostom was of the first importance, England produced no great classicist until Richard Bentley at the end of the seventeenth century.⁵ The interest was there: Camden used the Antonine Itineraries

1 Kelley, Foundations, pp.106-28 and François Hotman, pp. 191-97.

2 R. Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship from 1300 to 1850 (Oxford, 1976), pp. 117-119.

3 Scaligerana, Thuana, Perroniana, Pithoeana, et Colomesiana (Amsterdam, 1740), II, 39.

4 This incident is the subject of several amusing exchanges between Peiresc, on behalf of Fronton, and Camden, between 11 Dec. 1617 and 21 Dec., 1622: Lettres de Peiresc, VII, . 763, 770, 781-3, 799-823 passim; Camden to Peiresc, 12 Dec., 1618, B.N. Coll. Dup. MS 699, fo. 202; Camden to Dupuy (n.d.), B.N. Coll. Dup. MS 699, fo. 209. Cotton never saw his manuscript again.

5 Pfeiffer, Classical Scholarship, pp. 144-158.

to piece together the ancient Roman road network in Britain;¹ John Selden's treatise on Syrian gods put him on the European intellectual map, drawing high praise from foreign scholars.² In 1614, an Abingdon schoolmaster named Thomas Godwyn (unrelated to the bishop) wrote an immensely popular textbook on Roman religion, laws and customs. Godwyn sacrificed historical understanding for pedagogical convenience and insisted on explaining Roman institutions in English terms: a Roman lictor became a 'serjeant'.³ This was ~~useful~~ as long as the correspondence was seen to be only analogical, but in lesser minds it could be dangerous. One of Godwyn's readers, Stephen Millington, made notes in which the fiscus became the 'king's exchequer' - in Republican Rome!⁴

Generally, the dichotomy between history and erudition remained. Professor Momigliano has pointed out that antiquaries before Edward Gibbon felt incompetent to rewrite Roman history on a chronological basis: the Romans themselves had said the last word. In England this was generally true. Like Camden, scholars studied the ancient past topographically or edited ancient texts. No one tried to be a new Livy, except in points of style.⁵

1 P. Dupuy to Camden, 13 July 1619 (s.n.), Camdeni Epistolae, p.277; Degory Whear to Camden, 12 Aug., 1622, Camdeni Epistolae, p.331.

2 Selden to Peiresc, 8 Feb., 1618, Bodl. MS Smith 74 fos. 163-64.

3 T. Godwyn, Romanae historiae anthologia recognita et aucta. An English Exposition of the Romane antiquities (Oxford, 1623, 1st ed. Oxford, 1614), p.160.

4 Notes on Godwyn, 1641, by S. Millington, B.L. MS Harl. 5748, fos. 109-11. Godwyn's book was in use as late as 1705; Bodl. MS Rawl D. 171, art. 1, notes by Henry Bigge.

5 A.D. Momigliano, 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian', in his Studies in Historiography (1966), pp. 1-34; 'Gibbon's Contribution to Historical Method', *ibid.*, pp. 40-55.

This does not mean that no one was interested in Roman history, in the narrative sense. On the contrary, the antiquaries were once again greatly outnumbered by historians and dramatists. By 1640, at least fifty-seven Roman history plays had been produced in England, of which forty survive.¹ Translators flourished. Livy was translated in various bits in the sixteenth century; Philemon Holland did a complete version in 1600. Holland filled the gaps of Livy's missing books with Lucius Florus' so-called 'epitome' of Livy, thereby stimulating interest in that obscure author.² Henry Savile and Richard Grenewey each translated Tacitus. A popular translation of Quintus Curtius' Alexander by John Brende went through thirteen editions between 1553 and 1614. Josephus' works were translated by the poet Thomas Lodge, whose play The Wounds of Civill War (1594), on the factions of the first century BC, was a nightmare of civil strife as vivid as the plays on fifteenth-century England. Caesar was translated by Arthur Golding in 1565 and again by Clement Edmonds in 1600 and 1604.³ Thomas May, the future parliamentarian historian, translated Lucan's Pharsalia in 1626.⁴ Translating Thucydides taught Hobbes the flaws of democratic constitutions.⁵

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- 1 D.N. Fishel, 'The Image of Rome in Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama' (Oxford Univ. B.Litt. thesis, 1978), pp. 179-81.
 - 2 Livy, The Romane historie: also the breviaries of L. Florus, trans. P. Holland (1600), p.1234. Holland also translated Suetonius in 1606 and Ammianus Marcellinus in 1609.
 - 3 H.B. Lathrop, Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman, 1477-1620 (2nd ed., N.Y., 1967), pp.311-18; T. Lodge, The Wounds of Civill War (1594) in Complete Works of Thomas Lodge, III (N.Y., 1963); C. Edmonds, Observations upon Caesars Commentaries (1604).
 - 4 Lucan's Pharsalia, trans. T. May (1626-27); Mark P. Hartman, 'Contemporary Explanations of the English Revolution' (Cambridge Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1978), ch. IV, pp. 117-53.
 - 5 R. Schlatter, 'Thomas Hobbes and Thucydides', J.H.I., VI (1945), 350-62.

In the English mind, there were two Romes: the corrupt popish Babylon of the present, to be feared rather than studied; and the great ancient city, whose mighty past and ruinous fall inspired awe. Potted histories were in vogue: a sixteenth-century work by the Spaniard Pedro Mexia on the lives of the Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to the Holy Roman Empire of his own day was twice translated into English and continued to the present in the early seventeenth century.¹ A brief summary by Richard Brathwait appeared in 1636.² At an even lower level, Rome provided a suitable setting for fairy-tale moralists. The Seven wyse maysters of Rome and A Record of auncient histories had nothing whatsoever to do with Roman history, but wove tales with religious or ethical morals around fictitious Roman characters.³

Historical interest was political interest and, as usual, the past held messages for the present. Rome provided a gallery of archetypes. Although playwrights dramatised the folly of the Tacitean emperors, especially Tiberius and Nero, the republic was a more popular topic. This was partly because less was known about the later Roman empire (the sources were not as full and fewer had been translated) and partly because the great stylists, Cicero, Livy, Sallust, Horace and Virgil, all lived before the death of Augustus in AD 14. Most importantly, the troubles of a republic were of much more relevance than those of an empire to writers convinced of the virtues of monarchy. Rome was

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- 1 Pedro Mexia, The historie of all the Romane Emperours, trans. Wm. Traheron (1604, 2nd, ed., trans. Edward Grimeston, 1623); Thomas Milles published extracts from Mexia as The treasure of auncient and moderne times (1613).
 - 2 R. Brathwait, Lives of all the Roman Emperors (1636), sometimes ascribed (S.T.C. No. 1558) to one Robert Basset.
 - 3 Anon., Here beginneth thystory of the Seven wyse Maysters of Rome (various eds., 1555-1633); R. Robinson, A Record of auncient histories (1620). The Seven wyse maysters was still popular in 1658: Wm. London, A Catalogue of the most vendible books in England (2nd ed., 1658), p.91.

a model of political change, running the full course from monarchy through aristocracy and democracy and back to monarchy. The disastrous civil wars of the first century BC were the ruin of the republic, but this was generally perceived as historically inevitable and beneficial. In 1576, John Barston used Rome to show that 'no state is to be compared to the royall sceptre of a king, garded with good and holesome lawes'. The pretensions of the plebeians, who were allowed to intermarry with the patricians under the Lex Canuleia of 445 BC, had led Rome the way of Athens, into 'that most pernicious state of Democratia'.¹ Richard Beacon, an attorney in Munster, turned to Athens itself in 1594 to show the weakness of democracy and to recommend harsh repressive measures in Ireland. An early exponent of political ideas in Machiavelli and Bodin, Beacon believed commonwealths needed strong laws and decisive, ruthless leaders. He drew on the same stories of ancient and Italian politics which had already served Machiavelli and Guicciardini.²

ii) Fulke Greville on the Roman Republic

We have already seen that Fulke Greville was a vigorous patron of historical writing; he was not merely a spectator. His own poetic treatise Of Monarchy discusses at length the mutations in the Roman commonwealth which was 'for all free states a glass'; for a poet as obsessed with mutability as was Greville, she was a perfect source of examples.³ Rome demonstrated that 'Worth must decay, and the height of Pow'r decline'.⁴

1 John Barston, The safeguard of societie (1576), fos. 16v-17v.

2 DNB, s.v. 'Becon, Richard'; Beacon, Solon his follie, or a politique discourse, touching the Reformation of common-weales conquered, declined or corrupted (1594). Machiavelli's own Discorsi on Livy were themselves translated by Edward Dacres in 1636.

3 Greville, Of Monarchy, verse (v) 304, in Works of Fulke Greville ed. A.B. Grosart, vol. I; R. Rebholz, Life of Fulke Greville, First Lord Brooke (Oxford, 1971), p.340, assigns the work to the period 1599-1604.

4 Greville, Of Monarchy, v.83.

To Greville, government was necessitated by the Fall, and monarchy was the best kind, particularly a monarchy governing with the advice of its subjects. Kings need the counsel of aristocrats, but 'must wisely bound their own nobility'. Assemblies of the people are 'true glasses' in great monarchies:

To shew men's griefs; excesses to abate;
 Brave moulds for Laws; a medium that in one¹
 Joyns with content a people to the throne.

Parliament was a point of contact. But Rome showed that a balance between liberty and chaos was difficult to strike. Although Greville criticised the later emperors for their 'martial mutinous election',² he knew that the occupants and not the office were to blame. Even if all her later emperors had been good, the empire was destined to fall when she reached the preordained end of her life, 'which no Republic can exceed'. In any case, he asks, what democracy has ever produced leaders as great as Augustus, Trajan and Constantine? Imperial Rome managed to survive her weak rulers until AD 1453, whereas in a mere five centuries as a republic,

Rome corrupted herself so
 As change she must or suffer overthrow.³

H.N. Maclean has pointed to a link between Greville and the sixteenth century authors of the French treatise on resistance, the Vindiciae contra tyrannos, Philippe du Plessis-Mornay and Hubert Languet, whom Greville's close friend Sir Philip Sidney knew well.⁴ It is tempting to see in Greville an apologist for the Polybian mixed state and an opponent of 'Stuart absolutism'.⁵ Yet though he believed (rather like

1 Greville, Of Monarchy, vv. 347, 288.

2 Ibid., vv. 306, 634.

3 Ibid., vv. 627, 629, 633-35 where Greville pinpoints the immediate causes of ruin as the election of Caesars and the lack of crown lands.

4 H.N. Maclean, 'Fulke Greville: Kingship and Sovereignty', H.L.Q., XVI (1952-53), pp. 237-71.

5 Rebholz, Greville, pp. 322-23, comments rather strongly on the opposition by Greville to the 'short-sighted megalomania' of James I.

Daniel) in the limitations on a king of positive law, Of Monarchy shows nothing more clearly than the failure of the mixed state in history. Greville takes the expulsion of the kings by the first Brutus as a bad thing. Brutus mistook the sins of one king for the faults of a system. The record of the ensuing republic was poor. Rome came 'To such descent of anarchy' through the pretensions of the tribunes that she finally gave way to civil war and to the restoration of monarchy by Augustus:

Her State alike being each way overthrown;
Wherein yet he that brought back monarchy,
Err'd less then he that set the people free.¹

The hegemony of the republic was deceptive and was certainly not the fruit of a democracy. He denies

Either the Empire's growth or consummation
To be the work of Rome's Democracy;
Since between her first Caesar's domination,
And Tarquin, her sovereignty was mixt,
Of one, few, many; waving, never fixt.²

Above all, it was only when the monarchical part of the state, the consuls or dictators, were dominant, that Rome expanded. Internally, Rome fell 'into many-headed Pow'r' from which she was rescued by Augustus who, though motivated by ambition, was no tyrant; men could continue to speak freely under his principate.³ Concluding with a series of comparisons between monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, Greville generalises to ask

Can mankind under any sovereign
Hope to find rest, but in a monarch's reign?⁴

In a section probably written after the accession of James, he goes even further in a verse with obvious contemporary implications:

1 Greville, Of Monarchy, vv. 589, 591.

2 Ibid., vv. 614-620.

3 Ibid. vv. 248, 592.

4 Ibid., v. 650.

Lastly, where many states become united
 Under one throne, though not one government,¹
 Civil dissensions easily are invited....

Greville's affirmation that a mixed state could exist but was inherently unstable well reflects the decline of theories of limited or mixed monarchy between Richard Hooker and the 1640s, a point recently re-emphasised by Dr Eccleshall.² Historians were all on the side of the monarchy in which the king governed with the advice of his nobles and people but did not in any sense share sovereignty, except insofar as parliamentary statutes constituted law. Even Samuel Daniel favoured an 'absolute' king, and his references to the binding quality of laws of state do not really constitute a plea for mixed government.

iii) William Fulbecke and the Ages of Rome

The first serious attempt by an Englishman to write a prose narrative of Roman history was the work of William Fulbecke. A common lawyer who had also studied the civil and canon law, Fulbecke is best known for his introduction of neo-Bartolist jurisprudence into England.³ This consisted in the search for general principles of justice in Roman and other laws. Well-versed in the works of Bartolus, Machiavelli, Alciato and Bodin, he adopted Bodin's systematising method. In A parallele or conference of the civill law, the canon law and the common law of England (1601) he set out to establish the similarities and connections of the three laws. In Fulbecke's view, all just laws agreed on fundamentals; differences of detail were the product of local custom.

1 Greville, Of Monarchy, v. 359.

2 R. Eccleshall, Order and Reason in Politics (Oxford, 1978), p.152.

3 DNB, s.v. 'Fulbecke, William'; Levack, Civil Lawyers, p.136; on neo-Bartolism, see Pocock Ancient Constitution, pp.23-25.

Modern English law was an amalgam of various elements, for at the conquest William I abandoned many of the existing laws and added some customs of Normandy 'whereof many for the resonableness of them have to this day continued'. This was really a side issue to Fulbecke, but he anticipates the position of Selden in Jani Anglorum and of Daniel in his Breviary.¹

The study of law led to the study of history. In The Pandectes of the law of nations (1602) Fulbecke used historical examples to compare the stability of commonwealths. He suggested (specifically citing Bodin's République) that monarchy is the best of governments. Like Greville, had no love of democracy. He explicitly undercut the arguments in favour of popular government in Machiavelli's Discourses by showing that Machiavelli himself had preferred monarchy in The Prince and a mixed state such as Venice elsewhere in the Discourses.²

Fulbecke applied his political ideas to historical narrative in An historicall collection of the continuall factions, tumults and massacres of the Romans and Italians during the space of one hundred and twentie yeares next before the peaceable Empire of Augustus Caesar (1601). He intended this work as a summary to fill in the gap between the end of Livy and the beginning of Tacitus' Annales. Lucius Florus's epitome was one of his staple sources, though he used thirty others, some of which (such as Dio Cassius) were not yet in translation. Recognising the 'great disagreement and contrariety of narration' in his sources, Fulbecke nevertheless believed he could 'single and sequester the undeniable truth of the historie from the drosse and falshood', simply by accepting the most likely account of each event. The purpose,

1 Fulbecke, A parallele or conference of the civill law, the canon law and the common law of England (1601), sig.**j; For Selden see below, Ch. VII, pp. 261-63.

2 Fulbecke, The Pandectes of the law of nations (1602), fos. 9v, 29-29v.

as usual, was didactic: 'the revealing of the mischiefes of discord and civill discention'.¹ Completed in October, 1600, but not published until the following year, after the earl of Essex's revolt, Fulbecke's book was a tale for the times. He claimed to have written it fourteen years earlier; if so, his decision to publish it then was even more interesting. He included a lengthy discussion of Catiline's conspiracy (the attempt of an impoverished nobleman to seize power in 63 BC) and dedicated the work to Essex's nemesis, Lord Treasurer Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst. Coincidence or not, his tract would be read as an indictment of Essex in precisely the way Hayward's Henry IIII was believed to support the earl.²

Like Greville, Fulbecke condemned the exile of the kings by Lucius Junius Brutus, a mistake repeated when Marcus Brutus killed Julius Caesar. Borrowing a stock recurrence image from Florus he finds 'the two Bruti... both fatall to the estate of the Romane Common-weale'.³ Fulbecke saw Roman history as a series of constitutional changes from monarchy down to the depths of democracy, the worst period of which began when the people, through their tribunes, got a share in government. This cyclical pattern is complicated by Fulbecke's adoption of an alternate metaphor of explanation: Rome was also human body, growing from infancy to maturity and then declining into senescence. This image appears in Florus, who postulated four ages of Rome ending with decay under the early emperors and rejuvenation under Trajan in the second century. Fulbecke uses a variant of this model, adapting the six ages of St Augustine's 'Great Week' to Roman history.⁴ This was more useful

1 Fulbecke, Historical collection (1601), sigs. Av-A2.

2 Ibid., 'Preface', sig. Av, dated 13 Oct., 1600, at which time Essex's troubles would have been well known to a client of Buckhurst; *ibid.*, pp. 83-104.

3 Ibid., p.170; Florus, Roman Histories, II, xvii, 7 (trans. Edmund Bolton, 1619, p.445). All references to Florus are to Bolton's translation.

4 Fulbecke, Historicall collection, pp.6-9; Florus, Roman Histories, Preface. sig.B2-B3v; Trompf, Historical Recurrence, pp.212-13.

because it allowed Fulbecke, instead of making the empire a period of decline, to make it one of rejuvenation after the sixth, decrepit age of the republic. The result is yet another synthesis of linear development and historical recurrence:

FIG. VI:1

- 1st and 2nd ages: infancy - to founding of Rome, 753 BC.
- 3rd age: adolescence - rule of kings (to c. 509 BC)
- 4th age: - youth: Rome conquers Italy and some of Greece
 mixed state
- 5th age: - maturity: conquest of Carthage and Asia, to
 146 BC.
- 6th age: popular state - senescence: Rome declines
 into civil war.
- Rejuvenation: the principate of Augustus.

Fulbecke explains the inconvenient fact that Rome had conquered the world without kings in much the same way as Greville: she was a mixed state with a heavily monarchical element. The lex Hortensia gave the people equal voice with the Senate and consuls (287 BC). The product was the 'good and temperate constitution' commended by Polybius. Unfortunately, while mixed states may be good in principle, they are unstable in practice, and whenever the people or the Senate (populares and optimates) pass the bounds of 'aequall regiment' trouble follows. Once Rome had conquered Carthage she declined into vice. Demagogues like the Gracchi and ambitious nobles like Sulla between them led the republic into civil war, until a strong~~man~~ emerged in Julius Caesar, whose own attempt to bring back monarchy was cut short by his assassination.¹

In an especially interesting passage which could have been written fifty years later by Hobbes, Fulbecke accuses Marcus Brutus of regicide.

1 Fulbecke, Historicall collection, pp. 4-5, 9-23, 60ff., 168.

It matters not that Julius Caesar was initially a usurper. By seizing power he automatically became a de facto ruler, protected by the lex Cornelia. Fulbecke makes no distinction among sovereigns - kings, tyrants or usurpers -

for he which attaineth to an imperiall or regall
soveraigntie, by warlike industrie and victorious
exploit, is no lesse a monarcke then he which
cometh to it by election, succession or descent.¹

As the heir of a legitimised Caesar, Augustus was himself legitimate, and by defeating Brutus, Antony and his other rivals, he attained sovereignty as 'the sole governour and absolute Emperour of Rome'. Fulbecke shared the common belief that the Augustan principate had been a beneficent despotism;² actually the Roman emperors were principes (first citizens) not domini (lords) until the end of the first century AD. Like Greville, Fulbecke was content to show that absolute monarchy could succeed where the mixed state had failed, but was less interested in the relationship of the monarch to the laws.

iv) Roman History under the Early Stuarts

Under James I the discursive prose treatment of Roman history all but disappeared, though the history play continued to flourish, from Matthew Gwinne's Nero in 1603 to an anonymous play on the same subject in 1624. David Fishel has noticed a shift of focus in these plays away from Rome herself to the periphery as dramatists wrote of Roman colonies and minor historical figures such as Cymbeline (1609) and Fletcher's Bonduca (1613).³ This may partly be ascribed to interest in England's British and Roman past, which continued to flourish in the Jacobean period.

1 Fulbecke, Historicall collection, p.172.

2 Ibid., pp. 197-199.

3 Fishel, 'Image of Rome', diss.cit., pp. 89-100.

There was no shortage of works on Roman history, though few were by Englishmen. Translations continued to proliferate, though at a slower rate after 1610. Thomas Heywood translated Sallust with a preface extracted from Bodin's Methodus.¹ In 1619, Edmund Bolton translated Florus. Through his version, and several cheap Latin editions, the epitome became the most available synopsis of republican history. Sir Simonds D'Ewes recalled reading Florus as an undergraduate; Joseph Mede recorded that the epitome was selling for a shilling a copy in the 1630s.² Florus was easier and briefer than Sallust, Livy or Polybius, as Bolton told the duke of Buckingham in the dedication to his translation.³ Florus' depiction of the triumph of Augustus amid the anarchy of civil war provided an obvious analogy with Henry VII's in the wars of the Roses, and James himself liked to be perceived as a new Augustus.⁴

Tacitus was more open-ended. By 1600 he was being used either as a guidebook for absolute monarchy or in praise of republicanism.⁵

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- 1 Sallust, Two most worthy and notable histories, trans. T. Heywood (1608).
 - 2 Florus, Roman Histories (1619, 2nd ed. 1621); the Latin editions appeared at Oxford in 1631 and 1638 (S.T.C. nos. 11101, 11102); The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, ed. J.O. Halliwell (1845), I, 121; W.T. Costello, The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth Century Cambridge (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 43, 177; H.F. Fletcher, The Intellectual Development of John Milton (Urbana, Ill., 1956-1961), II, 327. A recent useful discussion of Florus, noting a teleological element which would be appreciated by early modern historians, is Victor Alba, La Concepcion Historiografica de Lucio Anneo Floro (Madrid, 1953), pp. 32-33.
 - 3 Florus, Roman Histories, ed. cit., sig. A3.
 - 4 Parry, The Golden Age Restor'd, pp. 154ff.
 - 5 P. Burke, 'Tacitism', in Tacitus, ed. T.A. Dorey (1969), pp. 149-171; K. C. Schellhase, Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought (Chicago, 1976), pp. 157-165.

Greville tried unsuccessfully to get a rising star of Dutch scholarship, Gerard Voss, for his chair in history at Cambridge.¹ Instead, he appointed Isaac Dorislaus; when the new lecturer (who would later draw up the charges against Charles I) elicited pro-republican lessons from passages in Tacitus' Annales in 1627, the resulting outcry brought the Brooke chair in history to a speedy end.² Camden was wiser. He had given a manuscript of Florus to the Bodleian Library in 1601, and in 1621 he prescribed the epitome as the text for his own reader in history. He also insisted that his incumbent concentrate on civil (political) history,

not intermedling with the history of the church or controversies farther than shal give light into those times.³

The growing popularity of Florus and Tacitus may account for the lack of any attempt like Fulbecke's to write a new history throughout most of James' reign. It is also true that the market was being cornered by continental works. Giovanni Botero wrote three sets of Observations upon the lives of Alexander, Caesar, Scipio (translated anonymously in 1602) which praised Caesar as almost a caricature of a Machiavel:

there was never anie treason or conspiracie in
his time, wherin his hand was not deeply in.⁴

In 1628, the year of the duke of Buckingham's murder, two different translations appeared of Pierre Matthieu's The powerfull favorite, or the life of Aelius Sejanus. Sir John Eliot had already compared Buckingham with Sejanus in the parliament of 1626; the Matthieu tract

1 Voss to Greville, 13 Sept., 1624, G.J. Vossii et clarorum virorum ad eum epistolae, ed. P. Colomesius (London, 1690), p.89; Voss to Greville, 1 June, 1625, *ibid.*, p.93; Voss to Greville, 8 Aug., 1627, *ibid.*, p.108, commends the appointment of Dorislaus.

2 Matthew Wren to Wm. Laud, 16 Dec., 1627, P.R.O., S.P. 16/86/87; Rebholz, Greville, pp.293-302.

3 Bodl. MS Auct. F.5.9, presented by Camden in 1601; W.H. Allison, 'The First Endowed Professorship of History and its First Incumbent', Am.Hist.Rev., XXVII (1922), pp. 733-37.

4 I.B.B. [i.e. G. Botero], Observations upon the lives of Alexander Caesar, Scipio (1602), sigs. G., Giii.

was translated as a not-too-oblique warning to Charles I about the dangers to himself and the kingdom of nurturing evil counsellors.¹ In 1634, Buckingham was gone, but Sejanus was alive and well. Sir Thomas Hawkins translated Giovanni Manzini's Political observations upon the fall of Sejanus. Overflowing with aphorisms, it was not so much a history as a latterday Il Cortegiano.² Henry Carey, Lord Leppington, translated two works by the Italian Virgilio Malvezzi, an ambassador to England from Philip IV of Spain. Romulus and Tarquin was dedicated to Charles I and juxtaposed the reign of a king, Romulus, and a tyrant, Tarquin. Charles I had ruled without parliament since 1629, so Malvezzi's comment that Romulus' only fault was 'indowing the Senate with so much power' only to bereave them of it may have met a receptive ear.³ An English clergyman, Edward Leigh, a friend of Simonds D'Ewes, extracted from Suetonius and Tacitus Selected and choice observations concerning the twelve first Caesars. Leigh gave considerable attention to the problems of establishing chronology and verifying conflicting reports; he had read and cites Bodin's Methodus.⁴

1 P. Matthieu, The powerfull favorite (1628), two different editions (S.T.C., nos. 17664, 17665); Mary Tenney, 'Tacitus in the Politics of Early Stuart England', Classical Journal, XXXVII (1941), 151-63, p.160.

2 G. Manzini, Political observations upon the fall of Sejanus, trans. T. Hawkins (1634).

3 V. Malvezzi, Romulus and Tarquin (1637), p.136; the MS of a life of Numa by Malvezzi is B.L. MS Add 20,028, fos. 148-66.

4 DNB, s.v. 'Leigh, Edward'; Leigh, Selected and choice observations concerning the twelve first Caesars, ep. dedic. no. sig.; Leigh to D'Ewes, n.d., B.L. MS Harl. 255 (D'Ewes correspondence), fo.63v. Leigh's orthodox opinion that the Caesars after Augustus were for the most part bad is little different from the anonymous Romes monarchie (1596) sig. I.3v.; and anon: 'The Twelve Caesars', B.L. MS Sloane 2521, fos. 101-112v.

v) Augustus Redivivus: Peter Heylyn's Early Work

Examples from Roman history, like the histories themselves, had greater currency all across Europe than national ones. A Frenchman might not take the point of an allusion to the Wars of the Roses; a reference to the character of a minor Italian prince might be lost on an English reader; but every literate European knew about Tarquin, Tiberius and Trajan. Before and after Bodin, most writers of artes historici, method books on the reading and/or writing of history, gave pride of place to the ancient world and its histories over national history. This was true in England, too.

Peter Heylyn's notorious royalist church histories, written after 1640, await a thorough study. But Heylyn was an active purveyor of the past as early as 1621, when he wrote an enormously popular little book called Microcosmus which neatly summarised the historical and geographical facts about the most famous commonwealths, cities and empires of the world. He included a short scheme of the divisions of history, which was partly influenced by Bodin and by Bacon's Advancement of Learning, but drew much more from Johannes Freigius's Historiae synopsis (1580).¹ Heylyn elevated the geographical and astronomical work (history in the Plinian sense) to great importance by making it the first of the two major divisions, greater and lesser history (historia maior et minor). Lesser history, the history of man and his works (the microcosm of the title) he further subdivided into 'inner works' (religion and philosophy) and 'outer works', in turn divided into a) manners, customs, laws and statesmen, and b) actions or events. This last sub-category, historical narrative proper, was further divided and

1 Heylyn, Microcosmus, or a little description of the great world (Oxford, 1621), pp.11-13; J. Freigius, Historiae synopsis (Basel, 1580), pp. 9-10. His own further exercises on the same line include the greatly expanded Cosmographie (1652) and the much smaller A Help to English History (1652).

redivided into its various forms with civil and ecclesiastical history becoming the two smallest sub-divisions in the scheme. True history was a 'quintessence' of four elements: annals, commentaries, diaries and chronologies. He represented the whole by means of a diagram (Fig. VI:2) taken directly from Freigius. His list of the 'best writers' of history from its beginning to the present, derived mainly from the tenth chapter of the Methodus, is unremarkable, except for its high praise of William Martyn's book as 'a worthy Chronicle of our state'.¹

From rationalising the study of history, Heylyn turned to history itself. He had become a chaplain to Charles I in 1630,² a year after the stormy dismissal of parliament. Though of course it was unknown how long Charles would rule exclusively through his council, there were those (including the king himself) who thought parliament ought never to be called again. It is with this in mind that one should read Heylyn's Augustus, or an essay of those meanes and counsells whereby the commonwealth of Rome was reduced unto a monarchy (1632).

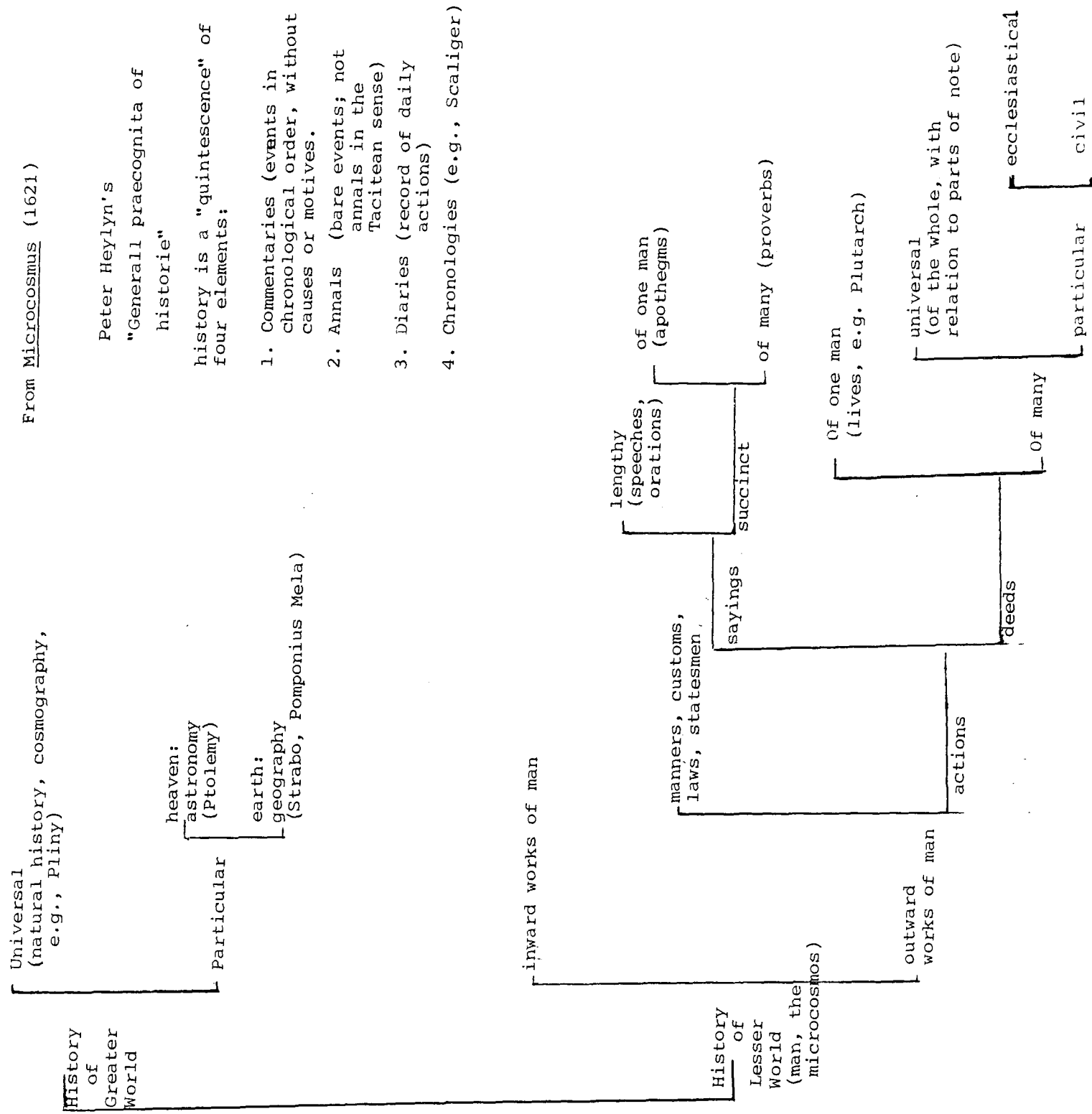
Heylyn's Augustus revived the analysis of Fulbecke, dormant for thirty years, but stripped of its Augustinian 'six ages' and without Florus' body metaphor. His sources include Polybius, Livy, Florus, Tacitus and, especially important, Dio Cassius. He drew historical parallels and observations from Machiavelli and Guicciardini.³

1 Heylyn, Microcosmus, p. 18.

2 Bodl. MS Rawl. D.353, fo.93, warrant dated 14 Jan., 1629/30, by Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery and Lord Chamberlain.

3 Heylyn admits his authorship of Augustus in Cosmographie, p.44, where it is reprinted; as usual with tracts that have contemporary reference, he makes the claim that it was written many years before 1632. I refer throughout to the first edition of Augustus (1632); see p.50 for a citation of Guicciardini. Machiavelli is never cited by name, but some of Heylyn's observations are drawn from The Prince, e.g. the ability of virtue or 'valour' to dictate to fortune, p.9, and the relationship of the new prince to his nobility, p.122 (mispaginated p.120).

Fig. VI:2



Heylyn begins with an exposition of the three pure and three perverse forms of government and of the natural tendency of one form to degenerate into another. His narrative would specifically follow the Polybian anacyclosis, as government turned from monarchy to tyranny to aristocracy to oligarchy to a 'republicke' to a democracy and back to monarchy. His task, he says, is to demonstrate that monarchy is the first and final point in this cycle. Rome merely provides a case study.¹

Heylyn is much more explicit than Fulbecke on the chronology of the cycle. Lucius Brutus expelled the kings after Tarquin had turned the monarchy into tyranny. Having 'taught the people, both the Theorie and practise of rebellion', he could not become king himself, so he established an aristocracy of Rome's 'fathers' (i.e. the patricians). Rome flourished for a time, but the aristocracy became an oligarchy under the Decemvirate. Its fall gave 'the people' (plebeians) an excessively high view of their position, and they secured the right to intermarry with patricians. This was 'the first step to the Republique',² which was fully established when the people were able to share civil honours with the nobles. Heylyn is departing here from Polybius and Fulbecke, neither of whom had regarded the Decemvirate as an oligarchy; the model here is not Polybius but Dionysius of Halicarnassus, according to whom the oligarchic Decemvirate preceded a mixed state.³

Though in his introduction he calls the pure popular form a 'Republicke', Heylyn is inconsistent. He clearly intends 'Republicke'

1 Heylyn Augustus, pp. 2-3.

2 Ibid., pp. 8-9, 14. Heylyn also notes (p.7) that 'the Commons', not the ruler, were 'desirous of novelties'.

3 Ibid., p.27; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, XI, ii.I-iii.1 (trans. E. Cary, 1937-51, VII, 9-11); Trompf, Historical Recurrence, pp. 181-82.

as a mixed form, and uses it in this sense elsewhere in the text. The mixed state was a good thing, for it allowed individual men to rise by 'vertue' as much as birth. One would expect this 'common-wealth', he comments, 'being thus equally poysed had been immortall.' But a balance is impossible. One 'element' must predominate. The creation of tribunes of the people turns the mixed republic into a democracy:

And now were the Romans governed by that forme of Rule, than which there is no lower. So that as well by an inevitable necessity in Nature as the ordinary course of Policies, there must be a Recession to the first, and monarchicall jurisdiction.¹

The road back to monarchy was uphill. Marius, Sulla, Caesar and Pompey thrashed it out for control. Heylyn recognises their personal ambitions, but gives them credit as agents of history, for 'they first opened the passage to others, and first mooved the stone, which rowling along tumbled the People out of the Government'.²

The remainder of the tract shows how Augustus established a stable and absolute monarchy. He draws an explicit parallel between Augustus' victory and Henry VII's. 'I cannot here omit the like effect springing from the like cause.' In both cases, only one heir to the throne was left when the dust cleared, 'so unsearchable are the judgements of God'.³

Heylyn's hero is a much more politic Augustus than Fulbecke's. In fact Heylyn's book is perhaps the most unadulterated commendation of Machiavellian ethics in early Stuart historiography: there is none of William Habington's ambivalence here. Augustus is a good dissembler. He is initially respectful to both Senate and people (revealingly called the 'Lords' and 'Commons') but only while it serves his purpose. He cunningly rids himself of Antony by sending him away from Rome. 'It

1 Heylyn, Augustus, pp. 2, 17-21 (my emphasis).

2 Ibid., p. 26.

3 Ibid., pp. 45-46.

hath beene ever a chiefe Maxime in Court-policy, to remove that man out of the way, under pretence of some honourable charge' whom one is about to ruin.¹

As Augustus establishes the new constitution, Heylyn slips more and more into contemporary commentary. He praises Lycurgus' Spartan constitution above those of Athens and of Plato's idealised republic. In Sparta, the nobles had 'convenient authority' and the people 'entire liberty', but government belonged entirely to the king, who had 'absolute majesty'. This is an outrageous perversion of Book VI of Polybius, which had made the republic, not the principate (which Polybius never lived to see) a copy of Sparta; so is Heylyn's stress on the sovereignty of the Spartan kings (which in fact was almost negligible) rather than the ephoral aristocracy. Clearly, one did not have to be one of Zera Fink's classical republicans to perceive Sparta's constitution, however perversely, as a model of stable government, 'mixing the Soveraignty of one, with the Liberty of all'.² Augustus' powers amount to a 'prerogative' unlimited by anything except the prudential need to keep the nobles and people happy and occupied. Without popular power, the monarchy grew so strong that the empire survived the 'monsters' who immediately followed Augustus as emperor.³

It is difficult not to read Heylyn's Augustus as a conscious defence of the three-year-old personal rule, and a soothing reassurance to Charles I that his approach was tried and true. Heylyn clearly perceived upstart nobles, as much as the people, as a threat to stability. The crucial point is the restraint of both these elements in a constitution within which both enjoy limited 'liberties' under a prince whose will

1 Heylyn, Augustus, pp. 54, 98, 108-109, 112.

2 Ibid., pp. 122-23; Z.S. Fink, The Classical Republicans (Evanston, Ill., 1945), pp. 4-6 and passim.

3 Heylyn, Augustus, pp. 116f., 141, 220ff.

is law. Long before Harrington and the later English republicans, Heylyn had recovered (if distorted) Polybius' theory of governments and extolled the Spartan state as a model for both past and present writers.

vi) The Professor's Progress: the Works and Lectures of Degory Whear

The very year that Heylyn was writing Microcosmus, the University of Oxford got its first history professor. Camden endowed a chair in civil history and, on the recommendation of the venerable astronomer and manuscript collector, Thomas Allen of Gloucester Hall, picked as his first incumbent one Degory Whear (1573-1647).¹ The nominee was a competent if uninspiring classicist, but no historian. His surviving letterbook, which begins in 1595, shows little interest in history and none in antiquarianism or philology prior to this appointment.² Yet this sort of dull don was exactly what Camden had in mind, and Whear was empowered to instruct Oxford's youth in ancient history.

He based his lectures on the innocuous Florus. This was just a suggestion by Camden, later reinforced by the Laudian statutes of the 1630s,³ but Whear took it literally. By 1631 he had delivered nearly two hundred lectures on Florus and he continued to drone on through the civil war till his death in 1647, providing the history of academic tenure with an inauspicious beginning.⁴ It is an insoluble mystery why Camden picked Whear, sight unseen, above the antiquarian and archivist

1 Savile to Camden, 25 Oct., 1621, Camdeni Epistolae, p.313; Allen to Camden, 19 Nov., 1621, ibid., p.315; Whear to Camden, 27 Dec., 1621, ibid., pp. 317-18.

2 Bodl. MS Seld. Supra 81.

3 For the ordinances of the chair, see Camdeni Epistolae, pp.lxi-lxiv; Oxford University, Statuta Selecta e Corpore Statutorum Universitatis Oxoniensis (Oxford, 1638), p.12.

4 Several of Whear's lectures on the Punic wars survive as Bodl. MS Auct. F.2.21, beginning 21 Oct., 1631.

Brian Twyne, who had studied Roman political history as well as the antiquities of England. Twyne gladly settled for the reversion, but Whear outlived him.¹

Whear's lecture-notes are interesting only because they give us an idea of what the undergraduate arts and civil law students were compelled to hear. Whear would read to his charges in Latin (he never wrote in English) and make appropriate observations, adding illustrations from ancient historians other than Florus, on whom he based his commentary. Oral history as much as written was for instruction. His students learned of the evils of sedition, the nasty fate of rebels, the vicissitudes of fortune and the eternal presence of God in history:

Man certainly plans and acts according to his nature: but the plans and actions of man are overseen by the observing God, who through these secondary causes... is himself the first cause of all things, and turns, twists and directs all events to suit Himself.²

Whear's only real contribution, important because of its great popularity as a text until well into the next century, was his plan for reading histories. Like Heylyn's Microcosmus, Whear's De ratione & methodo legendi historias offered a list of the best historians and advice on the most fruitful way of reading them. The work originated as a short inaugural lecture in 1623. In 1625 he revised it and sent copies to interested parties, including John Speed and Thomas Godwyn, the latter whom he seems to have known for some time.³ Whear expanded the work enormously in 1637, adding a commentary on all civil and ecclesiastical historians from ancient Greece to the present, though

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- 1 Twyne, notes on Livy, Bodl. MS Rawl. D.692, fos. 234-35. Twyne (d.1644) of Corpus Christi, Oxford, also corresponded with Camden: Twyne to Camden, 24 Feb., 1623, Camdeni Epistolae, pp.335-37.
 - 2 'Consultat quidem homo, agitque ex natura viribus: sed consiliis et actionibus hominis supernimminet inspector Deus, qui per illas secundas causas... ipse prima rerum omnium causa, omnia flectit, torquet, dirigit ad eventum sibi placitum.' Bodl. MS Auct. F.2.2.21, p.28.
 - 3 Whear, De ratione & methodo legendi historias (1623); Whear to Speed, n.d. [1625 or 1626], Bodl. MS Seld. Sup.81, fo.73; Whear to Thomas Godwyn, 24 Apr., 1626, fo.81.

English history received comparatively little attention. The Relectiones hyemales, as he called the larger book, was a huge list of historians, many of whom, one suspects, Whear himself may not have read, for he invariably relied on continental artes historici as a guide to the histories themselves.¹ Nevertheless, his deference to the critical works of Bodin, Bartholomew Keckermann, Justus Lipsius and especially Gerard Voss did much for the spread of these works in England; more, perhaps, than Bacon's equally derivative Advancement, which did not acknowledge its debts.

The ars historica was a popular genre in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1579, an enterprising Basel bookseller named Johann Wolf reprinted several famous specimens as Artes historici penus, a two-volume set which included Bodin's Methodus, François Baudouin's de Historia universa and the classical texts of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Lucian of Samosata, among others.² The genre continued to flourish in the early seventeenth century in the works of Keckermann and Voss. Whear drew on many of these, but on Voss in particular. The latter had produced a short Ars historica, asserting the independence of history from rhetoric, logic, grammar and poetry, in 1623, just in time for

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- 1 Whear, Relectiones hyemales de ratione & methodo legendi utrasque Historias civiles et ecclesiasticas (1637), translated by Edmund Bohun as Method and Order of Reading Both Civil and Ecclesiastical Histories (1685, 1694). All references will be to the translation (2nd ed., 1694), with corresponding passages in the 1637 Relectiones given in parentheses, necessary because of Bohun's failure always to inform the reader where he has added passages of his own.
 - 2 Artes historici penus, ed., J. Wolf (2nd ed., Basel, 1579, 2 vols.); on this collection and the genre see: B. Reynolds, 'Shifting Currents in Historical Criticism', J.H.I., XIV (1953), pp. 471-492; J.L. Brown, The Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem of Jean Bodin: a Critical Study (Washington, D.C., 1939), has a good bibliography.

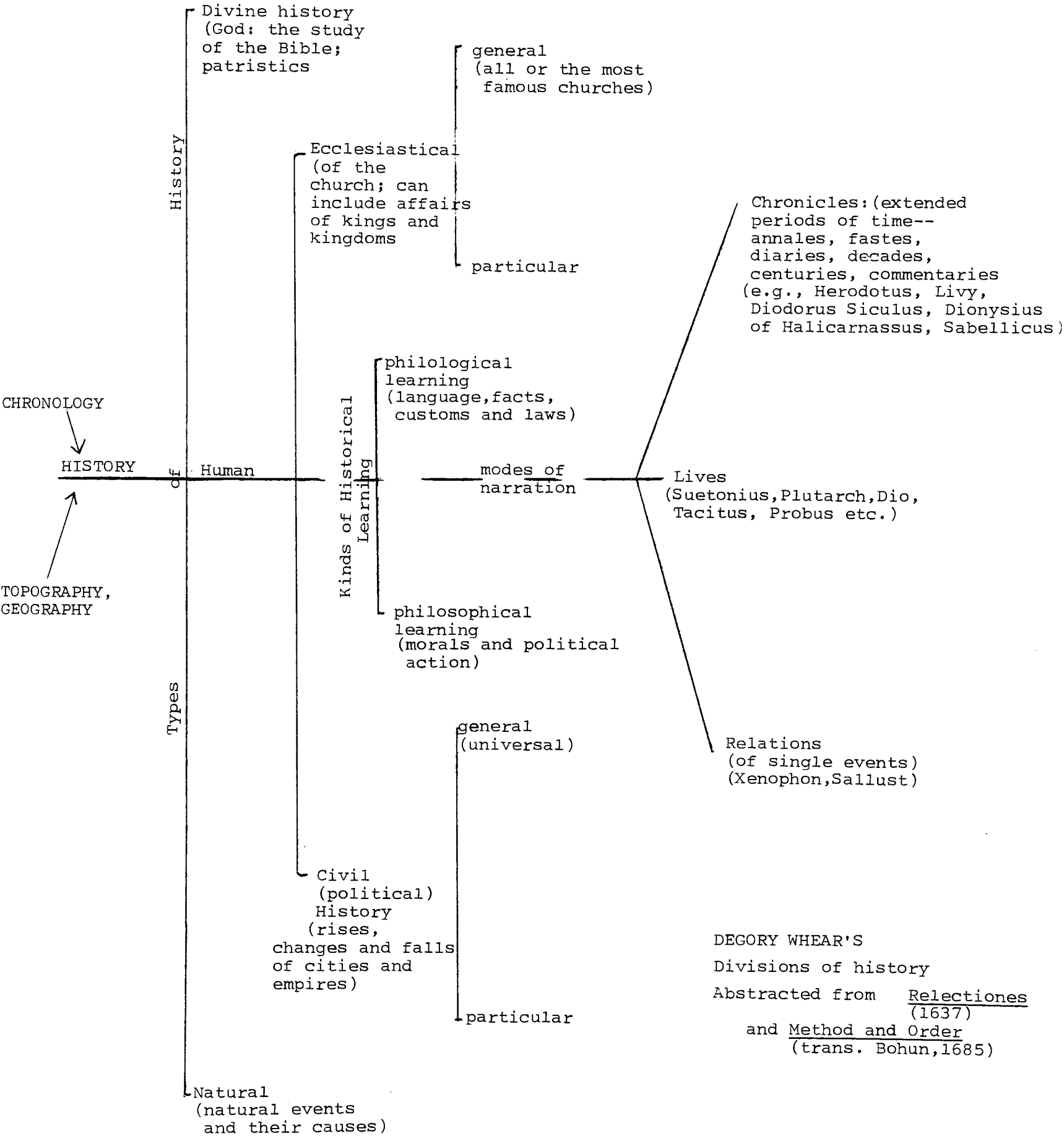
Whear to make reference to it in the De ratione.¹ By 1627, Voss had made two monumental studies of the Greek and Latin historians, and these provide the bulk of the material used by Whear in 1637.² Voss himself visited England from 1629 to 1633. He had many English friends and sent his works to several of them, including Greville, Bishop Laud, the third earl of Pembroke and John Rouse of the Bodleian Library. Whear knew the last two well (Pembroke was chancellor of Oxford) and may have obtained the books through them.³

Whear relates history to geography and chronology, its left and right eyes, for histories are confined in space and time. He divides history itself into divine, human and natural (after Bodin) but distinguishes between divine history proper (the Bible and other works on God) and ecclesiastical history (affairs of the church) which is a subdivision of human history (Fig. VI:3). Like Bacon's, Whear's theory simply reflects fact: historians such as Camden and de Thou had integrated political and ecclesiastical history in a single narrative.

Whear takes issue with Bodin on the contentious 'four monarchies', an interpretive device which the latter (in a minority) had rejected,⁴ but he was as certain as Bodin of the uncertainty of historical facts.

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- 1 G.J. Voss (Vossius), Ars historica (1st ed., Leiden, 1623), Opera (Amsterdam, 1695-1701), IV, 1-48, p.4. Whear draws on Keckermann's De natura et proprietatibus historiae, Commentarius (1610) to refute Voss's suggestion (made against Keckermann) that the reader of histories, as opposed to the writer, need not possess, a priori, ethical and political precepts before studying the examples in histories: Whear, Method and Order, pp.297-310 (Relectiones, pp.222-35).
 - 2 Voss, De historicis graecis (Leiden, 1624) and De historicis latinis (Leiden, 1627), Opera, IV.
 - 3 Voss to John Rouse, 14 May, 1634, Bodl. MS Rawl. lett. 84(f), fo.81; Voss gives a list of the recipients of De historicis latinis in a letter to Francis Junius, 13 Aug., 1627, Bodl. MS Rawl. lett. 84(b), fo. 58.
 - 4 Whear, Method, pp. 16-17 (Relectiones, pp. 17-20); 30-31 (32); 296 (221).

Fig. VI:3



Accordingly, he splits ancient history into three periods. Times to the Flood are 'obscure', from then to the first Olympiad 'unreliable', and only become clear in the 'historical period' thereafter. The affairs of the late empire, observes Whear, become unclear again. However, the Christian is in luck, for he can turn to the flawless history of Revelation in place of the fabulous tales of the mythical periods. The resemblance to Raleigh on this point is obvious, and Whear elsewhere lavishes high praise on the History of the World.¹

The most important feature of Whear's method was that it actually made, for the first time in England, a formal theoretical distinction between two separate didactic functions of history. On the one hand, history has a philosophical function:

Words, Actions and Counsels, or Events of things, which History so plentifully supplies its Readers with... may be a sort of Monitors [sic] for the governing and regulating the Lives of Men in Publick, and Private, in Peace or War.²

History also has a philological function. Varro taught that histories are a valuable source for the origins and development of language. Whear concurs. It teaches us good style and language and also restores to us 'the antient Customs, all their Rites, Ceremonies and Solemnities, of what sort soever they are'.³ This distinction allows Whear to expand the scope of history to include, as Speed's early chapters had, elements of the social and cultural past; the historian could study the past by studying the meanings of words.

1 Whear, Method, pp. 21ff (Relectiones, pp.22-27); 114 (117); 42 (45); Speed made the same division of time: see above, ch. II, p.84; the common source is Censorinus' De die natali liber, XXI, 1-6 (ed. O. Jahn, Berlin, 1845, p.62).

2 Whear, Method, pp. 322-23 (Relectiones, pp.246-248).

3 Ibid., (ibid.); Varro, De lingua latina, VIII. 6, (trans. R.G. Kent, 1938, vol. II, p.375).

By 1623, this was no longer as original as it sounds. In practice, Whear's acquaintance John Selden had already begun to approach history philologically. Whear quotes from an extremely important document in the history of English historiography, a commendatory letter from Selden to his friend, Augustine Vincent, published in 1622. Whear also, significantly, considered Camden's Britannia a history.¹ But he still believed that 'the principal end of history is practice, and not knowledge or contemplation'.² His work was designed not to improve the writing of history but to provide the reader with a bibliography,

a thread of Histories disposed in such a right order, as he may from it learn the distinct Changes, and Varieties of times, and the Series of the great Transactions that have passed in the World, down to our own Age.³

Nevertheless, simply because his work was so popular, it helped to spread the idea that history could include more than politics and war.

vii) Ancient History and an Antiquarian: The Career of Edmund Bolton

So far we have seen nothing to bring into doubt Professor Momigliano's comments about the divorce between erudition and ancient history. Yet there is one obscure exception, a study of the reign of Nero Caesar, whose author, critical of the literary sources, attempted to supplement them by recourse to the physical remains of the past as found in inscriptions. This was the finest work of Edmund Bolton.

1 Whear, Method, p.133 (Relectiones, 130ff); for Selden's letter to Vincent see below, ch. VIII, pp.292-94.

2 Ibid., p. 299 (Relectiones, p. 223).

3 Ibid., p. 131 (Relectiones, p.130).

Born in 1575, Bolton flitted from patron to patron and project to project, ending a disappointing life as an imprisoned recusant about 1635. He matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1589, where he met John Coke, the friend of Fulke Greville and future secretary of state. Subsequently, Bolton went to the Inner Temple, though he never practised law.¹ He first appears as a poet in Englands Helicon in 1600. He was a friend of Camden and Cotton: how close it is difficult to say as we have only his letters to them and none that he received.²

In 1608, Bolton tried to obtain a patron. When the earl of Salisbury was uninterested in a 'litle, Latin work' which Bolton wished to dedicate to him,³ Bolton managed to get the attention of the earl of Northampton, to whom he dedicated his first major work, The elements of armouries (1610). This seems to have been unappreciated. Bolton complained to Cotton in July, 1610, that 'manifowld losses, and troubles have exercised, and daily do exercise [me]', asking Cotton to remind Northampton of his promise to help him.⁴ About the same time, Cotton found him work as an assistant to Speed.

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- 1 Alum. Cant., I. 175 records that Bolton was subsequently admitted to the Inner Temple. His name does not appear in the register, but he tells us he was there in a brief autobiography, B.L. MS Harl. 6521, fo.247. There is no full study of Bolton's work. The best biography is by Thompson Cooper in the DNB, s.v. 'Bolton, Edmund'. It should be used cautiously and supplemented by Joseph Hunter's life, 'Chorus Vatum Anglicanorum', B.L. MS Add.24488, fos. 113-145.
 - 2 Englands Helicon (1600) ed. H.E. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), I, nos. 2, 4, 8, 88, 97.
 - 3 Bolton to Salisbury, 18 Apr., 1608, 'from my Lodging at Temple-barr', B.L. MS Lans. XC (Hicks papers) fo. 180.
 - 4 Bolton, The elements of armouries (1610); Bolton to Cotton, 19 July, 1610, B.L. MS Cott. Jul. C. III, fo. 28.

Most of Bolton's letters, which have not been fully exploited, are interesting, informative and interminable. He never said in two words what could be said in ten. One suspects that he was regarded with amusement and impatience by Cotton, Camden and his noble patrons: Northampton finally told him to write indirectly, through Cotton.¹ If he was importunate, it was largely because he was perpetually in debt. It was a hard blow when Northampton died in 1614 and left him nothing.² Yet Bolton was a generous man. In 1610 he had asked Northampton via Cotton, to give an impoverished cousin some public office in lieu of a reward to Bolton himself who as a Catholic felt himself 'publickly incapable of employment'. In 1617 we find him writing to Edward Aleyn, the actor, entreating him to show his 'Christian munificence in a subject most worthie of it' - the same cousin, whom Bolton sent with the letter!³

As luck would have it, Bolton's wife from 1606 was the sister of Endymion Porter, a rising kinsman and servant of the marquess of Buckingham.⁴ In 1617, Bolton enlisted Buckingham's support for his latest scheme, an 'academ roial' for the study of history, antiquities, heraldry and polite letters in general. The background and fate of this plan have been well-charted, most recently by Dr Caudill.⁵ It was more than simply a revived society of antiquaries, though the members of that group were to be prominent 'Essentials' in the academy. What

1 Bolton to Cotton, 16 Oct., 1612, B.L. MS Cott. Jul. C. III, fo.30.

2 Bolton to Cotton, 16 July, 1616, B.L. MS Cott. Jul. C. III, fo.32.

3 Bolton to Cotton, 19 July, 1610, B.L. MS Cott. Jul. C.III, fo.28; Bolton to Aleyn, 13 Aug., 1617, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS 916.1:x.c.8.

4 Bolton to Hugh Hamersley, n.d., 1631, B.L. MS Harl. 6521, fo.247.

5 For the academy proposals in various forms see Bodl. MS Tanner XCIV, art.6; B.L. MSS Add. 39177, fo.lv; Harl. 6103 and 6143; Cott. Titus B.V, fo.201 (project for raising money); and Royal 18.A. LXXI. R. Caudill, 'Some Literary Evidence of the Development of English Virtuoso Interests in the Seventeenth Century', (Oxford Univ. D. Phil. thesis, 1975), pp.279-286 supersedes E.M. Portal, 'The Academ Roial of King James I', P.B.A., VII (1915-16), 189-208.

Bolton wanted was not more disparate essays on aspects of antiquity but a new history,

an entire and compleat Body of English affairs, a Corpus Rerum Anglicarum, a general History of England, to which not only the exquisite Knowledge of our own matters is altogether necessary, but of all other our Neighbours whatsoever, yea of all the World, for where our Arms and Armies have not been, our Arts and Navies have.¹

Bolton knew the deficiencies of Speed's history better than most, having himself contributed much of it. By a 'general history' he meant one that covered all aspects of the ancient past, arts as well as arms. Though he is not as clear on this as one might wish, his debt to la Popelinière's L'idée de l'histoire accomplie is apparent.² Bacon had made 'perfect history' a stylistic category: unbroken narrative as opposed to the chronicles and annals which provided source material. He wanted a huge collection of histories on many different subjects, including literature and art, but not what Bolton had in mind, an integrated general history.

Bolton's best-known work was a kind of ars historica. The Hypercritica: or a Rule of Judgement, for writing or reading our History's originated as an attempt to show that not all Geoffrey of Monmouth's history was necessarily fabulous. Camden saw this part of the work in 1618 and Bolton referred to it in his translation of Florus the following year. But most of the tract was written in 1621, as a study

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- 1 Bolton, Hypercritica: or a Rule of Judgement for writing or reading our History's, in Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, ed. J. Spingarn (Oxford, 1907), I, 114. I refer to this edition as the most available, though it contains numerous errors. The original MSS of the tract are Bodl. MSS Rawl. D.1 (draft) and Wood F.9 (presentation copy, presumably for Buckingham). On the history of the manuscripts and their correct date (1621) see D.R. Woolf, 'Edmund Bolton, Francis Bacon and the Making of the Hypercritica, 1618-1621', forthcoming in Bodl. Lib. Rec., XI, no.3 (November 1983).
 - 2 la Popelinière, L'Histoire des histoires, avec l'idée de l'histoire accomplie: pt. II, L'Idée, pp.36, 191, 359-363; Myriam Yardeni, 'La conception de l'histoire dans l'oeuvre de la Popelinière', Revue d'Histoire moderne et contemporaine, XI (1964), 109-126.

of the original manuscripts reveals.¹ The complete work, which remained unpublished until the following century, was designed as a set of opening 'addresses' for the embryonic academy. Bolton may also have hoped to obtain, through his connection with Sir John Coke, Greville's chair in history at Cambridge, for in the final version he altered a reference to Greville's 'impious Mustapha' to read 'matchless Mustapha'.²

A treatise on style as much as on history, the Hypercritica differs from Heylyn's and Whear's artes in being aimed at the writer rather than the reader of histories. Although he cites the Methodus, his real inspiration is once again la Popelinière.³ Bolton believed that the chronicles of the Middle Ages were not all as bad as Savile had once said. Malmesbury and Bede were perfectly respectable chronicles even if they wrote in decayed Latin. The more recent 'vast, vulgar Tomes' put forth by printers (by whom he probably meant Grafton and Holinshed) are neither learned nor elegant, but they hold good material for the historian. All of them have 'their Uses towards the composition of an universal History for England'. Certainly, 'dry bloodless Chronicles'

1 Bodl. MS Smith 17 (Camden's commonplace book), fos. 64-67v, 'Decembris 1618'; Florus, Roman Histories, trans. Bolton [1619], sig.A5. The Florus was entered on the stationer's register 19 Oct., 1619, but no date appears on the title page: Stat. Reg., III, 658.

2 Cp. Bodl. MS Rawl. D.1, fos. 15-15v with MS Wood F.9, pp. 37, 39; Bolton to Coke, 29 Aug., 1634, Hist MSS Comm., Cowper, II (1888-89), p.65. Bolton was a suitor to Buckingham in 1623 for the provostship of Eton, for which Bacon also applied. Bolton to Buckingham, n.d. 1624, Bodl. MS Tanner 73, fos. 418-22, contains a valuable list of favours done Bolton by the duke. The provostship is not explicitly mentioned, but seems the likeliest subject of Bolton's request (which Buckingham could not grant having already awarded it to Sir Henry Wotton).

3 Bolton, Hypercritica, p.93.

and 'musty Rolls' are dull, says Bolton, but they must be used by anyone 'who will obtain the Crown and triumphal Ensign of having compos'd a Corpus Rerum Anglicarum'.¹ Bolton's model historian was not his 'pretious Florus' but Polybius.² Tacitus worried him, though he recognised the value of that historian's works and was familiar with the continental Tacitean scholarship of Lipsius, Casaubon and Traiano Boccalini.³

Part of the Hypercritica was a short review of English history, modelled on the account in Florus, of whom Bolton was the first English translator. Just as Rome had gone through four ages or 'revolutions' (as Bolton translated aetas), so had England, though here Bolton ignores the Florean body metaphor.⁴ This section is rather disappointing, for while it offers useful comments on the organisation of a future history according to these revolutions, it does not come close to showing the sense of social and constitutional development of Samuel Daniel.⁵ Nor does the tract ever approach the imaginative scope of la Popelinière's, which was thirty times as long. Bolton is quite obscure as to the nature of the 'arts' and 'laws' he would have his general historian discuss.

1 Bolton, Hypercritica, pp. 83,96-97; Savile (ed.) Rerum anglicarum scriptores post Bedam (1596), ep. dedic.

2 Bolton, 'An historicall parallel', dedicated to Endymion Porter, appended to the second edition of Nero (1627), pp. 1, 12.

3 Ibid., p. 16; Hypercritica, p.84; Bolton comments on the dangers of Tacitus' antimonarchical tendencies corrupting youth in his letter to Coke, cited above, n. 2, p. 233.

4 Bolton, Hypercritica, pp. 100-103; Florus, Roman Histories, sig.B2v.

5 Bolton, Hypercritica, p. 110, makes a rather disparaging reference to Daniel's poetry but not to his history. However, his concept of an 'English Revolution' (ibid., p.102) during which the Saxons swallowed up the Norman invaders resembles Daniel's view in The first part of the historie of England.

Like la Popelinière's and Bacon's much more elaborate schemes, Bolton's remained an outline, never executed. Like them, he assumed that a definitive history could be written, even though the sources on which it was based continually contradicted one another. This was a bold stand against pyrrhonism, but ultimately a fruitless one;¹ a more promising perspective would open up when historians began to distinguish between reasonable and unreasonable doubt, and to reconcile themselves to history as an ongoing process of research and revision. In Bolton's view, the sceptics could be answered by a definitive history. Such a work would be 'superfluous, if [England] ever had an History', and once one existed it need never be rewritten.² The possibility that new evidence might emerge or that some readers would disagree with the general historian's conclusions simply did not enter Bolton's head.

Bolton's best work was not the interesting Hypercritica but his study of Nero Caesar, or monarchie depraved which first appeared in 1624. It may have been published in a hurry, because many of the spaces intended for sketches of Roman coins are left blank, a fault rectified with the second edition of 1627.

The goal of Nero Caesar is to establish, from conflicting and incomplete sources, as nearly as possible the detailed facts of Nero's reign. We are fortunate in the survival of Bolton's notebook for Nero's reign and for that of Tiberius. He had also written a vindication of Tiberius' reputation which has since been lost. He believed, for

1 Bolton, Hypercritica, p. 86; Cf. la Popelinière's direct attack on pyrrhonism, L'histoire, p.6.

2 Bolton, Hypercritica, p.83.

example, that Tiberius had been perfectly correct to punish libellous verses.¹ Nero makes no such attempt to exonerate its subject. Quite the contrary: Bolton's point was that as bad as Nero was, the rebels who rose against him were worse.

Giving precise textual references, Bolton follows Nero's rule from its first five noble years to its cataclysmic end in the 'year of five emperors' (AD 68-69). Nero was not naturally vicious, writes Bolton, loudly dissenting from Tacitus. By dethroning him instead of trying to give him better advice, the Romans sealed their eventual fate. Henceforth the army would continue to make and break Caesars: 'at this breach the empires fall first entred'.²

The most interesting feature of the work is not the story it tells, but Bolton's use of non-literary evidence. He made no distinction between history and antiquarianism. For him, the 'Gruterian fragments of Roman inscriptions' (a reference to Gruter's famous collection) were as good a source as Tacitus. Better, in fact, for inscriptions have no axes to grind and hold 'the most certaine marks of facts'. In chapter XI of Nero he makes a plea for the use of coins in recalling the great events of the past. They should also be used by modern monarchs to preserve their deeds for future historians.

Coigns are so vital to memorie... I may much wonder
why sovereign princes (who doe hold of glory in chiefe)
make either very little or no historicall use at all,
no not of their copper monyes.³

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- 1 Bolton to Coke, 29 Aug., 1634, Hist. MSS Comm., Cowper, ii, 65, concerns the Tiberius, with which it was sent; B.L. MS Harl. 6521, fo. 66; Bolton, Nero Caesar, or monarchie depraved (1624), pp.81-82, 240-42, 287. Like many of his works, this was published under the pseudonym 'Philanactophil'.
- 2 Bolton, Nero, p.287.
- 3 Ibid., pp. 6, 14-15; Gruter, Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani (Heidelberg, 1603).

Although inscriptions are useful 'to revive the memorie of antient stories' even they are not infallible.. 'Nothing can be truer then that false writing is sometimes found in marbles, coignes and other monuments', for in ancient times coins were often minted to commemorate - or exaggerate - the deeds of earlier times.¹ The historian must treat this sort of evidence with care. Bolton himself supplements the inscriptions in Britannia with ones from a much earlier collection, Jacopo de Strada's Epitome thesauri antiquitatum (1553), allowing him at one point to establish that London was the leading town of Britain before Caesar's arrival.²

Legends are dismissed for lack of evidence. Bolton slowly unravels the facts of the murder of Nero's mother, Agrippina, which are unclear 'because the text of the Cornelian Annals is at this place holden [by Justus Lipsius] somewhat depraved'. Tacitus claims that Nero sent assassins to kill Agrippina while on her ship, but that she swam to safety, only to be murdered later. With a dearth of evidence Bolton falls back on common sense; the tale is unlikely because there is no evidence in other historians that Roman women were particularly strong swimmers.³

Boadicea and her rebellious Britons get little sympathy from Bolton, whose attitude to the Britons as barbarians is as hostile as Speed's. Britain was quite happy under the 'peace of Tiberius', and the Britons should not have rebelled simply because Nero's governors were bad.

1 Bolton, Nero, p. 63.

2 Ibid., p.134; J. de Strada, Epitome thesauri antiquitatum (Lyons, 1553).

3 Bolton, Nero, pp. 35-38.

They were simply exchanging temporary inconvenience for a return to savagery. As usual, Bolton speaks more freely in his notebook than in the printed history.

And though to serve as a captive bee simplie in
itself worse then to dye, beecause it is unnatural;
yet is it much better to live a protected subject
in a civil, wise and valiant nation, where gentle
arts and noble labors florish (for what is life
itself without the life and savorie salt of good
learning?) then to live a rude lord among the wild....

Bolton is more restrained in the printed Nero, but the myth of 'Boadicia's quarrel' is still deflated. He casts doubt on the British casus belli, the rape and beating of Boadicea and her daughters. Dio, who paraphrased Tacitus, did not repeat this tale, and even Gildas, a Briton, had his doubts. The modern reader should therefore beware.¹

This sort of criticism was nothing new, nor was the interest in non-literary evidence in itself. Bolton's inspiration was 'that most modest, and antient good friend of mine, William Camden, Clarenceux'.² What was different was his application of such sources to a chronological narrative. In this respect, it is unique as a work of ancient history in early Stuart England. By all means draw lessons from the past, says Bolton, but first find out exactly what happened.

The order of reason requires, that things should
first bee known what they were, before wee declare
what became of them.

One cannot generalise until one knows the facts. 'Right historie deals in particulars, and handles limb by limb. Generalities are for summists.'³

1 B.L. MS Harl. 6521, fo.132; Bolton, Nero, pp. 128, 148, 151. Bolton digresses to incorporate antiquarian discussions on subjects like the etymology of 'Verulam' and the difference between a Roman colony and a municipium.

2 Bolton, Nero, p. 88.

3 B.L. MS Harl. 6521, fo. 127; Nero, p. 108.

The 'academ roial' died with James I, though Bolton continued to push the scheme in various forms through Buckingham and later Sir Kenelm Digby. His last years were tragic. Under James he had enjoyed the right to practise his religion in peace.¹ In February, 1628, his world collapsed. He was fined as a recusant and, unable to pay either this or the recent subsidy, was thrown into the Fleet, whence he was moved to the Marshalsea. Buckingham, when asked, would or could do nothing for him. Endymion Porter ripped up his and his wife's requests for help.²

In prison Bolton remained active. In 1629 he published The cities advocate, a work designed to show that apprenticeship did not extinguish gentle birth. Later, he planned a life of Buckingham.³ He also tried to get the city's support for his Vindiciae Britannicae, a chronological history of the city in Latin and English, which he hoped would supersede Stow's Survay, 'a good book indeed, but rude'.⁴ After investing ten months in the Vindiciae he was disappointed. The aldermen, 'startled at the mention of 3 or 4000 pounds', the cost of publishing the work with elaborate maps, refused to pay. He suggested they send it out to readers which included Edward Coke, John Selden, Sir Henry Wotton, Digby, Ben Jonson, Dudley Digges and Degory Whear. But the aldermen had had a better offer. Bolton's friend, Ben Jonson, had agreed to draw up a chronicle of the last four years of the city's history at no charge.⁵ We last hear of Bolton in 1634, when he sent his venerable

1 Bolton to Edward Conway, 30? Dec., 1625, P.R.O., S.P. 16/12/86.

2 Bolton to Buckingham, 7 Aug., 1628, P.R.O., S.P. 16/112/43; Bolton to Porter, 13 May and 2 July, 1630, S.P.16/166/63; 16/170/15.

3 Bolton, The cities advocate (1629); Bolton to Lord Keeper Coventry n.d., 1631, B.L. MS Harl. 6521, fo. 247.

4 B.L. MS Harl. 6521, fo. 248.

5 Ibid., fos. 243v, 248.

friend Sir John Coke the finished life of Tiberius. Both the book and the author then vanish.¹

Bolton has generally been seen as a reactionary with an obscurantist, medieval mind.² It is true that he was reluctant to dismiss the British History in its entirety: so was Camden. Although he had much sympathy for philological scholarship, he was slightly scornful of those who rejected every doubtful tale out of hand, 'our Criticks [who] mark with their Ασηλον and their Μυθικον their Ignotum and Fabulosum' works like Monmouth's which are a unique, if suspicious, source of British history.³ His forte was the study of physical remains; he had made antiquarian tours of England and Ireland and collected old ecclesiastical documents.⁴ Thomas Hearne, perhaps sympathising with another scholar who had put religion before preferment, praised Nero and the Hypercritica highly in the next century, but most of Bolton's work was uninfluential.⁵ The history of Rome remained for much longer a matter of recopying and digesting the ancients, though in 1649 another scholar, Richard Symonds, actually went to Rome

1 See above, n.2, p.233.

2 F. S. Fussner, Historical Revolution, pp. 106, 171 calls Nero 'a conspicuous failure', adducing no reasons; D. Berkowitz, 'Young Mr Selden: Essays in Seventeenth Century Learning and Politics being a Prolegomena to Parliament', (Harvard Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1946), ch. VI, p.39, calls Bolton an 'obscurantist' and an 'anti-quarian of the uncritical variety' on the basis of the defence of Monmouth in the Hypercritica. Berkowitz conceives 'Bolton's ideas as a reaction to Selden's historiography'; but they were friends; if anything, Bolton anticipates the approach of Selden.

3 Bolton, Hypercritica, p. 83, implies a rejection of extreme scepticism, not a lack of critical faculties.

4 Bodl. MS Dodsworth 102, fos. 89-95, extracts from the Halliwell register.

5 T. Hearne, Reliquiae Hearnianae, ed. P. Bliss (1857), I, 299, 306.

to study its ancient buildings.¹ Until the development of a science of stratigraphy much later, even the use of Roman coins remained limited and subject to error.

The idea of writing a definitive history of England was unproductive, for it was impossible. One of Bolton's friends tried a different approach. From 1610 Bolton had lived in Whitefriars, a few hundred yards from John Selden, his junior by nine years. Selden visited him in prison in 1632, conveying the lost Vindiciae to the city.² It is to this much more important scholar that we must turn to find the most striking signs of change in English historical thought.

1 B.L. MS Add. 17, 919 (Symonds notes); DNB , s.v. Symonds, Richard (1617-1692?).

2 Bolton to Sir Hugh Hamersley, n.d., 1631, B.L. MS Harl. 6521, fo. 247.

CHAPTER VII

SELDEN: FROM ANTIQUARIANISM TO HISTORY

What Fables have you vex'd! What Truth redeem'd!
 Antiquities search'd! Opinions disesteem'd!
 Impostures branded, and Authorities urg'd!
 What Blots and Errors have you watch'd and purg'd
 Records and Authors of! How rectified
 Times, Manners, Customes! Innovations spied!
 Sought out the Fountaines, Sources, Creeks, Paths, Wayes,
 And noted the Beginnings and Decays!

- Ben Jonson, To his honord friend
Mr John Selden, Health
(Titles of Honour, 1614.)

i) Precursors

In the last decade of the sixteenth century, the Elizabethan society of antiquaries met regularly to discuss contemporary institutions such as Christianity, knights or the earl marshal, and their 'originalls', often using non-literary sources such as coins and epitaphs to supplement the evidence of chronicles and documents. The antiquaries were severely limited by a 'house-policy' which restricted them to English sources, and by the disparate and unmethodical course of their enquiries.¹ The discourses in the Cottonian library, many printed by Hearne, vary considerably in quality. The best of the investigators, Francis Tate, Arthur Agard, John Dodderidge, Cotton and Camden, often went beyond their fellows both in the depths of their enquiries and in their

1 'As neere as might be, thee moste proufes of our questions should be produced from our home writers, evidences, lawes, and deedes, and not from forregners, and straungers ignorant of the state and government of oure country...': Arthur Agard, 'Of the [antiquity of the Christian religion in Britain]' (29 Nov., 1604), in Hearne, Curious Discourses, II, 160. Agard's reminder of this rule, 'agreed at our first assemblies', nearly twenty years later suggests some reluctance on his part to restrict himself to English sources. See in general Joan Evans, A History of the Society of Antiquaries (Oxford, 1956), pp. 7-13.

abilities to generalise about the past - to fit each piece into a larger jigsaw puzzle.¹ Nevertheless, the 'collective' nature of their discussions is an illusion. Thinking like the common lawyers which many of them were, each antiquary drew up his own 'brief' and read it to his fellows; and that was the end of that. If an issue were unresolved at the conclusion, it could stay that way. 'In a question which cannot be proved by authoritie, probabilities and conjectures, are to be used,' said Dr Thomas Doylie.² Arthur Agard commented that

there was not in anye of our former propositions
anye judiciall or fynall conclusion sett downe,
wherby wee might say this is the judgement or right
opynyon that is to be gathered out of every man's
speache.³

Linda van Norden has noted the 'total lack of reciprocal adverse criticism' in the discourses.⁴ In this regard, they were not unlike narrative historians.

The antiquaries used histories, both medieval chronicles and even modern books like Clapham's Historie, as evidence in drawing up their discourses, but they did not consider the finished product as history.

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- 1 Compare, for example, anon., 'Of the antiquity and dignity of Knights' (6 May, 1592), B.L. MS Stowe 1045 (Tate collections), fos. 29-31, which cites Britannia and a few other English sources, with some of the material in the same MS, which contains references to Alciato (fo. 84), Lipsius (fos. 69, 70) and Bodin (fos. 60-63v). Even more sophisticated (though from a later period, c.1629-31) is anon., 'Origo feudorum', B.L. MS Stowe 1046 (antiquarian discourses), fos. 2-5v, by an author who had clearly absorbed both the continental writers and Selden's early conclusions on feudal tenure in Titles of Honour (1614), for which see below, p p. 265-68.
 - 2 T. Doylie, 'Armes' (n.d.), B.L. MS Cott. Faustina E.V, fo.101v.
 - 3 A. Agard, 'Of the Etymology, Dignity and Antiquity of Dukes in England' (n.d.), Hearne, Curious Discourses, I, 184-5; May McKisack, Medieval History in the Tudor Age (Oxford, 1971), pp. 85-93.
 - 4 Linda van Norden, 'Elizabethan College of Antiquaries', diss. cit., pp. 403-404.

Discourses entitled, 'of Dukes', 'of the antiquity of sterling money' and 'of the antiquity of seals' were not - and this cannot be overstressed - called the history of dukes, sterling or seals.¹ Similarly, chorographical works from Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent through Camden's Britannia and Stow's Survey of London to Thomas Habington's Worcestershire were called by a variety of geographical titles, and referred constantly to histories as sources, but were never called histories themselves, topographical or otherwise.²

In one work, perhaps his finest, and certainly his most interesting, Camden came closer than anyone to breaking down the barrier between history and the philological study of antiquities, without actually calling his own work a history. Collecting left-over titbits from his chorographical researches, he published The Remaines of a greater worke, concerning Britaine, the inhabitants thereof, their languages, names, surnames, empreses, wise speeches, poesies and epitaphs.

Although Camden restricted his discussions to the island of Britain, he also took advantage of continental work, in particular the researches

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- 1 Clapham is given a rare citation in anon., 'Of the diversity of names of this islande' (29 June, 1604), B.L. MS Cott. Faustina E.V., fo.64. Cotton, Dodderidge and James Ley showed some perception of the relevance of antiquarian evidence to history in their undated suit to Queen Elizabeth for a 'library and academy for the study of Antiquities and History', B.L. MS Cott. Faustina E.V., fos. 89-90.
 2. One can multiply examples of the ways in which history crept into antiquarian works which were not themselves 'histories'. John Vowell, The description of the cittie of Excester (1575?) includes a running account of English history from the Norman conquest to Edward VI (fos. 49v-52); John Stow prefaced his Survey of London (1598, ed. C.L. Kingsford, Oxford, 1908), I, 3, with a 'historie' of great events. Sampson Erdeswicke, A Survey of Staffordshire (1st ed., 1717) did not include any 'history'. The lonely exception, a book considered by its author as 'an historicall and chorographicall discription of Middlesex' is John Norden, Speculum Britanniae (Part I, 1593). Norden elsewhere spoke of the 'topographicall and historicall' purposes of his work as separate activities requiring 'a twofold industry' (Nordens preparative to his Speculum Britanniae, 1596, p.30) but he had still blurred the distinction considerably.

of 'the wonderfull Linguist Joseph Scaliger', following whom he traced some of the roots of the ancient English language back to the Persian tongue.¹ The Remaines is the first, but not the last, English work to be inspired in part by Scaliger. The influence of that great grammarian and chronologer dictated that language would provide the key to Camden's own researches, and to his own conception of changes in English society, which is never more apparent than in this little work. Language had been altered by usage, and by 'the tyranne Time, which altereth all under heaven'.² He traced the origins of the development of Christian names and of surnames with reference to the work of earlier Saxon scholars (Nowell and Lambarde) and to French, Norman and English literary sources.³ The historian in Camden could not avoid the temptation (in which he saw nothing wrong) to note patterns of historical recurrence, such as that the first and last emperors of Rome were called Augustus.⁴ More importantly, he did not have a plan of attack, a general set of rules by which to interpret words. A born pragmatist, he specifically rejected the creed of 'method'.

To reduce surnames to a Methode, is matter for a
Ramist, who should happly finde it to be a
Typocosmie.⁵

With his usual timidity, he protected himself and begged forgiveness for any errors. 'Pardon me if it offend any, for it is but my conjecture.'⁶

1 W. Camden, Remaines of a greater worke concerning Britaine... (1605), pp. 14, 40-75.

2 Ibid., pp. 20, 130.

3 Camden's citations include the names of Budé, Nowell, Lambarde and sources such as Chaucer.

4 Camden, Remaines, p. 34.

5 Ibid., p. 95.

6 Ibid., pp. 114, 139.

Camden addressed no large-scale problems in his book, such as the origins of feudal tenures or the development of the medieval church. He regarded the Remaines as an amusing diversion from his full-time job as a herald. Nevertheless, he had enlarged the antiquary's subject-matter and source material, and become the first to construct the skeleton of a cultural history of England.

Robert Cotton received the dedication of the Remaines. He also attracted the admiration of a strange Englishman in exile who sent him, among other things, the petrified tongue of a fish. Richard Rowlands had changed his name to Verstegan on returning to his ancestral Holland, from whence he came, about 1587, to Paris.¹ In 1605, he published the first edition of A restitution of decayed intelligence, which begins with a commendatory verse from his fellow Catholic, Richard White of Basingstoke.² Dedicating the book to King James, and describing him, unconventionally, as of Saxon, not British, origins, Verstegan became the first writer to glorify the Saxons above all other English peoples. The British held no interest for him. He criticised French writers for confusing the British and English, though, he admitted, the English themselves did this as well: even John Foxe had confused the two names.³ Whether or not Verstegan can be said to have touched off a 'Saxon craze' leading straight to Leveller pseudo-history and 'the Norman yoke' is another question entirely,⁴ but this was nevertheless a significant and refreshing departure from the adulation of the British and their Trojan ancestors.

1 Verstegan to Cotton, 15 June, 1609 (s.n.), Bodl. MS Smith 71, fo.57; same to same, 6 Oct., 1619 (s.n.), *ibid.*, fos.105-6; DNB, s.v. 'Rowlands, Richard'; Kliger, The Goths in England, p. 115ff.

2 Verstegan, A restitution of decayed intelligence (Antwerp and London, 1605). The work was reissued in 1628 and 1634.

3 Verstegan, Restitution, sig. † 4; J. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. J. Pratt (1877), I, 224.

4 R.J. Schoeck, 'Early Anglo-Saxon Studies and Legal Scholarship in the Renaissance', Stud.Renaiss., V (1958), 102-110. See also: C. Hill, 'The Norman Yoke', in Puritanism and Revolution (1958), pp.50-122; R.T. Vann, 'The Free Anglo-Saxons: a Historical Myth', J.H.I., XIX (1958), 259-272; R.F. Jones, The Triumph of the English Language (Stanford, Cal., 1953), p. 270.

Less well acquainted with continental philology and with the origins of individual words than Camden, Verstegan concentrated on peoples and institutions rather than dwelling exclusively on language. From Tacitus' Germania, and Justus Lipsius' Tacitean commentaries, he drew both his conviction that the Saxons, who had migrated to England, were a Germanic people, and his respect for their hardy, simple character: a tribe 'without fraud and subtiltie'.¹ While his conception of the social and cultural differences among ancient peoples owes much to Bodin, he rejected the latter's climatological determinism in favour of a simpler and more realistic explanation.

I do confesse that certain nations have certain vertues and vices more apparently proper to them than to others, but this is not to be understood otherwise to proceed, then of some successive or heritable custome remaining among them, the case concerning learning and science beeing far different.... People are not ingenious according to their contrey aire.²

Custom and heritable national character cause the endurance and development of a people; therefore, if they migrate to different climes, from the forests of Germany to the small windswept island of Britain, they will still retain their individuality as a race. Verstegan, unlike Camden, saw no need to make of England and Germany geographical duplicates.

The rejection of this aspect of Bodin's theories may be found in *la Popelinière*. Verstegan drew this customary interpretation of social traits from the Histoire des histoires, noting that book's rejection of Trojan forebears:

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- 1 Verstegan, Restitution, p.46; on the other hand, he believed that the German contribution to technology and learning was significant, including 'sundry most rare inventions', *ibid.*, p.52.
 - 2 *Ibid.*, p.51. See Bodin, Method, pp. 86, 142: strictly speaking, even Bodin admitted that 'air' was only one of several geographical factors and did not exercise 'final control'. The linguistic sections of Verstegan clearly owe much to chapter IX of the Methodus.

Popiliniere a late French author, maketh it in his historie of histories a meer fable and foolery, for any man to imagin that ever the francks or frenchmen have issued from these miserable fugitives: notwithstanding it hath bin as long and as much believed, as that Brute and his Britains have also in lyke manner from them had their offspring.¹

Verstegan also adapted la Popelinière's anthropological explanation for the origins of such fables in a period before historical records were kept.

The ancient Druids, having had no learning, became ignorant of their own origins, unlike the cleverer Saxons, and were forced to invent a myth. Exposure to the Romans dictated that it should be a Trojan myth, based on Virgil. Tradition forced Verstegan to accept Brutus' historicity, 'the comon receaved opinion... not now rashly to be rejected'. He compromises by postulating that Brutus was actually a Gaul, since Britain was once joined to France, a fact long accepted by geographers and supported by evidence of bones and fossils, some of which he adduces in pictorial form.²

Verstegan accepted a biblical explanation for the multiplicity of peoples and tongues, which originated at Babel in Asia, where 'mankynd had first begining'. This was no great insight, and hardly, except accidentally, a discovery of the Mesopotamian roots of civilisation. It was simply a recognition that the Germanic peoples could all be traced back to the ancient Teutonic tribe and its language, which was perhaps not older than Hebrew but was still 'one of the most ancientest of the world'.³ Relating the Saxons to the Franks by their common German

1 Verstegan Restitution, p.92; for la Popelinière's influence on Bacon, see above, ch. V, p. 171 and on Bolton, above, ch. VI, pp. 232-33.

2 Ibid., pp. 69, 89-93; cp. la Popelinière, L'Histoire des histoires, pp. 27-30; Huppert, Perfect History, pp. 137-38.

3 Verstegan, Restitution, pp. 26, 191-92.

or 'Teutonick' origin, he gave an account of their eviction from the original 'England', their region of Germany, by the Danes, and of their conquest of the Britons. He accepted Gildas' account of the Britons' extirpation and confinement to Wales and Cornwall. The Saxons he allowed much greater endurance. They survived the invasions of the Danes and Normans (both of whom were Germanic cousins) to remain the predominant race. The Normans 'could not conquere the English language as they did the land'. The conquest was purely political, and the invaders quickly adopted the Saxon language and customs, while the English 'soon began to grow in credit' and acquired offices, lands and livings.¹

Verstegan appended to his historical account a glossary of English words and their etymologies, wherever possible preferring a Germanic to Latin derivation, often painfully to the detriment of accuracy. The word 'constable', for example, he traces to the German 'cuningstable', ignoring both the more traditional derivation from comes stabuli and the likely (but unwelcome) fact that all European versions, Germanic and Romance, were descended from the Latin word.²

His linguistic knowledge did not rival the ex-schoolmaster Camden's, and Verstegan could not construct his whole treatise on such a basis, despite his lengthy glossary. In his eagerness to prove the occurrence of great change in England with the Saxons and continuity ever since, he rejected too easily the possibility of other influences; he had no understanding of the developments of the post-Norman period. He went further than Camden in writing a book not simply on language, but

1 Verstegan, Restitution, pp. 182-87, 203.

2 Ibid., p. 313.

on cultural change. But, like Camden, he failed to face, head-on, any specific problem, except the by now easily dismissed Trojan myth. Like Camden, he used histories, but did not consider his own book as such. Samuel Daniel, influenced by both writers, applied their ideas to his narrative history as we have seen. But an even greater accomplishment was that of John Selden, who broke away completely from the confinement of regnal narrative to write what is surely a seminal work in English historical thought, and to expand the very meaning of the word 'history' to include the very same antiquarian, archaeological and philological researches that had hitherto lain outside. It is Selden's contribution that is the true 'historical revolution' of the early seventeenth century.

ii) The French Connection

Selden's profession was the law, but he was far more interested in its study than in its practical application on a day-to-day basis. Beginning his literary career with the Analecton Anglo-Britannicon, an essay on the successive nations which had inhabited the island, he ended, half a century later, with a magisterial study of ancient Hebrew laws and government which set forth a theory of natural rights whose originality and importance have recently been established.¹ Selden

1 Richard Tuck, Natural Rights Theories: their Origin and Development (Cambridge, 1979), pp.82-100. Selden has excited much recent interest, and the next two chapters cannot claim to be exhaustive. In general, see David Berkowitz, 'Young Mr Selden: Essays in Seventeenth Century Learning and Politics, being a Prolegomena to Parliament' (Harvard Univ., Ph.D. thesis, 1946); Edward Fry, 'John Selden' in DNB; H.D. Hazeltine, 'Selden as Legal Historian', in Festschrift Heinrich Brunner (Weimar, 1910), pp.579-630. Eric Fletcher, John Selden, 1584-1654 (1969) adds little. Selden's significance in legal-historical studies is recognised by D.R. Kelley, 'History, English Law and the Renaissance', P & P, 65 (1974), 24-51, and C. Brooks and K. Sharpe, 'Debate: History, English Law and the Renaissance', P & P, 72 (1976), 133-42. The single page of Selden's autobiography is Lincoln's Inn, Hale MSS, vol. 12, fo.236.

passed through a range of disciplines, from legal antiquarianism, through social and legal history, and finally - in response to the political events in which he was prominent - to political thought. For our purposes, his most significant, and lasting, accomplishments are those made early in his career, before he left English history behind him.

After attending Hart Hall, Oxford, and the Inner Temple (which unwisely refused to house his legacy of books, to Oxford's gain) he became acquainted with the older generation of antiquaries and men of letters living in London. Camden and Cotton became close friends and mentors. Selden was never a member of the college of antiquaries, but this may have helped rather than hindered his development.

Selden's range of acquaintances, both in England and abroad was vast. Initially he owed a great deal to his acquaintance with Cotton, for all roads led to the Cottonian library. Other scholars and noblemen soon wrote to him in his own right. The Scandinavian scholar, Olaus Wormius, went into mourning in 1637 upon hearing a rumour of Selden's death; it took a letter from Sir Henry Spelman to reassure him that Selden was alive and well and living in the library.¹ Christina of Sweden was well acquainted with his work. He was one of the few intellectuals of Salmasius' and Descartes' class who resisted her call in the 1650s.² Both Cotton's Howard patrons, Northampton and Arundel, retained his services, and the latter provided him with his own treatise on earls.³ Lord Herbert of Cherbury, a lifelong friend who shared his

1 Spelman to Wormius, 1 July, 1637, Olai Wormii et ad eum doctorum virorum epistolae (Copenhagen, 1751), p.446; Wormius to Spelman, 22 May, 1638, *ibid.*, p.447.

2 Selden to Bulstrode Whitelocke, 2 March, 1654, B.L. MS Add.32, 093, fo. 328.

3 Selden deciphered Arundel's collection of marbles in 1628: for 'My Lord of Northampton's discourse of Earls and dukes' see the Selden collections in Lincoln's Inn, Hale MSS, vol. 12, fos.217-232v.

sceptical cast of thought, provided him both with a useful catalogue of oriental manuscripts and a sympathetic ear during his troubles over the Historie of tithes.¹ Robert Sidney, earl of Leicester, gave him transcripts of some Irish charters in 1622.² He was steward to the earl of Kent and then adviser to that 'most incomparable person', Elizabeth, the earl's widow. For much of his life he dwelt in the earl's London home, Carmelite House in Whitefriars, not far from the Inner Temple.³ Among the academic establishment he had the adulation, evident in dozens of letters, of Gerard Langbaine, Edward Pocock and James Ussher. Pocock, his undoubted superior as an Arabist, and Ussher, his equal in biblical erudition, both bowed before him.⁴ William Watts, later chaplain to Arundel and then to Prince Rupert, and the editor of Matthew Paris' Historia Major (1640), translated Selden's Mare Clausum into English, though the version has been lost.⁵

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- 1 Lincoln's Inn, Hale MSS, vol. 12, fos. 360-370v; Selden to Herbert, Feb., 1620, B.L. MS Add. 32, 092, fo. 314.
 - 2 Lincoln's Inn, Hale MSS, vol. 11, fo. 54.
 - 3 Selden acted as executor of her will in 1651, three years before his own death: B.L. MS Add. 6489, fo. 5v (copy of Selden's will); Selden to Francis Junius, 7 Dec., 1651, Leiden University MS Pap.2 (unfoliated).
 - 4 As indicated in the vast quantity of letters from these men to Selden, especially in Bodl. MS Seld. Sup. 109 (Selden correspondence, vol. II). Langbaine provided Elias Ashmole with an introduction to Selden in April 1653 (fo. 337). Pocock assisted Selden with his edition of 'Euty chius' and completed the work on the latter's death: Pocock to Selden, 5 Aug., 1653, *ibid.*, fo. 351.
 - 5 William Watts to Selden, 11 July, 1636, Bodl. MS Seld. Sup. 108 (Selden correspondence, vol. I), fo. 82; DNB, s.v. 'Watts, William'.

Ben Jonson was a close friend and Selden furnished him with a commendatory verse to Volpone and, in 1616, with notes on the historical and literal senses of the scriptural texts forbidding the counterfeiting of sexes by apparel. In this case, Selden examined the historical practice of such disguises from Hebrew and classical sources outside the Bible, but refused to meddle with the justice of what the church fathers had written - precisely the same protestation he would make in 1618.¹

Patrick Young, another scholar with continental connections, provided Selden with material from the Royal Library. Cotton's librarian Richard James, helped Young and Selden decipher the Marmora Arundeliana in 1628.² On James' death, Selden attempted to buy his large collection of books, with unknown results.³ Selden's library pilgrimages carried him to both universities as well, and he was not always scrupulous in returning borrowed books.⁴

Like Camden, Young and Sir Henry Spelman, Selden soon made contact with continental scholars. His earliest work, the Analecton, was published at Frankfurt in 1615, a decade after he had written it, largely for their benefit. His tract on the Syrian gods, De diis syris (1617),

1 Selden to Jonson, 28 Feb., 1615, Selden, Opera omnia, ed. D. Wilkins (3 vols. in 6, 1726), II, col. 1690 ff.

2 Selden, Historie of tithes (1618), following p. 491; Marmora Arundeliana, in Opera, II, 1439. In general, I have cited from original editions of Selden's works rather than Wilkins' collection; in the case of works not discussed at length, reference is made to the Opera. A shelfmark in square brackets (e.g. [8^o L,7. Art. Seld.]) following the date of publication denotes that Selden's own copy of a book, in the Bodleian Library, has been used.

3 Selden to unknown recipient, 13 Dec., 1638, Huntington Library MS 2946, no fos. (copy in my possession).

4 C.U.L., MS Oo.7.51, fo.161 contains a list of Latin and oriental manuscripts borrowed by Selden from the Lambeth Palace Library and never returned there by him. After his death, they were sent by his executors to Cambridge, 'to be added to ye rest of the Lambeth librarie'. Selden often had other scholars do his spadework, such as the Cambridge musicologist Peter Turner: Turner to Selden, 19 Aug., 1627, Bodl. MS Seld. Sup. 108, fo. 228.

drew Selden to the attention of Pierre Dupuy and Gaspar Gevaerts in Paris. It impressed both Peiresc, who later assisted him in his edition of Eadmer, and the Dutchman Daniel Heinsius;¹ the latter saw a second edition of the work through the Elzevier press at Leiden in 1628. Heinsius was the favourite pupil of Selden's idol, Joseph Scaliger, and became Selden's most intimate acquaintance of the continental scholars, although the two men never met.² Selden was able to maintain a good relationship with both Heinsius and his hated rival Salmasius. Gerard Voss praised his ability to stay on speaking terms with those with whose opinions he disagreed.³

So profound was the respect of European literati for the London lawyer and MP that his involvement in politics, which led twice to imprisonment, seemed a tragic waste of time and talent. Writing to Pierre Dupuy in 1629, Peter Paul Rubens regretted that 'Mr Selden, to whom we owe the publication [of the Marmora Arundeliana] and notes has abandoned this study in order to involve himself in political dissensions'.⁴ Peiresc, too, lamented Selden's incarceration.⁵

As well as corresponding with French and Dutch scholars, Selden paid close attention to the work of their predecessors. Although well

1 G. Gevaerts to P. Young, 3 March, 1618 (s.n.), in J. Kemke (ed.) Patricius Junius, p.30; Pierre Dupuy to Camden, 30 Aug., 1617 (s.n.), Camdeni Epistolae, p.194; Peiresc to Camden, 29 Jan., 1618 (s.n.), *ibid.*, pp. 212-13; Selden, Opera, II, 1600; Linda van Norden, 'Peiresc and the English Scholars', H.L.Q., XII (1948-49), 369-89.

2 P.R. Sellin, Daniel Heinsius and Stuart England (Leiden, 1968), p.90.

3 G.J. Voss to Selden, 2 Jan. 1648 (s.n.), Bodl. MS Rawl. lett. 79, fo.109. Voss trusted Selden enough to send him (Aug., 1627) the unpolished draft of his commentary on Roman history: Bodl. MS Rawl. lett. 84 (b), fo. 53.

4 'Mi dispiace chel Seldino al quale habbiamo l'obbligo della publicatione e del commentario s'aparte dalla contemplatione et immiscet se turbis politicis....': Rubens to Dupuy, 8 August., 1629, Correspondance de Rubens, ed. Ch. Ruelens (Anvers, 1887-1909), V.148.

5 Peiresc to Dupuy, 21 July, 1629 (s.n.), Lettres de Peiresc, ed. P. Tamizey de Larroque (Paris, 1888-98), II, 136.

versed in Machiavelli and Guicciardini, the Italians exercised very little influence on his thought, and even this gradually declined. He owned the 1550 edition of Machiavelli's tutti l'opere, the published letters of the Venetian humanist historian Pietro Bembo and many of Guicciardini's works, including the Storia d'Italia.¹ In the Analecton, written about 1606, and the Jani Anglorum of 1610, Selden cites Machiavelli's Discorsi approvingly to justify William the Conqueror's munificence as the best way to subdue a newly-conquered country.² His references to the Florentines diminished hand in hand with his growing belief in a superior natural law and in fundamental natural rights; a distaste for 'Reason of State' emerges in his speech during the Petition of Right debates in 1628.³

The Analecton was largely based on printed sources, classical and medieval, and Selden did not take much care to distinguish earlier and original documents from later, derivative authorities. The work shows little sign of French influence, except the odd reference to Bodin and Andrea Alciato, Budé's successor at Bourges, who was Italian anyway. Selden doubts the tale of Trojan origins but fails to make Verstegan's useful comparison with similar French myths.⁴ His description of mythological Britain, drawn from 'the newest writer of the history of Britain', Richard White,⁵ makes no distinction, fundamental in his

1 Bodl. MS Seld. Sup. 111 (Selden's library list). Excerpts from this have been printed by D.M. Barratt, 'The Library of John Selden and its Later History', Bodl. Lib. Rec., III (1950-51), 256-74, appendix C. Cf. J. Sparrow, 'The Earlier Owners of Books in John Selden's Library', Bodleian Quarterly Record, VI (1931), 263-71.

2 Selden, Analecton Anglo-Britannicon Libri Duo (1615), Opera, II, 948-9; Jani Anglorum facies altera, Opera, II, 964.

3 'We have a new law, the late of state....': Selden, speech in the Commons, 19 Apr., 1628, Opera, III, 1989; David Berkowitz, 'Reason of State in England and the Petition of Right, 1603-1629' in Staatsräson, ed. R. Schnur (Berlin, 1975), pp. 165-212.

4 Analecton, Opera, II, 865. Selden refers to Verstegan's account of the pagan gods of the Saxons.

5 Ibid., II, 870.

later work, between 'primitive' or 'heroic' ages, in which fact is difficult to distil from fiction, and the historical age, in which events can be documented and assigned a date from reliable sources. The Analecton was a limited work, designed only to inform the foreign reader of the changes witnessed in Britain.

Ortus, leges, sacra, prophana, status imperii,
mutationes, terminos loci et temporis, quibus
hanc alterius orbis regionem supremum ordinavit
Numen depinximus.¹

Selden's early interest in the collective development of England as a society organised under laws is significant, and implies rather more debt to Bodin than the few citations to him suggest. Having read both the République and the Methodus, Selden absorbed a desire to study the history of peoples and nations, and not simply kings. He also drew on Bodin's idea that historians, taken as sources, do not usually agree in their accounts, and must be judged critically, with an eye to their perspective and to any prejudices which may colour their accounts.

Another profound influence on Selden's methodology was Scaliger. Probably the most erudite man of his day, Joseph Juste Scaliger set new standards in textual editing, mastered a dozen languages, and then turned to the difficult task of emending the chronology of world history. His brilliant magnum opus of 1583, the de emendatione temporum, and his later edition of Eusebius, were based on a careful comparison of all chronologies of the past in a variety of tongues; Scaliger turned chronological writing into a science.² Scaliger was held in deserved

1 Analecton, Opera, II, 864-65.

2 J.J. Scaliger, Opus Novum de emendatione temporum in octo libros (Paris, 1583) [G.2.12.Art.Seld.]; Scaliger, Thesaurus temporum, Eusebii Pamphili Caesareae Palaestinae Episcopi, Chronicorum Canonum (Paris, 1605); Anthony Grafton, 'Joseph Scaliger and Historical Chronology: the Rise and Fall of a Discipline', History and Theory, XIV (1975), 156-85. I am indebted to Professor Grafton for a stimulating and informative conversation on Scaliger.

awe by his many admirers and fewer friends, and could be scathing in his denunciation of those he disagreed with. Selden's friend, the English chronologer Thomas Lydiat, was denounced by Scaliger as an incompetent charlatan. The two carried on a heated, if esoteric, debate from which Selden stood gingerly aloof.¹ Selden dreaded the 'divine Scaliger' as much as he worshipped him, and it is not surprising that he published nothing until the great man died in 1609.

Three lesser-known but equally important French scholars combined to shape Selden. The name of Pierre Pithou, admired by Camden and Scaliger as a great medievalist (though the latter considered him useless as a Greek scholar) appears fairly early in Selden's notes.² Pithou had made a career of textual editing, the recovery and restoration of the past through textual editing, and had explored the history of such institutions as the earldom of Champagne, and the early Gallican church. His work was known to Camden and, by 1612, to Selden.³

Pithou's work and his collections linked his seventeenth-century successor, Pierre Dupuy, with his predecessor, Jean du Tillet. The latter, one of two brothers of the same name, was also primarily a medievalist. His 'inventories' of the contents of French archives

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- 1 Scaliger to Casaubon, 1 Jan., 1606 (s.n.), Illustrissimi Viri Josephi Scaligeri...Epistolae (Leiden, 1627), p. 306; DNB, s.v. 'Lydiat, Thomas'; Scaligeri Epistolae, p.337. On Scaliger himself see: Daniel Heinsius, Funeral Oration on the Death of Joseph Scaliger, trans. G.W. Robinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1915); R. Pfeiffer, History of Classical Scholarship, pp. 114-119. Camden sent Scaliger a copy of the Britannia in 1594 through the peripatetic Cambridge scholar, Richard Thomson: Thomson to Camden, 1 July, 1594, Camdeni Epistolae, p.54.
 - 2 J. E. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship (Cambridge, 1908), p.192; Kelley, Foundations, p.257; Selden owned Pithou's posthumously-published Opera, sacra, juridica, historica, miscellanea (Paris, 1609), ed. Ch. Labbe [4^o P.36. Art. Seld.]
 - 3 Camden was in correspondence with Pithou's younger brother, François, who lived till 1621. T. Savile to Camden, n.d., Camdeni Epistolae, p.4.

were both useful to Selden and an inspiration. He would commend particularly du Tillet's list of documents pertaining to Anglo-French relations, to the time of Henry II, and he himself attempted to extend this work to the reign of Elizabeth, thus anticipating the huge Foedera of Thomas Rymer at the turn of the century. Du Tillet's account of the anointing of French kings was the basis of Selden's study of the ceremony in the first edition of Titles of Honour. That book owed a great deal, too, to du Tillet's Recueil des Rangs des Grands de France.¹

Pithou was by nature more editor than historian, and du Tillet regarded his Recueils as providing the source material for history, rather than being history in their own right. Another French lawyer had no such reservations. Etienne Pasquier, a student of Baudouin and Hotman in the 1540s, died in 1615 at the ripe age of 86. He had found in the celebration of the French church, language, customs, laws and people a cause, and in history a battlefield.² His greatest work, the Recherches de la France, was the product of a lifetime in the archives growing from a slim one-book octavo in 1560 to the gargantuan folio of nine books in 1621. Most of the Recherches was available from 1607.

Pasquier's Recherches was no narrative, and though it handled nearly every conceivable aspect of the French past, it would not have fulfilled the requirements of a la Popelinière for histoire accomplie, a definitive narrative of the nation's history. His researches covered

1 Jean du Tillet, Recueil, des guerres et traictez d'entre les roys de France et d'angleterre (Paris, 1588) [E.1.1.Art.Seld., a gift from Cotton]; Selden, 'To my singular good friend, Mr Augustine Vincent' in A. Vincent, A discoverie of errors (1622), sig.a.v; Lincoln's Inn, Hale MSS, vol. 34, fos. 1-114; Selden, Titles of Honour (1614), pp. 128-167.

2 E. Pasquier, Recherches de la France in Oeuvres (Amsterdam, 1723), I. Paul Bouteiller, 'Un historien du XVI siècle: Etienne Pasquier', Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, VI (1945), 357-92; Dorothy Thickett, Estienne Pasquier (1529-1615): the Versatile Barrister of Sixteenth Century France (1979), ch. 7; Kelley, Foundations, ch. 10, pp.271-300; Huppert, Perfect History, pp.28-71.

the political history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Books V, VI), the development of the French language and of French literature (Books VII, VIII), the early development of the French nation and church (Books I, II) and France's administrative institutions (Book II). This last item, founded on the documents Pasquier uncovered in the Chambre des Comptes, dealt with institutions such as the parlements which du Tillet, focusing on officers rather than offices, had neglected.¹

Pasquier's maddeningly organised and confusing, rambling exploration of the French past was not, in the author's view, antiquarianism, philology, grammar or even source-finding. It was simply history. The fact that there was no narrative structure, no hero besides the nation itself, and no apparent framework other than the subject matter of each book, mattered not a jot to Pasquier. He often refers nonchalantly to his histoire.² For him, the archive-searching antiquary was an historian, and history was anything which described the past, reconstructing it from all available sources, and from it tracing the development of the present. It made no difference if the reader picked up moral exempla, though the glosses to the work make it clear that Pasquier himself was a thorough believer in the punishment of the wicked, in the direct intervention of God in history, and in patterns of historical recurrence.³ The important thing was to compare present with past: that was history. No one in England had yet said anything of the kind.

John Selden only slowly absorbed Pasquier's work, and his idea of history. He makes but one reference to the Recherches in the first edition of Titles of Honour and did not list the work in the otherwise

1 Pasquier, Recherches, col. iii; Thickett, Pasquier, p.162.

2 Pasquier, Recherches, e.g. cols. 441, 908.

3 Pasquier frequently draws 'diverses leçons' from his stories, a practice which Selden avoids.

extensive bibliography. By 1618, he had elevated him to the ranks of Pithou and Scaliger. The works of all these scholars were the decisive influences in Selden's later synthesis of antiquarianism, philology and history.

iii) Selden's Early Works

Selden's Duello (1610) bears all the marks of a Cottonesque antiquarian discourse; an institution, single combat, was followed from its ancient origins to present-day England. The lawyer in Selden instructed him that the key to an understanding of customs such as the duel were its use, the various modes of its practice and the social functions it had performed at different times. 'Historical tradition of use, and succinct description of ceremony, are my ends.'¹ His praise of Varro (the comparatively obscure ancient Roman antiquary edited by Scaliger in 1578) and Selden's division of time into 'time historick' and what 'the philologers call mythick' show that he had grown acquainted with 'that great linguist Joseph Scaliger' since writing the Analecton.² Here, too, he began to compare England with other nations, citing French cases of duels from Bodin's République as well as Danish, Italian and German examples. Ultimately, he concluded that, while combats of all sort originate in antiquity, the judicial combat of medieval England derived from the Lombards and other northern barbarians, 'whose posterity filled this kingdom's continent'.³

Rather more ambitious was the work Selden produced later that year. Essentially a refurbished, but more sophisticated version of the still

1 Selden, The Duello, or single combat: from antiquity derived into this kingdom of England, Opera, III, 'To the Reader'.

2 Ibid., III, 66, 77.

3 Ibid., III, 84.

unpublished Analecton, Selden's Jani Anglorum facies altera was intended to outline the developments and mutations of English law. He divided it into two parts on either side of the Norman conquest.¹ Although he recognised the conquest as a catastrophæ, an event of enormous significance, he asserted the continuity of English law, as modified gradually by a series of invasions, Roman, Saxon and Norman. Many laws have originated since the conquest, especially such as pertain to the right of tenancy or vassalage. Paul Christianson has shown that, starting with the Jani Anglorum, Selden eventually came to a complete understanding of the nature of feudal tenures after 1066 and of the great impact of the conquest upon English landholding and hence upon English social structure.²

The Jani Anglorum also continued Selden's crusade against the fantastic in history, but with a difference. Instead of dismissing the battered Brutus out of hand he suggests that he should be understood only as a bards' fiction, originating in what Scaliger had dubbed 'the heroic age' (intervallum heroicum), like the Homeric legends.³ Probably there is some truth to these tales, but it is difficult to extract gold from such crude ore. Where an otherwise worthy historian like Richard White had gone astray was in treating Brutus as an historical fact of the same order as the arrival of Caesar's Romans. Selden's prosecution of Brutus is based on history and logic. Let us suppose, says Selden, that Brutus had been a real king, and that, as was often claimed, the principle of primogeniture originated with him. How then

1 Jani Anglorum facies altera, Opera, II, 964.

2 Ibid.; Paul Christianson, 'Young John Selden and the Ancient Constitution', unpublished typescript in the author's possession. I am indebted to Professor Christianson for allowing me to read this essay.

3 Selden, Jani Anglorum, Opera, II, 974; for Scaliger's four ages of ancient literature see Pfeiffer History of Classical Scholarship, p.119.

does one explain the subsequent repeated partitioning of the island among a series of sets of brothers such as Ferrex and Porrex? How also do we explain the endurance of gavelkind tenure in Wales, the refuge of the British, until the time of Henry VIII? In short, the ancient myths are both internally inconsistent and historically indefensible, therefore expendable.¹

Selden had read Verstegan and the works of Camden, but already exceeded them in the subtlety of his understanding of historical change as both gradual and continuous. The Saxon period introduced Germanic customs, such as the concilium, where the nobles met to approve and assent to royal proclamations, but Selden avoids the elevation of the Saxon period in importance; every race has made its contribution. He escapes both Scylla and Charybdis: Verstegan's perverse Saxonism and George Saltern's devotion to British survival.²

Selden's attitude to historical disagreement in the Jani Anglorum is interesting. In the spirit of disinterested scholarship, he avoids cavilling at those whom he is correcting. Polydore Vergil was wrong to date jury trials and sheriffs from the conquest, for juries originated with King Ethelred, and sheriffs even earlier. But Polydore is to be excused as a foreign writer: 'it is easy for an Italian to make mistakes in England.'³ He similarly addresses 'my dear Bodin' courteously before disputing his assertion that a government of women is against natural law.⁴ Like Camden, whose Britannia was Selden's most important

1 Selden, Jani Anglorum, Opera, II, 975.

2 Ibid., II. 989. For Saltern, see above, ch. II, p. 74.

3 'Bene potuit in Anglia errare Italus': ibid., II, 1003.

4 Ibid., II, 981.

authority, he takes no pleasure in showing his predecessor's errors, nor in departing from established views, but he does not hesitate to differ.

Both the Jani Anglorum and the unpublished English abridgement of it, England's Epinomis, show Selden to have drunk deeply in the works of his fellow Englishmen, and, to a limited extent, of continental authors. His notes and illustrations to Michael Drayton's Poly-Olbion (1612) carried this process further. Selden's task here was to fill out the poetic fancies of his friend's imaginative journey through Britain with cool, sober facts. The two spheres, poetry and history, were never split further apart than in this work in which they alternate. Restraining himself from an explicit condemnation of Galfridian myths, he nevertheless makes clear that he speaks 'but as an advocat for the Muse... disclaiming in it, if alleg'd for my own opinion'.¹ Such myths belonging to the period before Julius Caesar are untrustworthy. After Caesar, one can turn to Roman historians and then to native ones: Bede, Asser and Malmesbury. The reader must be careful to recognise the dependence of the earlier historians upon tradition, a pothole only those with personal experience in affairs of state (which Selden still lacked) may escape.

No nationall storie, except such as Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Caesar, Tacitus, Procopius, Cantacuzen, the late Guicciardin, Commynes, Macchiavel, and their like, which were employed in the state of their times, can justifie themselves but by tradition.²

Although the above list of historians includes not one of the French philologists, it is clear that Selden's familiarity with their

1 Poly-Olbion, in Drayton, Works, IV, p.viii*.

2 Ibid., pp. 22-23.

work had increased dramatically. In discussing the antiquity of the term 'Palatine' from Roman times, he was able to contribute a valuable comparison with the French earldom of Champagne, 'as Peeter Pithou hath at large published'.¹ He notes that an Italian like Polydore borrowed 'many odde pieces of his best context' from 'the judicious French Historiographer P. Emilius'.² With a touch of irony, he refers in the same breath to the work of 'my learned friend', Thomas Lydiat, and to 'that great Dictator of knowledge',³ Scaliger, well aware of their venomous rivalry. Most importantly, it is here that Selden introduced a new word into English historiographic methodology: synchronism.

In the sense that Selden uses it, the word means the opposite of 'intollerable Antichronismes', or anachronisms. It means strict adherence to principles of chronology in the use and interpretation of sources. Thus, a document purporting to be of the early eighth century, but which shows some trace of debt to a later period, either in handwriting or contents, is clearly a fake. In dealing with dubious legends such as Brutus, synchronism is 'the best Touch-stone'.⁴

The idea that documents and entire legends resting upon them could be exposed this way goes back at least to Valla's exposure of the 'Donation of Constantine'. The principles of strict chronology had been more recently established by Scaliger, who did not, however, use the word synchronism, although it is likely to his and Lydiat's works that Selden owed the idea.⁵ The Dutch scholar Merula, used the word

1 Poly-Olbion, p.231; the reference is to Pithou's Memoires des comtes hereditaires de Champagne et Brie (Paris, 1572).

2 Poly-Olbion, p.290.

3 Ibid., p.xi; cf. p.63.

4 Ibid., p. viii*.

5 Lydiat also does not, as far as I can tell, use the word. Lydiat, Defensio tractatus de variis annorum formis praesertim antiquissima et optima contra Josephi Scaligeri objectatum (1607) [8^o L.6.Art. Seld.]; Lydiat, Emendatio temporum compendio facta ab initio Mundi ad praesens usque (1609) [8^o L.7.Art.Seld.]

to describe his chronological arrangement of the historical events of the sixteenth century in the different realms of Europe;¹ English writers had used the word in a variety of different senses.² But Selden was the first to apply it directly to historical research.

By the time he provided the illustrations for Drayton, Selden had all but finished his first major work of English history, Titles of Honour. After Robert Fludd cured him of a serious illness about 1613,³ the young scholar - he was still in his twenties! - was able to complete and publish this study of titles of royalty, nobility and gentility. Revealing a large debt to du Tillet's Recueil des Rangs de Grands de France, as both source and model, Selden sallied forth to show, from printed and manuscript material, the origins and changes in almost every conceivable title from emperor to esquire. In addition to the rigidly methodical system of marginal references which was by now the hallmark of his treatises, Selden included a bibliography of 'the more speciall autors' whom he had read, and many works, not then extant, which they had cited, a list of over four hundred names in all.⁴ It comprised all the standard English and classical writers as well as a number of French legal humanists and scholars. The names of Jacques Cujas, François Hotman, Scaliger, Bodin, du Tillet, du Haillan and Pierre Pithou are present in the list and the marginal notes. The list does not include la Popelinière, and Selden makes but one reference to Pasquier's Recherches in his discussion of bannerets, though the whole of Pasquier's second book was of the greatest relevance to his own study.⁵

1 P. Merula to Camden, 7 Nov., 1595, Camdeni Epistolae, p.58; 'Totus sum in concinnando centum annorum synchronismo ab anno cici' . .'

2 New English Dictionary, ed. Murray, vol. IX (Oxford, 1919), pt.ii, p.376.

3 Selden, Titles of Honour (1614), ep. dedic., sig. a3.

4 Ibid., sig. Ddd4v-Fffv.

5 Ibid., p. 353.

Dedicating the work to his Temple chamber-fellow, Edward Heyward, he states his goal, which is truth - perfect, unimpeachable and complete, within the limits of human understanding. Books, he says, have one of two functions. These are verum and bonum, both contributing to 'man's best part'. The dichotomy between the two is significant; the truth, he would show the clergy in 1618, could hurt. Titles of Honour is a work 'of verum chiefly, in matter of Story and Philologie'.¹ By 'story', he meant history, a not uncommon abbreviation.² Philology was the key to antiquities: one could study the thing through the study of the word signifying it. By associating philology and 'story' Selden came within a hair's breadth of the position which equated the two in the Histories of tithes.

Referring, Bodin-like, to the 'method' of his work, he defends his choice of modern authors over many of the 'old civilians' of the mos italicus.

In things of this nature to be extracted out of Storie and Philologie, they cesse [sic] to bee doctors, nay, are scarce Alphabetarians, even the whole rank of them.

Much more reliable were modern students of the mos gallicus, including 'the most learned Budé, Alciat, Hotoman, Cujas' and others.³ In the tradition of Valla, Budé and Cujas he attacks the barbaric glosses of the post-Justinian lawyers. This position he would subsequently moderate, perhaps on achieving a certain sympathy with the conditions under which 'the great Bartolus' and his successors had worked; in 1614, Selden had yet to face the unique problems of a textual editor.⁴

In the first part of the work, which would be corrected and greatly expanded over a period of years prior to republication in 1631, Selden

1 Selden, Titles of Honour, sig. a2v.

2 Sir Henry Savile, for example, uses 'story' for 'history' in 'A treatise of union', Bodl. MS e. Mus. 55, fo. 104.

3 Selden, Titles (1614), sigs. b3v, d4.

4 Ibid., sig. d4; cp. Titles (2nd ed., 1631), sig. s4.

deals with titles belonging to sovereign monarchs, kings and emperors, pharaohs, shahs and other titles of east and west, past and present. The longer second part, concerns marks of honour from prince to gentleman, and carries his understanding of the impact of the conquest on land-holding to its highest level.

Selden never hid behind the facile curtain of Coke's immemorial constitution. All forms of human organisation had come into existence at a specific point in time (though not necessarily in their present forms), but the lack of sources for the 'heroick' age would not always allow this to be fixed. Institutions, titles and customs changed in name and form; it was foolish to assume that the absence in the records of the past of a specific word denoting an office or rank meant that the thing itself did not exist under another name. The Saxon ealdormen performed essentially the same role as the post-Norman sheriffs. On the other hand, some kinds of institutions did not exist in any similar form before 1066. 'Those kind of Militarie Fiefs or Fees as wee now have, were not till the Normans', who also introduced wardship.¹ In every case, the key to discovering the course of historical change lay in close study and careful criticism of the relevant documents, in chronological sequence.

In his notes to the 1616 edition of Sir John Fortescue's De laudibus legum Angliae, the classic fifteenth-century apology for the antiquity and superiority of English law, Selden tackled the ancient constitution once again, steering clear of two sharp rocks. It was no more simple-minded to accept Fortescue's thesis that the constitution had endured unchanged through the centuries than to espouse the antithesis of this

1 Titles (1614), p.301. This passage appears nowhere in the 1631 edition. Spelman quotes it in order to show Selden's agreement with him: 'Feuds and Tenures by Knight-Service', in Reliquiae Spelmanniae, ed. E. Gibson (1698), p.26.

argument: that all modern laws and forms of English government originated with the Saxons or the Normans. Both theories were ahistorical because they denied the key element in history, gradual change by usage and custom. The English constitution is a mixture of many elements;

But questionlesse the Saxons made a mixture of the British customes with their own; the Danes with old British, the Saxon and their own; and the Normans the like.¹

Invasions do not pass by without far-reaching effects on existing tradition.

But cleerly, divers Norman customes were in practice first mixt with them, and to these times continue; as succeeding ages, so new nations (comming in by a Conquest, although mixt with a title, as of the Norman Conqueror, is to be affirmed) bring alwaies some alteration.²

He explicitly discredits the view, put most recently by Saltern, that English law predates Roman civil law.

As always with Selden, there is a catch. The political theorist in him takes up where the jurist leaves off. In a sense, 'all laws in generall are originally equally ancient'.³ All are grounded ultimately on the law of nature. As he would later put it, national customs and differences have resulted merely from variations and 'limitations' on a natural law imposed by God through Noah and his offspring.⁴ Selden could not, and did not wish to, reject the myth that 'Japhet and his posterity' had populated Europe, including Britain. For him it was no Trojan myth but scriptural truth, supported by the sound scholarship of Eusebius and Scaliger. For Selden as for all scholars, time had a specific beginning, and biblical events a specific date; if other

1 Fortescue, De laudibus legum Angliae, ed. Selden (1616), Notes, p.7.

2 Ibid., pp. 7, 9.

3 Ibid., p.17.

4 For Selden's use of the myth of the Noachidae, see Richard Tuck, '"The Ancient Law of Freedom": John Selden and the Civil War' in Reactions to the English Civil War, ed. J.S. Morrill (1982), p.143.

events of those times were not equally fixable, this was either because they had been invented by later ages or because the secular sources available were deficient. This is perhaps the only point of contact between Selden and two scripture-based contemporaries from whom he almost never quotes, Raleigh and Speed.

Selden had so far reacted in a dialectical fashion to the errors of his sources and to contradictory theses about the course of English legal history, constructing his own synthesis. The dialectical process in scholarship was, of course, nothing new in itself. It was fundamental to ancient, medieval and Renaissance 'dialogues'. It had been applied to the past in the previous century by Anglican apologists searching for an interpretation of ecclesiastical history in between Catholic and Calvinist alternatives.

Out of the clash of conflicting ideas comes historical truth. This is fundamental to the structure of historical research today, and has been since the mid-seventeenth century; it did not need to wait for Hegel's famous expression of the idea. But when Selden wrote, dialectic had not yet been applied, in England, to the art of history, any more than the activities of philological and antiquarian research had been subsumed under the rubric of history as handmaiden disciplines. In 1618, things suddenly changed.

CHAPTER VIII

SELDEN: THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PAST

i) A Philological History

The Historie of tithes has been described by David Berkowitz as 'one of the milestones in the history of western thought'.¹ F. Smith Fussner, concurring, points to the work as an example of 'problematic' history, in which a single institution is placed under the microscope and examined over a long period of time. Fussner uses the term 'problematic' in his study to distinguish Selden's Historie from the 'local history' practised by Stow and 'territorial history' in Camden's Britannia. He thus limits the impact of Selden's book to one new kind of history among the several which make up his general 'historical revolution'. I shall suggest that the Historie of tithes is indeed a milestone, and a far more radical departure than that allowed by Fussner and others, largely because the wider historical revolution, a revolt against 'medieval' and humanist forms of historiography is a phantom.²

The word 'history' has thus far denoted a narrative of events which, preferably, included their causes and outcomes, thus distinguishing itself from the bare chronicle. Histories and chronicles were among the sources that could be used by the antiquary or chorographer to describe the remnants of the past in all its forms: in physical monuments, documents, coins and titles. But the person who strung these together into a 'survey' or 'Discourse' - the 'meere Scholler' in Ralph Brooke's words - though he might include historical elements in his account, was not an historian.³

1 D. Berkowitz, 'Young Mr Selden', diss.cit., ch. VII, p.4.

2 Fussner, Historical Revolution, pp.275-98. Selden's attitude to history and antiquities has recently been illuminatingly discussed by A.B. Ferguson, Clio Unbound, pp.57-59, 117-124, though from a different perspective than the one offered here.

3 R. Brooke, A Discoverie of certaine errors (1596), 'To Maister Camden'.

It is in this context that Selden's Historie of tithes must be read; only then does the true nature of the conceptual shift he had made become apparent. The Historie is not concerned with great events, nor great men, except insofar as these figure incidentally in his account. It points no morals, nor any lessons useful to statesmen. It is devoid of a teleological outlook which assumes the present must have rather than did emerge from the past. It is not founded on the idea of historical recurrence but on that of gradual growth and mutation. It is an examination, through a chronological and critical comparison and analysis of all available sources, of the historical origins, development, changes and social effects of a single thing, the institution known as tithe payment. As an account of its subject it has never been superseded, something which could not be said for any other work of history from the period.¹

Even more importantly, Selden did not call his new work a discourse, an essay, or an investigation. He called it a history. There are several reasons why he was the first man in England to take this decisive step. In France, Etienne Pasquier, among others, had gone before him, and the Historie reveals that Selden had become much more familiar with the Recherches. In a way, Pasquier himself had simply revived a pre-Polybian ancient sense of the word *ἱστορία*, which from Herodotus onward had denoted an investigation into anything.² In his case, the subject was the French past, but need not have been. The larger ancient meaning still survived: Pliny's 'natural history' and

1 See, for example, William Easterby, A History of the Law of Tithes in England (1888); H.W. Clarke, A History of Tithes (1891); Roundell Palmer, first earl of Selborne, Ancient Facts and Fictions concerning Churches and Tithes (1892). All merely offer variations to Selden's themes, citing him as their final authority.

2 R.G. Collingwood, The Idea of History, pp.19-35. Collingwood makes the salutary point that early Greek historiography was also non-teleological: nothing was inevitable.

Theophrastus's 'history of plants' had nothing whatever to do with the relationship between past and present. La Popelinière pointed out in 1599 that Aristotle and Theophrastus had written 'histories' of this sort.¹ This sense was current in the English Renaissance; Aristotle and Pliny had their imitators, of whom the most notable was Bacon.² What Selden accomplished was the integration of several modes of historical discourse, bringing the antiquary's sense of the past and the empirical approach of the natural historian under the same conceptual umbrella as the historian qua memorialist of the past.

There was a strategic reason for entitling his essay a Historie, as the preface reveals. Selden wished (vainly) to escape the charge that he had built up a lawyer's brief against the case for payment of tithes by divine right. Although eager to leave jure divino arguments for tithes to the theologians, while showing that whatever the theory, practice had been something else, he seems to have known all along that he was lighting a candle to read the label on a barrel of gunpowder. Tithes were a staple of clerical income and to suggest that they had not always been mandatory was to pose an economic as well as an academic threat.³ In early 1618, aware that his opponents were already girding their loins for battle, Selden naively protested his innocent intentions:

1 La Popelinière, L'Idée de l'histoire accomplie, p.24.

2 E.g., J. Banister, History of man sucked from the sappe of the most approved anathomistes (1578); R. Remnant, A discourse or history of bees (1637).

3 For the context of the tithes controversy (in which Selden's book played a small but significant part in a dispute between the church and its critics which lasted decades) see C. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church from Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament (Oxford, 1956), pp. 77-92, 121-31; Margaret James, 'The Political Importance of the Tithes Controversy in the English Revolution, 1640-60', History, new ser. XXVI (1941-42), 1-18.

...it is not written to prove that Tithes are not due by the Law of God; not written to prove that the Laitie may detaine them, not to prove that Lay hands may still enjoy Appropriations; in summe, not all against the maintenance of the Clergie.¹

His book, he said, was no lawyer's case, but an innocuous account of the past.

Neither is it any thing else but it self, that is, a meer Narration, and the Historie of Tithes, Nor is the law of God, whence Tithes are commonly derivd, more disputed in it, then the Divine Law whence all Creatures have their continuing subsistence, is inquired after in Aristotle's historie of living Creatures, in Plinie's Naturall historie, or in Theophrastus his historie of Plants.²

His opponents ignored this defensive posture, and so should we. Selden was arguing a case: not that tithes ought not to be paid by divine right, but that, historically, they had not been paid this way. At the same time, he was attacking a confusion of history with religion, of fact with faith. Although he never names him, Sir Henry Spelman's De non temerandis Ecclesiis (1613) seems to be the immediate target.³ Spelman did not intend specifically to support tithe payments, but he did so incidentally while attacking all kinds of sacrilege. This

1 Historie of tithes (1618), facing p. I. Italicised in original.

2 Ibid. This may come directly from Bodin, Method, p.19; or perhaps from la Popelinière, L'idée, p.24. Gerard Voss, Selden's Dutch friend, uses virtually the same phrase as Selden (albeit in Latin) in his Ars historica (1622): Voss, Opera (1701) IV, p.1. It is far more likely than not that Voss had read Selden's Historie.

3 Christianson, 'Young John Selden', pp.46-7, suggests this possibility. The lack of any adverse reference to Spelman (or any other contemporary) suggests that Selden had no conscious wish to attack other scholars. Ironically, Spelman himself was apparently accused of not practising what he preached. 'You wrott unto me that some scandale is taken against me and my booke de non temerandis Ecclesiis for that myselfe doe not as I prescribe others in my booke.'; Spelman to 'Mr Hares', 21 July, 1618, B.L.MS Add. 34, 599, fo. 50.

tract was merely a fragment of Spelman's Larger worke of tithes (published by his friend Jeremy Stephens in 1647, after the author's death) and of the significantly entitled History and Fate of Sacrilege, written in 1632. In the de non temerandis, Spelman adduced evidence from the Bible to show that both by divine and natural law tithes ought to be paid. He neglected to enquire whether or not they had so been paid. He failed to examine the course of tithe payment, or non-payment, historically, yet implied (and later showed explicitly in the History of Sacrilege) that nasty ends awaited all those, high and low, who had appropriated what was consecrated to God.¹

It was this sort of confusion, not jure divino arguments themselves, that Selden wished to liquidate. As he saw it, the case for tithe payment stood on two legs. Arguments could be drawn from scripture (although he would prove these to be ambiguous) or from 'Fact, that is, Practice and Storie'. The first was the sphere of divines. No one, however, had handled the question historically, and ignorant readers were being misled; what was decreed in the theory of the medieval canons had not always occurred in fact. All Selden wishes to do is 'to supply therefore the want of a full and faithful collection of the Historicall part'.² He immodestly points out that earlier scholars have been resented for their erudition and for telling unpopular truths.

Reuchlin and Budé, the one for his Ebrew, the other for his Greek, were exceedingly hated because they learned and taught what the Friars and Monks were meer strangers to.

Such also was the fate of Erasmus, and of Roger Bacon, of whom Selden later made a separate study, for the benefit of Kenelm Digby.³ Like

1 Spelman, De non temerandis Ecclesiis: a tract of the Rights and Respect due unto Churches (1613), p.4; The history and fate of Sacrilege (1698).

2 Selden, Historie, p.VI.

3 Ibid., p.XVI; Digby to Selden, 11 Feb., 1637 (s.n.), Bodl. MS Seld. Sup. 108, fo. 78.

these men, Selden was confronting an intellectual problem, without worrying much about recriminations.

But how to address the issue? Selden asserts that the problem must be examined through the use of 'true Philologie', and that a common lawyer is as qualified to do so as a canonist, civilian, or divine. The record shows that in other lands, France, the Empire and the United Provinces, the 'chiefest Darlings' of philology have been lawyers: he lists Budé, Cujas, Pithou and Pasquier among others. Such men have brought philology to the 'rectifying of storie'. Therefore, 'why then may not equally a common Lawier of England use this Philologie?'¹

All available evidence must be found, criticised and set in the scales. The investigation must be conducted chronologically, with close attention to synchronism, which will alert the investigator to bogus documents and the errors of fallible sources. His bibliography includes records from the Tower, a large number of original cartularies from Cotton's library, which were more trustworthy than their printed versions, and other documents supplied from the libraries of Henry Savile of Banke (cousin of Sir Henry, the Merton College warden), Thomas Allen, Patrick Young's royal library, and the Bodleian.²

Conscious that he was breaking a mould, Selden was obliged to justify his philological and antiquarian approach to 'history'. In doing so he redefined both the boundaries of historical enquiry and its entire purpose, which was neither to teach philosophy by example, nor, at the opposite pole, to salvage the flotsam of the past merely for its own sake, as the stereotyped antiquarian of today does.

1 Selden, Historie, p.XX.

2 Ibid., following p.491.

For as on the one side, it cannot be doubted but that the too studious Affectation of bare and sterile Antiquitie, which is nothing els but to bee exceeding busie about nothing may soon descend to a Dotage; so on the other, the Neglect or only vulgar regard of the fruitfull and precious part of it, which gives necessarie light to the Present in matter of State, Law, Historie, and the understanding of good Autors, is but preferring that kind of Ignorant Infancie, which our short life alone allows us, before the many ages of former Experience and Observation, which may so accumulat yeers to us as if we had livd even from the beginning of Time.¹

Not only had Selden given constructive and methodical antiquarian research a place in the discipline of history; he had also caricatured the modern local antiquarian's devotion to Saxon coins and Cromwellian bullet-holes without a larger framework within which to study them. The task of the true historian was not to avoid collecting such evidence, or rely on others to do the spadework (as Bacon had relied on Selden), but to piece together a jigsaw which would gradually reveal a picture. By establishing the course of historical chance one could see the present in a brighter light.

This was to be the rule of thumb in the Historie of tithes.

Neither is Antiquitie related in it to shew barely what hath been (for the sterile part of Antiquitie which shews that only and to no further purpose, I value even as slightly as dull Ignorance doth the most precious and usefull part of it) but to give other light to the Practice and doubts of the present.²

The structure of the Historie is deceptively simple. Divided into fourteen chapters, it traces the history of tithe laws and tithing customs from pre-Mosaic times to the present, examining the materials which illustrate this history, frequently comparing different copies of the same document, and critically assessing the motives of those

1 Dedication to Cotton (4 Apr., 1618), *ibid.*, sig. a2-a3.

2 *Ibid.*, p. II.

who wrote them. The first seven chapters establish the European context of tithing before focusing on the practice in England and its differences. Along the way Selden attacks a number of subordinate issues, such as the reliability of certain sorts of documents, the gradual development of the parish as the basic ecclesiastical unit, and the emergence of the ecclesiastical court.

The work opens with an account of pre-Mosaic tithing, in which Selden put his knowledge of Hebrew to good use. He treats the Bible as an historical source, open to interpretation if not to contradiction. Melchisedek, traditionally both the first priest and a type of Christ, himself received tithes, but only of the spoils of war. The offerings of Cain and Abel were made in no specified quantity. And Jacob and Abraham, who paid tithes, were both priests themselves. There were no laws for tithes in those times.¹ Nor were any lasting tithing laws established by the Pentateuch, as chapter II reveals. Scaliger had already examined Hebrew tithing practices in the Diatriba de Decimis, edited by Casaubon in 1610.² Selden went further, using the Talmud (the Hebrew canon law) to unlock the true sense of scripture. He establishes that the Jews paid a first and second tithe to the Levites, who in turn passed on a tithe of this to the priests; the latter never received tithes directly from the people, although they did receive first fruits and a 'heave offering', a voluntary donation. This is a two-fisted argument. On the one hand, Selden demonstrates that the priests had no claim to tithes in Jewish law. On the other, he sets up an implicit analogy between the Levites and the patrons, churchwardens and lay impropiators of his own day: the modern recipients of tithes against whom Spelman had barked.³ After this, the coup de grace is

1 Selden, Historie, ch. I, passim.

2 J.J. Scaliger, Opuscula varia antehac non edita, ed. Isaac Casaubon (Paris, 1610), pp. 61-70, points out (p.61) that Moses 'non unum genus decimarum proponit'. Selden's notes on this tract ('a Scaligro posita est...') are in Bodl.MS Seld.Sup.108, fos.187-190v, with notes from other works on the subject.

3 Selden, Historie, pp.12-21.

rather an anti-climax; Selden falls back on the argument that the Jews themselves have not regarded tithing as mandatory since the destruction of the second Temple and the dispersion of the first century AD, and therefore, any laws that bound them are certainly not automatically binding on Christians. After a similar attack on Greek and Roman offering practices, the third chapter concludes that Gentiles made occasional offerings to certain gods, voluntarily. They had no general practice of obligatory tithing. A text of Festus which suggests the contrary is shown to be the result of poor editing by a medieval scholar, Paul the Deacon.¹

The next four chapters consist of a chronological narrative and analysis of the growth of tithing in Christian Europe, relating it to the larger course of ecclesiastical history. No mention of tithing occurs in the primitive church, to AD 400. Tithes of mines and quarries were paid to the emperors after Constantine, not to priests.² The church grew and thrived on voluntary offerings from its members. By AD 400, the priesthood may have had a divine right to tithes, but the evidence indicates that no custom had given them a prescriptive, historical right. Between 400 and 800, the first signs of tithing appear, in offerings made to abbots, to the clergy at large, and the poor. These took the forms of arbitrary consecrations made by land-owners at will. There was no agreement among the fathers as to the law supporting this: St Ambrose and St Augustine had said the tithe was due by God's law; St Jerome and Chrysostom had said only that in justice, no less than a tenth should be offered to God. No canon as yet demanded tithe payment, nor any secular law.³ The infeudation of tithes (the sale or gift of them by clergy or laymen to other laymen)

1 Selden, Historie, pp. 28-29; Selden here further amends a correction by Scaliger.

2 Ibid., pp. 39-40.

3 Ibid., pp. 64-67 (mispaginated as 56).

did not yet exist.

But no Tithes in those times were Infeodated,
as also is judiciously observed and taught by
the Learned Stephen Pasquier.

A measure of Selden's independence is that he is able to disagree with Pasquier, who mistakenly dated the origins of infeudation to the late eleventh century, when they appeared slightly earlier, and in the form of gifts from bishops and religious orders, as well as laymen.¹ Counting the capitularies of Charlemagne as the first secular laws enforcing tithe payment among the developments of the period from 800 to 1200, Selden demonstrates that by the late thirteenth century, both doctrine and canons 'had made the dutie of Tithes of a known right among the Clergie'.² An historical turning point comes with the third Lateran Council of 1179-80, in which tithes were explicitly named, and which condemned future infeudations by laymen without invalidating earlier ones. And this was only a general rule which, history showed, had admitted many exceptions; it suggested papal self-interest, not divine right, as the motivation.

Alexander's council still did not fully enforce the parochial right to tithes, that is, the doctrine that a parish priest has prior claim on the tithes of his parishioners' crops, livestock and profits of business. This had to wait for the dramatic increase in papal authority, and in the influence of canon law, under Innocent III. From the fourth Lateran Council of 1215, parochial tithes became entrenched in canon law and eventually in the common laws of the countries receiving the canons.³

The direction of tithing history changed so much after 1200 that the clergy were able to pretend they had always had a common right

1 Selden, Historie, pp.111-112; the reference is to Bk.3, ch.35 of the Recherches (Pasquier, Oeuvres, I, 295-300).

2 Ibid., p.119.

3 Ibid., pp.137-148.

to parochial tithes. With the supremacy of the canons, the practices of lay consecrations at will to churches and monasteries outside parish boundaries, and of the appropriation of churches, with tithes, by religious orders, fell into desuetude. There was no agreement on the most important issue of this period: by what law were tithes due? The canonists argued that tithes were due to the clergy by 'divine moral law', though exceptions were possible. The scholastic divines, less tied by papal strings, 'looked much further into all that they meddled with, then the Canonists could do'. Many thought that as long as adequate maintenance was given to the parochial clergy, tithes per se were not mandatory. Others went even further and held tithes as voluntary alms only; the friars were prominent advocates of this view (again from self-interest), since they could not receive tithes but could accept alms.¹ The seventh chapter concludes with a brief survey of late medieval tithing in France, Italy, Spain, Scotland and Ireland.²

Having painted the background, Selden then focused on England. The eighth chapter presents a survey of the laws of tithes in England, generated by church councils, and by the Saxon assemblies, the 'micelne synodes' and 'witenegemotes'. Selden quotes extensively from Saxon laws, offering translations as well as original Saxon, for

to have left out the originall, had prevented some freedom of the Readers judgement, and tied it to the translators, to have added no translation, had been as a purpose to have troubled even the fittest Readers with a strange tongue.³

He modifies, incidentally, his earlier position on the changes of the Norman conquest, by identifying the Saxon micelne synod as 'a great Synod, or Councell, a kind of Parliament, both of Lay and Spirituall men'.⁴ His account of the laws proceeds to the reign of Edward VI

1 Selden, Historie, pp. 154-178.

2 Ibid., pp. 182-195.

3 Ibid., p. 196.

4 Ibid., pp. 215, 220 (emphasis mine); cf. Christianson, 'Young John Selden', p.51.

and shows how, little by little, the parochial right to tithes became entrenched in English common law , as recorded in the year-books.

Now, he says, we must go back to the beginning and ask if all these laws were observed. First, he digresses to present in Chapter IX a kind of history-within-a-history: a self-contained narrative of the development of the parish. The gist of this is that the word parochia initially meant province or bishopric. Tithes in the primitive church were paid, at any church in the diocese, into a common fund held by the bishop, who divided it among the clergy, who resided with him and travelled to churches rather like circuit judges.¹ Only about 700 AD, a century after Augustine's arrival, as laymen started building and endowing churches in their area for service to their families and tenants, did clergy become resident and parish boundaries fixed, in order that the parishioner could tell to which church to pay his tithes. The bishops were forced to encourage this practice or risk dampening lay enthusiasm.² To bring the whole system into uniformity, the bishops subsequently restrained the profits of the individual churches under their control to incumbent, resident priests. There was no law to limit profits parochially, until 970, when King Edgar ordained that any parishioner who had not erected a church of his own should pay tithe to his local parish church or monastery, the latter still having in residence many secular clergy. In time, many small parishes were amalgamated, and many larger ones split into two by granting dependent chapelries the right of sepulture.³

The point of this long and brilliant chapter, in which Selden got to the root of medieval local ecclesiastical organisation, is that if parishes themselves developed historically, and the word parochia

1 Selden, Historie, p. 254.

2 Ibid., ch. IX, sec. iv, passim.

3 Ibid., pp. 265-66.

has changed its meaning, how then could tithes have always been paid parochially? The parochial right only really became fully 'settled with us in practice' in the time of Edward I.¹ Even if tithes are due jure divino, then the early Christians either did not realise this or went against their consciences, as did the clergy who eagerly sought and accepted arbitrary consecrations of tithes. Granted, says Selden, some early synodal and secular laws had ordained parochial rights in the Saxon era, but these laws were clearly either ignored, or perhaps settled and then discontinued, before AD 1200, when they were revived. There was nothing immutable about the law of tithes.

For notwithstanding all those Ordinances, both Secular and Synodall, anciently here made for due payment, it is cleer, that in the time before about that Innocent [III], it was not only usuall, in fact, for lay men to convey the right of their Tithes, as Rents-charge, or the like, to what Church or Monasterie they made choice of, but by the course and practice of the Law also of that time (both Common and Canon, as it was here in use) such conveyances were cleerly good.²

The consecrations received by the churches were valid then as they are now.

The discovery of 'arbitrary consecrations' in the manuscript cartularies of Cotton's library was the keystone to Selden's interpretation, and was an entirely innovative concept.

This of arbitrarie consecrations, I presume, is like strange Doctrine to most men. it may well bee, for the truth of it, I thinke, was never before so much as pointed at by any that hath written any part of our subject.³

Chapter XI illustrates the prevalence of this practice 'in examples selected out of muniments of infallible credit'. They proved beyond all doubt what the year-books suggested: that laymen prior to 1179 had been perfectly free to convey the tithes arising from their lands

1 Selden, Historie, p. 288.

2 Ibid., p. 290.

3 Ibid., p. 470.

to whatever church or monastery they chose.

By the practiced Law, cleerly every man gave the perpetuall right of his Tithes to what Church he¹ would, although the Canon Law were against it.

Even after the third Lateran Council, papal directives were largely ignored: 'what ever the Pope wrote from Rome, we know the truth by a cloud of home-bred witnesses'. But papal supremacy in the next century changed things.

It soon came to be a received Law, that all Lands regularly were to pay Tithes to the Parish or mother Church according to the provision of the Canons.

This constituted a decisive break, an

ending of the ancients course of arbitrarie consecrations and the later establishing of Parochiall right in Tithes.²

Even so, the canons were sufficiently moderated and limited by common law and practice so as to allow many exceptions.³

Chapter XII examines another way in which tithes had long escaped the hands of the parish clergy. Monasteries and abbeys often 'appropriated' smaller churches, along with their tithes. Such appropriations began in the eighth century and reached a peak between the conquest and 1200, during which time about 370 monasteries were erected. A house then instituted a vicar in the parish, who received the 'small tithe' - mixed, personal and predial tithes, except for corn, grain,

1 Selden, Historie, p. 359 (emphasis mine).

2 Ibid., pp. 359, 362. Selden notes (p.364) that English monks at the council of Lyons in 1274 affirmed an arbitrary conveyance, implying the practice to be of long standing 'both of fact and positive law'.

3 Ibid., p.365. For example, such lands which fell outside the boundaries of a parish retained the 'ancient libertie' of consecration; and the king could still give tithes of crown lands, as Edward I conveyed the tithes of the Forest of Dean to the diocese of Llandaff in 1280.

hay and wood, the much more valuable 'great tithe', which went to the rector, in this case the monastery. This distinction, which Selden fails to make very clearly, developed as a custom and was formalised by the statute 15 Richard II, cap. 6.¹

Selden is at pains to point out one way in which tithing in England developed differently than on the continent. Infeudations of tithes into lay hands, fairly common in Europe from the late eleventh century, do not appear in England, with a few exceptions, until the Reformation, in 'the age of our Fathers'. By the statutes of 31 Henry VIII and 1 Edward VI, the crown was enabled to grant the tithes of the dissolved monasteries, by lease or sale, into lay hands. The seventeenth-century descendants of these tithe purchasers continue to hold them 'as they do other enheritances of Lands or Rents'.²

After giving further details of means by which frequent exemptions from parochial tithe payment have been made, Selden closes his Historie with a chapter on 'the Historie also (but only the Historie) of the jurisdiction of Tithes in this Kingdom'.³ Dividing this second mini-history into three periods - Saxon, early Norman (to Henry II) and recent times - he describes how tithe disputes gradually became a matter for the ecclesiastical courts. Under the Saxons, ecclesiastical cases (including tithes, though these are rarely mentioned then) came under the jurisdiction of the hundred or county court, presided over by the diocesan bishop and a sheriff, or ealdorman, each judging the case according to his own sphere, divine or human law. The 'alteration at the Norman Conquest' broke this tradition by separating the episcopal

1 Selden, Historie, pp. 375-87. Selden is rather obscure on the division of tithes among rectors and vicars, and does not use the terms 'great' and 'small'. See Easterby, History of the Law of Tithes, pp. 21-26.

2 Selden, Historie, p.395; Clarke, History of Tithes, pp.160-61.

3 Selden, Historie, p. 411.

from the shrieval jurisdiction. From the former developed the bishop's consistory court. Both courts continued to judge tithe disputes, the court in which the suit originated taking precedence. By the time of Henry II and John, increasing papal pressure on the monarchy established the current seventeenth-century practice, by which disputes are all initiated in ecclesiastical courts, unless prohibited by the king. Many remnants of the secular jurisdiction still exist, in the form of writs of right of advowson and writs scire facias.¹ The rivalry of secular and ecclesiastical was a topical issue on which Chief Justice Coke had fought a long battle with Archbishop Richard Bancroft a decade earlier.²

Shocked by early reaction to his masterpiece when only a few copies had been printed, Selden hastily drew up a fifty page 'Review' and appended it to the text. The consequent delay in printing perturbed the anxious Peiresc, who eagerly awaited the book in France.³ Selden's style is always tortuous, and the Review lacks even the Historie's limited lucidity. However, it afforded him an opportunity to restate his case; it leaves no doubt that Selden held an interpretation of history diametrically opposed to the traditional view. He defends his crucial discovery of the mechanism of arbitrary consecrations by outrightly accusing the clergy, since 1200, of concealing the documentary evidence supporting it. He, however, has seen 'catalogues' from the late thirteenth century which mention tithes clearly originating in lay consecrations, 'wherein not the least mention is of any Grantor'.⁴

1 Selden, Historie, pp. 412-13, 425-46.

2 Hill, Economic Problems, pp.121-39, and Intellectual Origins, pp. 247-48; N. Adams 'The Judicial Conflict over Tithes', Eng. Hist. Rev., LII (1937), 1-22.

3 Peiresc to Camden, 4 March, 1618 (s.n.), Camdeni Epistolae, p.221, also in Lettres de Peiresc, VII, 773.

4 Selden, Historie, p.469.

By the end of the thirteenth century, arbitrary consecrations were as much concealed in legall proceedings of the Canon Law, as they had been in the more ancient times desired and hunted after by such as were enricht by them.¹

With more than a trace of annoyance in his tone, he concludes that after reading his book,

no fit Reader can bee so blind as not to see necessarie and new assertions and consequents to be made out of them in every inquirie that tends to a full knowledge of the true and originall nature of Tithes, as they are possesst or detaind by either Lay or Clergie man, in respect only of any humane positive Law or civill Title.²

The prosecution rested its case.

ii) Historical controversy

The Historie of tithes set off the first historical controversy in England since Polydore Vergil called Geoffrey of Monmouth a liar. All the necessary ingredients were there: two opposed interpretations of the past, each with advocates committed to a point of view determined by their perception of the present, and an issue whose implications threatened to cut holes in clerical pockets even more than they challenged historical and religious orthodoxy.³

First to the lists was Sir James Sempill, a friend and exact contemporary of King James. Sempill feebly attacked Selden in an appendix to his previously written tract, Sacrilege sacredly handled (1619), attacking Scaliger on the way. Sempill's approach was quite straightforwardly sola scriptura.

1 Selden, Historie, p. 470.

2 Ibid., p. 485.

3 As early as February, 1618, the bishop of London had had all extra copies of the Historie seized from the booksellers; but, as Selden told Peiresc, he had managed to save the manuscript, which he circulated; Selden to Peiresc, 6 Feb., 1618, Bodl. MS Smith 74, fos. 163-65.

Cleave to the words of the Text [rather] then
thrust in commentaries for the overthrow of it;
or practise against precept.

Confining himself to the first two chapters of Selden, he completely discounts the Talmud (having probably not read it). Nervously praising the erudition of both Scaliger and Selden, he protests, 'Let no man thinke I doe glorie, in differing from these men'.¹ Sempill disbelieves the capacity of the historian to investigate such matters, for history is but 'a simple narration of what is done'. He was wrong, but at least polite.

Following hot on Sempill's heels was the more pugnacious Doctor Richard Tillesley, archdeacon of Rochester. His Animadversions upon M. Selden's History of Tithes, and his review thereof (1619) was much longer and nastier. He infuriated Selden by reporting that his opponent had recanted . . . before the High Commission.² In fact, Selden had merely apologised to some lords of the commission for publishing the book, and had in no way denied his views. Tillesley praised Sempill's piety and learning, offering a catalogue of names of authors in support of the latter's work.³ Tillesley throws paint on Selden's idol, Scaliger. 'Such flattering Hyperboles proceed from ambitious love,' he remarks of Selden's praise of the great philologist.⁴ Refusing to accept Selden's distinction between first fruits and tithes, or his 'new opinion of arbitrary consecrations', Tillesley also uniformly interprets the Latin decimae as divinely-due tithes, ignoring the historical fact that words change their meanings.⁵ He calls Selden

1 J. Sempill, Sacrilege sacredly handled (1619), appendix, pp. 19, 29, 34-35.

2 R. Tillesley, Animadversions (1619), sig. b⁴.

3 Ibid., pp. 1-29.

4 Ibid., p.33.

5 Ibid., pp. 61, 81.

a fake, who misquotes and manipulates documents to suit his case. He never denies Selden's claim that tithes were subject to custom, but pleads divine right, smugly quoting St Augustine: 'Woe to thee thou flood of custome, who shall resist thee?' To discredit Selden's production of cartularies in Chapter X, he claims that Selden never allowed him to see them, and produces a few of his own which, of course, have nothing to say on the subject of arbitrary consecrations.¹

Although the king forbade him to publish them, Selden's replies to Sempill and Tillesley circulated privately and have survived. Warming up on the mild Sempill, he asks why he has been attacked, defending himself and Scaliger as historians.

Neither of us (being both laymen) were so bold, as to instruct the clergy, what should be done in a matter of divinity. My title is history only, so are the three parts of it, so is every line of the whole.²

Sempill's argument that because something should have been so, it was so, is cut to shreds. 'What logick is this?' cries Selden: if he wished to use the same argument, he could prove that Sempill had not written his tract merely because he shouldn't have done so. Asserting the superiority of primary sources he asks his opponent,

why, who think you is the greater for the certainty of the practised law in England? Are our year-books, or Hollingshead, or Polydore Vergil?³

Sempill escaped fairly lightly. Not so Tillesley, upon whose head descended the full fury of Selden. Denying his 'recantation', he indicates that when the Historie was in the press, he had given Tillesley every liberty to examine his sources.⁴ Selden has rechecked

1 Tillesley, Animadversions (1619), pp. 162, 192.

2 Selden, An Admonition to the Reader of Sir James Sempill's Appendix, Opera, III, 1349-50.

3 Ibid., III, 1351, 1356.

4 Selden, A Reply to Dr Tillesley's Animadversions upon the History of Tythes, Opera, III, 1370-71.

his quotations and found them all accurate.¹ Putting his opponent on the defensive, he charges Tillesley with making 'innovation against the antient positive laws of our own state, and of all other states of Christendom'. Why had his opponent relied on conjecture instead of examining Selden's cartularies?

His lodging was near enough to those chartularies, and he might have seen them at his pleasure.

Tillesley's conclusions are even faultier than his minimal evidence.

'Is this your logick, doctor? We use no such in the inns of court.'²

Sempill and Tillesley were lightweights, readily dispatched, although one can imagine no worse punishment for Selden than the order which forbade him to publish these rebuttals. He was notably calmer in writing to Buckingham, who had 'invited' him to re-study the issue. He reiterated his conclusion that tithes had never, in recent ages, been paid jure divino, even if they should have been, 'but only according as the secular laws made for tythes, or local customs, ordain or permit them'. He declined to address himself to the question again.³

A much more formidable opponent reopened the attack in 1621.

Richard Mountagu, the future Arminian bishop, was a scholar in his own right, and a protégé of Sir Henry Savile. In 1621, Mountagu had been

1 Selden also staked the loss of all his books on the accuracy of his quotations in 'Of my purpose and end in writing the History of Tythes', Opera, III, 1452. In fact this was not entirely true. Selden was prone to careless citation, as a random check of his references reveals. For example, Historie, p.13, citing the statute of 26 Hen.VIII,c.3 as 16 Hen.VIII c.3. His transcriptions of cartularies include many contractions and lacunae which he does not indicate. Cp. Historie, p.330, with Wm Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum (2nd ed. 1817-30), IV, 646-7; Historie, pp.339-41 with Monasticon, V, 14-15. He also conveniently ignored a thirteenth century tract de Decimis, against the detaining of tithes, although the manuscript had been in the Bodleian since 1608 (now Bodl. MS Auct. D.212).

2 Selden, Opera, III, 1380-81, 1386.

3 Selden to Buckingham, 5 May, 1620, Lincoln's Inn Hale MSS, vol.12. fos. 245-6 (also in Opera, III, 1394-5).

the king's chaplain for four years. His Diatribae upon the first part of the late history of tithes, in which he deals with the first three chapters of Selden, is interesting because it attacks not simply Selden's historiography, but his very definition of the boundaries of history. Mountagu had already commended Selden's abilities in a letter to Cotton - a strict neutral - who had furnished him with evidence for his counter-attack.

You know I am sure, that his Majestie hath sett me upon business against him, whom you love, and I too protest unfeignedly, for his excellent good parts, saving the Churches quarrel, into which I would he had never entred.¹

With an initial bow to his opponent, 'an excellent Antiquary', he discounts Selden's claim to have written 'a meere narration of Tithes'.

This cannot be, for

a meere Narration is a plaine Relation, nothing else. History disputeth not Pro or Con, concludeth not what should be, or not be: Censureth not what was well done, or done amisse: But proposeth Accidents, and Occurrences as they fall out: examples and Precedents unto Posterity.²

Selden would have agreed wholeheartedly with part of this: he had never passed moral judgement on anything in his history. But Mountagu denies the historian a point of view, and excludes analysis from historical writing. The historian must set down events, not question them or offer an interpretation.

This hath you not observed, Master Selden, but made yourself a Party, which no Historian doth, at least should doe.³

1 Mountagu to Cotton, n.d. [1620?], Bodl. MS Smith 71, fo. 107.

2 R. Mountagu, Diatribae upon the first part of the late History of Tithes, p.16 (emphasis mine). Selden's exact words were 'a meere narration, and the Historie of Tithes': he included the printing and analysis of evidence along with narration as part of history: Historie, p.I.

3 Mountagu, Diatribae, p.17.

Selden's faults are numerous, claims Mountagu. He praises Scaliger too highly, 'in many proude superlatives of Divine'. He took advantage of Cotton's good nature, who did marke out with blacke leade in his Manuscripts, all places concerning Tithes'. Even Selden's method is wrong-headed. He has mistaken mere word-play for the deeper understanding of logic. 'You left Logick too soone at University to haunt Philologie at Innes of Court.'¹ What does a lawyer need with philology anyway? Selden should stick to business.

Were I a student in the Lawes, I would rather strive to bee a Littleton, Fitzherbert, or Plowden, Brooke, or Stamford in my owne profession, then to be Master Selden, with his Philologie and humane learning.

Budé and Erasmus are denounced; Cujas was 'a pedant'. Selden refers altogether too much to 'those French lawyers'.² But his greatest crime is that he has undermined the certainity in history; it is now all 'Text against Text: Translation against Translation.' Mountagu mistook Selden's critical scepticism for pyrrhonism, when the two could not be further apart.³

Selden never replied to Mountagu's assault, nor to any of the subsequent attacks. He returned to the issue in the 1650s, ironically to defend the continuance of tithes under the commonwealth, on the grounds of prescription and positive law. Langbaine, writing to him in August, 1652, commented that he 'was not able to give any better direction then by sending them to your History'. Langbaine hoped that the book which had 'struck deepest against the divine' would also supply arguments for the 'Civill right' of Tithes.⁴

1 Mountagu, Diatribae, pp. 24, 49.

2 Ibid., pp. 120, 123, 125-6.

3 Ibid., p.217.

4 Langbaine to Selden, 22 August, 1653, Bodl. MS Seld. Sup. 109, fo. 463. Cf. Langbaine's letter to Selden on some fifteenth-century tithe documents, 27 Sept., 1652, MS Seld Sup. 109, fo.390.

Selden's interpretation was rapidly accepted as correct: historically, it was irrefutable. Bishop Brian Duppa, a former colleague of Mountagu, noted in his copy of the Diatribae, 'Was ever so much learning, wit, and folly blended together as in this Book!'¹

iii) From Tithes to Titles

The Historie of tithes was the beginning, not the end, of Selden's career. He filled out his methodological scheme in 1622, in the short form of a prefatory letter 'To my singular good friend, Mr Augustine Vincent' which appeared in Vincent's counterattack on Ralph Brooke's Discoverie of errours in Camden's Britannia. The Brooke-Camden dispute which had festered for nearly thirty years had managed to involve nearly the whole College of Arms - almost to a man on Camden's side, for by 1622 the pugnacious Brooke had alienated most of his colleagues. Vincent, then Rouge-Croix pursuivant, had been the protégé and deputy of Camden since 1618.² The principal importance of his own Discoverie, for our purposes, is not the immediate heraldic dispute on the finer points of genealogy, but the occasion it gave for Selden, another disciple of Camden, to express his methodology concisely. His epistle to Vincent is one of the most interesting and important short documents in the history of western historiography.

Men will applaud, writes Selden, Vincent's use of unprinted sources,

the more abstruse parts of history which lie hid,
either in private manuscripts, or in the publick
records of the kingdom.

1 Duppa's MS notes in the Bodleian copy of the Diatribae [shelfmark 4^o. Rawl. 455], p.369. Duppa was a friend of Selden.

2 On Brooke, Vincent and the 'controversy' over the accuracy of Camden's genealogical work in Britannia, see Mark Noble, A History of the College of Arms (1804), pp. 240-245.

Vincent shows good knowledge of published authors, but man cannot write history by print alone. Selden rounds on the ignorant who rely on published material exclusively.

They think nothing worthy the reading, but
what is printed. As if the press gave first
authority to whatsoever hath been written,

adding, 'you know what a deficiency must thence come into the knowledge of history'. Clearly alluding to the work of French and Dutch scholars, he complains that

such antient pieces of the history of other
states, as being worthy of light, were preserved
only in written copies, are of late for the most
part made publick by divers learned men.¹

In England, far more remains unprinted in a dozen different repositories from Cotton's huge armoury to the smaller university colleges. There is a dearth of good histories of England

except only the annals of queen Elizabeth and
the life and reign of King Henry VII lately set
forth by learned men of most excelling abilities.

He modestly refrains from mentioning himself.²

He next gives a catalogue of the best historians available, in the fashion of Bodin, judging them, however, on their use of unprinted sources. Only a few medieval English chroniclers are of use, in particular Henry Knighton, who had used some rolls of parliament no longer extant. In the ancient world, Polybius, Livy, Suetonius and Tacitus all used the public records of their day, and Thucydides seems to have done so.³ But even manuscripts are useless unless one knows where to find them and how to use them. His list of historians includes

1 Selden 'To my singular good friend, Mr Augustine Vincent', in Vincent's A Discoverie of errours in the first edition of the Catalogue of Nobility, published by Ralph Brooke, Yorke Herald, 1619 (1622) [S.1.11.Jur.Seld. contains MS notes by Selden], sig.a.

2 Ibid., sig. a^v.

3 Ibid., sig. a.

record editors like du Tillet, whose Recueils are of great importance, for they give 'direction to the several bags and boxes wherein they are kept'. Even André Duchesne, Selden's great French contemporary, ought to have used du Tillet's guides. To attempt to produce history from the chaos of evidence without such help

is but to spend that time and cost in plaistering only, or painting, of a weak or poor building, which should be employed in provision of timber and stone for the strengthening and enlarging it.¹

Selden continued his sketch of medieval historiography the following year, when he edited an invaluable authority for early Norman England, the Historia Novorum of Eadmer. One of Selden's recurrent weaknesses was his conviction that the latest new authority he had discovered was the answer to all an historian's dreams. For years he had recommended the use of Ingulph of Croyland (a fifteenth-century fake), and would do so again at the end of his career with 'Eutychius', uncritically and stubbornly insisting that this tenth-century patriarch was a reliable authority for the early development of eastern Christianity.² With Eadmer, however, he was more than justified, for the Historia Novorum provided an important alternative to the Gesta Regum of William of Malmesbury. Selden dedicated this edition to Bishop John Williams, who would later be asked to reciprocate by lending him, through Cotton, the Babylonian Talmud in the library of Westminster Abbey.³ Selden also

1 Selden, 'To my singular good friend, Mr Augustine Vincent', in Vincent's A Discoverie of errors... (1622) sig. av-a2; André Duchesne, Histoire générale d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, et d'Irlande (Paris, 1614).

2 For Ingulph, or Ingulf, see, e.g. Analecton, Opera, II, 922; Jani Anglorum, Opera, II, 992; Notes to Poly-Olbion in Drayton, Works, IV, 28. For 'Eutychius', see Fry's article, 'John Selden' in DNB and the letters from Langbaine and Pocock to Selden, Bodl. MS Seld. Sup. 109, fos. 390-400. Selden considered Eutychius to be 'the Bede of Egypt', Eutychii Aegyptii, Patriarchae orthodoxorum Alexandrini, Scriptoris... Ecclesiae suae origines (1642), Opera, II, 418.

3 Selden to Cotton, 4 July, 1629, B.L. MS Cott. Julius C. III, fo. 343.

acknowledged the help and advice of Peiresc and of the aged Thomas Allen of Gloucester Hall, who had once again provided manuscripts against which Selden could check his edition.¹

Selden wrote one last major work on English history before he embarked on a new and equally bright career as an interpreter of ancient Hebrew law and a political theorist. For years he had been wanting to revise and expand Titles of Honour. He had prepared a second edition for the press in 1621, but its publication had then been prevented, perhaps due to his activities in the parliament that year. He had then told Ussher that the new version was 'in the press, and new written, but I hear it shall be staid'.² It was finally published only a decade later, in 1631, after Selden had been imprisoned a second time for his perceived parliamentary opposition to the crown.

One has only to compare the preface to this edition with that to the first to see that Selden had developed from an antiquarian lawyer into an historian, and that he had brought the two activities together. Here he completely, concisely and finally redefines the word 'history':

Under Histories, I comprehend here not only the numerous store of Histories and Annalls of severall States and Ages, wherein the Actions of them are put together in some continued discourse or thred of time, but those also that otherwise, being written for some narrow particulars, and sometimes under other names, so shew us in example what was done in erecting or granting or otherwise, concerning the Titles here medled with, that we may thence extract what conduces to the representation of the Formes and Patents of Erections and Grants, and of ³the Circumstances and Nature of the Being of them.

1 Selden, Notae et Spicilegium in Eadmeri, Opera, II, 1600, 1667.

2 Selden to Ussher, 4 March, 1621, printed in Opera, II, 1707.

3 Titles of Honour (2nd ed., 1631) [T.1.10.Jur.Seld., with MS corrections by Selden], sig. S4 (my emphasis).

Among his sources, he lists foreign records and 'publick acts', and the domestic sources which by now were second nature to him - chancery rolls, Irish documents provided by Ussher and the earl of Leicester, exchequer records, and the registers of the archbishop of Canterbury.¹ These are not just the materials of history. They are history itself:

[They] are to be reckond for Historie or among the parts of it, and of necessary use in the search of it; though they beare other titles, and are too much neglected chiefly by Compilers of Annalls and Historie, who for the most part seeke no other Materials or helps, then what obvious Volumes that beare but such kind of names as their owne shall, can easily afford them.

Selden rejects the didactic use of ancient histories for their political lessons. If the great Greek writers were alive today, they would study the customs of the present 'and according to them make Instaurations of divers of their Precepts and Directions'.²

Selden makes extensive use of non-literary sources, including coins, inscriptions and monuments to fill in gaps in the written record. He contravenes the commonplace that Julius Caesar was the first Roman emperor by a study of Roman coins which show that Caesar took the honourific title imperator, meaning 'commander', after his name, whereas Augustus placed it before his name, signifying a change in the use of the term.³ An inspection of the statue to the poet John Gower shows that he was 'no knight, but an Esquire only. The epitaph there joynd to the statue shewes it'.⁴ In using such evidence, Selden was

1 Selden's extensive notes and transcriptions from the latter, along with other collections for the new edition, are respectively Lincoln's Inn, Hale MSS vol. 84 and vol. 11.

2 Titles (1631), sigs. S4-g2. This may be as much a consequence of his growing antipathy to reason of state, as found in Tacitus, Botero and the Polybius-citing Machiavelli, as it is a rejection of the 'political textbook' view of history.

3 Ibid., pp. 12-13, 160, 165.

4 Ibid., p. 836.

doing only as Camden, Bolton and Janus Gruter had done, but instead of studying these remnants of the past for their own sake, and using conventional histories to explain the meaning of the coins, he applied the coins and inscriptions to the reconstruction of history.

Although the revised Titles has not worn nearly as well as the Historie of tithes, it was nevertheless a gargantuan piece of work, blazing a trail for later writers such as John Burke and John Debrett. Selden expanded almost every section of the earlier version, and where before he had only quoted documents briefly, he now transcribed and printed them in extenso. Woodcuts provided pictorial illustrations of ancient and medieval robes, crowns and ornaments used in creation ceremonies. His already extensive marginal references were fattened: a single point, the origin of the title 'peer', is substantiated with references to ten different original sources and to French scholars including Pasquier, Pithou, du Haillan, Hotman and Vignier.¹

Recent scholarship has contravened the previously undisputed views of Sir Henry Spelman and of J.H. Round that feudalism was superimposed at the conquest, in a completely developed form, on an entirely different social system. Selden actually comes nearer the truth than Round by equating the Saxon thanes with post-conquest tenants in capite. Those who were the

Kings immediate Tenants of faire possessions, which they held by personall service, as of his person... were, I conceive the Thanes that had the honorary dignitie, and were part of the greater Nobility of that time.... That is, they were all the King's feudall Thanes.²

This was not a denial of the impact of the conquest but a recognition

1 Selden, Titles (1631), p.525, note 's'.

2 Ibid., p. 612; cf. pp. 622, 624-5 (emphasis mine). R.H.C. Davis points out the doubts which have arisen concerning Round's views: 'From Scandinavians into Franks', Times Literary Supplement, no.4,164 (21 Jan., 1983), p.62. I owe this reference to Paul Christianson.

of continuity. Selden understood the landholding system to have changed radically in 1066; but, like the law, parts of it dated from the Saxon age.

Selden partially corrected a common misconception about medieval land divisions which he himself had frequently asserted: Alfred's invention of the shire. Antiquaries like Thomas Talbot had recorded this fact as a matter of record.¹ This, said Selden, rested on an incorrect interpretation of Ingulph of Croyland's statement: totius Angliae pagos & provincias in comitatus primus omnium commutavit. But Ethelwerd's chronicle, from the tenth century, though post-Alfredic, mentions shires existing at an earlier period. What Ingulph probably meant was that Alfred divided the shires into hundreds and tithings.² Actually, this imaginative answer was also wrong; Alfred had only reorganised Wessex and perhaps southern Mercia. Selden, like all his contemporaries, subscribed to the notion that all kings after Egbert had ruled, more or less effectively, over all England, except the Danelaw. He was further misled by reliance on Savile's edition of Ingulph, who was centuries later to be revealed as a fifteenth-century forgery.³

By 1631, Selden's political career was a decade old, and he was already interested in supra-historical disciplines. Political thought,

1 Thomas Talbot, 'Of the tyme when England was first devided into shires and the reason of suche division', n.d. B.L. MS Cott. Faustina E.V. fo. 25. Selden accepted this in his notes to Poly-Olbion, Drayton, Works, IV, p. 250.

2 Titles (1631), pp. 614-15. The shire system in fact evolved only gradually from the ninth to eleventh centuries: Peter Hunter Blair, An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 223-28.

3 On the pseudo-Ingulph's currency in the seventeenth century, see Pocock, Ancient Constitution, pp. 106, 207.

classical philology and oriental studies intertwined to draw him further and further from English history. A study of the manuscript notes in his copies of his own books shows that he never entirely abandoned interest in a topic, but it is clear that his later introductions to an edition of the medieval lawbook, Fleta, and to the Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem (1652), a collection of chronicles edited by his friend Sir Roger Twysden, were mere diversions from more important tasks.¹ During the civil war he held the key to the Cottonian library, serving the needs of other scholars such as Meric Casaubon and Gerard Langbaine. Having once worshipped Scaliger, he died in 1654, a scholar of nearly equal rank, having remained active till the last months of his life.²

iv) Selden's Influence

No more and no less than his learned contemporaries, Selden was prone to error, and to occasional lapses of judgement. He correctly dismissed some authorities as invalid, such as the pseudo-Berosus of Annus of Viterbo, and Monmouth (both of whom it had long been more fashionable to reject than to support), but he accepted some others,

1 As he himself tells us, his introduction was fit only for 'a period of domestic leisure incompatible with more extensive studies or more weighty affairs'. Joannis Seldeni ad Fletam dissertatio, trans. D. Ogg (Cambridge, 1925), p. 3.

2 See e.g. Langbaine to Selden, n.d. 1654, B.L. MS Add. 34, 727, fo. 93; Selden to Meric Casaubon, 16 Sept., 1653, B.L. MS Burney 369, fo. 122. As late as 23 July, 1654, Selden was discussing the astrological writings of Vettius Valens (2nd cent. AD) with the French scholar Pierre Huet: Leiden Univ. Lib., MS Burm. Q. 22. II (Huet letters), fo. 235.

such as the pseudo-Ingulph without a thought, asserting that

There is no doubt that Ingulph was a courtier
at the time of William I or a man of some
importance.¹

In taking notes, he often skipped lightly over the painful process of transcription, preferring simply to calendar the contents of a document.² His transcriptions were often careless, and a random check of many of his references in Titles of Honour and the Historie of tithes reveals that these were not always accurate; confusions of patent rolls for charter rolls, wrong dates and misnumbered folios are not infrequent.³ Often even his ability to judge authorities took second place to expediency. If it suited him to treat Suetonius' life of Domitian as an authority for Jewish history of equal weight with the Samaritan pentateuch given him by Ussher, he could do so without batting a learned eyelid.⁴ His linguistic erudition, though great, was not uncommon among his contemporaries, and never approached that of Scaliger.

Nevertheless, Selden had wrought a great change in historiography. The signs of his influence appear rapidly in the application of the word 'history', in the years after 1618, to works which would never before

1 'Aulicus certe erat Ingulphus ille tempore Gulielmi primi regis, seu sub ipso, quo id quod narrat gestum est, tempore, non incelebris': Selden, Mare Clausum, Opera, II, 1320.

2 See his notes on the archiepiscopal registers, above, n.1, p. 296.

3 E.g., the document printed in Titles (1631), pp. 751-54, a patent of 11 Edw. III, creating the Black Prince Duke of Cornwall, is not a patent but a charter: Cal. Charter Rolls, 1327-41, p. 399; a reference to the laws of Canute, cap. 54, in Lambarde's Archaionomia (1568) is actually to cap. 55. Although many of these were undoubtedly errors of shoddy printing, this exercise in pedantry does suggest that Selden was no 'superman' in the actual conduct of research.

4 E.g., Selden, De successionibus in Bona defuncti... (1636), Opera, II, ix.

have been deemed worthy of the name. John Dodderidge, the antiquary and judge who died in 1628, had studied the development of the principality of Wales and the related institutions of the duchy of Cornwall and earldom of Chester. In 1604 he completed a 'discourse' on the subject.¹ It was finally published in 1630 having been re-titled The historie of the ancient and modern estate of the principality of Wales.² Dodderidge's book was, like Selden's, a piece of antiquarian scholarship devoid of didacticism. Sir Henry Spelman reopened the issue of tithes in 1632 with a History and fate of Sacrilege, although he filled out this comparatively lightweight piece with tales of the horrible fates meted out to blasphemers.³ Peter Heylyn traced another religious institution in his History of the Sabbath (1636), described by its author as

a story which shall represent unto you the constant
practise of Gods Church in the present busines, from
the Creation to these daies.

Although hardly in the same league as a scholar, despite his occasional

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- 1 Inner Temple Lib., Petyt MS 538, vol. 39, fos. 205-264v., 'A discourse or relation both of the auntyent and modern estate of the Principality of Wales, Dutchie of Cornewall, and Earledome of Chester', signed and dated at fo. 206 by Dodderidge, 1 Jan., 1 Jas. I (i.e. 1604). Richard Carew asked Camden to obtain a copy of the MS for him to use in a new edition of his Survey of Cornwall on 13 May, 1606, Camdeni Epistolae, pp. 72-73.
 - 2 J. Dodderidge, The Historie of the ancient and modern estate of the principality of Wales... (1630).
 - 3 Bodl. MSS Bodley 305 and Cherry 18 are two MSS of the work, both called 'historie'; The history and fate of Sacrilege (1698) was the first printed edition. Neither of these MSS is in Spelman's hand, and both are dated 1632; there is therefore no evidence that Spelman conceived of his subject as 'history' before Selden's Historie appeared. The biography of Spelman in the DNB mistakenly asserts that Spelman began his History about 1613 and that he refers to it in the De non temerandis (sig. A2v); but this reference is clearly to Spelman's The Larger treatise concerning tithes (1646, 1647) published by Stephens after the author's death. Gibson's life (Reliquiae Spelmanniae, sigs. c2v-c4) suggests with no authority that the examples from the De non temerandis come from the History.

reference to Scaliger and Casaubon, there can be no doubt that Heylyn's work was consciously modelled on Selden's. Once again, a case was being argued by the chronological analysis of tradition.¹

More significant was the work of Sir Thomas Ryves, an Oxford civilian and MP who was a year older than Selden. A friend of Camden and Ussher, Ryves composed, in Latin, the first 'history' of sailing and navigation from its origins to the fall of the Roman Republic. Attracted to his subject 'after several years in the high court of admiralty', Ryves believed, correctly, that he was the first man to 'gather together all the books on marine matters into one of history' (in unum historiae).² He did not restrict himself to a chronology of battles but noted important developments in the history of sailing technology and naval tactics; his reading was primarily in classical sources, but extended to Scaliger and even la Popelinière.³

If more 'histories' were becoming scholarly, so more works of scholarship were becoming 'histories'. William Burton, a friend of Augustine Vincent, produced a Description of Leicestershire in 1622 which was more than an account of local antiquities. Burton incorporated 'matters of Historye, Armoury and Genealogy' into the treatise, and he escaped the insularity of many county surveys by posing large historical

1 Heylyn, History of the Sabbath (1636), preface, sig.A6 (my emphasis). Heylyn had earlier used Selden's philological approach in his study of The History of... St George (1630), which cites (pp. 200, 211) the first edition of Titles of Honour.

2 T. Ryves, Historia navalis antiqua, libris quatuor (1633), p.3. The first book, to the sixth century BC, was published in 1629, and a supplement to the fall of Constantinople came out in 1640. Ryves corresponded with Camden in 1618: Camdeni Epistolae, pp. 188, 245. See also Levack, Civil Lawyers, p.267.

3 Ryves, Historia (1633 ed.). pp. 305, 428. Ryves may have seen Sir Walter Raleigh's A Discourse of the Invention of Ships, Anchors, Compass, &c. (Works, Oxford, 1829, VIII, 317-334).

questions. He had absorbed the writings of Pierre Pithou and Camden on the origins of arms, and accepted the arguments in Titles of Honour (1614 ed.) that 'The Normans were the first instituters of this [feudal] Tenure'. Selden himself sent Burton documents from the Cottonian library.¹

At a higher level of erudition, William Dugdale, the greatest antiquary of the next generation, published his Antiquities of Warwickshire in 1656. In his preface, he spoke of 'historie in general' as 'having made us acquainted with our dead Ancestors'. He lists his sources, as a good historian ought, 'whereof the learned Selden hath most judiciously taken notice'. Dugdale quotes extensively from Selden's letter to Vincent, and when he quotes Cicero's De oratore, it is on the historian's duty to uncover the truth, not his function as moralist. Dugdale had already, with Sir Edward Dering, Sir Thomas Shirley and Sir Christopher Hatton, attempted in 1638 to revive the society of antiquaries, but the twenty articles of the 'Antiquitas Rediviva' included one under which the members agreed to collect everything needed for 'historicall illustration of this kingdome'.²

The expansion of the idea of history to accommodate works of antiquarian and philological erudition was not a revolution if by that is meant a complete overthrow of traditional concepts. Traditional historiography, of kings and kingdoms, continued. And the distinction

1 W. Burton, The Description of Leicestershire (1622), pp. 8-9. Another antiquary, William Bedwell, organised his topographical material into 'an historicall narration': A briefe description of the towne of Tottenham High-Crosse in Middlesex (1631) sig.E3v.

2 W. Dugdale, The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated (2nd ed., 1730), p. ii; L. van Norden, 'Elizabethan College of Antiquaries', diss. cit., pp. 482-83. Matthew Hale, one of Selden's executors, turned legal scholarship into history in The History of the Common Law of England (1713); Hale also planned a history of the court of chancery: Lincoln's Inn, Hale MSS, vol. 47.

between antiquary and historian was by no means shattered, for Selden himself is more often referred to as an antiquary than an historian in works from the late seventeenth to the late twentieth century. What had happened was the opening of a new and promising approach to history; and never again would a writer have to scruple about calling his study of some aspect of the past, other than its politics, a work of history.¹

Although Selden had probably read la Popelinière and was Bolton's friend, he never advocated the writing of the history of England, but its continuous study. He shared la Popelinière's view that the historian might explore any aspect of the past, but he never encouraged a complete, definitive, 'perfect' history, either the largely political one which Bacon had urged on Ellesmere, or the histoire accomplie called for by la Popelinière. With Selden we have seen the belief that history is a matter of progressive research, subject to flaws and always correctable: an idea of imperfect history. It was left to one of Selden's friends to state this idea explicitly.

1 My suggestion that Selden was the first to write an analytic narrative of the history of a subject generally reserved to antiquaries, and to call it a history, seems borne out by an analysis of the titles in two extremely useful catalogues, A.F. Allison and V.F. Goldsmith, Titles of English Books and of Foreign Books Printed in England vol. I, 1475-1640 (Folkestone 1976) and vol. II, 1641-1700 (Folkestone, 1977). These volumes, combined with the S.T.C. by Pollard and Redgrave and its supplement by Donald Wing (both currently in process of revision), list no work remotely resembling Selden's Historie of tithes before 1618 and a gradually increasing number thereafter. Doubtless Selden's small revolution was assisted by the popularity of Paolo Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent after 1619; although this was an entirely conventional (if excellent) political narrative, it further reinforced the idea that institutions as much as men, events and countries, were fit subjects for the historian.

CHAPTER IX

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

i) Herbert of Cherbury and the Probable Past

Edward, the first Baron Herbert of Cherbury, was a poet, politician, autobiographer, historian and philosopher. He was also the first Englishman to give direct attention to the principal epistemological problem facing historians in the seventeenth century: how one could know, and to what extent one could be certain of, the events of the past.

Unlike the French theorists of the preceding century, especially Bodin and la Popelinière, no Englishman had, by 1620, directly met the sceptical attack on the validity of historical knowledge. This was largely because the English sceptical tradition was itself less well-developed than the European. While Sir Philip Sidney's brief remarks on history had questioned the possibility of knowing the past, his was a lonely voice. This was not due to any lack of familiarity with scepticism: Agrippa had been translated into English; so had the more thoughtful 'pyrrhonist' works of Montaigne and his friend, Pierre Charron.¹ Yet practising historians steadfastly refused to provide an answer to scepticism. They were well aware of the problems of recovering knowledge of the past, and many had healthy doubts about the unlikely in history - omens, Trojan founders and saints' miracles. Raleigh and Whear shared Sidney's opinion that profane historical sources were incomplete and contradictory; but the Bible was unimpeachable, and

1 For Sidney see above, ch. I, p. 40. Montaigne's Essaies and Apologie de Raimond de Sebond were translated by John Florio in 1603; P. Charron, Of wisdom, three bookes, trans. Samson Lennard (1608) developed and popularised many of Montaigne's ideas; Cf. R. Popkin, The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Spinoza (rev'd ed., Berkeley, Cal., 1979), pp. 42-65, 84ff on Montaigne and his influence.

history was still worth studying because of the lessons it taught about God and about human behaviour. Samuel Daniel, the servant of Sidney's sister the countess of Pembroke, was a pragmatist, as we have seen. The 'historian in verse' derived his deep scepticism toward the past directly from Montaigne; like Montaigne (and unlike Sidney), he did not go so far as to say that history was inferior to poetry.¹ He simply thought that the lessons to be drawn from the past outweighed the importance of establishing the details of events. His answer to scepticism was simply to ignore it and continue on his way.

In theory and practice, Selden had made a radical departure by asserting that both the chronicles and even the original documents of the past must be treated critically, and by suggesting that through research one could gradually improve historical knowledge and arrive at a greater understanding of the present. He did not, however, explicitly address the problem of historical knowledge in terms of formal epistemology.

Herbert knew Selden well and remained his friend throughout the tithes debate,² though his patron from 1618 was Buckingham, who secured him the ambassadorship in Paris.³ His years on the continent both

1 For Raleigh, Daniel and Whear, see above, chapters I, v; III, ii, and VI, vi, respectively.

2 Selden to Herbert, Feb., 1620, B.L. MS Add. 32, 092, fo. 314; M. Rossi, La vita, le opere, i tempi di Edoardo Herbert di Cherbury (3 vols, Florence, 1946), I, 179, the definitive biography, links Herbert to Selden's patroness the Countess of Kent, though Sidney Lee (DNB, s.v. 'Herbert, Edward, first baron of Cherbury') believes that the Herbert mentioned by Selden in Table Talk, ed. F. Pollock, (1927), p.37, in connection with the countess was Sir Edward Herbert (d.1657), our Herbert's cousin. Either identification seems possible.

3 Rossi, Edoardo Herbert, I, 265-269.

as ambassador and private traveller made him many important contacts, and he carried letters between European and English scholars.¹ While in Holland in the 1610s, he had probably met Voss and Grotius, two of his later correspondents. In Paris he met Casaubon, then at work on Polybius, and Pierre Dupuy. He also encountered Peiresc's biographer, Pierre Gassendi, and Marin Mersenne, two natural philosophers whose writings would attempt to diminish the scepticism of Montaigne and his disciples; they believed that there were aspects of knowledge which could be classified as certain: at least sufficiently so to make worthwhile deductions.² It was in such company that Herbert published his De Veritate at Paris in 1624, shortly before he returned to England.

De Veritate was an attempt to establish that the human mind could enjoy certain knowledge in some form through the 'common notions' innate in the mind. The nuances of the argument cannot be explored here. Herbert's French friends regarded De Veritate as a valiant failure, and Locke pounced on it at the end of the century with his radically empirical epistemology, but the work had some influence, notably on Descartes and on the Cambridge Platonists.³ For our purposes, its principal importance is that Herbert included a section on the character of knowledge of the past.

Herbert has often been described as the father of deism. Certainly, his religious opinions were irenic and he did not believe that the

1 Camden to Dupuy, n.d. [1619?], B.N. Coll. Dup. MS 699, fo.204.

2 The life of Edward, first lord Herbert of Cherbury, ed. J.M. Shuttleworth (1976), pp. 49, 120-21; Popkin, History of Scepticism, pp. 129-150; R.D. Bedford, The Defence of Truth: Herbert of Cherbury and the Seventeenth Century (Manchester, 1979), pp. 48-50, 55-58.

3 Herbert, De Veritate, trans. M.H. Carré (Bristol, 1937), intro., pp. 24-25, 42-44; text, pp. 115-145, 289-307; Bedford, Defence of Truth, pp. 21-27 and passim.

differences which divided Christianity were irreconcilable, for who could be certain that their opinion was right? He was a confirmed Christian and, though the deist Charles Blount claimed him as master, the link between Herbert and the later deists is tenuous. It is safer to describe him as an irenical sceptic.¹ He never made of his supreme being an impersonal force, or the 'divine clockmaker' of the Enlightenment; he simply denied that one church, let alone a single branch of one church, had a monopoly of religious truth.

Religious knowledge rested for Herbert not on the historical revelations in the Bible, soon to be more profoundly challenged by Richard Simon, but on the 'common notions', such as that truth exists, that there is a supreme being and that he governs the world. The true 'catholic' church rests on these notions, which are innate in every man, not simply the Christian.² As he put it, he had great respect for the writers of both sacred and profane history,

but my belief in God... is not derived from history, but from the teaching of the Common Notions.

History simply provided the mechanical details, showing how God acted in time.³

God controls the world through 'general providence' (nature) and 'special providence' or grace, which affects only man. The same laws which govern nature also operate in the rise and fall of states:

I have often observed that the universal providence which governs empires does not fail to operate in matters of necessity.⁴

1 Bedford, Defence of Truth, p.248.

2 Herbert, De Veritate, pp. 83ff, 291, 303-7.

3 Ibid., pp. 314-15.

4 Ibid., pp. 312, 315.

But although God will never annul the workings of nature before the end of the world, nor diminish grace, He is a totally free being; and man, created in His image, shares His freedom to act according to will. Thus, says Herbert, we can make reasonable predictions about the future by studying the causes of events in nature such as eclipses, earthquakes and tides; however, the future itself is ultimately not predetermined, but merely possible.¹ God, being free, can act in a number of ways. He has established contrary principles on earth such as fire and water, man and woman, earth and air, which act and react on each other; under the direction of providence, mediated in man's case by the common notions, they react without destroying each other. God can allow events to take their course according to nature.² He can also intervene directly through miracles: Herbert himself tells us that God signified he should publish De Veritate through a sign from heaven.³ The future is therefore not simply uncertain from man's point of view: it has not yet been determined. The Boethian nunc-stans has been abandoned.

In a short essay first published in 1645, De religione laici, Herbert developed this view into a curt dismissal of fortune as a valid

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- 1 Herbert, De Veritate, pp. 323-331; in a way, Herbert's identification of natural laws with those governing empires anticipates the 'historicist' tradition attacked in our century by Karl Popper in The Poverty of Historicism (3rd ed., 1961), with one crucial difference: Herbert would never have asserted that one could predict and shape future historical development from the study of 'historical laws'; God is a 'wild card' whose own acts remain unpredictable.
 - 2 De Veritate, pp. 117-20, 135-36; Herbert apparently owes this to Loys Le Roy's Of the interchangeable course, or variety of things, trans. R. Ashley (1594), fos. 5v-7, for which cf. Kelley, Foundations p. 85, and above, ch. III, p. 116.
 - 3 Life of Herbert, pp. 120-21.

explanation of causation. When a thing appears to occur fortuitously, he says, it is because 'its causes are not yet investigated'. Such events, resulting from causes unknown, are 'generally attributed to fortune'. But fortune is neither a goddess nor an irrational force. She is 'nothing but causes, or several results of causes'. What we deem 'contingent on fortune' [contingens] is in fact the consequence of an unknown cause. So far, this is a perfectly commonplace view. Nevertheless, Herbert continues, we must not infer from this that causes and effects are either entirely necessary or, on the contrary, entirely irrational. Since God is free, since the contraries in nature can react in different ways, and since man, within the limits of special and general providence, and of the possession of physical capacity, is also free, anything can happen in future history.¹

The implications of this outlook on the future for the study of the past are not difficult to see. If God can intervene directly, then one cannot dismiss, prima facie, the miracles and omens reported in chronicles. They are 'open questions'. All one can do is to rely on common sense: only a miracle which seems unlikely insofar as it seems to contradict entirely general or special providence, or one which relies on an untrustworthy authority, can be dismissed, and even then we are never really certain.²

1 Herbert, De religione laici (1645), ed. and trans. H.R. Hutcheson (New Haven, Conn., 1944), pp.116-19 (which also contains a good bibliography of Herbert's works); cp. De Veritate, p.120: 'It is clear, therefore, that in so far as there is necessity it is only a means; for Grace allows us to use it as we will.'

2 De Veritate, pp. 312, 317.

If the future is merely possible, the past is only probable, for the reader of histories must rely not on his own sense perception but on that of others:

All tradition and history, every thing in short that concerns the past, whether it be true or false, good or evil, possesses for us only probability, since it depends on the authority of the narrator.

Any history which does not rest on probability is 'futile'.¹ Let us take the Bible: though many events in it seem strange, we need not question it since it has long been accepted and since there is no way to prove it is not the word of God. This applies to profane history, too. If successive ages have accepted an historical event, we should not dismiss it, unless we know that the tradition originated with a 'primitive or ignorant period or country'.² For Herbert, the purpose of history remains much the same as it was for Daniel:

History presents us with the varying fortunes of events and consequently it affords us striking examples of God's general and particular providence.

When we read of the deeds of virtuous men, we are 'stirred to respond'.³ Very unlike Daniel, however, Herbert believed one could not draw valid conclusions from history unless the facts were established to the highest level of probability.

There are degrees of probability in history. Knowledge of the ancient world, by which Herbert seems to mean both prehistoric and classical antiquity, 'rests upon conjecture' and is therefore uncertain in the extreme. Its writers may have been deceived themselves, and they may have wished to deceive their readers. One can make deductions

1 De Veritate, p. 314.

2 Ibid., pp. 308-13, 317.

3 Ibid., pp. 315, 317.

from history, but only when reasonably certain of the facts. 'When the historical facts themselves are misleading, the historians destroy both truth and certainty.'¹ Recent history is only slightly more probable, and the reader who is not himself an historian cannot know the truth of the matter, however likely it seems. He must use his judgement. He must evaluate the authority of the writer, distinguish between the facts reported and the conclusions the writer draws, and recognise that the narrative he is reading is the subjective product of a writer who may assume various roles - historian, preacher, statesman, philosopher, theologian, 'or possibly jester'.²

In itself, this was not a very reassuring answer. One could never, by simply reading a history, know for certain if the events reported were fact or fiction. There was one way out, however - personal research. He who investigates history himself can arrive at a level of probability which approximates certainty. This is by no means absolute knowledge, which God alone possesses; it is not even as certain as the knowledge that the sun will rise tomorrow; but it is as highly probable as anything not immediately available to our senses. Through research we can come close to apprehending the past:

As for the past, particular events which were formerly experienced by a few persons, and are current now in the form of narratives, can pass as true solely for those persons who have attained an understanding of such matters or events, whether they actually exist now or in the past, after a thorough investigation.

Thus the historian working among the surviving material of the past can judge for himself the likelihood of an event. Unfortunately, this

1 De Veritate, p. 322.

2 Ibid., pp. 321-22.

offers little solace for the reader, who cannot know the facts in the same way, even by reading the scholarly historian's work, since he cannot know for certain if any historian, past or present, has actually 'undertaken such an investigation'. Historical knowledge remains less probable for the reader than the writer.¹

Herbert's theory was a step of incalculable importance. Bacon had paid close attention to the problem of establishing truth but had ultimately decided that philosophical certainty could be reached through the procedures in the Novum Organum. His statesman-historian, writing histories based on other men's spadework, could reach historical certainty.² Unlike Bacon, and unlike the advocates of histoire accomplie, Herbert had reconciled himself to the lack of complete certainty in history and shown that although the subjective interpretation of facts prevented such certainty, one could approach that unobtainable ideal by firsthand investigation. In other words, history could never be perfect, but it could become more or less probable.

Herbert reached his views in the wake of Selden's works, many of which he owned, and no doubt through conversation with the great man himself.³ His De Religione Gentilium (Of the Ancient Religion of the Gentiles) was clearly indebted to Selden's De diis syris both at first hand and indirectly, via Gerard Voss's De theologia gentili,

1 De Veritate, p. 321.

2 Popkin, History of Scepticism, p. 126; Henry G. van Leeuwen, The Problem of Certainty in English Thought, 1630-1690 (The Hague, 1963), pp. 1-12.

3 Herbert owned Selden's De anno civili, Uxor Ebraica, De diis syris and Analecton: C.J. Fordyce and T.M. Knox, 'The Books Bequeathed to Jesus College, Oxford, by Lord Herbert of Cherbury', Proceedings and Papers of the Oxford Bibliographical Society, V (1936-39), 71-115, pp. 101, 109, 113.

itself influenced by Selden's book.¹ But we really see Herbert's marriage of Selden's methodology and his own epistemology in The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth. Herbert began this work in 1632, a few years after his recall from France. The king provided him with access to the Cottonian library, closed since 1629, and to the public records. Herbert was given an office in Whitehall and assistants to copy documents (thereby partly breaking his own rules, for how could he know that their transcripts were accurate?).² This was not enough, for the work was not finished until the mid-1640s and only published in 1649, a year after the author's death.

The Henry VIII is an important work. Tudor historians still consult it because Herbert transcribed documents which no longer exist. From our point of view, the work is interesting because it is the first work of English historiography after Camden's Annales (a very different case) to study a single reign from all the available evidence. It bears the stamps of both Camden and Selden. Camden had had no choice but to rely on documents since there were no reliable secondary sources for Elizabeth's reign; Selden had reconstructed the Historie of tithes over a much longer period from a wealth of material. Herbert applied these principles to Henry VIII's reign. He used original treaties, letters and diaries, such as the journal kept by John Taylor, master of the rolls, of Henry's French campaign in 1513-14. But Herbert did

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- 1 Bedford, Defence of Truth, p.179; Voss read the first draft of De Religione Gentilium and his son Isaac edited the first edition (Amsterdam, 1663); Voss to Herbert, 30 Dec., 1645, Bodl. MS Rawl.lett. 84 (c) (Voss correspondence), fo.264; Voss to Herbert, 16 June, 1646, *ibid.*, fo.262.
 - 2 Herbert to Francis Windebanke, 19 Jan., 1635, Cal.S.P. Dom; 1634-35, p.468; Herbert to Sir John Coke, 25 Feb., 1636, Cal.S.P.Dom., 1635-36, p.254; Herbert to Windebanke, 9 Feb., 1639, Cal.S.P.Dom., 1638-39, pp. 441-42.
 - 3 Herbert, The Life and Raigne of King Henry the Eighth (1649), sig. F4. The pagination of this edition is very erratic; references will be made to signatures. Herbert's book is our only source, for example, of the articles of the Parliament of 1529 against Wolsey: Henry VIII, sigs. Llv-Mmv. The Taylor diary is now B.L. MS Cott. Cleo. C.V, art 3.

not simply transcribe these verbatim. He also criticised them, something Camden, deliberately refusing to read between the lines, had never done. Herbert knew from personal experience that what was written in formal diplomatic papers and what was thought and done privately were often quite different. He made good use of French, Spanish and Italian histories and of source-books such as Jean du Tillet's guide to Anglo-French treaties, much commended by Selden.¹ The result was not really a life of Henry VIII at all but a history of England's interactions with Europe in the first half of the sixteenth century. Luther, the popes, Francis I and Charles V, the Reformation and the Council of Trent are not merely mentioned in passing: they are the subject of the history as much as the domestic affairs and enigmatic character of Henry himself.

Herbert was driven to put Henry's reign in its European context by a desire to rehabilitate the king's reputation. This had fallen rapidly since the death of Elizabeth. As early as 1610, the earl of Salisbury had commented in Parliament that he disliked citing Henry VIII as a precedent, 'for he was the child of lust and man of iniquity'.² As we have seen, Raleigh and Godwin had condemned Henry while Martyn and Speed had been at best lukewarm.³ Herbert was unconvinced, and believed that Henry's actions had to be understood as proceeding sometimes from normal human vices but often from 'reason of state'.⁴ Henry's contemporaries, Francis I and Charles V, acted on precisely

1 Herbert's most important continental sources include de Thou's Historia sui temporis, and Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent trans. N. Brent (1620); for Selden's letter to Vincent, praising du Tillet, see above, ch. VIII, p. 294.

2 Proceedings in Parliament, 1610 (3 May, 1610), ed. E.R. Foster (New Haven, Conn., 1966), I, 232. Salisbury added cynically that 'the worst kings make the best laws', citing Richard III the tyrant and Henry IV the usurper as examples.

3 See above, pp. 51, 91, 95, 157.

4 Herbert, Henry VIII, sigs Bv, B2.

the same principles. Herbert vowed 'not to describe him otherwise, either good or bad, but as He really was',¹ letting the facts, in the form of the records from which he transcribed and quoted, speak for themselves. Herbert insisted on giving the benefit of the doubt to the king where the facts were uncertain, but was prepared to abandon a favourable 'interpretation' (he actually uses this word) 'where arguments to the contrary convince me'.²

The scope of the Henry VIII is wide, including the agrarian and commercial legislation of the reign, the value of English and European coinages and the disastrous effects of the Henrician debasement.³ The acts of each parliament are listed from the original records and letters; events are described in detail 'that I might correct the error of some of our Historians'.⁴ If the documents contradict a chronicler (usually Hall or Polydore), Herbert leaves the question open but inclines to believe the original source. On the other hand, he frequently suspects documents of being bogus: he cannot decide if the letter from the condemned Anne Boleyn to Henry was genuine or had been written 'by any else heretofore'.⁵

1 Herbert, Henry VIII, sig. A2v.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., e.g. sig D2, sig Y8.

4 Ibid., sig Yyy4-Yyy4v.

5 Ibid., sig. Bbb4v; Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII, ed. J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner et al., X (1887), p.341.

As a writer, Herbert never quite digests his material and much of the history is disjointed, almost turning into a chronicle at several points. Like almost all historians, he was happy to construct imaginary speeches for his characters.¹ Overall, the book is quite dull and its six hundred pages demand some stamina. But Herbert's application of some of his earlier ideas to practical historiography outweighs the book's literary shortcomings. Despite a lengthy digression on the character of general providence and on the common notions,² the supernatural is even less to be seen than in Camden's Annales. Fortune is never a specific cause, though someone might be 'fortunate'. The sudden falls of Wolsey and Cromwell, of Anne Boleyn and Katherine Howard are ascribed entirely to the particular circumstances behind them.³ The storm which interrupted the Pilgrimage of Grace, attributed by Francis Godwin to God's direct intervention, is to Herbert simply an act of nature.⁴ Except for a brief reference to 'God's will' in not granting Henry a male heir by his first queen, providence stays in the background, though Herbert keeps an open mind to the miraculous, repeating, for example, Stow's tale of a potter who slept for two weeks continuously.⁵

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- 1 H.A.L. Fisher, 'The Speeches in Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Life and Reign of Henry VIII', Eng.Hist.Rev., XX.(1905), 498; in general, W.M. Merchant, 'Lord Herbert of Cherbury and seventeenth-century historical writing', Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion (1956), 47-63; Rossi, Edoardo Herbert, II, 472-75.
 - 2 Herbert, Henry VIII, sig. Oo3-Oo4v. The passage is presented as a speech by an anonymous MP in the parliamentary session of Nov., 1529.
 - 3 Ibid., sigs Kk4v-Ll; Qqv, Bbb3-Ccc2; Nnn4-Ooov.
 - 4 Ibid., sig. Fff3v; Godwin, Annales (1630 ed.) p.149. Also unlike Godwin, Herbert refuses to cite providence to explain the death of Thomas Howard, fiancé of Henry VIII's niece Margaret. Godwin, Annales, p.159, had seen this as the means by which Margaret married the earl of Lennox and became the ancestor of James VI, 'to the unspeakable good of this Island'. Cp. Herbert, Henry VIII, sig. Hhh3v.
 - 5 Herbert, Henry VIII, sig. Aaaa2v.

In Herbert we find a mixture of many currents of recent historical thought. Heir more to Selden's critical use of historical sources than to Camden's relentless faith in them, he also inherited the pyrrhonists' scepticism toward history. He qualified this by striking a balance between doubt and dogmatism. History was not and never could be perfect; nor could it yield up lessons if the facts were not as detailed as the evidence permitted (pace Daniel). But the more sources were explored, criticised and interpreted, the narrower became the gap between past and present.

ii) Minor Writers of the 1630s

A cultivated king, Charles I saw as clearly as his father the uses to which history could be put. The court culture of the 1630s was built upon the representation of royal power visually, in the form of masques and paintings, casting Charles as the new Constantine, or as St George. The artwork on the magnificent flagship, the Sovereign of the Seas, was dominated by the image of the Saxon king Edgar, celebrated by Samuel Daniel as the founder of England's navy. The 1630s were undoubtedly one of the greatest decades in English cultural history.¹

It is surprising then that historical writing, which had flourished under Elizabeth and James, entered a period of doldrums under Charles. Publishers reprinted Speed, Daniel and even Martyn. John Trussell, a lawyer who served as mayor of Winchester in 1624 and 1633 and was

1 Roy Strong, Van Dyck: Charles I on Horseback (1972), pp. 47, 59-63; Graham Parry, Golden Age Restor'd, p. 249.

steward to its bishop, Walter Curle, wrote a continuation of Daniel's history which, like most sequels, was not up to the original.¹ Trussell praised Daniel and Bacon; he modestly claimed only to be filling in the gap between them. But he depended completely on printed sources (mainly Hall and Holinshed) and his historical imagination, while typical of the time, was minimal in comparison with his exemplar's. Trussell's account of the wars of the Roses show one innovation: a 'scoresheet' in the margins which helped the reader keep track of the numbers of nobles and retainers slain on each side. Otherwise, it was the same battle of kites and crows. Even the bishop of Carlisle had his obligatory speech against the deposition of God's anointed!²

It was much easier to update another man's work than to begin afresh: the by now venerable Annales by John Stow, updated by Edmund Howes in 1615, were reissued in 1631 with another continuation, again with Buck's The third universitie appended. The chronicle remained an immensely popular form, and Stow's was only superseded in 1643 by Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle of the Kings of England, which ran through nine editions by 1696.³

Like John Trussell, the Gloucestershire solicitor Robert Powell was connected with Bishop Curle, to whom he dedicated his Life of Alfred, or Alured: the First Institutor of subordinate government in this Kingdome. This included a discourse on Alfred's supposed creation of shires, hundreds and tithings, a popular belief which Selden had attacked in the

1 DNB, s.v. 'Trussell, John'; Wood, Ath.Ox., II, 270; in 1639 Trussell tried to get the patronage of Sir John Finch for his unpublished 'Epitome of the Forest Law', Bodl. MS Eng. hist. d.242, fos.71-138v.

2 Trussell, A Continuation of the Collection of the History of England beginning where Samuel Daniell Esquier ended (1636), sig. A3, p.51.

3 Baker, Chronicle of the Kings of England (1643, 1653, 1660, 1665, 1670, 1674, 1679, 1684, 1696).

second Titles of Honour (1631), which Powell ignored.¹ The work also contained a 'parallel' of Alfred and Charles I showing how Charles was, like Alfred, militarily prepared by sea and land, and how both kings enjoyed stately entertainments.² Since 1634 was the first year of ship money, Powell may have hoped to reap some reward by showing that naval preparation in peacetime and the maintenance of an expensive court were characteristic of good kingship. He used Daniel's First part, Holinshed, and Godwin's Catalogue of Bishops; he acknowledged a heavy debt to Brian Twyne's work on the antiquity of Oxford, and to Noel Sparks, a lecturer in Greek at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who furnished Powell with notes out of Asser. Powell himself knew no Anglo-Saxon and was forced to rely on Lambarde's Archaionomia for Alfred's laws.³

At a somewhat higher level of scholarship, John Philipot, Somerset herald, contributed a Catalogue of the chancellors of England. Philipot had been, with Augustine Vincent, one of Camden's deputies in the College of Arms. Like most of the heralds, he was loyal to the Earl Marshal, Arundel, to whom he dedicated the work.⁴ Philipot distilled a wide variety of sources including Camden's Britannia - here very significantly called a 'history of Great Brittain' - and a manuscript by Francis Thynne (1545?-1608), the Elizabethan antiquary who had helped expand Holinshed's Chronicles in 1587.⁵ Philipot's book was a useful guide to the history

1 Powell, The life of Alfred (1634), p.70; DNB, s.v. 'Powell, Robert'.

2 Powell, Alfred, pp. 147-49.

3 Ibid., sig. a6; Twyne, Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis apologia (1608). None of the several Robert Powells in Alum.Ox. p.1193, or Alum.Cant., III, 388 fits the age of our man, who tells us in his preface that he had practised law for twenty-five years before 1634.

4 M. Noble, A History of the College of Arms (1804), pp. 245-47; Philipot, Catalogue of the Chancellors of England, the lord keepers of the Great Seale: and the Lord Treasurers of England (1636), sig.A2.

5 Philipot, Catalogue, sig. B (emphasis mine); the autograph Thynne MS is now Huntington Library MS EL 26.A.6.

of the chancellorship, and was consulted by Hardy for his work on the subject in the nineteenth century. But it was a far cry from its model, an unspecified French catalogue of officers 'long since printed', probably du Tillet's Recueil des Rangs des Grands de France.¹

Popular historical authors continued to churn out well-worn tales. John Taylor the Water-Poet seriously accepted the Trojan myth, answering scepticism with historical fideism.

Histories are obscured and clouded with ambiguities,
some burnt, lost, defaced by antiquity, and some
abused by the malice, ignorance or partialitie of
Writers so that truth is hard to be found,

wrote Taylor, mimicking Speed, but with the opposite result:

Amongst all which variations of Times and
Writers, I must conclude there was a Brute.²

Charles Aleyn and Thomas May (the future historian of the Long Parliament) each wrote historical poems in the 1620s and '30s. One of Aleyn's works was on the ever-popular Henry VII, a subject again treated in 1634 by John Ford.³

But the fire had gone out of historiography, at least for the time being, especially among the scholars. Selden himself joined Spelman in abandoning English history for greener pastures of scholarship. The other greats, Camden, Cotton, Hayward, Bacon, Buck, Bolton and Daniel were all dead or inactive by the middle of the decade. The closing of the Cottonian library in 1629 and the death of its owner

1 Philipot, Catalogue, sig. A2v; T.D. Hardy, Catalogue of Lords Chancellors etc., (1843), p. xii.

2 J. Taylor, A memoriall of all the English monarchs, in All the workes of John Taylor the Water-Poet (1630), p.269.

3 C. Aleyn, The battailes of Crescey and Poictiers (1631, 2nd ed. 1633) and The historie of that wise prince Henrie the seventh (1638); T. May, The reigne of King Henry the second (1633) and The victorious raigne of King Edward the third (1635); Ford, The chronicle historie of Perkin Warbeck (1634).

in 1631 deprived antiquaries and historians alike of indispensable source material. Though many scholars, most notably Herbert, could and did use its materials, the catalogue of the library prepared by William Boswell in the 1630s could not adequately replace the knowledge of the great collector.¹

A good place to end is with Thomas Heywood. A poet, playwright, and a prolific populariser of history, perhaps out-written only by John Taylor, Heywood was of the same generation as Edmund Bolton. He wrote at many levels. His two-part play on Queen Elizabeth's life, If you know not me, you know no bodie was very popular at a time when the history play itself was in decline, and he published a prose version of the first part which made the queen's life accessible to those who could not afford Camden or Speed.² He translated part of Bodin's Methodus before his translation of Sallust, but gave the problems of historiography little or no thought.³ His lengthy poem Troia Britannica (1609) contained a potted history of the kingdom from Brutus to the renewal of 'Great Brittaines Empyre' under James, where he stopped:

With Ages past I have been too little acquainted, ⁴
and with this age present, I dare not bee too bold.

His thoughts were unchanged in 1641 when he wrote his Life of Merlin, another epitome of British history. Heywood settled for repackaging the

- 1 K. Sharpe, Sir Robert Cotton, pp.81-82. Spelman continued to foster scholarship by erecting a Saxon lectureship in 1638; D.C. Douglas English Scholars, 1660-1730 (2nd ed., 1951), p.53.
- 2 Heywood, If you know not me, you know no bodie (pt.I; 1605, 1606, 1608 (2), 1610, 1613, 1623, 1632, 1639); (pt. II: 1606, 1609, 1623, 1633); idem, Englands Elizabeth; her life and troubles (1631); in general, see A.M. Clark, Thomas Heywood (Oxford, 1931) and L.B. Wright, 'Heywood and the Popularising of History', Mod. Lang. Notes XLIII (1928), 287-93.
- 3 Sallust, Histories, trans. Heywood (1608), Preface (no sig.).
- 4 Heywood, Troia Britannica, or Great Brittaines Troy (1609), cantoes 16, 17, pp. 413-466.

same goods in the form of a series of ancient prophecies of the shape of kings to come, a device already used in William Harbert's Prophecie of Cadwallader at the beginning of the century. Again, his aim was to reach as wide an audience as possible by providing a kind of Reader's Digest.

In this small compendium or abstract, thou hast
Holinshed, Polychronicon, Fabian, Speed, or any
of the rest, of more Giantlike bulke or binding.¹

We do well to remember that for every reader of a work by Selden or even Camden, dozens more would read Heywood and other popularisers such as Thomas Gainsford, Thomas Deloney, Anthony Munday and the unsilenceable Taylor.² A huge spectrum separated the scholars from the historical poetasters, attesting to a continuity in beliefs about the past which in many ways remains unbroken today. How many times since the 1640s have academic historians revised, debated and reevaluated the character of events from the Roman invasions to the present? Yet some kings, such as Henry V, Richard III and Henry VIII have retained a popular image (for which Shakespeare alone bears a great deal of responsibility) which no quantity of scholarly debate and thought can ever hope to alter. The stereotypes of the classic 1066 and All That view of English history, first popularised in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, have enjoyed unending resale value.

1 Heywood, Life of Merlin (1641), sig. ¶ 4v.

2 L.B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (repr., N.Y. 1980), pp.297-338; Levy, Tudor Historical Thought, ch. VI, pp. 202-236, passim. D.T. Starnes, 'Purpose in the Writing of History', Modern Philology XX (1922-23), 281-300, points out the endurance of the belief that history teaches by example, from classical times to the last century.

Conclusions

In the preceding chapters I have attempted to map the outlines of early Stuart ideas about history itself and the art of historiography. A number of conclusions may be drawn.

First, the idea of a blanket 'historical revolution' in the Elizabethan and early Stuart period is too simplistic; it tries to tie historiography to a nascent scientific revolution which was then only in the formative stages and to which the relationship, while in many ways plausible enough, is far from clear. It also obscures strong elements of continuity in both theory and practice.

The modern process of historiography assumes error, deficiency and subjectivity as occupational hazards, unavoidable in an art where the objective 'fact' has little meaning except when placed in a pattern subjectively designed and manipulated by the individual historical mind. Today, we continually seek to refine our level of knowledge and understanding of the past, in a dialectical process which takes place every day in the journals, monographs and university seminar rooms of the scholarly world. No one for a moment imagines that we can ever 'perfect' the writing of history; we can simply attempt to improve it. In the early seventeenth century, historians did not assume that debates about history could be productive; they avoided criticism of their contemporaries in precisely the way we now try to be 'original'. Most of them were uninterested in the potential of history as a tool for explaining the present, as an account of the emergence of contemporary man. Of those who were, some, like Samuel Daniel, believed that the truth was unobtainable and that the job of the historian was to teach; there was no point in quibbling over details. Others, like Bolton and Bacon, believed in their very different ways that the last word

could and would eventually be said. Only Selden and Herbert (and Camden to an extent) realised that history was not simply imperfect, but that it could be improved through laborious research.

It seems also that a number of phenomena, usually cited in support of the modernity of Renaissance historians, simply did not occur or have been misunderstood. History was not severed from rhetoric; of the major prose historians before 1640, only Camden explicitly refused to write fictional speeches for his historical characters, and he because many of them or their acquaintances were still alive. Nor had the supernatural been eliminated; most of our historians clearly and frequently invoked providence or her henchmen, fate and fortune. As explanatory tools, these were indispensable in a universe where God's hand ultimately governed all. Historians had no sense of contingency (with the exceptions of Camden, Selden and Herbert): if something had happened, there never existed any chance of it not happening, insofar as God foreknew and preordained it. Although such an event could be shown to result from human choice - historians never explicitly denied human free will - God himself had willed the very choice. It was not until God had really been made a 'divine clockmaker' who allowed his creation to tick away from day to day, propelled by its own cogs, that history could be seen as a matrix of interlocking contingencies. Camden did not need to invoke providence because a cornucopia of documents told him in detail the immediate causes of events, not because he did not think that God was responsible. For him and his readers, God was a 'given'. Selden depicted the Historie of tithes as a sequence of changes over a long time. He did not need to use God to explain what was visible in black ink. Later, when God had been placed outside the realm of daily events by Newton and his colleagues, concepts like fortune and chance could genuinely be used to denote the irrational,

the die-roll of circumstance in an open-ended historical process where the future was merely possible. It was then that the philosophers and their successors, the metahistorians, could intervene to explain the nature of history in rational, not theological, terms.

There was, then, no historical revolution in the early seventeenth century. Yet it would be wrong to deny change in early Stuart historical writing, particularly in the meaning of the word history itself. Anti-quarianism and history have never become the same thing, but they grew closer in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Selden's assertion that a man who studied the past was an historian, whether or not he taught a moral or political lesson, pointed to divine judgments or even wrote chronologically was a conceptual breakthrough the importance of which cannot be stated too strongly. His idea that only persistent, painstaking research, criticism and revision could recapture the past and his admission that his own interpretations were open to question were equally momentous.

Historians had to realise that, just as history itself was a web of contingencies, so historical research was an endless, frequently glamourless and thankless job, its certainty limited by the inability of a single mind to apprehend all the facts at once. Research had to be systematic; Selden had denounced those who studied the past haphazardly and without a view to explaining the present. Bishop John Earle, even more explicitly (if not quite seriously) made the anti-quarian into a musty artifact:

Hee is a man strangely thrifty of Time past, and
 an enemy indeed to his Maw, whence he fetches out
 many things when they are now all rotten and stinking.
 Hee is one that hath that unnaturall disease to bee
 enamour'd of old age and wrinckles and loves all
 things (as Dutchmen doe Cheese) the better for being
 mouldy and worme-eaten. He is of our Religion,
 because wee say it is most ancient; and yet a broken
 Statue would almost make him an Idolater. A great
 admirer hee is of the rust of old Monuments, and

reades only those Characters, where time hath eaten out the letters.... His estate consists much in shekels, and Roman Coynes, and he hath more pictures of Caesar, then James, or Elizabeth.... Printed bookes he contemnes, as a novelty of this latter age, but a Manu-script hee pores on everlastingly, especially if the cover be all Moth-eaten, and the dust make a Parenthesis betweene every syllable....¹

After the Restoration, scholars like Humphrey Wanley, George Hickes, William Dugdale, Henry Wharton and Thomas Rymer edited charters and records to help the writers of history; William Nicolson's English Historical Library was a survey of all the extant histories (and antiquarian works) intended to improve the writing of history. Thomas Madox's History of the Exchequer was based even more than Selden's work a century before on the collection and careful criticism of documentary sources.²

Similar events were occurring across Europe, as Mabillon developed the science of diplomatic and Muratori systematically edited the corpus of Italian chronicles. Huppert is surely correct to point out that the late seventeenth century witnessed a renewed divorce between technical erudition and philosophical history after the age of Pasquier and la Popelinière.³ Nevertheless, few would now distinguish the two formally, and it was not doubted that the work of scholars such as Mabillon and Madox was historical.

The change which did occur in the early Stuart period was not autochthonous. I have stressed the importance of continental influences,

1 J. Earle, Micro-cosmographie, or, a Piece of the world discovered (6th ed., 1633), no. 9.

2 Douglas, English Scholars is an excellent survey of post-restoration scholarship.

3 Huppert, Perfect History, pp. 170-182.

above all that of French authors and have attempted to show that this too was a coat of many colours. Bodin, la Popelinière, du Haillan, Pasquier, Scaliger, du Tillet and a host of more conventional narrative historians who pop up in English margins attest to the flow of material and ideas from across the channel; but these Frenchmen all had different messages, and even the same foreign book could be read in different ways by different Englishmen, extracted, digested together with other literary food, and regurgitated in a unique mixture. By contrast, the influence of Italian books, of undeniable importance in political thought, may be a bit of a red herring in the development of historiography. Of the Italians widely read in early Stuart England, only Guicciardini's History of Italy and Paolo Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent offered worthwhile models of historical scholarship; yet they, like Machiavelli, Paolo Giovio and Paulo Aemilio, Sabellico and Bembo, Bruni and Biondo, were less commonly cited for their facts than for the valuable political, religious and moral lessons to be drawn from their pages. The 'Machiavellian' school found some worthy and innovative disciples, notably James Harrington; but insofar as they reinforced the tendency to think of the past as only analogically related to the present rather than as the acorn from which the tree sprang, Machiavelli's works were in no sense a stimulus of the study of the past for its own sake. Moreover, the 'politic' historians, as they have been aptly called, were by no means decided in their reading of Machiavelli or in their understanding of historical realpolitik. With the rare exceptions of Heylyn and, perhaps, Bacon, none of our writers unequivocally employed 'Machiavellian' language, and less distance separates Hayward, Daniel and even Bacon from Speed than Professor Levy's excellent survey would have us believe.¹

1 Cf. however, Levy, Tudor Historical Thought, pp. 198-99, 237-47.

The 1640s and 1650s would see a great deal of change, in historiography as much as in political thought and religion, and the prominence of a new player: ideology. Echoing the experience of the French in the wars of religion, English historians found that they could turn to the past not simply to find precedents or useful examples, but to explain the disasters of the present in such a way as to cast blame on their opponents; the subjective character of historical interpretation really became clear, though not immediately to the writers themselves. The first battlefield was the immediate past. Arthur Wilson and Anthony Weldon, William Sanderson and Godfrey Goodman, debated the character of James I and his responsibility for the civil wars, questioning each other's facts and interpretations.¹ Others looked even further back: the Levellers turned the Norman conquest into a pseudo-historical yoke and denied the validity of all historical development since 1066. In Oceana, James Harrington rewrote English history with a new thesis, the relationship of land ownership to the shifting 'balance' of political power, an imaginative vision of the whole course of English history whose only precursor is Daniel's work. Hobbes and Clarendon, on the same side, came to widely differing views on the origins

1 A. Weldon, Court and Character of King James (1650) in Secret History of the Court of James the First, ed. Walter Scott, (2 vols. Edinburgh, 1811) I, attacked by Godfrey Goodman, Court of King James, ed. J.S. Brewer (1839), I, passim; W. Sanderson, Aulicus Coquinariae (1650) in Secret History, II, and Compleat History of the lives and reigns of Mary Queen of Scotland, and of her son... James the Sixth... in vindication of him against two scandalous authors (1656), attacking Weldon and Arthur Wilson's History of Great Britain (1653).

of the wars; Fuller, Heylyn and later Burnet reopened and debated the history of the English church. Heylyn was actually attacked by two fellow royalists, William Sanderson and Thomas Fuller.¹ Polemic became the order of the day, though no writer would admit that he was arguing a disputable case. Explicitly intending to refute Rushworth's Historical Collections, John Nalson could seriously call his work An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State from the Beginning of the Scotch Rebellion... to the Murther of King Charles. By the end of the century one can find royalist, whig, parliamentary and republican interpretations of the past; gone for good was the relatively monochromatic Tudor and early Stuart history.

Although we know a good deal about major authors of the 1640s and 1650s, and thereafter,² we have not yet begun to unravel the richly textured and much more loudly-coloured tapestry of mid-seventeenth century historiography and historical thought. But that is another story.

1 W. Sanderson, Peter pursued; or Dr Heylin Overtaken, Arrested, and Arraigned upon his three Appendixes (1658); Heylyn, Certamen Epistolare, or the Letter-Combate...in Answer to some passages in Mr Fullers late Appeal (1659); idem, Examen Historicum: or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes, Falsities and Defects in some Moderne Histories (1659); T. Fuller, The Appeal of Injured Innocence: unto the Religious Learned and Ingenuous Reader. In a controversie betwixt the Animadvertor Dr Peter Heylyn and the Author Thomas Fuller (1659). Titles like this do not occur in English historiography prior to 1640, with rare exceptions such as Ralph Brooke's Discoverie of certaine errours (1596) and Augustine Vincent's Discoverie of errours (1622) in response.

2 R. MacGillivray, Restoration Historians and the English Civil War (The Hague, 1974), the only published survey of the topic which, however, concentrates on the period after 1660; cf. the briefer survey in R. C. Richardson, The Debate on the English Revolution, (1977), pp. 8-32; and M.P. Hartman, 'Contemporary Explanations of the English Revolution, 1640-60' (Cambridge University Ph.D. diss., 1978), for detailed studies of Clarendon, Hobbes, Harrington and, especially useful, Thomas May.

APPENDIX

WHO WAS 'EDWARD AYSCU'?

Since a man by the name of Edward Ayscough was a correspondent of Sir Robert Cotton in 1627,¹ the conclusion that he was also the historian discussed above in chapter II is natural. This is the identification accepted by all modern sources since the Dictionary of National Biography.²

There are several problems with this identification. It seems there were no less than four Edward Ayscoughs about in the early seventeenth century, all descended from Sir William Ayscough of Stallingborough, Lincolnshire (1490-1540).³ The author, Edward, was son of Sir William's son Edward (d. 1558), who was cupbearer to Henry VIII and was present (as the author tells us) at the battle of Musselborough (September, 1550).⁴ Edward I settled in Cotham, Lincs., where his son Edward II remained. The latter was born in 1550 and died in 1616; his will was proved on 17 March, 1617.⁵ His second son, William, was a gentleman of the privy chamber to Charles I, and William's son rose to become Sir George Ayscue, an admiral during the Republic and after the Restoration.⁶

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- 1 B.L. MS Cott. Julius. C. III, fo. 9, 10 Dec., s.a. The year is established by a letter referring to the preceding from William Bedell (chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton), to Cotton, also 10 Dec., 1627. This letter refers to 'Sir Edward Askew': MS Cott. Julius C. III, fo. 16.
 - 2 DNB, s.v. 'Ayscough or Ayscu, Edward'; Venn, Alum. Cant. corrects the DNB's date of Ayscough's B.A. from Christ's, Cambridge from 1590 to 1586/87.
 - 3 A.R. Maddison, Lincolnshire Pedigrees (1902), I, 61ff, the source for much of the following. On the family, see Gerald Hodgett, Tudor Lincolnshire (Lincoln, 1975), pp.30f, 100, 158.
 - 4 Ayscu, Historie (1607), p.318.
 - 5 PCC Wills (Index Library, vol. XLIII), p.24, lists Edward Askewe or Aiscue (again, the spelling fits the historian) 'sometime of Gotham [i.e. Cotham], Lincs., sojourner in cittie of Lincoln'. His son and heir, Henry, was abroad at Edward's death some time the preceding year, accounting for the delay in probation.
 - 6 Maddison, Lincs. Pedigrees, pp. 61-62.

The Ayscough who corresponded with Cotton was Sir Edward (1596-1654) who was sheriff of Lincoln in 1632.¹ His father, William, was son of another Edward Ayscough, sheriff in 1588 and knighted before his death in 1612. This last man was the grandson of Sir William I and hence the cousin of the historian. Thus, Cotton's friend was the cousin twice removed of the historian.

Another Edward Ayscough, of Lincoln's Inn (1589 - after 1646) was another son of Sir Edward, the first sheriff (therefore a cousin once removed of the historian). His connection with the Lincolnshire family is further supported by his having been party to a bargain and sale of Wheatbargh Grange, Great Corringham, Lincs, in 1630.²

A fourth Edward, descended from William I by another line, was a member of Gray's Inn. In 1634 he was in financial difficulty owing to an unknown indiscretion of his brother. One Timothy Pusey wrote to Sir John Coke, informing him that Ayscough owed Pusey £300 but was 'driven to conceal himself and dareth not practise', presumably because he had other debts. Pusey asked Coke to give Ayscough protection, stating that Chief Justice Robert Heath had already agreed to this.³

1 Above, p. 331, note 1; Lincoln Wills (Index Library, vol. XLI) vol. II, p.8; Maddison, loc. cit. Sir Edward was committed to the Gatehouse on 6 March 1627 for refusing to pay the forced loan: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1627-28, p.81. Interestingly his grandfather, the first sheriff, named the historian as his cousin and heir in 1612: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1611-18, p.267.

2 Lincolnshire Archives Office, ref. F.L. Deeds, 1373-4. I owe this reference to the kindness of Miss G.T.Y. Moyes of the Lincolnshire Archives Office.

3 Pusey to Coke, 21 Oct., 1634, Hist. MSS. Comm., Cowper, II (1888-9), p.70; this Ayscough's link with Gray's Inn suggests him as the client of Bacon, who while Lord Chancellor recommended him for a reversion to the Common Pleadership of the City (21 Nov., 1620); Analytical Index to the Remembrancia of the City... 1529-1664, ed. W.H. and H.C. Overall (1878), p.301. I owe this reference to Gerald Aylmer.

Coke and Heath were both on a royal commission in 1627-28 which included Cotton, Sir Henry Spelman and an Edward Ayscough: probably the Gray's Inn man.¹ It is likely he, too, who petitioned the king for the bullion aboard a ship wrecked off the Isle of Wight '2 or 3 yeeres ago'. The petitioner claimed to have 'spent nyneteene yeeres, and much money in yo^r ma^{ts} and your royall father's services' and had received no reward, though he had 'brought above threescore thousand poundes to yo^r Ma^{tie}'.² This appears to be the frightened lawyer of 1634, in which case Cotton knew two Ayscoughs, neither of whom was an historian. It is this last Ayscough whom the DNB has in mind and possibly he who graduated from Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1586/87, though this could also be a fifth Edward, the son of the historian.

Though it would have been interesting to establish a connection between Ayscu the historian, the government and Cotton, it is perhaps even more interesting that the historian, who seems never to have ventured further than Lincoln and was nearly sixty when he wrote his history, perceived the union as the inevitable end of English and Scottish history.

1 Cal.S.P.Dom., 1627-28, pp. 168, 232; Cal.S.P.Dom., 1629-31, pp. 179, 236. The commission was to investigate the fees exacted by officers and the erection of new offices in the courts since 11 Eliz. I. See G.E. Aylmer, 'Charles I's Commission on Fees, 1627-40'. Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research XXXI (1958), 58-67.

2 P.R.O., S.P. 16/257/34, n.d. 1633; the hand does not match that in B.L. MS Cott. Julius C.III, fo.9. The money Ayscough raised apparently refers to a scheme he concocted in December, 1623, to raise the king's revenue by making and selling soap: Cal.S.P.Dom., 1623-25, p. 128.

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S.P. 14 (State Papers, Domestic series, James I).

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S.P. 78 (State Papers, France.).

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6928	George Harry's genealogy and epitome of English history
12,497	Bolton's poem on the Roman emperors
17,919	Richard Symonds' notes on Roman architecture
20,028	Virgilio Malvezzi's life of King Numa
22,587	John Hayward tract on precedence of doctors of law over serjeants at law.
24,487-492	Joseph Hunter's lives of literary men.
28,021	Francis Hubert's <u>Edward II</u>
32,092-93	Selden correspondence
34,316	Hubert's <u>Edward II</u>
34,599	Spelman correspondence
34,727	Selden correspondence
35,841	Selden correspondence
36,294	Camden's letterbook
38,139	Morgan Colman correspondence
39,177	Bolton 'academ roial' proposal
45,140	Francis Godwin's notes on his <u>Annales</u>
57,336	Speed's notebook on Yorkist kings.
60,284	Cotton's <u>Henry III</u> , dated 1622.

Burney MSS

369	Selden correspondence (with Meric Casaubon)

Cottonian MSS

Julius C.III	letters to Cotton
Julius C.V	letters to Camden
Vespasian C.XIV	Bolton poem on Mary Stuart
Titus A.XIII	Bolton poem on Mary Stuart (copy)
Titus B.I.	Cotton's notes on Guicciardini
Titus B.V	Bolton 'academy' papers
Titus C.XI	Francis Godwin's <u>Annales</u>
Faustina E.V	discourses of the society of antiquaries

Egerton MSS

2255	Speed's tract on Christ
2711	Selden correspondence

Harleian MSS

255	Simonds D'Ewes correspondence
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367	John Stow's collections (material against Richard Grafton).
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XC	Hicks papers (Bolton correspondence)
XCIX	Colman correspondence.
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Barrington MSS

- 84 a Cambridge undergraduate's notebook, c.1655.

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Hale MSS

- 11 Selden collectanea (mainly for Titles of Honour)
- 12 Selden miscellaneous collections.
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Maynard MSS

- 15 anon. catalogue of the kings of England from Egbert.
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(b) Oxford, Bodleian Library

Ashmolean MSS

837	Bolton correspondence.
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1116	Miscellaneous heraldic and historical papers.

Rawlinson MSS

D.1	Bolton's <u>Hypercritica</u> , first draft.
D.171	18th century notes on T. Godwyn.
D.353	Heylyn's warrant as royal chaplain.
D.360, 368	17th century notes on Daniel's <u>Collection</u> .
D.396	Camden correspondence.
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Supra 81	Degory Whear's book of letters and poems.
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Wood F.9	Bolton, <u>Hypercritica</u> , final version.
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Dd. 3.63	Earl of Northampton's correspondence with Spelman and others.
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Vol: 447	P. Dupuy's <u>Histoire de plus illustres favoris</u>
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