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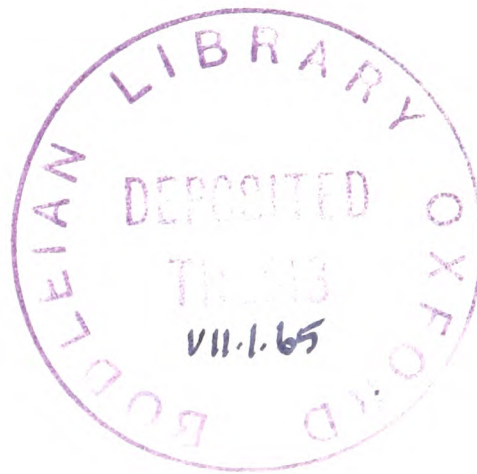
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Please note that I am no longer in residence at my College. All correspondence concerning this thesis should therefore be sent to my home address:

The author's address and signature have been redacted from the online version of this thesis.

BOOKS SURREPTITIOUSLY PRINTED IN ENGLAND BEFORE
1640 IN CONTEMPORARY FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

VOLUME ONE.



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A B S T R A C T

At least 65 of the books, pamphlets or broadsides printed in England in foreign vernaculars during the period covered by the Short Title Catalogue share a common characteristic: there is no clear indication anywhere on their title-pages, or within their colophons or texts, that they were printed in England and by English printers. Often the *purpose* of these omissions was not so much to conceal the fact that the books were printed in England as to create a false impression that they were printed abroad.

This thesis tries to resolve the various problems set by this class of book. As many as possible of the works have been identified, and bibliographical descriptions and photographs are given of all title-pages, ornaments and capital initials contained in them. Although in the main printers have been identified through the presence of ornaments and initials to be found in other books which contain their full and clear imprint, occasionally supporting evidence of a different nature has been discovered and presented.

The problems raised by these books are complex, and an Introduction of six chapters examines the background and origin of each individual item and attempts at the same time to trace the historical development of this distinctive branch of printing. Copies have been located in every major library in England and on the Continent with the aim of discovering the trends and patterns of their sale and distribution, and it has been possible to distinguish sub-categories of these books which share a surprising number of characteristics.

Thus in the period of nearly 90 years between the first of these publications, in 1552-3, and the delimiting date of 1640, there are three clear stages of evolution, each occupying approximately 30 years. The first, from 1553 to early 1584, is marked by the casual omission of imprints. No fictitious imprints are found, and the motives of the various printers do not go beyond an implied intention to conceal the truth.

The second stage begins late in 1584 and ends with the death of Sir Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, in 1612. It was inaugurated by John Wolfe, a London printer who travelled and practised his craft in Italy and Germany before setting up shop in his own country. The privilege of printing *certain* profitable books was monopolised in late Elizabethan London by a small group of established printers, and newcomers often had difficulty in finding sufficient profitable material to keep their presses occupied. John Wolfe was one of these newcomers, and in the course of his efforts to keep his presses busy he hit upon the idea of reprinting, in the original Italian, editions of well-known works by Machiavelli and Pietro Aretino which could no longer be produced in Italy after they had been placed on the recently-established Index Librorum Prohibitorum.

There was no law of international copyright at that time, and in using fictitious imprints in most of his early books in foreign vernaculars Wolfe was guided entirely by commercial considerations. English books printed in foreign languages had a bad reputation in both foreign and domestic markets, since the insular English printer seldom had access to compositors with a reasonable grasp of foreign

languages, and the occasional attempts to print in foreign vernaculars had usually resulted in inaccurate or even garbled texts. A statement made by John Charlewood to Giordano Bruno confirms this interpretation of Wolfe's motives; and it should be emphasised that at no time during this period did the English Government or the Stationers' Company express disapproval of the printing of any of these works.

Wolfe naturally had his imitators. Charlewood in London and Joseph Barnes in Oxford both tried this expedient for increasing their sales of books in foreign vernaculars. Neither of them persevered, but the growing threat of Spanish invasion introduced a new motive for the use of fictitious imprints. The urgency of the times compelled Lord Burghley to write and get published a pamphlet called The Copie of a Letter ... to Don Bernadin de Mendoza. This appeared in September, 1588, just after the news had been received of the English victory over the Spanish Armada. Its translation into Italian, specifically entered to John Wolfe, was produced with a fictitious imprint, and it was the first piece of political propaganda to be surreptitiously printed in England in a foreign vernacular.

Wolfe continued to produce books with misleading imprints for another three years, but in 1591 he virtually ceased to do his own printing and his place in this particular branch of the trade was taken by Richard Field.

Field's first productions of this sort were his editions of the French translation of Burghley's pamphlet. These were followed by a group of books and pamphlets which are all but one characterised by bearing only the date, with occasionally a non-committal imprint such as "Nouvellement Imprime". The exception, the Pedagoes de Historia by

Antonio Pérez, bears the imprint: 'Impresó in Leon'; but this was the only occasion that Field ever used a completely fictitious imprint.

His later publications in this category consist of the books written by his Italian proof-reader, Petruccio Ubaldini, which appeared without any imprint at all, except for the date; and the books written, translated or edited by his Spanish proof-reader, Cipriano de Valera. The works produced by de Valera bear only Field's name translated into Spanish (Ricardo del Campo), and they have no geographical location. This imprint was designed to be misleading as most of these books were printed with the intention that some copies should be clandestinely exported to Spain.

Thus during this second stage the motives of the authors and printers developed into a conscious aim of suggesting a false origin for their wares.

The third stage extends from 1612 to the delimiting date, 1640. Salisbury does not seem to have been responsible for any surreptitiously printed political propaganda. After the death of his father he was by far the most powerful man in the English Government, and possibly it was because he did not use these tactics that no one else seems to have dared or cared to use them either.

Three trends emerge in this final stage, and one of them may be noted in a pamphlet that was surreptitiously printed at the time of Salisbury's death. The surreptitiousness is only incidental, consisting of the omission of the imprint; and, as in the first stage, the imprint was left out rather because the edition was produced for a private order than because the printer had any intention to mislead or deceive. The second trend, concerned with the production of propaganda directed against particular groups of foreigners, was a continuation of the

methods discovered by Wolfe and pioneered by Burghley. This had become a well-known and accepted strategem, and it was used on various occasions for definite purposes. The third trend, the production of illegal political propaganda directed against the home Government, was inaugurated in 1632 with Harper's edition of Le Prince.

It is hoped that this thesis will fill a gap in English bibliography. Books in English can be hard enough to identify when they contain authentic imprints. The problem becomes much more complicated when the books, although in English, were printed abroad with fictitious imprints, or when they were printed in England in foreign vernaculars but bore a fictitious imprint or no imprint at all. Messrs. Allison and Rogers have studied the problem of books printed abroad, and the present thesis tries to clear up some of the difficulties surrounding books surreptitiously printed in England.

Sixty-five titles are discussed, of which some two-thirds are not in STC. Appendix C provides a list of books in STC which are wrongly believed to have been printed in England; Appendix A a list of doubtful books; Appendix B a list of line-for-line foreign reprints; and Appendix J a transcript of an Armada MS from the Vatican Archives. Finally, in addition to describing and identifying these 65 works, the thesis attempts to demonstrate the historical reasons for their appearance and to indicate the areas still to be searched and the type of book yet to be found.

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FOREWORD

This thesis deals with the books, pamphlets, and broadsides in contemporary foreign languages which were surreptitiously printed in England before 1640.

A work is judged to have been surreptitiously printed if:

- (A) It has a fictitious printer's name or imprint and no location or a false location;
- (B) It has no printer's name or imprint and no location or a false location;
- (C) It has the actual printer's name completely translated and no location or a false location. In practice, this last category is composed exclusively of those books printed by Richard Field in which he used the name Ricardo del Campo and no location. This imprint was used only in his books in Spanish, written, translated, or edited by Cipriano de Valera, some copies of which were meant for clandestine export to Spain.

The works considered in this thesis are printed in French, Italian Spanish and Dutch.

I have distinguished between the terms "surreptitiously printed" and "secretly printed." The Marprelate Tracts, for instance, were "secretly printed": they were printed in strict secrecy with a hidden press, and the printer's intent was not so much to disguise the actual illegality of his products as to protect the secret of his own identity.

Of all the books dealt with in this thesis, only Le Prince (No. 29) could be said to have been "secretly printed".

A book which was "surreptitiously printed" was almost never illegally printed. On the contrary, most of these works were entered in the Stationers' Register in the normal manner, and some of them were written by Lord Burghley or financed by members of the Government. It is doubtful if the English Government disapproved of the printing of any of the works included in this thesis, with the one exception noted above (No. 29). There may often have been an intent to mislead or deceive the average reader, English or foreign, into believing that the work had been published in the country in whose language it was printed; but the printer would not normally make any effort to conceal his identity from either his fellow-printers or his Government. A book in a foreign vernacular which was printed for the private order of a customer will also be considered to have been "surreptitiously printed" if it lacks an imprint, as the average reader might well be misled or deceived about its country of origin even if this were not the original intention of the author or printer.

The introduction to this thesis is an attempt to present in chronological form the story of the origins and development of surreptitious printing in foreign vernaculars. Each of the 65 works is discussed in one of the six chapters; all identified books are listed alphabetically by author at the head of the chapter which covers the period and events that produced them. Imprints are reproduced in quasi-facsimile in these lists only; within the text, titles are

normalized and dates given in Arabic, even if they are actually in Roman on the titlepage.

The key word "STC" refers to the Short-Title Catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475-1640, compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, and first published in 1926. The "new" STC refers to the expanded version of this work now being produced at Harvard University by Professor William A. Jackson.

The footnotes are assembled at the end of each chapter because they are too bulky to fit at the foot of each page. My subject has not been treated before, and I have therefore provided more background material than might otherwise be necessary, in the form of quotations in the original language from manuscripts or other rare works, biographies that I have had to write myself, analysis of continental source material, and photographs.

In the footnotes, the reference "Arber," refers to Edward Arber, A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640 A.D., 1875-94. The number in Roman refers to the volume, and the number in Arabic refers to the page. References to The Library are given as "Fourth Series. V (for volume 5), 11 (for number two)", then the date of the issue within parenthesis, then "112" (for page 112). Other periodicals are treated in a similar fashion.

The main part of this thesis is the section on Books Identified. Each book, pamphlet or broadside is listed alphabetically by author, and is assigned a number corresponding to its position in this sequence.

The organization and general presentation of the material for each book identified has been patterned after the methods of bibliographical description used by Sir W.W. Greg. Whenever specific difficulties presented obstacles, I have tried to follow the rules set out by Professor Fredson Bowers in Principles of Bibliographical Description, 1949. Readers of this thesis are therefore to consult Bowers whenever in doubt of the meaning of symbols or conventions used in my descriptions.

The letters 'x' or 'y' are given when referring to a particular page: e.g. C4^x and C4^y, as I use C4 to mean C4^x & ^y.

A word or letter underlined once is in italic type; a word or letter underlined twice, with a wavy line, is in Black Letter; and a capital underlined twice is *swash*.

Running titles are normally indicated. Selected indications of errors or inconsistencies are given, as this is a way of detecting a possible word-for-word reprint. In most instances I have not distinguished between round and Black Letter full stops. If there is any indication of the sequence of formes or chases, or if the running titles give any sort of indication of the number of presses used or of the mechanics of printing, then all the necessary information is given.

In my preliminary transcriptions, I used Greg's method of recording

the catchwords between every signature; however, when I later discovered that this did not provide bibliographical information of value about my books, I decided to eliminate all catchwords from the final transcription. In the only two instances where catchwords are of interest it seemed better to give the details in the Notes.

The section on Contents goes through the book in a systematic fashion. Section headings are reproduced in quasi-facsimile. Pagination and running title are not included in the transcription of a section heading in the cases where they are retained above the section heading on the page. All signatures and pagination are in Arabic unless some indication is given to the contrary. The random occurrence of italic or swash letters in signatures is not noted. Ornaments and initial letters are not listed under Contents since they follow in a section of their own.

The main purpose of my bibliographical descriptions is to permit the positive identification of other copies; accordingly, only the information necessary for this purpose is usually given. I have not attempted to put down all the chapter-headings in all the books which I have identified; such detail would be irrelevant to the purpose of this thesis. The headings of prefatory material often vary from one edition to another, and therefore I have usually transcribed them in considerable detail. Relevant dates appearing in or at the end of such material are also given. As far as the text itself is concerned, however, I have only transcribed the first principal heading and the major ones following it so as to save space

and eliminate distracting detail. In certain cases, when there are several almost identical reprints of a work, more information is given than would be normally considered necessary. Specific evidence of the manner or method of printing a particular book is also indicated; but general information on this topic is not.

All ornaments and initials used in every work except one are reproduced, and their measurements are given in millimetres, first vertically, then horizontally.

These reproductions are located in the descriptions if the particular printer was responsible for only one or two books; if, however, he printed several works (or used a very large number of ornaments and initials), the reproductions are gathered in an appendix to avoid duplication.

The section on Typography follows a set formula: first the name of the type, Roman or Italic; then the measurement of 20 lines; then of the page of type horizontally, followed by a further figure in parentheses if there are marginal glosses or notes; then the page of type vertically without headline and signature, followed by the measurement, in parentheses, including the headline and signature; and last of all, the identification of the page measured, in parentheses. The number of lines of type per page is then stated. All measurements are in millimetres.

The Notes contain information which refers directly to the book in question, or to individual copies of it. The general background

of each book is discussed in the introduction under its appropriate chapter, and this is not repeated in the notes; consequently, it is necessary to look in both places to get all the information on a book. Cross-references are given where necessary.

Copies of a work which I have seen and checked myself are followed by their shelfmarks or pressmarks in brackets. Copies which I have not seen myself are not followed by a pressmark. These latter indications of location have been gathered mainly from the annotated STCs of Professor William A. Jackson and of Mr. F.S. Ferguson. Locations in Britain and North America are indicated by conventional STC abbreviations; continental locations are given in fuller, though abbreviated, form.

Although I have given as many copies as I could trace, whether seen or not, in no instance do I pretend to have provided a list of all surviving copies. I have spent much time on the continent trying to trace copies in the major European libraries; but my aim has been primarily to try to trace the relative commonness of these books on the continent, and to discover the areas in which they are concentrated, if any. A careful checking of bindings and any other indication of provenance for every copy was also carried out; although this information has not normally been transcribed into my final notes, it has made possible many theories about the pattern of sale and distribution of these books. In general, if fewer than one quarter, or four (whichever is the lesser), of the listed

copies are in continental libraries, then it is probable that the work in question was not systematically sold or distributed on the continent at the time of its publication. A grouping of three or more copies in any one country (Belgium and Holland should be combined as the Low Countries) usually indicates that the book was sold or distributed in that country at the time of its publication. The normal channel for the sale of John Wolfe's books, for example, was through the Frankfurt-am-Main book fairs some six to nine months after they were printed.

Finally, I would like to point out that by its very nature this thesis must be incomplete. I have not discovered all the different books, pamphlets, and broadsides which were surreptitiously printed in foreign languages in England before 1640. Some may no longer exist; others, because of their lack of identifying ornaments and initials, may never be discovered; and there are probably a good number which I simply have not yet seen.

My thanks are due to my Supervisors, Professor Herbert Davis, John Crow, M.A., and L.W. Hanson, B. Litt., M.A., to the Rector of my College, W.F. Oakeshott, M.A., to David Rogers D.Phil., M.A., to Desmond Neill, B. Litt., M.A., and to Professor William A. Jackson of Harvard University. They have all been extremely kind and helpful, as have been the staffs of the different libraries in which I have worked. Without their aid I could never have written this thesis.

CHAPTER I

First Appearances.

1. Cransmer, Thomas, Archbishop: Cathechismo, cio forma breue per amnestrare i fanciulli. [Michelangelo Florio's Italian translation of the original Latin.] [London, Stephen Mierdman, late 1552 or early 1553.] No 21; STC 4813
2. Corro, Antonio de: Tableau de l'oeuvre de Dieu, [Norwich, Antonio de Solengne] 1569. No 20; STC 5792.
3. Noot, Jan van der: Het theatre waer in ter sender de ongelucken die den werelts gesinden ende boosen menschen toecomen. [London, John Day, 1568.] No 39; STC 18601.
4. Noot, Jan van der: Het bosken inhoudende verscheyden poeters werken. [London, Henry Rynneman, c. 1570] No. 40; Not in STC.

This first chapter deals with surreptitious printing in foreign vernaculars in England before the time of John Wolfe. It covers the years between 1550 and 1580, the first third of the total period to be considered, and is characterised by the unsystematic omission of imprints in works printed in foreign vernaculars.

There are no fictitious imprints at all in this first phase, and the total omission of any imprint in the works of this period is the result of their having been printed for a private order, rather than of a conscious attempt on the part of the printer to increase his sales. The "surreptitiousness" of these works therefore arises primarily from the author's or patron's decision to subsidise a possibly uneconomic edition, and, less directly, from the gradually emerging printer's custom of omitting the imprint from a book printed for a private customer. An imprint in such a book would only invite prospective purchaser's inquiries which could not be satisfied, and so printers gradually began to omit imprints in this category of book. This system worked well enough for works in English; but works in foreign vernaculars without any imprint were almost automatically assumed to come from the continent, as Antonio de Cerro found to his cost (see page 20). People were apt to be misled concerning the provenance of works of this sort, even though (before 1584) it was seldom that either author or printer originally had any such intentions. It is for these reasons that the works discussed in this chapter are considered to have been surreptitiously printed.

The first book in a foreign vernacular to have been printed in England without an imprint was the Catechismus (No.21,STC 4813), a translation into Italian by Michelangelo Florio of Archbishop Cranmer's Latin Catechismus. It was printed in London in late 1552 or early 1553, probably by Stephen Mierdman.

Michelangelo Florio was a Florentine Protestant who fled to England shortly before the reign of Edward VI. In 1550 he was preacher to a congregation of Italian Protestants in London, based on the Strangers' Church, and it is probable that this translation was intended for their use.¹

We do not know their numbers in 1553; but in 1568, ten years after the accession of Queen Elisabeth, the Lord Mayor of London wrote a certificate giving the numbers of the foreigners living in his city: "The whole number of strangers, as well denizens as not denizens, dwelling and remaining within the exempt jurisdiction and liberties adjoining to the city, together with the city of Westminster, 2598. Whereof ... Spaniards 24, Italians 28. The whole number of strangers, as well within the city of London, as within the exempt liberties, and places aforesaid, near adjoining to the same, was 6704. Whereof ... Venetians and Italians 83, Spaniards 95 ... Whereof of the English church 1815. Of the Dutch church 1910. Of the French church 1810. Of the Italian church 161. Of no church 1008." These 'strangers' (totalling 6704) did not always attend their own national church: "Francis de Farias, Spaniard, and Jacomina his wife, his children, and

Nicolas Duprey, his servants, silk-weavers, go to the Italian church. Fernando Alvarez, Spaniard, a buttonmaker, goeth to the Italian church.² There was clearly a market for a catechism in Italian, just as there was also a market for catechisms in Dutch, French and Spanish (though no trace now remains of any translations other than the Italian).

It was still relatively unusual for a printer to omit his imprint. The Council of Trent had made a clear imprint obligatory for printers working in Roman Catholic countries; and while English laws were neither as clear nor as strict, the English Government still made a point of insisting upon the use of imprints as an aid to the effective control of printing in England. From the time of the accession of Mary and the forming of the Stationers' Company onwards, the importance of the imprint was clearly established: to the printers it was profitable, and to the Government it was useful. Accidents apart, it would only be omitted for a purpose.

Several years passed before the publication of the next work in a foreign vernacular without an imprint. The Tableau de l'oeuvre de Dieu by Antonio de Corro was printed in Norwich by Antonius de Solempne in 1569.³ (No 20, SEC 5792). The initials A. C. at the foot of the page stand for the name of the author, and the 15 stands for the date.

Antonio de Corro [or Corraus, or Bellerive], a refugee Spanish theologian, was the pastor of the Spanish congregation of the Strangers' Church in London in the late 1560s. He was accused by Girolamo Jerlito, the pastor of the Italian congregation, of Pelagianism both in his

teaching and in his printed Tableau; and a fierce quarrel broke out which Bishop Grindal of London tried to arbitrate.

Antonio de Corro wrote a statement of his position entitled Responsio Antonii Corrani Hispalensis ad Animadversiones quorundam in Tabulam divinorum operum. He goes into great detail (Bishop Grindal calls his preceding Apologia 'longe and tedious'⁴) in defence of his Tableau, and among other things explains that it had been printed in Norwich, where he had no direct connections, only because Antonio de Solaspne could quote a lower price. One hundred copies were privately printed at the expense of a local merchant for his friends, at the price of one crown ('coronato'), i.e. 60 pence, which meant that each copy cost three-fifths of a penny. The wholesale price was quite reasonable, as broadsides were then sold at a standard price of one penny each. The cheapness of the provincial printer lay in his readiness to run off an edition of only 100 copies as opposed to the London printer's minimum of 1500, which would naturally cost more.

It is clear that the Tableau was not surreptitiously printed in the sense that its lack of an imprint was meant to mislead or deceive. Rather, since it was printed for a private order, the printer did not feel any need to put his name to it. The fact that de Corro's contemporaries suspected it to have been clandestinely printed indicates how rarely works were issued without an imprint.

The last two books to be considered in this chapter are by Jan van der Noot, a fanatical but realistic Protestant, often called the

"Patriccius van Antwerpen."⁶ His first book published in England was: Het theatre waer in ter cender de ongelucken die den werelts gesindeneende boosen menschen toecomen. Printed in London by John Day in 1568 (No.39, STC 18601).

This book contains twenty copper-plate illustrations which also occur in the 1568 edition in French (STC 18603) printed by John Day.⁷ The edition in English, translated by T. Roest, was printed the following year by H. Ryneman (STC 18602) and is famous both as the first emblem book issued in England and as containing Spenser's earliest verse-translations.⁸

It should be noted that only this edition in Flemish is without an imprint. Both the French and the English language editions have one, the first by John Day, and the second by Henry Ryneman, and it is clear that the contents of the book were not such as to require the omission of an English imprint --- at least from the English point of view. The book itself was violently anti-Catholic; but even in the Flemish edition there was no attempt to disguise the name of the author or his place of refuge, the Epistle Dedicatory being dated: 'London. Den 18. van September, 1568.'

The problems raised by this absence of imprint are best considered in connection with Van der Noot's other English book, Het bosken inhoudende verscheyden poeters werken, printed in London by Henry Ryneman circa 1570. (No.40, not in STC.)

This volume of Van der Noot's miscellaneous poems was not translated or re-printed in England. Neither Het bosken nor Het theatre

has any imprint; yet Henry Bynessman and John Day printed the English and the French translation respectively of Het theatre, and both of these editions contain complete imprints.

Dr. W. A. P. Smit explains that after 1580, when Jan van der Noot had returned to the Netherlands, it was his custom to have his works privately printed, and to give copies to friends or patrons in exchange for 'gifts' of money.⁹ The unusual aspect of this practice was that Van der Noot kept his reserve of texts in unbound sheets, with the result that a customer would receive his copy as a collection of sheets, the number and assortment of which would vary in accordance with the size of his 'gift' and with his religion.

Dr. Smit also suggests, convincingly, that Van der Noot may have followed much the same practice as early as 1568.

It is my belief that Het theatre and Het bosken were both printed to Jan van der Noot's private order, and that only the editions in English and French were for public sale. This would explain the lack of imprint on the editions in Flemish, at least from the printer's point of view. Het theatre's title page was presumably designed by Van der Noot so that it could be used with any fragment of his works. Additional copies of the title page might well have been printed; and he probably took most of the sheets of both editions back with him to the Netherlands when he returned there in 1571. This theory would account both for the distribution of surviving copies and for the fact that they are seldom found complete, even when together. It

would also account for the absence of pagination, which is unusual for books of that size at that time.

There is the additional possibility that the lack of an imprint might have been the result of a reluctance on Van der Noot's part to have an English imprint on the title page of his works - he could always omit the pro-English dedications and forewords, with their records of English origin, if the chance later came to present a copy to some anti-English person in the Netherlands.

These two books were designed, with at least the possibility of an export market in mind, and their lack of any imprint may well have resulted partially from a conscious intent to conceal their origin. They are the last products of the first period, and already foreshadow the next, which is characterised by the deliberate use of fictitious imprints.

Notes for Chapter I

1. Dictionary of National Biography, London, 1908, vii, 336-9.
2. Edward Boehmer, Bibliotheca Wiffeniana. Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from 1520, Strassburg, 1904, iii, 33.
3. Antonius de Solempne [or Anthony Solempne, or Solen] was a refugee printer working in Norwich circa 1570.

"In about the year 1565 many refugees came and settled in Norwich from the Low Countries, to the number of about 3925. They were encouraged by the Mayor and Sheriffs, who procured for them the freedom and liberty of the city. Among these 'strangers' the art of printing was introduced by Antonius de Solempne in 1570, which was so well approved of by the city that they presented him with his freedom."

Joseph Ames and William Herbert, Typographical Antiquities, London, 1790, iii, 1462.

4. Letter from Bishop Grindal to Sir William Cecil. British Museum, Lansdowne MS. XI. Fol. 150. number 67. Printed by Boehmer, op. cit., iii, 89-90.
5. Printed by Boehmer, op. cit., iii, 93-4, as follows:

"Praejudicium examinerum ex loco impressionis: 'Hoc scriptum non caret suspitione qui typis excusum Norwichii et non Londini quo loco auctor agit et ubi est major commoditas typographica'. Norwichii excusum est quia sic placuit mercatori qui illud suis expensis typis mandandum curavit et suis sumptibus parcere volebat. Londinenses enim typographi minus quam mille et quingenta exemplaria excudere noluissent idque magnis impensis, Norwichensis vero typographus pro coronato centum exemplaria dabat quae satis erant mercatori ut gratificaretur suis amicis. Nec praeterea male suspicari de aliquo scripto licet quia extra urbem in qua auctor agit excusum sit. Alias quidam ex his qui me accusant suspectas redderet suas conciones quas mittebat Basileam excudendas cum Londini ageret ubi magna est typographica commoditas. Et si loci distantia atque circumstantia perpendi debent, magis ille in hac re erit suspectus quam ego. Jam si in animum induxissem meum clandestino scripto falsas aliquas opiniones spargere, nequaquam misissem prima exemplaria

Domino Cardinali Chastillione et aliis nobilibus et generosis Gallis* qui publice ea omnibus legebant. Multo etiam minus in sermonem Latinum transtulissen ut D. Episcopo Londinensi traderem ..."

*This statement is expanded in de Corro's Apologia No. 86: "...primum paginae excusae exemplar Domino Cardinali Castillonio, alterum Domino Vidamio Carnutensi, tertium Domino Jumellio generoso Gallo et quibusdam in ipsius hospitio agentibus."

Printed by Boehmer, op. cit., 111, 94, footnote b 1.

6. Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden, Haarlem, 1868, xiii, 209.
7. A. M. Hind, Engraving in England, 1952, 1, 122-3.
8. In this edition the illustrations are woodcuts. Their derivation from the anonymous copper-plates (and an attempted identification of the artist) is discussed by Louis S. Friedland in "The Illustrations in 'The Theatre for Worldlings'," The Huntington Library Quarterly, 11 (Feb, 1956), 107-120.
9. Dr. W. A. P. Smit and W. Vermeer: Het Bosken en Het Theatre, Amsterdam and Antwerp, 1953, p. 15.

CHAPTER IIJohn Wolfe (1579-1601) the Innovator. Part 1: Commercial

1. Constable, Henry: Essays Pacifique de la Doctrine des Huguenots.
A Paris [London, John Wolfe] Octob. 1589. No 17; Not in STC.
2. Constable, Henry: Essays Pacifique de la Doctrine des Huguenots.
Imprimé de nouveau a Caen [London, John Wolfe] 1590. No.18; [This
is the second edition of the above.] Not in STC
3. Felipe, Bartolome: Tractado del consejo y de los consejeros de
los Principes. Segunda impression. TVRINC Impreso en casa de
Gio:uincenzo del Pernetto [London, John Wolfe] 1589. No.25; Not
in STC.
4. Gentile, Scipione: Annotazioni sopra la Gierusalemme Liberata di
Torquato Tasso. IN LEIDA [London, John Wolfe] 1586. No.27;
Not in STC.
5. Gonzalez de Mendoza, Juan: L'Historia del gran regno della China.
IN VINEZIA. 1587. Per Andrea Maschio. [London, John Wolfe.]
No.28; STC 12004. [This is a reprint, including the title-page
device (McKerrow 277) and the imprint, of a Venetian edition of
the previous year. Two further Venetian reprints followed - see
Appendix B.]
6. Machiavelli, Niccolo: Historie [Florentino.] IN PIACENZA APPRESSO
gli heredi di Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari. [London, John Wolfe] 1567
No.33; STC 17161. [with device on title-page: McKerrow 252]
7. Machiavelli, Niccolo: I Discorsi. Palermo, appresso gli heredi
d'Antoniello degli Antonielli [London, John Wolfe] 1584. No.34; STC
17159. [Note existence of another issue with variant title-page
and altered preliminary matter.] [with device: McKerrow 226]

8. Machiavelli, Niccolo: Il Principe. Palermo, appresso gli heredi d'Antonello degli Antonelli [London, John Wolfe] 1584. No.35; STC 17167 [with device: McKerrow 226]
9. Machiavelli, Niccolo: Lasino doro. In Roma, [London, John Wolfe] MDLXXVIII. No.36; STC 17158. [with device: McKerrow 249 α]
10. Machiavelli, Niccolo: Libro dell'Arte della Guerra. In Palermo appresso Antonello degli Antonelli. [London, John Wolfe] 1587. No. 37; STC 17163. [Note the existence of a cancel title-page: I Sette Libri dell'Arte della Guerra. MDLXXVII. This title-page was supposed to indicate a new edition, and is normally found with signature M in the altered state.] [with device: McKerrow 226]
11. Perrot, Francois: Aviso piaceuole Data alla Bella Italia. Monaco, Appresso Giovanni Swartz [London, John Wolfe] 1586. No.42; Not in STC.
12. Pietro Aretino: Quattro Comedie. [London, John Wolfe] MDLXXVIII. No.43; STC 19911.
13. Pietro Aretino: La Prima Parte de Ragionamenti. [London, John Wolfe] MDLXXXIII. No.44; This is the first part of STC 19912.
14. Pietro Aretino: La Seconda Parte de Ragionamenti. [London, John Wolfe] MDLXXXIII. No.45; This is the second part of STC 19912. [Note that there are five line-for-line reprints of this edition, none of them by Wolfe. The next one was by John Windet for John Wolfe (see Chapter III); and the rest were continental.]
15. Pietro Aretino: La Terza Parte de Ragionamenti. Appresso Gio. Andrea del Melagrano. [London, John Wolfe] 1589. No.48, STC 19913.

16. Ubaldini, Petruccio: Descrittione del Regno di Scotia. Anversa,
Il Di Primo di Gennaio. [London, John Wolfe] M.D.LXXXVIII. No.
51; STC 24480. [with device: McKerrow 242]
17. Ubaldini, Petruccio: Le Vite delle Donne Illustri. [London, John
Wolfe] 1591. No.52; This issue has only the date '1591' below
an ornament: McKerrow 216, and is the first issue. It collates
A-Q⁴, and is not in the STC. The other issue is later, and is the
one described as STC 24486. This more common issue collates
A-Q⁴, with A1 always cancelled.

This second chapter describes John Wolfe's rewarding discovery that by printing in foreign vernaculars, and using a fictitious imprint, he could evade the restrictions imposed on the development of his business by the monopolist printers. A short biography of Wolfe is included, since his personal history helps to explain the nature of his business dealings, and in this chapter the commercial development of this type of publication is traced as far as 1591, just before Wolfe ceased to do his own printing.

I have thought it necessary to divide Wolfe's surreptitious publications in foreign vernaculars into two groups, the commercial and the political. This chapter deals with the commercial works, those which were printed purely and simply for financial gain, with no political motives. I have left until Chapter IV the events of 1588, when Burghley, with Wolfe's help, first tried his hand at surreptitious political propaganda in foreign vernaculars. This was followed by other pamphlets produced by Wolfe with the same sort of political inspiration.

As a young man John Wolfe appears to have been a member of the Fishmongers' Company; but the earliest definite record is the entry of his apprenticeship to John Day of the Stationers' Company on 25 March 1562 for 10 years.¹ Remembering that apprenticeships in the City Companies were calculated to expire in the apprentice's 25th year,² we may estimate that he was about 15 at this time, and therefore probably born about 1547. There is no record of his entry into the Stationers' Company, and by his own admission he only "served the said John Day by the space of seaven yeares in the trade of printinge."³

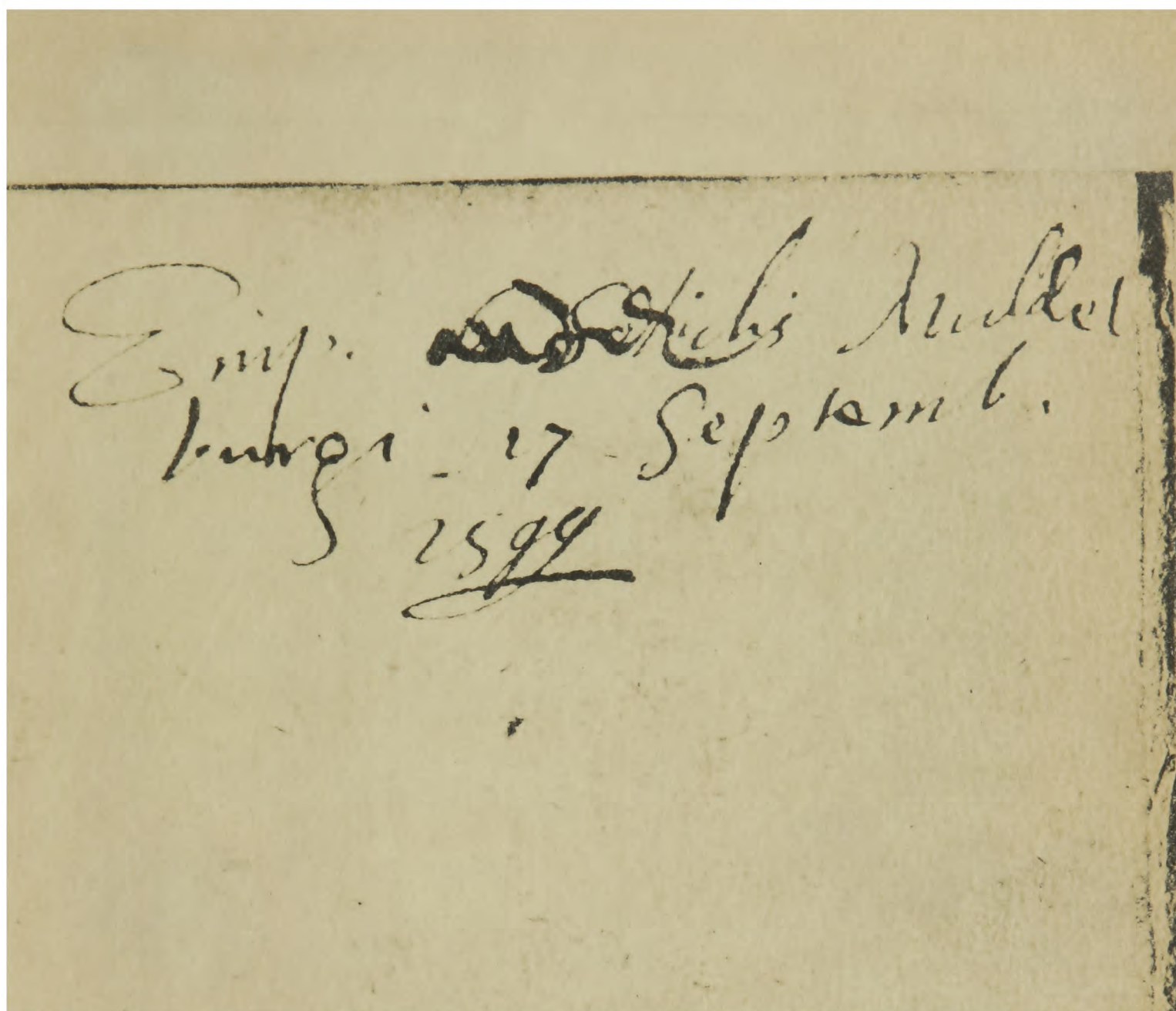
At some time between the ages of 22 (1569) and 32 (1579) he went to the continent and studied printing in Italy. He was almost certainly working in Florence in 1576, for there exist two Rappresentazioni printed "In Fiorenza ad istanzza di Giovanni Valfio Inglese. 1576."⁴ In one of the earliest books bearing Wolfe's imprint the translator, Giovanni Battista Castiglione, writes of him^m as "A Londoner newly arrived from Italy, where he had learned with diligence the art of printing."⁵ Gabriel Harvey, addressing Wolfe several years later, writes: "... I know vnto whom I write; and he that hath read, and heard so many gallant Florentine Discourses, as you haue done, may the better discern, what is what..."⁶ The fact that Wolfe is credited with having read and heard Florentine discourses suggests not only that he spent a considerable period there, but that he also devoted his time to activities other than printing. Certainly, however, he must have learned his craft well, for Petruccio Ubaldini, a Florentine exile who was a part-time corrector of the proofs of Italian books in his printing-house, said in 1581 that ~~STC 2446~~ was the first book to have been printed in Italian in London, and that it was done through the studious effort and diligence of John Wolfe, her citizen. Before this time, Ubaldini continued, works in Italian had to be published elsewhere, as it was not previously possible to print them successfully in London.⁷ A comparison of Wolfe's Italian books with others published during the same period in Italy reveals that his style of printing is very similar.⁸ R.B. McKerrow has noticed that several of Wolfe's devices resemble ones used by various members of the Giunta (or Junte) family, who had

printing establishments in Florence, Venice and Lyons. He further suggests, on the basis of Wolfe's use of a device copied from Gabriel Gualito da Ferreri, that he was connected with their business.⁹ It is not certain, however, that he was ever associated with the Giunti; the seeding fleur-de-lys constitutes part of the arms of the city of Florence, and Wolfe may have adopted this device to commemorate his stay.

It is also probable that he lived in Frankfurt-am-Main for some time, and that while he was there he established a connection which enabled him to market his books at the annual Fair after he had returned to England. It must certainly be more than a coincidence that copies of the very first book entered to him in the Register and printed in 1579 should have been sent to the Frankfurt Fair in 1581.¹⁰ It is curious, but not perhaps too significant in view of the commonness of the name in Germany, that a Johann Wolff was a bookseller in Frankfurt between 1565 and 1569.¹¹

In the early days of the Fair printers brought their own publications to sell; but by this time, on account of the increasing number of printing and publishing houses, there had grown up the class of Buchhändler "whose business it is to deal with the products of a number of presses."¹²

It is possible that the Buchhändler with whom Wolfe dealt came from Middleburgh. There is a MS note on the flyleaf of his edition of Il Principe, which I found in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan reading "Imp. [a] Solidis Middleburgi 17 Septemb. 1599" (see Figure 1 below.)



Empf. ~~Adolf~~ Hübner's Buchhändler
Luzern 17. Septemb.
1899

Figure 1.

The date is fifteen years after the publication of this book, and therefore it may well have been a second-hand copy. It is possible but unlikely that this copy was left over from a previous consignment of books to him in the capacity of a Buchhaendler. The only other dated MS record of provenance was very kindly pointed out to me by James G. McManaway, Consultant in Literature and Bibliography of the

Folger Library, and is in that library's copy of Wolfe's edition of I Sette Libri dell'Arte della Guerra. This reads: Donū Capitanei Sender 19^o Julij 1588^o (see Figure 2) and is the earliest indication of provenance I have yet discovered.

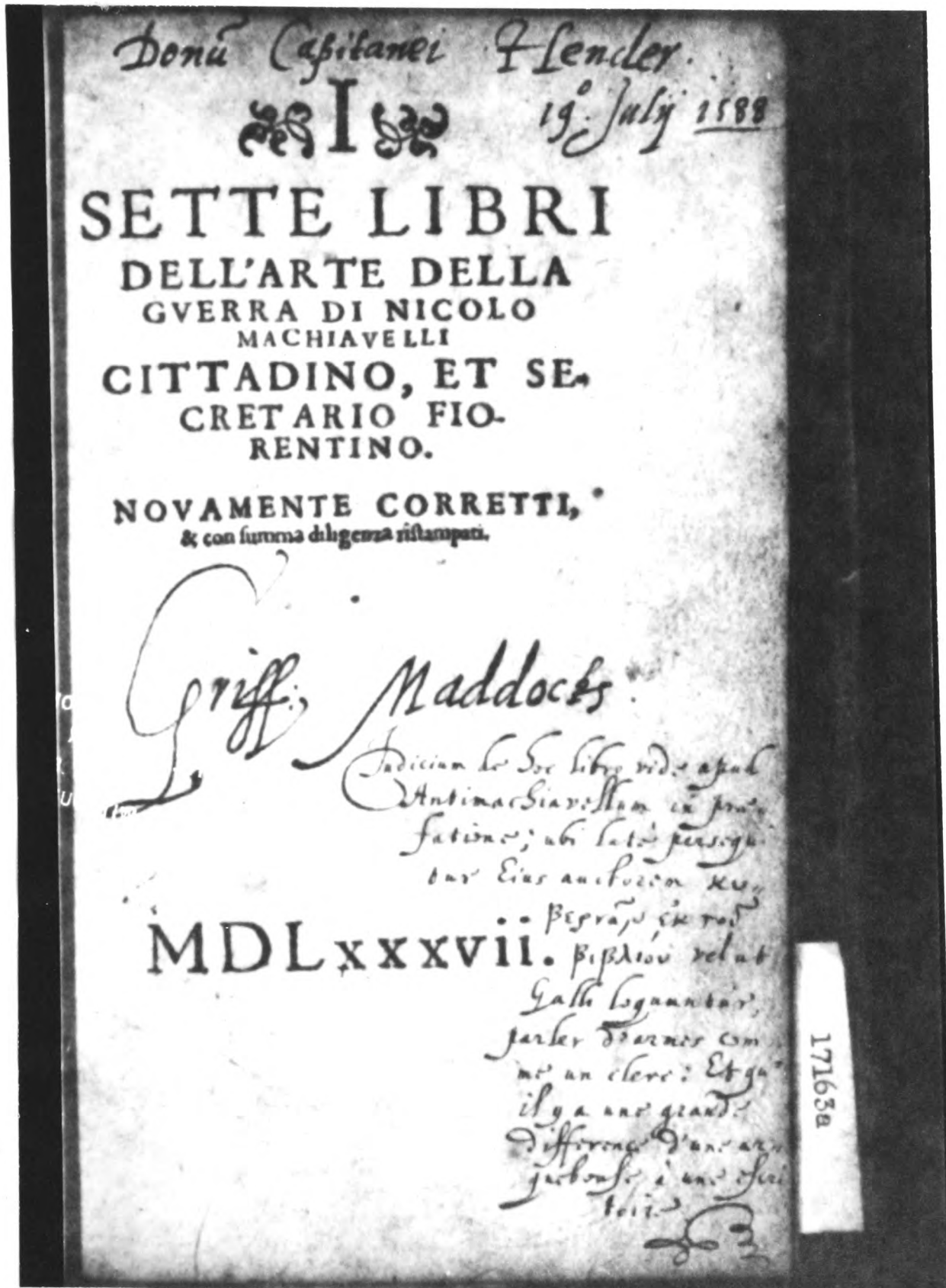


Figure 2.

Wolfe sold copies of many of his books in Latin and foreign vernaculars through the Frankfurt Book Fairs. I have found 22 titles in the Fair catalogues corresponding to books published by him, and there may be more. Some of the titles quoted in the Fair catalogues are not quite the same as the titles of the actual books; however, it is recognised that the titles in these catalogues are not always accurate, especially in languages other than Latin or German. During the course of my research on the continent, I have seen many books which must have been bought at the Fair, and they all have the same title-pages as those found in England. John Wolfe's connection with the Book Fairs was certainly lengthy and probably remunerative, for he continued to send books there quite regularly until 1591. A list of all such books is contained in Appendix H, pages 519 to 524. Wolfe's actual methods of conducting his business at the Fair are hard to trace; but there is an excellent record of the international book trade as it was carried on a hundred years later, and it is probable that he operated in much the same way.¹³

Although John Wolfe's first book was entered and published in 1579 (see above and footnote 5), it is doubtful whether he printed any books before 1581. There is one book bearing his imprint which is sometimes supposed to have been printed by him during that period (STC 92), but none of the ornaments appear in his later publications, and although it purports to have been printed in London, it quite certainly was not.¹⁴

It was therefore only in 1581 that Wolfe actually started his career as a London printer, possibly for the first year in partnership with Henry Kirkham. By Master of 1581 he was already embroiled with Christopher Barker, the Royal Printer, in the first of a long series of controversies over some books whose printing was restricted to Barker and certain other privileged printers.

A year later, in 1582, Wolfe was in even deeper trouble with Barker, still over privileged books, and in one of the records of this dispute Barker says: "Wolfe, leaue your Machauillian deuices, & conceit of your ferreine wit, which you haue gained by gadding about from country to country, and tell me plainly, if you meane to deale like an honest man: what you would haue."¹⁵ It was not long after this encounter that Wolfe became the recognised leader of the whole movement against privileges, though officially still a "fishmonger."

By the next year, however, he had allowed himself to be bought off, and on 1 July 1583 he was formally entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company as a freeman per Redemptione.¹⁶ What probably induced him to abandon his struggle against the monopolists was a raid of which we know by an entry for 27 May 1583, when the Stationers' Company directed the payment of various sums towards the expenses of a raid by the Sheriff "at John Woolffes," when his "Bookes and spindells" were confiscated and carried off to the Sheriff's house (for which 9d. was charged by 3 men). One of the items was a "lyncke" for which sixpence was paid to Barker's man.¹⁷ The census of London printers compiled by Barker and Francis Coldeock in May 1583 shows 23 printers with

53 presses, and "John Wolfe hath 11j presses, and 1j more since found in a secret vault."¹⁸ It may be that the link was used in searching this hiding-place.

This gives us an idea of the prosperity which Wolfe had achieved during two and a half years of strenuous activity, in spite of imprisonment and persecution. With his five presses he was outnumbered by none, and equalled only by Barker, the Royal Printer. Of the other printers, only Day and Denham had four presses; the remainder had three or less. This gave Wolfe a capacity of nearly one-third of the total. Three years later he still had four presses even though his house had been searched and his printing materials seized more than once in the interval.

At this time a campaign was on foot to subject the production of light literature - which, with news pamphlets, formed the bulk of the output of the non-privileged printers - to a more rigorous supervision. It was proposed to control all works written in English, or partly in English and partly in some other language.¹⁹ It is clear, however, that works printed entirely in a foreign language were not to be subjected to these restrictions. This was the loophole which gave Wolfe his opportunity. He was already known to be capable of making an efficient job of printing books in Italian. In 1581 he had printed La Vita di Carlo Magno Imperadore by Petruccio Ubaldini (STC 24486), and the author, an Italian with excellent connections (see his part in the Armada publications, Chapter IV, page ¹²⁶), introduces Wolfe as a competent printer of Italian works who is prepared

to meet any further demands of a similar kind which may be made on him (see note 7).

Wolfe was an energetic and ambitious printer with the mechanical resources to produce almost a tenth of the total volume of material printed in London, but because of the continued opposition of the vested interests, he tended to be short of good copy to print. At the time this was characteristic of the industry as a whole, for Barker reported in December 1582 that "There are 22 printing houses in London where .8 or 10. at the most would suffice for all England, yea and Scotland too."²⁰

Faced, then, with a shortage of material, Wolfe hit on the idea of reprinting editions of popular and well-known Italian works which could not be reprinted by Italian printers (as they normally would have been) because of their appearance in the newly-established Roman Catholic Index Librorum Prohibitorum. There were no international copyright laws or any other means by which a printer in one country could prevent printers in other countries from running off editions of a book: copyrights or patents or privileges were at that time only valid for the country in which they were issued. Therefore, an author or printer who wished to protect his interest in a text was obliged to get separate patents or privileges in as many countries as possible; but, because of the expense involved, this was not often done. So the interesting question is not so much why Wolfe decided to print these Italian books as why he used fictitious imprints when he could have used his own quite openly and without breaking any law.

It would be wrong to imagine that he was printing only for a

foreign market and did not expect to sell any of these books at home, since a promising English market for Italian books had recently been developing after a generation in which Englishmen had come to be more and more interested in Italy and the Italian Renaissance. The publication of William Thomas's Historie of Italie in 1549 was one of the early signs of a growing Italian influence on English learning and custom,²¹ and Thomas followed his history by writing the first Italian grammar to be printed in English and a dictionary which was not superseded for fifty years. Henry Grantham translated a grammar from Latin to help his pupils Mary and Francys Berkeley in 1575, and in the same year Claudius Hollyband dedicated The Italian School-Maister to his pupil John Smith. In 1579 the most famous of Elizabethan Italian grammars, Florio, His firste Fruites, was dedicated to the Earl of Leicester for the benefit of all Englishmen who took pleasure in the Italian language.

Thus by 1580 the Elizabethans were showing a widespread interest in Italian literature, and as well as being able to buy in London Italian books that had been printed in Italy, the reading public found large numbers of them available in English translations. In the century following the publication of Thomas's grammar, over 400 titles had been made available in translation from the original Italian of some 225 authors.²²

But even so there were not enough of them to satisfy all the requirements of English buyers, and there were two ways in particular in which native printers might try to meet the demand. The first was by supplying books needed for special occasions, such as Stella's

Columbiad, a panegyric on Columbus and his discoveries, which was published in London (at the instance probably of Hakluyt) to draw attention to Raleigh's plans for the Virginian adventure.²²

The second was by printing the Italian classics and political or erotic works which had become hard to obtain after the comprehensive Index Librorum Prohibitorum drawn up by Paul IV in 1559. This Index was slightly relaxed soon afterwards when the revised Index Tridentinus of Pius IV was issued in 1564; nevertheless the works of Machiavelli and Pietro Aretino were still prohibited and could no longer be printed in Italy or any other Catholic country.²² There was a continuing demand for these books, however, and the papal ban is even likely to have stimulated it. Stocks on hand may have lasted into the 1570s, but in the next decade the demand for their replacement must have been growing increasingly urgent.

All this would have been known to Wolfe when he was working in Florence, and he was acute enough to realise that there was a double market to be reached. The continental market was already at his disposal because he had been very successful with his editions of the Latin classics, which he started to send to the Frankfurt Fair as early as 1581 (see Appendix II, pages 519 to 524); while at home sales were guaranteed by the enormous contemporary interest in Machiavelli, whose works, especially The Prince, are mentioned again and again in the literature and records of the time. The same was true of the works of Pietro Aretino. It was evident that in England as well as on the continent there would be a demand for their books in the original

Italian; and because of the Index this demand could not be met by Italian printers.

Thus Wolfe, who already had experience in the printing of Italian books and had the expert services of Petruccio Ubaldini as proof-reader, found himself with the opportunity to exploit a double market in which he was likely to be free of competition from outside printers. Why, then, did he use fictitious imprints on the books he published in foreign vernaculars? The explanation probably lies in the bad reputation which English printing had by then acquired in this field. Books, or sections of them, in foreign languages were poorly printed on bad paper in England, with many misprints and corruptions. Foreign books, on the contrary, had good reputations, and besides there was always the prestige value of an imported article. Giordano Bruno says, of his books which were printed in Italian in London during the same period, that his printer insisted on the use of fictitious imprints in order to help sales (see Chapter III); and it would have been these considerations which first led Wolfe to the idea of using a fictitious imprint.

Actually his first venture in search of his new market was issued with no imprint at all, except for the date. This was Pietro Aretino's La Prima Parte de Ragionamenti and La Seconda Parte de Ragionamenti, which he printed late in 1584 (No. 44 and No. 45, which together form STC 19912). It is clear that the two works were published as a double volume because the signatures and pagination of each are independent,

and the two volumes are always bound up together when found in the vellum bindings of contemporary publishers.

Although the absence of an imprint on the title-page might at first tend to suggest that these books of pornography were printed for a private order, the printer's preface gives them a fictitious attribution. The last sentence of the preface to the first book is: "Il Bengodi ne la gia felice Italia, a xxi. d'Ottobre MDLXXXIII." No printer by the name of Barbagrìgia is known to have existed, nor is there any city of Bengodi.

The date of the printer's preface is probably correct even though these titles were not entered to Wolfe in the Register until 14 October 1588, when he entered all his Aretinos. In the printer's preface to La Terza Parte de Ragionamenti, 1589, he regrets that the printing of the third part of this work, promised in the earlier parts, should have been delayed for so very long a time.

In the preface to la Prima Parte, dated 21 October 1584, the printer calls himself 'Il Barbagrìgia.' In the preface to the Comento ... Sopra la Prima Ficata, which is in the second volume, the printer calls himself 'L'Herede di Barbagrìgia' and dates his preface 'Di Bengodi a 12. di Gennaio MDLXXXIV.' This does not mean that the second volume was printed before the first, as has been often stated; rather, the second date is old style and should be understood as 1584/5.

In the long run, as more and more Englishmen learned to read Italian, this double volume became very popular, and five line-for-line reprints were issued by other printers before 1660 (see Chapter III, page 81 and Appendix B). The other Aretinos printed by Wolfe were

not so popular, possibly because they were less sensational than this first double volume.

From a title-page with no imprint except for the date and a fictitious attribution in the preface, it was only a short step to the use of a fictitious imprint on the title-page itself, and Wolfe took it when I Discorsi and Il Principe by Niccolo Machiavelli were printed in London as another double volume in January 1584/5. (No. 34, STC 17159 and No. 35, STC 17167).

There is no reason to doubt the correctness of the date in the imprint, which is also of course old style: 28 January 1584/5. Although there does not appear to be any entry either for the double volume or for the parts separately in the Frankfurt-am-Main Book Fair catalogues, the double volume certainly sold in large quantities on the continent as well as in England, as is clear from its present-day locations. The inscription in the Ambrosiana copy (Figure 1 in this chapter, page 32) shows that this edition was still on sale in Germany 15 years after its first printing.

After examining more than thirty copies of both books I am convinced that they were not only printed together but were actually sold together as a double volume in the normal vellum trade-binding. The only copies which I have found that are not bound up together are not in their original bindings. These books were printed immediately after the Prima and Seconda parts of Ragionamenti, and were produced in a remarkably similar way even to the extent of being sold as a double volume. The larger work, I Discorsi, precedes Il Principe, which, like La Seconda Parte de Ragionamenti, is padded out with a few

additional essays.

There are two different first signatures of I Discorsi, one much rarer than the other. Although the setting of type is completely different, even on the title-page, the texts are substantially the same, with only a few minor changes; and it is probable that the only reason for the second printing of the first signature was an accidental shortage of sheets from the first printing (see Notes for No. 34, page 280).

After the Aretino and the Machiavelli Wolfe attempted no more surreptitious printing in foreign vernaculars for another year and a half. It may be that the sale of these two double volumes in a foreign language was rather slow in the early stages,²⁴ but in any case Wolfe had other matters to occupy him just at this time. On 8 Jan 1583/4, a few months after he had been admitted to the Stationers' Company, a list was published of privileged books which henceforth other (and poorer) members of the Company would be allowed to print. This concession was more apparent than real; most of the titles were not of privileged books at all, but merely old copyrights unloaded by the patentees. The valuable ones were kept as jealously as before.²⁵ This concession certainly did not impress Wolfe, and within a short time he started to pirate Day's Psalms in Metre. As a result his house was searched on 18 May 1584, and his printing materials confiscated; he entered a bill of complaint against this action in the Court of Star Chamber.²⁶ John Day died soon afterwards and his son and heir Richard found it best to come to an agreement with Wolfe, who, together with Edward White, William Wright, Thomas Butter, and Francis Adams, was appointed his assign in the execution of his father's patent, some time before 16

November 1584. Wolfe then did all the printing of the Psalms in Metre for the assigns between 1585 and 1591 (in which year he ceased to be a partner, and was succeeded by John Windet as sole printer).

These events, and the work that they produced, kept Wolfe sufficiently busy during 1585 and 1586. The entries under these years in Morrison's Index show that he was at the height of his activity, and shortly afterwards his long-standing struggle with the Stationers' Company was brought to an amicable end. The occasion for this was a Star Chamber decree in June 1586 which considerably extended the Company's control over the printing trade.²⁷ The licensing and entering of books was thereafter more strictly enforced, and books printed wholly in foreign languages were now as closely controlled as those printed either partially or wholly in English. Before the decree, only books completely or partially in English or Latin seem to have been controlled, the previous regulations having been so worded as to leave a loophole for works that were entirely in a foreign vernacular.

One consequence of the new enactment was that Wolfe, whose previous books in foreign vernaculars had not been entered in the Stationers' Register, began in 1587 to enter not only the books of this kind that he intended to print but also those which he had printed previously. A second consequence was that the Company decided to pay the burglar to turn policeman. By this time Wolfe was personally better known to the Company, and his activities were more strictly under their control. His past experience as a pirate printer, and his close acquaintance with the principal offenders, made him invaluable to the Company in detecting and seizing pirate presses. So on 9 April 1587 he was appointed

substitute to Timothy Rider, the Company's Beadle, and on 23 July he was confirmed as Beadle.

At Michaelmas, after some delay, he moved into rooms in the Stationers' Hall, the use of which seems to have been one of the emoluments of the Beadle's office. Wolfe then proceeded not only to live but also to carry on his business as a printer in the Stationers' Hall.²⁸ He remained there until after February 1st, 1590/1 when "A convenient printinghouse being provided for him," the Company authorized part of the expense of rent or removal.²⁹

In the meantime he had resumed the surreptitious printing of books in foreign vernaculars. Two works of this kind appeared in 1586. The first was by François Perrot, Seigneur de Mesieres: Aniso piacevole dato alla bella Italia, 1586 (No. 42; not in SIC). It was an attack on the Papal court, and was later refuted by Cardinal Bellarmine.³⁰ The book itself has been the cause of much discussion in the past, as it was thought until very recently to have been the first and only product of a Monaco press.

The second was Scipione Gentile's Annotazioni sopra la Gerusalemme Liberata di Torquato Tasso. 1586 (No 27; not in SIC). Wolfe had already published several books of Gentile's comments on Tasso, written in Latin, and had sent copies of some of them to the Frankfurt-am-Main Book Fairs (see Appendix II pages 521-2). Tasso's Gerusalemme was popular throughout Europe; and as Gentile's comments do not seem to have any strong political or religious flavour, it seems clear that Wolfe's use of a fictitious imprint was the result of commercial expediency. Copies of this edition were sold in the Frankfurt Fair in 1586.

The next three years, 1587-9, were the most active of Wolfe's career in the field of surreptitious printing. During this period he printed classics, religious works, historical essays by his proof-reader Petruccio Ubaldini, many news pamphlets in French (some openly and others not), and the first political propaganda pamphlets in foreign languages. Copies of most of these were sold on the continent through the Frankfurt-am-Main Book Fair (see Appendix H, pages 519-24).

He seems to have thought of doing an edition of Boccaccio's Decameron in Italian (this was licensed to him 13 September 1587); but if he ever actually printed it, no copies survive, and I think that he abandoned the idea when he discovered that this book was not on the Index Librorum Prohibitorum, and that there would be too much competition from continental printers.

His editions of the Italian classics printed during these three years comprise three volumes of Machiavelli: Historie [Florentine], Libro dell'arte della Guerra [with variant title page], and the Asino d'Oro; and two of Pietro Aretino: Quattro Comedie and La Terza Parte de Ragionamenti. Despite his printed promises (in the introductions to the Ragionamenti) and the entry which he registered on 14 October 1588, he does not seem to have printed an edition of Pietro Aretino's Letters.

The Historie, printed in 1587, (No. 33; STC 17161) contains a Preface to the Reader dated Piacenza 2 June 1587, referring to the previous promise of Antonietto degli Antonietti to print this and other works by Machiavelli. Above Wolfe's fictitious imprint there is a device (McKerrow 252) closely copied from one actually used by the real

Gabriel Giolito de' Ferreri.³¹ Copies of this edition were sold at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 1588 (see Appendix H, page 522).

The Libro dell'Arte della Guerra, printed in 1587, (No 37; SIC 17163), has the imprint "IN PALERMO APPRESSO ANTONELLO DEOLI ANTONELLI." and is not dated. Wolfe was careless in selecting this imprint, as "Antonello" had been dead at least three years previously when the Discorsi and Il Principe had been printed by his "heirs" ("heredi d' Antoniello"). The device above the imprint (McKerrow 226) was probably inspired by a block in some emblem book.

Copies of this 1587 edition are found with a variant title page: I Sette Libri dell'Arte della Guerra, with only the date for imprint: "MDLXXXVII," and no device.

Both titles are on A1^r, and for both A8 is conjugate. A2-7 are identical in all copies seen by me. R.B. McKerrow claims³² that the cancel title I Sette Libri was printed as T4 of the Libro dell'Arte; but this is not correct.

The original title page was the Libro dell'Arte. When it became advisable to change to a cancel title (see below), the title I Sette Libri was composed and the text for its conjugate, A8, was reset.

The generally accepted explanation for these two title-pages, first given by Mr. Harry Sellers in 1924, is completely wrong. Mr. Sellers assumed that the copies with the Palermo imprint (Libro dell'Arte) were sold in England, and that the fictitious imprint was used in an effort to improve sales. He then goes on to say that "Copies of this title-page I Sette Libri were destined for the Frankfurt Book Fair, where Palermo as a printing centre would not be swallowed."³³ This argument

is easily refuted: Wolfe's edition of Machiavelli's Historie [Piorenina], printed the same year with the same fictitious Palermo imprint, was sent to the Frankfurt Fair the following year.³⁴ Copies with I Sette Libri were also sold at that same Fair,³⁵ as Wolfe had presumably substituted the cancel titles in all the copies which he still had in stock as soon as he discovered and corrected his printing error.³⁶ The book was certainly by this time being sold with the I Sette Libri title in England, as is shown by the title page of a copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library (see Figure 2, Page³³).³⁷

The need for a second title page was in fact caused by a serious error in the printing of the book. One and two-thirds pages of the text were omitted from signature M, and the resulting confusion is far too great for even an Elizabethan reader. The mistake was rectified by cancelling M⁴ and substituting two leaves on which the type measure is nine millimeters shorter. Signature M should then have nine leaves; but this is a very rare state, and most copies have either the original signature or the altered signature lacking M⁵ [of the original signature; M⁶ of the enlarged signature], which presumably fell out during or after the binding.³⁸

Wolfe clearly substituted the cancel title [I Sette Libri] in order to sell off the remaining copies by pretending that they were an altogether different edition. The two title-pages differ completely both in layout and in style, and the normal buyer would be unlikely to associate copies containing the new title with the edition of the work which was known to have an imperfect text.

The last Machiavelli printed by Wolfe was L'Asino d'Oro, 1588.

(No 36; STC 17158.) Above the imprint is a device, McKerrow 259.³⁹

In the printer's preface Wolfe refers to "il buono Stampatore Antoniello de gli Antonielli", who unfortunately died without fulfilling the promises made in his editions of the Discorsi and Il Principe to print this present volume. This shows carelessness on Wolfe's part, as these books had supposedly been printed by the "Heirs" to Antoniello, (who, it would seem, had managed to resuscitate himself in order to print the Libro dell'Arte della Guerra three years later). In the Historie these promises were repeated by the "Heirs" of Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari; here, this is conveniently forgotten, and the Asino d'Oro is presented as the last of the promised works by this anonymous printer, who dates his foreword: "Di Roma a 20. di Maggio. 1588." Copies were sold in the Frankfurt-am-Main Book Fair the next year, as can be seen from the entry in the special catalogue for the Lenten fair of 1589.⁴⁰

Earlier in 1588 Wolfe had already printed an edition of Pietro Aretino's Quattro Comedie. (No. 43; STC 19911; entered to Wolfe 20 September 1588.⁴¹) The preface contains a reference to Bartogrighia's promises (from Wolfe's earlier edition of Ragionamenti) and states that the present printer hopes to publish more by the same author, although he does not give his name or even a date. Wolfe's edition of this work must have been printed early in 1588, as it was already on the market in Frankfurt that same year.⁴² It is easily the most common of this type of book by Wolfe, and is found in large numbers all over the continent, where it must have enjoyed a wide sale.

The next and last Aretino to be printed by Wolfe was La Terza Parte de Ragionamenti, 1589 (No. 48; STC 19913). The printer's preface to the

reader explains that this is the third and last part of the Ragionamenti promised by the "valiant" Barbagrìgia in 1584, when he printed the first two parts. It proceeds to describe the grandiose plans of the present printer to produce, as well as an edition of the Poems of Aretino, a luxurious folio edition of his Letters with copious marginal notes, the whole arranged in alphabetical order and with a table of contents at the end. This preamble is dated 13 January 1589 from Valcerca, and it is a pity that neither edition was printed. These titles were all entered to Wolfe on October 14th, 1588.⁴³ His edition of the third and last part of Ragionamenti was sold at the Frankfurt Book Fair of the same year (which means that the date appended to the printer's preface must have been that of the finishing of the book).⁴⁴

These later works must have sold less well than the first double volume of the first two parts of Ragionamenti, which remained in print for five years and was reprinted for Wolfe by Windet a few years later as soon as the first printing was exhausted. The Quattro Comedie and the third part of Ragionamenti were not reprinted by Wolfe, Windet, or anyone else (until modern times), except in collected editions. This is in contrast to the five line-for-line reprints of Wolfe's edition of the first two parts of Ragionamenti before the Cosmopolit edition of 1660.

The reason for this is clear from the nature of the books themselves: the Quattro Comedie and the Terza Parte de Ragionamenti are relatively innocuous - probably almost insipid to an Elizabethan reader - compared with the indecencies of the first and second parts of the Ragionamenti.

This explains why the first two parts went through six editions in eighty years, and why the other two were not reprinted even once during that time. It also explains why Wolfe never went through with his plans for editions of the Letters and the Poems.

The prefaces to Wolfe's editions of Machiavelli and Pietro Aretino were all written by the same person. They have an exceptionally pronounced didactic tendency, and contain a number of stylistic peculiarities such as the frequent use of parenthesis and the habit of assuming an air of modesty by continually inserting "s'io non erro" or "s'io non m'inganno", which are also found in the texts of the books written by Wolfe's proof-reader, Petruccio Ubaldini. His style varies so markedly from the Italian normally written at that time that it is quite unmistakable, even in small amounts of text.

Petruccio Ubaldini was a Florentine Protestant exile who had only been saved from imprisonment for debt in 1579 by the intervention of the Privy Council. He served as John Wolfe's Italian proof-reader for the ten years during which Wolfe printed Italian books, and then went over (or was passed) to Richard Field, who succeeded Wolfe as the principal Italian printer in London. There are no extant press proofs with his corrections on them; but the influence of his extremely characteristic style is clearly visible in occasional passages which have been altered from the original texts. He will be discussed in detail in Chapter V, ^{pages 126-8} in connection with the six books which Richard Field printed for him in Italian.

Wolfe printed three books for Ubaldini: La Vita di Carlo Magno

Imperadore, Descrittione del Regno di Scotia, and Le vite delle Donne Illustri; the last two of them surreptitiously.

The first, La Vita di Carlo Magno Imperadore, 1581 (STC 24486), entered 17 January 1581 and mentioned earlier in this chapter, was the first book in Italian to be published by Wolfe and only the second book in Italian to be published in England. This first venture obviously led to a closer acquaintance between author and printer, and must have been at least in part responsible for Wolfe's decision to continue printing in Italian. It is significant that Wolfe's name occurs in the imprint.

The second, Descrittione del Regno di Scotia, 1588 (No 51; STC 24480), has the device: McKerrow 242, and marks, the only use by Wolfe of a fictitious imprint in a work by Ubaldini (whose later works lack any imprint, except for the date). It should be remembered that, although the location of printing is fictitious, the date is correct; indeed, in almost all surreptitiously printed books which I have examined, the date is correct whenever it is given.

The third, Le Vite delle Donne Illustri, has a more complicated history. It came out in 1591 in two issues, the title-page of one bearing an imprint and the title-page of the other omitting it. Fortunately, in this particular case the reason for the variant title-page is obvious.

The first issue, or the first few copies of the edition, had a title-page with no imprint except for the date '1591' below the device McKerrow 216 (No 52, not in STC). This is the original edition, as it was planned by Ubaldini and Wolfe, and it contains a main preamble

and an additional note to the reader on signature A. It collates A-Q⁴, and is a variant issue of STC 24486.

The second issue, i.e. the remaining copies of the first edition, has a title-page with the imprint: "LONDRA / Appresso Giovanni Volfio. / 1591." below McKerrow 216. This is the altered edition, in the form to which it must have been hurriedly changed when it found favour with the Queen. It collates A-Q⁴, of which A1 (the old title) is always cancelled. This is the edition given as STC 24488. The new signature consists of the new title-page and an extremely flowery and flattering 5½ page dedication to Queen Elizabeth.

The sequence of events is clear. The book was originally planned as just one more presentation of what was assumed to be an interesting subject. But this subject, the "Lives of Illustrious Women," presented historically in a very poor imitation of the Latin tradition, seems to have caught the favourable attention of the Queen. Ubaldini was a Court parasite, and as soon as the good news reached him, he and Wolfe must have stopped the printing of the book and added an extra first sheet with the flattering dedication. In accordance with the usual custom, this book would have been set up and printed starting with the text on signature B. [which would explain the gap at the end of signature A in the original], and therefore signature A would have been the last one to be set up and printed. Ubaldini's Court acquaintances must have received early copies, in much the same fashion that reviewers receive early copies today, for the news of the Queen's approval came while the title-page was still set up [for the printing of extra title-pages as advertisements?]. This is proved by the fact that the text

of the title-page above the ornament comes from exactly the same setting of type in both cases. John Wolfe would naturally wish to be connected with any book which pleased his Queen, and he probably insisted that his name be on the new titlepage of the copies containing the new dedication. It is also possible that general knowledge of the Queen's interest in the book would so help its sales that a suggested Italian origin would no longer be the best way of selling the most copies. Thus it came about that a book originally intended for surreptitious publication was instead openly acknowledged as soon as it became more profitable to do *this*: which tends to prove that Wolfe's surreptitious Italian printing was done for commercial reasons (except for the Government-commissioned propaganda, discussed in Chapter IV), and not because the material was of a variety which might get him into trouble with the Government.

One other Italian book reprinted by Wolfe should be mentioned here [leaving the continuation of Ubaldini's career to Chapter V]: L'historia del gran regno della China, 1587, by the Augustinian missionary Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza. (No 28; STC 12004). It was entered to Wolfe on September 13th, 1587,⁴⁵ and contains three Chinese characters, which probably mark the first printing of Chinese in England (see Notes for No. 28). In the same year, Wolfe also printed the English edition (STC 12003) under the same entry in the Register; his edition of the Italian text could therefore be regarded as another addition to his "standard set" of popular Italian texts.⁴⁶

The exceptional thing about this book is that for once Wolfe did not use an invented fictitious imprint. His Italian text is a word-

for-word reprint of the 1586 edition which Andrea Muschio printed in Venice, complete even to the titlepage device and the imprint (only the date is altered: see Appendix B). Henry R. Wagner has produced an excellent bibliography of this book,⁴⁷ which was so popular on the continent in the last part of the XVIth century that it would have sold in England even in its original language. It was not in the Index Librorum Prohibitorum, and there were so many editions being produced on the continent that it would have been superfluous and unprofitable for Wolfe to have exported copies of his edition to the Frankfurt Fairs.

The first edition of this book was in Spanish and was printed in Romeⁱⁿ 1585 by Viacenzio Accolti, who occasionally used a device of an eagle showing the sun to its young (the idea was probably taken from a book of emblems).⁴⁸ In 1586 Accolti (a trade printer) was probably responsible for the five editions of the Italian translation printed in Rome, and before the year was out Gerolamo Bartoli printed an edition in Genoa and Andrea Muschio printed the first of his editions of the Italian text.

The next year Wolfe produced his close reprint of Muschio's edition, even to the point of having a woodcut copy made of Muschio's device. The copy, McKerrow Z77, then had an extensive life in England. Wolfe did not reprint either the Italian ^{or the} English editions; but the real Muschio produced another Italian edition in 1588 and again in 1590 (see Appendix B, pages ⁴¹⁸ to ⁴²³). It has been suggested that Andrea Muschio is an improbable name for an Italian printer; but there is no doubt that he did exist and that he worked in Venice from 1566 to 1600.⁴⁹

After the Armada Wolfe became less exclusively interested in Italian, and produced one Spanish book and two editions of a French

book, all with fictitious imprints. These were his last commercial publications of this sort before he gave up doing his own printing early in 1592.

The book in Spanish was Bartolome Felippe's Tractado Del Consejo y de los Consejeros de los Principes, 1589 (No.25; not in the STC). This is the second edition, as is stated on the title-page. The first edition was printed at Coimbra by Antonio de Mariz in 1584. On 4 April 1589 it was entered to John Wolfe both for Spanish and for English. The English translation is STC 10753 and is the work of John Therius of

Oxford.⁵⁰ The Tractado del Consejo is relatively common in German and Italian libraries in the Wolfe edition only, and it is interesting to note that Wolfe gave a fictitious Italian location in the imprint of his only Spanish book. His printer's preface, also written in Italian, signed Gio:uincenzo del Pernetto, and dated "Di Turino a 19. di Febraio. 1589.", expresses his admiration for the author of this work and explains that the reason for this second edition is that the first edition was so badly printed by Antonio de Mariz as to be unreadable, and that he feels that the second edition is more worthy of the *reputation* of the author and the dignity of the work.

In the same year Wolfe published Henry Constable's Enamen pacifique de la Doctrine de Huguenots, 1589. (No. 17; not in STC; entered to Wolfe 26 August 1589 for both English and French.⁵¹) The edition in English does not seem to have been published until 1623 (STC 6377), after it had been re-entered to H. Butter on 15 May 1623.⁵² But the translation was entered to Aspley on 4 June 1612,⁵³ and although no copies are now

in existence it is possible that he produced an English edition during this year.

It was certainly an important book, being both topical and interesting. It was written anonymously by Henry Constable, the English courtier poet, shortly before his conversion to Roman Catholicism,⁵⁴ and is a reply to a French translation (1588) of Cardinal Bellarmine's Latin answer (Rome, 1586) to the Apologie Catholique of Edmond de L'Allouette [frequently identified with Pierre de Belloy], France, 1585 (three editions known of that year). L'Allouette's pamphlet was a defence of the right of Henry of Navarre to the throne of France despite the bull of Pope Sixtus V banning him as a heretic, and the subject remained topical until 1593, when Henry resolved the controversy by becoming a Catholic.

The foreword to Examen Pacifique makes it clear that Constable was only concerned with refuting that part of the original argument which attempts to establish that Huguenots are heretics. In this way the charge of heresy laid against Henry of Navarre would fail, and he would no longer be disqualified, in the eyes of the Papacy, from the French throne. The history and background of these pamphlets has recently been fully examined by Dr. Rogers of the Bodleian Library.⁵⁵

It is obvious that a book written in French which tried to prove that Huguenots were not heretics would be of great interest to the large numbers of Huguenot exiles in England at that time, and it is hardly surprising that Wolfe should find an excellent home market for his publication. The Paris imprint was clearly meant not only to help sales but also to impress the exiles with the genuineness of the work and

the authority of its argument. According to the title-page the book was supposed to have been written by a Catholic; and as known Catholics were not encouraged by the English Government, in the year after the Armada, to publish books on religious topics, any genuine London imprint would have rendered the whole text highly suspicious.

It must have sold well, since I found a copy of a previously unknown second edition, printed within a year of the first, in the College Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge. This edition was also printed by John Wolfe, from completely reset type, and is dated 1590. (No. 18; not in SEC).

The chapter on Wolfe's commercial use of the technique of surreptitious printing in foreign vernaculars ends with these works. His political propaganda pamphlets, the first of which was written by Lord Burghley, will be discussed in Chapter IV. I shall also consider Wolfe's French news pamphlets in that chapter, as the surreptitious nature of some of them may have been inspired by political motives.

Notes for Chapter II

1. Arber, I, 172.
John Wolfe's biography is given in The Library, Fourth Series, XIV, 111 (Dec. 1933), 241-274, in an article by Mr. Harry R. Hoppee. A more detailed version of this biography is contained in the unpublished MA thesis of Mr. Hoppee, dated 1933, now in the Library of the University of London.
2. Arber, I, xli-xlii.
3. Star Chamber Proceedings, 26 Elizabeth. Bundle W. 34, number 23 (18 May 1584) [see note 26].
4. The titles of these are: (A) Historia et vita di Santo Bernardino, and (B) La Historia e oratione di Santo Stefano Protomartire. See the article in three parts by Professor A. Gerber in Modern Language Notes, XXII, v (May 1907), 130. A copy of (B) above is in the British Museum: C.34.h.6(35).
5. J. Acentius, Una essortatione al timor de Dio, 1580, p. 4 [A2^v; STC 92]. This Giovanni Battista Castiglione has not yet identified. He is not the Florentine poet of the same name who died in 1559 before Wolfe had left England (H.R. Hoppee, M. A. thesis, op. cit., p.7), nor does he appear to be related to other contemporaries with similar names. See Ferdinand Buisson, Sebastian Castellion, Paris, 1892.

See Footnote 14 (below, p. 60) for a discussion on the printing and origin of STC 92.
6. Gabriel Harvey, A New Letter of Notable Contents, 1593, A4^r. STC 12902.
7. Petruccio Ubaldini: La Vita di Carlo Magno Imperadore, 1581, A2^v. STC 24486.

"Che l'opere Italiane non men si possono stampar felicemente in Londra, che le si stampino altroue (essendo questa la prima) per studio, & diligenza di Giouanni Wolfio suo cittadino."

The statement that this is the first book in Italian to be printed in London may well have been considered to have been the truth at the time; it is not actually so in view of the existence of Mierdman's Cathechismo, No. 21.

It is interesting to note, as an aside, that La Vita di Carlo Magno Imperadore, (STC 24486), is not only the first book printed in Italian by Wolfe, with the proofs corrected by Ubaldini, but that its second edition, a reprint by Richard Field in 1599 without any imprint (STC (24487), and with the proofs also corrected by Ubaldini, is the last book to have been surreptitiously printed in England in Italian before 1640.

8. H. R. Hoppee, M. A. thesis, op. cit., p. 8.
9. R. B. McKerrow, Dictionary 1567-1640, 1910, p. 297.
10. Sapientissimi regis Salomonis concie in latinam Linguam ab. A. Corrano versa, 1579. STC 2761. This was printed for Wolfe by John Charlewood, as stipulated in the entry in the Register, Arber, II, 353. It is another interesting coincidence that Antonio de Corro (cf Chapters I & III) should have been the author of this work, and that the actual printer of it was John Charlewood, who was to be Wolfe's first and closest imitator (see Chapter III). For the Frankfurt-am-Main Book Fair reference, see Appendix H., p. 520.
11. Friedrich Kapp, Geschichte des Deutschen Buchhandels bis an das Siebzehnten Jahrhundert, Leipzig, 1886, 1,613,774,824.
12. J. W. Thompson, The Frankfurt Book Fair, Caxton Club, 1911, p. 26.
13. The Notebook of Thomas Bennet and Henry Clements, edited by Norma Hodgson and Cyprian Elagden. Oxford 1956. [Oxford Bibliographical Society Publications, New Series, Volume VI, 1953.]
14. STC 92, which has already been referred to in Footnote 5 (above, page 59), is attributed in the preface to Jacobus Acontius (or Giacomo Aconzo), an Italian Protestant exile who died in London in 1566.

V N A
ESSORTA-
TIONE AL
TIMOR DI
D I O.

*Con alcune rime Italiane, nouamente
messe in luce.*

g N E P I V
Z
M
M
M
Z,
V A N O T O A V T



IN L O N D R A
Appresso Giovanni Wolfio, Seruitore de
l Illustrissimo Signor
Filippo Sidnet.

A L A
SERENISS.
MADAMA
ELISABETTA

G R A N
REGINA D'INGHILTERRA
FRANZA, ET IRLANDIA
& cetera.

V A N D O Serenissi-
ma Madamma, M.
Iacomo Acontio già
seruitore di V. M. S.
da questa à l'altra vi-
ta fece passaggio, tra
alcuni scritti ch'egli
mi lascio, trouai vna
operetta di sua mano scritta, e secondo che
da lo stile mi parue poterli comprendere,
dal suo felice ingegno parimente compo-
sta. La quale da me più e più volte letta, e
sempre più piacendomi, in me destò vn de-
siderio grande di mandarlo à la stampa: sì
perche l'Autore d'ella, da me mentre ci uile

A 2 per

V N A
ESSORTATIONE
AL TIMOR DI
D I O.

GLI E COSA CER-
tamente di consideratione
molto degna: che se ci vien
tal hora letto ò uisito di qual
che grand'huomo racconta-
re, il quale ò in arme; ò in
gouerni di stati; ò in lettere,



in qual si voglia altra cosa di quelle che tener
puole il mondo in istima e marauiglia: assueua
che già molti secoli morto sia, ad amare nondi-
meno e riuire il nome suo ci mouiamo. Grande
è'l piacere, che la memoria ci reca delle cose pro-
peramente loro succedute: et allo incontro non po-
ssiamo altrisi quella delle anse. Amiamo i
nostri amici con tutti quelli che si sono à loro deside-
re di segni accomodati: e quelli habbiamo in
uolito, che ò resistenza gli hanno malignamente
fatta, ò gli sono stati (come che sia) d'alcuno in-
comodo cagione. Che allegrezza sentirebbono
molto, se veder potessero risuscitauo vn' Alessan-
dro Magno, vn Scipione Africano, vn Solone,
vn Licurgo, vn Homero, vn Socrate, vn Plato-
ne, vn Aristotele, ò qualunque altro di quegli
homines che del suo ualore, ingegno, e sapere ce-

A 4 lebro

FIGURE 3. (STC 92)

The reference on the title-page to Sir Philip Sidney probably results from an encounter in Frankfurt. Sir Philip Sidney spent four months in Frankfurt in 1573, and passed through it again on his return to England during the first half of 1575. While there, he stayed at the home of Andrew Wechel, a learned printer (H. R. Hoppee, M. A. thesis, *op. cit.*, p. 11). Wolfe would almost certainly have known Andrew Wechel, and presumably met Sidney at Wechel's home or shop. Being by character the sort of man who would make the most of an opportunity, Wolfe might well have presumed upon a slight acquaintance with Sidney to use his name.

I do not think that STC 92 was published in London, despite the imprint on the title-page. Neither the ornament nor the two initials correspond to any others that I have seen in English works of the period, and certainly neither Wolfe nor those jobbing printers who occasionally worked for him ever used these initials in any of their books in Oxford or the British Museum. Also, the leaves are signed off-centre towards the right-hand side of the page, which is normally a good indication of non-English origin. Unfortunately, I have not been able to trace either the device or the initials in other works. The device is unknown to Dr. Rogers, Mr. F. S. Ferguson and Professor Jackson; the initials belong to a series, reputed to have been originally designed by Albrecht Dürer, of which a very large number of copies and imitations spread throughout Europe. This booklet most closely resembles the contemporary products of Basle, Strassburg and Frankfurt; and bearing in mind Antonio de Corro's statement that other Protestant refugees were having their books printed in Basle (see Footnote 5, p. 24), I think that it might have been done there for Wolfe - if not in Frankfurt, where Wolfe certainly had many friends. See figure 3.

15. Arber, II, 780.
16. Arber, II, 688.
17. Arber, I, 234.
18. Arber, I, 248.

19. Arber, II, 751-3: W. Lombard's corrected draft for an Act of Parliament to set up a Board of Governors for the English Print, 1580.
20. Arber, I, 144.
21. J. R. Hale, England and the Italian Renaissance, 1954, p. 12.
22. J. R. Hale, op. cit., p. 18.
23. The Catholic Encyclopedia has the best short article on the history of the Index Librorum Prohibitorum - see under "Censorship". For a discussion of the reasons for which Machiavelli was on the Index, and the circumstances of his being placed on it, see Salvatore Bongi, "Un aneddoto di bibliografia Machiavellesca," Archivio Storico Italiano, Quinta Serie, 1879, xix, 127-8.
24. The double Ragionamenti seems to have sold slowly, for all that it was to be reprinted every 15 to 20 years until 1660, because he says in the preface to the Terza Parte de Ragionamenti, 1589, that "delle quali [the first two parts] ... non se ne truouano piu che ben pochi essempli."
25. Arber, II, 586-8. This should be compared with Barker's report of December 1583 (Arber, I, 114-6, 144) on patent holders and the value of their patents.
26. Star Chamber Proceedings, 26 Elizabeth, Bundle W. 34, number 23, in the Public Record Office. [Pressmark: Star Chamber 5/W.34/23].
27. Text reproduced in Arber, II, 807-812.
28. Note the imprint of STC 12354: And reprinted at London by John Wolfe, dwelling in the / Stationers Hall. 1588.
29. H. R. Hoppee: "John Wolfe", The Library, Fourth Series, XIV, 111 (Dec. 1933), p. 264.
30. James Brodrick, The Life and Work of ... Cardinal Bellarmine, 1928, I, 366-74.

31. See Ronald B. McKerrow: Printers' & Publishers' Devices 1485-1640, The Bibliographical Society, 1949, pp. xxvi to xxix.
32. Ibid., p. 86.
33. Harry Sellers, "Italian Books Printed in England before 1640." The Library, Fourth Series, V, 11 (Sept. 1924), 112.
34. See Appendix H, page 522.
35. See Appendix H, page 522.
36. This reasoning is based on the fact that of the three known copies, the Roman certainly has a very early Italian provenance and the Bodleian was acquired from Sotheran in 1936, who bought it from the Libreria Franceschini in Florence in 1908. It still contains the remnants of an early Continental binding. I have not seen the Folger copy.
37. This inscription was kindly brought to my attention by Mr. James G. McManaway, Consultant in Literature and Bibliography at the Folger Shakespeare Library. It consists of the signature of the owner, Griff: Maddocks, and the note: 'Donu capitanei Hender. 19^o Julij 1588' as well as a reference in Latin, Greek and French to a mention of this work in the 'Antimachiavellum' [Georgius Nigrinus, Pharherr zu Giessen, Antimachiavellus, Strassburg, 1624.] The Greek merely indicates the passage actually quoted, as the book is not in Greek.
38. It is possible also that it is ordinarily missing because the binder might just remove the original double leaf completely before replacing it with the cancel double leaf. For a discussion of the printing of this double leaf and the cancel title-page see the notes to book number 37.
39. This is a copy of the lower part of a device used by Domenico Giglio at Venice in 1552, which itself is imitated from the Giolito device. For details see McKerrow, op. cit., p.xxix, and number 259.

40. See Notes for this edition, No. 36, page 295
41. Arber, II, 500.
42. See Appendix H, page 523.
43. Arber, II, 502.
44. See Appendix H, page 523.
45. Arber, II, 475.
46. Two of the continental copies of this 1587 edition are in Holla nd, and the other two are in Florence. It is not mentioned in the Frankfurt Book Fair Catalogues. This is a good indication of the way in which these books were sold, other than through the Frankfurt Book Fairs: they were presumably sent to the Netherlands and there sold to Italian exiles who would eventually have passed some of them on, or sold some of them, to travellers who would later return to Italy. Some copies, of course, would remain in the local University libraries.
47. Henry R. Wagner, The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794, Berkeley, 1924, pp. 57-73.
48. The first edition in the original Spanish is: Historia De Las Cosas Mas Notables .. with the imprint: 'En Roma, a costa de Bartholome Grassi. 1585. en la Stampa de Vincentio Accolti.' (Copy in the Bodleian Library: 8^{cm}, 2.Art. Seld.) Accolti uses his eagle emblem on the title-page and last leaf of: Cl. Rutilii Numatiani Galli V.C. Itinerarium ... with the imprint: ROMAE, Excudebat Vincentius Accoltus. MDLXXXII. (Copy in the Bodleian Library: 8^{od}. 154. Linc.)
49. Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in Italy ... from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Museum, 1958, pp. 895-6.
50. John Thorius was only 21 at that time, and was living with John Wolfe at the same time as Gabriel Harvey. His own copy, containing throughout his MS corrections in Latin and Spanish, and with the inscription on the title-page: "Johannes Thorius hunc librum possid [et] à se lectum correct [um] & versum in Anglicanum sermonem die 8a Augusti 1589." is in the possession of F. B. Bengier. See

F. R. Bengier "John Wolfe and a Spanish Book." The Library, Fifth Series, III, iii, (Dec 1948) 214-16.

This is the John Thorius who was a student of Antonio de Cerro's and translated his Spanish grammar (see next Chapter).

51. Arber, II, 529.
52. Arber, II, 96. It ran quickly through four editions.
53. Arber, III, 487.
54. It was written originally in French, the English text being the translation, as is obvious from the form of the entry to Wolfe (Arber, II, 529).
55. David Rogers, "The Catholic Moderator": A French reply to Bellarmine and its English author, Henry Constable.' Rucusan History, V, vi, (Oct 1960), 224-235.

My thanks are due to Dr. Rogers for almost all of the above information.

CHAPTER THREE

The Imitators

1. Giordano Bruno: Cabala del Cauallo Pegaseo. PARIGI, Appresso Antonio Baio [London, John Charlewood] Anno 1585. No.6;STC 3934.
2. Giordano Bruno: La Cena de la Ceneri. [London, John Charlewood] 1584. No.7; STC 3935. [Note cancelled leaves.]
3. Giordano Bruno: De la causa, principio, et Vno. Stampato in Venetia. [London, John Charlewood] Anno. M.D.LXXXIII. [rule] No.8; STC 3936.
4. Giordano Bruno: De gl'heroici furori. PARIGI, Appresso Antonio Baio. [London, John Charlewood] 1'Anno. 1585. No.9; STC 3937. [Note variant titlepage.]
5. Giordano Bruno: De l'infinito vnuerso et Mondì. Stampato in Venetia. [London, John Charlewood] Anno. M.D.LXXXIII. [rule] No.10; STC 3938.
6. Giordano Bruno: Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante. Stampato in Parigi. [London, John Charlewood] M.D.LXXXIII. No.11; STC 3940.
7. Corro, Antonio de: Reglas Gramaticales Impressas en Paris, en el a- / ~ no de salud. [Oxford, Joseph Barnes] / 1586. No.19; STC 5789a. [Note variant title with correct Barnes imprint.]
8. Valdes, Alfonso de: Dialogo Impresso en Paris, en el a- / ~ no de salud. [Oxford, Joseph Barnes] / 1586. No.59;STC 24568. [Note variant titlepage, with imprint "...en el / año de..." This book

was reprinted as a reading text for, and was issued with, the Reglas Gramaticales above.]

9. Cecil, Sir William, Lord Burghley: L'Execution de Justice faicte en Angleterre, Le 30. de Iannier 1584 Et du regne D'ELIZABETH, par la grace de Dieu heureusement regnante L'AN 26. [London, T. Vautrollier] No.16; STC 4906. [Note incorrect entry in STC.]
10. Henry IV, King of France: Declaration du Roy sur l'Attentat ... du Duc de Mayenne. Imprime' selon la copie imprime' a Bloys. [London, R. Ward for T. Cadman] 1589. No. 30; Not in STC.
11. Pietro Aretino: La Prima Parte de Ragionamenti. [London, J. Windet for J. Wolfe, c. 1597.] MELXXXIIII. No. 46; Not in STC. [A line-for-line reprint of Wolfe's edition.]
12. Pietro Aretino: La Seconda Parte de Ragionamenti. [London, J. Windet for J. Wolfe, c.1597.] MELXXXIIII. No. 47; Not in STC. [A line-for-line reprint of Wolfe's edition.]

This chapter describes the exploitation by John Charlewood of London and Joseph Barnes of Oxford of John Wolfe's discovery of the profits to be made by printing in foreign vernaculars with fictitious imprints. Both printers attempted to increase the sale of the works of one of their clients in this way; and neither repeated the experiment. These imitations occurred during late 1584, 1585 and early 1586. Three other miscellaneous works are included here because they fall within the thirty years which form the middle period. They may not necessarily be imitations, since at least the third (a double volume) and possibly all of them were produced at the instigation of John Wolfe.

Giordano Bruno, often called the most modern of all the thinkers of the Renaissance, was the author of the six books which John Charlewood produced with surreptitious imprints. Bruno was born in 1548 and entered the Dominican Order at the age of 16; soon, however, he began to hold heretical opinions, and eventually left his monastery. He travelled extensively throughout Europe before coming to England in 1583 to settle for a while, writing and publishing in London, and in Oxford claiming the right to lecture.¹

He left England for France in 1586 and from there went to Germany, where he taught for a couple of years. He was continually homesick, however, and returned to Italy in 1589 where he was denounced to the Inquisition. He spent eight years in prison, first in Venice and then in Rome; finally, on 17 February 1600 he was

sent to the stake.²

During Bruno's interrogation by the Venetian Inquisition he made a statement which is the most important piece of direct evidence in this thesis, and is the only contemporary statement explaining a printer's motives for using a fictitious imprint in books published in foreign vernaculars in England at that time.

On June 2nd, 1592, Bruno said that: "all those [of my books] which maintain in their printer's imprint to have been printed in Venice were actually printed in England. It was the printer who falsely put on them that they were printed in Venice, in order to sell them more easily and also to be able to issue them in more copies; since, had it been stated that they had been printed in England, it would have been more difficult to sell them there. And almost all the others are printed in England, although they may say Paris or some other place."³

It is clear from this statement that a fictitious foreign imprint did in fact help the sales in England of a book in a foreign language. Charlewood obviously hoped that this stratagem would provide easier and increased sales of these books, which would of course allow the printing of a larger and more profitable edition. Obviously, the value of such an imprint on books in foreign vernaculars outweighed the advantages to the printer of having his own name on the titlepage.

The six books which John Charlewood printed in Italian for

Giordano Bruno have much in common. They are all surreptitious, three having a fictitious Paris imprint, two a fictitious Venice imprint, and one no imprint at all; they are all first editions; and they were not reprinted in Italian in Great Britain until modern times. They are all small octavos, and are very similar in appearance and style of printing. There *is* a large number of printing errors in all of them, only some of which are indicated at the end. A seventh book by Giordano Bruno which was published in Latin (STC 3939, printed in London by John Charlewood probably in 1584) conforms closely to the characteristics of the six works in Italian, with the one exception that there are fewer printer's errors in the Latin text than there are in the Italian texts.

The statement made by Bruno to his Venetian inquisitors furnishes the only facts which we possess about the printing of these books. My theories about the order in which they were printed by Charlewood, and his reasons for using the various imprints which they contain, are based on speculation and not on facts. They are the only works in Italian attributed to Charlewood's press; they are also the only ones I know of in which Charlewood used a fictitious imprint; in short, these books are the one venture which Charlewood made into the field of surreptitious printing. Perhaps he was printing these books (just as other printers were to do in later years) for Wolfe; unfortunately, there is no proof.

The vital question is whether Charlewood's use of fictitious

Venetian and Parisian imprints occurred before or after Wolfe's use of a fictitious Palermo imprint in January 1584/5. If Charlewood's books could be shown to have been printed before Wolfe's, then it could be argued that Charlewood originated the idea and that Wolfe was merely copying him. I do not think that this was so, although I have found no evidence to indicate the exact dates of the printing of these books, or of the order in which they were printed. The only dates which we have are those on the titlepages; and although these can be assumed to be accurate (and old style), they are not very precise.

Nevertheless, I believe there is a way of explaining the sequence of the difference imprints. I think that Bruno's Latin book (STC 3939) was the first of his works to have been printed by Charlewood (possibly for someone else); it has no imprint at all. Then, I think that Charlewood printed La Cena, which has only the date 1584 for imprint, before the end of December 1584. By late January 1584/5 Charlewood had probably printed the texts of what may possibly have been a double volume (these two books are bound together in the Bodleian Library and in several other collections - see Notes for No. 8 and No. 10, pages 199 and 200): De la causa and De l'Infinito. Both of these books have the same imprint: " 

Stampato in Venetia. Anno. M.D.LXXXIII.; and it is clear from their collations that their titlepages and preliminary matter were printed after the body of the text (see also below for the same

practice with La Cena).

If these texts were both almost ready, with the titlepages and preliminary matter not yet printed, when Wolfe's Discorsi and Prencipe were published on the 28th of January 1584/5, Charlewood could have decided to copy what seemed to be an excellent idea by using a fictitious imprint on his own Italian books - thus giving rise to the conversation about fictitious imprints which Bruno must have had with him. Since the books were in Italian, it would be natural to use an Italian imprint - Venetian for choice, as the slightly more tolerant Venetian attitude towards such heretical works was well known.

But, once these books were published, Venice might well have seemed a little implausible. Charlewood was obviously publishing the backlog of works which Bruno had accumulated during his years of wandering and exile; and it would therefore not be surprising if the Spaccio were ready just before March 25th, 1584/5. The imprint on this book is: "Stampato in Parigi. M.D.LXXXIIIIII.", which would appear more plausible. In the last two books by Bruno which Charlewood printed, De gl'heroici furori and Cabala (again, possibly as a double volume, since the Cabala is so short), he used the imprint: "A PARIGI, Appresso Antonio Baio Anno. 1585." These works, presuming the date to be true, have the most convincing of Charlewood's fictitious imprints.

The six books in Italian are listed below in their (conjectural)

order of publication:

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| 1. <u>La Cena de le Ceneri</u> . 1584. | No.7; STC 3935 |
| 2. <u>De la causa, principio, et Vno</u> . 1584. | No.8; STC 3936 |
| 3. <u>De l'infinito vniverse et Mond</u> . 1584. | No.10; STC 3938 |
| 4. <u>Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante</u> . 1584. | No.11; STC 3940 |
| 5. <u>De gl'heroici furori</u> . 1585. | No.9; STC 3937 |
| 6. <u>Cabala del Cauallo Pegaseo</u> . 1585 | No.6; STC 3934 |

None of them was entered in the Stationers' Register, presumably because it was not necessary at that time to license books written entirely in a foreign language. Charlewood probably did not consider the right to print Bruno's works to be of any great value; he was not obliged to license them and would therefore wish to avoid the unnecessary expense of entering them. His motive for not entering them is unlikely to have been an attempt to conceal their origin from either the trade or the Government, as they contain too many easily recognised ornaments.

John Charlewood, a printer in London from 1562 to 1593, was an energetic member of the anti-monopolist party of the 1580s. He was cited, with John Wolfe and Roger Ward, as one of the ring-leaders of the gang of printers who printed pirated copies of texts to which they had no rights.⁴ It will be remembered from Chapter II (page 34) that John Wolfe's first book (STC 92) was entered to him on condition that it be printed for him by Charlewood; and the evidence of the ornaments and initials indicates that this condition was carried out. Charlewood and Wolfe must have

known each other quite well through these activities; and therefore when Wolfe started to experiment with fictitious imprints in late 1584 it would have been natural for Charlewood to have known of it. It is likely that Charlewood's editions of Bruno have fictitious imprints in imitation of Wolfe's editions of Machiavelli and Pietro Aretino; it is also possible that Charlewood may have been printing these books for Wolfe.

It should be noted that the use of a fictitious imprint is from this time forward a known method of attempting to increase the sales of a book in a foreign vernacular. Wolfe's successes had proved to the rest of the trade that this was a profitable commercial practice, and from 1584 onwards, the use of a fictitious imprint - and often even the omission of an imprint - should be assumed to be an act of conscious policy. For a few years it was obviously very successful; then, slowly, the reading public must have learnt of this new deception being practised on it, and have become more cautious in its acceptance of such books. Gradually, as the practice became more widely known, the fictitious imprint came to be used for special purposes only. But during these first few years the public was completely (and profitably) misled, and Wolfe had several imitators.

Other printers quickly grasped the financial possibilities of this new idea. In Oxford, Joseph Barnes experimented with a double volume in 1586: Antonio de Corro's Reglas Gramaticales,

and the Dialogo by Alfonso de Valdes, which was added by de Corro as a practice text to go with his grammar. No. 19; STC 4789a and No. 59; STC 24568.

Each of these books has two variant titlepages. In each case the title is similar, although the imprint is altered. The imprints of the Reglas Gramaticales are (A): "Impres~~s~~as en Oxford por Ioseph / Barnes, en el año de salud. / M.D.LXXXVI."; and (B): "Impres~~s~~as en Paris, en el a- / ño de salud. / 1586." The imprints of the Dialogo are (C): "Impres~~s~~o en Paris, en el a- / ño de salud. / 1586."; and (D): "Impres~~s~~o en Paris, en el / año de salud. / 1586."

A dedication to 'senor Horatio Palavincino' is found with the genuine Oxford imprint (A). Forewords from the corrector of the press to the reader are found with all imprints in both books; this single leaf of text is in the same setting of type throughout, although it is only signed '*1j' in the later state.

The problem is: which imprint came first, and why? The texts of both books were obviously printed first, and the first signatures of both were left to be printed last, in the usual way. When the time came to print the title and preliminaries for the Reglas Gramaticales, Barnes clearly started with the genuine Oxford imprint only. The foreword from the corrector of the press was* 7, and was therefore not signed.

Either Barnes or de Corro must have decided, while this first signature was being printed (or at least before the type had been distributed), that it would be a good idea to use a fictitious

imprint. Accordingly, only the type making up the imprint of the title was altered to a fictitious Paris imprint (B), and the rest of the titlepages were run off from this setting of type. The dedication was omitted with this variant title, and so the foreword (in the same setting of type) was given the signature '*1j'.

It was then the turn of the Dialogo to receive a titlepage. The type from state (B) of the Reglas Gramaticales had been left standing, and only the ~~title~~ was changed. This use of the same imprint produced the first state of the title (C) for the Dialogo. Part of the way through the run of this title de Corro presumably objected to the absurdity of splitting the word 'ano', with the result that the rest of the titles have this word only altered, forming the second state (D). The foreword from the corrector of the press was used again, from the same (signed) setting of type. Occasional examples of this foreword are found unsigned and not with the genuine Oxford imprint: these are cancels from the original preliminary signature.

De Corro remarked on *5^r of his dedication to Palavicino that he had wanted to add to his grammar a collection of five dialogues in which the reader could practise the Spanish which he had learned. But de Corro continues that the negligence of the workers impeded his designs, and that therefore he ^{had} added at the end of the grammar a brief narrative of the events which occurred in Rome in 1527, written by one of his relatives.⁵ From this it

appears likely that de Corro was in a hurry to get the book published, and that Barnes may have taken a long time to set the grammar up in type, and even then done it with many mistakes - which would not be surprising, in view of de Corro's handwriting and the fact that the compositor(s) probably did not know any Spanish.

The suggestion for this fictitious imprint could have come from Barnes, who probably knew of the successful experiments with such imprints which had recently been taking place in London. It might have come from de Corro, who presumably knew Giordano Bruno, and had already had one work published without an imprint in Norwich (Number 20; see page 19).

It could only have been the hope of larger profits resulting from the sale of a greater number of copies which led to this use of a fictitious imprint, as there was no motive for concealment. The publicity attached to the printing of this Spanish and French grammar could not possibly have hurt either Barnes⁶, who was just starting his career as University Printer, or de Corro, who was "censor theologus" at Christ Church, 1581-5, and matriculated at that college on the 1st of October 1586 (aged 59)⁷ with John Thorie, his pupil.⁶

The disguise could not have been meant to be very heavy, as the corrector to the press (Barnes ? translated by de Corro ?) stated with pride that because of the esteem in which the Spanish

language ^{was} held, and because of the vast and diverse regions of the globe in which the Spanish language ^{was} used, these works were being printed with his new type. At the same time, because it was the first time that he had tried to print in this language, he pointed out that there were many errors both in spelling, conjugation and separation of the words as well as in the "permutation" of the vowels. It was not easy to print in a language which was not your mother-tongue, he continued, and for this reason the "benign" reader ^{was} urged to give the printer the benefit of the doubt and himself to correct the major mistakes. Considering that this was a grammar for the French as well as the Spanish languages, a Paris imprint hardly seems plausible.

This double volume was presumably very successful even though it is very rare in England. I have not found any copies on the continent, probably because, as usually happens with text-books, most copies were worn out and thrown away. Thorie's translation was the form in which it became better known to Elizabethans, who took a lively interest in the language of their great enemy. An interesting example of this is in the letter written by Marino del Bene to Sir Thomas Walsingham from Paris on August 23rd, 1582: "In reply to the letter which you sent me by Signor Laudi I have nothing to tell you, except that I am beginning, sexagenarian though I am, to learn grammar - not the Latin, for of that I know too much, but the Spanish, which I plainly see that he who would go about the

world ought to know."⁹ Stepney says in his Spanish Schoolemaster (STC 23256), dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil, "that in future ages the Spanish tongue will be as well esteemed as the French or Italian tongues, and in my simple judgement, it is farre more necessary for our country-men than the Italian tongue is ...". From this it would appear that Barnes would probably have found a ready sale for his edition of this grammar even if he had put his own name to it. In any event, he did not try this new idea again.

Three other items should be mentioned here. The first is the French translation of Sir William Cecil's The Execution of Justice in England (STC 4902), which was published as L'Execution de Justice faicte en Angleterre. 1585. No.16; STC 4906. It was printed by Thomas Vautrollier in London. This is Vautrollier's only contribution to surreptitious foreign language printing, and his reason for omitting his imprint in its usual form was probably that the book had been privately printed for Burghley. The circumstances surrounding this edition will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter, pages 85-86.

The Declaration du Roy sur l'attentat ... du Duc de Mayenne, 1589, No.30; not in STC, was printed in London by R. Ward, probably for T. Cadman; it was entered to Cadman in the Register,¹⁰ and both this pamphlet and its English translation (STC 13097) are obviously the work of the same printer. A further edition of this pamphlet which was printed at La Rochelle by Hierosme Haultin (see Notes for No.30) should not be confused with either this edition

or the original French edition.¹¹ This is the only excursion by either Ward or Cadman into this field, and it is likely to have been in imitation of Wolfe's successes with French news pamphlets at the time.

The last works falling *within* the category discussed in this chapter are the line-for line reprints of Pietro Aretino's La Prima Parte de Ragionamenti and La Seconda Parte de Ragionamenti, 1584. No.46 and No.47; neither book is in STC.

This was done between 1592 and 1598 (probably in 1597) by John Windet, and almost certainly for John Wolfe rather than in imitation of him. John Windet was a printer in London from 1584 to 1611, and he succeeded Wolfe as official printer to the City of London in 1603.¹² After 1593, when Wolfe ceased to print for himself, Windet became his closest business associate, even to the point of being administrator of his estate at Wolfe's death.¹³ R.B. McKerrow says that Windet was a jobbing printer rather than a publisher-printer¹⁴; and he would have reprinted these two books in this capacity for Wolfe, again as a double volume, just as he printed so much other material for Wolfe after 1591.

Notes for Chapter III

1. Vincenzo Spanpanato: Documenti della vita di Giordano Bruno. Firenze, 1933, p. 91 (Documenti Veneti, die Martis, 2 mensis iunii 1592). This quotation is also referred to by Virgilio Salvestrini: Bibliografia di Giordano Bruno, seconde edizione, Firenze, 1958, p. 72, and by John Hayward: "The location of copies of the first editions of Giordano Bruno", The Book Collector, Summer 1956, v, 153. The original source is in the Records of the Venetian Inquisition, which are at present in the Vatican Archives.
2. See the Appeal of the Ancients of the Stationers' Company to the Privy Council in March 1583, the text of which is given in Arber, II, 778-82 (see esp. p. 779).
3. Boehmer, op. cit., i, 65-7.
4. R. B. McKerrow, Dictionary 1557-1640, 1910, pp. 22-3.
5. Boehmer, op. cit., iii, 1-146.
6. John Thorie translated the Reglas Gramaticales into English while still a pupil of de Corro's at Christ Church. It was published by John Wolfe in 1590 (STC 4790).
7. Cal. S. P. Foreign, 1581-82, p. 268
8. Arber, II, 516.
9. The original edition was published at Tours in France on the 26th and 27th of April 1589. See Henri Martin, Histoire de France, Paris, 1857, x, 146.
10. R. B. McKerrow, Dictionary 1557-1640, 1910, pp. 294-5.
11. H. R. Hoppee: "John Wolfe", The Library, Fourth Series, XIV, iii (Dec. 1933) 267 & 272.
12. R. B. McKerrow, "Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer", The Library, Fourth Series, X, ii (Sept. 1929), 121.

CHAPTER IV

John Wolfe (1579-1601) the Innovator. Part II: Political.

1. Cecil, Sir William, Lord Burghley: Essempio d'vna Lettera mandata d'Inghilterra a Don Bernardino di Mendoza [device: McKerrow 251] [London, John Wolfe] IN LEIDA PER ARRIGO DEL BOICO. 1588. No.13; Not in STC.
2. La Noue, François de: Déclaration de Monsieur de la Noue, [London, John Wolfe] AVERDUN. Par Mathurin Marchant. 1588. No.31; Not in STC. [Note existence of four other similar editions in 8°; the original is in 4°. The English translation is STC 15213.]
3. Mornay, Philippe de, Seigneur du Plessis-Marley: Discours politique, très-excellent pour le temps present. [London, John Wolfe 1588] No 38; STC 11267 [Note that the English translations of this pamphlet are STC 13101 (tr. Francesco Marquino) and STC 13102 (tr. R. Ashley). All three of these entries should in fact follow STC 18141 under Mornay, Philippe de].

This chapter shows how Lord Burghley discovered that fictitious imprints presented opportunities for political propaganda, and describes how he exploited this discovery in conjunction with John Wolfe.

Lord Burghley's duties as Principal Secretary to Edward VI and later to Elizabeth caused him to take a deep interest in foreign affairs,¹ and therefore necessarily in foreign languages, from the very start of his career. Among his papers² is a running account with William Seres, the London bookseller, for books purchased between January 1554 and December 1555. There are seventy entries altogether, and not one English title. Most of the books are Greek and Latin classics; but he bought several familiar books in Spanish translation - such as Solomon's Proverbs and Cicero's Offices - probably with the idea of improving his Spanish. Only two books are in French, one of them Amadis de Gaul.

Five years later, when it became necessary to explain Elizabeth's peaceful intentions towards France in spite of the recent invasion of Scotland, Burghley helped to compose a proclamation which was issued on the 24th of March 1559/60.³ Three hundred and fifty copies of it were printed, of which sixty were in French and sixty in Italian.⁴ This is not only one of the earliest examples of political writing known to have been the work of Burghley, but it is also the first example of his printed propaganda to have been issued in French and Italian.

As the years passed and as Campion and Parsons became active in

the country, Burghley was forced to concentrate more and more on the problem of the English Catholics. In mid-July of 1580 the Queen issued a proclamation, which had been drafted by Burghley, appealing to her subjects to stand fast.⁵ Troubles followed nevertheless, and in 1583, as a result of the conviction and execution of Campion, both the Catholics and their enemies issued a large number of pamphlets. At least two of these were by Burghley himself: A declaration of the favourable dealing of her Majesties Commissioners appointed for the examination of certaine traitours. [Anon, 1583, STC 4901], and The execution of justice in England for maintenance of publique and christian peace. [Anon, 1583, STC 4902]. This second pamphlet *ensued from* the first, and is among Burghley's most important productions. It is the official justification of Elizabeth's treatment of the Catholic priests, and is the best statement we have of his own position in the matter. It went into a second edition immediately (STC 4903), and was translated into Latin (STC 4904), Dutch (STC 4905), French (STC 4906), and Italian (STC 4907) the following year.⁶ The Italian translation is interesting because it was printed by John Wolfe for Lord Burghley. This was the first pamphlet printed by Wolfe in Italian for Burghley, and it is obvious from future events that the Lord Treasurer was pleased with the results.

The French translation was printed in January 1584/5 by Thomas Vautrouilliers: L'execution de justice faicte en Angleterre. No. 16; STC 4906. The entry in STC is incorrect in not getting the name

of the printer within brackets. Vautrollier also printed the Latin translation, and in this as in the other editions there was no attempt at concealment. The imprint in the French edition can hardly be called misleading - it merely evades the question. These propaganda booklets were probably as much for distribution abroad through ambassadors as for local or foreign sale.

One conclusion is clear: Burghley had recognised the value of having important documents bearing on foreign policy translated and published in foreign languages, and he was in contact with the London printers who were capable of doing the work. Wolfe would have been known to him through his editions of Machiavelli, whose political theories were well known in Elizabethan England, even though only The Arte of Warre appeared in an English translation (STC 17164-6) before 1600. Shakespeare was certainly familiar with Machiavelli's theories; and examples can be found of the use of his name as a pejorative adjective in this period (see Chapter II). Lord Burghley had been at some pains to obtain a copy of the Discorsi as early as 1551,⁷ and someone in his household had translated and written out the bulk of this work.⁸ John Wolfe's editions of the Discorsi and Principe published in January 1584/5 would have come to his attention, and may well have been the cause of Wolfe's being sent the Italian translation of the Execution of Justice (STC 4907) two months later. It is certain that Burghley owned (and presumably read) a copy of Wolfe's edition of the first and

second volumes of Pietro Aretino's Ragionamenti (see Chapter II), as his signature appears on the title-page of the copy now in the British Museum (1074.f.30 - see Figure 4 below). Presumably he continued to approve of Wolfe's work in this field, since he gave Wolfe the Italian translation of the Letter to Mendoza (see below), and there exists his special order entering a pamphlet to Wolfe in the Stationers' Register in 1588.⁹

As the danger from Spain grew more threatening during the next four years, Burghley's mind, continually searching after ways (preferably inexpensive) of hindering the enemy, must have turned to thoughts of further propaganda. And in view of the successful printing by Wolfe and Vautrollier of the translations of his own Execution of Justice, it is not surprising that he came again to John Wolfe and to Vautrollier's heir when he wanted his next political propaganda pamphlet printed in Italian and French.

In 1588, a year of outstanding national emergency, Burghley initiated the scheme of surreptitiously printing political propaganda pamphlets in foreign languages, in the hope of misleading the enemy. Walsingham probably helped him; but it was Lord Burghley who actually wrote the pamphlets and arranged to have them printed. And it was presumably he who ordered that, for the first time, they be printed with fictitious imprints, apparently as a result of Wolfe's successful experiments.

Lord Burghley, like many other members of the Council, had a double interest in the Spanish language. As a scholar, he furthered

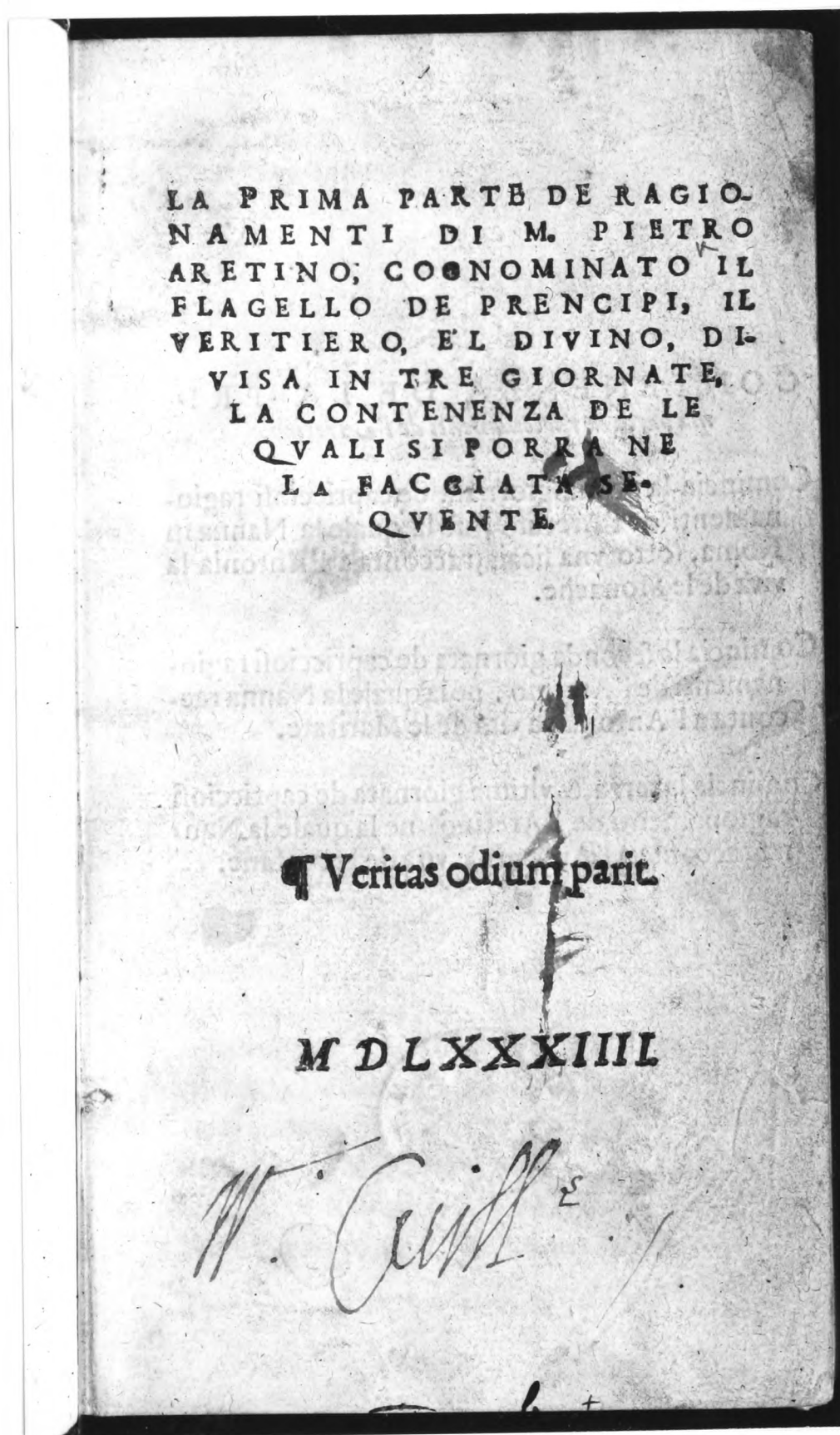


Figure 4.

its study; and as a statesman, he used his knowledge of Spanish to watch the movements of the enemy. Don Bernardino de Mendoza, who had been the Spanish Ambassador to England a few years previously, had good reason to call him: "por ser el Ministro de más fundamento y descubrir tierra."¹⁰ He employed a staff of collaborators, such as Richard Eden, Richard Percyvall (author of the Biblioteca Hispanica, STC 19619-662^b, compiled with the help of Spanish prisoners of the Armada and first published in 1591), and Dr. Ruy López, to decipher and translate Spanish documents. John Cecil, alias Snowden, one of the intelligence agents whom Burghley had spread all over Europe, sent him some extracts in English from Pedro de Ribadeneyra's Del tratado de la tribulación (Madrid 1589, Barcelona 1591), written to comfort the Spaniards for the loss of the Armada and to encourage them to a second adventure. He also forwarded extracts from the Relacion de Algunos Martyrios (Madrid, 1590), which was devised to convince the Spanish nation that Philip's position was unshaken "& that the King has the hearts of more than a third of the realm [England] and that they are ready to assist him, and have no hope but in Spain."¹¹

On the approach of the Armada, Lord Burghley managed to get hold of the broadside La Felicissima Armada que el Rey Don Felipe nuestro

Senor mando juntar en el puerto de la Ciudad de Lisboa (written by Pedro de las Salas and printed by Antonio Alvarez: Lisbon, 1588). It contained a detailed inventory of the ships, soldiers and sailors, comprising the Armada, and it was also issued by the Spanish government in Italian, Dutch, and French to impress other countries with the power of Spain. An English translation was started immediately at Lord Burghley's request, while he himself made use of the Spanish folio edition, carefully entering in his own handwriting the Spanish casualties and lost ships in his copy.¹³ The English translation was issued as a piece of official propaganda: A true discourse of the Armie which the King of Spaine caused to be assembled in the Haven of Lisbon (STC 22999), printed by John Wolfe in 1588. It was very widely read in England, and provided Robert Greene with material for his Spanish Masquerado, 1589. (STC 12309-10).

The Spanish Armada duly arrived in the Channel, fought the English ships and sailed off into the North Sea. Much of the fighting took place where it could not easily be seen, and so for several days various contradictory rumours were circulating. Several particularly inaccurate and conflicting reports were widely distributed on the continent.

In Rome, the first accurate news arrived in a dispatch dated August 17th, from G. G. Morosini, Bishop of Brescia and papal nuncio at Paris. This communication was written in Italian and includes a MS copy in French of a Journal of all that passed between the armies

of Spain and England from July 28th to August 11th, 1588, according to news from divers places. The entire document is transcribed in Appendix J, pp. 525-30.¹⁴ Morosini warned that his source was English, and therefore suspect.

This report by Morosini was first discovered in the Vatican Archives many years ago;¹⁵ nevertheless, although active use has been made of it since then,¹⁶ I do not believe that it has been correctly understood until now. Morosini wrote in Italian and gave his news and comments in Italian. I think that the Journal, which is in a different and more regular hand, was copied by some secretary from a surreptitiously printed English propaganda pamphlet, and included in the report as corroborative evidence.

No printed copies of any such pamphlet are known to exist. Yet I am sure that they did exist at one time, and that they were printed for Burghley by either John Wolfe or Richard Field. They would have been distributed through the English embassies on the continent, which would explain why Morosini said that the source of the news was suspect.

In style and structure this pamphlet, even in a French translation, is similar to others written by Burghley. In chronological arrangement and selection of incidents it closely resembles the Abstract of Accidents between the two fleets which Howard, the Lord High Admiral, sent to the Privy Council in London.¹⁷ It is also very similar to the Discours veritable, one of the earliest printed accounts of the Armada campaign,¹⁸

where the only departure from the truth, as Burghley knew it, is the overestimation of the Queen's land forces; the assertion that all the principal Catholics in the realm had rallied to them is probably correct.

The next news pamphlet was the famous Copy of a Letter to Don Bernardin de Mendoza. This contained the same propaganda as the Discours veritable (though more cleverly written), as well as the final happy tidings of the destruction of the Armada. Translations were printed in French and Italian, by this time as a matter of routine. The novelty was that the authorship was disguised, and that these translations were printed surreptitiously.

The background to this innovation is complex and best considered historically. In 1585 there was printed "A Declaration of the Causes mooving the Queene of England to give aide to ... the People ... of the lowe Countries. STC 9188. STC 9189 may be another edition or may be only a typographical variant. It was written by Sir Francis Walsingham, and was translated into Latin (STC 9190), Dutch (STC 9191), French (STC 9192) and Italian (STC 9193). All these editions were openly printed in London by Christopher Barker and dated the 1st of October 1585.

The Declaration gives the reasons for the actions taken by Elizabeth to assist the rebellious subjects of Philip II in the Netherlands. It is in two parts, the first being an eloquent attempt to justify the Queen's course on the grounds that Spain was trampling

upon the traditional privileges of England's ancient ally; and the second, with the sub-title An Addition to the Declaration, an answer to an Italian pamphlet published in Milan called Novo Aviso and directed to the Archbishop of Milan, which had charged Elizabeth with ingratitude towards the King of Spain and with an intent to cause the assassination of the Duke of Parma. Walsingham certainly wrote the second part of this answer and very probably the first part also, as there is a copy of it in his own handwriting among the Salisbury MSS. at Hatfield. The pamphlet is dated 1 October; but it is clear from the following passage out of a letter from Walsingham to Burghley, dated 12 October 1585, that it did not actually appear until somewhat later: "My very good Lord: Finding her Majesty's conceipt what might best content her in the course of the answer to be made unto the malicious points contained in the Italian's pamphlet, I have performed the same in writing and acquainted her withal, and finding that she does not dislike thereof, I have caused it to be copied out, which your Lordship shall receive tomorrow in the morning, praying your Lordship to yield such necessary correction as to you shall be thought meet."¹⁹

This intervention by Elizabeth in the affairs of the Netherlands was one of the causes of the war with Spain, and the publication of such a pamphlet in continental languages must have irritated Philip II and his ministers. Philip decided to reply in kind. When the Spanish military reprisals were started three years later, an

English translation of the proclamation of Sixtus V confirming Pius V's excommunication and deposition of Queen Elizabeth (STC 22590), and Cardinal William Allen's An Admonition to the nobility and people of England and Ireland, 1588, (STC 368) were both printed at Antwerp for the Duke of Parma.²⁰ The document referring to the excommunication was printed in especially large numbers.²¹ Queen Elizabeth knew of both of these works: "... there is ready to be published a vile, slanderous and blasphemous book, containing as many lies as lines, entitled, 'An Admonition,' &c., and contrived by a lewd born subject of ours, now become an arrant traitor, named Dr. Allen, lately made a cardinal at Rome; also a Bull of the Pope, whereof we send you a copy, both very lately brought into these Low Countries, the one where is already printed at Antwerp, in a great multitude, in the English tongue, and the other ordered to be printed, only to stir up our subjects, ..." ²² An immediate result (July 1st, 1588) was the Proclamation by the Queen (STC 8172) against "Bringing in, dispensing, uttering and keeping ... Bulles from the sea [sic] of Rome, and other traitorous and seditious libels, Books, and Pamphlets."

Burghley expressed his anger in a letter to Walsingham on June 24th in which he summarised Cardinal Allen's book and expressed his opinion of the "roaring hellish papal bull."²³ He had already sent a copy of the book to Walsingham on June 12th, with the recommendation that it be suppressed under pain of treason "and that an answer be

written as if from the Catholics of England."²⁴

The result was Burghley's The copie of a letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin de Mendoza, London, I. Vautrollier for Richard Field, 1588. There seem to be at least six different editions of this pamphlet printed in English in 1588, of which the STC lists only two: STC 15412 & 15413.²⁵ George Miller reprinted an edition with the same title in 1601 (STC 15414), but omitted the Advertisement from his text. Five editions were printed in Dutch (Knuttel 837-41),²⁶ and one (of the Advertisements only) in German by Bernhard Jobin of Strasburg.²⁷ Editions in Italian and French were printed, and will be discussed below.

It was entered to John Wolfe on 23 October 1588 "in the Italian tongue, by warrant of a letter from Sir ffrauncis walsingham to the master and wardens of the Company."²⁸ There is no other entry for texts in other languages. It is probable that Burghley gave the French and English texts to Jacqueline Vautrollier, as her late husband's heir, since Thomas Vautrollier had done such good work for him in the past (see earlier in this chapter). This would explain why Field used Jacqueline Vautrollier's name on the imprints of the English copies, and also why he did not enter the pamphlet in the Register for English and French - it could not be entered to her, as she was not a member of the Company, and it would be unwise to risk annoying Burghley by entering it to anyone else.

Essempio d'vna lettera mandata d'Inghilterra a Don Bernardino

di Mendoza, 1588. No 13; Not in STC. This edition was printed by John Wolfe in London. On H5^v is a footnote with the earliest known reference to the Armada being called "invincible," and on H6^r is the list of printer's errors, which are stated to be due not to the printer, but rather to the haste with which the translator did his work. There was only one edition of this work printed by Wolfe in Italian, even though there are two states of signature A. Another edition was printed in Italy by Comin Ventura at Bergamo in 1588.²⁹ Specifically entered to Wolfe by special warrant from the Principal Secretary, and written by Burghley, it is the first piece of official political propaganda to have been printed in England in a foreign vernacular with a fictitious imprint (see footnote 16).

La Copie d'une lettre envoyée d'Angleterre à Don Bernardin de Mendoze, 1588. No. 14 & 15; Neither of these editions is in STC. These French translations were printed in London by Richard Field, and will be discussed in the next chapter.³⁰

The main theme of this pamphlet, underlying the news items, is the loyalty of the English Catholics to their Protestant Queen, first seen in Discours véritable. There is also a reference to the proclamation of Sixtus V and a very strong attack on Cardinal Allen's Admonition, which leaves little doubt that it is Lord Burghley's reply, " ...written as if from the Catholics of England." (See above page ⁷⁵ and footnote 24). The titlepage declares that the text had been found among the papers of Richard Leigh, a seminary priest who

had been executed at Tyburn on August 30th, and was therefore in no position to contradict what was said in October. It pretends to have been written by a Catholic layman, lamenting the failure of the Armada, which was attributed to faulty appraisal of the English strength by land and sea and to an unjustified expectation that the English Catholics would rally to the support of an invader. Despite a rather heavy touch (characteristic of Burghley), the writer nevertheless managed to present a plausible picture of an English Catholic, loyal to his faith, indirectly paying tribute to the English war effort, to the English nobility, to the gallant Queen, and most of all to the national loyalty of English Catholics; while at the same time denouncing Papal policy and making a mock of Mendoza and of Spanish invincibility.

Not long after the MS had been finished, but before it had been sent to press, Burghley received a letter from Sir Henry Wallop, Lord Justice in Ireland, enclosing examinations of several mariners from the Spanish fleet who had been taken prisoner on the west coast of Ireland. The letter is dated September 16th, and its contents provide a harrowing revelation of the destruction suffered by the Armada in Irish waters.³¹ Burghley at once seized upon the idea of publishing the examination, translated of course for the different editions, but otherwise unchanged.

The contents of Sir Henry Wallop's letter, under the title of Certain Advertisements out of Ireland, were published as an integral

part of all known editions of the Letter printed in England; taken together, they certainly constitute a very convincing picture of the fate of the Invincible Armada. All the editions of the combined pamphlet in English have "London, [space] August 1588." at the end of the text, as well as a supplement dated September and a "Printer to the Reader" dated October 1588. These dates are also in the translations. Internal evidence shows that the supplement was written during the week following Sunday, September 8th.³² The note from the printer gives still further news and calls attention to pamphlets put forth by Mendoza in French, Italian and Spanish claiming a victory.³³ The French translation must have been printed at the same time as, if not before, the edition in English.³⁴ The English version must have been printed before September 30th, as Walsingham sent a copy to Stafford in France on that day.

Occasionally the Certain Advertisements out of Ireland are found without the Letter to Mendoza.³⁶ The copies which I have seen appear to have formed part of the combined pamphlet, and I am therefore doubtful of the validity of the entry under STC 14257 as a separate edition. But this was such a popular pamphlet, and so few copies exist of so many editions, that the possibility of a separate edition of the Certain Advertisements cannot be ruled out.

Lord Burghley was certainly the author of the Letter to Mendoza. Among his papers in the Lansdowne MSS.³⁸ is a complete draft in his

own handwriting; a revision of this draft in the hand of his secretary, Henry Maynard, but with copious interlineations and marginal annotations in his own hand; and finally his autograph revision of the introductory paragraph.³⁹ The pamphlet as printed follows fairly closely the revision of Burghley's MS text, with a few variations. Unfortunately, the final draft is missing.⁴⁰

Contemporary confirmation of the fact that this pamphlet was deliberately *designed* and used for external propaganda is provided by a letter dated 9 November 1588 from a Spanish informer in England, who reported Burghley to be the author and said that "they" had sent a "great number" of copies to France.⁴¹

While copies of the Letter to Mendoza were still coming off the press Burghley received a copy of the Seville edition of Mendoza's second false report, with the blind poet's ballad,⁴² and immediately wrote a reply: A Pack of Spanish Lyes sent abroad in the world, first printed in the Spanish tongue, and translated out of the original. Now ripped up, unfolded and by just examination condemned, as containing false, corrupt, and detestable wares worthy to be damned and burned 1588 (STC 23011). It was printed in two columns, the Spanish claims paragraph by paragraph on one side of the page, and *opposite* them a detailed and scornful refutation usually several times as long.⁴³

On December 30th, 1588, Burghley wrote to Walsingham from his house in the Savoy: "I send you, translated out of the Spanish,

lies which I have termed a Pack of Spanish lies ... with the discovery of the same pack in English. I mean to have the same printed in Spanish for the comforting of Don B. Mendoza."⁴⁴ Despite diligent searching, I have not been able to find any copy or trace of any edition of this book in Spanish which could have been printed in England.

Walsingham's participation in the production of these pamphlets marked his last efforts in this direction, as he was increasingly ill in 1589, and finally died in 1590. Lord Burghley was left to carry on this activity alone until his son Sir Robert Cecil relieved him of the burden. Burghley does not seem to have had any more political propaganda surreptitiously printed in foreign languages; but he may well have encouraged John Wolfe and Richard Field, from time to time, in the surreptitious printing of occasional news pamphlets, as mentioned in the next chapter.

Lord Burghley's last published work of propaganda was: A declaration of the causes moving the Queenes Maiestie to prepare and send a navy to the seas for defence of her realm against the King of Spain's forces, 1596. (STC 9203). Copies were openly printed in French (9206), Italian (9207), Spanish (9208), Dutch (9205) and Latin (9204) in an effort to reach the people of as many countries as possible. Its purpose was to justify the enterprise as a defensive measure on the grounds that the King of Spain was preparing an armada against Elizabeth, as well as to

warn all persons who might be tempted to aid or to trade with the enemy that they should cease to do so under penalty of becoming regarded as lawful prizes. It was written by Lord Burghley and signed by Essex and Howard, the Lord High Admiral; and in Burghley's MS draft it is interesting to read that: "And likewise we have put the same in print, in ffrenche, Italian, Dutche, and Spanishe, and have also caused the same to be distributed into as mannie ports of Spaine and Portingale, as convenientlie might be., for the better knowledge to be had in the sayd ports."⁴⁵ There was evidently by this time a well-worn channel for the distribution of such items.

An undated MS. treatise called A meditation of the estate of England would appear to be the last of Burghley's extant works. The style indicates that it was intended for publication, and very likely also for translation and publication in foreign languages for the overseas market. In its essence it is a hymn of praise of Elizabeth's reign and a defence of her against her detractors. It runs to 38 folio pages and is unfinished. It is in the handwriting of his secretary Michael Hicks, and is assigned to Burghley in a later hand; the style is his and the references to himself in the text provide almost certain proof of his authorship.⁴⁶ It is an example of rather general propaganda, and would almost certainly have been printed and published in much the same way as his previous pamphlets.

With Burghley's death in August 1598, the practice which he originated of surreptitiously printing political propaganda in foreign languages seems to have *halted*; it was not to be revived again until after the death of his son, Sir Robert Cecil.

Robert Cecil was born on the 1st of June, 1563, five years after the accession of Elizabeth. He acquired proficiency in Greek, French, Italian and Spanish by an early age (in addition, of course, to Latin).⁴⁷ In 1586, at 23, he published his first political pamphlet (STC 6058, incorrectly ascribed in the STC to Richard Crompton).⁴⁸ A version in French appeared the following year.⁴⁹ During the next ten years he set up an extremely thorough and accurate news service, and managed to place agents in every foreign locality from which news of use to himself and to the Government could be gathered.⁵⁰ He never seems to have been much attracted to the writing of political propaganda pamphlets, even though in 1601 he encouraged Bishop Bancroft to arrange for the printing of pro- and anti-Jesuit books in London to air the grievances of the seminaries.⁵¹ This act shows how familiar he was with the usefulness of the press; but he never seems to have been responsible, either directly or indirectly, for any surreptitious printing of political propaganda in foreign languages.

The activities of John Wolfe during 1588 and the following years which fall within the context of this chapter centre on his

printing of news pamphlets, of which he is responsible for more than one hundred, usually quartos of two or three sheets. These embraced all varieties of subjects from volcanic eruptions to homicides, but chiefly emphasized political news. Those in French are the most numerous, totalling over 50 and ranging in date from 1585 to 1593, most of them being published after 1589. Two of these are relevant here, of which the first is the Discours politique, tres-excellent pour le temps present, 1588. No 38; STC 11267 (entered to Wolfe 20th November 1588). This is a reprint of the original French edition (copy in British Museum: 114.k.4). It was twice openly printed in English in 1589 by John Wolfe: once in a translation by Francesco Marquino (STC 13101), and once in a translation by R. Ashley (STC 13102). The author was Philippe de Mornay, Seigneur du Plessis-Marley,⁵² a popular and well-known French Protestant figure in late Elizabethan London, where several of his books were printed.⁵³ He was in favour with the Government and especially with Walsingham, to whom he had sent letters with news from Germany as far back as 1573.⁵⁴ His Discours politique is a well-written anti-League and anti-Spanish essay on the French political situation in 1588, just before the assassination of Henry III.

The Declaration de Monsieur de la Noue, 1588, was the other French news pamphlet printed in London by John Wolfe. No. 31; not in STC. It was entered to Wolfe 12th December, 1588.⁵⁵ The English translation was printed the following year (STC 15213).

There are five similar editions in 8^o of this pamphlet, of which Wolfe is responsible for the only one printed in England (see Notes on this pamphlet, No 31). The French original is in 4^o.

The Discours sur la Declaration faicte par le Sieur de la Noue was entered to Wolfe "both in ffrenche and Englishe" on January 25th, 1589/90.⁵⁶ The original French and its English translation were printed together in parallel columns in a 4^o edition quite openly by Wolfe that same year (STC 15214). It is possible that interest had been stimulated in England in Francois de la Noue, a famous Huguenot captain often called "Bras-de-Ferre"⁵⁷, by the publication in 1587 of The politicke and military discourses of the Lord de la Noue, by Orwin for Cadman and Aggas, to whom it had been entered (STC 15215).

By 1591, Wolfe for some reason had started to farm out his printing to trade printers (especially John Windet); and within two years he had ceased to do most of his own general printing. Richard Field, who was his associate in the Armada pamphlets, seems to have been his successor in the surreptitious printing of books and pamphlets in contemporary foreign vernaculars. John Wolfe lived until 1601, the date of publication of the last work surreptitiously printed by Field, and it is possible that Field could have been doing much, if not all, of his surreptitious printing in foreign vernaculars for Wolfe. Field was certainly one of the men who printed regularly for Wolfe,⁵⁸ and the fact that the English translation (STC 21304) of my number 60 was printed by Edward Allde, would support the argument that Wolfe never gave up his control of surreptitious

printing (see page 136). Nevertheless, most of the evidence points the other way; and I believe that Richard Field succeeded John Wolfe as the English specialist in surreptitious printing.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

1. Conyers Read, Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth, 1955, p. 120-1.
2. Salisbury MSS., cxliii,9. See Read, ibid., p.114.
3. Samuel Haynes, A Collection of State Papers ... left by William Cecil, Lord Burghley, London, 1740, i, 268.
4. Robert Steel, A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns, Oxford, 1910, i, 55 (Number 522).

The 350 copies in English cost xxix^s iiii^d; the 60 in 'ffrenche' cost xv^s -^d, and the 60 in Italian cost xv^s -^d. See the bill submitted by the printers, B. M. MSS. Add. 5756.f.136.

5. Steel, op. cit., i,80 (Number 751). Note that an MS. draft in the Public Record Office is in Lord Burghley's hand, and that a Dutch translation was printed.
6. Note that the entry in STC is incorrect for this book. The date is 1584 and not 1589.
7. Sir William Pickering at St. Denis to William Cecil, 15 December 1551: "Has presently put to binding for him three books: Euclid ... and two discourses, one of Machiavelli; the other of Mons. Long. Does not know of any new works, but one out of Italy, which is not got abroad, but shall be sent as soon as it comes into his hands."
Cal. S. P. Foreign, 1547-53, p. 204
8. Cecil Papers, cclxxiii, f.3. The reference is cited by P. M. Handover, The Second Cecil, 1959, p. 27
9. The following entry is found in Arber, II, 502:
"xiiiij Octobris./ [1588]
John woulfe./ Allowed vnto him theis bokes followinge to be prynted, that is to saye, The popes bull in Dutche with the answere thereto to be translated, and that noe person shall prynte any parte or parcell thereof to his hindrance, aauthorised vnder the Lord Threasurer [Lord Burghley] hand and both the wardens ... [no sum stated.]"
This is not STC 12354, and I have not found any other

book to which it might apply. The entry is nevertheless interesting in that it is to Wolfe from Lord Burghley. Note that the "Bull" to which the entry refers is in fact technically a "manifesto", since it lacks three details necessary for a "Bull": (a) it is not dated; (b) it is in English, and not in Latin; and (c) it is in the third person, and not in the first.

10. Collección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España, Madrid, 1888, xcii, 41.
11. Cal. S. P. Domestic, Elizabeth, 1591-4, p.67.
12. J. P. R. Lyell, A Commentary on the Spanish Armada, unpublished MS., numbers 46-55 in bibliography (pp.245 to 252) and discussion pp.102-4. He gives very full notes and locations of copies of every edition, including (p.246) a note on the copy annotated by Lord Burghley.
13. Lord Burghley's copy is now in the British Museum [192. f.17.(1)], and is bound up with the plates which were issued separately in 1590 (STC 24481^a) to illustrate Petruccio Ubaldini's A Discourse concerning the Spanish fleets. (STC 24481). These plates were designed by Robert Adams, engraved on copper by Augustine Ryther, and machined by John Wolfe. They were afterwards used for the tapestry hangings in the House of Lords.
14. Vatican Archives: Nunciatore di Francia, xxxvii, Morosini, 17 Aug. 1588 [Text reproduced as Appendix J].
15. The earliest reference to this report known to me is in Arnold O. Meyer: England und die Katholische Kirche unter Elizabeth und den Stuarts, 1911. The English translation is by J.R. McKee, with the title: England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth, 1916. On page 337 of the English edition Meyer says:

"The first authentic report [of the defeat of the Spanish Armada] was sent by the cardinal legate Morosini from Paris to Rome on Aug.17 (new style), with the remark that it was unworthy of credit."¹ [footnote 4 is to: Arch. Vat., Nuns. Francia, 22, pp. 85 et seq.]

Meyer also refers to this report in his "Chronological list of Unpublished Documents", p.537 in the English edition.

16. All the references that I have seen to this source treat it merely as another report. This is certainly true, since the Italian text is certainly a report on the latest news as known to Morosini; nevertheless, the special significance for this thesis is the enclosed text in French, which I believe is a copy of a previously unknown pamphlet, surreptitiously printed in French in London by Burghley's orders, and distributed through the English embassy in Paris (hence, Morosini's comment that the source was suspect).

The French text of this pamphlet is very similar to that of my number B24 (see Appendix B, pp. 458-7). I think it probable that this pamphlet also originated from the same source, although perhaps indirectly.

17. This is the official account of the fight. It was inspired, and probably written, by Lord Howard of Effingham. The MS. is in the British Museum: MS. Cotton Julius, F.X. ff92-101.
18. DISCOURS VERITABLE de ce qui s'est passé entre les deux armées de Mer d'Angleterre & d'Espagne, depuis le Vendredy 29^e. de Juillet 1588, iusques à l'onzième du mois d'Aoust de la même année. I have only been able to locate two copies of this pamphlet: one in the Bib. Nat. Paris [Nj.117], and one in the British Museum [09004.a.3.(2)]. The British Museum copy was certainly printed on the Continent, probably in Geneva. The Paris copy, of which M. Louis Dégraves claims to have found another copy in the Bib. Municipal de Bordeaux [H.8739(6)], was printed by Jean Porteau at La Rochelle. Neither of these editions has any printer's name or location or any other mark of provenance. The imprint for both is simply: M.D. LXXXVIII. There is a note at the head of the text of the La Rochelle edition which runs: "Vne Lettre d'un Marchant Flamant, demeurant en Angleterre, au Sieur Don Diego de Mondragon Gentilhomme Espagnol, contenant en bref la verité de ce qui est passé entre l'armée" I feel quite certain that these are reprints of an original English edition which would have been printed in French in London on Burghley's orders. I have not been able to locate any copies of such an edition and it is possible that none survive.

The wording of this section-heading supports my theory that the Discours Veritable was official propaganda. The wide and extremely accurate information which it contains could only have been gathered by an exceptionally well-informed man; and such a man would never have exaggerated the size of the Queen's forces unless for reasons of propaganda. It is more than a coincidence that much the same assertions were also inserted in the Letter to Mendoza of a few weeks later.

19. British Museum: Harleian MSS. 6993, f. 110.
20. Philip II to Parma, 21 June 1588. MS letter in the Archives de Simancas thanking Duke Alexander of Parma for having had Cardinal Allen's book translated at Antwerp.
21. Emanuel van Meteren, Historia Belgica, [Antwerp?], 1610, xv, 473.
22. Cal. S. P. Foreign, January-June 1588, pp. 528-9 (Queen to Commissioners, 29 June 1588).
23. Cal. S. P. Domestic, Elizabeth, 1581-90, p. 493.
24. Cal. S. P. Domestic, Elizabeth, 1581-90, p. 488.
25. The English editions of this Letter are extremely complex. As the number of editions and the differences between them are not relevant to this thesis, I shall not discuss the problem here. The only list which is at all complete is given by Lyell, op. cit., pp. 252-5, and even there I believe I have found some omissions.
26. For details of these editions see Lyell, op. cit., pp. 260-1. I have examined these editions, and believe them to have been genuinely printed in the Netherlands.
27. See Lyell, op. cit., pp. 261 & 264-5. There would seem to have been two issues of this edition. I believe it to have been printed in Germany, though it does not mention date, place or identity of printer.
28. Arber, II, 504.

29. APPARECCHI / Delle Nimiche Armate / D'Hispania, & d'In- / ghilterra, / DELL'ANNO MDLXXXVII. [sic] / Infieme col seguito lor fine. [Bergamo, Comin Ventura, 1588.] 4°, italic, A-I⁴K³ [A-K⁴?]. The first three leaves contain notes describing the preparation of the Armada at Lisbon, with particulars of the ships. The letter commences on A⁴F and ends on K¹F, and is dated "Di Londra alli II. Agosto. 1588" and is followed by the postscript, which is dated "Di Londra il 20^a Settembre 1588." There is no address by the printer and no Advertisements. Note that the letter is dated the 11th of August; this is the only known edition of the Letter in which the day of the month of August is given. It was also the terminal date of the Discours Véritable (see above). This footnote is based mainly on Lyell, op. cit., p. 260.
30. A good case can be made for discussing this French translation in Chapter IV with the other editions of the Letter. But this would impede the flow of events which I am attempting to portray in Chapter V, and for this reason, while admitting the disruption of Chapter IV, I have decided to include this material in the chapter on Richard Field.
31. Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1588-92, pp. 39-40.
32. The Spanish banners were brought to St. Paul's on September 8th. See John Stow, The Annals of England, London, 1605, p.1259 [STC 23337]. This event is referred to in the text as "last Sunday".
33. For an enumeration of continental pamphlets on the Armada and its aftermath, see Lyell, op.cit., pp.241^b to 301.
34. See Chapter V of this thesis.
35. Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford, 30 September 1588, printed in: Phillip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke, Miscellaneous State Papers 1501-1726, [Hardwicke Papers] London, 1778, 1, 364.
36. See entries of locations under STC 14257, especially as augmented by David Ramage: Finding List of English Books, Durham, 1958, and William W. Bishop: Checklist of American Copies of STC Books., Second Edition, Ann Arbor, 1950.

37. Separate editions appear on the Continent (see Lyell, op. cit., pp.259 to 262), and may have stemmed from a separate edition of the Certaines Advertisements. But I do not think that it was printed separately in England at that time.
38. British Museum: Lansdowne MSS., 103,ff. 134-163^v, No.55.
39. The significance of these MS versions was first pointed out by the Rev. J.H. Pollen, "Who wrote the 'Letter to Mendoza' of 1588?", The Month, No. 563 (New Series 173) (May 1911), pp. 531-2.
40. I have heard that there is another MS draft by Burghley among the Arundel MSS.
41. Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1587-1603, pp. 483-5 (9 Nov. 1588).
42. Conyers Read evidently carried out a considerable search for the Spanish pamphlet used by Burghley (A partial list of possibilities is included in the footnotes to Chapter XXX of Garrett Mattingly's Defeat of the Spanish Armada, 1959.) The most probable one is the Relacio del sucedido a la Armada de su Majestad que entro en el Canal de Inglaterra hasta a lo que se entendio en Dunquerque los doze y treze de Agosto de 1588 ... Impressa en Sevilla en Casa de Cosmo delare, impressor.

The publisher is the same as the one mentioned in the Pack of Lyes. It is only three pages long and claims that, at a general engagement off Calais, Drake was captured, many ships taken, many sunk, and many fled to port. But it does not sustain the details as Burghley set them forth. (Conyers Read: Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth, 1960, p.480, footnote 98).
43. This pamphlet was translated into every major language in Europe. There were editions in Low and High Dutch, French, Italian, and a special satirical version in Spanish. None of the editions which I have ever seen or heard of appears to have been printed in England, although from Burghley's letter the existence of an edition in Spanish printed in England could be suspected.
44. Cal. S.P. Domestic, 1581-90, p.567 (30 Dec. 1588). The actual publication of the Pack of Spanish Lyes, 1588, could have occurred on any date up to March 25th, 1589.

45. The MS is in the British Museum; Lansdowne MSS. 64 No. 77. The passage quoted is on the verso of the fourth side of the draft (page 184^v). The last eleven words are written in a different but contemporary and rather angular hand.
46. Public Record Office: [pressmark] State Papers 12/255. [no. 84] Printed in the Cal. S.P. Domestic, 1595-7, p. 158. It is undated, but several times in the text Burghley indicated that it was composed in 37 Elizabeth. Other internal evidence indicates that it was composed after the successful campaign against the Spaniards in the port of Brest (November 1594), and before the appointment of Robert Cecil as Secretary in July 1596. The date 1595 is therefore approximate.
47. P.M. Handover, The Second Cecil, 1959, p.14.
48. On 1 December 1586 Robert Cecil wrote to Robert Beale what seems to have been the covering letter to his share of the first part of the production:

"This scribbled paper contains my poor conceit of that great matter wherein you told me Mr. Secretary Walsingham was pleased (according to his former undeserved good opinion) to command me to say somewhat."

(British Museum: Cotton MSS., Faustina x, 256). Robert Beale himself at the end of Notes of the Proceedings of the Parliament in the cause of Mary Queen of Scots (B.M., Additional MSS., Yelverton 31. 48027, f. 477) wrote in his own hand: "Other notes concerning the Parliament; look in the book published in print by Mr. R. Cecil and dedicated to the Earl Leicester." Neale accepts this as decisive that Robert Cecil was the editor. [J.E. Neale: Elizabeth I and her Parliaments, 1957, p.129.] The Queen herself made heavy corrections before the copy was sent to the printer, not to alter the sense, by which she stood firm, but to improve the style and sometimes to remove the more intimate parts of her confession. [Queen's speech, 12 November 1586, a page of which is illustrated in Neale, op. cit., facing p.130, from Lansdowne MSS. xciv, 84.]

49. This French translation was an obvious piece of propaganda, for the Queen was very much concerned about the attitude that the French would take of her treatment

of Mary. Several continental translations were printed of this Letter (see Handover, op.cit., p. 50).

50. This aspect of his career is dealt with by Miss Handover, op. cit., especially in Chapter XXVII.
51. Handover, op. cit., p. 290 and p. 293, note 18.
52. This information is from Miss D. Thickett via Mr. H.M. Adams, Trinity College, Cambridge.
53. Eugene and Emile Haag: La France Protestante. Paris, vii (1887), 512-42. Bib, notice pp. 438-542. See also Nouvelle Biographie Generale, Paris, xxxvi (1861), 618-23. Louis Desgraves, Les Haultin 1571-1623, Geneva, 1960, throughout the book cites works by Philippe de Mornay printed at La Rochelle.
54. Cal. S.P. Domestic, 1547-80, p.466.
55. Arber, II, 511.
56. Arber, II, 515.
57. Eugene and Emile Haag, op. cit., vi(1856), 280-304. See also Nouvelle Biographie Generale, op.cit., xxix (1859), 479-482.
58. Harry R. Hoppee, "John Wolfe", The Library, Fourth Series, XIV, 111 (Dec.1933), 267.

CHAPTER V.

Richard Field (1588-1624): the Successor.Political Propaganda

1. Bertie, Peregrine, 13th Baron Willoughby de Eresby: Cort Verhael om te Vreden te Stellen. Ouergeset wt den Engelschen. 1589. [London, Richard Field.] No. 4; Not in STC.
2. Bertie, Peregrine, 13th Baron Willoughby de Eresby: Bref Discours pour donner Contentement. 1589. [London, Richard Field.] No. 5; Not in STC.
3. Cecil, Sir William, Lord Burghley: La Copie d'une Lettre envoyée d'Angleterre à Don Bernardin de Mendoza. Nouvellement Imprimé. 1588. [London, Richard Field.] No. 14; Not in STC.
4. Cecil, Sir William, Lord Burghley: La Copie d'une Lettre envoyée d'Angleterre à Don Bernardin de Mendoza. Nouvellement Imprimé. 1588. [London, Richard Field.] No 15; Not in STC.
5. Prégeville, Jean de, Sieur du Gaut: Le Politique Reformé. Nouvellement Imprimé. 1589. [London, Richard Field.] No. 26; Not in STC.
6. Pérez, Antonio: Pedacos de Historia, ô Relaciones. Impreso en Leon. [London, Richard Field, early 1594.] No. 41; Not in STC.

Books in Italian by Petruccio Ubaldini

7. Ubaldini, Petruccio: Parte Prima delle brevi Dimostrazioni. L'anno del signore. MDXCII. [London, Richard Field.] No. 53; STC 24479.
8. Ubaldini, Petruccio: Militia del Gran Duca di Toscana. 1597. [London, Richard Field.] No. 54; STC 24482.

9. Ubaldini, Petruccio: Rime.1596. [London, Richard Field.] No. 55; STC 24483
10. Ubaldini, Petruccio: Scelta di Alcune Attioni. [rule] M.D.XCV. [London, Richard Field.] No.56; STC 24484.
11. Ubaldini, Petruccio: Lo Stato delle Tre Corti. [London, Richard Field, 1594.] No.57; STC 24485.
12. Ubaldini, Petruccio: La Vita di Carlo Magno Imperadore. [rule] 1599. [London, Richard Field.] No. 58; STC 24487.

Books in Spanish by Cipriano de Valera.

13. Valera, Cipriano de: Aviso a los de la Iglesia Romana. [device: McKerrow 192] En casa de RICARDO del CAMPO. 1600. [London, Richard Field.] No.60; Not in STC.
14. Valera, Cipriano de: Catecismo. [device: McKerrow 210] En casa de Ricardo del Campo. M. D. XCVI. [London, Richard Field.] No. 61; Not in STC.
15. Valera, Cipriano de: Dos Tratados. En casa de Ricardo del Campo. Año de 1599. [London, Richard Field.] No.62; STC 24580.
16. Valera, Cipriano de, revisor of Cassiodoro de Reina's translation of the New Testament: El Testamento Nuevo. [device: McKerrow 192] En casa de Ricardo del Campo. M.D.XCVI. [London, Richard Field.] No. 63; STC 2959.
17. Valera, Cipriano de, translator of Jean Calvin's: Institucion de la Religion Christiana. [device: McKerrow 222] En casa de Ricardo del Campo. [rule] 1597. [London, Richard Field.] No.64; STC 4426.

18. Valera, Cipriano de: writer of a preface to, and editor of,
William Massan's translation of William Perkins' A Reformed
Catholike : Catholico Reformado. En casa de Ricardo del campo.
[sic] 1599. [London, Richard Field.] No.65; STC 19741.

This chapter will show how Richard Field first collaborated with John Wolfe in surreptitious printing and then gradually took over completely from him. Field's activities, presumably under the patronage of Lord Burghley, are described from 1588, when he started to print, to 1600 when he printed his last surreptitious book (in Spanish by Cipriano de Valera), even though he continued to print general works until 1624.

Richard Field only used a surreptitious imprint, or no imprint, when he had a good reason for doing so. Three categories of works can be distinguished: first, political propaganda, usually in French, and with either no imprint or else "Nouvellement Imprimé"; secondly, books in Italian by his Italian proofreader, Petruccio Ubaldini; and thirdly, books in Spanish either written, translated, or edited by Field's Spanish proofreader, Cipriano de Valera, which use a translation of Field's name, and no location, to create a misleading imprint.

Richard Field was born at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1561 and was bound apprentice to George Bishop for seven years in 1579. It was agreed that he should serve the first six years with Thomas Vautrollier, who had been a Brother of the Company since 1564 and was carrying on a printing business in the Blackfriars. Vautrollier, an excellent printer and businessman, had been associated, before setting up his own press, with a fellow-countryman, Jean Desserans, in an agency for the distribution and sale in London of books from the press of Christopher Plantin. The agency lasted only one year; but in that time a large number of books were sent over, and the agents received a commission of 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ %.¹

Field must have known of this episode in his master's career, and presumably learned from him details of selling books on the international market.

During his two lengthy trips to Scotland, Vautrollier's London business was probably carried on by Field under the supervision of Vautrollier's wife Jacqueline. Field was his only apprentice, although in Letters Patent granted to him in 1574 he had been allowed the help of "six woorkemen Ffrenchmen or Dutchemen, or suche lyke, for the sayd space or terme of tenne yeres wythout any lett or dysturbance of any person or persons."² It can be assumed that these men were skilled craftsmen; but they would still have to be closely directed, and while working with them Field would have acquired not only knowledge of their languages but also some insight into the special problems involved in printing in foreign languages.

Thomas Vautrollier died in July 1587, only a few months after the admittance of Field to the Company on 6 February 1587.³ His widow Jacqueline did not intend to let his business die also, and soon after 4 March 1588, when the Court issued an order restraining her from printing "anye manner of Booke or Bookes whatsoeuer" (later slightly modified), she married her late husband's one-time apprentice.⁴

The first works published surreptitiously by Richard Field can be classed as political propaganda. The five pamphlets in French and Dutch presumably lack an imprint for the express purpose of misleading foreigners, both in London and on the continent, *about* their origin;

and the only Spanish book has a fictitious imprint which was definitely designed to deceive Spaniards and Netherlanders.

The first to be considered are the two editions of Lord Burghley's Copy of a Letter in French: La Copie d'une Lettre enuoyée d'Angleterre à Dom Bernardin de Mendoza, 1588. (Nos 14 and 15; neither is in STC).

The general background and the Italian translation of this pamphlet have already been discussed in the preceding chapter. The Italian text had been specifically entered to Wolfe, and as no entry to Field was made for either the French or the English texts it is probable that they had been given by Lord Burghley to Jacqueline Vautrollier because of his esteem for her late husband. But she had been expressly forbidden to do any printing whatsoever; and therefore, although the Stationers' Company could not disobey Lord Burghley's wishes, they would be unwilling to enter these pamphlets to her. This is conjecture; but it provides the only reasonable explanation for the imprint used on the English editions: 'Imprinted at London by I. Vautrollier / for Richard Field. / 1588', the only known occurrence of her name in an imprint.

The first edition of La Copie d'une Lettre has only three paragraphs of text on the titlepage above the ornament, none of which mentions the Advertisements out of Ireland. It was probably printed before any of the editions in English (or the one in Italian by Wolfe) and is thus the first edition of the text in any language, since the

address by the Printer to the Reader is dated the 9th of October in the first English edition, while in this French edition it is dated 'Le 20. de Septembre. / 1588.' The date at the end of the Advertisements in the English edition is the 26th of September, while in this edition it is 'Le 27. de Septembre. 1588.'; if this is not an error, it may represent the delay of a day required for the work of translation.

The second edition of La Copie d'une Lettre has four paragraphs of text on the titlepage above the ornament, the last of which mentions the Advertisements out of Ireland. On the verso of the titlepage is an epigram by 'T.M.Scotus', and there is an ornament at the foot of B4^r. The text is otherwise a reprint of the previous edition.⁵ Many copies of these pamphlets were sent to the continent, as was shown in the preceding chapter; even so, there are at least two continental reprints of this edition (See Appendix B).

The excitement raised by the Armada slowly calmed, and people once again had time to consider other matters. The Netherlands continued to be a centre of trouble for England; but as the months passed and the peril decreased, the States General became increasingly determined to keep all effective power in its own hands. This policy gradually eroded the authority of the military Governor-General, Peregrine Bertie, 13th Baron Willoughby de Eresby.⁶ The final blow came when the States General tried to blame Queen Elizabeth (and, through her, the Governor-General) for the defection of Gertruydenberg, which was the one major loss they suffered in 1589. Their reaction took

the form of the publication on the 17th of April 1589 of a proclamation giving their version of the events which occurred at Gertruydenberg and attacking the Governor-General and the Queen.

Lord Willoughby had by this time been placed in such a difficult position that this unjust accusation proved too much for him, and he resigned his command and returned to England after writing several times to Lord Burghley.⁷

On the 28th of May 1589 he wrote to Burghley from his home that he would in no circumstances return until "those of the States that have blamed me in print should clear me in print."⁸ On the same date Thomas Bodley (later the founder of the library at Oxford), who was investigating the situation, wrote to the Privy Council that the States General had a very weak case and almost no proof, and that it was well known in Berghen that Gertruydenberg was lost by the passion and wilfulness of a few men, who sought afterwards to cover up their folly by this broadsheet.⁹ On the 28th of July, Walsingham wrote to Thomas Bodley that their Lordships (the Privy Council) and the deputies had almost agreed on some satisfaction for Lord Willoughby, "but the coming forth of his lordship's apology brake off that purpose."¹⁰ Burghley continued to try to induce Lord Willoughby to return, but without success.

This 'apology', Lord Willoughby's statement in his own defence, was privately printed in English by Richard Field (STC 7597) in late June or early July 1589 for distribution primarily in the Netherlands.

Translations in French and Dutch were also printed by Field. The French edition begins: Bref Discours pour donner contentement, 1589, (No.5; not in STC). The Dutch edition commences: Cort Verhael on te vreden te stellen, 1589, (No.4; not in STC).¹¹

At about the same time, or slightly earlier, Richard Field published Le Politique Reformé, by Jean Frégevillle, Sieur du Gaut, in 1589. (No.26; not in STC). This is the French original from which STC 11372 was printed. It was entered to Field 24 December 1588 for both French and English.¹² The English translation has a normal imprint. The book is dedicated to the King of France, and is a defence of the King and of the Protestant cause against the League and the Pope, both of which are vigorously attacked. It can be called political propaganda, although it is not in the same category as the preceding pamphlets, and was clearly destined for the export market.

Several relatively peaceful years followed these pamphlets, until eventually the recurring danger from Spain was responsible for the last work in this group to have been printed by Richard Field. This time it was in Spanish, and for the first and only time in his printing career he made use of a completely fictitious imprint.

The Pedagos de Historia, ô Relaciones, 1594, by Antonio Pérez has the imprint: "Impressão en Leon." (No.4; not in STC). Pérez had written the first draft while still in Aragon, where it had circulated in MS. It was completed and first printed at Pau in 1591,

and its publication there was paid for by Princess Catherine de Bourbon.¹³
 The text printed by Field, which is the second edition, is considerably enlarged and altered, and is signed: 'Fecha à vltimo de Septiembre de ano 1592.'¹⁴

Antonio Pérez, the renowned Secretary of State to Phillip II and for many years before his downfall the King's trusted friend, had arrived in England in April 1593 on his first visit. He was welcomed by the militant Earl of Essex, and was received reluctantly although with interest by the pacifists, the Queen and the Cecils. He is supposed to have been the original of Shakespeare's Don Adriano de Armado, the fantastical Spaniard.

The publication of the Pedaços de Historia caused a great sensation at Elizabeth's court. At this time the Elizabethans believed that the innocent Pérez told nothing but the truth in his incomparable book about his troubles,¹⁵ which was taken for a treasure of priceless Spanish State Papers presented by 'a deepe estate man ... learned in philosophye, in Civile, in Canon lawe, and in the lawes of his owne Countrie.'¹⁶

This edition was probably officially subsidised, and a contemporary letter containing the report of a Spanish spy in England suggests that the reason for so unusual an imprint was that Pérez was well thought of by the Queen's councillors, who had such a high opinion of his book that they had it printed and sent a large number of copies to Aragon in the hope of inciting a revolution there.¹⁷

The book is dedicated to the Earl of Essex, and it was probably he, perhaps in the Queen's name, who subsidised or even ordered the edition. Remembering the successes of the translations of the Letter to Don Bernardin de Mendoza by his rival, Lord Burghley, he might have insisted on a fictitious Spanish imprint. As the leader of the more impatient and war-like party at Court, Essex would have wanted to stir up and inflame the population of Aragon by this recital of the wrongs done by Phillip II to them and to Perez. It is doubtful if many copies ever reached the Aragonese (who had sheltered and helped Perez, and rescued him from the Inquisition by armed rebellion, at the price of their ancient liberties); but these books served their purpose in other regions. Between 28th January and 7th February 1594/5 William Nicols wrote to Sir Peter Hollins from the Low Countries:

"I pray you use all diligent means to get so many as ye can of those Spanish books that Anthony Perez hath made. They shall be well paid for and distributed here in good sort to the disgrace of whom it toucheth. If you can send them by hundreds they shall be well spread abroad and paid for. Mr. Gynger's man doth desire it; I mean his secretary. Therefore I am the more earnest to trouble you in this matter." 18

The success of this book in the Netherlands inspired the printing of the two editions in Dutch at the Hague by Albrecht Heyndrickszoon.¹⁹ The Earl of Essex may also have been concerned with the printing of these editions.

English and Latin translations were prepared but never printed, probably as a result of the rapid fall of Perez's influence

and reputation in England, where his fantastic vanity and bad advice on the West Indian expedition had lost him his popularity.

Richard Field had acknowledged the favours previously received from Lord Burghley by dedicating to him George Pattenham's [or Lord Lumley's ?] Arte of English Poesie in 1589 (STC 20519), and had also recently completed printing William Stepney's Spanish School-master (1591; STC 23256). But he was not the only printer to have experience of Spanish texts. John Wolfe had done the Tractado in 1589 (see Chapter II); John Jackson had done Richard Perceval's [or Percyvall] Bibliotheca Hispanica in 1591 (STC 19619); Peter Short had done Cipriano de Valera's Tratado para confirmar in 1594 (STC 24582); and Arnold Hatfield had done both Cipriano de Valera's Dos Tratados in 1588 (STC 24579, [for R. Field ?]); and Don F.R. de M.'s : Respuesta contra las falsedades in 1589 (STC 17131; 'por T. Cadmano'). But despite this competition Field was chosen to print the book, presumably either through his connections or because of his experience in surreptitious printing.

There was already by this date a large domestic market in England for books in foreign vernaculars. Most educated Elizabethans spoke at least one foreign language, and they would be interested in books which would help maintain and extend their linguistic abilities. A pertinent example is in Ben Jonson's play Every Man Out Of His Humour, Act III, scene I:

Cordatus: "The other monsieur, Clove, is a more spiced youth; he will sit you a whole afternoon

sometimes in a bookseller's shop, reading the Greek, Italian and Spanish, when he understands not a word of either; if he had the tongues to his suits, he were an excellent linguist."

Clove aping his betters shows both that they could and did read Italian and Spanish, probably about as well as they read Greek, and that the booksellers kept stocks of works in those languages.

The second category of works published surreptitiously by Richard Field is composed of the six books and pamphlets which he published in Italian for Petruccio Ubaldini.²¹

There are no imprints, except for the date, on any of the six books which Field published for him. The vain Florentine always took great care to have his short works printed in quartos, or even in folios, with large margins, large clear type, and plenty of ornaments to make them look as beautiful and as fashionable as possible. The same motive could also have prompted him to camouflage their ordinary English source with the suggestion of a more interesting Italian origin. An open imprint was used in the English translation of his first version in Italian of Lord Howard of Effingham's account of the defeat of the Spanish Armada [Arnold Hatfield, 1590, STC 24481],²² probably because the book was not privately printed, but was for public sale. The same considerations hold true for the first edition of Doa Tratados which Hatfield printed in 1588 (STC 24579); and in both instances it should be noted that the books were entered in

the Register. Richard Field entered only the first of Ubaldini's books; and this fact, in conjunction with their lack of imprints, suggests strongly that the others were printed for private distribution only.²³

R.B. McKerrow suggests, speaking of Edward Allde (see Chapter VI), that a printer would be unlikely to go to the trouble and expense of entering in the Register books which he was printing for the private order of a customer. Furthermore, such privately printed books or pamphlets are likely to be very rare today because so few copies of them would ever get into general circulation. Such considerations would apply equally well to the books Field printed for Ubaldini, and would explain why very few copies now exist of Petruccio Ubaldini's books in Italian; I have not found them in the Frankfurt Fair Catalogues, and of the few copies in continental libraries, several have indications of recent English provenance.

His first book to be printed by Field was the Parte Prima delle brevi Dimostrazioni, 1592 (No.53; STC 24479). It was entered to Field 6 December 1591.²⁴ The next was Lo Stato delle Tre Corti, printed in 1594 [from internal evidence], (No.57; STC 24485). The copy in the Marquess of Salisbury's library at Hatfield House contains the following inscription, in Ubaldini's handwriting, opposite the titlepage:

Allo.Ill.^{mo} Sig:^r etueramente uirtuoso Ca-
ualiere il Sig:^r Roberto Cecilio; vno dl

Consiglio Reale di S.M.^{ta} Petruccio
 Vbaldino per una sua propria, et hu-
 mile inclination d'animo desidera feli-
 ce euento d'ogni suo honorueo pensiero.

l'anno. 1594.

[The last four letters of 'honorueo', last line, are overwritten by the same hand and therefore unclear.]

This inscription provides another indication that these later editions of his works were privately printed and intended for presentation to friends and patrons, which would explain why Field did not enter them in the Register.

Field next printed Scelta di Alcune Attioni in 1595 (No.56;24484). His Rime then followed, dated 1596. (No.55;STC 24483). Then came Militia del Gran Duca di Toscana, 1597. (No.54;STC 24482). His last book was La Vita di Carlo Magno Imperadore, &c. De nueuo Corretta, 1599. (No.58; STC 24487). This had been first printed by, and entered to, John Wolfe in 1581.(STC 24486). No more is then heard of Petruccio Ubaldini, and it is likely that he died soon afterwards.

The third category of books printed surreptitiously by Field consists of the six works in Spanish which were written, translated or edited by Cipriano de Valera, a Spanish Protestant refugee who was his Spanish proofreader.²⁵ These six books all have

Field's name translated into Spanish and the date as imprint, with no indication of location. These imprints are the only ones in this thesis where the element of surreptitiousness, i.e., the intent to mislead, could be in doubt. It is unfortunate that Richard Field seems to have printed no other books in Spanish.²⁶

Cipriano de Valera had two other books printed in Spanish by other printers. One was Dos Tratados (STC 24579) with the imprint: En casa de Arnaldo Hatfildo. / Año de. 1588. The other is Tratado para confirmar los pobres cativos de Berberia (STC 24582) with the imprint: En casa de Pedro Shorto, / Año de. 1594. Neither of these books mentions the place of printing; and Dos Tratados is often found on the continent.²⁷ Yet I do not think that there could have been any real intent to deceive, as these pseudo-Spanish forms of the printers' names followed the common practice of the times and were certainly not meant to mislead the reader, as might have been the case had they translated their names into Arnaldo Gorracampo and Pedro Corto.

Bearing in mind, however, the particular nature of the books which Field printed for de Valera, and that some of them were meant for export to the continent and even for smuggling into Spain, I believe this complete translation of Field's name, coupled with the lack of geographical location, was used with a conscious intent to deceive. There is a town in Spain called Medina del Campo (in Leon, 26 miles S.S.W of Valladolid) which in the late sixteenth century was one of the more important Spanish printing centres; and it is

possible that Field or de Valera might have been aware of the potentiality for confusion between Medina del Campo and Ricardo del Campo in an imprint.

Cipriano de Valera seems to have attached himself to Richard Field soon after 1594, very likely as a result of Field's edition in Spanish of Antonio Pérez's Pedaços de Historia. None of his books is entered to Richard Field.

The first book edited by Cipriano de Valera to be printed by Richard Field was the Catecismo, 1596. (No.61; not in STC). This is an adaptation of Jean Calvin's original Geneva catechism, re-edited by de Valera from the adaptation into Spanish by Juan Pérez de Pineda which was originally printed in Geneva in 1556 by Crespin with the fictitious imprint: 'Fue impresso en Venecia en casa de Pietro Daniel. M.D. LVI.'

During the same year Field also printed El Testamento Nuevo, 1596. (No.63; STC 2959). This translation of the New Testament was edited by de Valera from that of Cassiodoro de Reina, who had died in 1594. De Reina's translation was itself based on the incomplete version left by Juan Pérez de Pineda, who had bequeathed all his fortune to the printing of the Bible in his native tongue.

The next year, Field printed the Institution de la Religion Christiano, 1597. (No.64; STC 4426). It is not clear whether de Valera actually translated Calvin's Institutes from a French or Latin original, or whether he merely edited an earlier Spanish version. (See Notes on this edition, page 398). In the preface de Valera

expresses his thanks to Queen Elizabeth, the patroness of so many thousands of Protestant fugitives.

After the lapse of a year he printed the Catholico Reformado, 1599. (No. 65; STC 19741). This is a translation by William Massan of A Reformed Catholike by Dr. William Perkins of Cambridge University, a Calvinist Puritan preacher and theologian. De Valera edited this translation for printing and wrote a preface to it.

The same year Field printed an enlarged and corrected edition of Dos Tratados, 1599. (No. 62; STC 24580). The first edition was published in 1588 by Arnold Hatfield (see page 125). Much of the material in this book, including the table presenting the contrasts between the old and the new religions, was taken from the works of Juan Pérez de Pineda. A history of the supposedly false miracles of a nun at Lisbon is also reprinted in this volume from STC 24582. The English translation of 1600 (STC 24581) gives the additional information that this Maria de la Visitacion had been called upon by Philip II to bless the standard of his Invincible Armada.

The last work is the Aviso a los de la Iglesia Romana, 1600. (No. 60; not in STC). This pamphlet on the jubilee proclaimed by the Pope does not have de Valera's name on it; but internal evidence points strongly to his having been the author of it. The English translation, An answer or admonition to those of the Church of Rome touching the jubile, was printed by Edward Allde for John Wolfe in 1600 (STC 21304). It is unlikely that Allde, a jobbing printer, would print a book for

Wolfe if the original edition, published that same year, had belonged to Field. The possibility therefore exists that Field may have been doing most if not all of his surreptitious printing of de Valera's (and eventually Ubaldini's) works for Wolfe and not for himself, although Field's use of "En casa de Ricardo del Campo" as an imprint in all of de Valera's books renders this unlikely.

Soon afterwards Cipriano de Valera seems to have left England for the Netherlands, never to return. He may have died in the Netherlands; or he may have died in Spain, trying to smuggle copies of his works into that country. Edward Leigh referred in 1656 to "Cyprian de Valera a Spaniard, who was B[ishop] Welch of Islands tutor, and was here in England, and carried over into Spain the Bible translated into Spanish and also Calvin's Institutions, and went and dispersed them there."²⁸ He would have been seventy years old, and he could well have died from the hardships of such a mission.

In the copy of Field's edition of El Testamento Nuevo belonging to Thomas Tanner, Bishop of St. Asaph (Tanner 482: in the Bodleian Library), there is an MS. note on the titlepage above Tanner's signature: 'Lond. by Ric. Field'. On the flyleaf facing the title (1^v) there is another MS. note in his handwriting: 'This translation & Impression was made against one of Q. Elizabeths expeditions to Spain - in order to enlighten the Spaniards & make them see the error of Popery'. The expedition to which Tanner refers was probably the one under the command of the Earl of Essex which came to grief

in the summer of 1597. The note was probably written between 1720 and 1735; and although the source cannot be traced, the information is probably accurate, as Tanner was a careful scholar.



Figure 5.

Since Cipriano de Valera had been asked to come to France by de Corro to correct the proofs of an edition of the Bible in Spanish, we can assume that he was quite capable of correcting the proofs of his own books and that he probably did so. It is also likely that he may have done some other proof-reading for other London printers.

He would certainly have known his way about a printing-house, and might well therefore have specified the imprint which he wanted to have on his books. In the years after he and his friend left their monastery of San Isidro in 1557, they and others had smuggled many copies of Protestant books into Spain.²⁹ It is very likely that these books had been printed with the deliberate intent of smuggling a number of copies of each into Spain, in addition to those copies which were to be sold in London and in the Netherlands. This would account for the surreptitious imprint, and would also help to explain the style in which many passages were written. Such efforts would have had the blessing of the English Government, and although it would be going too far to call these works official propaganda, they were almost certainly examples of surreptitiously printed religious propaganda.

During these years Richard Field's printing career was reasonably normal and uneventful. He must have continued his close connection with John Wolfe for a long time; he printed STC 1034 and STC 7574 for Wolfe in late 1593 (proved by the initials and ornaments, and despite the fact that in STC 7574 the titlepage has a compartment and device of Wolfe's), and as late as September 7th, 1600, Peter Short consented to let John Wolfe and Richard Field settle a controversy which he had with Cuthbert Burby. After 1600 Field does not seem to have done any more surreptitious printing in any language, and in fact, he seems to have done very little more printing in any foreign

language. The small amount of such work that he did after 1601 was in French and with clear imprints (STC 15449-52 are typical), although we know that he was willing to undertake printing for a private order in foreign vernaculars from his edition of Jean de Beaushauer's la clef de l'egeriture.³⁰

Richard Field was the only English printer to have followed Wolfe's example and to have made a regular practice of surreptitiously printing books in foreign vernaculars. He did not make much use of this technique, and the works which he produced along these lines comprise either political or religious propaganda, or else were privately printed.

It is my belief that Field did not take very naturally to surreptitious printing. Lord Burghley died in 1598, and Field did not print any political propaganda in foreign vernaculars, surreptitiously or otherwise, after this date. Furthermore, John Wolfe did not die until 1601; and although Field printed books surreptitiously until just before Wolfe's death, he never used this technique again himself afterwards even though he continued to work as a printer until 1624.

It is of course possible that Field may have done much of his surreptitious printing for John Wolfe as a jobbing printer, rather than on his own account. The fact that the English translation of de Valera's Aviso a los de la Iglesia Romana, No 60, was printed

by Edward Allde for John Wolfe (STC 21304) could lead to the theory that Wolfe used Field as a jobbing printer for works in foreign languages, just as he used Allde and others to do his jobbing printing for texts in English. This might be so; but as there is no other evidence for this theory, and since Field used the imprint "En casa de Ricardo del Campo" in all his books by de Valera in Spanish, which would have been out of character had he been printing them for Wolfe, I feel that this case should merely be regarded as an exception to the rule.

No political propaganda is known to have been surreptitiously printed in contemporary foreign languages in England between Burghley's death in 1598 and that of his son in 1612. Burghley's death also brought to an end what could well have been an official policy of giving to one particular printer the orders for this sort of work. After 1612, as will be seen in the next chapter, such works of propaganda as were printed were issued by individually selected printers; and although some printers occasionally brought out a work in a foreign language with no imprint or with a fictitious imprint, none of them before 1640 again made a consistent policy of this sort of printing.

Notes to Chapter V.

1. Max Rooses, Christophe Plantin, Imprimeur Anversois, Anvers, 1882, p.258. See also Max Rooses (ed.) Correspondance de Christophe Plantin, Antwerpen, 1883 - 1911, 6 vols. See i, 144_s, 156_s, 163_s, 166_s, 169_s, 173_s, 176, 262_s; ii, 126; v, 311.
2. Arber, II, 746-7.
3. Arber, II, 699.

Thomas Vautrollier sent three works in French to the Frankfurt-am-Main Book Fairs:

A) Traicté de l'Eglise auquel sont disputées les principales questions qui ont esté meues sur ce point en nostre temps. Par Philippe du Mornay Seig. du Plessis Marlyn.

8. Imprime à Londres par Thomas Vautrollier 1578.
A [utumnal Fair]. [Not in STC.]

B) [As above.] 16. 1579. A [utumnal Fair]. [STC 18157.]
[STC 18157 is 8° and dated 1579. The entries are not very accurate, and it is possible that they refer to the same edition.]

C) Meditations Chrestiennes. A Londres par Thomas Vautrollier in 16. 1586. A [utumnal Fair]. [Not in STC.] See: Collectio in unum corpus, omnium librorum Italici, Hispanici, et Gallice [etc.; full title in Appendix H, p. 519], Frankfurt-am-Main, 1592, Pars Tertia, pp. 12 & 14.

4. Most of the preceding information is taken from A.E.M. Kirwood, "Richard Field, Printer, 1589-1624", The Library, Fourth Series, XII, 1 (June 1931), 1-39.
5. The final signature is signed 'I' for II in both editions, and not on the latter edition only, as Mr. Lyell states on page 256 of his thesis, op.cit. It is possible that he is referring to yet another edition; but his specific mention of Bodley's pressmark (Douce, M.202) for this edition would appear to indicate that it is merely an error.

6. Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, ii, 404-7.
7. Cal. S. P. Foreign, January-July 1589, pp. 252, 285, 288.
8. Ibid., p. 288 (28 May 1589).
9. Ibid., p. 288.
10. Ibid., p. 404 (Walsingham to Thomas Bodley, 28 July 1589).
11. W.P.C. Knüttel: Catalogus van de Pamfletten-Versameling in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek. 's Gravenhage, 1889, i, 170-1, number 871. This entry is for their copy of the Cort Verhael, and in a short discussion following the description Knüttel tries to explain its rarity by quoting Bor to the effect that although in the Netherlands its dissemination would have been guarded against, in England it would have been confiscated by house-searchings and other methods ('by huyssoekinge als andersins ingetogen') - which is completely wrong. Knüttel does not seem to know of the placard by the States General.
12. Arber, II, 511.
13. Gustav Ungerer, Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature, 1956, p. 86.
14. Gg2^F (p.227). The last part of the book, the Memorial, was his first important Apology, and was written at Zaragoza. It circulated in MS. bound as a book, and was therefore called 'Librillo'. [Gregorio Marañón, Antonio Pérez, London, 1954, p.259.] Julia Fitz-Maurice-Kelly (Antonio Pérez, Oxford, 1922, pp.107-8) wrongly stated that it had been printed in Spain. The first edition was printed at Pau, with only the date for imprint: 'Ano de 1591.' Richard Field printed the enlarged second edition; no edition was printed in Spain until modern times.
15. A pamphlet had been published some years earlier, probably as another piece of semi-official anti-Spanish propaganda: A Fig for the Spaniard. London, Printed by John Wolfe, and are to be solde by William Wright. 1591. (STC 1026), and reprinted the next year (STC 1027). The author, G. B., fulminated against the Spanish and their Inquisition for persecuting Pérez, and must have written his pamphlet later than 26 November 1591, as he knew that Pérez had escaped to France where he was "safe with the French King, who is his rightful Liege." This pamphlet was eagerly

read by the Elizabethans and probably Shakespeare. [It was probably from this pamphlet that Shakespeare and his contemporaries learned the contemptuous expression "to bid a fig for the Spaniard."] The popularity of this pamphlet can be gathered from a reference made to it by H.O., the translator of The Spaniards Monarchie (Richard Field for John Harrison, 1592), where he says to the Readers:

"thus much I can assure you, that albeit it hath no title fetched from the Bull within bishops gate, as a figge for a Spaniard, yet it doth discourse so succinctly and briefly, a Spanish imitatio of Machiauellized axiomes, that what other volumes at large, this in a leafe doth plainly demonstrate."

This is an example of how news from Spain was used to stir the national hatred for that country, and how the English government supported Pérez's machinations to raise a mutiny by means of the anti-Philip elements in Spain.

16. This phrase is from the Preface of the English translation by Arthur Atey. On the 22nd of November 1578 Antonio de Corro wrote him a letter from Oxford, the address of which describes him as 'secretary to the Earl of Leycester' (Letter in P.M.: MS. Cotton Galba C.VI.f.349). It would seem probable that de Corro taught Spanish to Atey (using his own Reglas Gramaticales?). The preface is mainly addressed to those English Catholics who

"at home or abroad, yt discontenting them selves with their owne Prince and Countries estate, relye their hopes vpon this kinge of Spayne." Let them consider "the whole course of this storie, and Judge but indifferently" whether they "be not exceedingly abused."

Pérez was to show them how much Philip II cared for his own subjects and most trusted friends. The preface is preserved among the Hatfield Papers and is printed by Ungerer, op. cit., Appendix III. A copy of the entire translation is to be found in the Bodleian Library (Bodl. MS. Eng. hist. c. 239).

17. "Antonio Pérez está muy estimado entre los del Consejo de la Reyna, y tenido por muy grande hombre de Estado, y los ha dado en sus demandas mucha satisfacción. Los libros que hizo fueron imprimidos á costa de la Reyna y han embiado un gran número dellos en Aragón para revolver aquel reyno."

Avisos de Inglaterra. Arch. de Simancas, Estado, Flandres, Legado 609, quoted from C. Fernández Duro, Estudios Historicos ... Felipe II, Madrid, 1890, p.270, note 4.

18. Hist. MSS. Commission, Hatfield Papers, 1894, v.97.
19. These are accurately described as numbers 3 and 4 in Antonio Pérez Gómez: Antonio Pérez, escritor y hombre de estado, Cieza [Spain], 1959. Reviewed in The Library, Fifth Series, xvi (1961), 59-61.
20. The English translation is by Arthur Atey (see note 16 above). The Latin translation was the work of a Spaniard named Cyprian [Thomas Birch, Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, London 1754, i, 469]; the letter by M. le Doux which he mentions is printed by Ungerer, op. cit., Appendix V. [whose son, John de Cárdenas, served as secretary to Walsingham and Don Antonio (the Portuguese Pretender), and was employed on special missions to the court of Muley Ahmed. A surviving fragment of this Latin translation is in the Bodleian Library (MS. Tanner 102, fols. 175-180), and is printed by Ungerer, op. cit., Appendix IV.
21. Petruccio Ubaldini was born in 1524 at Florence.^a He came to England in 1545, entered Court service, and was employed by Henry VIII on some work in Italy. He returned to England in the reign of Edward VI, and saw service in the Scottish war of 1549. In 1551 he wrote a description of England (copies of the MS are preserved in the Hofbibliothek, Vienna, and in the Bodleian Library: MS Bodl. 860), which may have been done for the Signoria of Venice, in whose city he resided from 1552 to 1562. He returned once again to England under the patronage of Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel, and later received a small pension; but even so he was only saved from imprisonment for debt circa 1579 by the intervention of the Privy Council. He seems to have resided in England continuously thereafter until his death, which probably occurred soon after 1600.^b During the last 35 years of his life he lived precariously in London by means of a variety of jobs which included correcting the proofs of, and writing introductions to, books in Italian printed by John Wolfe and, later, Richard Field. He also acted as writing master, and presented attractive manuscripts to the Queen and to other patrons. He was an expert at flattery of the grossest sort, and ran errands for people at Court. He wrote an Italian translation of Lord Howard of Effingham's report on his

victory over the Spanish Armada (MS now in B.M.: Royal MS. 14.A.X.), from which the English version printed by Arnold Hatfield (and "to be sold at the shop of A. Ryther," although entered to John Wolfe, 13 October 1590) was translated (STC 24481). As this Italian translation happened to displease Sir Francis Drake, Ubaldini wrote a second version giving Drake more credit; unfortunately for Drake, this version was never published (MS now in B.M.: Royal MS. 14.A.XI). After writing the prefaces for Wolfe's editions of Machiavelli and Pisto Aretino (see Chapter II), and acting as Wolfe's proof-reader from 1581 to 1591, he transferred his loyalty (or 'was passed') to Richard Field (who published his Parte Prima in 1592), when Wolfe started to farm out his general printing. He was an accomplished calligraphist and illuminator on vellum,^c and several examples of his work are preserved in the Department of MSS., British Museum. Most notable perhaps is the Psalter written and illuminated for his patron the Earl of Arundel, and inscribed at the end: "Petrucius Ubaldinus Florentinus Henrico Comiti Arundellio Mecenati suo scribebat Londini MDLXIV". (Royal MS. 2.B.IX). He seems to have been in considerable favour at Court, and is frequently mentioned in the rolls of new year's gifts [In 21 Elizabeth: To Petruccio - v l. He returns, a book of Italian, with pictures to the life, and metamorphosis of Ovid. Another gift was made by him in 1585; a pedigree; to him, five ounces of gilt plate. Again, in 1588: To Petruccio in gilt plate, five ounces; he returned: a book covered with vellum, in Italian.]^d

- a. J.P.R. Lyell, op. cit., p.111
- b. Arthur M. Hind: Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1952, 1, 143.
- c. Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers. 1905, v, 219.
- d. Horace Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting in England, 1826, i, 282-285.

Figure 6 (below) is the recto of the upper flyleaf of Juvenalis' Dorotii Calderini, 1483 (in the B.M.: I.B. 21838). It is obviously belonged to Ubaldini and contains excellent examples of his informal handwriting.

Note that the figure of a bird standing erect with outspread wings is not recorded as a device by McKerrow. Field only used it on the title-pages of five works by Ubaldini, and as a tail-piece ornament in two books of 1609 and 1612. See Kirwood, op. cit., p. 26.

Hic liber Petrus de phalangi suo mihi humaniter comendavit

Demum

De quo Animum desponderat
Qui Laqueum Collo noctabat reperit aurum
thesauri loco deposuit laqueum
Aqui considerat postea non reperit aurum
Apertum Collo suo reperit laqueum

Virum autem sine plumis
portabat sine ramis venit ad
sine pedibus et comedit eum
sine ore

Hunc apetrucio librum emi quindecim quadrantibus septimo Kls Junias
Et est dionysius fabronius demarata antequam emissem mihi comendavit

In petruccio phalangi

Virum autem sine plumis

De quo Animum desponderat
Qui laqueum Collo noctabat reperit aurum
thesauri loco deposuit laqueum
Aqui considerat postea non reperit aurum
Apertum Collo suo reperit laqueum

Virum autem portabat
Virum sine

Carmina que feci

Virum autem portabat
Virum sine pedibus ibat

Virum est alienum
Virum quodammodo



Hic phalangi suo signum
Hic ombo mihi in morza parva Hic
Colifium si il sunt et mania aut ille
Hic crocolum si il zembalo
Hic crocolum si il zembalo

Et raso in suis pronubiis in raso et aliam vici quodam
Hic vubero in la zambro et in la boro
Hic cadus di il boro
Hic poliarum di il boro
Sonne capulac il boro

22. STC 24481, with the plates issued separately, because of their being too large to fit into the book, as STC 24481a. The work had been entered to John Wolfe in the Register on 13 October 1590, but was probably printed by Hatfield the trade printer for Wolfe, who was at that time already starting to farm out some of his work.

Ubaladini wrote his two versions in Italian (see text (above) from the original record which was written by Lord Howard of Effingham, or at least under his direction (MS. now in the B.M.: MS Cotton Julius, F.X. ff. 95-101). Ubaladini's first version contains the following explanation addressed to the Lord High Admiral:

"Your Lordship's own relation of what happened against the enemy's fleet in these seas, first written in English, now returned to you in Italian, to the end that the abundant content won for the English nation by the happy success of these days may also bear witness to other nations in a language which they understand." Signed and dated: "London 15 April 1589
Petruccio Ubaladini, the Florentine."

It was from this version that STC 24481 was translated and printed. There is no trace of any printed edition of this first version in the original Italian, although the printing of such an edition would seem to have been at least part of Ubaladini's original intention.

The second version by Ubaladini in Italian (see Footnote 21, above) was written at the request of Sir Francis Drake, and presents him in a more favorable light. The text is dated 15 April 1589, as is the preceding MS; but a dedication is added, presenting the MS. to Sir Christopher Hatton, the Lord Chancellor, as a New Year's gift, 1589.

23. See William A. Jackson, The Carl H. Pfortzheimer Library, 1940, p.1054.
24. Arber, II, 599.
25. Cipriano de Valera was born in 1531 or 1532. He studied for six years at the High School in Seville, and obtained a bachelor's degree. He became a friar at San Isidro with Cassiodoro de Reina, and with him and some others fled from the monastery and from Spain in 1557. At the Sevillian auto of 26 April 1562 ten fugitive Isidriens, among them

Valera and Reina, were condemned as Lutherans, and effigies of them were burned. On 10 October 1558 he was admitted a habitant of Geneva; but he soon went to England, after the accession of Queen Elizabeth. In February 1560 he was given a bachelor's degree at Cambridge, because of his studies and achievements at Seville, and was elected a fellow of Magdalene College. On 12 June 1563 he took his master's degree at Cambridge, and at Christmas of the same year, when Antonio de Corro invited Reina to come from England to the South of France to assist in printing Reina's translation into Spanish of the Bible, de Corro also suggested that Reina should bring de Valera with him to correct the proofs. Unfortunately, they could not go. On 21 February 1566 he was incorporated at Oxford. In 1573 he seems to have been a schoolmaster in London, where he was joined by Reina in 1578. He remained there until at least 1600, during which time seven books in Spanish were printed there which he wrote, translated or edited, one of them being reprinted. He went over to Amsterdam in 1601 and lived in the house of the printer Lorenz Jacobi as editor and proof-corrector of Reina's Bible in Spanish. He was still in the Netherlands (at Antwerp) on 3 November 1602, but after this nothing more is known of him. See Edward Boehmer: Bibliotheca Wiffeniana. Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from 1520. Vol.III, Strassburg, 1904, pp.147-174.

26. I have not found any other books printed in Spanish by Richard Field; and A.E.M. Kirwood, in his article in The Library, (op.cit., p.23) states that he only printed five books in Spanish. STC 23256, Stepney's Spanish Schoolmaster (1591), has his name in the imprint in English.
27. STC 24579 is in L,O,HD,HM,Y,EMP,MRR, and the Kon. Bib den Haag (346.G.13), Bay. Staatsbib. Munich (8° Polem. 2732), Bib. Nat. Cent. Florence (Guic.11.62.13) (in MS), and Bib. Nat. Paris (D2.11927). This Paris copy contains an MS note: "Ex dono Cypari de Valera". STC 24582 is in L,O, and MRR.
28. Edward Leigh, Treatise of Religion and Learning, London, 1656, p.348.
29. Edward Boehmer, op. cit., ii (1833), 77-78.
30. The book is entirely in French; and for imprint it has only: 'G.Boulengier.' This is probably Giles Bullenger, a servant to John de Hersee. (See E.J. Worman, Alien Members of the Book Trade during the Tudor Period, 1906, p.8.)

Bullenger was described as an apothecary in 1583 (see R.E.O. Kirk and E.F. Kirk: Returns of Aliens living in London, Huguenot Society's Publications, 1900, ii, 356); but John de Horse was certainly connected with the printing trade (see Worman, op.cit., pp.32-3). This edition is not in the STC. although it was printed in London by Richard Field, probably circa 1595. It was probably privately printed for Giles Bullenger or Boulengier; and since it bears his (untranslated) name does not fall within my definition of surreptitiously printed books. Mr. S. Morison has an imperfect copy of this book, which is now in the Newberry Library.

CHAPTER VI

The Development of Modern Patterns

1. Alary, Jean d': Sur les Louanges ... de ... George de Villiers, ... Duc de Buckingham. [London, Nicholas Oakes, c. 1623.] No.1; **Not** in STC.
2. Arcie, Abraham de Ville d': Theatre de La Gloire et Noblesse d'Albion. [London, W. Stansby, 1626.] No.2; **Not** in STC.
3. B., I.D.F.D., Sieur de la Paye: Les Larmes Funébres-Francoises sur la mort ... de ... Robert Comte de Salisbury. [London, Edward Allde, 1612.] No.3; **Not** in STC.
4. Buell, Honorat de, Marquis de Racan: L'Artenica. [London, Edward Allde, 1626.] No.12; **Not** in STC.
5. East India Company of the Netherlands: Zen waer Verhael vande onlaneksche procedure teghen de Enghelsche tot Amboyna. Gedruckt int Jaer 1624. [London, John Beale.] No.22; First part of STC 7455.
6. East India Company of the Netherlands: Waerachtich Verhael Vande Tidighen ghecomen wt de Oost-Indien. Gedruckt int Jaer 1624. [London, John Beale.] No.23; Second part of STC 7455.
7. East India Company of the Netherlands: Antwoorde vande Deytsche Relatie. [London, John Beal, 1624.] No.24; Third part of STC 7455.
8. Guetz, Jean-Louis, Sieur de Balsac: Le Prince. A PARIS, Chez Toussaint du Bray, rue Saint Jacques aux Espirs neurs. MDCXXXII. [London, Thomas Harper.] No 29; **Not** in STC.

9. Liturgy: Liturgia Inglesa. ✠ Augustæ Trinobantum. / [rule] /
 CID .ID1.LXIV. [London, Robert Barker, 1623.] No.32; STC 16434.
10. Rocquigny, Adrien de: Muse Chrestienne. [Device: McKerrow 383] /
M. DC. XXVII. / [rule] [London, George Miller.] No.49; Not in STC.
11. Rocquigny, Adrien de: Muse Chrestienne. [Device: McKerrow 383] /
 [rule] / M. DC.XXXIV. [London, George Miller.] No.50; STC 21139.

This last chapter covers the period from the death in 1612 of Sir Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, to the end of the year 1640.

A strong contrast has been noted between the three periods which have been distinguished in the history of surreptitious printing in foreign vernaculars. The first was marked by an absence of method and of planned deception (at least on the part of the printers, who were not yet aware of its financial advantages). The middle period (1580-1612) saw the birth and development of this branch of printing for the dual purposes of commercial gain and political or religious propaganda, and is characterized by the emergence of a conscious intent to deceive. But the intent was still only to deceive the public; no subversive or anti-government works were published. The books or pamphlets dealt only with official issues and were still entered in the Register, except for private editions, and both their contents and the methods used to print them were still completely non-treasonable.

In the third period a further change became apparent. The theory and advantages of surreptitious printing in foreign vernaculars were now a matter of general knowledge and not the monopoly of any one printer, even though Government-inspired surreptitious printing would tend from now on to go to the King's printer. This period is therefore distinguished by the conscious use of surreptitious printing by any printer whenever it might help sales or be of use to the author or patron. Surreptitiously printed books and pamphlets in foreign vernaculars once again appear almost at random, as they did during the first period; but with the important difference that the printers were now fully conscious of the

effects produced by the various kinds of imprints.

Between 1612 and 1640 three different categories of surreptitiously printed works emerge. The first consists of works of political or religious propaganda produced in accordance with the traditional techniques first developed by Lord Burghley and John Wolfe. These have the date only, or a fictitious imprint. Another category is made up of political propaganda of a new type: secretly printed, usually treasonable, and directed against the authorities at home. The imprints on these works are usually either a close copy of the original foreign imprint, or a plausible foreign imprint. Finally there is a group of works printed for a private order which are surreptitious only in as much as their (quite normal) lack of a clear imprint, coupled with the fact of their being in a foreign language, might tend to mislead the average purchaser into believing that these works were published in the foreign country in whose vernacular they *were* printed. The imprints on these works are either altogether omitted, or else consist of the date only.

Continental publishers by now seemed to be able to get round the effects of the Index Librorum Prohibitorum, so that surreptitious printing in foreign vernaculars for commercial purposes, as practised by Wolfe a quarter of a century earlier, became outdated and valueless. But books surreptitiously printed in England in foreign vernaculars still continued to turn up occasionally in the Frankfurt-am-Main Book Fairs; and Wolfe's pioneering ventures into this field, which were in the best Elizabethan traditions, laid the foundation of surreptitious printing in foreign vernaculars as it is still practised for political purposes today.¹

The first book in this section is by I.D.F.D.B., *Sieur de la Raye*: Les Larmes Ruesbree-Francoises sur la mort ... de ... Robert Comte de Salisbury. London, Edward Allde, 1612. (No.3; not in SEC). This collection of verses on the death of Sir Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, is not dated; but it was obviously published soon after his death on the 24th May 1612. The author has not been identified.² The absence of the imprint probably signifies that the pamphlet was printed for a private order (and was therefore not for sale), as the author's preface shows no signs of any intentions to mislead the reader concerning the origin of the pamphlet [rather, the contrary is true: see Notes for No.3 page 182].

Edward Allde printed in London from 1584 until his death in 1623. In an article on Allde in The Library,³ R.B. McKerrow remarks that he had a bad habit of frequently omitting his name from his productions, at least 63 of which have already been identified by their ornaments, initial letters, etc. He then proceeds to discuss a group of Allde's books :

"which we can only suppose to have been printed by Allde on commission for their authors and at the expense of the latter. In some cases we can be sure that this is so, for it is made clear in the book itself; but there are many others of which the same thing is almost certainly true. Some books of this sort may have been commissioned by authors who desired to put something before the public that would hardly be saleable in the ordinary way. These would naturally tend to become almost as scarce as books of a very popular kind, not because they were thumbred to pieces, but because very few copies would ever get out into the world, and the bulk of the edition would finally be scrapped."⁴

McKerrow also says that most of these were not "entered in the Stationers' Register, a fact which possibly indicates that Allde did

not feel himself concerned with the copyright of them."⁵ It is quite probable that Les Larges Funebres-Francoises was one of those works which was printed on commission for the author, and McKerrow's theories provide a probable explanation both for its not having been entered in the Register as well as for the scarcity of copies.

The next book is the Liturgia Inglesa printed in London in 1623 by Robert Barker. (No. 32; STC 16434).

This edition of the English Liturgy in Spanish was translated by Fernando de Texeda⁶ at the instigation of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, who also commissioned a translation into French (STC 16431). Bishop Williams paid for the printing of this Spanish translation, the only one dealt with here that we know from documentary evidence to have been printed for a private order. It is interesting that it was also definitely printed with the intention to deceive at least the Spanish Government (see below), and that copies were for sale at the Frankfurt Book Fair that same year under the 'name' of Augustus Trinobantus. More than any other work in this third period, it raises the question whether a book printed for a private order should be considered to have been printed surreptitiously. On the one hand, it was known in London even at the time to have been printed for a private person, and so the lack of a clear imprint would have been quite normal in the circumstances. On the other hand, as a genuine imprint might have resulted in trouble with Spain and upset the Spanish marriage project, even the date on the title-page was turned into a riddle.

The following illustration (Figure 7) is of an inscription in the

Extract (cut of Scrinia Sacra) of a letter of Doctor
Williams then Bispp of Lincoln and ^{1st} Keeper of the
Great Seale of England (during the Spanish Treaty)
to y^e Duke of Buckingham then wth y^e Prince in Spain

My good L^d

Because I have heard, that they have in these parts, a conceipt
of our Church, as that they will not believe, we have any Letturgy
or Booke of Common Prayer at all. I have (at my owne cost)
caused our Letturgy to be translattd into Spanish, and
fairly printtd, and doe send you by this bearer a couple
of Bookes; one for his Highnesse, the other for your Grace
not sending any more, unless your Grace will give Directions

His Ma^{tie} was acquainted therewith, & alloweth.
of y^e busynesse exceedingly. The Translator is a Dominican
a zealous Protestant, and a good Scholler, and I have
secured him to our Church with a benefice and a good
Prebend

Because we expect every day the dispatching
of S^r Francis Cottington thitherwards. I will not trouble
your Grace further at this time; but doe earnestly pray
unto God to blisse yo^r Grace, both now and ever hereafter
wth all his fauours, & blessings, spirituall & temporall
I^{am} and w^{ill}

July 26. 1623

yo^r Graces most humble & honest
servant

John Lincoln C^o S.

copy of this work in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge (Pepys No. 1734). It is probably in the hand of Paul Lorrain, one of Pepys' secretaries, and copies part of a letter from Bishop Williams to the Duke of Buckingham. It may have been 'extracted' from Cabala, sive Morinia sacra, London, 1691, [sing C 186] p. 184 [earlier editions do not contain the letter]. The date given in the transcription presumably comes from some other source, since it is not given in the Cabala. The transcription is quite accurate although there are a few minor errors and one major omission: the MS omits 'the' in front of 'Books', thereby altering and obscuring the meaning. The correct passage is: 'and do send you, by this Bearer, a couple of the Books', which clearly indicates that the Bishop means a couple of copies of the Liturgia, and not just any books. Negotiations for the Spanish match eventually fell through, and the Duke does not seem to have asked for any more copies to be sent.

Later the same year a pamphlet came out by Jean d'Alary: Sur les Louanges, Maladie et Guérison, de ... George de Villiers, Comte Marquis & Duc de Buckingham, London, Nicholas Ches, p. 1623 (No. 1; not in STC.).

Jean d'Alary describes himself on this titlepage as a lawyer at the Parlement of Toulouse. In two other pamphlets

in the British Museum he appears to be living in the Low Countries (see No. 1: Notes); and it seems doubtful whether he ever spent much time in England.⁷

The pamphlet was almost certainly printed for his private order, which would account for its lack of an imprint. The contents of the pamphlet itself do not make such an omission necessary; but it ~~was~~ certainly not an ordinary commercial proposition for a printer, and assuming therefore that it was privately printed, the possibility should be kept in mind that the author had some personal grounds for not desiring an English imprint on his works.

In February, 1623 n.e. the representatives of the Netherlands East India Company in Ambona in the Spice Islands arrested the representatives of the English East India Company, allegedly for plotting to seize control of the fort. Twelve out of the eighteen Englishmen were executed, after being tortured.

The news of the Ambona proceedings violently inflamed English opinion, and henceforth the deep distrust of the Dutch, which had formerly been mainly confined to the mercantile classes, spread throughout the nation. Details first appeared in the Netherlands in a short quarto black-letter pamphlet: Verhael Van de Tijdinghen gecomen wt de Oost-Indien, which was printed in the Hague 23 July 1624.

The counter of the indignant English to this pamphlet was soon ready: A true relation of the unjust proceedings against the English at Amboyna, [3 pts] 1624. (STC 7451) It was entered in the Stationers' Register on October 14th., and was quickly followed by a second impression by the same printer (STC 7452). Another edition of the first part of this pamphlet was also published in 1624 (STC 7454).

It consists of three parts: the English version of what happened; a translation of the original Dutch pamphlet; and a point-by-point refutation of it. The translation has capital letters in the margin opposite passages which are challenged in the refutation, and this key of letters is used for references to the original text. The titles of these three parts run: 1) A true Relation of the Vniust, cruell, and Barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna. 2) A true Declaration of the news that came out of the East-Indies, with the Pinace called the Hare, which arrived in Texel, in June, 1624. Printed, anno 1624. 3) The Answer unto the Dutch Pamphlet, made in defence of the Vniust and Barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna In the East-Indies, by the Hollanders there. Printed at London, Anno M.DC.XXIV. All these parts were printed by H. Lowmes for Nathaniel Newbery.

The edition which is of interest to us, however, is printed in Dutch and consists of the original text of the Dutch pamphlet and a

translation both of the English version of the events and of the English answer to the original Dutch pamphlet. The three parts were probably printed together; but they are separately signed and paginated, and in order to avoid confusion they are here numbered separately, even though they are under the same entry in SIC.

En waer Verhael vande onlanckesche ongerechte, vreesde, ende onmenssch-elycke procedure teghen de Eaghelsche tot Amboyna, 1624 (No.22, part one of SIC 7455).

Naerachtich Verhael Vande Tidinghen ghecomen wt de Oost-Indien, met the Iacht ghenaemt de Haze, in Junio 1624. in Texel aenghelandt, 1624 (No.23; part two of SIC 7455).

Antwoorde vande Duytsche Relatie, 1624 (No 24; part three of SIC 7455).

All three parts were printed in London by John Beale, probably for Nathaniel Newbery, to whom the English originals had been entered on the 14th of October 1624.⁹ The same woodcuts of the Englishmen being tortured and of the arms of the East India Company are used in both editions.

A comparison of the English reprint with the original Dutch text reveals two interesting points: in addition to the usual mistakes, the English compositor put the Iacht for het Iacht, and, where the Dutch compositor put ghevolght . . . veruat . . . missive., the English compositor used ghevolght..veruat...missive. in order

to keep to the traditional usage of 'u' and 'y'.

None of the copies I have seen bear any marks of provenance, and nothing is known concerning the means by which they were disseminated. It is likely that copies were sent over to Holland for sale and possibly for distribution; and it is possible that the cost of printing this edition was subsidised by the English East India Company. But it is certain that events moved rapidly. The pinnace 'Hare' arrived in Texel in June 1624. The original Dutch pamphlet, printed at the Hague, was finished by the 23rd of July. The English version was entered in the Register on the 14th October, and the Dutch were making their reply by the end of November, as is seen from A Remonstrance of the Directors of the Netherlands East India Company, from the Dutch (Translated out of French)....
Printed at London by John Dawson, for the East India Company, 1632.
(STC 7450). It begins with an introduction:

"¶ To the Reader.

The Remonstrance of the Netherlands East-India Company, hereafter in the first place following, was by the said Company presented to the Lord States Generall, of the united Provinces: in November, Anno 1624 for Answer of the Relation of the English East India Company, touching the vnjust, cruell, and barbarous proceeding against the English at Amboyna, and for justification of that infamous processe,"

The Remonstrance which the Netherlands East India Company presented to the Lords States General in November 1624 could only have been written in response to the pressure of public opinion in the Netherlands. There is only one copy of the 1624 English text

in the Netherlands today (according to the Union Catalogue in the Royal Library at the Hague); but there are at least two complete copies in Dutch, and it is certainly more plausible to assume that the arousing of public opinion which necessitated the Remonstrance was caused by the edition in Dutch.

Another indication of the effects which these pamphlets produced in the Netherlands in 1624 is the: Placquet. DE Staten Generael ... In's Gravenhaghe, by de Wed. ende Erfgem. van wijlen H. Jaz, van Vrouw, ... Anno 1624. [in folio, one page] This proclamation is by the States General, and it condemns the Waerachtich Verhael as "een farnux ende ondienstich Libel".¹⁰

It is therefore probable that the pamphlets in Dutch were printed between the 14th of October and the middle of November, and that a large number of copies was shipped immediately to the Netherlands for distribution or sale. This is the first clear instance of the sharp knife replacing the chopper: these propaganda pamphlets were deliberately used with the limited object of embarrassing the Netherlands government over a single issue. The imprint had to be omitted to avoid implicating the English government. This use of propaganda follows a technique which is quite contemporary, even to the use of woodcuts of torture scenes where "photographs of atrocities" would be used today.

The necessities of European politics forbade a conflict with the Dutch. A protest was appended by Charles I to the Treaty of

Southampton in 1625, but the temporary detention of three ships (1627-28) was the sole attempt made to enforce reparation until Cromwell obtained official satisfaction a generation later.¹¹

At the same time, considerable public concern was being shown about the projected marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria. Abraham de Ville d'Arcie (or Darcy or Darcie)¹² promptly prepared a pamphlet entitled Theatre de la Gloire et Noblesse d'Albion. It has no imprint at all, and the only known edition was almost certainly printed for the private order of the Earl of Derby by W. Stansby in 1626. (No.2; Not in SIC)

The two copies which have survived are identical, and were made up (presumably with others) for the wedding of the heir of the Earl of Derby in 1626. They contain two parts, the first of which is composed of an engraved title-page and four engraved plates of the coats-of-arms of the English nobility. From the genealogical evidence, these plates were prepared between March 1624 and July 1625. The first part came out in April or May 1625, since, as the inscription on the title-page says, it was meant as a guide to the English nobility for the use of French people on the occasion of the royal marriage, which took place in June 1625. The title-page was engraved by Jean Barra in London,¹³ and it is likely that these five plates were printed there at the same time.

The second part of the pamphlet contains the Généalogie et

Alliance de l'ancienne et renommée maison de la Trimoville. and Des Comtes & Comtesses de Derby. In this part there is a reference (on []^{4V}) to the marriage having taken place between James, heir to the Earl of Derby, and Charlotte de la Trimoville. As this was celebrated on the 26th of June 1626, the second part cannot have been published until a year after the first. The capital initials in the second part are those of W. Stansby, who therefore printed at least the second part in London, probably in the second half of 1626.

There is no evidence to prove that the first five plates had an earlier existence on their own. No traces now remain of any original 1625 edition, which might have contained some text. Similarly, it is not possible to tell whether the five plates come from left-over stock of an original edition, or whether they were reprinted for this edition. The engraved title-page is too large for the rest of the pamphlet and is therefore folded; although the four plates of coats-of-arms are not folded, they are cut very close to their borders, and presumably formed part of an earlier work for which the title-page was intended.

A few months later a book was published which was again closely connected with Queen Henrietta Maria: Honorat de Bueil, Seigneur de Racan's L'Artenice. It was printed in London by Edward Allde, probably in January 1626, although possibly in December 1625. (No. 12; not in STC).

This pastoral is an abridged reprint of the first French edition of Les Bergeries, printed in Paris in 1625.¹⁴ It is the subject of an article in the Harvard Library Bulletin by Professor William A. Jackson and Jean Parrish, which contains the fullest details of its background and production.¹⁵ It was performed on Shrove Tuesday, 21 February 1626, and was a great success in spite of the reservations felt by several people about the propriety of the Queen of England appearing in a play. No expense was spared, and this edition, entitled L'Artenice from the principal part played by the Queen, was printed for the actors and their guests.

The lack of imprint in this instance is certainly no more than the result of the fact that the edition was printed for the private order of the Queen. Copies were not for sale, and therefore an imprint informing the public where copies could be bought was not necessary. It was not a new practice in England for Court masques to be printed for a private customer without an imprint: Ben Jonson before the date of this performance had had four masques so printed, not for sale.¹⁶ In France, where the practice may have originated, one finds various references to 'livrets,' 'livres de ballets,' and 'programmes' distributed at this period to invited guests, not for sale; but no apparent mention of actors' copies, i.e., texts printed solely for the actors' use and not for general public sale.¹⁷

The following year saw the publication of Adrien de Rocquigny's Muse Chrestienne, 1627. (No. 49; not in STC) [Above the date is a device: McKerrow 383.] This book was entered to George Miller 25 November 1626,¹⁸ and he printed it in London the following year. He reprinted it in 1634, using the same device on the title-page and again no imprint except for the date "1634".

This enlarged second edition, No. 50, is STC 21139.¹⁹ It is the last known work to have been surreptitiously printed in England in a foreign vernacular before 1640; and it is an interesting coincidence that its printer was Richard Field's successor.²⁰

The book is entirely in French, and is composed of a series of short sonnets and songs. The different sonnets are addressed to the ministers, elders, and other members of the French Church in London; and the six songs which follow deal with the history of this French Church in its exile in London and include various comments and exhortations. The quality of the poetry does not seem to be very high, nor the the book's contents controversial. Nothing is known of Adrien de Rocquigny except for his engraved portrait, which is bound into the front of the second edition of his book, and is the work of the London engraver, John Payne.²¹ It was probably printed for his private order for distribution to friends and to members of the French Church in London. The engraved portrait may well indicate that Rocquigny was rich enough to afford to have the book privately printed; he certainly was not famous enough at that time for the printer himself to have assumed the expense of an

engraved portrait.

The next book to fall within our definition is: Le Prince, de Monsieur de Balzac, 1632. Printed in London by Thomas Harper. (No.29; not in STC)

It was written by Jean-Louis Guez, Sieur de Balzac, whose Letters were later published in English (STC 12452-5). Richelieu had invited Balzac to attempt more grandiose creations than those possible in epistolary literature, and it was this encouragement which incited him to write Le Prince in 1631. It had been tentatively entitled Le Ministre d'Etat and was a portrait of the ideal sovereign, the author having taken Louis XIII as a model.²²

Harper's edition was a reprint of the second Paris edition of 1632. It is technically a piracy, although there were no laws of copyright at the time between European countries. The main difference between the London and Paris editions is that the Paris edition is in 4^o and the London edition is in 8^o. But the exact copying of the original imprint is the result of a much more important reason than the purely moral considerations which could arise from the piracy of a text belonging to a foreign printer, whose rights were unenforceable. This book was very close to being treasonable; and it was therefore important to Thomas Harper that he should not be known to have printed it. It was definitely surreptitiously printed; and, for the first time, we can say that it was a secretly printed book. The safest imprint was certainly a copy of the

original French one, as Harper presumably hoped that his reprint would escape special attention.

On the 21st of June 1632, the Bishop of London declared during a session of the Court of Star Chamber: "that he [Whitacres the London publisher] brought over a booke called Le Prince, and this was at 20^s price, at which I wondered, seeing that by bulke it should be but 3^s or 3^s^d, and now it is falsely printed heere in England."²³

After the book had been roundly condemned by the Archbishop of Canterbury as well as by the Bishop of London, sentence was pronounced: "That all the books be drawⁿ in and fired and burnt publicly with those that remain in Paule's Churchyard, and this man [Whitacres] to be fyned 100 marks to the King and to pay cost of suit."²⁴ It was a heavy punishment, and it was only for importing copies of the book. If it had been known that Thomas Harper was responsible for the edition which had been "falsely printed heere in England," he would certainly have been in serious trouble.

Balsac's Le Prince was the last book in our period to have been surreptitiously printed in England, if we except the second edition of Adrien de Rocquigny's Muse Chrestienne, mentioned above.

Le Prince, with its controversial interpretation of the doctrine of the divine right of kings, is an important book in its own right. Thomas Harper's use of an imprint closely copied from

the one used on the original edition was obviously intentional.

This is the first of a new category of books in foreign vernaculars with fictitious imprints, the main characteristic of which is the indication that the printer would have reason to fear the consequences if he were known or discovered to be responsible. These books were usually treasonable, as well as often pirated from a foreign printer (who would have no means of redress anyway); and their use of a copied or plausible foreign imprint would from now on be designed to attempt to mislead and deceive the English Government in addition to the general population.

The usefulness of the old technique for its traditional purpose of increasing sales had waned. This trick had been in use for so many years that by now most purchasers of books of this sort were becoming wary of it. But its secondary purpose, its effectiveness in the field of propaganda (first discovered by Lord Burghley), was to assume an ever-increasing importance after 1640, although with one slight modification: it would be used increasingly to mislead the English Government.

Notes to Chapter VI

1. It would be possible to argue that all the surreptitious printing that Field did was for John Wolfe; and that he stopped doing it on the death of John Wolfe in 1601. I do not believe this theory is tenable, however, as it does not seem to fit the facts surrounding the different editions of the Copy of a Letter to Mendoza which have been brought out in the preceding chapters, or the circumstances in which he printed for Ubaldini and de Valera.
2. Nothing seems to be known of the author of this pamphlet. The Seigneurie de la Faye was a minor land title which in the fourteenth and perhaps early fifteenth centuries was connected with the family of 'Boussac'. The last two initials might be for 'de Boussac'; but this is only a guess.

In 1617 there is an entry in the Frankfurt Fair Catalogues for a book entitled: "La vie, les amours & les combats de Polycine par le S^r de la Faye. A Paris chez Buon in 8^o." It is likely that this work is by the same author; unfortunately, not even his initials are given. I cannot trace any copy of this book; but the British Museum has a Paris edition dated 1667. (pressmark: 12511. e. 17) The B.M. cataloguers were not able to discover the name of its author. [See: Catalogus Vniversalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus, London, 1617 (STC 11328), on B1^r; also on F1^v of another edition of the same catalogue by Bill, ex officina Norton, lacking the date below the imprint (not in STC).]

There was also a Michel Hurault, Sieur de Fay, who was responsible for STC 14001-5; but the initials do not fit his name.

The only other possible clue is in a letter from Edward Barton to [Walsingham?] dated 23 November 1588, from Rapanet in Turkey.

"A Frenchman, calling himself Baron de la Fay, came here recently and turns Turk. He greatly praises her Majesty and the favour shown him at her court ... [but I do] ... not credit him, for all speak ill of him, and he has ... [nothing whatsoever] ... to set him forth."

Cal. S. P. Foreign, July-December 1588, p.335.

3. R. B. McKerrow: "Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer," The Library, Fourth Series, X,ii (Sep. 1929), 121-162.
4. Ibid., pp.124,133-135
5. Ibid., p.135.
6. The translator of this book gives his name as T. Carrascon; this is a pseudonym for Fernando de Texeda. The main clue for this identification is contained in the preface to his Latin book Carrascon, which seems almost purposely inserted in order to guide the researches of future scholars.

'En Inglaterra texio Texeda quatro, Vno en Latin que marco con su nombre, Texeda retextus [STC 23923]: Otras dos en Ingles, la vna titulada, Miracles unmasked [STC 23921]. La otra con nombre Latino, Scrutamini Scripturas [STC 23922]: En la postrera, higo que la liturgia Inglesa, hable Español. [The STC lists two other works, which are collections and which he may not have counted as genuine 'webs'.] Mandome hazer esta el sapientissimo Rey Iacobo, de felice recordacion. Diome por ello vno Calonia en la insigne Cathedral de Hereford, y si poco despues no lo huniera Dios Ueuado a reynar en su glorioso Reyno, mas y mas me diera su Magestad, como me lo auia el mismo prometido, y dicho, que aquella Prebenda, era de mayores mercedes, prenda.^a

Fernando de Texeda was a Spanish Protestant who had arrived in England in 1620, as he tells us himself in Texeda Retextus.^b He wrote several books (see above), and Bishop Williams eventually chose him to translate the Liturgy into Spanish at the time of the Spanish marriage negotiations. Bishop Williams was so interested in Texeda and his work that he even invited Texeda to live with him.^c These events are enlarged upon in Hackett's Memorial and Phillips' Life.^d

Texeda was incorporated at Oxford on the 4th of August, 1623.

"Incorporations. Aug. 4. 1623. Fernando Texeda batch. of Div. of the University of Salamanca in Spain: he had been a monk in the said country, but left it, and his

religion, came over to the church of England; and at last receding to Oxon, was not only incorporated, but found relief among the scholars there."^e

For his work in translating the Liturgy, Texeda was made Vicar of Blackmere and Prebendary of Hereford.^f He was succeeded in his Prebend by William Evans on the 18th of September 1631;^g and he had probably vacated it in order to go to the Netherlands, where his book Carrascon was printed in 1633. He was a benefactor of the Hereford Cathedral Library.^h He probably brought some of his works with him to England in MS, as it is doubtful if he would have been able to write so much so fast while he was here. He was probably in Flanders when his last book was printed there; he does not seem to have returned to England, and I have not been able to discover what then became of him.

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- a. Fernando de Texedo, Carrascon, Por Maria Sanchez, Nodrizza, Año 1633, [] 5^v — [] 6^r in preface "AL LECTOR."
 - b. Fernando de Texeda, Texeda Retextus, London, 1623, p.33 [F1^r] (STC 23923).
 - c. Fernando de Texeda, Scrutamini Scriptoras, London, 1624, a3^r (STC 23922) (dedication to Bishop Williams): "It pleased your gracious Lordship ... to vouchsafe mee the protection of your Honourable house ..."
 - d. John Hacket, A Memorial of John Williams, D.D., London, 1693, Part I, p.209, paragraph 215. Ambrosio Phillips, The Life of John Williams, 1700, p.138.
 - e. Anthony Wood, Fasti Oxoniensis, 1815, i,413.
 - f. Browne Willis, Survey of Cathedralls, London, 111,589.
 - g. ibid.
 - h. Richard Rawlinson, History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Hereford, 1717, p.92.

7. He is known in France as a minor poet, and dedicated to Queen Marguerite his Le Premier Recueil des Récréations poétiques, printed in Paris by P. Ramier in 1605. He was the author of numerous other works of poetry, which tended in later years to become mere flattering odes. He originated from the Albigeois region of France; but little else seems to be known of him. See Eugene & Emil Haag: La France Protestante, Deuxième Edition, Paris, 1887, i, 71.
8. The Cambridge Modern History, 1906, iv, 737-740.
9. Arber, op. cit., iv, 87.
10. W.P.C. Knüttel: Catalogus van de Pamfletten-Versameling in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek, s'Gravenhage, 1889, ii, 76, no. 3584.
11. A third impression of all three parts of the Relation was printed in 1632 by George Purslowe for Nathaniel Newberry, Humphrey Lownes having died some two years previously [STC 7453]. In addition, A Remonstrance of the Directors of the Netherlands East-India Company [see above] was published in three parts, with imprint: 'Printed at London by Iohn Dawson, for the East India Company, 1632.' (STC 7450). The second and third parts consisted of respectively, The Acts of the Processe, against the sayd English (the minutes of the trial of the Englishmen and Javanese arrested at Amboyna, including their confessions) and The Reply of the English East India Company, to the Said Remonstrance and Defence. It is explained in the text that these three pamphlets had all existed since 1624, the first two in manuscript only, as written by the English author. The Company had not wished to publish them while they still had some hope of settling their grievances with the Dutch; but, after waiting all these years while being put off by one series of excuses after another, they had lost patience.

A second edition followed: STC 7450a. The entry in the STC is not correct; this is the second edition in which the first and third parts have been reprinted, but the second part consists of sheets of the first edition with a cancel title. The original title reads "An authentick copy of the confessions and sentences, against M. Towerson, and complices ..." The cancel title reads: "The authentic copy of the acts of the processe against the English at Amboyna ..." See Bernard Quarich catalogue 436, items number 622-4. See also Knüttel, op. cit., vol. II, items

nos. 3547 et seq., for details of further Dutch editions, printed in the Netherlands.

12. The author, Abraham de Ville d'Arcie (or 'Darcie' or 'Darcy'), was probably a son of Peter Darcy and a native of Geneva. He is the author of several works printed in English in London, which are in the STC under 'Darcie, Abraham' (STC 6269-73). He translated Camden's Annales (STC 4497) from P. de Bellegent's version of Camden's Latin. According to Dr. Fuller, he did not understand Latin, and therefore perpetrated many mistakes.^a He was also the translator of The Originall of Idolatries (STC 4747), in which he wrongly attributed the anonymous original to Isaac Casaubon, and was imprisoned as a result.^b This work came out in 1624; and the whole series of flattering pamphlets which he brought out during the next two years, including the Theatre, were probably meant to assist his restoration to favour. He seems to have been attached to the households of the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Derby, as well as to the Howard family.^c

He does not seem to have been attached to any particular printer, and this is apparently the only work done for him by William Stansby, London printer and bookseller 1597-1639.^d

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- a. S. Austin Allibone, Dictionary of English and American Authors, Philadelphia, 1877, i, 476 (Quotation from Bishop Nicolson).
 - b. Thomas Fuller, The Church History of Britain, 1837, iii, 324.
 - c. Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, v, 495.
 - d. R. B. McKerrow, ed., Dictionary 1557-1640, 1910, p. 256.

13. See A.M.Hind, Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1955, 11, 199 & 218. An article on Jan Barra will be included in Vol.III of this work.
14. Louis Arneuld, Un gentilhomme de lettres au XVII^e siècle, Honorat de Bueil, Seigneur de Racan, 2nd ed., Paris, 1901, pp.286-7, footnote 5.
15. William A. Jackson and Jean Parrish, "Racan's L'Artenice, an Addition to the English Canon", Harvard Library Bulletin, XIV, 11 (Spring 1960), 183-190.
16. Most of these are now very rare indeed. The four known editions are STC 14772, STC 14775, STC 14779, and Time Vindicated, 1623, not in STC. Two of these are known only by a single copy. 'Newes from the New World.' was probably a fifth, though no copy has survived. See William A. Jackson, The Carl H. Pfortaheimer Library, 1940, 11, 568-569, plus illustrations.
17. See W.A. Jackson and J. Parrish, op. cit., p.190. Their references are: Arthur Desfeuilles, 'Notice bibliographique,' Oeuvres de Molière, ed. Eugène Despois and Paul Mesnard, XI (Paris, 1893), 9, and Victor Fournel, Les contemporains de Molière (Paris, 1863-75), II, 208.
18. Arber, IV, 170.
19. The first edition of this work was not included in the STC because no copy of it was known to the compilers
20. H.R. Plomer, Dictionary 1641-1667, 1917, p. 128.
21. John Payne the engraver will be mentioned in the forthcoming Volume Three of Engraving in England (see footnote 13 above).
22. Dictionnaire de Biographie Française, Paris, 1951, v, 38-43, esp. p.42.
23. Reports of Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission. Edited by S.R. Gardiner, The Camden Society, 1886, p.321.
24. ibid., p.322. This case is dealt with more fully under Notes for this edition, number 29.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTIONS (WITH NOTES)
OF THOSE BOOKS, PAMPHLETS AND BROADSIDES
WHICH ARE DISCUSSED IN THIS TREATISE.

No. 1.

ALARY, Jean d'

Sur les louanges...de treshaut...Duc de Buckingham.

printed by Nicholas Okes circa 1623.1070. L. 12
5

SVR LES LO-
VANGES, MALADIE ET
GVERISON, DE TRESHAVT, TRES-
PVISSANT ET TRESVERTVEUX

Seigneur, Messire GEORGE DE VILLIERS,
Compte Marquis & Duc de Buckingham,
Grand Admiral & Grand Escuyer du Roy
d'Angleterre :

Ode,

PAR JEAN D'ALARY Aduo-
cat au Parlement de Thoulouse, Autheur de l'abregué
des longues Esteudes, monstrant dans peu de temps les
deux perfections du scauoir, qui consistent a discourir
des plus beaux suiets, & abien coucher par escrit
& a faire des Oewres, par l'inuention de
son Art, qui la constrainct de quit-
ter la France et ses biens, par
l'Enuie et la Calumnie
des Iesuïtes.

printed title: see reproduction from copy in L., described below]

Collation: 4^o, A⁴B², 6 leaves paginated 1-2, 1, 4-11, 12.

\$ 3 signed - B2.

R.F.: none; Arabic pagination within parenthesis in centre of headlines.

Contents: A1^R: title; A1^V: blank; A2^R: Ode.; B2^V: blank.

Ornaments and Initials: The only ornament is on the titlepage (24 X 91mm).

It is also in SEC 2 5 7 6 7 by Nicholas Okes. There are no initial letters.

Type: Italic (115 mm - perhaps leaded); 84 X 156 (169) mm (A3^R); 27 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by Nicholas Okes circa 1623 (to judge from its contents). Not in SEC. Two other poems by Jean d'Alary are bound into the same volume in the B.M.; neither appear to have been printed in England. See footnote 7, chapter VI, for details of his life.

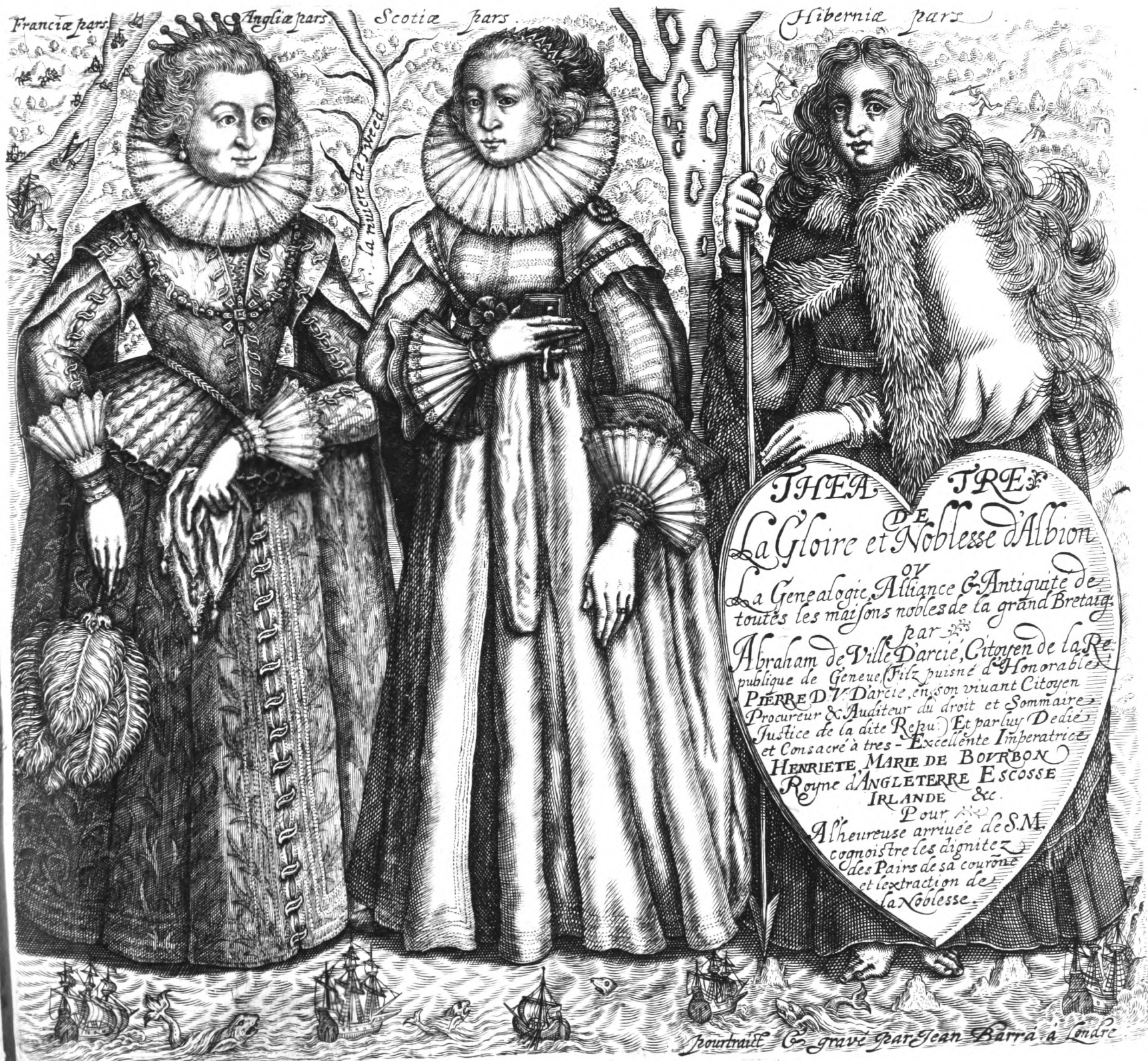
Copies: L. 1070.1.12(5)

No. 2.

ARCIE, Abraham de Ville d'

Théâtre de la Gloire et Noblesse d'Albion.

printed by William Stansby in 1626.



[engraved title: see reproduction from copy in Paris Bib.Nat., described below]

Collation: folio, [A]⁸[A]^{1+x1+x2}[B]⁸; in the first quaternian (after [A] 1) are inserted three leaves of illustrations (one single and one double) = 19 leaves.

R.T.: [none]

Contents: [A] 1: blank; χ ^r: engraved title; χ ^v: blank; χ 2-3: blank, with 4 engraved plates of a collection of British coats of arms (115X175) pasted to them, one per page; [A] 2^r: [engraving] / GENEALOGIE / ET ALLIANCE DE / L'ANCIENNE ET RENOMEE / MAISON DE LA TRIMOVILLE. ; [A] 2^v: blank; [A] 3^r: LA tres-illustre & tres-ancienne Maison de la Trimouille, ... DE FRANCE. ; [A] 5^r: engraved coat of arms (see reproduction below); [A] 5^v: blank; [A] 6^r: blank; [A] 6^v: as [A] 2^r, but lacking the engraving; [A] 7^r: Des Comtes & Comteſſes de Der- / bie, Roys & Roynes de l'Iſle de Man, Barons Stanley; [B] 5^v: engraved coat of arms as on [A] 5^r [lacking in Paris BN copy]; [B] 6^r: blank; [B] 6^v: engraving of coat of arms; [B] 7^r: engraving of coat of arms; [B] 7^v-[B] 8^v: blank.

Ornaments and Initials:

Ornaments: none.



Initials:



1.
14 X 14

2.
14 X 14

Des Comtes & Comteſſes de Derby,
Roys & Roynes de l'Isle de Man, Barons Stanley
de Latham, Strange de Knocking, & de leurs Illuſtres &
Royalles Alliances, Armes & Poſteritez.



V tiltre de Monſieur Guillaume Stanley, & de Madame Elizabeth de Vere, aujourdhuy Comtes & Comteſſes de Derby, j'ay deſia traité de leurs grandeurs & alliances; neantmoins du depuis, Monſieur Strange s'eſtant allié (par le mariage de l'illuſtre & excellente Princeſſe, Madame Charlotte de la Trimouille ſon Eſpouſe) aux Maisons de France, de Nauarre, d'Eſpagne, Milan, Athenès, Sicile, Caſtille, Trimouille, & Orange, & en celle de pluſieurs autres Potentats & Souuerains Princes, & Sei-

3.

47 x 47

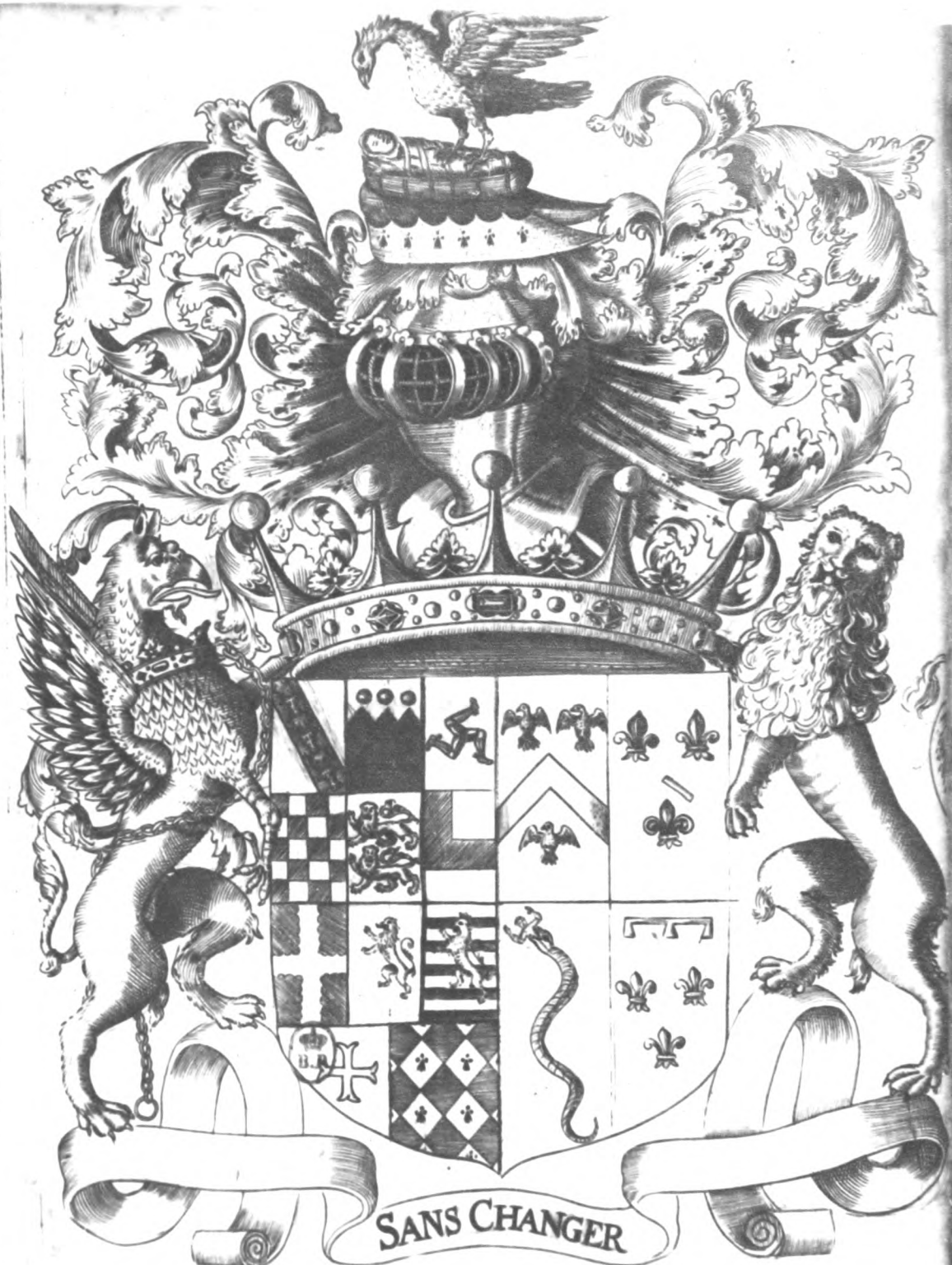
STC 14682

Types: Roman (94) and Italic (94), with marginal glosses in Roman (67); 142 x 202 (208) mm ([B]5^B); 42 lines per page. Width and number of lines per page vary.

Notes: Printed in London by William Stensby in 1626. Not in STC. The capital 'A' (No 3 above) is the most readily identifiable of the three: it belongs to what has been called the 'Apostle' series, of which several alphabets were in use in London from c. 1575 until at least 1640. The distinguishing feature of the various alphabets is the number of 'studs' in each compartment of the frame [see R. B. Plover: "The Eliot's Court Printing House, 1584-1674," The Library, Fourth Series, III, 111 (Dec. 1922), 202-206 (second article of series). William Stensby's 'A' (above) was not known to Plover.]

S.

seigneurs
ille ont esté
z aux Ducs
que même-
& que plu-
sion de dire
toient le ti-
on de la Tri-
nferericy ce
té. Environ
c d'Athenes
ineftable, &
ers, comme
Duc s'appel-
& estoit Co-
parle Nico-
y Jean, & du
q. Latine. Il
ier, Comte
u de Iean de
m & Dacre)
sa femme,
contract de
l'an 1342.
Messig. de la
faut scauoir
tier espoufa
Côte d'Eu,
toit cousine
té paternel,
e estoit issu
du costé de
de Mello)
au de Craó,
a Trimouil-
one d'Eu e-
re des biens
atmoings se
bien qu'el-
is, assauoir
athenes, &
te d'Estam-
en la quarte
ernels, que
e de Suilly
de Chalon:
uille & sa
ne Jeanne
le nous a-



Coat of Arms from [A] 5^r of No. 2.

The two copies which have survived are identical, with the minor exception that the Paris BN copy does not repeat the above coat of arms on [B] 5^v, and would seem to have come from a made-up edition prepared for the private order of the Earl of Derby in 1626 (see chapter VI).

There may well have been an earlier edition of the first part of this pamphlet, probably published in April or May 1625 since, according to the inscription on the titlepage, it was meant to be a guide to the English nobility for the use of French people on the occasion of the Royal marriage which took place in June 1625. The four engraved collections of coats of arms must have been prepared between March 1624 and July 1625, as is made clear by the genealogical evidence contained within them.

Both copies of this pamphlet have the same bindings, white vellum with gold decorations embodying the emblem of the Saint Esprit; they are certainly French, and are normal for presentation copies in that period (my thanks for this information are due to Mr. H. M. Nixon of the Department of Printed Books in the British Museum).

Copies: L.(C.114.g.4)

Paris BN (Ré.4^o.Lm³.557)

No. 3.

B., I. D. F. D., Sieur de la Faye

Les larmes funebres-françoises sur la mort....de Robert Conte de Salisbury
printed by Edward Allde. in 1612.

Printed title: LES / Larmes Funebres- / Francoises, sur la mort &
troysee / de troyseant Noble & vertueux Robert Conte / de Salisbury,
grand Maître des Gardes-nobles / d'Angleterre, & Chevallier du troyse- /
oient & noble ordre de la / hartiere. / [rule] / Dediees a Monseigneur
le Vi- / conte de Essex & Conte dudit / Salisbury &c. son fils, /
unique. / Et a ses honnobles Parents, allies & singuliers / amis /
Par I.D.F.D. Sieur de la Faye, Gentil-homme / François-Poictouin. /
[rule] / APOCALIPSE: Chap. Xiiij. VERSE. Xiiij. / Blessed are the dead
which die in the Lord, &c. so faith / the Spirit: For they rest from
their owne labours, and / their workes follow them.

Collation: 4^o, *⁴ 2^o, 6 leaves unpaginated. Leaves *2, *1, & B2 not signed.

R.L.: *³ V-B2^F: Larmes Funebres-Francoises, // de mon seigneur le Conte
de Salisbury. Variant: *³ V: Larmes Funebres-Francoises,

Contents: *¹ F: blank except for asterisk signature at foot of page;

*¹ V: blank; *² F: title; *² V: [ornament] / A warning. / To the Nobilitie
and Gentrie of / England to be observed in the reading / these Funerall
teares. ... [signed] De la Faye. ; *³ F: Larmes Funebres-Francoises, sur /
la mort & troysee de troyseant Noble & / vertueux Robert Conte de /
Salisbury, vivant grand Tre- / sorier, &c.; B2^V: blank.

Ornaments and Initials:

Ornaments.



1.

22 X 72

Orn. No. 4 in McKerrow's
article (see below).



2.

14 X 90

Orn. No. 18 in
McKerrow's article.

Initial.

1.

14 X 15

Not in McKerrow.

Type: Verses in Italic (4 lines = 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ mm) and the "warning" in Roman
(9 lines = 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ mm); 85 X 98 (118)mm (B1^F).

Notes: Printed in London by Edward Allde, presumably in 1612. Sir
Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, died 24 May 1612. Not in STC. The only
known copy is in the private library at Hatfield House, and is in an
unmarked - though slightly waterstained - condition. I am grateful to

the Marquess of Salisbury and to his librarian, Miss Claire Talbot, for permission to examine it. Unfortunately, it was not possible to have photographs taken of it, and therefore, the titlepage is reproduced in type-facsimile and the ornaments are reproduced from R.B. McKerrow's article on Edward Allde in "The Library" (see note 3, chapter VI).

The text of the "warning" on *2^v is interesting. After the heading, which is reproduced in the Contents, it proceeds:

"VVE write in our French Orthographie many let- / ters which neuer are pronounced, / so as strangers / (and our vnlearned people) read and pronounce our / tongue falseley : Therefore, knowing it our owne fault, / I haue plaed no letters, in this my little Booke of French / Funerall Teares, but such as are to be pronounced : desi - / ring to please you, and indeed wee ought so to doe. In / brief, (grace and kind Nobilitie) this is the figure of my / grieffe and lous, dutie and seruice : Farewell.

Your Honours, and Right Wor- /
shipfull, most humble seruant:

De la Faye.

This is the only English text in the pamphlet. The rest of it is composed of 80 lines of verse, divided into groups of four, and set out in three groups to a page with a rule between each group.

Copy: Hatfield (P.d.36)

No. 4.

BENTIN, Peregrino, 13th Baron Willoughby de Eresby

Cort Verhael om te vreden te stellen ...

printed by Richard Field in 1589.

53 / 31

CORT VERHAEL OM

TE VREDEN TE STELLEN ENDE

vernoegen alle de gene, die de waerheit niet weten-
de, ondiscretelick spreken vande Coninginne van
Engeland, vanden Baenderheer van Wyllughby Gou-
uerneur generael vā hare Maiesteitssecours inde ver-
eenichde Nederlantsche provincien, ende vande En-
gelsche natie, ter cause van seker placcaet vanden
xvii. Aprilis 1589, int licht gestelt by eenige parti-
culiere, (soo men seght) opde name vanden Gene-
rale Staten der selfder prouincien. By welcken ver-

hale een yderman is gebeden ende versocht wel

ende eerlick te spreken vanden actien der

voorschreuen Generale Staten

wettelick versamelt.

Quergefet wt den Engelschen.

1589.

[printed title: see reproduction from copy in L., described below]

Collation: 4^o, A²B-I⁴, 34 leaves paginated in B. L. Roman: i-iv,
i-lxiiii. 83 signed in B. L. Roman.

R.T.: none; B. L. Roman pagination in center of headline.

Contents: Al^r: title; Al^v: blank; A2^r: ¶ PEREGRIN BAENDERHEER VAN /
Wyllughby, Beck, Fresby &c. [signed: P. WILLUGHBY.] ; B1^r: CORT
VERHAEL OP SEKER / placcaet, ; I3^r: ¶ Brief vanden Baenderheer
van Willughby aenden Rid- / der Wingfeld, gouverneur van
Gertrudeberg,

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix F (Richard Field): Factotum 1.

Type: B.L. (93), with first and last letters in Roman (93);
87 (104 including marginal glosses) X 144 (153) mm (D2^r);
31 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by Richard Field in 1589. Not in STC.
The French translation of this pamphlet is No. 5; not in STC.
The edition in the original English is STC 7597; copies are in:
L, HH, HN, FOLG. The titlepage of this edition is reproduced below.

Copies: L. (573.f.31); HD.

**A SHORT AND TRVE
DISCOURSE FOR SATISFYING**

ALL THOSE VVHO NOT KNOWING THE
truth, speake indiscreetly of hir most excellent Ma-
iestie, of the Lord VVillughby Gouvernour of hir Ma-
iesties succours in the vnited Prouinces of the Low
countries, and of all the English nation: by occasion
of a strange placcat of the 17. of April 1589. the
new stile, put foorth by certaine particular persons
(as is said) vnder the name of the Generall States of
those vnited Prouinces. By which discourse, euery
one is praied and required to speake well and
Honorably of th'actions of those Estates
generall lawfully assembled.

Together with

An Extraict of the authentique euidences and
proofes for the chiefe poincts of this dis-
course, whereunto they are directed by
respective quotation of page
and Line.

1589.

No. 5.

BARTIS, Peregrine, 13th Baron Willoughby de Bresby

Bref discours pour donner contentement ...

printed by Richard Field in 1589.

22

BREF DISCOVRS POVR DONNER CONTENTEMENT,

A TOVS CEVX QVI NE COGNOISSANS LA
verité, parlent indiscretement de la Serenissime Roine
d'Angleterre, du Seigneur Baron de Wyllughby
Gouuerneur general de son secours es Prouinces
vnies des Pays bas, & de la nation Angloise: à raison
de certain placcat du 17 d'Auril 1589, stile nouueau,
mis en lumiere par aucunes personnes particulieres,
comme se dict, sous le nom des Estatz Generaux
desdites Prouinces. Par lequel discours vn chacun est
prié & requis, de parler bien & en honneur des
actions desdits Estatz Generaux le-
gitimement assemblés.

1589.

Printed title: see reproduction from copy in L., described below]

Collation: 4^o, A²B-H⁴, 30 leaves paginated 1-iv, 1-11, 14, 13-54, 55-56.

§3 signed in Roman - A2; H4 missing, presumed blank.

R.F.: none; pagination in center of headline.

Contents: A1^r: title; A1^v: blank; A2^r: PEREGRIN BARON DE WYL- /
lughby, Beck, Ereby &c. Lieutenant, Gouverneur / & Capitaine
general du secours de sa Maesté / d'Angleterre, es Provinces
vnies des Pays / bas, au lecteur debonnaire Salut. [signed:
P. WYLLUGHBY.] ; A2^v: blank; B1^r: BREF DISCOVRS DV SIEGE MIS /
deuant Gheertrudenberghe, & de la perte de la / ville à ceste
cause ensuiuite. ; H2^r: MISSIVE DV SEIGNEVR BARON / de Wyllughby,
au cheualier Wingfeld gouverneur de Gheertrudenberghe, ... ;
H4: missing, presumed blank.

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix F (Richard Field): Factotum 1.

Type: Roman (94); 86 (102 including marginal glosses) X 145

(155) mm (F2^r); 31 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by Richard Field in 1589. Not in STC.

The Dutch translation is No 4; not in STC. The original English
edition is STC 7579 (see Notes for No 4).

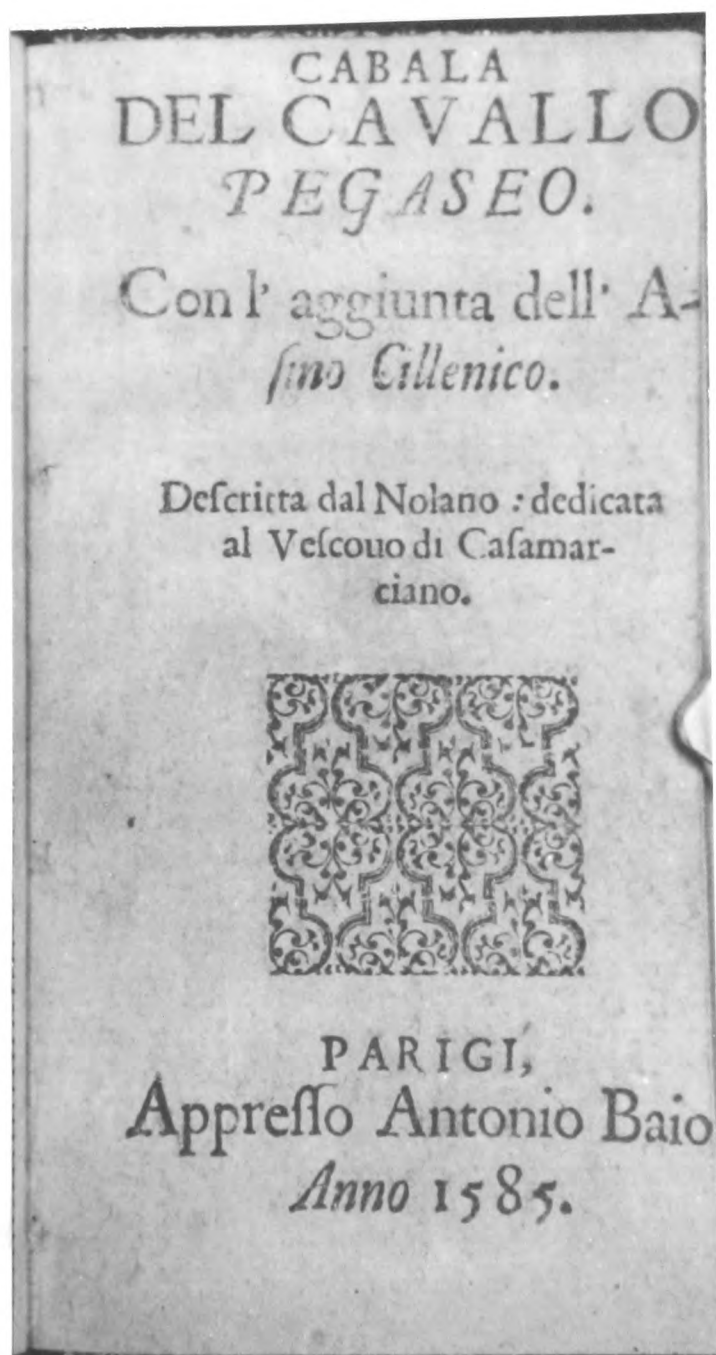
Copy: L. (C.33.b.12)

No. 6.

BRUNO, Giordano

Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo.

printed by John Charlewood in 1585, old style.



[printed title: see reproduction from copy in O., described below]

Collation: 8^o, A⁸*8A-D⁸. 48 leaves unpaginated. \$ 5 signed - A5,*4,
*5,B4; A2 missigned A1.

R.T.: A2^v-A6^r: Epistola Dedicatoria.; A7^v: A1 Lettore.; A8^r:
Declamazione ; A8^v-*6^v: Declamazione // A1 Lettore.; A1^v-B3^r:
Dialogo Primo. Variant: A2^r,B1^r,B2^r: Dialogo Primo. ; B3^v-D1^r:
Dialogo Secondo. Variants: B4^r, C3^r, C4^r: Dialogo Secondo. C1^r,C2^r,D1^r:
Dialogo secondo. C1^v: Dialogo secondo. C7^v,C8^r: DIALOGO SECONDO. ;
D2^r: Dialogo Terzo. ; D3^v-D8^r: L'Agino Cillenico.

Contents: A1^r: title; A1^v: blank; A2^r: EPISTOLA / LA DEDICATO /
toria, sopra la seguente / Cabala. Al Reuerendissimo / Signor
Don Sapiento, abbate / successor di San Quintino, et / vescouo
di Capamar- / ciano. ; A6^v: SONETTO IN / lode de l'Agino. ; A7^r:
Declamazione al stu- / dioso, diuoto, et pio / lettore.; *7^r:
Vn Molto pio sonetto ; *7^v: blank; *8: blank, usually missing ;
A1^r: Dialogo Primo. ; B3^r: [half way down page] Dialogo Secondo.;
D1^v: Dialogo Terzo. : D2^v: A l'agino Cillenico.; D3^r: L'Agino Cillenico /
del Nolano. ; D8^v: [woodcut of two donkeys]

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix E (John Charlewood):

Ornaments: none; Initials: 4,8,13,19.

Type: Roman (68); 55 x 109 (118) mm (A4^r); 32 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by John Charlewood in 1585, old style.

STC 3934. See chapter III for a discussion of Brune's statement to the Inquisition and for my theory as to the date of publication of this book. The "vescovo di Casamarciano", to whom this book is dedicated, is don Sabatino Savolino (see Virgilio Salvestrini: Bibliografia di Giordano Bruno, Florence, 1958, p. 102).

Copies: L. (C.37.c.16(2)); O. (Mortara Adds II7); G.; Chatsworth; London University; University College, London.

Univ.-Bib., Heidelberg (M.8^o.344.5/iv) [bound with No 9; this volume acquired 2 Nov 1896 for £ 32]; Zentralbib. Zurich (Z.BP.111.2) [bound with No 10; *8 present and blank]; Bib. Nat. Marciana, Venice (Misc.D.5403) [lacks tp.]; Lenin Library; Ebert

No. 7.

BRUNO, Giordano

La Cena de le Ceneri.

printed by John Charlewood in 1584.

LA CENA DE *le Ceneri.*

DESCRITTA IN
CINQUE DIALOGI, PER
quattro interlocutori, Con tre con-
siderationi, Circa doi
suggettj.

All' unico refugio de le Muse. l' Illustrissi. Michel
di Castelnouo. Sig. di Mauuissier. Congressalto, et
di Ionuilla, Cauallier del ordine del Re Chrestianiss. et
Consigliar nel suo priuato consaglio. Capitano di
50. huomini d'arme, Gouvernator et Capitano di
S. Desiderio. et Ambasciator alla sere-
niss. Regina d' In-
ghilterra.

L' vniuersale intentione e' dechia-
rata nel proemio.
1584.

Th.
8° C. 58

[printed title: see reproduction from copy in C., described below]

Collation: 8°, 4-1⁸, 72 leaves paginated 1-21, 1-5, 1-97, 98, 99-103, 104,

105-124, 125, 126-128. #4 signed (sometimes in Arabic, sometimes in Roman) - D4, E4 and F4. The copy normally found will be A⁸, B⁶, C-I⁸, and paginated 1-xi, 1-5, 5, 6-97, etc. as above. B1 & 2 were supposed to have been cancelled.

R.T.: According to contents, as in: 18 DIALOGO PRIMO. // DIALOGO PRIMO. 19

Contents: A1^r; title; A1^v:  A1 mal Con= / tento.; A2^r: PROEMI= / ALE EPISTO= / la scritta all'illustrissimo et / Eccellentissimo Signordi Mauuigi- / ero. Caulier del' ordine del Re. et [Note that an oblong slip of paper printed with the word "Consigliere" is sometimes pasted over the incorrect title, 'Caulier'] / Secretario del suo priuato consiglio.; A6^v: Dialogo Primo. [A6^v to A8^v contain the later, rewritten section of this dialogue.]; B1^r: Dialogo Primo. [B1 & 2 contain the first treatise of the first dialogue in its original form. These two leaves were meant to be cancelled, and are normally lacking.]; C4^r: Dialogo Secondo.; D7^v: Dialogo Terzo.; E4^v, E5⁵, E6^v, E7^v, & F6^r: astronomical and geometrical woodcuts [white lines on black.]; F8^r: woodcut of a ship under full sail.; G1^r: Dialogo Quarto.; H1^v: woodcut of the rotation of the plants [white lines on black.]; H3^r: Dialogo Quinto.; H4^v & I7^r: geometrical woodcuts [white lines on black.].

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix E (John Charlewood): Ornament: 1 ; Initials: 1, 7, 9, 15, 17, 23.

Type: Roman (68); 61 x 115 (121) mm (C3^r); 34 lines per page except for A8^v, which has 33 lines only.

Notes: Printed in London by John Charlewood in 1584. STC 3935.

See chapter III for a discussion of Bruno's statement to the Inquisition and for my theory as to the date of publication of this book.

The first treatise of the first dialogue of this work was altered by Bruno after the printing of signature B, where the text starts, but before the printing of signature A, which was reserved for the title and preliminary matter. The first version of this treatise was on B1a2; these leaves were to be cancelled, and are slashed diagonally in the customary manner in all the copies which I have seen that still contain them. The second and expanded version is contained in the last five pages of signature A (A6^v-A8^v) in such a way that the text continues on directly from A8^v to B3^r. There are two states of the pagination of A7a8: the early and incorrect, and the later and correct; but this is of no significance for the present purpose. In the section-heading of the preliminary epistle, the 'Signor di Moni~~g~~liere' is given the incorrect title of Canallier del'ordine del Re.' This could be 'Conseglier', and pieces of paper were printed with the word 'Conseglier' and cut into small oblongs to be pasted in over 'Canallier'.

Salvestrini^(a) and Aquilecchia^(b) claim that signature A was re-printed in order to provide the new version of the first treatise. I disagree with this theory, and believe that signature A was the last signature to be printed, and that it was only printed once.

Charlewood obviously received and started to print the MS of La Cena in its original form. Following a common practice among Elizabethan printers when dealing with a new text, he signed the first sheet 'B'

(and started the pagination with 'I' on B1^r), leaving the preliminary matter to be printed last in signature A. Bruno then rewrote some parts of the text after the work of printing the book had started.

These editions in Italian could not have been unusually profitable to Charlewood - he did not reprint any of them - and it is unlikely that he would have been receptive to the idea of cancelling large sections of the text which had already been printed. But as a gesture to placate Bruno it would have been easy to suggest that alterations to the first dialogue (which only involved the first four pages of text) be made by printing the new version at the end of the first signature, which was meant for the preliminary matter and which had not yet been printed. This would then only involve cancelling the first two leaves of signature B.

If this theory is correct, it follows that there is only one state of the text of La Cena. Salvestrini and Aquilecchia argue that we only know the 'later' state of signature A (see above); they have never found an 'early' state, and I do not think that they ever will. It is unlikely that the bad error in the section-heading of the preliminary epistle (see above) would have been committed or perpetuated in a second version of this signature, and in any event it would have been simpler to have reprinted B1a2 in smaller type, in order to accommodate the extra page of text, if these leaves were to have been cancelled in the normal way.

In the Bibliotheca Nazionale Centrale in Florence there is an MS copy of La Cena (Guic.2.5.4) which contains the new version of the first

treatise. It also contains important changes in the second and third dialogues, presumably written too late to be printed. The printed copy in the Bibliotheca Nazionale Centrale in Rome also contains these new versions of the second and third dialogues: the leaves which originally contained the first version have been removed and the new version substituted in MS. It is not unlikely that the MS in Florence was copied from the volume now in Rome.

(a) Virgilio Salvestrini: Bibliographia di Giordano Bruno. Florence, 1958, p. 72.

(b) Giovanni Acquilecchia: "La legione definitiva della 'Cena de le Ceneri' di Giordano Bruno," Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Anno CCCXLVIII, Serie Ottava, iii (Rome, 1951), 207-243.

The most recent Italian article on this problem. A few new details of Bruno's life in London and Oxford (January 1583 to October 1585) are given, esp. on p. 221.

Copies: L. [C.37.c.14(2)]; O. (8° O.58.Th) [contains section-heading of preliminary epistle in original state, with loose small slip of paper on which is printed: 'Conseglier']; O⁵; O⁹; C² (M.12.145) [pagination 1,4,3,4,3 + cancels], (Hare 29.156) [pagination 1,2,3,4,5 - cancels], (D.9.12²) [pagination 1,2,3,4,5, + cancels]; O⁵ (O.39.Ferrari); C³¹; M. (16822); D.; O.; Hd.; HH.; Chatsworth; London University; Rothschild Coll. Waddesdon (2 copies); University of S. California Library; Bib.Bodmeriana.

Paris B.N. (Rés.D².5274); Bib. Mazarin, Paris; Bib. Arsenal, Paris;
 Bib.Naz.Cent. Florence [12,B,B,3,1,8 : presumed lost in 1915], [Guic. 2.
 5.4 : MS copy]; Bib.Naz.Cent. Rome (71.11.A.17) [incomplete: many leaves
 replaced by revised text in MS]; Bib.Naz. Napoli [lost? I made a special
 trip to see it; but it could not be found]; Lenin Library, Moscow; Bib.
 Méjanes, Aix-en-Provence; Elbert L.B.; Dresden L.B.

No. 8.

BRUNO, Giordano

De la causa, principio, et uno.

printed by John Charlewood in 1584, old style.

GIORDA
NO BRVNO
Nolano.

De la causa, principio,
et Vno.

*A L' Illustrissimo Signor di
Mauuifsiero.*



Stampato in Venetia.
Anno. M. D. LXXXIII.

Collation: 8^o, 8⁴ A-I⁸. 84 leaves paginated 1-xxiv, 1, 2-31, 32-33, 34-58, 59, 60-61, 60-77, 60, 79-89, 90, 91-107, 118, 109-133, 134, 135-137, 138, 139-142. #4 signed - 1⁴, B⁴, D⁴, E⁴, G⁴, H³, H⁴; 2⁴, 2⁴, B², D², E², F², H², I² and 3⁴, C⁴ signed in Roman.

R.T.: 2^v - 1^v: Epistola Dedicatoria. Variant: 3^v, 4^r: Epistola Dedicatoria. ; A^v-B^{8r}: DIALOGO PRIMO ; C^{1v}-D^{5v}: DIALOGO SECONDO ; D^{6v}-F^{6r}: DIALOGO TERZO ; F^{7r}-H^{3r}: DIALOGO QVARTO ; H^{3v}-18^v: DIALOGO QVINTO Variants: H^{4r}: DIALOGO QVARTO ; 14^v, 16^v: [none]

Contents: 1^r: title; 1^v: blank; 2^r: PROEMI / ALE EPISTO- / la, scritta all' illustrissimo / Sig. Michel di Castel- / nouo, Signor di Mauispiro, Con- / cressalto; 2^r: GIORDANO NO- / lano, a' i' principi de / l'vniuerso. ; 2^v: Al proprio Spirto.; 3^r: Al Tempo.; 3^v: De l'Amore.; 4^r: Sonnet with no title; 4^v: blank; A^{1r}: GIORDANO / Bruno Nolano. / De la causa principio. / et Vno. / Dialogo Primo. ; B^{8v}: blank; C^{1r}: Dialogo Secondo. ; D^{6r}: Terzo Dialogo. ; F^{6v}: Dialogo Quarto. ; H^{3v}: Dialogo Quinto. ; 14^v, 15^v, 16^v: geometrical woodcuts [white on black]

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix E (John Charlewood):

Ornament: 2. ; Initials: 3, 4, 10, 18.

Type: Roman (68); 57 X 109 (116½) mm (C3^r); 32 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by John Charlewood in 1584, old style.
STC 3936. See chapter III for a discussion of Bruno's statement
to the Inquisition and for my theory as to the date of publication
of this book.

Copies: L. [C.37.c.14(1)]; O. (Mortara Adda 116); O⁵.; O⁹.;
C⁵. (O.38.Ferrari) [bound with No. 10]; E. (H.26.f.C.24); G.; HL.; HD.; Y.
Kon. Bib. den Haag (1160.G.35); Univ. Bib. Leiden (1369.G.9);
Bib. Nat. Cent. Florence (Landau Finaly 477), (Guic.2)2-4²-74)
[bound with No. 10]; Lenin Library, Moscow; Staats. Bib. Berlin;
Goettingen Univ.; Ebert; Bremen St. B.; Marburg; Bib. Mazarin,
Paris.

London University; Chatsworth.

No. 9.

BRUNO, Giordano

De gl'heroici furori.

printed by John Charlewood in 1585.

GIORDA-
NO BRVNO
Nolano.

DE GL' HEROICI
FVRORI.

*Al molto illustre et eccellente Ca-
ualliero, Signor Phillippo
Sidneo.*



PARIGI,
Appresso Antonio Baio.
l' Anno. 1585. £

[printed title: see reproduction from copy in C., described below]

GIORDA
NO BRVNO
Nolano.

DE GL' HEROICI
FVRORI.

*Al molto illustre et eccellente Ca-
ualliero, Signor Philippo
Sidneo.*



PARIGI,
Appresso Antonio Baio.
l' Anno 1585.

Variant (original?) titlepage: see Notes below.

Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Rome (130.C.1).

This reproduction is considerably larger than the original.

Collation: 8^o, *⁸A-F⁸Q⁴. 140 leaves unpaginated. 84 signed - *4, *4, B3, F4, I4, L4, N3, O4, Q3, Q4; *3 missigned *5, *2 missigned *2; *2, I2 signed in Roman; title usually cancelled.

R.T.: *2^v-*⁸F: Argomento sopra li // Heroici furori. ; A1^v-B2^r: Dialogo Primo. ; B3^r-B8^v: Dialogo Secondo. Variant: B7^v, B8^v: Dialogo Secondo. ; C1^v-D2^v: Dialogo Terzo. ; D3^v-F1^r: Dialogo Quarto. Variant: E1^v, E2^v: Dialogo Quarto. ; F2^r-H8^v: Dialogo Quinto. Variant: F2^r, F2^v, G1^r, G2^r, H1^r, H2^r: Dialogo Quinto. ; I2^r-L8^v: Dialogo Primo. Variant: I7^v-I8^r: [none] ; M1^v-N1^r: Dialogo Secondo. Variant: M2^r, M3^v, M4^v, M5^v, M6^v, M7^r, M8^r, N1^r: Dialogo Secondo. ; N2^r-O1^v: Dialogo Terzo. ; O2^v-P5^r: Dialogo Quarto. Variant: O5^v, O6^v: Dialogo Quarto. ; P6^r-Q4^v: Dialogo Quinto. Variant: P6^r, P6^v, Q3^r: Dialogo Quinto.

Contents: *1^r: title; *1^v: blank; *2^r: ARGOMEN- / to del Nolano sopra gl' / Heroici furori : Scritto / al molto illustre Signor / Philippe Sidneo.; *7^r: [half way down page] Auertimento a' Lettori. ; *7^v: [half way down page] Alchuni errori di stampa / piu vrgenti. ; *4^v: Isoupatien del Nolano. ; A1^r: DE GL: HEROI- / ci furori. / Dialogo Primo. [-Quinto.] ; I1^r: SECONDA PAR- / te de gl'Heroi- / oi furori. / Dialogo Primo. [-Quinto.]

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix E (John Charlewood):

Ornament: 1. Initials: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 14, 18, 22.

Type: Roman (68); 54 X 108 (117) mm (E4^r); Most pages have 32 lines; some (including A3^r, E3^v, K1^v, K2^r) have 31 lines; I8^r has 34 lines; and I7^v has 35 lines.

Notes: Printed in London by John Charlewood in 1585. STC 3937.

See chapter III for a discussion of Bruno's statement to the Inquisition and for my theory as to the date of publication of this book.

This edition is found with at least two titlepages. The title with which it is normally found (a) spells Sidney's first name 'Phillippo', (b) has a swash 'A' in 'Anno', and (c) has a full stop after 'Anno'. This is a cancel title. (Especially clear in copies in O., C², and Leiden.)

The copy in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome has a variant titlepage on which (a) Sidney's first name is spelt 'Philippo', (b) 'Anno' has a normal italic 'A', and (c) there is no full stop after 'Anno'. This also seems to be a cancel title, although because of the binding it is not possible to be certain either way.

'Philippo' is the correct way to spell Sidney's first name; I presume that this title (which is clearly by Charlewood — see reproduction) was printed for advertising purposes. The cancel 'Phillippo' title, which is incorrect, would not have been printed to replace the correct 'Philippo' title; and I can only presume that there must have been a third (original) title, of which no trace can now be found, which for some reason had to be cancelled.

Copies: L. [C.37.c.17(4)] ; O. (8^o.C.581.Linc.); C². (Grylla.32.76); M. (13646); WH.; HCF.; RCC.; G.; O¹²; HD.; Y.; MU.; Rwd; POLG.; CLSU.; E.; Bib. Bodmeriana; London Univ.; Chatsworth.

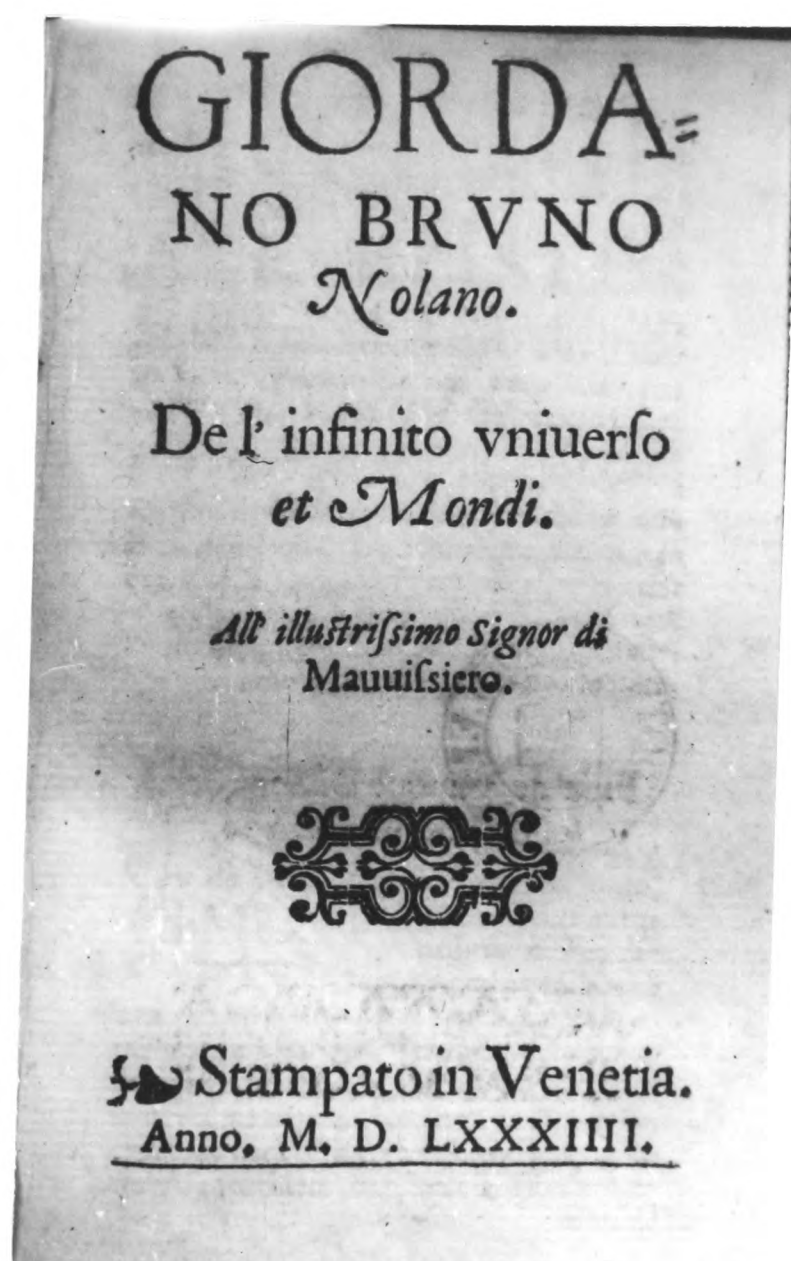
Univ. Bib. Heidelberg (M.8^o.344. 5/iv) [bound with No. 6]; Bib. Naz. Cent. Rome (130.C.1); Bib. Naz. Cent. Florence (Guic. 23.3.19); bought from Hamilton Palace Library; Paris B.N. (Ré. D².5275); Univ. Bib. Leiden (1369.G.4); Naples (?); Lenin, Moscow; Marburg; R. Bib. Stockholm; Bib. Mazarin, Paris (2 copies); Bib. Arsenal, Paris; Ebert; Seits St. Bib.

No. 10.

BRUNO, Giordano

De l'infinito universo et mondi.

printed by John Charlewood in 1584, old style.



[printed title: see reproduction from copy in O., described below]

Collation: 8^o, 9⁸*⁸B-M⁸. 96 leaves i-xxxi, Fol. I., 2, Fol. 3., 4-16, Fol. 17, 18, Fol. 19, 20-25, 26, 27, 28, 29-68, 69, 70, 71, 70, 71, 74, 75, 74, 75, 78, 79, 78, 81-104, 105, 106-119, 20, 121, 122, 12, 124-131, 132, 133-144, Fol. 14, 146-175, 176. \$3 signed + *4, C4, D4, F4, M4 - K3.

R.T.: 9^{2v}-*6^v: Epistola Proemiale. Variant: 9^{2v}, *1^v, *2^v, *3^v: Epistola Proemiale. ; B1^v-C6^r: DIALOGO PRIMO Variant: C5^v: none ; C7^r-F2^v: DIALOGO SECONDO Variant: E1^r, E2^r, F1^r, F2^r: DIALOGO Secondo. : F3^v-H4^v: DIALOGO TERZO ; H5^v-K2^r: DIALOGO QVARTO Variant: K1^v: DIALOGO QVINTO ; K3^r-M8^r: DIALOGO QVINTO

Contents: 9^{1r}: title; 9^{1v}: blank; 9^{2r}: PROEMI= / ALE EPISTO- / la, scritta all'illustrissimo / Sig. Michel de Castel- / nouo Signor di Mauuissiero, Con- / creppalto, et di Iouilla. Cauallier de l' ordine del Re Christianissimo,; *7^r-*8^r: three sonnets, one per page, each below a double row of type ornaments; *8^v: blank; B1^r: GIORDANO BRV / NO NOLANO. / De l'infinito, vniuerso, / et mondi. / DIALOGO PRIMO, [QVINTO., to M8^r]; C5^v: woodcut (white on black); L1^r: woodcut (white on black); M8^v: blank.

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix E (John Charlewood):

Ornaments: 1, 2. Initials: 2, 11, 16, 20, 23.

Type: Roman (68); 57 X 109 (116) mm (D3^r); 32 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by John Charlewood in 1584 (old style).

STC 3938. See chapter III for a discussion of Bruno's statement to the Inquisition and for my theory as to the date of publication of this book.

Copies: L. (C.37.c.16 (1)); O. (Mortara Addis. II6) [bound with No 8]; O⁵; O⁸; O⁹; C². (Hare 43.68); C⁵. (O.38.Ferrari) [bound with No 8];

Manchester University L.; London University L.; Mitford; R.C.C; HD.; Y.

Zentralbib. Zurich (Z.RP.III.1.) [bound with No 8]; Kon. Bib. den Haag (1160.G.27); Bib. Naz. Cent. Rome (71.11.A.16); Bib. Naz. Cent. Florence (Guic. 2) 2-4²-74) [bound with No 8]; Naples [? lost?]; Staats-bib. Berlin; Goettingen Univ.; Lenin Library, Moscow; Bib. Mazarin, Paris; Ebert.

No. 11.

BRUNO, Giordano

Spaccio de la bestia trionfante.

printed by John Charlewood in 1584, old style.



[printed title: see reproduction from copy in O., described below]

Collation: 8°, ¶⁸*⁸A-Q⁸R⁴. 148 leaves paginated i-xxxii, Fol. I., 2-72, Fol. 73, 74-151, 150, 151, 154, 155, 154, 157, 158, 159, 158, 161-261, 262-264. #4 signed - ¶4, *4, B4, E4, F4, H3, H4, I4, H4, P3, P4, Q4, R3, R4.

R.T.: 2^V-*8^V: Epistola Explicatoria. Variants: 3^V from ¶3 to *6: Epistola Explicatoria. ; *7^V*8^V: Epistola Explicatoria. ; A1^V-E4^V: DIALOGO PRIMO. Variant: A5^V, A6^V, B5^V, B6^V, C5^V, C6^V, D5^V, D6^V: DIALOGO PRIMO. ; E5^V-K6^V: DIALOGO SECONDO Variant: E5^V, E6^V, F5^V, F6^V, G5^V, G6^V: DIALOGO SECONDO ; K7^V-R3^F: DIALOGO TERZO Variant: L1^F-L2^V, M1^F-M2^V, N1^F-N2^V, O1^F-O2^V, P1^F-P2^V, Q1^F-Q2^V, R1: DIALOGO TERZO.

Contents: ¶1^F: title; ¶1^V: blank; ¶2^F: EPISTOLA / LA ESPLICATO / ria scritta al molto illu- / stre, et eccellente causal- / liero Signor Philippo Sidneo. / dal Molano . ; A1^F: Dialogo Primo. ; E5^F: Dialogo Secondo. ; K7^F: Dialogo Terzo.; R3^V: Errori piu fastidiosi. ; R4^V: blank.

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix E (John Charlewood):

Ornament: 2. Initials: 2, 3, 12, 21.

Type: Roman (68); 55 x 108 (116) mm (E1^F); 32 lines per page; N3^V, H4^F, Q3^V-Q5^F have 33 lines; F1^F has 31 lines.

Notes: Printed in London by John Charlewood in 1584 (old style).

STC 3940. See chapter III for a discussion of Bruno's statement to the Inquisition and for my theory as to the date of publication of this book.

Copies: L. (C.37.c.15); O. (Antiq.f.B.1584/2); O⁹.; C². (Hare 29.155), (*Grylla 32.75); D.; R.Wd. [2 copies]; Chatsworth; HD.; Y.; Burndy Library, Norwalk, Conn., USA.

Univ-Bib. Heidelberg (M.8^o.344.6/iii) [was Cod.Heid.366.86. Bought 2 Nov 1896 for £ 25]; Bib. Naz. Cent. Florence (Landau Finaly 473); Paris BN (Res.D².5272); Naples [?lost?]; Naples University; Bib. Mazarin, Paris; Lenin Library, Moscow; Dresden; Ebert.

No. 12.

BUEIL, Honorat de, Seigneur de Racan

L'Artenice.

printed by Edward Allde circa January 1626, new style.

E. 5. 26.



Ornament No. 3.

20 X 92

McKerrow: Allde,

Orn. No. 6.

(see Notes)

L'ARTENICE.



Ornament No. 4

14 X 90

McKerrow: Allde,

Orn. No. 18.

(see Notes)

[printed title: see reproduction from copy at HD., described below]

Collation: 8^o, A-H⁸, 64 leaves paginated i-x, 1-4, 5, 6-86, 85, 86-93, 49, 95-97, 90, 99-116. \$4 signed - A4, D4, E4, G4, H4

R.T.: A2^v-A5^r: Argument. ; A6^v-H8^r: L'ARTENICE. ; H8^v: ARTENICE.
[Pagination in Arabic at outside edge of head-lines.]

Contents: A1^r: title; A1^v: blank; A2^r: ARGUMENT. ; A5^v: LES
ACTEURS. ; A6^r: ACTE PREMIER. / SCENE PREMIERE.

Ornaments and Initials: see Notes on next page about McKerrow references.

Ornaments.



1.

21.5 x 72.5

McKerrow: Allde, Orn. no 1.

2.

17 x 84

McKerrow: Allde, Orn. no 12.

See previous page for ornaments number 3. and 4.

Initials.



1.

22 x 23

McKerrow: Allde, Alphabet no 2.



2.

25 x 24

Type: Italic (93), with prefatory matter in Roman (93);
81 X 131 (141) mm (B3^r Italic; A3^r Roman); 28 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by Edward Allde, probably in January 1626 n.s., but possibly in late December 1625. Not in STC.
Printed from the first (Paris) edition of 1625.

The references used on the preceding page to identify Allde's ornaments and initials are from R. B. McKerrow: "Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer," The Library, Fourth Series, X,ii (Sept. 1929), 121-162.

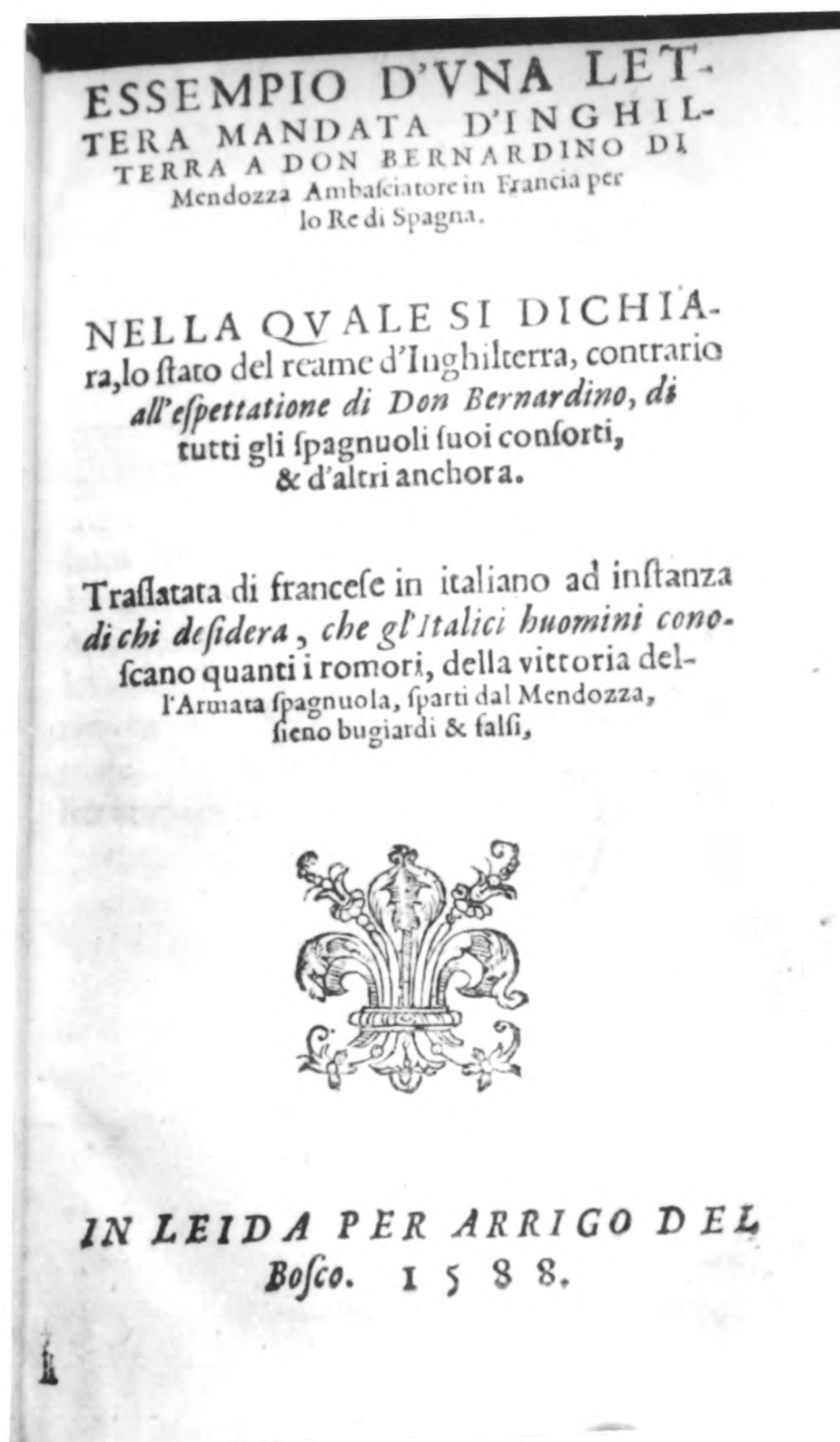
I am indebted for the identification of this edition to Professor William A. Jackson and Jean Parrish, "Racan's 'L'Artenice, an Addition to the English Canon,' Harvard Library Bulletin, XIV, ii (Spring 1960), 183-190.

Copy: HD. (STC 4016.5*)

No. 13.

CECIL, Sir William, Lord Burghley

Essempio d'una lettera mandata ... a Don Bernardino di Mendoza.
printed by John Wolfe in 1588.



[printed title: see reproduction from copy in O., described below]

Collation: 8^o, A²-G⁸H⁶, 56 leaves paginated i-iv, 1-104, 105-108.

¶ signed - H⁴; A² missigned A in some copies, A¹¹ in others.

R.T.: none; pagination in center of headline.

[with device: McKerrow 251]

Contents: A¹^r: title; A¹^v: blank; A²^r: LO STAMPATORE AL BE- / nigno

Leggitore. ; A²^v: blank; B¹^r: ESSEMPIO D'VNA LET- / tera mandata

d'Inghilterra a Don Bernardino / di Mendoza, Ambasciatore in Francia per /

lo Re di Spagna.; F¹^r: [p.75] Di Londra, / d' Agosto. 1588.;

F⁴^v: [p.72] Di Londra a di Set-/ tembre. 1588. [9 October in the English

text]; F⁷^r: [p.77] Di Londra a 20. di Settembre. 1588.; G¹^v: GIO:ANTONIO DI

M⁰₂ / nona italiano figliuolo di Francesco di / Monona pilota ... ;

H⁴^v: [p.104] A.27. di Settembre. 1588. [26 September in the English text];

H⁵^r: IL NUMERO DELLE NAVI AFFON- / date,... ; H⁵^v: LA QUANTITA DELLE

NAVI AFFONDATE, ET / degli huomini ... ; H⁶^r: A questa seguente maniera

ammendera (il cortese leg- / gitore) gli errori scorsi nella stampa,

per la troppo fret- / ta dal Traduttore messa al Coreggitore, sapendo come

/ il numero primo significa la foglia, e'l secondo la / riga. ; H⁶^v:

blank.

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix D (John Wolfe): Ornaments: none;

Initials: 3, 50.

Type: Italic (95); 71 X 132½ (142) mm (E³^r); 28 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by John Wolfe in 1588. Not in STC. This is a translation of STC 15412, which was written by Lord Burghley (see chapter IV).

This pamphlet was entered to John Wolfe on 23 October 1588 'in the Italian tongue, by warrant of a letter from Sir ffrauncis walsingham to the master and wardens of the Companye.' See Arber, II, 504.

In my opinion this pamphlet was probably printed as B-H⁸, with the two leaves of signature A as H4&5. However, A2 is signed Aiiij in some copies (in the others it is simply: A), and for this reason J.P.R. Lyell (following Dr. Thomas of the B.M.) suggests that its collation should be A⁴B-H⁸, with A1A4, H4, H5 as blanks. But this would have been wasteful and uncharacteristic of John Wolfe, whose printing habits were very economical. See J.P.R. Lyell: A Commentary on Certain Aspects of the Spanish Armada. B.Litt. thesis in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, pp.256-8 (pressmark: M.S. Lyell expt. 64-5).

Cosin Venture reprinted it in Bergamo later that year (see chapter IV, note 32, and Appendix B).

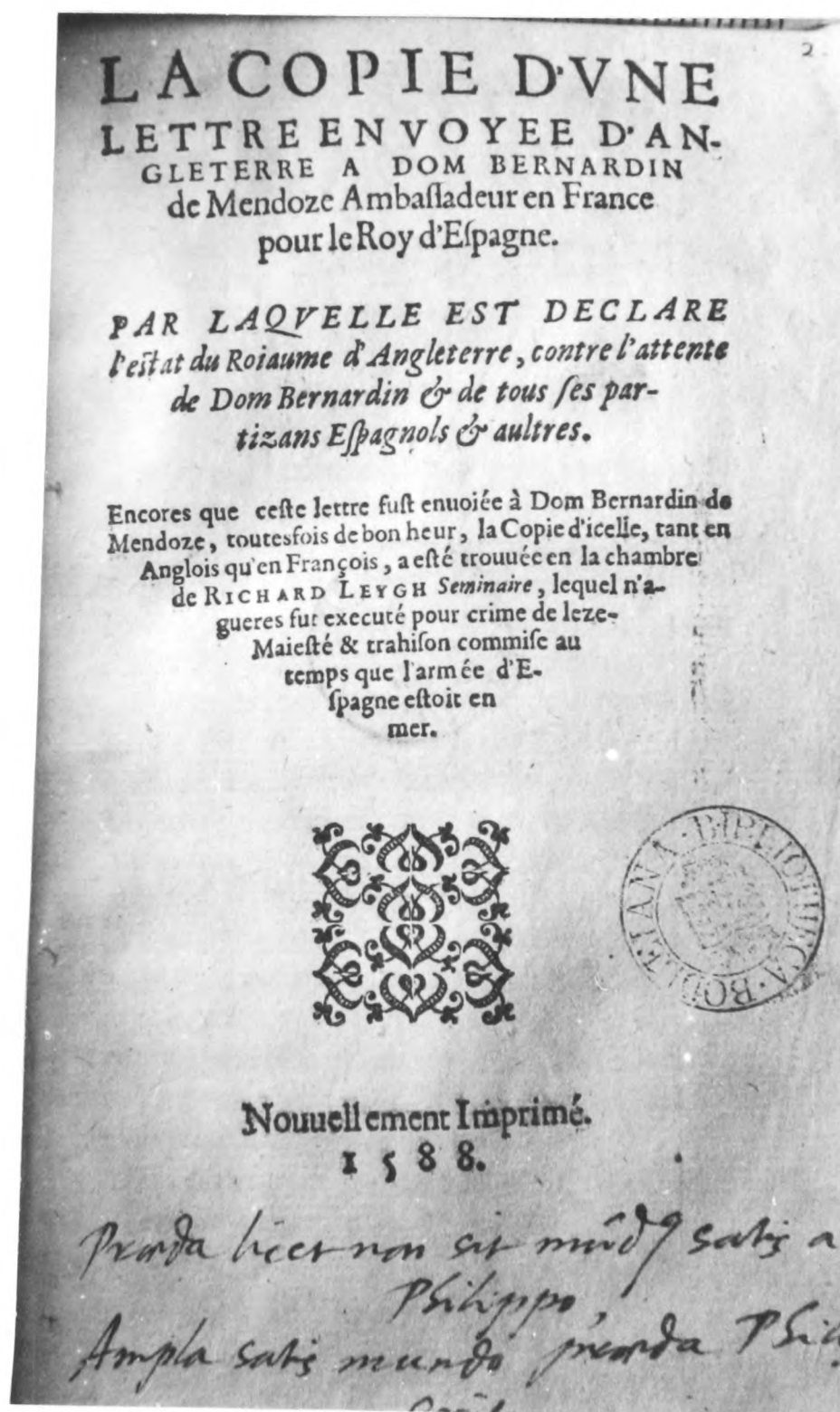
Copies: L. (C.55.b.14), (C.6078); O. (Vet.B.1.f.31) [this was Lyell's copy]: HD.

No. 14.

CECIL, Sir William, Lord Burghley

La copie d'une lettre envoyée ... à Don Bernardin de Mendoza. [1st. ed.]

printed by Jacqueline Vautrollier for Richard Field in 1588.



[printed title: see reproduction from copy in O., described below]

Collation: 8^o, A-D⁸ E-H⁴ I², 50 leaves paginated 1-11, 1-61, 54, 63-64, 65-98. 84 signed in Roman - E4, F4, G4, H4, I2.

R.T.: A2^v-E1^r: COPIE D'UNE LETTRE // A. D. BERNARDIN DE MENDOZE.

Contents: A1^r: title; A1^v: blank; A2^r: LA COPIE D'UNE / LETTRE ENVOYEE D'AN- / GLETERRE A DOM BERNAR- / din de Mendose Amba/adeur / en France pour le Roy / d'Espagne. ; D6^v: A Londres. ce / d'Acoust. / 1588.; E2^r: A Londres. ce / de Septembre./1588. ; E4^r: Le 20 . de Septembre. / 1588. [9 October in the English text] ; E4^v: blank; F1^r: DEVIS L'IMPRESSION DE CESTE DER- / niere fueille, ...; H4^v: Le 27. de Septembre. 1588. [26 September in the English text] ; I1^r: LE NOMBRE DES NAVIRES ET DES / hommes. ... ; I1^v: LE NOMBRE DES NAVIRES ET / des hommes. ... ; I2: blank.

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix F (Richard Field):

Ornament: 1. Initial: 27.

Type: Roman (93) and Italic (93); 75 (92 including marginal glosses) X 141 (149) mm (D2^r); 30 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by (Jacqueline Vautrollier for) Richard Field, in 1588. Not in STC. See chapter V for the probable explanation of Jacqueline Vautrollier's name in the imprint of STC 15412, also printed by Richard Field, and of which this is the first edition of the translation into French. Lord Burghley was the author of the original text in English (see chapter IV). This is perhaps the first edition in any language (see explanation in Chapter V).

Copies: L. [C.123.c.17(1)]; O. (8^o.B.104.Th); HD.

No. 15.

CECIL, Sir William, Lord Burghley

La copie d'une lettre envoyée ... à Dom Bernardin de Mendoza. [2nd. ed.]

printed by Jacqueline Vautrollier for Richard Field in 1588.

LA COPIE D'VNE
LETTRE ENVOYEE D'AN-
GLETERRE A DOM BERNARDIN
de Mendoza Ambassadeur en France
pour le Roy d'Espagne.

PAR LAQUELLE EST DECLARE
*l'estat du Roiaume d'Angleterre, contre l'attente
de Dom Bernardin & de tous ses par-
tizans Espagnols & aultres.*

Encores que ceste lettre fust enuoyée à Dom Bernardin de
Mendoza, toutesfois de bon heur, la Copie d'icelle tant en
Anglois qu'en François, a esté trouuée en la chambre de
RICHARD LEYGH *Seminaire*, lequel n'agueres fut
executé pour crime de leze Maiefté & trahison
commise au temps que l'Armée d'Es-
pagne estoit en mer.

*Depuis ont esté adioustez certains Aduertissemens receus de n'agueres, concer-
nans les pertes & destresses de l'Armée Espagnole, tant au combat qu'elle eut
avec l'Armée Angloise au destroit de la mer Britannique, comme aussi par
tempestes & vents contraires és costes d'Irlande vers le
Nord & l'Ouest, en retournant des Isles Septen-
trionales par delà l'Ecosse.*



Nouuellement Imprimé.
1 5 8 8.

[printed title: see reproduction from copy in O., described below]

Collation: 8^o, A-D⁸ E-H⁴ I², 50 leaves paginated 1-11, 1-64, 65-98.

\$4 signed in Roman - E4, F4, G4, H4, I2.

R.T.: A2^v-E1^v: COPIE D'VNE LETTRE // A D. BERNARDIN DE MENDOZE.

Contents: A1^r: title; A1^v: IN CLASSEM HISPANI- / nican mi/perè
di/per/pan, / Epigramma. [signed: T. M. Scotus.]; A2^r: LA COPIE
D'VNE / LETTRE ENVOYEE D'AN- / GLETERRE A DON BERNAR- / din
de Mendose Amba/ssadeur / en France pour le Roy / d'Espagne. :
D6^v: A Londres, ce d'Aoust [sic] / 1588. ; E2^r: A Londres, ce /
de Septembre. / 1588. ; E4^r: Le 20. de Septembre. / 1588. [9 October
in the English text] [this edition has an ornament on the lower half of
this page which helps to distinguish it from the previous edition in
French, where this page has no ornament]; E4^v: blank; F1^r: DEPVIS
L'IMPRESSION DE CESTE DER- / niere fueille, ... ; H4^v: Le 27. de
Septembre. 1588. [26 September in the English text]; I1^r: LE NOMBRE DES
NAVIREES ET DES / hommes, ...; I1^v: LE NOMBRE DES NAVIREES ET /
des hommes, ... ; I2: blank.

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix F (Richard Field):

Ornament: 1.

Initial: 27.

Type: Roman (93) and Italic (93); 76 (93 including marginal
glosses) X 140 (148½) mm (A4^r); 30 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in london by (Jacqueline Vautrollier for) Richard Field
in 1588. Not in STC. See chapter V for the probable explanation of
Jacqueline Vautrollier's name in the imprint of STC 15412, also printed
by Richard Field, and of which this is the second edition in French.

This second edition is recognisable by the four (instead of three) paragraphs of text above the type ornaments on the title, by the epigram by 'T.M. Scotus' on the verso of the title, and by the presence of an ornament on the lower part of E4^r. Otherwise, both texts are similar. Lord Burghley was the author of the original text.

There are at least two Continental reprints of this translation: see Appendix B.

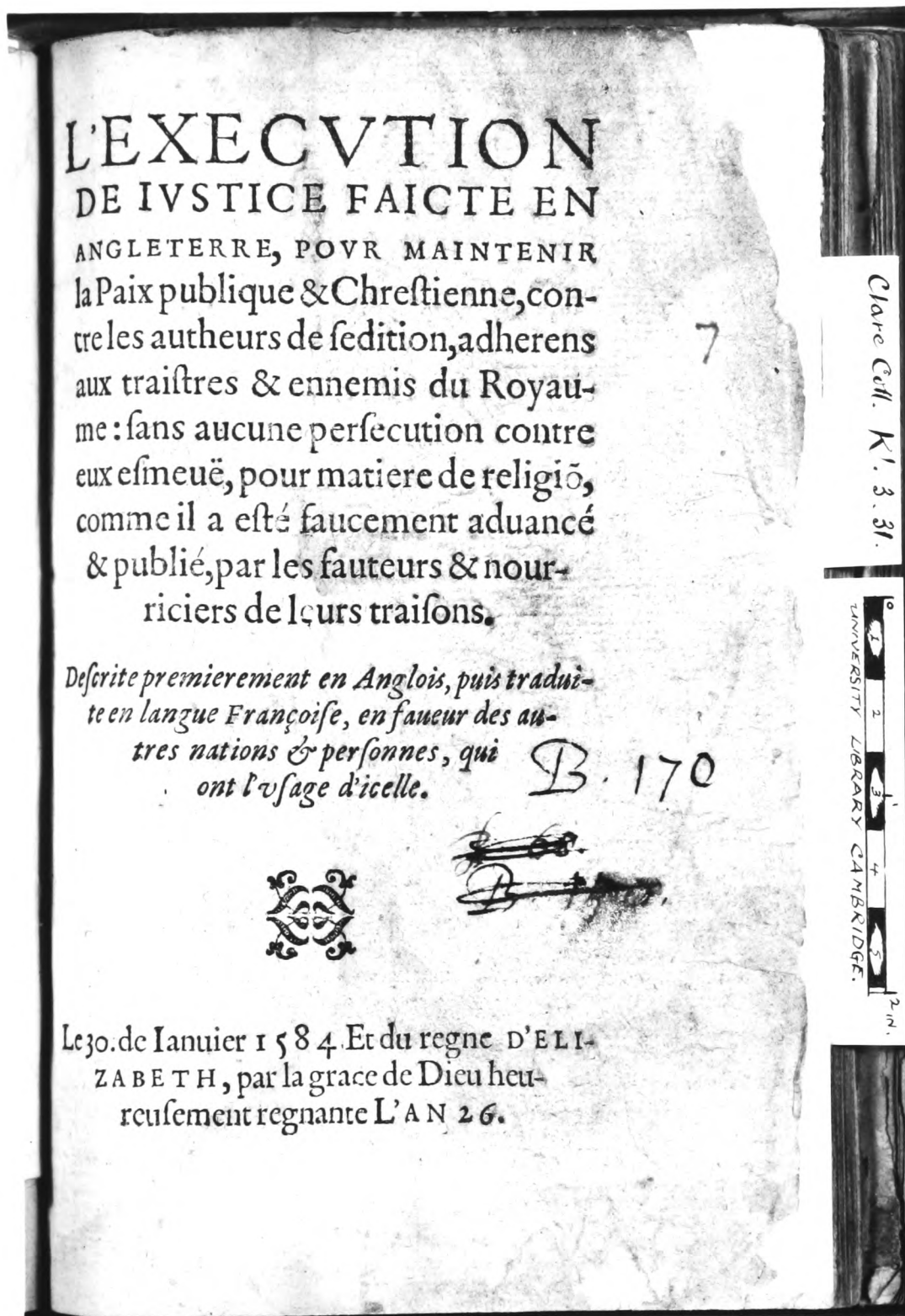
Copies: O. (Douce M.202); Kon. Bib. den Haag (Pfl. 842).

No. 16.

CECIL, Sir William, Lord Burghley

L'Exécution de Iustice faicte en Angleterre.

printed by Thomas Vautrollier in January 1584, old style.



[printed title: see reproduction from copy in C¹³, described below]

Collation: 8^o, A-E^o, 40 leaves paginated 1-2, 3-66, 67-99. #4 signed in Roman - E2.

R.I.: A2^v-E1^r: L'EXCOMMUNION DE L'ÉGLISE // EN ANGLETERRE.

Variations: B5^v & C3^v: 'X' from wrong font; E1^v: L'EXEC. DE L'ÉGLISE EN ANGLE.

Contents: A1^r: title; A1^v: blank; A2^r: L'EXCOMMUNION DE L'ÉGLISE / FAITE EN ANGLE- / terre, pour maintenir la Paix publique / & Chrétienneté, contre les sur- / theurs de Religion, &c. ; E2: blank; E3^r: DECLARATION / IN TRAITEMENT FA- / vorable, DES EXCOMMUNIÉS / de la sainteté, ordonnées pour l'Exe- / mination de certains Traictés ...; E3^v: AF L'ÉGLISE. ; E8^v: blank.

Ornaments and initials:

Ornament:



1.

49 x 50

& STC 2361, 14582,

16967, 18250.



1.

20 X 19

& STC 2808, 3747,
16994, 25359.



2.

19 X 19

& STC 2808, 17176,
19556.



3.

32 X 33

Type: Roman (93) with some Italic (93); 72 (87 including marginal glosses) X 130 (139) mm (D4^x); 28 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by Thomas Vautrollier and dated the 30th of January 1584 (old style). STC 4906 - note that the description in STC is incorrect, as the imprint should be within brackets (except for the date).

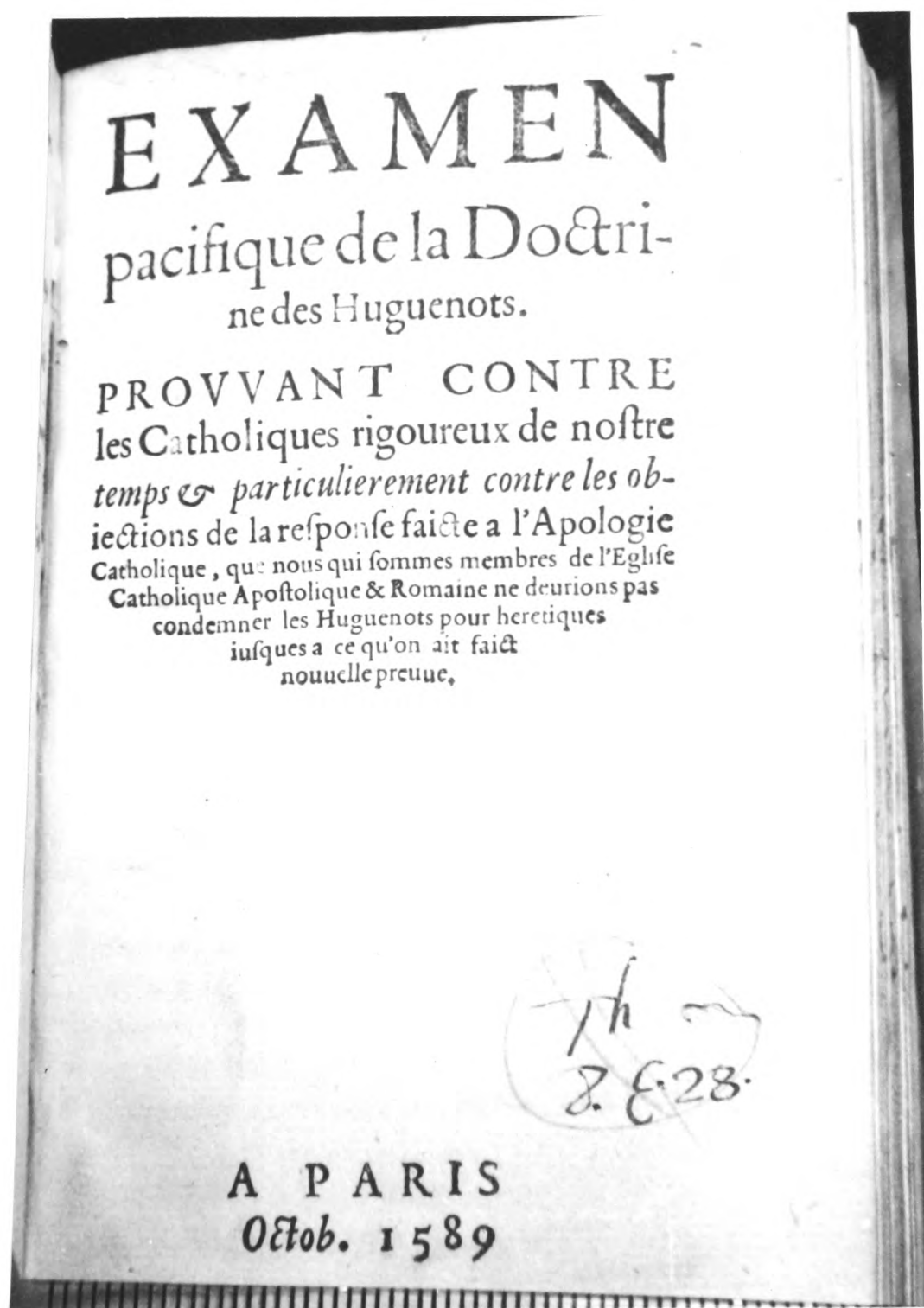
Copies: O. (8^o.I.10.Art.Seld.(2)); C¹³ (K¹.3.31); Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge (S.7.66); FOLG.

No. 17.

CONSTABLE, Henry

Examen pacifique de la doctrine des Huguenots.

printed by John Wolfe in 1589.



[printed title: see reproduction from copy in O., described below]

Collation: 8^o, A-I⁸, 72 leaves paginated 1-xvi, 1, 2-128. 84 signed.

R.T.: A3^v-A8^r: EPISTRE // AV LECTEUR.

Contents: A1: blank; A2^r: title; A2^v: blank; A3^r: A tous fideles
 / subjects du Roy, & / principalement aux Catholiques de- / sireux
du repos de l'Eglise & / de l'estat.; A8^r: [after preface, half
 way down page:] Faultes eschapees en l'Impression.; A8^v: blank;
 B1^r: Argument du Idure.; B2^v: CHAP. I. / Que les Catholiques,
& Huguenots s'accordent / tellement en doctrine, qu'ils sont
d'une mes- / me foy, & religion.

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix D (John Wolfe): Ornament: 17.

Factotum: 5. Initials: 7, 9, 21, 27, 35.

Type: Roman (94), with introduction in Italic (94); 70 (86 including
 marginal glosses) X 132 (142) mm (P3^r); 28 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by John Wolfe in October 1589. Not in STC.
 The text was entered to Wolfe for English and French on August 26th,
 1589 (Arber II 529). If Wolfe ever printed an edition in English,
 no copies now survive. The first known edition in English is dated
 1623 (STC 6377), after the text had been re-entered to N. Butter

on 15 May 1623 (Arber IV 96). It then went through four editions. There may also have been an edition of 1612 (no copies now survive) on the evidence of an entry of the translation to *Aspley* on 4 June 1612 (Arber III 487). It has been often incorrectly attributed to Cardinal Davy du Perron. See David Rogers: "The Catholic Moderator: A French reply to Bellarmine and its English author, Henry Constable," Recusant History, V (Oct. 1960 [The Arundel Press: Roger Regis]), vi, 224-235.

Copies: L. (3900.e.17); O. (8^o.M.65.Art); Paris BN (Res.D².4240).

No. 18.

CONSTABLE, Henry

Examen pacifique de la doctrine des Huguenots.

printed by John Wolfe in 1590.

EXAMEN

pacifique de la Doctri-
ne des Huguenots.

PROVVANT CONTRE
les Catholiques rigoureux de nostre
temps & particulièrement contre les ob-
iections de la responce faicte a l'Apologie
Catholique, que nous qui sommes membres de l'Eglise
Catholique Apostolique & Romaine ne deurions pas
condemner les Huguenots pour heretiques
iusques a ce qu'on ait faict
nouuelle preuue.



Imprimè de nouueau a Caen

1 5 9 0.

Magdalene Coll. B. 8. 39. 1/8

[printed title: see reproduction from copy in C¹⁰, described below]

Collation: 8^o, A-I⁸, 72 leaves paginated i-xvi, 1, 2-128. \$4 signed - 14.

R.T.: A3^v-A8^r: EPISTRE // AV LECTEUR Variant: A6^r, A8^r: EPISTRE
// AV LECTEUR.

Contents: A1: blank; A2^r: title; A2^v: blank; A3^r: A tous fideles
/ subiects du Roy, & / principalement aux Catholiques de- / siereux
du repos de l'Eglise & / de l'estat. ; A8^r: [ornament on lower half
of page; no list of errors] ; A8^v: blank; B1^r: Argument du Liure. ;
B2^v: CHAP. I. / Que les Catholiques, & Huguenots s'accordent /
tellement en doctrine, qu'ils sont d'une me- / me foy, & religion.

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix D (John Wolfe): Ornaments: 8,
17, 20. Factotum: 1. Initials: 7, 9, 18, 27, 35.

Type: Roman (94), with introduction in Italic (94); 70 (86 including
marginal glosses) X 132 (143) mm (F3^r); 28 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by John Wolfe in 1590. Not in STC.

This is the second edition of No. 17 (see Notes on No. 17).

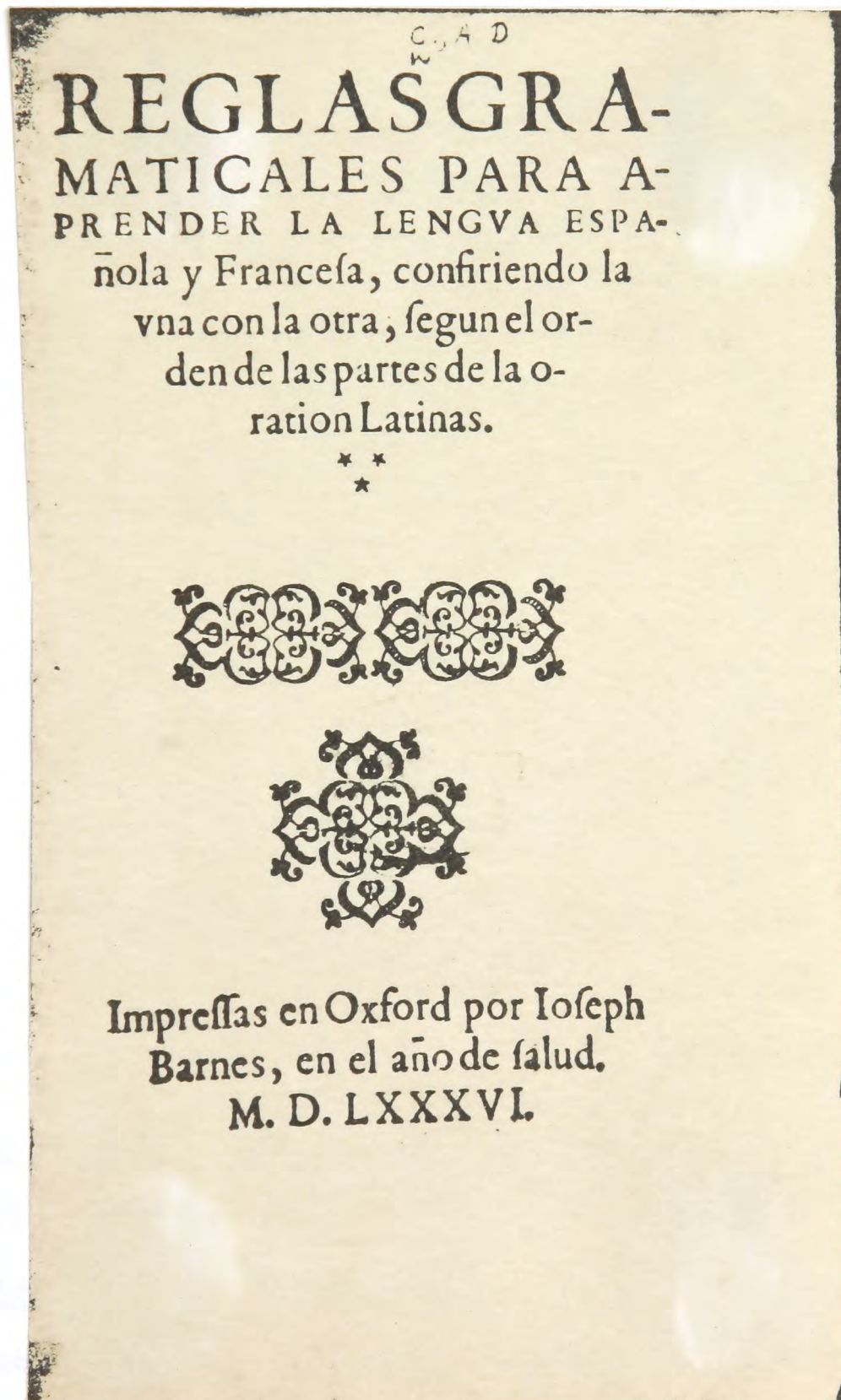
Copy: C¹⁰ (B.8.39)

No. 19.

CORRO, Antonio de

Reglas Gramaticales.

printed by Joseph Barnes at Oxford in 1586.



[printed original title: see reproduction above from copy in L.,
described below]

REGLAS GRAMATICALES PARA APRENDER LA LENGVA ESPAÑOLA y Francesa, confiriendo la una con la otra, segun el orden de las partes de la oration Latinas.

* *
★



Impressas en Paris, en el año de salud.

1586.

[printed variant title: see reproduction above from copy in O., described below]

Collation: 8^p, *⁸A-D⁸E⁸(-E8)P-H⁸, 71 leaves paginated i-xvi, 1-126.

84 signed in Roman - *2, *4, A2, A4; A3 signed in Arabic. A variant state of signature * is found: it is composed of the variant title (above) and two other single leaves, the first of which is signed *1j.

R.T.: None; pagination within parentheses in center of headline except for D4^F, which has only the numerals: 55

Contents: *1^F: pattern of typographical ornaments; *1^V: blank; *2^F: title; *2^V: blank; *3^F: AL ILLVSERE PA- / TRICIO GINOVES, EL / SENOR HORATIO PALAVINCINO / ~~salud~~ y toda Pro~~per~~idad. [signed on *5^V: : El que des~~sea~~ a V.M. / ~~salud~~ y toda pro~~per~~idad. / A.D.C.]; *6: blank; *7^F: EL CORRECTOR / DE LA IMPRIMERIA, / al prudente Lector. [this leaf is not signed]; *8^F: Tratados de la Gramatica. ; Al^F: [text starts with no section title]; E8 (?): [missing, no break in text]

Contents of issue with variant titlepage: *1^F: title [with imprint: ... en el a- / ño de ~~salud~~.] ; *1^V: blank; *2^F: EL CORRECTOR / DE LA IMPRIMERIA, / al prudente Lector. [same setting of type as above, but signed: *1j]; *3^F: Tratados de la Gramatica. [same setting of type as above]; Al^F: [text starts with no section title; signatures A-H from same setting of type]

Ornaments and Initials: none

Factotums



1.
23 x 21
& STC 3071, 2025,
13966.



2.
23 x 21
& STC 2025, 13031

Type: Roman (82 $\frac{1}{2}$), with preliminaries in Roman (116); 75 X 136 (144) mm (D3^F); 33 lines per page.

Notes: Printed by Joseph Barnes in Oxford in 1586. STC 5789^B.
The original titlepage has a genuine imprint (see reproduction above), and it is the later, cancel titlepage which has the surreptitious imprint (see reproduction above). Copies with the original titlepage are found with a complete signature *; copies with the cancel titlepage also lack the dedication to 'Senhor Horatio Palavincino' (see chapter III).

This grammar was issued with Valdes' Dialogo (No. 59) as a double volume. De Corro says on *5^F of his dedication to Palavincino that he was prevented from writing a student's text to go with his grammar because of the 'negligence of the workers' (see chapter III), and that he therefore had this text reprinted instead.

Copies: With original (genuine) imprint: L. (C.63.f.33); O. (Facs.f.63);

With later (surreptitious) imprint: O. (Antiq.f.E.1586/2);

C⁵. [Δ.17.19.(1)]; HW.

No. 20.

CORRO, Antonio de

Tableau de l'oeuvre de Dieu.

printed by Antonius de Solempne at Norwich in 1569.

Tableau de l'oeuvre de Dieu.

AB-1-33.1

1569.

Creation du monde par la parole eternelle.

Ant l'eternel delibere de se manifester par sa parole & sapience eternelle / & se communiquer par son esprit: au commencement il crea le ciel / la terre / la mer / et tout ce qui est contenu en iceux: par icelle sapience & parole / donnant vie a tout par son esprit.

Creation de l'homme.

Il voulut faire une creature a son image & semblance / qui eust la dominati^{on} sur toutes les b^etes / & avec ceste deliberation / & la parole eternelle il forma l'homme de terre / et luy communiqua son esprit de vie.

Fin de la creation de l'homme.

Intention et fin generale de Dieu en la formation de ceste creature / fut le faire participant de sa cognoissance & presence / et en icelui toute sa race & posterite / pour ce qu'ils cognussent leur Dieu / et fussent assurants de sa bonne volonte / perseverassent en son obeissance.

Etat de l'homme en son innocence.

Adam estant cree a l'image & semblance de l'eternel / fut colloque en Paradis (que pourrions nommer la dextre) sous condition qu'il persevereroit en la cognoissance de son createur et bon sentiment et persuasion de sa bonte. Item / qu'il garderoit les commandements de son Dieu / sous la peine de mort / et de passer de la dextre a la senestre.

Chute de l'homme.

L'homme ayant mis en arriere la parole et manifestation de l'eternel / & prestat l'oreille aux promesses fausses du serpent / et aux persuasions de la femme / menagea du fruit de l'arbre defendu. Genes. 3.

Peché de l'homme.

L'homme pretendoit menager de ce fruit defendu / se faire Dieu sans Dieu: & pouvoit regler par le niveau de son jugement ce qui est bon / & ce qui est mauvais. Mais il lui aduint tout le contraire. Car en lieu d'estre Dieu / il devint mortel / corrompu / et infecte de la poison de malice / et souper d'ineul de la bonne volonte de l'eternel: l'estimant pour son ennemi & s'enfuyant de luy: nonobstant que le Seigneur estant tresconstant et immuable de sa nature / ne hait jamais les creatures qu'il a faites.

Sagesse mondaine & ruses de l'homme pour couvrir son peche.

Ant l'homme conceu en son coeur peruerse imagination et sentiment de l'eternel son createur / delibera de couvrir sa honte / vergoigne / et nudite avec feuilles de figuier / qui sont nos industries / merites & satisfactions (oeuvres prouvenantes d'infidelite / mesfiance / & crainte servile) & si s'enfuit de la presence de celui qui l'aimoit / cherchoit / et vouloit le remettre a dextre / et le retenir de justice & nouvelle innocence.

Rejection de l'homme.

Ceste peruerse l^ec. on et mauvais sentiment que l'homme conceut de l'eternel / a tellement infecte son coeur / qu'il ne se peut persuader que Dieu lui porte bonne volonte / mais plutost il pense que Dieu soit enuieux de son bien / et que en tout et par tout il cherche sa ruine. Et ayant ceste apprehension il s'enfuit et tout tremblant se cache / avec determinati^{on} de se contenter de son malheur / estant: ayant toutefois tombe de la dextre a la senestre / de bonheur a malheur / de la vie en la mort / et partant il est desia forclos en son coeur de la jouissance de Paradis / a cause de son peche & peruerse apprehension.

Misericorde.

Mais l'eternel / ayant compassion de l'homme qui estoit cheu en servitude et devenu fugitif et craintif / voulut par sa misericorde et clemence le remettre en un meilleur Paradis. Et ce par foy et obeissance: comme il estoit cheu par infidelite et desobeissance.

Promesse de Dieu.

L'eternel voyant l'homme (lequel il aimoit tant) estre ruine par son infidelite et peruers sentiment accompagne de desobeissance et rebellion: a la fin le cherche / l'appelle / et l'assure de sa bonne volonte / lui prometant que la semence de la femme briserait la teste du serpent / Genes. 3. Et que par tel moyen l'homme seroit remis a dextre. Et non seulement luy / mais toute sa posterite (ruine desia par luy) pour ce qu'ils voulussent recevoir la bonne nouvelle de salut: et arrachants de leur coeur la mauvaise persuasion et sentiment peruers qu'ils avoient (que Dieu leur fust ennemi) au contraire / l'assurassent de la bonne volonte de leur createur.

Commandements de mortification & obeissance / qui doivent accompagner la foy.

Item voyant l'eternel que l'homme estoit tombe par infidelite et desobeissance / voulut complaire a son appetit / il adjoignit en la promesse faite pour la reparati^{on} de ceste creature qu'il estoit besoyn que l'homme desquit en perpetuelle bataille et inimitie contre la peruerse semence du serpent / Genes. 3. Et afin qu'il print hardiesse de batailler contre un ennemi si fort et qui l'avoit une fois vaincu: l'eternel lui promet certaine victoire disant / qu'il frappera le serpent en la teste: et le serpent ne le frappera qu'au talon. Genes. 3.

Propagation du peche.

Ant l'eternel reconcilie avec foy l'homme pecheur moyennant la foy en ladite promesse / et l'assure de sa bonne volonte: l'envoie hors de Paradis / afin qu'il s'exerce en foy / mortification & obeissance. Et l'homme estant dehors engendre des enfans semblables a lui / c'est adire / pecheurs / et toutefois capables de felicitie eternelle s'ils croient et veulent obeir a la volonte de leur createur.

Partition.

De la parole de Dieu.	foi	Les uns y croient et obeissent par foy comme Abel et ses semblables.	Dextre.
Et de la malice de l'homme.	infidelite	Les autres ne croient point a la parole et per consequent ils n'obeissent point come Cain et ses semblables.	Senestre.
		Car	Dont vient

Eglise de Dieu & Eglise de Satan.

De la division susdite naissent deux sortes d'enfants qui sont deux diverses Eglises: Les uns ayant receu la semence de Dieu croient en lui / et l'adorent et servent. Les autres recevant la semence du serpent se font enfans de reprobation / ennemis de Dieu / & de ceux qui cherchent son honneur et gloire: Et de la vient qu'ils sont persecuteurs / malfaiseurs / infameurs de leurs prochains / & a la fin meurtriers comme leur pere Satan et Cain. Mais au contraire les enfans de Dieu endurent et souffrent avec patience et esperance de la victoire finale.

Repetition de la volonte de Dieu par parole escripte.

L'eternel voyant que l'homme se corrompoit de jour en jour / et de plus en plus / et que son aveuglement benoit jusques a la que de ne cognoistre point son peche: delibera de lui bailler par escript certifier du bon vouloir de son createur envers lui: et qu'en second lieu elle lui fust comme un miroir / auquel l'homme pourroit voir ses fautes / transgressions et pechez commis contre la foy / mortification / et obeissance que son createur lui avoit tant recommandees.

Seconde division.

A ceste loy et parole de Dieu	Les uns y croient et obeissent	Dont tant esce qu'ils sont mis	Dextre.
	Les autres n'y veulent croire / et n'obeir.		Senestre.

Venue de Jesus Christ filz de Dieu.

Ant l'eternel delibera et promit de remedier aux enfans d'Adam / et voyant que l'incubite / dissolution / et desobeissance estoit cause de la perdition des hommes qui tenoient Dieu pour leur ennemi / a la fin selon sa promesse il envoya au monde sa parole eternelle faite chair et en forme humaine / a fin que ce Sauveur et Digne estant filz de Dieu et bray homme comme nous / nous assuret & certifiast de la bonte & clemence du pere celeste / & avec telle familiarite / que bouche a bouche & de langue humaine nous eussions le moyen d'entendre le bray chemin de nostre salut.

Jesus Christ filz de Dieu envoie pour sacrement & exemple aux hommes.

Un que la source du malheur de l'homme estoit sa peruerse apprehension de penser que Dieu lui estoit ennemi / et ce par la mauvaise l^ec. on et semence du serpent: Jesus Christ eternelle parole de Dieu vint au monde / comme un sacrement. Item. 4. pour certifier et assurer l'homme de la bonne volonte de l'eternel avec sa predication / miracles / et sainte vie. Et pour destruire le peche avec sa mort ignominieuse / resurrection admirable / ascension glorieuse / et venue visible de son S. Esprit.

Jesus Christ filz de Dieu / bray exemple de mortification & obeissance.

Un aussi que l'homme estimant l'eternel son ennemi / s'adonna a toute dissolution et desobeissance: Jesus Christ bray filz de Dieu et bray homme pour remedier a ceste creature (ayant destruit le peche) se fait exemple de bray mortification et obeissance / rendant a l'eternel son pere la foy / dilection et honneur qui appartenoit a telle Maie^{te} / et que les enfans d'Adam appriussent de lui le bray chemin pour retourner a la dextre / a la vie et jouissance d'eternite: pour laquelle obtenir. Dieu les a crees.

Jesus Christ est l'aigneau qui oste les pechez du monde.

Ceste parole eternelle de Dieu estant faite chair et venant au monde pour remedier aux enfans d'Adam perdus / est ordonnee du pere misericordieux pour estre prophete celeste qui monstre la bonne volonte que nous porte celui qui l'a envoye. Item il a este oint pour Sacrificateur eternel / a fin que par le sacrifice et oblation de son propre corps / et effusion de son sang tresprecieux / il ostast le peche du monde / et effacast du coeur de l'homme la peruerse l^ec. on que Satan lui avoit engravee de sa perdition et malheur. Et c'estement ce Seigneur Jesus a este constitue souverain Roy au ciel et en terre / & chef vinque de l'Eglise des croians / afin que par son Esprit il les gouverne / soulage / et donne forces pour s'employer en exercices de bray mortification et obeissance agreable a l'eternel.

Troisieme division.

D'ici sort une autre division. Car	Les uns y croient et obeissent et pour ce sont mis a dextre	Dont	La vie eternelle aux croians et obeissans qui est le salaire de la justice de Jesus Christ habitant en eulx.
	Les autres n'y veulent croire / et pour ce sont mis a senestre.	sensuit	Mort eternelle aux infideles et desobeissans qui est le salaire du peche habitant en eulx.

Fruits de l'ascension de Jesus Christ.

Cognoissant l'eternel la nature de l'homme adonne a choses visibles et palpables / et que tresdifficilement il peut lever les yeux de sa consideration et les ficher es choses celestes et diuines / il osta de ce monde et de la presence des veulx charnels ce Jesus Christ et Roy eternel / le glorifiant et mecrant a sa dextre pour plus grande assurance de la bonne volonte qu'il portoit a l'homme / veu qu'il estoit si haut la chair humaine / que de la glorifier en foy. De sorte que la persone de ce Sauveur a prins possession de la gloire celeste / dextre / et Paradis / que Adam avoit perdu pour son peche / a fin que dorénavant les croians et obeissans soient assurez de la jouissance du longis eternel / ou maintenant leur chef fait residence avec parfaite glorification.

Offices de l'Esprit de Dieu au coeur de l'homme.

Inablement voyant l'eternel la perpetuelle bataille que l'homme doit avoir en ce monde pour resister a son infidelite / mesfiance / et dissolution d'appetit desordonne / et la foiblesse de ses forces pour obtenir victoire contre ennemis si cruels et puissans: (retirant le Seigneur Jesus de ce monde) il envoya son Esprit / d'adine / soufflement / force / vertu / et Energie dans les coeurs de ses enfans / regner / afin que ce mesme Esprit: leur fust comme un gage de derniere et perpetuelle assurance de la bonne volonte de l'eternel envers eulx / et que gouvernant leurs consciences / il les enseignast en toute verite / et par le droit chemin les menast a la vie eternelle / a laquelle ils estoient predestinez et esleuz des le commencement. Ephes. 1.

Quatrieme division.

Car les estens / recevant l'Esprit d'adoption / assurent de la bonne volonte de Dieu envers eulx / et avec telle certitude l'invocent et prient en leurs necessitez / afflictions et croix / et suscitants les inspirations du S. Esprit qui est en eulx / s'emploient en vrais exercices de foy / mortification / et charite fraternelle.	Dont	Que les croians et obeissans a la conduite de l'Esprit de Dieu qui habitent en eulx / seront resuscitez par la vertu d'icelui Esprit. Rom. 8. afin qu'ils jouissent de la vie eternelle qui leur a este preparee des le commencement du monde. Math. 25.
Les autres qui perseverent en leur infidelite et peruers sentiment de Dieu envers eulx / ils sont menez par l'Esprit de leur prudence / et sont tellement poussez de l'Esprit de malignite / que toutes leurs oeuvres ne tendent qu'a dissolution / et a rompre et briser les occasions de fraternelle charite qu'ils voient regner parmi les fideles.	sensuit	Que les incredulx demourans obstinez en leur peruerse et malignite / comme gens poussez et agitez par l'Esprit malign qui les possede et habite en eulx / de jour en jour ils s'emploient es oeuvres de la chair / (qui est ennemie de Dieu. Rom. 8.) et par tant seront priez eternellement de l'amiante et amiable presence de leur createur / et reietez a perpetuelle damnation. Math. 25.

Notes: Printed in Norwich by Antonius de Solempne on the 15th of July, 1569. STC 5792. One hundred copies of this broadside were printed at a cost of five shillings (see chapter I).

A second edition was printed the following year with the following colophon: 'A la tres-noble Dame Madame de Staffort pour estrennes de ceste nouvelle Année. 1570. Antoyne de Corro.' Probably printed in London. Not in STC. See Appendix A.

There are two MS Latin translations. The first is by the Italian minister Hieronymus, and was prepared at the request of Bishop Grindal (see copy at Bib. Pub. & Univ. Geneva). The second is by de Corro himself, and ends: 'Auctore Antonio Corrano Hispallensj.' (British Museum: Lansdowne MS XCVI, no. 47 (f.108); 4150 X 5050 mm). STC 5793 (1570) and STC 5794 (1584) are editions of this Latin text. Wood (Ath. Oxon., vol. I, p. 252) mentions a Latin edition dated 1574; no copies survive, and this may be merely an error.

There is evidence that editions were also printed in Dutch and English, although I have been unable to find any copies. In his preface to A theological dialogue (London, 1575; STC 5786), de Corro says: 'Afterwarde I wrote at London certeyne Tables concerning Gods works, which were printed in fower Languages, Latin, French, Dutche, and English.' (p. 140 = V5^r).

Copy: C. (Broadside Cabinet A, 1569-70.)

No. 21.

CRANMER, Thomas, Archbishop

Catechismo.

translated into Italian by Michelagnolo Florio

printed by Stephen Mierdman in 1553.

 CATHE-

CHISMO, CIOE FOR-

ma breue per amaeſtrare i fanciul-

li: La quale di tutta la Chriſtiana diſciplina cō-

tiene la ſomma: E per l' autorita del Sereniſſimo

Re d' Inghilterra. &c. meſſa in luce: e con or-

dine che tutti i maeſtri di ſcuola à diſce-

poli lorol' inſegnino: e in quella

con diligenza amaeſtrino.

¶ Tradotta di Latino in lingua

Thoſcana per. M. Michelagnolo

Florio Fiorentino.



[printed title: see reproduction from copy in L., described below]

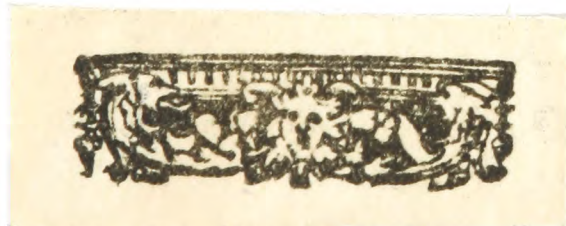
Collation: 8^o, A-E⁸ F⁴. 44 leaves unpaginated. 35 signed - A3, A4, D2, F4.

R.T.: [none]

Contents: Al^r: title; Al^v: blank; A2^r: ~~6~~ ALL'IL= / lustrissimo
& eccellentissimo Si= / gnore, Il'Signore Giouanni, Dudele deg= /
nissimo Duca di Nortamberlande : e della casa del Serenissimo Re
d'Inghilterra &c. ; A3^v: AL PICE / Christiano lettore. ; A4^v:
EDOVAR= / DO DI QUESTO NOME / SESTO PERLADIO GRATIA RE / ;
A6^r: CATHE= / CHISMO, CIOE FOR= / mabreue per amaestrare
i fanciulli: La quale di / tutta la Christiana disciplina contiene
la som= / ma: fatta in Dialogo: Maestro, & / Auditore. ; E7^v:
ORAZIO= / NE DEL SERENISSI= / mo Re Edouardo sesto ; E8^v:
PREGHIE= / RE DI M. M. F. F. VTI= / lissime ad ognuno.

Ornaments and Initials:

Ornaments.



1.

13 X 42½

& 16566, 18244



2.

11½ X 46

Initials.



1.

25½ X 26

& STC 15259



2.

26 X 25½



3.

19½ X 19½



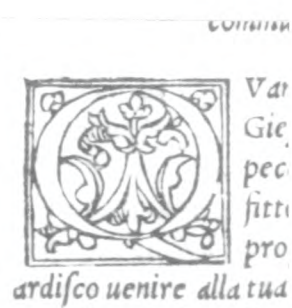
4.

25 X 26



5.

18½ X 23



6.

18½ X 20½

signor m



El
mic
cell
cot
pot
alla
fam

rare uirtu, e à ifatti egregi

7.

40 X 25

& STC 11233, 24365

ju



Ign
bul
logi
trici
ziti

ma mia e la uita :

8.

19½ X 18

& STC 18311, 17791

congru



lo
fu
ra
un

compagnia degi

9.

18½ X 20½



v
ch
tr
uo
ga

obligo ma si bene a

10.

19 X 20

& STC 24365

Type: Italic (83); 59 (71 including marginal glosses) X 115
(118½) mm (C5^F); 28 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by Stephen Mierdman, probably in early 1553. STC 4813. It is an Italian translation by Michelagnolo Florio of Archbishop Cranmer's Latin Catechismus.

The book can be dated as having been printed before July, 1553 (the accession of Queen Mary), and after the spring of 1552, which is the earliest time that STC 15259 could have been printed

(the initial 'C' (1) on B6^F has a broken border and has deteriorated since its use on C1^F of STC 15259 by Mierdman).

The type used in the Cathechismo very closely resembles Isaac's Italic 82, an Antwerp type which was later used by Cawood. Mierdman could have brought it over with him, just as he would seem to have brought over ornament (1) from Antwerp, where the printer G. Montanus used it in 1540 in Paradisus animae fidelis by L. Blosius. See Wouter Nijhoff: L'Art Typographique dans les Pays-Bas, 1500 à 1540. La Haye, 1926, Vol. 2, Anvers - Derniers Imprimeurs.VIII.(not paginated).

Mierdman and his associates seem to have loaned their initials to each other quite freely. Mierdman used a border of Jugge's and some of Jugge's and Cawood's initials in STC 17330, as well as a Whitchurch 'P' and 'E' and a Cawood 'C' in STC 24365. STC 13747 has Jugge's name in the colophon, uses Whitchurch's compartment (McKerrow and Ferguson 52), and Richard Grafton's type; and Edward Sutton used two of Jugge's initials and ornaments in STC 18244. The only use by Jugge of Mierdman's initials which I have discovered is in Jugge's STC 2867, where he used: on A3^V the 'I' which Mierdman used in STC 11233 on E2^V; on B6^V the 'A' which Mierdman used in STC 24365 (on I2^F (although it is possible that STC 24365 was actually printed by Jugge for Mierdman); and on G6^V the 'I' which Mierdman used in STC 15259 on *2^F. STC 24368 has [R. Jugge] f. A. Hester in the entry; this should be changed to [S. Mierdman]. A large number of Jugge's initials closely resemble those used by Mierdman; but they are in fact different and often slightly debased in design, and probably originate from similar Dutch sources.

It would be reasonable to speculate that Mierdman and Jugge were in some form of partnership; but I do not think that this was the case. It is interesting to see that Jugge had already printed at least four books in English with fictitious imprints (SPC 3765, 10488, 1270, and 24354); this would make him a logical suspect. (See Frank Isaac: English and Scottish Printing Types 1553-58. Oxford University Press, 1932, (not paginated); see entries for Jugge and Mierdman). But in the end, the bulk of the evidence appears to point to Stephen Mierdman as the printer of the Cathechismo.

This book was first discussed by Harry Sellers, who thought it "probable that Mierdman printed the Cathechismo in England shortly before leaving, and omitted the imprint for fear of religious persecution." (Harry Sellers: "Italian Books printed in England before 1640," The Library, Fourth Series, *v,ii (Sept. 1924)*, 105-7). I think that he was correct about the identity of the printer, but wrong about his motives: Mierdman's reputation as a Protestant refugee printer was so well established by that date that the use of his imprint on such a book would not have made any difference. Rather, it is my belief that this Cathechismo was specially printed for the private order of Florio's Italian congregation in London (see chapter I), and that it was for this reason that Mierdman intentionally omitted his imprint.

No. 22.

EAST India Company of the Netherlands

Een waer Verhael vande ... procedure ... tot Amboyna.

printed by John Seale in 1624.

no 12

Een waer

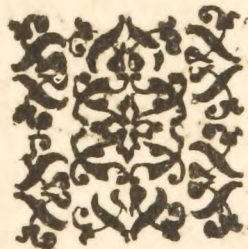
VERHAEL

vande onlancksche

ongerechte, wreede, ende on-
menschelycke procedure teghen
de Enghelsche

tot Amboyna

in Oost-Indien, door de Nederlan-
landers aldaer ghemaect op een ver-
sierde pretentie van een Conspiratie
vande selue Enghelschen.



Ghedrukt int Jaer 1624.

KONINKL.
BIBLIOTHEEK
VAN NEDERLAND

[printed title: see reproduction from copy in Kon. Bib. den Haag,
described below]

Collation: 4^o, ¶⁴(*)⁴a-d⁴e², 26 leaves paginated i-xvi, 1-25, 36, 35,
28, 29, 34, 33, 32-36. \$3 signed -¶¹, ¶².

R.T.: ¶³^v-(*)³^v: Tot den Lefer.

Contents: ¶¹^r: blank; ¶¹^v: woodcut; ¶²^r: title; ¶²^v: arms of the
English East India Company; ¶³^r: Aenden Lefer.; (*)⁴^r: blank;
(*)⁴^v: woodcut; al^r: Een waer / VERHAEL / vande onlanckſche /
ongherechte, wreede, ende on- / menſchelycke proceduren teghen
Engel- / ſche tot AMBOYNA in Oeſt-Indien / door de Nederlanders
aldaer gemaekt / op een verſierde pretentie van een / conſpiratie
vande felue En- / ghelſche,

Ornaments and Initials:

Ornaments.



1.

30 x 78

& STC 9240, 15268



2.

80 X 61

& STC 7451

(H. Lowmes for N. Newberry)

Initials.



1.

26 X 26

& STC 15268

2.

20 X 20

& STC 11597

Type: Roman (82) and Italic (115); 90 X 152 (162) mm (a3^r);

37 lines per page (with Roman), 25 lines per page (with Italic).

Notes: Printed in London by John Beale in October or November 1624.

Part One of STC 7455. John Beale probably printed this translation

for Nathaniel Newberry, to whom the English original was entered

on 14 October 1624 (Arber IV 87). For the background, see chapter VI.

Nos. 22, 23, and 24 are in STC as the three parts of entry 7455. They are separately signed and paginated, and are normally independently catalogued in those libraries which possess copies. For these reasons, I have numbered the three parts independantly.

The edition in English was printed for Newberry by H. Lownes; but the evidence of ornaments and initials is absolutely clear that Beale and not Lownes printed the Dutch translation.

Copies: L. (106.a.57); C².

Kon. Bib. den Haag (Pamf. 3549); Univ. Bib. Amsterdam (A.G.XVI.20) [this copy previously belonged to Delft: it is stamped: Koninklyke. Akademie te Delft.]; Univ. Bib. Leiden (1367.E.19¹) [this copy has a bookplate on a2^r: 'Ex. Biblioth. Viri. Illust. Isaacii Voßii.']; Paris BN [4^o.Mt.1112.(4)]

No. 23.

EAST India Company of the Netherlands

Waerachtich Verhael vande Tidinghen ghecomen wt de Oost-Indien.

printed by John Beale in 1624.

Waerachtich

VERHAEL

Vande Tidinghen ghecomen wt de
Oost-Indien, met thelacht ghenaeemt
 de Haze, in Junio 1624. in Texel
 aenghelandt.

Aengaende
 De Conspiratie ontdeckt inde Eylanden van
 AMBOYNA : ende de straffe by Justitie daer
 op gheuolcht. In Martio 1624. ver-
 uat by missiue.



Ghedruckt int laer 1624.

Rm 3594

60a

Printed title: see reproduction from copy in Kon. Bib. den Haag, described below

Collation: 4^o, A-C⁴, 12 leaves paginated 1-4, 1, 6-21, 22-24. 33 signed - C3.

R.T.: none; pagination within parentheses in center of headline.

Contents: A1^r: title; A1^v: blank; A2^r: Eerw. Heere, ; A3^r: [start of text]; C3^v-C4^v: blank.

Ornaments and Initials: Ornaments: none.

Initials.



1.

30 X 30 (borrowed?)



2.

20 X 20

& STC 15268

Type: Roman (82); 90 X 153 (164) mm (B3^r); 37 lines per page.

T. 2062

Waerachtich
VERHAEL

Vande Tijdinghen gecomen wt de Oost-
Indien, met het Jacht ghenaemt de Haze,
in Junio 1624. in Texel aenghelant.

Aengaende
De Conspiracie ontdeckt inde Eylanden van
AMBOYNA : ende de straffe by Justitie daer op
ghevolgt. In Martio 1624. vervat
by missive.



Ghedrukt int Jaer 1624.

3545 3

Titlepage of original Dutch text. (Copy: Kon.Bib. den Haag: Pamf. 3546) Note use of lower case 'v' within words; the English compositor altered these to 'u' (see chapter VI).



One of the woodcuts which was used both in Beale's edition in Dutch and in Lowmes' editions in English.

Notes: Printed in London by John Beale (for Nathaniel Newberry) in October or November 1624 (see Chapter VI). Part Two of STC 7455. This edition is reprinted from the original Dutch pamphlet (see reproduction of titlepage above) with slight but characteristic typographical variations (see chapter VI). See also notes for No. 22.

Copies: L. (106.a.58); C².

Kon. Bib. den Haag (Pamf. 3547) ; Univ. Bib. Amsterdam (A.G.XVI.20) [see notes to their copy of No 22] ; Univ. Bib. Leiden (1367.E.19²) [see note to their copy of No 22] ; Paris BN (4^o Nt.1112.(4)).

No. 24.

EAST India Company of the Netherlands

Antwoorde vande Duytsche Relatie.

printed by John Beale in 1624.

(1)

W 1917



Antwoorde vande Duytsche Relatie,
aengaende die ghepretendeerde Conspi-
ratie vande Enghelschen in Am-
boyna in Oost-Indien.



En Autheur van dese Relatie, bemer-
kende dat hy een swaer werck voor
hadde, het waer-schinlick te maecken,
dat achtien Enghelsche Coopliden
ende haere dienaers, alle onghewapent
souden met de hulpe ende bystant van
tien Iaponeses, oock onghewapent;
voorghenomen hebben de inneminghe
van een Casteel, ziele weghe so wel versien, gheliick die van
Amboyna, is te voren in de Relatie van de Enghelsche waer-
liick af-gebeedlet: Als oock den seluen Autheur, wel
voorsienende, dat alhoewel al wat hy schryuen soude, van dese
ghepretendeerde conspiratie, soude voor de waerheyt aen-
ghenomen wesen, nochtans de daet soude seer slecht schy-
nen te draghen sulcken rigoreusen straffe in personen van die
qualiteyt, ende van sulcke alliantie met die die het volbroech-
ten, versiet meer consteliick dan oprechteliick, voor beyde
dese punten in de Voorreden van dit verhael: Tot desen
eynde, hy schrabyt ende hoopte samen alle de ialousien ende
periculen die de Duytschen in de Indien hadden: Iae ende
meer dan sy waerbiok hadden ontrent den tijt vande ghe-
pretendeerde conspiratie, ende appliceert die alle tot de sus-
pitie

A

pitie

3551

[first page of pamphlet: see reproduction from copy in Kon.

Bib. den Haag, described below]

Collation: 4^o, A-E⁴, 20 leaves paginated 1-17, 14, 15, 20, 21, 10, 11, 24-34, 35-40. 83 signed - E2; B3 missigned A3; E3 missigned F

R.T.: none; pagination within parentheses in center of headline.

Contents: A1^r: Antwoorde vande Duytsche Relatie, // aengaende die ghepretendeerde Conspi- / ratie vande Enghel/chen in Am- / boyna in Oost-Indien. ; E2^r: woodcut; E2^v: blank; E3^r: Beminde Leser, ... ; E3^v-E4^r: blank.

Ornaments and Initials:

Ornament.



1.

49 X 62

(bottom part of orn. 1, No. 22)

Initial.



1.

30 X 30

(borrowed?)

Type: Roman (82); 90 (109 including marginal glosses) X 148 (159) mm (D3^r); 36 lines per page.

THE
ANSWER
VNTO THE DUTCH
PAMPHLET,
MADE IN DEFENCE
OF THE VNIUST AND BAR-
barous proceedings against the
ENGLISH at

AMBOYNA

In the East-Indies, by the HOLL-
LANDERS *there.*



Printed at London, Anno
M.D.C. XXIV.

3550

24

Titlepage of English edition (Copy: Kon. Bib. den Haag: Pamf. 3550). Beale's edition in Dutch starts with the first page of text on A1^r; no title or preliminary matter to go with it has been found.

Notes: Printed in London by John Beale (for Nathaniel Newberry) in October or November 1624. Part Three of STC 7455. This edition is translated from the original English: see notes for No. 22 and chapter VI.

Copy: L. (106.a.58); C².

Ken. Bib. den Haag (Pamf. 3551); Univ. Bib. Amsterdam (A.G.XVI.20) [see note to their copy of No 22]; Univ. Bib. Leiden (1267.E.19³) [see note to their copy of No 22]; Paris BN [8^o.Nt.1112.(4)].

No. 25.

FELIPPE, Bartolome

Tractado del Consejo y de los Consejeros de los Principes.

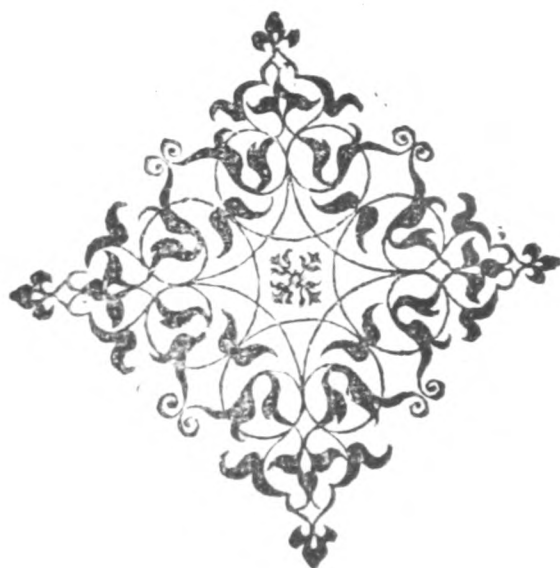
printed by John Wolfe in 1589.

TRACTADO
DEL CONSEJO Y
de los Consejeros de los
Principes.

Compuesto por el Doctor Bartolome
Felippe:

*Dirigido al muy alto y serenissimo Señor Cardenal Alberto
Legado y Archiduque Daustria.*

Segunda Impression.



TVRINO
Impresso en casa de Gio: uincenzo del Pernetto
Con licencia de los Superiores. 1589.

[printed title: see reproduction from copy in C., described below]

Collation: 4^o, ¶ 4^o ¶ 4^o A-sp⁴ ¶ 2^o, 162 leaves foliated i-viii,
1-9, 13, 11, 15, 13-17, 17, 191, 19, 21-29, 26, 31, 28, 33-46, 48, 48, 49, 51,
51, 53, 51, 54, 53, 56-110, 101, 112-152, 150, 154. 84 signed -¶ 3, ¶ 4,
64, F4, G4, H4, K4. ¶ 4 signed ¶ 4; ¶ 1 signed ¶ 4.

R.T.: Al^v-¶ 1^v: Tratado del conçejo // y de los conçejeros de
los Principes. These head-lines were not distributed each time;
rather, they were left standing in the forme. Starting with signature
E, it can be seen that the dots of the two 'i's in Principes are
damaged (later, they are missing completely) in the head-lines of the
rectos of the third and fourth leaves of every alternate signature
only. The Arabic foliation numerals are in the upper right hand corner.

Contents: ¶ 1^r: title; ¶ 1^v: blank; ¶ 2^r: AL MOLTO MAGNI- / FIGO
ET ECCELLENTI / Dottor di leggi il Signore Bartolomeo / Felippe
Portugheze, Signor mio / sempre offerundipino. [ends:] Di Turino
a 19. di Febraio. / 1589. / D.V.S.M.^{ca}. & Eccelente. / Servitore
affettionatissimo / Cio: uincenzo del Pernetto. ; ¶ 4^r: AL MVI
ALTO Y SEME- / nissimo Señor Cardenal Alberto Le- / gado y
Archiduque de Austria / mi Señor. ; ¶ 2^v: Catalogo de los Libros
que en este Tratado se alegan. ; ¶ 3^v: En este tratado del conçejo,
y de los conçejeros / Del principe, se tratan diez y / ocho
discursos. ; ¶ 4^r: blank; ¶ 4^v: three quotations; Al^r: TRATADO
DEL CON- / SEJO Y DE LOS CONSEJEROS / DE LOS PRINCIPES. ;
¶ 1^v: list of errata at foot of page; ¶ 2: blank.

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix D (John Wolfe): Ornaments: 4,8.
Initials: 2,11,13,14,32,36,38,46,48,49,50,51,55,56.

Type: Roman (116), with Dedication in Italic (94); 89 (108 including marginal glosses) X 156 (171) mm(B3^F);

Number of lines per page: Signatures A through D have have 27 lines (except for D1^V, which has 28 lines and no catchword). After this, signatures F,H,K and every following alternate signature have 27 lines and headlines with undamaged 'i's (see section on Running Titles above). Signatures E,G,I and every following alternate signature have 26 lines and headlines with damaged 'i's. Occasionally an extra line is added; when this occurs, there is no catchword.

Notes: Printed in London by John Wolfe in 1589. Not in STC. Entered to John Wolfe 4 April 1589 (Arber II 517). The English translation, STC 10753, was the work of John Thorie (see chapter II note 50). This is the second edition; the first was printed at Coimbra by Antonio de Mariz in 1584 (Copies: Taylorian Library, Oxford, and 2 in Madrid: (R.8174) & (R.14168)). See F.B. Bengert: John Wolfe and a Spanish Book, The Library, Fifth Series, Vol.III, No. 3, pp 214-6. See chapter II for discussion of Wolfe's preface to this book.

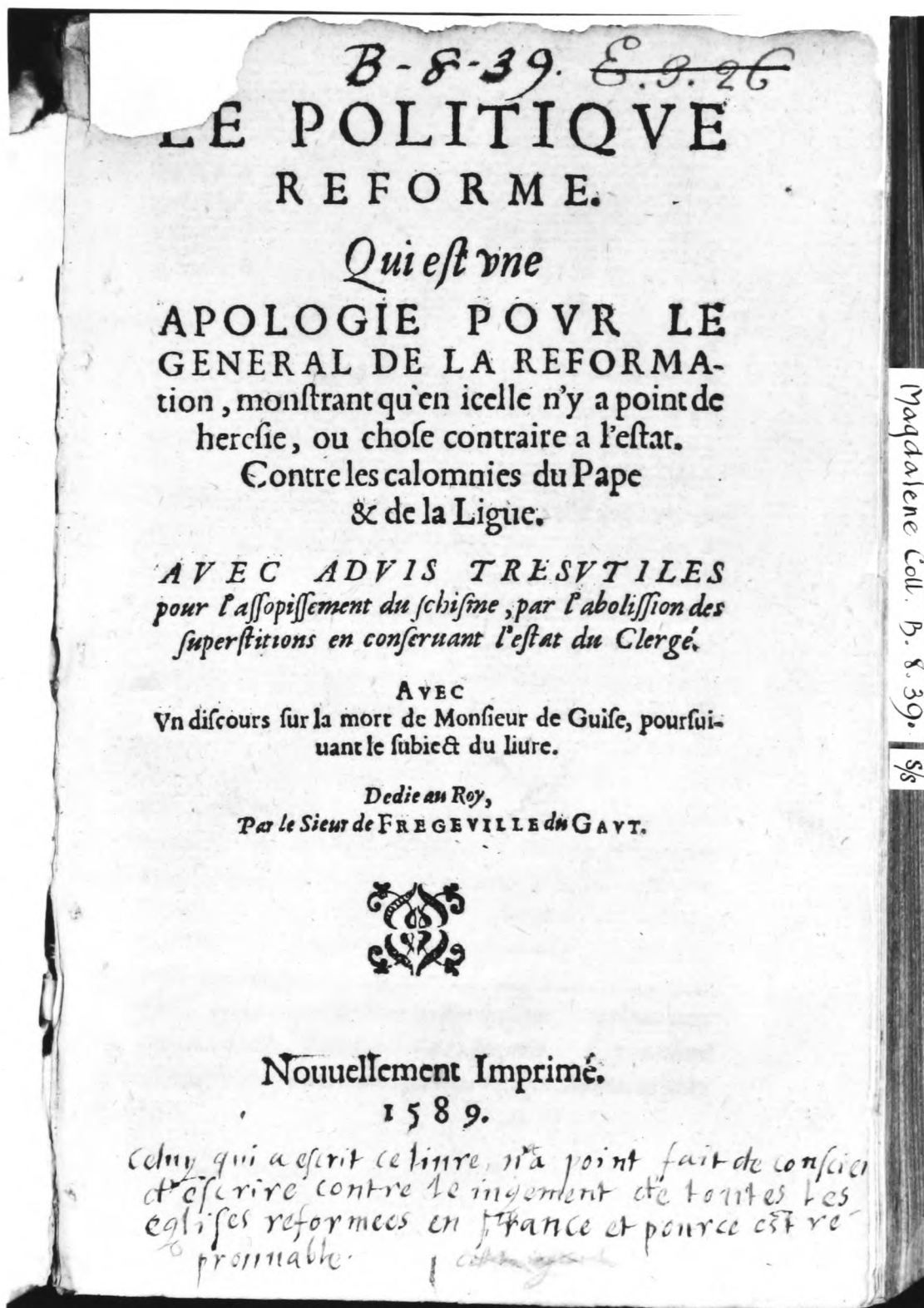
Copies: L.(521.e.22); L²; O.(4^o.P.4.Art); O⁷; O¹²; C.(Syn.7.58.84); C¹³(E¹.2.15); C²; C²⁰; Nat. Lib. Scotland (G.25.b.5); HD; F.B.Benger, Paris BN (*E.610); Bib. Nat. Cent., Florence (19.Y.5.287) [from: Bibl. Caes. Med. Palat.]; Univ.Bib. Leiden(449.B.16¹); Bib.Nac.Madrid(R.13749) [contains MS note: 'londres 27 de Agosto de 1876', with stamp of don Gayangos].

No. 26.

FRÉGEVILLE, Jean de, Sieur du Gout

Le Politique Réformé.

printed by Richard Field in 1589.



[printed title: see reproduction from copy in C¹⁰, described below]

Collation: 8^o, A⁴B-2⁴K⁴, 72 leaves paginated i-viii, 1-136. #4 signed in Roman = 01. It is possible that signatures A and K were printed together as an octavo sheet; the watermarks are not clear.

R.E.: B1^v-K4^v: IS POLITIQUE // REPONSE. Variations: B1^v: IS POLITIQUE REPONSE. ; B2 : [nono.]

Contents: A1^v: title; A1^v: blank; A2^r: AV ROY. ; B1^r: APOLOGIE POUR / LE GENERAL [sic] DE LA RE- / FORMATION CONTRE LES / calomnies du Pape & de la Ligue. / TRAICTE I. ; B2^r: APOLOGIE POUR LE / GENERAL DE LA REFORMA- / tion. contre les calomnies du Pape & de la Ligue. / TRAICTE II. [text to top of I5^v]; I5^v: title, within text: POURQUOY CONTRE- / rant vn disceuvre par le change- / ment des affaires par le sort de / Monsieur de Guise. ; K4^v: Summa.

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix F (Richard Field); Ornament: 7.

Initials: 21,30,41,53.

Type: Roman (82 $\frac{1}{2}$), with dedication in Italic (82 $\frac{1}{2}$); 70 (81 including marginal glosses) x 128 (137) mm (D3^r); 31 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by Richard Field in 1589. Not in STC. This is the original French from which STC 11372 was translated and printed. Entered to Field 24 December 1588 as 'a booke in French' for vj^d; the next entry is for 'the same booke beinge translated into Englishe.' [no sum stated] (Arber II 511).

Genre: 6¹⁰(2.8.32)

No. 27.

GENTILE, Scipione

Annotationi sopra La Gierusalemme Liberata di Torquato Tasso.

printed by John Wolfe in 1586.



[printed title: see reproduction from copy in L. (1063.f.24),
described below]

Collation: 8^o in fours, []⁴B-Bb⁴(± B1)⁴Bb⁴Co-Ll⁴, 140 leaves paginated i-viii, 1-59, 59-61, 66, 63, 65-73, 78-95, 99, 97-204, 295, 206-274, 275-276. All numerals are on the outside of the headline except for: 40, 202, 210, 218, 226, which are on the inside. B1 signed + B-62, B-63.

R.T.: B1^v-L13^v: ANNOTATIONI // NEL CANTO I. [- XX.]

Variants: C1^r, M2^r, O1^v, Q1^v, R3^r, T3^r: [none]

Contents: []1: blank; []2^r: title; []2^v: blank; []3^r: ALL'ILLVSTRISSIMO / SIGNORE, IL SIGNOR / GVOLINLEO DEL' / AVVESPINE. / Barone di Châteauneuf, [signed: D.V.S. Illust.^{ma} / Scrittore. affet.^{no} / Scipio Gentili.]; []4^v: blank; B1^r (cancelland^{um}) : ANNOTATIONI / Di Scipio Gentili / Nella / Gerusalemme / Di Torquato Tasso. [B1^r (cancelland^s) : ANNOTATIONI / Di Scipio Gentili / SOPRA / LA GERUSALEMME / LIBERATA / di T. Tasso.]; L14^r: Al Lettore. [see reproduction of this page below] ; L14^v: Errori emendati.

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix D (John Wolfe):

Ornament: 2 (on title-page only). Initials: none.

Types: Roman (93), with Italic (93) in dedication only; 73 x 136 (147) mm (B1^r); no set number of lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by John Wolfe early in 1586. Not in STC. Wolfe sent copies of this book to the Frankfurt Book Fairs in 1586 (see Appendix B, p. 522), just as he had previously sent copies of other books in Latin by the same author to other Frankfurt Book Fairs.

Note that Wolfe duplicated signature Bb by mistake. The first signature Bb begins, on Bb1^r: & Homerus (p. 189). The second signature Bb, which I have designated ^xBb, begins on ^xBb1^r: μέτρον (p. 197). Both of these signatures must be present if the text is to be complete.

Also note that leaf B1 should be replaced by a cancel. The first word of the third line from the top on the recto of the original leaf B1 is: Hella ; the first word of the third line from the top on the cancel is: SOPRA (both have the same catch-words, ' & ' on the recto and ' & ' on the verso). The original B1 had a great many printer's errors, almost all of which have been corrected in the cancel leaf.

Copies: L. (1063.f.24), (239.b.5); O⁶.; O⁹.; O¹² (Q.5.27) [this copy has both the original and the cancel leaf B1; however, it lacks signature Bb] ; C. (Y.11.11) [lacks signature Bb] , (Dd^a.5.6²v) [lacks signature ^xBb].

Al Lettore.

S Appi, amico Lettore, che essendo queste Annotationi in fretta composte da me, e stampate: con tutta la diligentia usataui nō s'è potuto schifare degli errori. Alche ci è accresciuta la ignorantia de' Compositori di tutta tre le lingue, delle quali sono composte, e massime della Greca, e degli accenti d' essa: ne' quali pero pochissime volte è stato errato, come dagl' intendenti si potrà conoscere, alla discreta cura de' quali ne rimetto l'emenda. Del resto poi eccotine il paragone. Ma prima debbo dalla cortesia tua impetrare, che non sii troppo severo Censore, se certi punti della Grammatica volgare non ho alleuolte offeruati: i quali confesso di non sapere. come ne anche se alcuno error di memoria vi trouerai. quale dubito hora non sia quello, oue dico, che il Poeta inuochi Febo. Sapendo che questo a i grandissimi huomini nelle lettere non vna volta accadde. E s'ij sano.

The reproduction is of L14^F of No. 27.

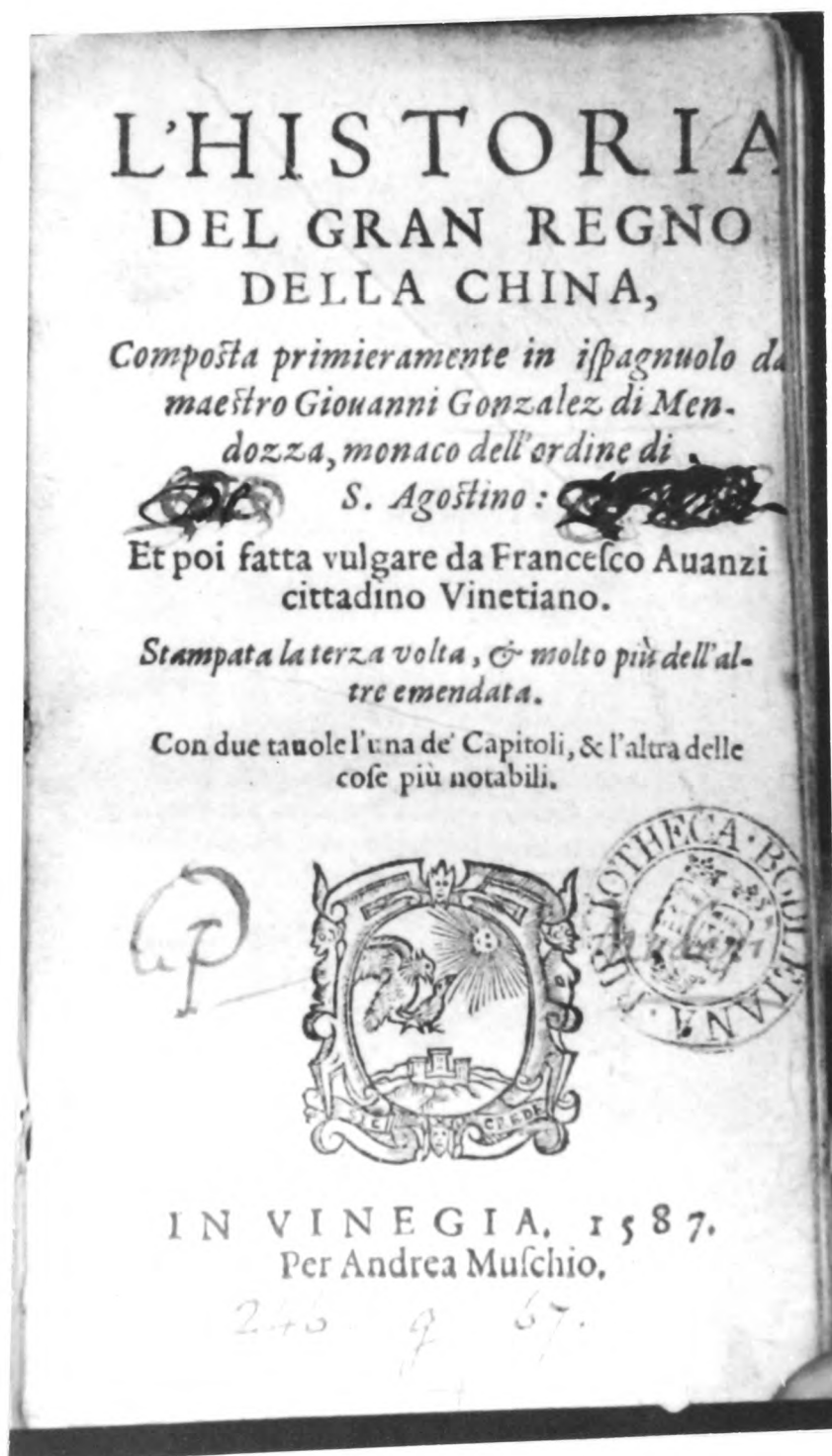
It is an interesting example, from a previously unrecognised book, of the sort of printer's postscript which Wolfe often included in his books in foreign vernaculars with fictitious imprints.

No. 28.

GONZALEZ di Mendoza, Juan

L'Historia del gran regno della China.

printed by John Wolfe in 1587.



[printed title see reproduction from copy in O., described below]

Collation: 12^o, A-aa¹² Bb⁶, 294 leaves paginated 1-2, 3-191, 192, 193-266, 296, 270-428, 329, 430-506, 407, 508, 509-703. Page 116 is numbered on inside of headline instead of on outside. #6 signed A6, C6, Y3, Bb6, A4 misigned Y 4; Bb5 misigned B5; signature C4 often broken.

R.F.: All^v-01^r: LIBRO // PRIMO. ; C1^v: SECONDO; C2^v-D6^v: LIBRO // SECONDO. ; D7^v-H12^r: LIBRO // TERZO. Variant: H10^v: TERZO. ; I1^v-I11^v: PARTE // SECONDA. Variant: I4^r: SECONDA. ; O4^v: [nono] ; H12^v-I2^v: PARTE // TERZA. ; Y4^v-Y10^v: Tavola de Capitoli. ; Y11^v-B6^r: TAVOLA.

[with device: McKerrow 277]

Contents: Al^r: title; Al^v: blank; A2^r: AL DEATISIMO / PADRE, ET SIG. / NOSTRO, / Page sesto Quinto.; A4^r: FRANCESCO / AVANZO, / AL LETTORE.; A6^v: ALL'ILLUSTRISIMO / NO SIGNOR FRA- / DEANCO DE VEGA / ET PONSECA, ; [dated 'Da Roma, s 17. di Giugno. 1535.']; A8^v: IL P. MENDOZA, / AL LETTORE.; A10 : IL P. MENDOZA, / AL LETTORE.; All^r: DELL' HISTORIA / DEL GRAN RE- / CHO DELLA / CHINA, / LIBRO PRIMO.; C2^r: DELL' HISTORIA / DEL RECHO / DELLA CHINA, / LIBRO SECONDO.; D7^r: DELL' HISTORIA / DEL GRAN RE- / CHO DELLA / CHINA, / LIBRO TERZO.; F10^r: three woodcut Chinese characters inserted in text as examples of the written language [see note below]; H12^v: blank; I1^r: DELL' HISTORIA / DEL GRAN RE- / CHO DELLA / CHINA, / PARTE SECONDA.; O4^v: VIAGGIO FATTO / ALLA CHINA ; H12^r: LA TERZA, ET / VLTIMA PARTE, / DELL' HISTORIA DEL / GRAN SECHO DELLA / China, ; Y5^r: Lo stampatore all'antico- / uolo lettere.; [the printer claims that in this third edition of the text he has not only made sure that it has exactly the same text as the first edition, but has also corrected the mistakes arising from the translation. The last sentence reads: 'Da Vinetia il secondo / d'Aprile 1507.'];

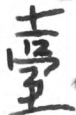
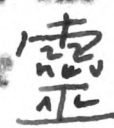
Y3^v: blank; Y4^v: TAVOLA / DE SUMMARII / RE CAPITOLI / DELLA HISTORIA
/ DELLA CHINA; Y11^v: TAVOLA / DELLE COSE PIU / NOTABILI; 306^v:
list of printer's errors and register.

Ornaments and Initials see Appendix D (John Wolfe): Ornaments:
11,12,13,14,15,16. Initials: 14,25,31,42,46,58.

Type: Italic (66), some prefatory matter in Roman (66); 53 (69
including marginal glosses) x 112 (119) mm (93^v); 34 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by John Wolfe in 1587. STC 12004.

Entered to Wolfe 13 September 1587 (Arber II 475). Wolfe also
printed the edition in English, STC 12003, translated from the
original Spanish by R. Parke.

There are three Chinese characters on F10^r, supposedly as
examples of the written language. They were written and cut by
someone who had not the slightest idea of Chinese writing or of what
parts of a character are significant. The first one,
T'AI, is impossible. The  t'ai (cf. T'aiwan, meaning
'platform' or 'stage') can be written , and the above example
is probably a distorted version of this. The second,
could be a poor copy of a vulgar form of  ling,
'marvellous' or 'supernatural'. The last one is probably a bad copy
of , ch'eng, meaning 'city' or 'wall'. (My thanks
are due to Professor Lightower, of Harvard University,
for the above information on these Chinese characters).

T E R Z
gura,  e'l Re detto
con questa  co
ra, il mare, e gli
menti con altri caratteri,
la in tutti differenti d.

O. 139
Bontai,  Caratteri, &
of la ter- modo di scri-
e altri ele- vere dei
che son piu di sei mi- Chini
e gli formano mol-

cosa, benché essa sia nom-
nte nelle lingue, come si può
in questo,  che suo
osciuto  uniuers-
percarat tere figi
altri la chiamano Leomb

The first edition of this work is in Spanish: Histeria de las Cosas Mas Notables ... with the imprint: 'En Roma, a costa de Bartholomeo Grassi. 1585. en la Stampa de Vincentio Accolti.' (Copy: Bodleian Library: 8° M.2.Art.Seld). The first edition in Italian is in 4°: 'In Roma. Appresso Bartholomeo Grassi: M.D.LXXXVI.' This was still actually printed by Accolti, a Roman trade printer who rarely put his name to any of his books. Four more editions in 4° were produced that year in Rome, and another by Bartoli in Genova. The first and only edition in 8° of that year was done by Muschio in Venice, with the imprint: 'In Venetia, MDLXXXVI. Appresso Andrea Muschio' (see Appendix B). Here, the preliminaries are the same as in the Rome edition except that the Papal license to Gonzales is omitted, and Muschio has added seven leaves of index of chapters.

Wolfe's edition is a close reprint of Muschio's edition of 1586. Wolfe even went to the trouble of having a block cut of Muschio's device: this block was used on the titlepage of Wolfe's 1587 edition, and as McKerrow 277 had a considerable life in London. Both on the title and in the Address (dated 2 April 1587) Wolfe states that this is the third edition; if this is so, then no copies of the second edition have survived. See Henry R. Wagner: The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794. Berkeley, 1924, pp. 57 - 73. Muschio reprinted this book in 1588 and 1590: see Appendix B.

Copies: L.(583.b.4); O. (246.g.67); O⁹; W; NYF.

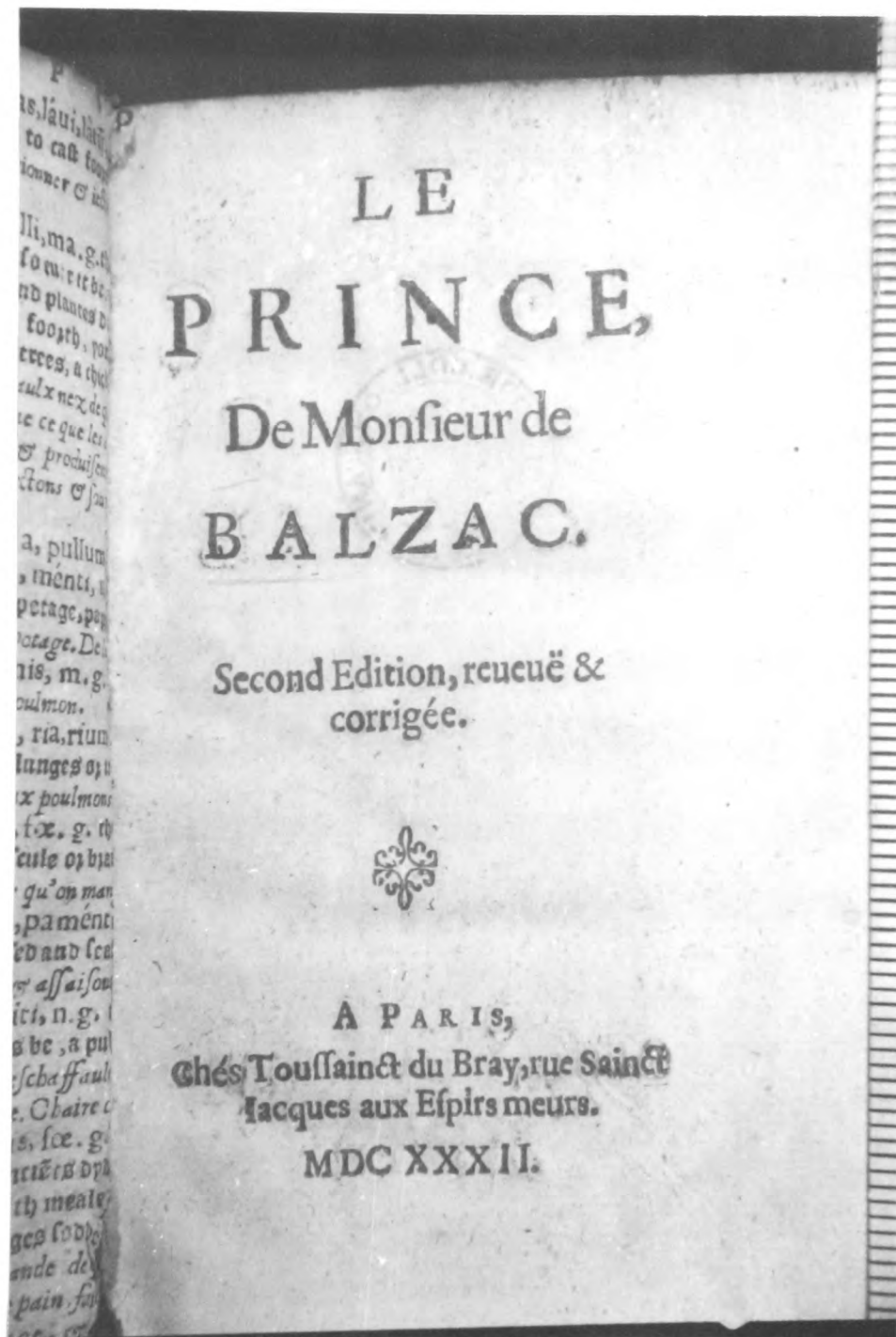
Leiden (295.G.25); Utrecht (S.ect.900(Rariora)); Bib. Nat. Cent. Florence (X,3,3,53); Bib. Marucelliana, Florence (7.H.IV.67).

No. 29.

GURE, Jean-Louis, Sieur de Balzac

Le Prince.

printed by Thomas Harper in 1632.



[printed title: see reproduction from copy in O., described below]

Collation: 8^o, a-b⁸ c⁴ A-Cg⁸, 260 leaves paginated 1-21, 1, 2-79, 46,
81-168, 109, 170-192, 139, 194-221, 224, 223-239, 249, 241-297, 398, 299-
361, 363, 362-421, 422, 423-456, 457-480. 84 signed - c3, c4, A1, F24.

R.T.: a2^v-b4^r: AVERTISSEMENT. ; A1^v-Bb8^v: LE PRINCE.; Col^v-Dd3^r:
LETTRE I. ; Dd4^v-Ff4^v: LETTRE II. ; Ff5^v-Gg7^r: Table des
principales Matieres.

Contents: a1^r: title; a1^v: blank; a2^r: AVERTISSEMENT. ; b4^v:
blank; b5^r: IOANNIS MIRANDI / DE / ELOQUENTISSIMO /
PRINCIPLE. / SILVA. ; c2^r: IN / EVIDEM / PRINCIPUM /
FORMA. ; c4^v: Approbation des Docteurs. [and, lower on same page:
Extrait du Privilege du Roy.] ; A1^r: LE / PRINCE. ; Col^r: A /
MONSIEUR / LE CARDINAL / DE RICHELIEU. / [rule] / LETTRE
I. [dated: 'Du 4 Aoust 1630.']; Dd3^v: blank; Dd4^r: AV MESME. /
LETTRE II. [dated: 'Du 3. Mars 1631.']; Ff5^r: TABLE / des
principales Ma- / tieres. ; Gg7^r: untitled list of errata on
lower half of page; Gg7^v-Gg8^v: blank.

Ornaments and Initials:

Ornament.



1.
10 x 58

Initials:



1.
23½ x 23
BTC 15269



2.

23 X 23

& STC 22847



3.

23 X 24

& STC 5781

Type: Roman (94), with preface and some text in Italic (94);
 54 (68 including marginal glosses) X 112 (124) mm (B3^F); 24
 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by Thomas Harper in 1632. Not in STC.

Other works by this author: STC 12452-5.

The running titles of this book present interesting evidence as to the way in which it was printed. The running titles for signature A were left standing and used again in signature C, while those for signature B were only used once. They were all reset for signatures D and E, and they then alternate throughout the rest of the book. Thus, signatures E, C, I, etc. are the same and are easily distinguished by the recurrence of two very worn 'C's on 1 & 2; and signatures D, F, H, etc. are the same and are easily distinguished by the recurrence of two broken 'N's on 3 and 4.

Le Prince passed rapidly through several editions in France:

- 1) 4^o, Paris, T. Du Bray, P.-R. Rocolet et C. Sonnius, 1631;
- 2) 4^o, Paris, T. Du Bray et P. Rocolet, 1632;
- 3) 8^o, Paris, P. Rocolet, 1634;
- 4) 8^o, Paris, J. Bouillierot, 1642.

The English edition by Thomas Harper was almost certainly taken from the second Paris edition of 1632, a copy of which is in the Bib. Nat. Paris (R.6022).

Contemporary evidence of the interest shown in it can be gathered from the records of the Court of High Commission on the occasion when Whittacres (Whitaker) the Bookseller was called before it. See: Reports of Cases of Star Chamber and High Commission. Edited by S. R. Gardiner. Printed for the Camden Society, 1886 (N.S. XXXIX), pp. 305-6 and 321-2.

(Whittacres the Bookseller for Le Prince).

"Whitacres having answered about importing and selling a frenche booke called Le Prince, wherein is some scandall conteyned against Queene Elizabeth, the KING'S ADVOCATE insisteth upon his answers haveing therin confessed it, and prayed the cause might goe to report, and it was soe ordered. [pp. 305-6]."

[21 (?) June 1632].

"That he [Whitacres] brought over a booke called Le Prince, and this was at 20^s price, at which I wondered (saith the BISHOP OF LONDON) seeing that by bulke it should be but 3^s or 3^s 4^d, and now it is falsely printed heere in England.

"CANTEBURY" This Basset [Balzac] the Author is a deepe flatterer, a most malitious, hungry fellow. "WHITTACRES." I beseech your Lordships pardon, I knew not what was conteyned in the booke. [Is what follows the Archbishop's?] It is an impudent thinge that such things shall be suffered in bookes. Kingdomes cannot long stand in peace if they should." CANTEBURY. "In France they have such histories, that when the Duke of Birone was heere, and Count _____, Queen Elisabeth should have the Earl of Essex head by her, and shewed it unto him, and this goeth as a chiefe story amongst them. Balsett is an idle fellow and dishonest man." Sentence That all the bookes be drawen in and fired and burnt publicuely with those that remaine in Paule's Churchyard, and that this man to be fyned 100 marks to the King and to pay cost of suit." (pp.321-2)"

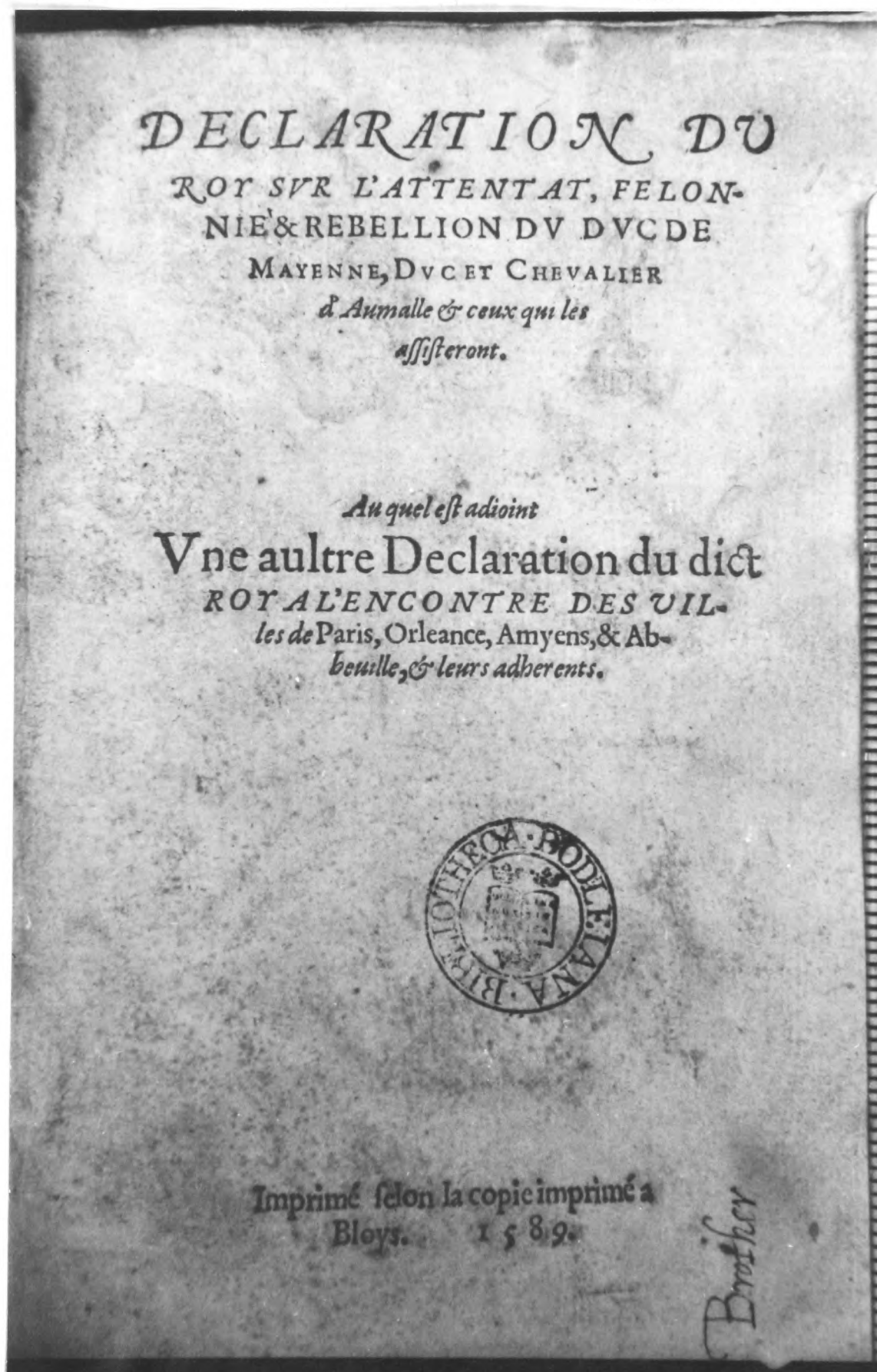
Copies: 0⁹. (k.12.25) [incomplete: lacks signature c]; HD. (Gov.611.90.2*)
[with date altered to MDCXXXIII].

No. 30.

HENRY III, King of France

Déclaration du Roy sur l'attentat ... du Duc de Mayenne.

printed by Robert Ward for Thomas Cadman in 1589.



[printed title: see reproduction from copy in C., described below]

Collation: 4^o, A-B⁴C², 10 leaves paginated 1, 2, 3-13, 14, 15-19, 20.

\$4 signed

R.T.: none; pagination in center of headline.

Contents: A1^r: title; A1^v: blank; A2^r:  DECLARATION DV ROY SVR /
l'Attentat, Felonie & Rebellion du Duc de / Mayenne, Duc &
Cheualier d'Aumalle & / ceux qui les assisteront. ; B3^v: blank;
B4^r:  DECLARATION DV ROY SVR / l'Attentat, Felonie & Rebellion
des villes de / Paris, Orleans, Amyens, & Abbeville, & autres /
leurs adherants. ; C2^v: blank.

Ornament and Initial:



1.

34 x 76

& STC 13097, 21482

 DECLARATION DU ROY SVR
l'Attentat, Felonie & Rebellion des villes de
Paris, Orleans, Amyens, & Abbeville, & autres
leurs adherants.



ENRI par la grace de Dieu
Roy de France & de Pologne
tous presens & aduenir, Salut, Dieu
qui de rien a cree l'homme a
semblance parfa d'vne bonte
toutes choses pour luy
mesme Dieu a constitue
avec toute auctorite &
puissance sur les roys
leur a donnez pour regir & gouverner Par

1.

34 x 33

& STC 13097 2013

Type: Roman (81); 83 X 142 (150) mm (A3^x); 35 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by Robert Ward for Thomas Cadman in 1589. Not in STC. Entered to Cadman 28 February 1589, old style (Arber II 516: see chapter III note 8 for transcript of entry). The English translation, STC 13097, has a device (McKerrow 238) on its title which belonged to Robert Ward at that time. Both the English and the French editions have the same cast ornament and capital 'H'; and the style of printing is so similar that they must have come from the same shop. The last leaf of the English edition in the Bodleian Library (4^o L.90.Art) bears the offset of the title of a copy of STC 10653, which was printed by Richard Field. Field owned a copy of the ornament reproduced above; but although one of his capital 'H's closely resembles the one reproduced above, it will be found upon close examination that there is a clear difference.

The edition in French was reprinted from the original French edition published at Tours on the 26th and 27th of April 1589 (see chapter III note 9); this original edition is in 4^o and has for imprint: 'A BLOIS. / M. D. LXXXIX.' below a woodcut of a coat of arms (Copy: Bib. Pub. de la Ville de Lyons: 314658). Another 8^o edition in French was printed by Hierosome Haultin at La Rochelle (see Appendix B).

Copies: O. [G. Pamph. 1837(3)]; L²; L³; L¹³; FOLG.

Paris BN [P.23610(486)]; Kon. Bib. den Haag (Pfl. 866).

No. 31.

LA NOUE, François de

Déclaration de Monsieur de la Noue

printed by John Wolfe in 1588.

DECLARATION

de Monsieur de la Noue, sur sa
prise des armes, pour la iuste de-
fence des Villes de Sedan & Ia-
metz, frontieres du Royaume
de France, & foubz la
protection de sa
Majesté.

A VERDVN.

Par Mathurin Marchant.

1588. 1589

21

[printed title: see reproduction from copy in L. (8090.a.23[1]),
described below]

Collation: 8^o in fours, A-C⁴, 12 leaves paginated 1-2, 3-21, 22-24

[last leaf missing, presumed to be blank]. 83 signed -C3.

1.2.: none; Arabic pagination in centre of headline.

Contents: A1^r: title; A1^v: blank; A2^r: DECLARATION DE MON- / seigneur
de la Houe, sur la prise des armes, pour / la juste defence des villes
de Sedan & la- / seins, frontieres du Royaume de France, & / pour la
protection de la Haieite.; C3^v: CONVINT. C4: leaf missing, presumed blank.

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix D (John Wolfe); Initial: 36.

Types: Roman (72 cm), 58 x 115 (122) mm (A3^r); 32 lines per page.

There is a Black Letter full stop on A3^r, at the end of the first paragraph.

Notes: Printed in London by John Wolfe in late 1588, old style.

Not in STC. Entered to Wolfe 12 December 1588 (Arber II 511).

The English translation was printed the following year: STC 15213.

In the early 1570s there was a Martin Marchant who had printing shops at Verdun and Pont-à-Mousson. He became Printer to the University of Pont-à-Mousson; and it is thought that he was so attracted by the advantages of his University office that he abandoned his Verdun establishment, from which he had issued books between 1573 and 1586. He printed at Pont-à-Mousson from 1584 to 1587, when he was succeeded by Etienne Marchant (presumably his son) who used the same types. See: Jean Nicholas Beaupré: Recherches historiques et bibliographiques sur ... l'imprimerie en Lorraine, Saint-Nicholas-le-Port, 1885, pp. 201-9, 507-9. There is no mention of any other son, and the name of Mathurin Marchant is only found in this one imprint. There are at least four other close reprints of this pamphlet: see Appendix B.
Genet in (8052.a.23(1)), (116.a.57); Paris BN (Lb³⁴.449.D).

No. 32.

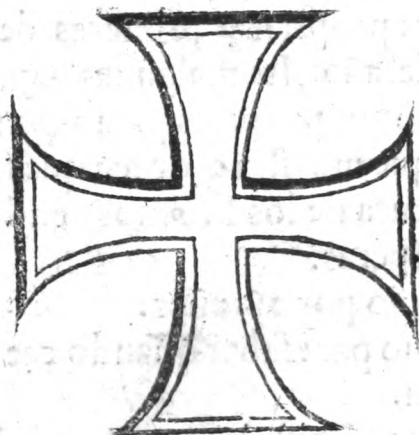
LITURGIA Inglesa.

printed by Robert Barker in 1623.

Liturgia Inglesa.

O

Libro del Rezado publico, de la admi-
nistracion de los Sacramentos, y otros Ritos
y ceremonias de la Yglesia de
Inglaterra.



✠ *Augustæ Trinobantium.*

CIO. ICI. IXIIV.

St Johns Coll. T.9.25.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CAMBRIDGE.

[printed title: see reproduction from copy in C⁵, described below]

Collation: 4^o, A^h b-d^h E-F^h A-Z^h Aa-Qq^h A-Y^h, 268 leaves unpaginated. \$3 signed -d3 & F3 (the first F); E1 (the first) missigned e, and Ff3 missigned F3.

R.T.: according to contents.

Contents: A1^r: title; A1^v: table of contents; A2^r: ESTATVTO / DE LA UNIFORMIDAD / DEL REZADOPVBLICO, / CIVITO DIVINO, Y ADMIL- / NISTRACION DE LOS / SACRAMENTOS.; b3^r: El Rey. / Promulgacion; e2^v: PROLOGO.; c4^r: DE LAS CEREMONIAS / y porque algunas de ellas han sido / abrogadas, y las otras no.; d1^v:  Tabla y Calendario, que declara el / orden de los P/almos y Leciones [Note that the dates in the Reportorio por 28. años. or el^r (=E1^r) start with 1615.]; F4^v: blank; A1^r: Orden cerca del lugar , donde se diran / ordinariamente los Maytines / y las Visperas. [followed by text of book]; Qq4^v: blank; A1^r: El Primer dia del Mes. / [ornament] / Los P/almos de / David. [followed by texts of psalms]; Y4: blank.

Ornaments and Initials: For ornaments and initials see Appendix G.

Type: Roman, 94 mm (also Roman 67 on e4^r, Roman 86 on c3^r, Roman 114 on el^r), 96 (113) x 161 (173) mm (A3^r) (of the first alphabet of signatures); 34 lines per page (47 lines on c4^v (same type as e4^r), 39 lines of c3^r, 26 lines on el^r).

Note: Printed in London by Robert Barker in 1623. STC 16434. The translation was the work of Fernando de Texeda, a Protestant refugee who was commissioned to do it by John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal (see chapter VI, esp. note 6). A copy of a letter from Bishop Williams to the Duke of Buckingham is reprinted in the Cabala (London, 1631: Wing C 186); see chapter VI for a reproduction of an extract from this letter transcribed into the copy of this book in the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge.

Bishop Williams paid for the printing of this edition, which contains 119 different initials (see Appendix C) and was obviously executed with considerable care. Since it was printed to the private order of Bishop Williams, it is not surprising that Barker's normal imprint was omitted; but the use of Augustoe Trinebantun and of a date which had been turned into a riddle suggests that Williams specified this (or at least a) misleading imprint so as to avoid any possibility of giving offence to the Spanish (at the time of the Spanish marriage negotiations). It has been suggested that the solution to this riddle lies in the unorthodox addition of its parts, viz: CLD-1000;- IJ-500;- I after J (meaning that C is repeated)- 100;- IX-9;- I after X (meaning that X is repeated, as above)-10;- IV-4. The whole, added together in this way, equals 1623.

Copies of this book were for sale at the Frankfurt Book Fairs of 1623 [Catalogue 1623: 95^F: L.(120.e.5)], 1624 [Catalogue 1624: D1^F: O. (4^O P.70. Art 6)], 1625 [Catalogue 1625: 64^V: O. (4^O P.70. Art 10)], and 1626 [Catalogue 1626: D1^F: O. (Ashm. 1057 10)].

Copies: L. (469.a.16), (222.f.25), (419.a.16); L³; O. (C.P.Span.1623.e.1);
 O²; O⁵; O⁷; C. (Rel.o.61.2), (G.4.64) lacks title; C⁵ (T.9.25); C²; O⁴;
 C⁶; C¹⁵; HD; Y; BPL; Case; Crawford; FOLG; Gen. Theol., NY; MEL; J.R. Page
 (c/o Huntington); BO; NY⁵; STON; Hesp; A; Woodfield; HN (62278)

Bib. Sac. Madrid (R.907) contains MS signature: *Sus Michaelis*
 Honeywood, and the [later] Usos stamp: "LIBRERIA DE D. LUIS DE USOS 1873"

*Librum hunc jussu & auspicijs Johannis
 Williams (Magni sigilli Anglice tunc
 Custodis, Episcopi q. Lincolnienfis, Collegij q.
 D. Johannis Evang. apud Cantab: non ita
 pridem Socij, ejusdemq. Collegij Bibliotheca
 fundatoris munificentissimi) olim editum,
 in Bibliotheca Johannonfi
 reponi voluit
 W. Wotton, Coll: Johan:
 quondam Socius.*

St John's Coll. T.9.25.

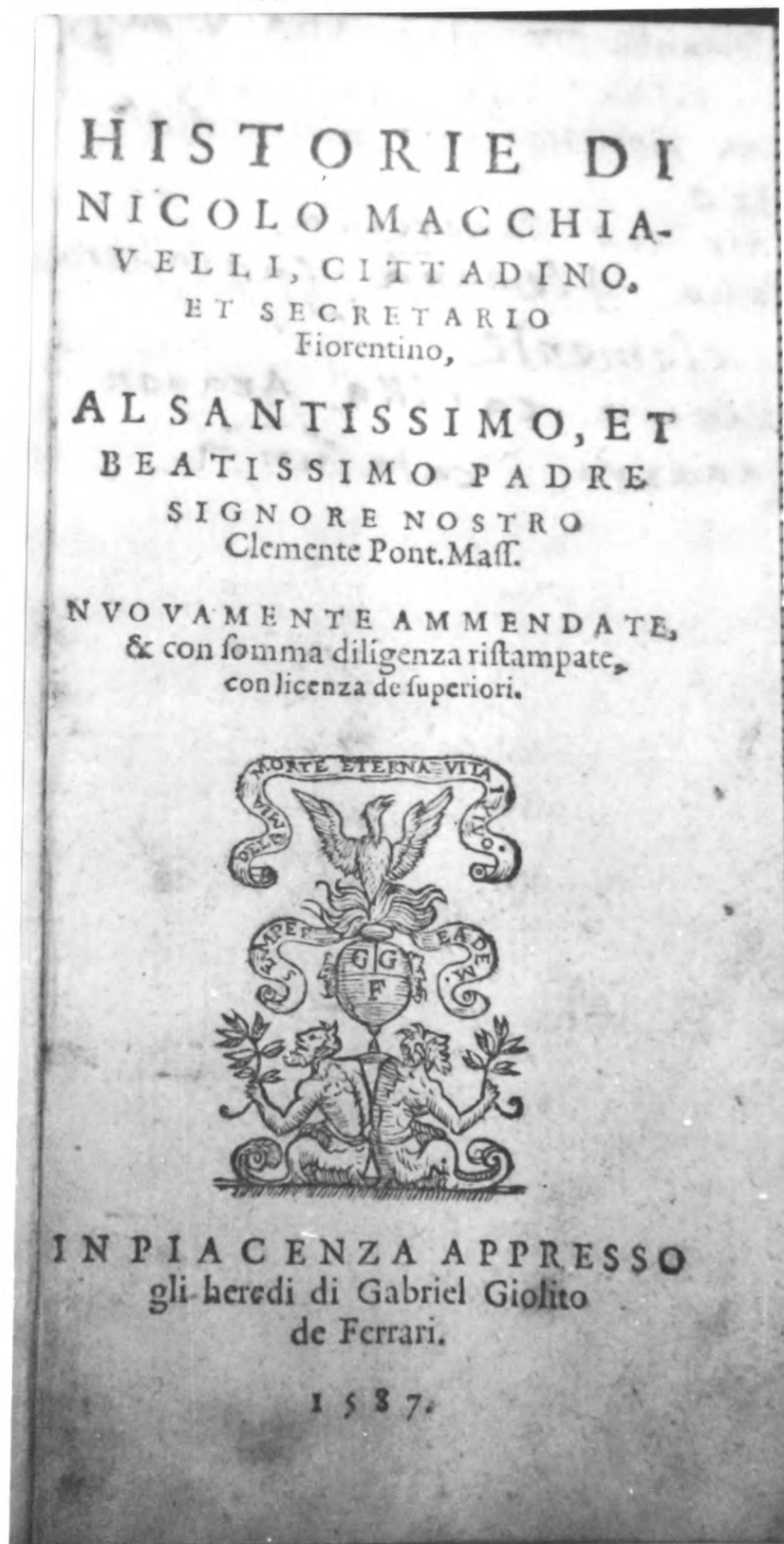
10
 1 2 3 4 5 6
 UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CAMBRIDGE.

No. 33.

MACHIAVELLI, Niccolo

Historie Fiorentine

printed by John Wolfe in 1587.



[printed title see reproduction from copy in C., described below]

Colophon: IN PIACENZA APPRESSO / GLI HEREDI DI GABRIEL / GIOLITO DE
FERRARI. / MDLXXXVII.

Collations: 12^o, A-aa¹² Bb², 290 leaves paginated 1-211, 1, 2-559, 560-569.
86 signed - C4, F4.

R.T.: A7^v-D2^v: DELLE HISTORIE // LIBRO PRIMO. Variante: B10^r: DELLE
HISTORIE.; D3^r-G6^r: DELLE HISTORIE // LIBRO SECONDO. Variante: D6^r: LIBRO
SECONDO; B12^v, F4^v, G7^v: DELLE HISTORIE.; G9^r-K3^v: DELLE HISTORIE // LIBRO
TERZO. Variante: H11^r, 12^r: LIBRO TERZO; H11^v, H12^v, 13^v: DELLE HISTORIE.;
K6^v-M12^r: DELLE HISTORIE // LIBRO QUARTO. Variante: K7^v, L10^v, M2^v: DELLE
HISTORIE.; K8^r: LIBRO QUARTO.; L12^r, M4^r: LIBRO QUARTO; M1^r-P12^r: DELLE
HISTORIE // LIBRO QUINTO. Variante: N7^r, O11^r, P4^r: LIBRO QUINTO.; N7^v, O11^v:
DELLE HISTORIE.; P3^r: LIBRO QUINTO; Q1^r-S12^r: DELLE HISTORIE // LIBRO
SESTO. Variante: Q5^r, S2^r: LIBRO SESTO; Q3^v, R10^v: DELLE HISTORIE.; T1^r-X9^r:
DELLE HISTORIE // LIBRO SETTIMO. Variant: T8^v, V12^v, X7^v: DELLE HISTORIE.;
X5^r: LIBRO SETTIMO; X10^r-aa10^r: DELLE HISTORIE // LIBRO OTTAVO. Variante:
Y7^v: DELLE HISTORIE.; B1^r, aa9^r: LIBRO OTTAVO; aa11^r-bb2^v: TAVOLA.

[with device: McKerrow 252]

Contents: Al^r: title; Al^v: blank; A2^r: AL SANTISSIMO, / ET BEATISSIMO
PA- / DRE SIGNOR NOSTRO / Clemente VII.; A4^r: PROEMIO DEL- / L'AVVTORE.;
A6^v: Gli herodi del Giolito al be- / nigno lettore. [the last sentence is:
Di Pia- / cenza a 2. di Giugno. / 1507.]; A7^r: LIBRO PRIMO / DELL'HIS-
TORIE / FIORENTINE DI / Nicolo Macchiavelli, citte- / dino, & secretario
Flo- / rentino.; aa10^v: TAVOLA DELLE / COSE PIU' DEGHE / NELL'OPERA CON- /
TINUTE.; bb2^v: register and colophon.

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix D (John Wolfe); Ornaments:
11,14,15,19. Initials: 15,20,27,32,46,53,54.

Types: Italic (66); 56 X 112 (119) mm (D6^F); 34 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by John Wolfe in 1587. STC 17161. Entered
to Wolfe 18 September 1587 (Arber II 475). Copies of this edition
were sold at the Frankfurt Book Fair of 1588 (see Appendix H).

Copies: L.(1193.d.12); O.(Vet.A.1.f.79); O⁵;C.;HD;Yk;FOLG;J. Hopkins
Lib.; Peabody Lib.; Woodfield

Bib. Naz. Marciana, Venice:(395.d.249); Bib. Nat. Braidese,
Milan(lost (?) before 1879); Bib. Naz. Cent. Florence (C,1,1,13);
Bib. Naz. Cent. Rome (I.23.A.32); Bib. Vaticana (Rossiana 6529);
Univ. Bib. Utrecht (Hist. Gent. Octav. No. 903)

No. 34.

MACHIAVELLI, Niccolo

I Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio.

printed by John Wolfe in 1584, old style.



[printed title: see reproduction from copy in O. (Vet.A.1.f.61),
described below]

Collation: 8^o, *8^oA-Ce⁸, 216 leaves foliated, i-xvi, 1-47, 38, 49-56, 67, 58, 69, 60, 71, 62, 73, 64-80, 81, 82-92, 93, 94-135, 135, 137-170, 71, 172-200. 84 signed - *3, A4, +D5, 85; A1 sometimes misspelled B1.

R.T.: *2^v-*4^r: AL LETTORE. Variants: *3^r: AL LETTORE; *4^r: AL LETTORE; *5^v-A3^r: TAVOLA. // DE CAPITOLI. Variants: *6^v&*7^v: TAVOLA; *8^r: DE CAPITOLI. ; A3^r: DE CAPITOLI; A4^r-A7^v: TAVOLA // DELLE COSE. Variants: A5^r&A6^r: DELLE COSE; A6^v&A7^v: TAVOLA.; B1^v-13^v: LIBRO // PRIMO. Variants: B4^r: LIBRO; C1^r, C4^r, F3^r, F4^r, H1^r, H2^r, K1^r, K2^r: PRIMO; 14^r-84^v: LIBRO // SECONDO. Variants: L7^r, L8^r, N3^r, N4^r, N7^r, N8^r, P3^r, P4^r, P7^r, P8^r, R3^r, B4^r, R7^r, R8^r: SECONDO; S5^v-Ce8^r: LIBRO // TERZO. Variants: T4-8^r, X3-8^r, Dd3-8^r, Ce3-4^r: TERZO; Ce7^v: LIBRO

[with device: McKerrow 226]

Contents: *1^r: title; *1^v: blank; *2^r: LO STAMPATORE / al benigne

lettore. ; [the last sentence is: "Di / Palermo a XXVIII. de Gennaio / MDLXXXIII."]; *4^v: blank; *5^r: LA TAVOLA DEL PRIMO / LIBRO DE DISCORSI, ;

A3^v: COMINCIA LA TAVOLA / DELLE COSE IN TUTTI I LI- / bri de Discorsi contenute.; A8: blank; B1^r: PREFAZIONE. [text starts at foot of B1^v];

Ce7^v: Nicolo Machiaueli a Zanobi Buondelmonti, et / Cosimo Rucellai

salute.; Ce8^r: register [with the * for the first signature added by hand in a brown ink and in the same way in every copy that I have seen: *];

Ce8^v: RICONOSCIMENTO DEGLI / errori scorsi nella stampa.

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix D (John Wolfe); Ornaments: none.

Factotum: 1.

Initials: 13, 35, 51.

Type: *Italic* (79)&(82), with chapter headings and Foreword in Roman (78);
 82 X 128 (138) mm (M4^r) in signatures with 31 lines per page;
 79 X 126 (134) mm (L1^r) in signatures with 32 lines per page;
 signatures A through E have 32 lines per page; every alternate
 signature (G, I, L, etc) only after this has 32 lines per page, while
 signatures F, H, K, M, O etc to the end of the book have 31 lines per page.
 There are many random variants: M^r has 32 lines, M^r has 30 lines, etc.

Notes: Printed in London by John Wolfe in 1584, old style. STC 17159.

Two settings exist of the first signature '**', of which one is known by only a single copy in the Folger collection. This Folger copy has a variant titlepage (note changes in spelling: see reproduction below); but although the text of the entire signature has been completely reset, there are no significant alterations. Leaf A1 is occasionally signed B1 by mistake; this does not appear to have any special significance either.

This book was sold with Il Principe (No 35) as a double volume, as is clear from the fact that they are always bound up together when in their contemporary publisher's vellum casing. No entry is found for this double volume in the Frankfurt Book Fair Catalogues; but it was certainly sold on the continent at the time, judging from the number of copies in continental libraries and from the MS inscription on the flyleaf of Il Principe in the Bib. Ambrosiana in Milan (see chapter II figure 1).

The variations in the Running Titles and in the number of lines per page indicate that a second skeleton came into use after the fifth sheet was printed, which might mean that a second compositor started to work with the first one at this point.

I DISCORSI DI NICO.
LO MACHIAVELLI, SO.
PRA LA PRIMA DECA DI
TITO LIVIO.

*Con due Tanole, l'una de capitoli, & l'altra delle cose prin-
cipali: & con le stesse parole di Tito Livio a luo-
ghi loro ridotte nella volgar
Lingua.*

Nuouamente corretti, & con somma dili-
genza ristampati.



IN PALERMO
Appresso gli heredi d'Antonietto degli Antonietti a xviii.
di Gennaio. 1584.

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Reproduction of the variant titlepage in the Folger copy.

Copies: All copies marked with an asterisk (*) are bound up with No. 35.

L⁹ (587.b.9(1)); O. * (Vet.A.1.f.32(1)); * (Holham f.112), (Vet.A.1.f.61); O⁹; O¹⁷; C. * (Syn.7.58.76²); C² (2 copies); G.; Y.; HD.; PMU; POLC; W; NYPL; ILL; HH; Brudenell; *Woodfield.

Paris BM * (B.2832(1)); Geneva * (A.9081(1)); Bib. Ambrosiana, Milan * (S.C.A.I.79); Bib. Naz. Cent. Florence * (C,10,3,16), * (4.L.5.276); Bay. Staatsbib. Munich * (8^o Pol.g.564), * (8^o A.lat.b.1293), (8^o Pol.g.567/2); Univ. Bib. Amsterdam * (2340.F.32^o); Bib. Naz. Cent. Rome (71.2.B.2.1); Univ. Bib. Utrecht * (Juris.Theo.Octav.No.49) [also bound with No 37 with cancel title].

No. 35.

MACHIAVELLI, Niccolo

Il Principe.

printed by John Wolfe in 1584, old style.



[printed title: see reproduction from copy in O. (Vet.A.1.f.62[2]),
described below]

Colophon: In Palermo nell'anno MDLXXXIII. di / Gennaio alla
 Scrittoria in casa degli / heredi d'Antonietto degli / Antonietti.

Collation: 8^o, A-K⁸, 80 leaves foliated 1, 2-15, 15, 17-45, 49, 47-70, 72-82.

\$ signed - 83.

U.T.: A3^v-87^r: IL PRINCIPES. ; Variants: A5^r, A6^r: IL PRINCIPES ; 87^v,
 88^v: IL PRINCIPES ; C1^v, P2^v: IL PRINCIPES. (second 'i' wrong font in both);
 K5^v: IL PRINCIPES. ; E7^v, E8^v: IL PRINCIPES. ; 88^r-86^r: VITA DI // CASTRUCCIO. ;
 Variants: 86^r: CASTRUCCIO. ; 87^v, 88^v, H1^v, H2^v: VITA DI ; H7^r-12^r: DEL DUCA //
 VALENTINO. Variant: 11^v: DEL DUCA ; 13^r-K2^v: RITRATTI // DI FRANCIA. ;
 K3^v-K6^r: RITRATTI // D'ALAMAGNA ; Variants: K4^v: RITRATTI ; K5^r: AL
 ALAMAGNA ; K5^v: RITRATTI. ; K6^r: D'ALAMAGNA ; K6^v-K7^v: TAVOLA.

[with device: McKerrow 226]

Contents: A1^r: Title / A1^v: Contents; A2^r: NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI / al
 magnifico Lorenzo di Piero de Medici. ; A3^r: IL PRINCIPES DI / NICCOLO
 MACHIAVELLI / SEGRETARIO, ET CIT- / TADINO FIORENTINO. ; 87^v: LA VITA
 DI CASTRUCC- / cio Castreconi da Lucca, composta da Nicolo Ma- / chiauelli
 & mandata a Zanobi Buondelcon- / ti, & a Luigi Alamanni / suoi / amicissimi. ;
 86^v: DESCRIPTIONE DEL / modo tenuto dal Duca Valentino nell'ammassare /
 vitellozzo Vitelli, Oliverotto da Fermo, il signor Paolo, & il Duca
 di Granina Orsini / ni, composta per Nicolo / Machiauelli. ; 12^v: I RITRATTI
 DELLE / cose della Francia composti per Ni- / colo Machiauelli. ;

K3^r: RITRATTI DELLE / cose dell'Alamagna composti per Nicolo / Machiauell.
 K6^v: TAVOLA DEI CAPITO = / li, che / sono nel presente libro del / Principe. ;
 K7^v: Register and Colophon; K8^r: RICONOSCIMENTO / degli errori scorsi
nella stampa. ; K8^v: blank.

Ornaments and Initials: see Appendix D (John Wolfe); Ornaments: none.

Facetum: 2.

Initials: 10, 13, 30, 51, 57.

Type: Italic (78); 79 x 126 (134)mm (cl^r); 30 to 32 lines per page.

Notes: Printed in London by John Wolfe in 1584 (old style). STC 17167.

This book was sold with No 34 as a double volume in England and on the continent (although it is not listed in the Frankfurt Fair Catalogues); see Notes for No 34. A MS inscription in the copy in the Bib. Ambrosiana, Milan, indicates that this copy had certainly reached the continent by 1599, which is the earliest continental provenance yet found (see chapter II, figure 1).

Copies: All copies marked with an asterisk (*) are bound up with No 34.

L. *587.b.9(2) ; O. *Vet.A.1.f.82(2), *(Holk.f.112); O⁹;
 G. *(Syn.7.58.76); C²; C¹⁵; PML; HD; Y; PSF; SBS; NYPL; ILL; N; York
 [Bishop Barnes' copy]; *Woodfield; HN (357525).

Paris BN *B.2932(2) ; Univ. Bib. Amsterdam (2340.P.32²) [also
 bound up with No 37 with cancel title] ; Univ. Bib. Utrecht (Juris. Theo.
 Octavo No 49); Bib. Roy. Bel., Brussels (III.89.712.A); Geneva A.9081(2) ;

Bib. Cant. Lausanne (3.35); Bay. Staatsbib. Munich (8^o Pol. g. 564/1), (8^o A. lat. b. 1293/1); Bib. Ambrosiana, Milan (S. C. A. I. 79); Bib. Nat. Cent. Florence (C. 10, 3, 16), (4, 1, 5, 276) [imperfect: lacks title]; Bib. Vaticana (Rossiana 6610); Bib. Nat. Cent. Rome (71.2.B.22); Hof. bib. Vienna (79.Ee.221).