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School of Humanities

JOHN TAYLOR THE WATER POET, AUTHORSHIP AND PRINT, 1612-1631

(two volumes)

by

CLARE ELAINE WIKELEY

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

November 2009

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I, Clare Elaine Wikeley

declare that the thesis entitled

JOHN TAYLOR THE WATER POET, AUTHORSHIP AND PRINT, 1612-1631

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¹² *Taylors Vrania*, STC 23806, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 27 September 2009.

¹³ *Great Britaine, all in blacke For the incomparable losse of Henry* (E. Alld for John Wright, 1612), STC 23760 <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 20 July 2009.

¹⁴ *Taylors Vrania* (1615/16), STC 23806, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 20 July 2009.

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¹⁹ *The historie of the life and reigne of the most renowned and victorious Princesse Elizabeth* (J. Beale et. al. for Benjamin Fisher, 1630), STC 4500, sig. A1r. <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 23 Sept. 2009.

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²⁵ *The Third volume of Chronicles, beginning at duke William the Norman* (H. Denham for J. Harison et al.), STC 13569, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 28 July 2009.

²⁶ *The Wandring Jews Chronicle* (STC 19279), <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 5 September, 2009.

²⁷ *A Briefe Remembrance* (1622), STC 23738, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 15 September, 2009.

²⁸ Harleian 5952/37 (British Library) STC 23738.5, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 23 September 2009.

²⁹ STC 23738, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 23 September 2009.

³⁰ *All the Workes* (STC 23725), Sigs. Hhh6v - Iii1r, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 23 September 2009.

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³² *All the Workes* (STC 23725), <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 20 September 2009.

³³ William Camden, *Annales the true and royall history of the famous empresse Elizabeth*, trans. Philemon Holland (G. Purslowe, H. Lownes and M. Flesher for Benjamin Fisher , 1625), STC 4497, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 20 September 2009.

³⁴ Ibid., <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 20 September 2009.

³⁵ John Taylor, *The water-cormorant his complaint* (George Eld, 1622), STC 23813, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 5 April 2009.

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³⁷ *All the Workes*, unsigned final gathering, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>> accessed September 20, 2009.

³⁸ *All the Workes*, sig. 2Kkk5r, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 21 September, 2009.

³⁹ *Popish Plots and Treasons*, Wing C33A. David Kunzle, *The early comic strip: narrative strips and picture stories in the European broadsheet from c.1450 to 1825* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973), p.124, Plate 5-13 (BM.Sat.13).

⁴⁰ *Popish Plots and Treasons*, Wing C33A, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>> [accessed 20 Sept 2009].

⁴¹ *A Thankfull Remembrance* , STC 4640, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>> [accessed 20 Sept 2009].

⁴² *Popish Plots and Treasons*, (John Garrett, 1676-1697), Wing: C33A (Bodleian Library) <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>> [accessed 28 August 2009]

⁴³ STC4643.5, Sutherland Large Volume III, p. 101, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University. Photographed by permission of the Curator; not for reproduction.

⁴⁴ Ibid., Ashmolean Museum. Photographed by permission of the Curator; not for reproduction.

⁴⁵ *Popish Plots and Treasons*, c.1679-1690, Wing C33A, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>

⁴⁶ John Frith, *Vox piscis: or, The book-fish* (H.Lownes, J. Beale, A. Matthewes for J. Boler and R. Milbourne, 1627), STC 11395, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed September 12, 2009.

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Abbreviations.

<i>Arber</i>	Edward Arber (ed.), <i>A transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers: 1554-1640 A.D.</i> , 5 vols. (London and Birmingham, 1875-94).
<i>BL</i>	British Library
<i>BMSat.</i>	British Museum Catalogue of Satires
<i>CUL</i>	Cambridge University Library
<i>CUP</i>	Cambridge University Press
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>EEBO</i>	Early English Books Online
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>ELH</i>	<i>English Literary History</i>
<i>ELN</i>	<i>English Language Notes</i>
<i>ELR</i>	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
ent.	entered to (in imprints)
Hind:	Arthur Hind, <i>Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A descriptive catalogue with Introductions</i> , 3 vols., volume 1, pt I. <i>The Tudor Period</i> (1952); volume 2, pt 2: <i>The reign of James I</i> (1955), (Cambridge, CUP, 1952-5)
<i>HLQ</i>	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
<i>MLN</i>	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>N & Q</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>

<i>OUP</i>	Oxford University Press
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Papers of the Modern Languages Association</i>
<i>RES</i>	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studies in English Literature</i>
<i>STC</i>	<i>English Short Title Catalogue</i> (Second Edition)
tbs.	to be sold by (in imprints)
<i>TLS</i>	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>
<i>Wing</i>	Donald Wing, <i>Short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America and of English books printed in other Countries, 1641-1700</i> (New York, MLA of America, 1972-1982)
<i>YES</i>	<i>Year's Work in English Studies</i>

Introduction.

This thesis offers a reassessment of John Taylor's approach to authorship and publication from 1612-1630, with particular reference to the publication of a folio collected *Workes* in 1630. It challenges the traditional view of Taylor's motivation for going into print and the conventional narrative of his authorial career. The accepted view divides Taylor's work into two phases: an early pursuit of celebrity and fame, culminating in the publication of *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet* in 1630, and the later phase as a Royalist pamphleteer during the civil war. However, this narrative presents us with two opposing characterisations of Taylor and his work that cannot be easily reconciled, and leaves the 1630s as an unexplained gap between. It is based on a retrospective application of nineteenth century paradigms of literary authorship and the labouring poet, and thus lacks both internal coherence and an evidential basis. This mythology has been dominated by the assumption that the collected *Workes* represents a negative watershed in Taylor's attitude to authorship, as both the apotheosis and the downfall of his aspirations to the kind of "literary" fame which is still considered the accolade of an authorial career. However, this assumption has severely limited critical response to Taylor's work across the three decades before the civil war, the largest body of individual publications by a named author in the early seventeenth century. A reconsideration of the nature and publishing context of this folio is thus a necessary preliminary to any more nuanced understanding of Taylor's achievement.

As my thesis demonstrates, the driving force of Taylor's engagement with print throughout these decades was his commitment to a religious and political ideology entirely consistent with his later emergence as a civil war pamphleteer. Contrary to received impressions, Taylor early developed strong convictions about the role of the poet as an active and morally responsible participant in society, for which his service to the monarchy and orthodox Protestant faith were fundamental and inseparable foundations. Taking as his model Sylvester's translations of the French Huguenot poet Du Bartas, who combined loyalty to the French Catholic King Henry IV with a Protestant and vernacular poetics, Taylor pursued throughout his published work an

active support for militant Protestantism in Europe with his own championship of an English poetic tradition following from the works of Chaucer and Spenser. However, unlike Du Bartas, Taylor often expresses his convictions through flyting, rough satire, nonsense verse and polemics, bringing him in this respect closer to the Juvenilian model proposed by the young Joseph Hall, later Bishop of Exeter, as well as to the much older tradition represented by the Martin Marprelate tracts.

Taylor's earliest ventures into print ally him with the school of Protestant writing that flourished briefly around Henry, Prince of Wales, toward the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century. However, unlike George Wither and his circle, for whom Henry's death in late 1612 initiated a movement towards oppositional and individualist poetics, Taylor never wavered in his belief in royal service. Although he was initially known as "The Sculler", the portmanteau coinage "Water-Poet", which first appeared in print in a commendatory verse by the unidentified IP in *The Sculler* (1612), indicates how his identity as a writer could not be divided from his trade as a waterman, and more specifically as a Royal Waterman from 1613.¹ It is also a reminder of the longer historical perspective of Taylor's previous experiences of active service in the naval expeditions of the 1590s, which had almost certainly been the grounds for securing the post of Tower Bottle Man in 1605. This minor administrative post brought Taylor into the service of the Tower Lieutenant Sir William Waad, a cultured figure with a European outlook who was also assiduous in his pursuit of supposed Jesuit plotters against England's national security. An understanding of the contemporary ramifications of the term "Water-Poet" is therefore an essential precondition to any reading of Taylor's early texts, for its expression of Taylor's aspirations to poetic status as indivisible from the ideals of service to the English Crown and Protestant nation, embodied in the potent symbolism of Thames and Tower.

To argue for a re-think of the nature of Taylor's commitment to authorship before the civil war does not deny that responses to his publications were disparate and conflicting from the earliest moments. Indeed, tensions between the encouragement of

¹ "To the one and only water-Poet and my Friend, John Taylor", signed IP, in *The Sculler* (E.Allde [for Henry Gosson] tbs. N. Butter, 1612), STC 23791, Sig. A3r. This is the only use of the term "Water Poet" in *The Sculler*: Taylor first uses it in print himself in his sonnet to King James in *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614).

“friends” and the ridicule of detractors are intentionally highlighted in the lengthy prefatory material to both *The Sculler* (1612) and *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614). Furthermore, efforts by contemporary writers like Abraham Holland, Henry Glaphorne and later George Wither to denigrate Taylor’s texts and their readership suggest that his work, or what it represented, constituted a perceived threat to the educated elite in London, at least so far as the circulation and influence of print was concerned. Indeed, by the mid 1620s Taylor’s work had become a point of cultural reference in debates about print and readership, and was still being cited in this respect well into the 1650s. These cases can be understood as part of a wider movement in which print was being socially constructed and stratified, as always happens with technical innovations in a social context. References to Taylor cheapening paper by his “scribbling” offer an implied contrast to the specific example of Ben Jonson, famous for the slow gestation of his work, weighed down by classical learning. Although these accusations might seem remarkably similar to modern advertising ploys, this is not a straightforward parallel with modern commercial culture, since the underlying thrust of these constructions was ideological.

However, the traditional nineteenth century teleology of Taylor’s career as a writer is not easily dislodged. The recent critical obsession with Taylor’s “self-fashioning” as a celebrity figure up to and including the publication of his *Workes* in 1630, portrays him as intent only on establishing his fame through claiming the status of a literary artist, using print as a means to this end. Thus *All the Workes* has been described as encapsulating “the scale of [Taylor’s] desire to be acknowledged as an author”, and its supposed failure is characterised as the final blow to these aspirations, as if this were the whole impetus of Taylor’s engagement with print before the 1640s.² Even Bernard Capp’s attempt to rehabilitate Taylor’s reputation has not ultimately altered the basic outlines of his career or motivation. Although, as Alan Rudrum points out, Capp gives more weight to Taylor’s religious beliefs than previous studies, nonetheless he separates off this discussion in a chapter of its own, well apart from other

² Nigel Wheale, *Writing and Society: Literacy, Print and Politics in Britain, 1590-1660* (London, Routledge, 1999), p.93.

areas of Taylor's life and work, and especially from the early publications.³ Furthermore, by emphasising the "unsophisticated" nature of these beliefs, Capp perpetuates the view that Taylor, and indeed his conjectured audience, became suddenly politicised and concerned about the niceties of doctrinal issues at the beginning of the 1640s. Yet the immediate effectiveness of Taylor's pamphlets and the responses they provoked in 1641-2, makes no sense without a background of previous involvement in polemical publication, and a reputation for particular religious and political beliefs. This is precisely the background that emerges from a reconsideration of the publishing context of Taylor's early work, and a recognition of the satirical and polemical nature of texts that are nonetheless still being read today as "jovial self-puffery", "squibs" and "innocent" nonsense.⁴

My conclusion that the direction of Taylor's work in the early decades of the seventeenth century was consistent with the civil war propaganda does not depend on the retrospective psychological approach of recent criticism. In order to bridge the perceived gap between Taylor's literary aspirations before 1630 and the royalist polemics in the 1640s, critics have recently resorted to reading civil war trauma, especially social and cultural dislocations, back into the texts of the earlier decades. Thus the most recent versions of Taylor's development as an author focus on the term "anxiety", applying it to all areas of his life and work, psychological, social, religious and indeed bibliographic. Motifs and techniques found in the early texts, such as the nonsense verse, are now being glossed as anticipations of the later dislocations of the 1640s, rather than being accepted as the textual strategies of an already established polemicist, which could then be applied more aggressively in the hostilities of the civil war. Instead of anxiety, my reading of Taylor's work throughout these early decades suggests that the term "confidence" would be more appropriate. The fact that such confidence may have been misplaced in retrospect cannot be allowed to distort our perceptions of the tone and energies of these earlier texts. However, whilst it would be fallacious to read the peculiar circumstances of the 1640s back into the earlier decades,

³ Alan Rudrum, Review of *The World of John Taylor the Water Poet 1578-1653*, *Review of English Studies*, vol.49, no. 194 (May 1998) pp. 222-3.

⁴ For the recent use of such terms, see Paul Salzman, *Literary Culture in Jacobean England: reading 1621* (Hounds mills, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 123-9, especially p. 126. See also Chapter 6, below, on Taylor's *Sir Gregory Nonsense*.

we can legitimately recognize the techniques and ideologies of earlier periods developing through to the civil war.⁵

The substantial evidence of Taylor's ideology and satirical strategies in his early output, together with his often symbiotic relationship with the stationers who circulated and supported this work, belie the image of Taylor as a wholly self-made individualist. The publishing context of these early works reveals that they were frequently printed and marketed by stationers who had a history of controversial and polemical publishing. To this extent, my thesis shows that post-revisionist historical theory does have some application to both Taylor and his publishers. For much of Taylor's activity in his first three decades in print, indeed even before his first publication, is relevant to his career as a propagandist in the 1640s. The "Royalists' conviction that they fought God's as well as the King's war" can be seen taking root in an early form from the start of Taylor's career in print, as well as developing in the businesses of some of the key stationers such as Henry Gosson, Nathaniel Butter, Miles Flesher and James Boler, with whom he was associated over this period.⁶ To move towards a fuller understanding of Taylor's pre civil-war texts within their contemporary culture, it is therefore necessary to go beyond the present fixation on their author's psychology and social status, and to pay closer attention to the nature and appeal of these texts as constructed for publication.

My thesis begins with an overview of the historiography and reception of Taylor since the mid seventeenth century, focusing in particular on the nineteenth century, when the images of the Water Poet still current today were developed and crystallised. Chapter Two acts as a counterweight to these traditional paradigms, by investigating the roots of Taylor's authorship in the 1590s. It traces the background of his first publisher, Henry Gosson, and explores the possible identity of his mentor, John Moray. The second part of this chapter shows how *Taylors Motto* (1621) is a systematic refutation of George Wither's model of authorship and its relation to print publication in the period. Taylor's own cooperative relationship with his publishers, which contrasts to Wither's competitive hostility, offers an alternative model to current theories of the rise of

⁵ The application of the term "anxiety" to Taylor's life and work has become so widespread since the mid 1990s that it appears in most of the recent critical discussions of Taylor cited in this thesis. However, see especially the interpretations by Laurie Ellinghausen and James Mardock discussed in Chapter 1, below.

⁶ Robert Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism, 1628-1660* (Cambridge, CUP, 2001), Introduction, p. 1.

copyright and the bibliographic ego. Chapter 3 is an introduction to the main part of my thesis, which is a close study of the presentation and organization of *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630). This chapter considers the cultural significance of a folio “Works” in the early modern period, the place of a collection at the mid-point of Taylor’s career, and the ambivalent impression conveyed by the preliminary apparatus to *All the Workes*. It also queries the conventional view that this volume was a final bid for elite patronage on Taylor’s part, in the light of the actual situation of the dedicatees, and Taylor’s attitudes and situation.

Chapter 4 focuses on the publishing history of *All the Workes*, considering the motivations and economic situations of the stationers directly and indirectly involved in the production of this volume. It concludes that Taylor’s regular stationer before 1630, Henry Gosson, probably ceded his rights to Taylor’s texts temporarily in order to pay off a loan from the Stationers’ Company, while the various misfortunes of other publishers and printers, including a major legal problem over the Bloislore-Symcocke patent, made the years leading up to the issue of *All the Workes* an ideal time for the stationers involved to assemble and print this collection. This chapter also demonstrates, contrary to received assumptions, that the central partnership in this enterprise, James Boler and John Beale, had much to gain from the publication of *All the Workes*. These two senior stationers were able to cherry - pick the most vendible of Taylor’s individual texts in the process, and James Boler had a particular interest in capitalizing on Taylor’s two Kings texts, following his successful publication of William Martyn’s *Lives of the Kings* (1628). However, both publisher and printer also had different ideological interests in Taylor’s work, as shown by their other activities and the way that they developed the individual Taylor texts that they retained after the folio’s publication. Thus, contrary to modern accounts of the motivation and publication of *All the Workes*, this was a mutually beneficial and attractive proposition for all parties.

Chapters 5 to 8 analyse the organization and presentation of the main text of *All the Workes*, which was printed in three parts by three different printing houses. Chapter 5 explores the first of these sections, printed by Elizabeth Alld, focusing especially on the religious texts that form the keynote of the whole collection. It considers the connection of these texts, especially *Taylors Urania*, with the commendatory verses in

the preliminaries, demonstrating the decidedly Calvinist direction of Taylor's collection, and the importance of both Sylvester's *Du Bartas* and the playwright Thomas Dekker for Taylor's approach to authorship. Chapter 6 is the first of two focusing on the substantial central section of *All the Workes*, which was printed by John Beale. It considers the choice and presentation of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* as the flagship text for this central section, in relation to the market appeal and satirical thrust of Taylor's nonsense verse. Chapter 7 explores the positioning of Taylor's two potted histories of the English monarchy and his collected elegies, which form a substantial swathe of illustrated material just over half way through *All the Workes*. The importance of these two "Kings" texts for the contemporary appeal of this collection is in inverse proportion to their present obscurity and reputation as "hack" work. Their presentation with the elegies in this folio are an important element of my interpretation of *All the Workes* as focused principally on the religious direction of Charles I's monarchy both at home and in Europe. The conclusion of Beale's section is specifically designed to highlight the desired continuity of Charles's reign with the previous Defender of the Faith, James I, especially in the visual presentation of father and son as mirror images of one another.

The final stage of this thesis (Chapters 8 and 9) focuses on the last part of *All the Workes*, printed by the partners Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcet. Chapter 8 explores the ways in which the printed order of the texts in this section differs from the list printed in the catalogue. It begins with the presentation of *The Water Cormorant*, introducing the twin themes of satire and water-poetry that link this final section to the design of the engraved frontispiece. This prepares for the juxtaposition of texts relating to the marriage fortunes of James's daughter Elizabeth and of Charles as Prince of Wales. These pieces seem at first to be assembled illogically, with no regard to chronological order: however, by interweaving the Protestant union of Bohemia with the dangerous seductions of a match with Catholic Spain, Taylor seems to be deliberately highlighting the contrasting directions traveled by the royal brother and sister. Nevertheless, the final arrangement, with Taylor's summaries of the Bible and the "Book of Martyrs" leading up to *Gods Manifold Mercies*, emphasises the importance of Charles's escape from Spanish clutches, as a precondition for his future role as the messianic monarch "Charles the Great", with which the collection ends.

This concluding poem to *All the Workes* is the focus of Chapter 9. In contradiction to the belief that this text was composed specifically to round off *All the Workes*, my research has uncovered a previously unidentified edition of *Gods Manifold Mercies* as the verse accompaniment to a unique large engraving of *The Thankfull Remembrance* (1625). This engraving is closely related to Bishop George Carleton's history of papist plots against Elizabeth and James I in his book, *The Thankful Remembrance* (1624-30). Carleton was a widely respected Calvinist Bishop and the leading anti-Armenian prelate of his day; his cousin, Sir Dudley Carleton, had supported Elizabeth of Bohemia in her exile at the Hague, and in 1629 was a principal advisor to Charles I. The identification of the conclusion to *All the Workes* with *The Thankful Remembrance* is therefore immensely important for any discussion of the significance of Taylor's collection as a whole. Furthermore, the existence of these verses from 1625 supports the central argument of my thesis concerning the ideological basis of Taylor's approach to authorship, by showing that he was directly involved in polemical Protestant publishing in the midst of the 1620s, a period that is usually described as his most intensely "literary" phase.

The Afterword considers the situation of *All the Workes* at the start of the 1630s in relation to Taylor's continuing involvement in publication of various kinds. However, Taylor's situation in this decade deserves a much more extended exploration. Furthermore, in view of the light shed upon *All the Workes* from the extant copies that I have been able to examine, I believe that there is still much to be learned about Taylor's collection that would enhance our understanding of his profile in this decade. The evidence that I have so far found supports my view that all of Taylor's work before the civil war could be fruitfully re-explored in the light of the ideological and political history of the period, with particular regard to the stationers involved in their publication, and in the context of the wider networks of writers and communities of which Taylor was a part.

Chapter One: The Reception and Historiography of John Taylor the Water Poet.

This chapter outlines the effects of changing attitudes to authorship and poetry from the mid seventeenth century onwards, on modern perceptions of John Taylor's work.

For the past three centuries John Taylor the Water Poet has held an almost legendary status in the historiography of early modern English literature, as a “unique” and “extraordinary” phenomenon arising from the proliferation of cheap print in the decades before the civil war. The image of an uneducated waterman who rose to fame through the force of his own personality, despite his social disadvantages, has become a reference point for changing paradigms of early modern print culture. Even before his first venture into print in 1612, the novelty value of the Rhyming Sculler had caused a stir amongst the London elite, and over the next forty years Taylor's publications continued to divide opinion and provoke debate. From a modern perspective, the key dates of Taylor's authorial career, following this initial entry into print, have been fixed at the publication of a folio *Workes* in 1630 and the escalation of pamphlet publication from 1641 onwards, which is understood as the enabling factor in Taylor's success as a Royalist pamphleteer.¹ Most narratives end with the Water Poet's last days as an innkeeper in London, his hopes dashed by the interregnum, a situation that could be perceived as a poignant foreshadowing of the destiny of the “labouring poet” in the nineteenth century.

According to Bernard Capp's biography, Taylor's works “soon dropped from sight” after his death in 1653.² While this conclusion is exaggerated, ignoring the persistence of Taylor's appeal both as a Royalist and as a representative of pre-civil war Protestantism, it reflects the commonly held view of the limited reach and influence of Taylor's texts. It is certainly true that by the start of the twentieth century critical admiration for the Water Poet, especially in England itself, had reached an all-time low. The nadir of Taylor's scholarly reputation came in the old *DNB*'s label “literary bargee”,

¹ For the frequent application of the epithet “extraordinary” to *All the Workes*, see, for example, Nigel Wheale, *Writing and Society: Literacy, Print and Politics in Britain, 1590-1660* (London, Routledge, 1999), pp. 87-104, especially p.102.

² Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet, 1578-1653* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 190. For a more nuanced view from Capp, see his earlier article, “John Taylor “The Water Poet”: A Cultural Amphibian in 17th-Century England”, in *History of European Ideas*, 11 (1989), pp.537-544, p.541.

with the accompanying declaration that “his books - many of them coarse and brutal - are contemptible” (1885-1900).³ The publication of Bernard Capp’s biography of Taylor in 1994 was therefore seen as a campaigning move to revive interest in a writer whose works had by then genuinely “dropped from sight”. However, the disbelief of some reviewers that there could be anything of interest in Taylor’s work, apart from historical observation, has proved to be exaggerated.⁴ For the Water Poet’s critical fortunes have since seen something of a revival, partly as a result of Capp’s sympathetic portrayal, and partly as a consequence of wider movements in early modern studies.

Responses to Taylor’s work have always been heavily influenced by changing attitudes to authorship and to early modern culture, providing a barometer for scholarly enthusiasms of the moment. The most recent revival reflects the new respectability of early modern cheap print as a topic for academic study, with a related revaluation of satire, especially early Stuart satire.⁵ In addition, interest in Taylor’s treatment of transport and agriculture/industry has been fostered by the field of material culture. This last development may reflect a modern “Green” agenda but is itself a new spin on an old theme.⁶ For, while the range of Taylor’s oeuvre means that there is nearly always something to appeal to the temper of the day, some genres, such as the travel-writing, have proved perennially attractive, while others, such as the histories, have been largely neglected, often in inverse proportion to their appeal at the time of first publication. This uneven pattern of attention has been reinforced both by the ease with which Taylor’s output can be divided chronologically, and by the changing availability of texts. Thus until recently the main focus has been on items accessible through *All the Works of John Taylor* (1630), the folio published mid way through his career in print. During the

³ Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (eds.) *DNB* (Oxford University Press, London: 1885-1900) Vol.19, pp. 431-438, p. 433.

⁴ “Nothing quoted here has persuaded me that Taylor’s writing has “much to offer”, beyond material for the discussion of the relevance of aesthetic quality to the search for historical enlightenment”, Alan Rudrum, Review of *The World of John Taylor the Water Poet 1578-1653*, *Review of English Studies*, vol.49, no. 194 (May 1998) pp. 222-3, p. 223.

⁵ See, for example, Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, CUP, 1991); Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-century England* (London, Methuen, 1981).

⁶ Andrew McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, CUP, 2009), Chapter 6, *passim*. See also, Stephen Bending and Andrew McRae (eds.), *The Writing of Rural England, 1500-1800* (Hounds mills, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 126-128; Andrew McRae, *God Speed the Plough, the representation of agrarian England, 1500-1660* (Cambridge, CUP, 1996) pp. 224-226.

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries *All the Workes* was considered the most significant and valuable part of Taylor's output, even though he produced as much new material after as before this date,. By contrast, the civil war pamphlets have risen to prominence only in the past few decades, with the increasing use of digital reproduction coinciding with a renewed interest in political satire. However, the vicissitudes of scholarly fashion have left some periods, especially the 1630s, in almost total obscurity. Indeed, the conventional narrative of Taylor's authorial career portrays the thirties as a decade in the doldrums, a gap between the supposed failure of *All the Workes* and his reinvention as a Royalist pamphleteer in the 1640s.

The defining moment in the modern historiography of Taylor's work is Robert Southey's essay in *Lives of the Uneducated Poets* (1831), which has since formed the basis of all critical responses.⁷ However, despite his good intentions in co-opting Taylor to his school of nineteenth century “labouring poets”, Southey's campaign can be seen as accelerating the marginalisation of the Water Poet. New definitions of genius and wit in the 1850s effectively dislodged Taylor's foothold within the canon of English poets, displacing him into the realm of travel writer, as a reliable guide to early modern popular culture. Nevertheless, late Victorian philanthropists also developed Southey's paradigm in a more productive direction, envisaging Taylor's physical labours as the source of the energies in his writing. Thus while contemporary detractors had denigrated aspects of Taylor's texts by association with his trade as a waterman, by the late nineteenth century it was these very qualities that came to be admired. This led to a new image of John Taylor for the mid twentieth century, as the early modern “John Bull” among Wallace Notestein's “Four Worthies” (1956).⁸

It was another American, Robert Dow, who produced the most exhaustive survey of Taylor's life and publications at Harvard University (1937), also drawing heavily on Southey's original essay. Dow's study has provided the foundation for all subsequent

⁷ Southey's campaigning biography was first issued as an introductory “Essay on Uneducated Poets” for the initial subscription edition of *Attempts in Verse, by John Jones* (London, John Murray, 1831), with a second issue the same year, this time carrying on the spine the more well known title “Southey's Lives of the Uneducated Poets”. It was re-issued in: J. S. Childers (ed), *The Lives and Works of the Uneducated Poets by Robert Southey* (London, Humphrey Milford, 1925).

⁸ *Four Worthies: John Chamberlain, Anne Clifford, John Taylor, Oliver Heywood* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1956), especially pp. 169-208. Notestein describes Taylor as “an assertive, aggressive John Bull, almost a ‘thruster’ in the language of today” (Introduction, p. 14).

Taylor scholarship: his description of Taylor as “the Average man turned poet”, was reformulated by Bernard Capp for the late twentieth century in the memorable phrase, “a media-personality born several hundred years before his time”.⁹ This interpretation of Taylor as a “self-fashioning” author along New Historicist lines, has been taken to its extreme by Laurie Ellinghausen’s view that Taylor constituted his own “Individualistic Project”. Psychological explanations are also at the root of the recent critical discovery of Taylor’s “anxiety” in the face of dislocations threatened by the civil war.¹⁰ All these interpretations demonstrate the difficulty of moving away from a circular focus on Taylor’s personality and perceived “anxiety” about his social status, inherited from nineteenth century paradigms. However, more productive approaches to Taylor’s texts have also emerged from wider studies, such as Noel Malcolm’s history of English nonsense verse or Tessa Watt’s analysis of the output of the “ballad partners”.¹¹ Such approaches from the perspective of genre studies, bibliography and book history have begun to re-situate Taylor’s texts within the wider communicative structures from which they arose, leading to a broader understanding of Taylor’s position within early modern culture.¹²

Despite the general belief that Taylor’s work dropped from sight at his death in 1653, Southey’s account in *Lives of the Uneducated Poets* did not appear out of a vacuum, but was the consequence of a steady interest amongst particular sectors of the educated classes and the book trade over the eighteenth century. Looking further back, we find evidence for the circulation of the pre-civil war texts in the second-hand market during the Restoration, plagiarism in the period of the Jacobite rebellions, and periodic

⁹ Bernard Capp, “John Taylor “The Water Poet”: A Cultural Amphibian”, p. 537. Dow is referring to the autobiography of Clarence Chamberlain, who described himself as “the Average Man Turned Aviator”, Robert B. Dow, “The Life and Times of John Taylor the Water Poet” (unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard, 1930) *Preamble*, p. 3.

¹⁰ Capp, *The World of John Taylor* p. 196; Laurie Ellinghausen, “The Individualist Project of John Taylor “The Water Poet””, in *Ben Jonson Journal* 9 (2002), 147-169; this article was refashioned for *Labor and Writing in Early Modern England, 1567-1667* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008) which labels Taylor “The New Bourgeois Hero”; James Mardock, “The Spirit and the Muse: The Anxiety of Religious Positioning in John Taylor’s Pre-war Polemics”, in *The Seventeenth Century* 14.1 (Spring 1999), 1-14.

¹¹ Watt, *Cheap print and Popular Piety*, passim; Noel Malcolm, *The Origins of English Nonsense Verse* (London, Harper Collins, 1997).

¹² Michelle O’Callaghan’s reformulation of Taylor as “a pioneering entrepreneurial popular poet” is more closely related to the market for print, Michelle O’Callaghan, *The English Wits: Literature and Sociability in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, CUP, 2007), p57.

re-issues of texts such as *An Olde, Olde, very Old Man* and the Thumb Bibles. The latter are a special case, since Taylor's verse summaries of the Old and New testaments, *Verbum Sempiternum / Salvator Mundi*, were unique in their longevity, and still being used for new editions into the middle of the nineteenth century. However, even here the general assumption that it was simply the miniature format that proved such a long-lasting attraction is erroneous. For it is clear that Taylor's verse summary was a vital ingredient in this appeal, as the failure of attempts to supplant it with various more modern versions, including prose summaries, demonstrates. Furthermore, Taylor's name continued to be attached to these new editions into the nineteenth century.¹³ However, this continued interest was probably not a consequence of Taylor's style alone, but a repeat of the original multiple appeal of these texts, including the particular brand of Protestantism that underlies the simple couplets of *Verbum Sempiternum*.¹⁴

This ideological appeal is also demonstrated by the peculiar example of Henry Hills: in 1699, nearly a half-century after Taylor's death, Hills published a new edition of Taylor's *A Pedlar and a Romish Priest* (1641), under the title, *A Dialogue Between a Pedler and a Popish Priest*.¹⁵ He prefaced this text with an enthusiastic account of the Water-Poet's work, addressed to the Watermen's Company, and praising Taylor's Protestant credentials. Hills describes this short tract as a taster for a proposed series of two-penny reprints, based on his collection of individual Taylor texts, which he had been accumulating through the second-hand market. Hills is very specific that these texts will constitute those not already available in the folio *All the Workes* (1630), which was still

¹³ Louis W. Bondy, *Miniature Books: their History from the beginnings to the present day* (Farnham, Richard Joseph, 1981, repr. 1994), pp 14-15. Two editions of *Verbum Sempiternum* had been issued in London by T. Ilive in 1693; the newest London editions recorded in Ruth Adomeit's survey are from around 1860 (Tooks Court, Wittingham and Wilkins). There were numerous editions in North America in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, published separately in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Providence (Adomeit, A1-156, pp. 3-190), Ruth Adomeit, *Three Centuries of Thumb Bibles: A checklist* (New York, Garland, 1980), passim.

¹⁴ Contemporary evidence for an ideological basis to the appeal of Taylor's Thumb Bible is the enthusiasm of Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter and defender of Orthodox Calvinism, who copied the verses into his Commonplace Book: see Chapter 8. Editions of *Verbum Sempiternum* at the end of the seventeenth century carried a woodcut portrait of William, Duke of Gloucester, grandson of William III, who was expected to succeed him, but died in 1700. This portrait was retained in the 1701 edition, probably as a reflection of the Act of Settlement, and again in 1720/1721, where it may relate to the new heir, Frederick, Prince of Wales (see Adomeit, B88-89, pp. 303-306).

¹⁵ John Taylor, *A Pedlar and a Romish Priest in a very hot Discourse, full of Mirth, Truth, wit, Folly, and Plain-dealing* (sn.), Wing T495. See also, Lyle H. Kendall, "John Taylor's Piracy of 'The Pack-man's Paternoster", in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 57 (1963), 201-10, passim.

accessible to readers. The aim, he declares, is to maintain Taylor's profile as a Protestant polemicist and keep these uncollected texts in circulation. It would be easy to dismiss this as no more than the specious stratagem of a cheap-print publisher looking to recycle old materials. The fact that no such series transpired also suggests that the Watermen's Guild did not appreciate Hills's approach, although the significance of this lack of response is unclear.¹⁶ However, the suggestion that Taylor could be perceived at the end of the seventeenth century as a Protestant champion, matches evidence from the 1620s and 30s, as my thesis will demonstrate. Moreover, Hills's preface also conveys a strong sense of a living tradition, as if Taylor's name and indeed his texts were still part of the fabric of life in some quarters of London.¹⁷

Thus, although the precise significance of Hills's proposal may be unclear, Taylor's texts and his authorial identity clearly remained controversial to the end of the seventeenth century. The irreversible shift in this reputation only occurred towards the middle of the eighteenth century. Until this time, responses were divided along the lines of both personal preference and ideological bias. In particular, royalist admiration for the Water Poet was still sufficiently influential for Taylor to figure in the early stages of the development of the canon of English poets. He was introduced initially by the late seventeenth century royalist writer William Winstanley, who included Taylor in his *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets, or the Honour of Parnassus* (1687).¹⁸ This collection took over the selection made by Edward Phillips in the *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675), where the Water Poet had not been mentioned. Winstanley was well aware of

¹⁶ Taylor's quarrel with the younger generation and subsequent split from the Guild in the 1640s, when they supported Parliament, may have rankled even at the end of the century. See, Christopher O'Riordan, *The Thames Watermen in the Century of Revolution*, <www.geocities.com/thameswatermen/chapter3.htm> (1992 - 2000); <www.geocities.com/thameswatermen/chapter4.htm> (1992 - 2000).

¹⁷ Hills's address "in Black-Fryers, near the Waterside" may indicate that his interest in Taylor was local: *A Dialogue Between a Pedler and a Popish Priest, In a very Hot Discourse full of Mirth, Truth, Wit, folly and plain Dealing. By John Taylor the Water-Poet* (London, Printed and sold by, Henry Hills in Black-Fryers, near the Waterside, 1699), unpaginated address to the Company of Watermen. A coincidence with Hills's project is an edition of *Verbum Sempiternum* published in Belfast in 1699, possibly only the second edition to be issued outside London (the first was by John Forbes in Aberdeen, 1670): see, Wesley McCann, "Patrick Neill and the Origin of Belfast Printing", in Peter Isaac, ed. *Six centuries of the Provincial Booktrade in Britain* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1990), pp. 125-138, and notes 63, 66; Bondy, *Miniature Books*, pp. 14 -15.

¹⁸ *The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* (1687) by William Winstanley. A Facsimile Reproduction with an Introduction by William Riley Parker (Gainesville, Florida, Scolars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1963), pp.167-169.

the provocative nature of his decision to add some poets “of the meanest rank” to his own survey of “the most famous” poets.¹⁹ His account of Taylor continues the defiant tone of his Preface:

*Some may think this Person unworthy to be ranked among those Sons of Apollo whom we mentioned before; but to them we shall answer, That had he had Learning according to his natural Parts, he might have equal'd, if not exceeded, many who claim a great share in the Temple of the Muses.*²⁰

Winstanley’s positive view of Taylor was obviously influenced by his political viewpoint, as his contrasting estimate of John Milton’s future prospects, “his Fame has gone out like a Candle in a Snuff”, demonstrates. Nevertheless, Winstanley’s view was not based purely on his royalist allegiances, but reflected a personal response to the contrasting natures of the two writers, as his use of quotations from Taylor’s work demonstrates. Enthusiasm is certainly suggested by his statement that Taylor “produced above fourscore Books, which I have seen; besides several others unknown[n] to me”. Hence, although he repeats the judgments of John Aubrey and Anthony Wood from their sympathetic near-contemporary accounts of Taylor, Winstanley is speaking from experience of the texts, rather than merely parroting earlier accounts.²¹ By contrast, Theophilus Cibber’s account of the Poets, issued over half a century later in 1753, is largely based on Winstanley and Wood. Cibber quotes these earlier accounts extensively, stating without demur that Taylor’s “natural genius … was excellent” (p.10). However, the fact that David Garrick himself owned a copy of *All the Workes of John Taylor* indicates that Cibber’s view, however derivative from earlier compendiums, probably represents a common opinion at the time.²²

¹⁹ Winstanley, *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets*, “Epistle to the Reader”, sigs. A2v - A3r.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.167

²¹ Brydges believed that the epitaph quoted by Winstanley was his own composition: “Here lies the Water-Poet, honest John, / Who rowed on the Streams of Helicon; / Where having many Rocks and dangers past, / He at the Haven of Heaven arriv'd at last” (Winstanley, *Lives*, p.169). Winstanley modeled some of his own verse on Taylor, which may not impress modern readers but is not by any means the only example of the long-term influence of Taylor’s work.

²² Garrick’s copy of *All the Workes* is now at the Widener Library, Harvard University (Houghton f STC 23725(B)).

Although Garrick's interest in Taylor was probably for the theatrical connections, mid eighteenth century receptiveness to Taylor's texts also reflects the persistence of an earlier concept of "wit" that had yet to undergo the radical shift of the 1800s. Thus Cibber repeats Wood's description of the portrait of Taylor by his nephew in Oxford, commenting on the "quick and smart countenance" of the Water Poet, a description that fits with Wood's view of Taylor's "facetious and diverting company" that was so important at that time.²³ This appreciation of the social value of Taylor's wit reminds us that the function of his texts in seventeenth century society had been of an entirely different order to concepts of the poetic that were to develop two centuries later. The difficulty of appreciating this historical shift was to prove a major factor in the frustrated condescension of critics like Robert Dow in the early twentieth century, who expressed complete incomprehension for Taylor's brand of comic wit. Dow made an exception for the mock encomium, as a genre with classical antecedents that elevated it to the status of "almost literature". However, this exception depended on the extent to which the encomiastic humour could be removed from the arena of the social and contingent and re-categorized as entirely textual or inter-textual. This imposes a specious separation between the supposedly literary burlesque of the mock encomia and the apparently simplistic, almost slap-stick humour of the jest book.

The issue is of course much wider than a straightforward shift between the early modern and the modern sense of humour, but has to do with the function and status of moral satire, within a more complex stratification of genres that was taking place during this period. For *Wit and Mirth* was one of Taylor's most reprinted works during his lifetime. Its value to the early modern print market is indicated by the fact that James Boler, the publisher of *All the Workes*, issued his own edition in the run up to the folio's publication. *Wit and Mirth* is also one of only three, out of all Taylor's myriad books and pamphlets, to use the term "Water Poet" on its title page; this in itself seems a contradiction to the common belief that Taylor coined this portmanteau title in order to

²³ Theophilis Cibber, *The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland to the Time Of Dean Swift* (London, R. Griffiths, 1553), 4 vols. Taylor is in volume 2, p.11.

create a more socially elevated image.²⁴ However, the contemporary attraction of *Wit and Mirth* was different from its popularity in Victorian times, when the prose anecdotes were mined solely for references to the Shakespearean theatre.²⁵ There is no doubt that theatrical jests were also popular in the early seventeenth century, and it is probable that some of these anecdotes carry playhouse allusions now lost on modern readers. However, it is also difficult to recapture the satirical nature of the “wit”, which is sometimes based on puns and word-play alone, but seems more often to be directed against Taylor’s usual targets, the religious extremes of both puritanism and papistry.

Playful wit was an essential part of the social fabric in the period, and Taylor had experimented early on with the type of exchange favoured by the convivial societies, through his Coriate texts. However, by the 1620s his satirical practice had become consistently moral and religious in its focus.²⁶ The twentieth century critical assumption that the 1620s mock encomia were merely exercises in a debased version of fashionable burlesque, which is the foundation of much discussion about Taylor’s “literary” pretensions, is thus a misunderstanding. That the nature of Taylor’s humour was a subject of debate in his own era is evident from the curious set of Latin verses printed as part of the preliminaries to *All the Workes*. These verses, for which no source text or manuscript has yet been traced, present Taylor playfully, but revealingly, as an English disciple of the satirist Juvenal. They open with an exchange of anagrams using the Latin version of Taylor’s name (*Iohannes Tailerus*, variously spelled, and with the U and V interchangeable). “T.G.”, the unidentified author of these verses, adopts the persona of Taylor himself to address the personified spirit of Juvenilian satire with the question, “*Ira! An honeste lusi?*”, suggesting that the author feels that his jests may have exceeded the bounds of decorum.²⁷ The responding anagram, “*ars nivea hos lenit*”, argues that the

²⁴ *Wit and Mirth* is one of only two contemporary texts to carry a portrait of the author, the other being the folio *All the Workes* itself. The term “Water Poet” was used for a title page in only three cases: *The Pennilesse Pilgrimage* (1618), *Wit and Mirth* (1626-1640) and *All the Workes* (1630).

²⁵ The text used by Victorians was generally the edition printed in *All the Workes* (1630). An example is Payne Collier’s use of *Wit and Mirth* in his memoirs of *the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare* (London, Printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1846), pp. 217-9 and 249-250.

²⁶ As Michelle O’Callaghan points out in her study of early seventeenth century convivial societies, “laughter had a strategic role to play in religious polemic and political critique”, O’Callaghan, *The English Wits*, p. 7.

²⁷ “Wrath! Have I jested in a decent manner?” (I am grateful to Dr. Lena Whalgren-Smith of the University of Southampton for translations of these verses).

indignation of Taylor's victims can be smoothed over by exercising the gentler arts of the (water) poet. Thus T.G. places Taylor's comic practice firmly within the framework of the "Biting Satires" of Juvenal, developing a discussion on the moral value and effectiveness of this type of "crabbed" satire.²⁸

This classical context is confirmed by the lyrical verses that follow, which carry the fanciful title, "*Johannem Taylor altas aquinatem, vulgo Poetam aquaticum*". Here, T. G. interlaces a word-play on the alias of Taylor as the "Water poet" ("*vulgo Poetam aquaticum*") with Juvenal's nickname, "Aquinus" ("*altas aquinatem*") which was taken from his birthplace.²⁹ However, these verses conclude with a further punning reference to the fact that Taylor writes only in English: "*vt est propheta Aquinas: / Anglicanus eris poeta Aquinas*".³⁰ The reference to prophecy here is probably explicable by a secondary pun, on the name of Saint Thomas Aquinas, a link between the Christian philosopher and the Roman satirist that was a typical joke of the period. By linking together the names of John Taylor, Juvenal Aquinas and Saint Thomas Aquinas, T.G. suggests, in however tongue-in-cheek fashion, that Taylor should continue to speak out as England's Christian vernacular equivalent of the great classical moral satirist. These Latin poems therefore suggest a perhaps surprising complexity of response to Taylor's wit and mirth amongst his more educated contemporaries. Their significance is increased by the fact that the famous exponent of Juvenilian satire in English was Joseph Hall, who was by 1630 Bishop of Exeter and a controversial defender of Calvinist doctrine. In his youth, Hall had published a collection of satires where he declares himself the first "English satirist", and claims to be making literary history "by wedding a classical form to an English Style":

²⁸ "The snow white arts soothe these" contains a witty allusion to Taylor as Thames waterman, in the image of the swan, and also to both the arts of Apollo and perhaps Ovid. Taylor describes his home as "The Old Swan near London Bridge" but this probably refers to the landing point on the Bankside (Capp, *World of John Taylor*, p. 9, note 18).

²⁹ As Robert Farren explains, "We could in a way more properly speak of Juvenal Aquinas than we can of Thomas Aquinas, for the satirist was born at Aquino while the philosopher was not", Robert Farren, *St. Thomas of Aquin*, in Claire Booth Luce, *Saints for Now*, New York, Sheed & Ward, 1952; San Francisco, Ignatius Press, 1993), p.3.

³⁰ "*vt est propheta Aquinas: / Anglicanus eris poeta Aquinas*" ("as Aquinas is a prophet, / Thus you will be our English "poet-Aquinus").

*I first adventure: follow me who list,
And be the second English Satyrist.* ³¹

Hall specifically compares himself to Juvenal, using the nickname “Aquines”. He describes his new English satires as more “crabbed” than the classics, and hence both more obscure in their references to specific targets and more effective in their moral indignation.³² The commonly used epithet for Hall as ‘our English Seneca’ may have prompted T. G. to dub Taylor “our English poet-Aquinas” in a playful cross-reference to Hall.³³

However playful the tone of these references to Taylor as a Juvenilian satirist might be, they nevertheless confirm the contemporary context of debates on the relationship between wit and morality. The use of Latin by TG enables a series of puns and allusions that appear clumsy in English translation; it also places the discussion within the social stratification of wit that was already occurring in the early seventeenth century. In the case of attitudes to Taylor’s work, this process was especially focused on the apparent contrast to the more elite claims of Ben Jonson.³⁴ This is the context for Alexander Brome’s famous lines from the 1650s, in which the playwright, himself an ex- protégé of Jonson, argues that the difference between the two authors was one of social degree, rather than innate qualities. Brome comments upon the force of social distinction in authorship quite frankly:

³¹ “Ecce nouam Satyram”: in *Virgidemiarum, Sixe Bookes*, pt. 2, Books 4-6. See Ronald J. Corthell, “Beginning as a satirist: Joseph Hall’s *Virgidemiarum in Sixe Bookes*”, in *SEL* 23.1 (Winter 1983), 47 - 60, pp. 48-9. Hall was a close colleague of Thomas Goad, who may be the “TG” of these Latin verses in Taylor’s folio; TG’s references to swans, Apollo and Parnassus in these verses parallel references to Taylor in the Hadleigh School Play, written by Goad’s rector, William Hawkins, *Apollo Shroving* (Robert Milbourne, 1627), STC 12963.

³² *Virgidemiarum, Sixe Bookes*, Book 4, Satire 1. Taylor’s extended title for *The Sculler* is reminiscent of Hall’s satirical portrayal of London in the same book: “Tyber the famous sinke of Christendome / Turn thou to Thames & Thames run towards Rome”, (*Virgidemiarum Sixe Bookes*, Liber 4, Satyre 1, lines 134-138).

³³ Philip A. Smith, “Bishop Hall, “Our English Seneca”, in *PMLA* 4 (1948), 1191-1204, p. 1191.

³⁴ The epitaph printed in *Sportive Wit, the Muses Merriment* (1656), shows the complexity of this stratification: “Alas! Poor Jack Taylor! This ‘tis to drink ale [...] / Hadst thou been of the pack / With Draiton and Johnson to quaff off thy sack, / They’d infus’d thee a genius should nere expire”. The succeeding lines allude to “thy sprightly wit” and describe the label “water-poet” as a national honour. John Phillips, (ed.), *Sportive Wit: The Muses Merriment, A New Spring of Lusty Drollery*, (1656), Wing P2113.

*Jonson and Taylor, in their kind, were both
Good wits, who likes the one, need not t'other loath.
Wit is like beauty, Nature made the Joan
As well's the lady.*³⁵

Although Brome was responding to criticism that he was wasting his personal talents in composing songs and ballads, there is plenty of evidence that his tastes were shared by many gentlemen, and perhaps ladies, in the seventeenth century.

Brome's insistence on the essential similarity between the "wit" of Taylor and Jonson is borne out by the changing application of the term in the following century. The serious moral purpose of classical verse satire began to lose its rationale, as its often virulent castigation of human vices gradually became antipathetic in mood and style. This shift accompanied the development of new definitions of the "poetic". During the pre-Romantic period the criteria for what did or did not constitute poetry remained relatively flexible; however, in the new definition of poetry, the qualities that typify Augustan satire, to which Taylor's own practice is strongly related, were considered suitable only for prose. Hence, poetry could include:

*human feeling but not human wit ... meditative and symbolic modes of expression but not discursive or dialectical. Outside the province lay satires, history poems, verse essays, imitations, epistles, mock-epics, realistic and moral fables, theatrical prologues and epilogues, epitaphs, and epigrams*³⁶

Such a circumscribing of the scope of poetry for Romantic sensibilities inevitably places most of Taylor's verse outside the bounds of the poetic.

³⁵ Alexander Brome, *Reply to An Epistle from a Friend to the Author upbraiding him with his writing Songs*, in *Songs and Other Poems*, second edition (Henry Brome, 1664), Wing B4853, pp. 203-5, p.204, sig. P4v. The friend's Epistle's refers to Jonson and Taylor: "Wit, did I say? things whose dull spirits are / Apt only to applaud, what e'r they hear, / Be't good or bad, so *throated* to their mind, / *Johnson* and *Taylor* like acceptance find". Brome's "Joan / As well's the lady" probably alludes to the ballad refrain "Joan's as good as my lady": Henslowe paid Thomas Heywood £5 for a play with this title in February 1598/9. Heywood also alludes to the phrase in *If You Know not me, you know nobodie. Part II*, or "The second part of Queene Elizabeths troubles".

³⁶ Thomas Lockwood, "On the Relationship of Satire and Poetry after Pope" in *SEL* 14.3 (Summer 1974), 387-402, p. 391.

The consequences of this shift were far-reaching: in the early seventeenth century the terms “wit” and “genius” seem to have been almost synonymous. Both denoted a social quality, by contrast to the Romantic idea of “genius” as an inner driving force, understood to exist independently from society. Thus although “genius” was a term that Cibber had been able to use for Taylor in 1753, by the 1850s this concept was no longer applicable to the kind of discourse that had established Taylor’s niche in his contemporary culture. The change is summed up in Matthew Arnold’s definitive statement:

*The difference between genuine poetry and the poetry of Dryden, Pope, and all their school, is briefly this: their poetry is conceived and composed in their wits, genuine poetry is conceived and composed in the soul.*³⁷

For the earlier period, “wit” denoted a faculty that could be applied in either a light-hearted or a serious fashion, and could therefore be a powerful intellectual tool. However, Arnold is using “wits” in a wholly pejorative sense, as a term denoting lack of sincerity and depth. It is this changing conceptualization of the relationship between the externalized “wit” and the internalized “feeling” or spirituality that underlies the reformulation of Taylor’s image between the mid eighteenth and early twentieth centuries.

However, this devaluation of satirical wit was accompanied by a new emphasis on the innate goodness of human nature, with a preference for the natural and unsophisticated. Thus Taylor’s texts were recast as representations of “Merrie England”, ignoring their satirical bite. The well-used epithet “honest”, which in the seventeenth century had almost certainly carried overtones of plain dealing, was applied to Taylor with new vigour, but with a significant shift in its connotations.³⁸ The softening of his satirical edge led naturally to an increasing emphasis on innate good-humour and lack of

³⁷ Matthew Arnold in Thomas Ward, (ed.), *The English Poets*, 4 vols. (London and New York, Macmillan, 1880, reprinted 1921) p.314.

³⁸ Taylor uses the term “plaine dealing” to describe his own style in *Taylor His Travels* (1620). For a link between Taylor’s satire and Restoration plain-dealing, see: Burkhard Neiderhoff, “Some echoes of John Taylor’s “A Bawd” in the Dedication of William Wycherley’s *The Plain-Dealer*”, in *Notes and Queries* 243 (December 1998), 452-3.

malice as the primary connotations of “honest”. Thus an inverse relationship was established between responses to Taylor’s imagined personality and evaluations of his skills as a writer. As Taylor the man came to be characterised increasingly as a straightforward, unaffected and merry soul, so his work was correspondingly perceived as less and less skilful or hard-hitting. This parallels the changes in comic theory that gave Shakespearean “mirth” pride of place above the severe moralism and ridicule of Jonsonian satire.³⁹ There is certainly a similarity in “the metamorphosis of Falstaff” from an irredeemable sinner, “a fat parcel of gross humours - a cowardly, lying, glutinous buffoon” to an essentially lovable reprobate, “courageous [and] honest”.⁴⁰ Thus Mrs Montagu distinguished between the censorious “Wit” and the geniality of Falstaff:

“The professed Wit, either in life or on the stage, is usually severe and satirical. But Mirth is the source of Falstaffe’s Wit.”⁴¹

The recasting of Taylor in the mould of a genial Falstaff was a primary factor in maintaining the interests of eighteenth century antiquarians. This was part of a widespread revaluing of Early Modern culture that arose from the same nostalgic Elizabethanism that produced the first scholarly editions of Shakespeare.⁴² The preservation of Taylor’s texts in seventeenth century gentleman’s libraries gave way to a new status as eagerly traded possessions in the antiquarian book market. Both the folio and the individual pamphlets became precious commodities, fetching sums in almost

³⁹ Stuart M. Tave, “Corbyn Morris: Falstaff, humor, and Comic Theory in the Eighteenth Century”, in *Modern Philology* 50.2 (November 1952), 102-115. The effect of this transformation is evident in Salzman’s unquestioning acceptance of Taylor’s “persona as genial social commentator, rather than fierce political satirist”, Paul Salzman, *Literary Culture in Jacobean England: Reading 1621* (Hounds mills, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

⁴⁰ Examples include John Mennes and James Smith: see: Timothy Raylor, *Cavaliers, Clubs and Literary Culture* (Newark, Associated University Presses, 1994), *passim*.

⁴¹ Mrs Montagu, *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespear* (2nd. edn., 1770), pp. 106-7. Quoted in Tave, “Corbyn Morris”, p.114.

⁴² Earl Wasserman describes how the development of new methodologies of historical scholarship focused on the early modern period in the 1720-40s led to the popular interest in early modern texts from mid century onwards. He dates “the first popular interest in Elizabethan literature” to Warton’s *Observations on the Faeries Queene* (1754) and notes that Taylor features among Zachary Grey’s sources for his “Critical, Historical, and Explanatory Notes on Shakespeare” (1754), Earl Reeves Wasserman, *The Scholarly Origin of the Elizabethan Revival*, in *ELH* 4 (1937), 213-43.

inverse proportion to their original market price, a trend that has continued to the present day. When Robert Southey wrote his account of Taylor in 1831, he relied on a rare original copy of *All the Workes* (1630), sent to him by his publisher and perused at speed. Southey regrets the scarcity of Taylor's other publications, not because they would contain anything of "intrinsic merit" but because they would add "a great deal to illustrate the manners of his age".⁴³ Southey's social network included major collectors such as Thomas Park, Thomas Hill and Sir Egerton Brydges, and it seems more than likely that Southey had first heard of Taylor through one of their connections, since several had copies of *All the Workes* in their libraries.⁴⁴

The entry for Taylor in Brydges' *Censura Literaria* includes a lengthy bibliography by Park, suggesting that he knew the texts listed at first hand. It also records the memories of "HW", possibly Henry Kirk White, concerning *The Needle's Excellency*; HW describes this text as a "poem" that "has been his delight from childhood". *The Needle's Excellency* is viewed by modern scholars as an example of Taylor's commercial opportunism. The book's popularity (it ran to at least four editions from 1631 to 1640) is considered to reflect the new purchasing power of women in the 1630s, who would have prized the patterns. The accompanying set of verses by Taylor, addressed to contemporary aristocratic ladies, is now considered a superfluous attempt to dress up the re-publication of these engraved plates. Furthermore, these verses are often attributed to Taylor's sycophancy, since the main addressee is the Dowager Countess of Pembroke. Yet it was these same verses that constituted the book's appeal for "HW", a writer who is described by Park as "a Correspondent whose literary talents I have long respected". In this particular case, therefore, the gap between early nineteenth

⁴³ Southey, *Uneducated Poets*, p.86. Southey kept "a significant proportion" of the works he reviewed. His copy of Taylor's *Workes* was advertised in the catalogue for his library on 8th May 1844 (p.76, Lot 2669) as "Very Scarce, cf. gilt, a perfect copy, but cropped, 1630": the price recorded is £4. 6s; the purchaser's name (indecipherable) is also recorded against Surtees's *History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham* (£7, 12s 6d); these two books are by far the most expensive in this area of the catalogue. *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, vol.9

⁴⁴ Recorded owners of the 1630 edition of *All the Workes* include Philip Bliss (1787-1857), the collector William Herbert (Otago University) and Edward Malone (Trinity College, Cambridge).

century and mid to late twentieth century perceptions of Taylor's text could not be wider.⁴⁵

The survival of Taylor's texts to the present day can thus be attributed in large part to the eighteenth and nineteenth century antiquarian book trade.⁴⁶ However, a later flurry of reprints of Taylor's work, both by subscription and on a commercial basis, suggests a more general demand that went beyond the specialist book collectors. This market became sufficiently vigorous for competition between the publishers, principally Charles Hindley and Edward Ashbee at the start of the 1870s.⁴⁷ During the 1860s Taylor's work had also become an object of study: the Spenser Society saw the need for an authoritative edition, not just of *All the Workes*, but of the uncollected pamphlets from that period and the civil war years. Although their proposed "Taylor Club" never materialised, the "great object of bringing together the entire works of this voluminous author" over fifteen years (1863 - 1878) was a pronounced success. The President, James Crossley, declared that this was "one of the most valuable, as well as the most attractive" republications of "authors who reflect as in a mirror the old times of England".⁴⁸ The Spenser society also planned to provide a collation for their reprint of *All the Workes*, which would have given Taylor the degree of scholarly attention already

⁴⁵ Park separates out prose and verse, and is clearly not just using the Catalogue to *All The Workes*. Thomas Park edited the Harleian Miscellany: *The Harleian miscellany : A collection of scarce, curious, and entertaining pamphlets and tracts, as well in manuscript as in print* (London, White, Murray and Harding, 1808-1813). Brydges' extensive quotations from Osborne's catalogue of the Harleian Library confirm the gulf between modern and eighteenth century views of Taylor's work. The texts specified by Osborne as "the most notable pieces" by Taylor are virtually unmentioned in modern criticism Sir Samuel Egerton Brydges, *Censura Literaria, Titles and Opinions of Old English Books* (London, Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 10 vols. 1805-9).

⁴⁶ The same market was also responsible for some losses, especially of the engraved title-pages of volumes such as *Taylors Motto* (1621, STC 23800) and *All the Workes*, which were often detached and traded separately.

⁴⁷ This brief competition for a non-specialist market may reflect the repeal of Paper Duty in the 1850s. Charles Hindley issued two collections of Taylor texts both entitled "Works", only partly taken from *All the Workes*: (1) *Works of John Taylor, the Water-Poet* (Reeves and Turner, 1872, a substantial volume; (2) a different collection in a cheaper format (1872); Hindley also featured Taylor extensively in *Miscellanea Antiqua Anglicana. The Old Book Collector's Miscellany*, 3 vols. (London, Reeves & Turner, 1871-73). Several individual pamphlets from the 1640s were re-issued as part of *Mr. Ashbee's occasional facsimile reprints* between 1869 and 1873. *A Fight at Sea* was reprinted by Edward Arber in *An English Garner* (1877); *Wit and Mirth* was reprinted in William Hazlitt, *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, vol. 3. 1864. J. O. Halliwell Phillips' editions of two late journey pamphlets and *The Suddaine Turne of Fortunes Wheel* were directed at the antiquarian/scholarly market rather than general readers.

⁴⁸ *Works of John Taylor the Water Poet, comprised in the folio edition of 1630* (Spenser Society Collections, 2-4), 3 vols. (Spenser Society, Manchester, 1863, 1869), vol. 3; *Works of John Taylor the Water Poet, not included in the folio volume of 1630* (Spenser Society Collections 7, 14, 19, 21, 15), 6 vols. (Spenser Society, Manchester 1870-1878).

afforded the works of Shakespeare. However, this extended project was curtailed by the death of the Reverend Corser and the dispersal of his library, including the “Taylor treasures” on which the collation depended.⁴⁹ To some extent, then, it is an accident of history that prevented Taylor’s work receiving the kind of exhaustive editorial analysis that might have turned a Victorian enthusiasm into academic respectability.⁵⁰

However, Southey himself had been working from a more limited acquaintance with Taylor’s work, based entirely on *All the Workes*, which reproduces only one of the many title-page woodcuts from the original pamphlets before 1630, and appears at a cursory glance to be emulating the folios of Jonson’s or Shakespeare’s plays. Yet Southey’s assessment of Taylor was in some respects remarkably astute. He acknowledges that Taylor was better read than many of his contemporaries of more erudite reputation, and identifies *Gods Manifold Mercies*, a text otherwise completely ignored by commentators, as a significant example of Taylor’s professional skill. Nevertheless, by co-opting Taylor to the band of “certain low and untaught rhymers of whom I wish to speak - Taylor, the Water-Poet, Stephen Duck &c.” Southey assimilated him to a nineteenth century culture where he sits rather oddly.⁵¹ The most obvious points of comparison were the physical nature of Taylor’s occupation as a waterman, evident especially in the early use of the term “Rhyming Sculler”, his apparently lowly social station and his lack of a formal education. Yet to view Taylor’s work as arising from

⁴⁹ The catalogue for *Collectanea Anglo-poetica* (1878) lists several copies of the Folio and other Taylor items, including a manuscript of *The Suddaine Turne of Fortunes Wheele*, no longer traceable, possibly contemporary; the British Library holds an eighteenth century transcript that is probably the second version mentioned in this catalogue (for *The Suddaine Turne*, see Afterword, below)

⁵⁰ Nick Groom considers antiquarianism to have been decisive in the development of English Literature as a discipline. In this respect, the fact that Taylor fell at the last hurdle may reflect both the dispersal of Corser’s library and his fame as a writer in print rather than manuscript. Groom proposes that, “the literary canon was formulated in the eighteenth century by a handful of antiquarians in their evaluation of the literary status of manuscript sources in a mass-print culture”, Nick Groom, *The Making of Percy’s Reliques* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 5.

⁵¹ Southey, *Lives of the Uneducated Poets*, p. viii. Elizabeth Helsinger’s view that “peasant poet” is a contradiction in terms is apposite here (Elizabeth Helsinger, “Clare and the Place of the Peasant Poet”, in *Critical Inquiry*, 13 (1987), p. 510). McEathron comments that this vogue for peasant poetry “relied on the perception that this contradiction had been miraculously, if temporarily, suspended: ... individual peasant poets were bizarre, fleeting anomalies of nature”, Scott McEathron, “Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads*, and the Problem of Peasant Poetry”, in *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 54.1 (June 1999), 1-26, p. 7

similar circumstances and motivations to the writings of Duck or John Jones, takes little account of the differences between their cultural and historical situations.⁵²

So far as Southey was concerned, however, the central appeal of Taylor's work was inseparable from his own specific political and literary interests. For *Attempts in Verse* was not an incidental publication, but part of his campaign to establish an English poetic tradition as a direct challenge to the persistence of the Jonsonian humanist-classical model. In this respect, there is an important thread of connection linking the 1820/30s to the original debates concerning Taylor's situation two centuries earlier, from the 1610s to the 1630s. In this earlier period, it was the humanist model of erudition that cast the longest shadow over Taylor's position, rather than the later romanticised image of Shakespeare. Taylor himself had attempted to distinguish between Jonson as a playwright and the city social circles with whom he had thrown in his lot. In his *Elegie* for Jonson (1637) he places himself and the master poet within a native English tradition deriving from Chaucer through Spenser, fitting his own literary sympathies. The *Elegie* is carefully crafted as both a tribute to Jonson and an appropriation. It develops from an early declaration that Jonson "was our Homer, Maro and our Naso", acknowledging this classical erudition even while recasting it in an English mould, and moves to a conclusion in the description of the tomb in Westminster Cathedral. Here, Jonson will lie near to Camden and Casaubon:

*Where Chaucer (Englands Homer) is interr'd,
Where Spenser (our Arch-Poet) is prefer'd,
And where the farre fam'd Draytons bones do rest,
There thy memorial hath a place possesst.*⁵³

⁵² "the contrasts [between Stephen Duck and John Taylor] far outweigh the similarities", Capp, *World of John Taylor*, p.190. The most recent reformulation of the concept of the "uneducated" poet is by Andrew McRae, in his view that Taylor "had long founded his authorial identity on a rejection of elitist pretension", Andrew McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge, CUP, 2004, 2008), p. 213.

⁵³ *A funerall elegie, in memory of the rare, famous, and admired poet, Mr. Benjamin Jonson deceased. Who dyed the sixteenth day of August last, 1637, and lyeth inter'd in the Cathedral Church of Saint Peter at Westminster* (Pursolew for Henry Gossen, 1637), STC 23759, sig. C2v.

Jonson will be memorialised “there” at the centre of England’s cultural heritage: in these lines, Taylor brings Jonson within an English vernacular tradition of which he, as “Ben Jonsons artlesse Chauntecleere”, is a lower-order member. Thus Taylor’s attempts to establish an English vernacular poetic tradition, in which he himself could play a legitimate part, have an unexpected echo in Wordsworthian theories of poetry, despite their different political aims and persuasions.⁵⁴

This seemingly unlikely sympathy of ideas may be linked to a growing sense in the early years of the nineteenth century that “Elizabethan” qualities in writing, characterised as unrefined but energetic, were preferable to the smoother numbers of the immediate past. As Southey himself had declared in 1799, “the school of Pope has had its day: a taste has been introduced for the rude but more vigorous effusions of our ancestors”. In what is almost a premonition of his account of Taylor thirty years later, he compares Elizabethan poetry to a mountain brook, “rough indeed and broken, but delighting the traveller with whatever is great, magnificent and sublime”.⁵⁵ Taylor, it seems, provided the rough and broken landscape through which the sublime streams of Renaissance lyric poetry could flow. Yet in arguing for a recognition of value in the “poetic effusions” of the uneducated classes of his day, Southey’s focus was less on aesthetic qualities than on the deserving nature of the writers, as a reflection of unrealised potential.⁵⁶ Here, the inclusion of Taylor did not necessarily serve his purpose, and the inconsistencies in his account reflect this difficulty. He avoids exploring Taylor’s financial situation or social position in any depth, nor does he comment on the innovative nature of the publishing ventures: these aspects might have shown too much that did not fit the image of the “deserving poor”. Instead, he set out to demonstrate the value of Taylor’s work for his own culture, dwelling heavily upon *The*

⁵⁴ The choice of Chaucer’s wily farm-bird who was able to outwit the fox by encouraging him to boast about himself, is a witty self-deprecation and a gesture of defiance. In *The Cold Tearme or the Frozen Age*, often attributed to Taylor, the opening passage is modelled on the opening of the Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales* (*The colde tearme, or, The frozen age, or, The metamorphosis of the Riuer of Thames* (1621), STC 23910).

⁵⁵ Robert Southey, in *Critical Review* (1799), pp. 40-42, p. 41.

⁵⁶ “in terms of both what was expected of them by their mostly polite patrons and readership, and what they actually produced - there are three key values whose representations are ideologically charged honesty, industry, and piety”, William J. Christmas, *The Lab’ring Muses: Work, Writing, and the Social order in English Plebeian Poetry, 1730 - 1830*, (Newark and London, Associated University Presses, 2001), p. 49.

Pennilesse Pilgrimage as an account of the every-day lives of ordinary Englishmen. As a result, Southey's conclusion that the Water-Poet's anomalous social status was the key to his contemporary fame, ("no spoon could have suited his mouth so well as the wooden one to which he was born"), founders on the rock of his earlier declaration that Taylor was the first who "in a certain degree overcame [the disadvantages of] circumstances".

The issue of Taylor's social status was both a challenge and a gift to the commentators who followed Southey. Both William Chambers and Edwin Paxton Hood seized on Taylor's enterprise and determination as a reflection of the Victorian ethics of education and self-improvement. Chambers' approach no doubt reflects his own hard struggle to overcome financial, if not social, disadvantage.⁵⁷ Taylor's example lent weight to his Arnoldian argument that "literature" was not the exclusive province of the upper classes, but that the masses would benefit from education in the gentler arts, as a way forward for society as a whole. Paxton Hood's approach was more obviously religious: in prose rich with metaphors emphasising the dignity of labour, he envisages the manual worker as the "Hand" of God, an image that resembles Dickens's *Hard Times*. His insistence that labour actually improves the quality of mind, injecting vigour and strength into literary endeavours, looks right back to the earliest commendatory verses for Taylor in his first published work.⁵⁸ The proposed title of Paxton Hood's second volume "Genius and Industry," or, "Mind among the Cottages" (never produced) sums up this invigorating approach. The coupling of "genius" with "industry" is a subtle modification of Southey's portrayal of "Uneducated Poets": while for Southey, the achievement was to overcome a disadvantaged background, for Paxton Hood that background gave the necessary energies for creativity.

By emphasizing these qualities of toughness and enterprise in the face of difficult circumstances, Victorian philanthropists positioned Taylor within a developing concept of the English character that was to reach its apotheosis in Wallace Notestein's

⁵⁷ W. Chambers, *Stories of Remarkable Persons* (Edinburgh and London, W & R Chambers, 1878), pp.37-46.

⁵⁸ Edwin Paxton Hood, *The Literature of Labour: Illustrious Instances of the Education of Poetry in Poverty* (Partridge and Oakley, Paternoster Row, London, 1851), pp.14 -15.

description of Taylor as “an assertive, aggressive John Bull”.⁵⁹ Notestein’s account of Taylor clearly derives from the *Lives of the Uneducated Poets*, and Southey’s promotion of *The Penniless Pilgrimage* plays a significant part in his emphasis on Englishness. Taylor’s reliance on hospitality was especially appealing for Notestein (1956), whose *Four Worthies* portrayed generosity as a key aspect of the English seventeenth century character: “*the innkeepers, mayors and country gentlemen who showed favour to the itinerant John Taylor were good fellows, nearly all of them*”. Both Southey and Notestein quote or paraphrase this text extensively; indeed, detailed accounts of *The Penniless Pilgrimage* are ubiquitous in discussions of the Water Poet through these two centuries: it occupies a whole chapter of Robert Dow’s thesis and forms the basis of Warren Wooden’s study in the 1980s. Despite contemporary evidence that the whole enterprise was only partially a financial success for Taylor, William Chambers stated that *The Penniless Pilgrimage* “may be called the Water Poet’s principal production and is more frequently referred to than any other of his works”. At the end of the nineteenth century, this focus was reinforced by P. Hume Browne’s inclusion of an edited version of *The Penniless Pilgrimage* in his collection, *Early Travellers in Scotland* (1891). This helped to confirm the image of Taylor as an observer of British, rather than continental, life that has dominated ever since.⁶⁰

By editing *The Penniless Pilgrimage* for his collection, Hume both substantially altered the discourse and genre of this text, and contributed to the reinvention of Taylor as a journalist by presenting him as a prose writer. He also removed the notable traces of religious and political topicality. Taylor begins his narrative in 1618 (and as reprinted in 1630) with a lengthy account of the English part of his journey, written in verse. Hume naturally omitted this section, beginning with the prose description of Scotland, in accordance with the remit of his collection. However, he also cut out the verses on the hunting at Marr and on the Highland Games, which had been interspersed amongst the Scottish material of the original editions. Taylor introduces these verses as “Sonnets” written on the occasion, emphasizing the careful choice of form, which differs for each set. Their importance is indicated by the fact that they are mentioned in the extended

⁵⁹ Notestein, *Four Worthies*, p.14.

⁶⁰ P. Hume Brown (ed.), *Early travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, David Douglas, 1891). I am grateful to Professor John McGavin for calling my attention to this text.

title of the original edition in 1618, as the “vnmatchable hunting in the brea of marre and Badenoch” (in *All the Workes* this sentence is omitted). Although obviously intended to flatter the Earl of Marr, these “Sonnets” are also almost certainly a deliberate reference to the *Book of Sports*. James’s *Declaration to his subiects, concerning lawfull sports to be vsed* had been issued on May 24th, less than two months before Taylor set off on his trip to Scotland.⁶¹ The *Book of Sports* was specifically directed against Puritan influences in Lancashire, but carefully framed by James to express a moderate Anglican position. Taylor probably intended his sonnets praising the Highland Games to convey a similarly centralist Anglican stance, in keeping with his own religious ideology.

This link may explain the designation “Kings Maiesteis Water Poet” on the title-page of *The Penniless Pilgrimage* in 1618. This is the only occasion when Taylor used this term for himself on a title-page and is usually considered a sign of his overweening hubris. However, Taylor’s wording “Kings maiesties Water Poet” precisely echoes the phrasing of the *Book of Sports*: “*The Kings Maiesties declaration.....*”, highlighting the link between his own portrayal of the Highland Games and the King’s position on Sunday sports. This link is almost certainly present in the reference to James in the first sonnet:

Why should I wast Inuention to endite,
Ouidian fictions, or Olympian games?
My misty Muse enlightened with more light,
To a more noble pitch her ayme She frames.
I must relate to my great Maister *JAMES*,
The Calydonian anuall peacefull warre;
How noble mindes doe eternize their fames
By martiall meeting in the Brea of *Marr*.⁶²

⁶¹ Taylor’s *The Pennilesse Pilgrimage* was entered to Henry Gossen on November 2nd 1618.

⁶² The comparison of the evening bonfires to the height of a May-Pole (“and after supper a fire of firre wood as high as an indifferent May-pole”), may also be an allusion to the *Book of Sports*. *The pennyles pilgrimage, or The money-lesse perambulation, of Iohn Taylor, alias the Kings Majesties water-poet...and a true report of the vnmatchable hunting in the brea of Marre and Badenoch in Scotland...* Lastly that (which is rare in a trauailler) all is true (Edward Allde, at the charges of the author, 1618), STC 23874, sigs.F1v-F2r. The reference to “Ovidian fictions or Olympian games” may relate to Robert Dover’s controversial Cotswold Games, later celebrated in *Annalia Dubrensia. Upon the yearly*

The rhyme scheme neatly links the Highland Hunting to the sonnet's imagined, and perhaps actual, recipient ("my great Maister IAMES"), portraying both King and sport jointly as the inspiration for Taylor's Muse.

However, as well as removing these Sonnets, Hume Browne also omitted Taylor's direct address to the reader from the opening of *The Penniless Pilgrimage*. In this address, Taylor places his efforts precisely and humorously in relation to the topographical and antiquarian tomes of "learned Camden, or laborious Speede". Hume Browne leaves in place Taylor's prose disclaimer about his intentions of copying Ben Jonson in his journey, but removes the throw-away concluding phrase "*So much for that, and now Reader, if you expect*" by which Taylor introduces the verses on Speed and Camden. By these excisions, Browne had effectively shorn the text of both its social and literary positioning.⁶³ As a result, the prose that is presented in Hume Browne's collection is not only flat and lacking in variety, but its very nature is altered. It is transformed from a social communication that works on several levels, enlivened by oral qualities, into a descriptive prose text. By removing what he no doubt considered the extravagances of Taylor's digressions, as well as the irrelevant English material, Hume Brown therefore ignored the distinctive strategies of a seventeenth century writer.

The Penniless Pilgrimage continues to exercise a disproportionate influence over Taylor's image. It is this very text that opens John Chandler's recent re-issue of Taylor's journey pamphlets, *Travels Through Stuart Britain* (1999), which presents him as an adventurer within a specifically British setting. The dust jacket for Chandler's collection is dominated by a Romantic painting of Stirling Castle, with the portrait of Taylor from the frontispiece to the *Workes* of 1630 placed above in a classical cartouche. This associates the Water Poet firmly with a sanitized image of "Heritage Britain", all

celebration of Mr. Robert Dovers Olimpick games upon Cotswold-Hills (1636). The earliest date of these games is uncertain: Davenant refers to them in "A Journey into Worcestershire" (1620s or 1630), see Christopher Whitfield, *Robert Dover and the Cotswold Games* (Evesham: Henry Sotheran, London, 1962). See also, Leah S. Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell and the defense of old holiday pastimes* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1986), *passim*, especially Chapter 4.

⁶³ The second sonnet specifically suggests that England should follow the Scottish practice, concluding: "Low lands, your Sports are low as is your Seate, / The High-land Games and Minds, are high and great", *The pennyles pilgrimage*, Sig. F2r. Taylor's opening verse address concluding: "But if such things as these you long to see, / Lay downe my Booke, and but vouchsafe to reede / The learned Camden, or laborious Speede" is at sigs. A3r-A3v.

castles and pleasant landscapes. Chandler's title carefully allows the inclusion of *The Penniless Pilgrimage* by using the term "British", while resolutely excluding any texts that take Taylor to foreign parts.⁶⁴ However, most of Taylor's English journey pamphlets date from much later in his career, the majority after the publication of *All the Workes*. Although the early seventeenth century was a period when the idiosyncratic English traveler abroad was prominent in both theatre and print, Taylor was more inclined to satirise this phenomenon than to resemble the more extravagant voyagers of his day, as his treatment of Thomas Coryate demonstrates.⁶⁵ Chandler's collection, organized in chronological order, reveals this quite plainly: of the twelve "journeys" he includes, only four occurred before the publication of *All the Workes* in 1630, and these were concentrated within a five year period (1618-1623). Apart from *Taylor on Thame Isis* (1632, relating to a journey in 1631), the other seven all date from 1639 onwards. Five of these are from the last five years of Taylor's life, between 1648 and 1653.

There are several ironies here: over half of the journeys took place during or after the civil war. The content and tone of these narratives repeatedly reveals Taylor's dismay at the desecration of the "Stuart Britain" of Chandler's title. More generally, Taylor's journey pamphlets, including his foreign journeys, relate to only fourteen out of his forty years of publication, leaving two-thirds of his career as a writer without any new travel text.⁶⁶ Furthermore, it is doubtful whether most of the early narratives can be described as travelogues. They more often focus on particular events, such as the challenge of the paper boat in *In Praise of Hempseed*, or relate to specific purposes, such as the voyage to York to market Taylor's small books. The survey of the condition of the Thames in *Thame Isis* was not an independent journey at all, but a government expedition. Even the trip to Salisbury had a persuasive purpose, although this text

⁶⁴ The reason given for this decision is that the book is a companion to Chandler's earlier edition of John Leland: John Chandler (ed.), *Travels Through Stuart Britain: the adventures of John Taylor, the water poet* (Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 1999), Introduction, p. viii.

⁶⁵ Taylor's Coryate pamphlets been discussed by Michael Strachan in *The Life and Adventures of Thomas Coryate* (London, Oxford University Press, 1962) and Mark Aune, "An Englishman on an elephant: Thomas Coryate, travel writing and literary culture in early modern England" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Wayne State University, 2002) *passim*.

⁶⁶ This includes *Three weekes ... from London to Hamburgh in Germanie* (1617, STC 23807). His other foreign travels, took place in the years between the journeys to Scotland and to York.

conforms more closely to an observational account.⁶⁷ The term “Adventures” in Chandler’s title is therefore carefully chosen. *The Penniless Pilgrimage* and the voyage to Salisbury are the only two English/British journey pamphlets by Taylor published before 1639 that fit the modern idea of travel writing, as a descriptive account where the primary purpose is to inform readers about the places visited, albeit in a relatively entertaining fashion. However, as the discussion of *The Penniless Pilgrimage* above has shown, this is a dubious classification for a text that combines religious and political propaganda, the portrayal of England as a nation of generous Protestants, flattery of the Scottish nobility, and a bid for the status of “The King’s Maiesties Water Poet”.⁶⁸ Furthermore, immediately before and after *The Penniless Pilgrimage* Taylor made two foreign trips: in 1616/17 to Germany, to visit his brother at the court in Buckeberg, and in 1620 to Bohemia to visit the Palatine couple in Prague. Indeed, it was *Taylor his Travels to Prague in Bohemia* that became the most well known and sought after of his journey pamphlets. Thus, with his background of naval expeditions in the 1590s, reaching as far as the Azores, Taylor had more claim to the role of foreign traveler than most.⁶⁹

Nevertheless, Englishness did matter a great deal to Taylor. The terms “English” and “Englishman” are frequently employed in his work. An electronic search of the digital text of *All the Workes* picks out over three hundred occurrences of “English”, which is nearly one per page of this text. However, it is questionable how far these examples can be equated with more modern nationalist connotations. More often, they carried specific religious and ideological overtones, promoting the particular type of Protestantism, or anti-Catholicism, that was essential for Taylor and many of the stationers with whom he worked. This Englishness was inseparable from an

⁶⁷ *A new discovery by sea, with a wherry from London to Salisbury* (Edward Allder for the author, 1623), STC 23778.

⁶⁸ King James’s journey to Scotland took place in 1617. It is possible that Taylor used his own journey as a marketing trip, as well as a wagering journey. There was an edition of *Verbum Sempternum/Salvator Mundi* in 1616 (the second extant, STC 23811) and a second edition of *The Booke of Martyrs* in 1617 (STC 23731.5). Both are sufficiently small and light for hundreds of copies to be carried on horseback or in a walking pack. The first edition of *Jack a Lent* has also been dated 1617 (STC 23765); this is another slim and portable text that survives only in two damaged copies. .

⁶⁹ *Three weekes, three daies, and three houres observations and travel, from London to Hamburgh in germanie* (Edward Griffin for George Gybbs, 1617), STC 23807. *Taylor his travels: from the city of London in England, to the city of prague in Bohemia* (N. Okes for Henry Gosson tbs. Edward Wright, 1620), STC 23802.

international religious militancy, linking writer and stationers more closely with like-minded Protestants abroad than with compatriots, unless these were of the same persuasion. A title like *An Englishman's Love to Bohemia* demonstrates this context of European Protestantism, and the continental connections of Taylor, his friends and his publishers were part of this vision.

However, political resonances were not welcome aspects of Taylor's writing for nineteenth century scholars. His travel texts could fit their view of the period only in so far as their portrayal of contemporary English life could be divorced from any religious or political thrust. Thus the image of Taylor as the simple Rhyming Sculler was a necessary endorsement of the authenticity of his descriptions of Shakespearean England. If their own nineteenth-century plebeian poets of humble origin, cottagers, peasants and even butlers in country houses, tended to a plain and unaffected portrayal of nature, it seemed obvious that a lowly seventeenth century waterman would offer a similar honesty of vision matching his status.⁷⁰ Neutrality of viewpoint might be considered a natural consequence of being at the fringe or edge of a geographical or indeed a social scene. Thus the concept of the labouring poet reinforced the idea of Taylor as travel writer, and as travel writing and historical accounts both appealed strongly to the Victorian psyche, Taylor's work had a double draw for such readers. This trope of the detached or even innocent observer links in turn to the peculiarly Victorian sense of the "other", a desire for strangeness and difference.⁷¹ William Chambers, whose portrayal of Taylor draws heavily on Southey, particularly stresses the idea of Taylor's uniqueness. He describes the Water Poet as "one of the greatest oddities in the history of English Literature", and reiterates Southey's use of the term "eccentric". Taylor's "eccentric" position therefore became essential to his value for the nineteenth century reader, affording an apparently unique window into areas of Renaissance culture that seemed

⁷⁰ "Authenticity was the sine qua non of the hypothetical peasant poet", Scott McEathron, "Wordsworth, *Lyrical Ballads*, and the Problem of Peasant Poetry", p. 7. Bridget Keegan notes that Stephen Duck's *Thresher's Labour* has usually been praised, when praised at all, "for its historical veracity", Bridget Keegan, "Georgic Transformations and Stephen Duck's 'The Thresher's Labour'", in *SEL* 41.3 (Summer 2001), p. 546.

⁷¹ "Since what was needed was ... a continuing opportunity to experience otherness, there was no limit to the amount and authenticity of the historical detail. It was impossible to know or offer enough", Morse Peckham, "Afterword: Reflections on Historical Modes in the Nineteenth Century", in *Victorian Poetry* (London, Edward Arnold, 1972), 277- 300, pp. 280-1.

otherwise largely inaccessible.⁷² However, the conviction that such an eccentric character would provide a reliable portrayal of ordinary life is paradoxical, raising the puzzle of how far an apparently “unique” figure could be simultaneously considered representative of his age.

However, the paradoxes inherent in these nineteenth century paradigms of Taylor did not trouble critics for some time. J.S. Childers, who edited the Oxford reprint of *Lives of the Uneducated Poets* in 1925, was straightforward in his condemnation of Southey’s project, condemning the pretensions of all peasant poets out of hand. By contrast, Robert Dow and Wallace Notestein absorbed Southey’s portrayal of Taylor and repeated his focus on *The Penniless Pilgrimage*. Robert Dow focused almost exclusively on the gap between what he perceived as Taylor’s literary aspirations and the reality of his meagre talents. He designated the mock encomia of the 1620s as the peak of Taylor’s literary achievement, describing *All the Workes* as a final and failed bid for acceptance by the cultural elite. Dow’s scholarship is exhaustive and still unbeaten for its thoroughness, but his conceptual approach was rooted in the nineteenth century. This is perhaps unsurprising, as his supervisor, John Livingston Lowes (1867-1945), was an expert on Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Lowes’ theories on the centrality of the creative imagination, published in *The Road to Xanadu*, were an extension of the nineteenth century paradigm of genius as an inner quality, the anathema of the social wit and moral satire that formed the basis of Taylor’s practice.⁷³ It is *The Road to Xanadu* that seems to be the paradigm underlying Dow’s construction of Taylor as “the Average Man Turned Poet”, in contrast to those like Shakespeare (or Coleridge) who are, he declares, “always to be seen as creatures of genius, and incidentally men”.⁷⁴

It was not until the early 1980s that another American, Warren Wooden, began to question some of these nineteenth century paradoxes. Despite following the convention that Taylor had “discovered his metier in travel writing”, and repeating Dow’s evaluation in stating that “the weakest claim of these books on our attention is their literary value”, Wooden saw the need to explain how these texts could nevertheless be

⁷² W. Chambers, *Stories of Remarkable Persons* (W & R Chambers, Edinburgh & London, 1878), 37-46, p. 46.

⁷³ John Livingston Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu: A Study in the Ways of the Imagination* (Boston & New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927).

⁷⁴ Dow, *Life and Times*, Preamble, p.3.

effective pieces of writing. His answer, attributing this success to the impression of personal qualities in the text, was partly conventional but went beyond previous assessments by suggesting that these personal qualities might be a deliberate creation of the text. It was thus Wooden, ten years prior to Bernard Capp, who proposed the idea that Taylor had deliberately fashioned a “persona … perfect for the travelogue format”, rather than just happening to be the right man for the job. Yet despite this innovative approach, Wooden retained Notestein’s emphasis on honest Englishness: he envisaged Taylor as a “blunt, unpretentious Englishman, honest, open, and never overawed … measuring all he sees by a pure English standard”. He observed the recurrence of phrases such as “plain-dealing” and “all is true” in the journey pamphlets, and noted Taylor’s admiration for Thomas Nashe, without recognising the possibility of satirical elements in the text.⁷⁵

This is demonstrated at the conclusion of the article, where Wooden sums up the account of the inn at Nether Stowey from *John Taylor’s Wandering to see the wonders of the West* (1649) as “a compendium of the hazards a weary traveller might confront just to find a decent resting place”, missing the satirical exaggerations of Taylor’s style completely. The *Wanderings to the West* describes the ravages of the civil war on the English countryside and towns: the title-page is defiantly Royalist and the “Bill” that follows refers satirically to the contemporary political situation. However, like Hume Brown’s treatment of *The Penniless Pilgrimage*, Wooden ignores these preliminaries, nor does he comment on the satirical effect of Taylor’s description of the Inn’s facilities:

For my further delight, my chamber-pot seemed to be lined with crimson plush, or shag’d scarlet bayes, it had scaped a scowring time out of minde, it was fur’d with antiquity, and withal it had a monumental savour; and this pisse-pot was another of my best contentments.

Here, Taylor parodies conventional accounts of antiquities, piling up descriptive details that turn the chamber pot into a grotesque parody of a dynastic treasure. Its filthy state is

⁷⁵ Warren W. Wooden, “The Peculiar Peregrinations of John Taylor, the Water Poet: A Study of Seventeenth Century British Travel Literature”, in *Prose Studies* 6 (1983), 3-20, *passim*.

described in terms of an antiquity, padded and draped with expensive fabric, and it is pictured as a little room, or an enclosed monument. The metaphor is extended further by phrases such as “scaped a scowring *time out of mind*” and “fur’d with *antiquity*” (with a scathing pun on the furred gowns of judges and earls); even the smell is described as “a *monumentall* savour”. While this might seem heavy handed, it is also appropriate in a text that parodies the conventional country tour of a gentlemanly antiquarian. The style takes the prose to the level of satirical verse, depending on the rhythms and the sound of the words for its full effect, and testifying to the writer’s relish as he composed.⁷⁶

Throughout this description of these horrors, the sense of sight, smell, even taste and touch are evoked in a graphic and repellent fashion. The style is so exaggerated as to be grotesque, with more than a little resemblance to Taylor’s fully fledged nonsense verse. Indeed, the description of crushing fleas that “were so plumpe & mellow that they would squash to pieces like young boiled pease” is echoed in a well known line from *The essence of Nonsense upon Sence*, “Oh that my wings could bleat like butter’d pease”.⁷⁷ This parallel confirms that *John Taylor’s Wandering to see the wonders of the West* was not composed as a straightforward travelogue. The extravagant account of being attacked by fleas and the prurient description of the chamber pot go far beyond the requirements of a warning against sub-standard accommodation. While Taylor did produce catalogues specifically for the information of travellers, such as *The Carriers Cosmographie*, the discourse and presentation of such texts served a very different function. Wooden’s focus on the sociological content of the travel writing therefore limits the potential for readers both to enjoy the pleasures of the text as language and to perceive the political and polemical resonances that would have spoken to Taylor’s contemporaries.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ *John Taylors wandering, to see the wonders of the west. ...Dedicated to all his loving friends, and free minded benefactors. In these dangerous dayes for rich men, and miserable times for the poore servants of the late King, (whereof I was one, 45. yeers to his royll father and himself) (1649, Wing T528), sigs. B4r-B4v.*

⁷⁷ *The essence, quintessence, insence, innocence, lye-sence, & magnifisence of nonsense upon sence: or, Sence upon nonsense. (1654, Wing T458, Sig.B2r. This line, usually with the variant “lungs” for “wings”, was much quoted and imitated, both in manuscript and print, see Noel Malcolm, *The Origins of English Nonsense*, p. 211.*

⁷⁸ *John Taylor, The Carriers Cosmographie or A briefe relation, of the innes, ordinaries, hosterries, and other lodgings in, and neere London, where the carriers, waggons, foote-posts and higgliers, doe usually come (Anne Griffin, 1637), STC 23740.*

Although the earlier “journey” pamphlets may be less prone to flights of stylistic fancy, they too demonstrate complexities that belie their subsequent characterisation as transparent travelogues. However, the modern reader’s recognition of such textual strategies has been hampered by changed expectations of genre. In particular, the early modern habit of juxtaposing passages of religious or political satire with straightforward narrative description can now seem disconcerting. This explains John Chandler’s exasperated response to *Part of this Summer’s Travels* (1639). Declaring that “as a journey [*Part of this Summer’s Travels*] cannot be counted a success” as “there is no destination and no itinerary”, Chandler suggests that Taylor’s lack of purpose here differs from his earlier ambitions in *The Penniless Pilgrimage*. However, this perception of purposelessness shows a fundamental misunderstanding of Taylor’s aims as a writer, which becomes clear in Chandler’s dismissal of the lengthy passage of moralistic verse satire on the place name “The Devils Ars a Peak” as “tediously contrived”. For Taylor’s journey was undertaken just before the start of the civil war, and this passage on the devil specifically targets both Parliament (“the Hell at Westminster”) and separatists.⁷⁹ Furthermore, although his visit to this peak occurred part way through the trip, Taylor places the satire at the conclusion, deliberately drawing the reader’s attention to this structure. The three “jerks”, as he names the three sections of the satire, form by far the longest section of the whole pamphlet.⁸⁰ It seems difficult to avoid the implication that the journey narrative and the satire had a shared purpose. Taylor’s main hosts on this trip were either family members or old acquaintances who shared his religious and royalist persuasions.⁸¹ It is thus likely that he was aiming to appeal to such an audience in the published account, as well as expressing his own feelings. However, Chandler’s assessment of *Part of this Summer’s Travels* as a “carefree” text that has “no high ideal beyond entertaining his readers [...] making a profit” leaves no room for the

⁷⁹ The separatists “hate clean linnen, and all order, neatnesse and decency in the church”: this reference to “clean linnen” may cast light on Taylor’s choice of this phrase for *The Praise, of Clean Linnen* (1624), STC 23787.

⁸⁰ “Jerks” uses the discourse of Juvenilian satire and plays on the idea of whipping the devil’s backside prompted by the place-name.

⁸¹ Including Sir Francis Wortley, a staunch royalist with whom Taylor had a long acquaintance (first mentioned in *The Pennilesse Pilgrimage*, 1618, but probably dating back much further).

polemical thrust that would surely have been uppermost in the minds of Taylor, the friends he visited, and the readers to whom he hoped to sell or distribute this pamphlet.⁸²

Thus Chandler's presentation of Taylor's journey pamphlets for a twenty-first century audience reinforces the prevalent tendency to ignore the political or partisan aspects of Taylor's work outside the civil war propaganda. The image of Taylor as an entertainer, who developed the persona of the bluff English travel writer to achieve profit and fame, has been so influential that other elements have become invisible. As a consequence, the whole endeavour of many texts by Taylor has come to seem trivial and meaningless, leading to the sense of dissatisfaction that Chandler expresses in relation to *Part of this Summer's Travels*. Yet it would be equally unhelpful to argue that all Taylor's publications should be read as directed in their entirety to specific polemical ends. The difficulty lies not only in re-imagining the precise context of both writing and reception, but also in agreeing how far such contexts should be held to inform the total effect of the text. It may be helpful to bear in mind Jesse Lander's caveat about the relationship between print and private writing:

*Capp underestimates the differences between printed pamphlets and private diaries, downplaying the possibility that texts geared for the market may be less than ingenuous.*⁸³

However, this is a wider issue than Lander implies, for it has to do with the very purpose of composition for an audience, whatever the medium of circulation. In this respect, a useful model is Andrew Mouseley's distinction between modern expectations of autobiography and what he prefers to term "early modern life-writing". Mouseley describes how the sixteenth century musician Thomas Whythorne constructed an account of his life around his commonplace book, as a social, rather than introspective, gesture.⁸⁴ Whythorne was attempting to bring coherence to his position within his world

⁸² See Taylor's use in 1641 of the "Devil's Ars" in an attack on Henry Walker, where pictorial satire and letter text were effectively combined (*A replie as True as Steele* (1641), Wing T506).

⁸³ Jesse Lander, review of Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water Poet, 1578 - 1653*, in *Renaissance Quarterly* 49. 3 (Autumn, 1996), 651-652, p.651.

⁸⁴ "Whythorne's elaboration of a text of his life should not be taken as an indication of a new concern with "the self", so much as an illustration of an intensified preoccupation with status and role", Andrew

rather than expressing doubts about his personal identity. Thus early modern life writing worked outwardly, aiming for an effect in the real world as part of a negotiation of situation and status. This analysis can provide the basis for a more balanced view of the “self-fashioning” proposed for Taylor by critics like Wooden. It points towards the conception of early modern print as a social medium as promoted by reading historians such as Natalie Zemon Davies.⁸⁵

Thus, although the “self-fashioning” occurring in Taylor’s texts may be understood as consciously inter-textual, social and polemical, the reference to “self” is actually rather misleading. The fashioning of the printed persona involved every aspect of the medium, including the stationers and friends or acquaintances who were involved in this process. Indeed, the pitfalls of focusing on authorial self-representation as the key to a published text are acutely demonstrated in the present critical fixation on the self with regard to Taylor. Christopher Hill makes this point sharply by his repetition of this term in his review of Bernard Capp’s biography:

[Taylor] offers a self-contained subject, hitherto inadequately studied. Capp has produced a rounded study, also likely to be definitive. But why Taylor? - a self-educated, self-publicising rhymester who by force of personality and hard work made himself one of the most popular versifiers of early Stuart England. Only Daniel, Jonson, Shakespeare and Taylor had their collected works published - which indicates Taylor’s popularity

Hills’ phraseology here reveals late twentieth century solipsism run riot, emphasising the circularity of the paradigm in the sequence “self-contained”, “rounded” and “definitive”.⁸⁶ Yet Hill’s identification of *All the Workes* with the term “popularity” seems to be a deliberate contradiction of this paradigm of self-containment. The publication of a collected works in folio is generally considered to have been a reflection

Mouseley, “Renaissance Selves and Life Writing: The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne”, in, *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 26.3 (1990), 222-230, p.228 and *passim*.

⁸⁵ Natalie Zemon Davies, “Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth Century France”, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 33 (1983) 69-88; see also, Jason Scott-Warren, *Sir John Harington and the Book as Gift* (Oxford, OUP, 2001), pp.1-24 and 236-241.

⁸⁶ Christopher Hill, Review of Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water poet, 1578-1653*, in *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), 667-669, pp.667-668 (my underlining).

of the author's learning and/or literary status.⁸⁷ However, the commonly understood sense of "popularity", as having a wide circulation and appeal to the masses, does not match this formula. In this respect Hill complicates the recently proposed concept of the bibliographic ego, which has led to the labeling of folios as a "prestige format", and has recently been applied to both John Taylor and Thomas Coryate's ventures.⁸⁸ Joseph Loewenstein proposed this term for "a specifically early modern form of authorial identification with printed writing", offering a model of authorship as the expression of a unique individuality projected into the material space of the book. By defining the text as simultaneously a material object and a direct creation of the author's inwardness, it is apparently possible to reconcile nineteenth century Romanticism with the materialist strand of Book History. Furthermore, as Loewenstein considers the projection of the self into the printed text as a possessive act, he argues that the bibliographic ego was an essential stage in the historical development of the wider concept of intellectual property.⁸⁹

However, these theories arise from an interpretation of the relationship between stationers and authors in the early seventeenth century as essentially competitive. It is not surprising therefore that Taylor has been characterized in this scenario as a thief, purloining the intellectual property rights of would-be best-selling authors like Thomas Coriate or George Wither.⁹⁰ Yet, the key figures employed by Loewenstein and his followers to develop his theory of the bibliographic ego, Ben Jonson and George Wither, are no more likely to be representative of early modern practice as a whole than is John Taylor. However, unlike Taylor, the relations of both of these authors with printers and publishers are unusually well documented for the period, both by themselves and

⁸⁷ See for example, Andrew Nash, "Introduction: The Culture of Collected Editions: Authorship, Reputation, and the Canon", in Andrew Nash (ed.), *The Culture of Collected Editions*, (Hounds-mills, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 1-15; also the opening essay by Ian Donaldson, "Collecting Ben Jonson", pp. 19-31. See also, Benedict Scott Robinson, *Thomas Heywood and the Cultural Politics of Play Collections*, in *SEL* 42.2, (Spring 2002), pp. 361-380, *passim*.

⁸⁸ "I understand Taylor's folio to be an act of the 'bibliographic ego' that Joseph Loewenstein attributes to Jonson", Laurie Ellinghausen, "The Individualist Project of John Taylor 'The Water Poet'", p.166, note 30; see also, Mark Aune, "An Englishman on an elephant", p. 104.

⁸⁹ Joseph Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.1. See also, Joseph Loewenstein, *The Author's Due: Printing and the prehistory of Copyright* (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 2002), *passim*.

⁹⁰ See, for example, Aune, "Englishman on an Elephant", pp 72-75; Salzman, *Literary Culture in Jacobean England*, p. 125.

through legal complications consequent on their disputes with the stationers. They are also both writers with whom Taylor had a complex and equivocal relationship, inflected not just by issues of social class and erudition, but also by underlying religious and political antipathies. In the case of Taylor's response to *Wither's Motto*, ideology is fundamental to an understanding of their conflicting attitudes to authorship and publication.⁹¹

Although it has been presented as a revolutionary theory, the idea of the bibliographic ego is essentially a development of the New Historicist concept of authorial self-fashioning. Loewenstein focuses on the author's attempt to assert his authority over the material creation of the text and its wider circulation, extending the concept of "self-fashioning" into every area of publication. Thus the prestige format of the Works, apparently so important to Ben Jonson, is presented as an extreme example of the assertion of individuality, embodying the ultimate goal of authorship as the expression of the individualistic self. Once again we have a psychological explanation, encapsulated in the very term "bibliographic ego", which tends to disregard or at best subordinate the social and cooperative nature of early modern print culture. This paradigm has also been applied to the folio *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630), following the general assumption both that Taylor was directly emulating Jonson, and that the Water Poet was in himself the epitome of individualism for the period. However, while there is no doubt that Taylor's authorial identity is projected in *All the Workes of John Taylor*, this identity was fundamentally different from Jonson's, just as it was from George Wither.⁹²

Thus, by turning the focus back once again on the man instead of the medium, theories of early modern authorial self-fashioning and the bibliographic ego have been equally unhelpful as avenues to advance the analysis of Taylor's publications. Despite the potential breakthrough in Wooden's initial focus on textual strategies in Taylor's journey pamphlets, it is still the author's psychology that remains the dominant focus for criticism. Capp's attribution of "social anxiety" to Taylor has been extended into James Mardock's account of the "anxious self-positioning" in the pre-civil-war texts of 1641-2.

⁹¹ For *Wither's Motto* and *Taylor's Motto*, see Chapter 2, below, *passim*.

⁹² "I suspect that the idea sprang from admiration of Jonson; if the idol could be done up in folio, then the worshipper could", Dow, *Life and Times*, p.249.

Both Mardock and Ellinghausen follow Capp in reading Taylor's early career in print through the lens of events post-1640. Mardock's conclusion that "an anxiety about his cultural place can be traced throughout all of Taylor's writing", fits precisely with Laurie Ellinghausen's view of Taylor as placed in a double-bind between the desire to realise his "modern personality" and his fear of impending change under the "revolutionary pressures" of the civil war.⁹³ This recent focus on the psychological effects of social dislocation can be understood partly as a reflection of our times, just as Southey's portrayal of Taylor was informed by the tensions of Reform in the 1830s. However, it also reflects technological developments, as digital imaging has shifted the focus of critical attention onto Taylor's civil war pamphlets, which had disappeared from discussion for most of the twentieth century.⁹⁴

As a side-effect of this process, the folio *All the Workes of John Taylor* has come to seem increasingly redundant, reinforcing the belief in Taylor's literary failure in the 1630s. Thus the twenty years of publications before the civil war have now been glossed retrospectively as a period of "anxiety" for Taylor on all fronts - psychological, social and bibliographic.⁹⁵ However, by tracing the perceived anxieties of Taylor's civil-war pamphlets back to the first decades of the seventeenth century, modern literary critics are reading his early texts in the shadow of a mid-century crisis that neither author nor stationers could have foreseen.⁹⁶ It is equally possible to understand these two decades of publication as an expression of the strength of commitment and confidence of Taylor and his publishers in a particular ideology and type of social relationships that held a widespread appeal at the time. Indeed, this would make more sense as an explanation of

⁹³ For Ellinghausen and Mardock on anxiety, see note 10, above.

⁹⁴ See, for example, Kristen Poole, *Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, CUP, 2000, paperback 2006), 53-73 and 104-123, especially p.45, p.106-7.

⁹⁵ Hartle describes Taylor as "a poet for these Times", whose whole essence is summed up in the image of "The World Turned Upside Down": P. N. Hartle, "'All his Workes Sir': John Taylor's Nonsense", in *Neophilologus* 86 (2002), 155-169.

⁹⁶ "Part of the revisionist thrust in re-interpreting the early Stuart period has been the claim that parliamentary history has been 'seriously distorted by hindsight, because historians ... have been looking for a continuous development of opposition which was not really there'", Robert Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism, 1628-1660* (Cambridge, CUP, 2001), Introduction, p.5; Wilcher is quoting Austin Woolrych, "Court, Country and City Revisited" in *History* 65 (1980) 236-45, 236. My argument here appears to follow revisionist lines but my later chapters take a more post-revisionist perspective. However, neither revisionist nor post-revisionist accounts of the pre-civil war period fit Taylor or the stationers with whom he was involved satisfactorily: the most helpful view seems to lie somewhere between these approaches.

the market success of Taylor's increasingly frequent publications through the 1620s, culminating in the folio collection of 1630. Yet because these successes have been glossed repeatedly as a consequence of Taylor's novelty value as a rhyming waterman and a preference for trivial entertainment at the cheaper end of the spectrum, there has been minimal investigation of the moral, religious and political ideologies embodied in these same texts. Indeed, Victor Neuberg introduces the facsimile reprint of *All the Workes* in 1972 with the paradoxical statement that "Taylor was – and this should not be overlooked – one of England's earliest best-selling authors. His emphasis was seldom upon the religious and political issues which so endlessly plagued his contemporaries".⁹⁷ Even Bernard Capp, while dealing sympathetically and in unusual depth with Taylor's religious beliefs, nevertheless retains the anachronistic separation between such "serious" matters and the bulk of Taylor's published work. Indeed, Capp's analysis ultimately repeats the paradoxical nature of Neuberg's more superficial judgment, as shown in such consecutive sentences as "Taylor's journey [to Prague] is striking proof of his deep interest in the political issues of the day. But his main ambition always remained to succeed as a writer, and it was in the early 1620s that he produced most of his more 'literary' pieces".⁹⁸

However, there is clear evidence of Taylor's active involvement in producing propaganda for the Protestant cause in Europe in the early 1620s, during the height of this supposedly 'literary' phase of his career.⁹⁹ Furthermore, the very texts described by Capp, following Dow, as Taylor's "more literary pieces" were equally driven by such religious and political energies. That these energies were often expressed in the 1620s in the form of jesting, satire and burlesque does not invalidate the underlying seriousness of their aims, especially when such genres were considered appropriate vehicles for moral and political expression in the period. Neither does Taylor's authorial practice in texts such as the mock encomia or nonsense verse contradict the more straightforwardly religious material that he was producing at the same time. Rather it seems clear that for Taylor, as for the majority of readers and writers in the early modern period, the

⁹⁷ V. E. Neuberg, *All The Workes of John Taylor, The Water Poet* (The Scholar Press Limited, Menston, Yorkshire & London, 1973), Introductory Note.

⁹⁸ Bernard Capp, *World of John Taylor*, p.25.

⁹⁹ See Chapters 8-9, below, *passim*.

separation of genres and styles into serious or comic, literary or topical and so on, was in its infancy.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, the fact that Taylor was apparently more widely read and appreciated than some more erudite authors of his day reflects his understanding of how to appeal to an audience by expressing serious ideas and beliefs in an entertaining fashion, designed to take his readers along with him.¹⁰¹

However, the difficulty of appreciating the contemporary force of Taylor's texts before the civil war has been compounded by the dominance of the 1630 folio collection or reprints from it, where only a single title-page illustration from the original editions is reproduced. As Tessa Watt has shown, the interaction of visual, oral and textual elements was a vital part of communication for early modern print. While we cannot be certain how far intonation and accent played a part in the effect of Taylor's work, although it undoubtedly did so, we can more easily recognize the importance of visual prompts. Indeed, as my thesis will show, Taylor was working closely with the visual medium well before the civil war pamphlets, where the importance of illustration has long been accepted by scholars. The lack of attention paid by critics to the presentation of Taylor's early work is in part a consequence of the division of his career as a writer into phases, with the 1630 folio as the watershed between his "literary" aspirations and political propaganda. Thus paradoxically *All the Workes of John Taylor* has had an unhelpful, indeed negative effect on long-term understanding of Taylor's work.¹⁰² Although this volume was the main means of preservation for the pre-civil war texts, its

¹⁰⁰ In *Austin's Vrania* (1629), Samuel Austin of Exeter College complains that London publishers have informed him religious poetry will not sell; although determined to keep his own poem pure from contamination by other genres, including satire, he indicates that he would refer to topical events if it were safe to do so. Thus for Austin the mixture of politics and religion as subject matter would be appropriate, but genres must be kept pure. This was apparently a minority view but Austin has been influenced by Taylor, and refers to lines from both *Taylor's Vrania* (1615/16) and *Honour Conceal'd; Strangely Reveal'd* (c.1623-28, in *All the Workes* only): *Austin's Vrania or, The heauenly muse, in a poem full if most feeling meditations* (R. Allott and H. Seile, 1629), STC971. See, Clare Wikeley, "'Honour Conceal'd; Strangely Revea'l'd': The Fool and the Water-Poet", in *The Spanish match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. by Alexander Samson (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006), 189-208, pp. 202-3.

¹⁰¹ The issue of audience appeal probably underlies Ben Jonson's equivocal report that "The King said Sir P. Sidney was no poet, neither did he see ever any verses in England to the Sculler's". Wheale glosses this as "King James, according to Jonson, valued the work of John Taylor the Water Poet above all others" (Wheale, *Writing and Society*, p.88); Capp observes that the King's words were "a nicely ambiguous phrase, but apparently meant at least in part as a compliment" (Capp, *World of John Taylor*, p.46). Whatever the point of James's statement, Jonson's antipathy to Taylor's work reflects annoyance as well as scorn.

¹⁰² The first edition of *The Water Cormorant* (1622), STC 23813, is an example where loss of the two illustrations on transfer to *All the Workes* has changed the visual impact significantly (see Chapter 8).

nature and contemporary impact has been much misunderstood in subsequent centuries. The view that *All the Workes* represents the apotheosis of Taylor's literary aspirations, that it was a failure in this respect, and that it was Taylor's last, spectacularly unsuccessful bid for elite patronage, has cast a long shadow over the first twenty years of Taylor's publications.¹⁰³

This narrative is responsible for the view that the 1630s represent the low-point in Taylor's authorial career, where he resorted to the lower forms of cheap print, more travelogues, information booklets such as *The Carriers Cosmographie*, and even sensationalist pamphlets.¹⁰⁴ However, the belief that Taylor's output fell after 1630 is unfounded, as a count of the new texts published before and after this date demonstrates. The impression of a gap in his writing career has been compounded by the loss of many titles that were registered during the 1630s but no longer survive; there may have been others that were never registered and of which there is now no trace.¹⁰⁵ The assumption that Taylor's confidence fell to a low point after 1630 is also a consequence of basic misconceptions about both his personal attitude to authorship and early modern models of authorship in general. For evidence shows that Taylor was both relatively well off financially and very active in other ways during the early to mid 1630s: he was involved in a major government survey of the Thames in 1631/2; he was a Ruler and Clerk in the watermen's company; he was assessed for Ship Money in the middle of the decade; he secured the commission for the Lord Mayor's pageant in 1634 and bid for it again in 1635.¹⁰⁶ He was also moving into his sixties, and thus may well have viewed *All the Workes* as the crowning point of his writing career, which did not require repetition. The fact that Taylor took up pamphleteering for the crown with such energy and unflagging

¹⁰³ Capp states of *All the Workes* that, "This was the high point of Taylor's literary career... Taylor was clearly making a final and ambitious bid for patronage and recognition", Capp, *World of John Taylor*, p. 30

¹⁰⁴ "Significantly, after the publication of his *Works*, Taylor abandoned the fruitless search for generous patrons and either used no dedications or mocked the conventions with ironic addresses", Wheale, *Writing and Society*, p. 94. However, Taylor often used mock dedications before 1630 and few of his works were published without a dedication of some kind.

¹⁰⁵ "On [All the Workes], and on reprints of separate pieces, Taylor allowed his labors to rest for several years, and it practically ends his "literary" career", Dow, *Life and Times*, p.254. The survival of *The Suddaine Turn of Fortunes Wheele* (1631) in an eighteenth century manuscript copy, supports the possibility that other texts composed by Taylor in the 1630s may have been lost. See Afterword, below.

¹⁰⁶ Capp, *Life and Times*, p.33. For the 1634 pageant, see Sheila Williams, "A Lord Mayor's Show by John Taylor, the Water Poet" in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 41 (1959) 501-531, *passim*.

enthusiasm during the early 1640s, when he was over sixty years old, is testament to his energies and determination in the face of difficulties, as well as his unswerving dedication to the King. But it is also the consequence of the loss of his other sources of income, which by the late 1630s were largely, as probably they had always been, non-literary and non-authorial.

Modern paradigms of authorship elevate writing above other activities: as a professional, a writer is supposed to be intent on developing his/her career and producing ever more literary, or at least impressive, works throughout their lives. However, this clearly did not happen in the early modern period, when other models of authorship pertained, and for Taylor there was little separation between writing and active involvement in pursuing his ideologies, as well as income, by other means. Yet this does not invalidate the view that Taylor's civil war pamphlets were a continuation from his activities in the decades beforehand. While it would be fallacious to read the 1640s back into the earlier decades, we can recognize the techniques, skills and indeed ideologies of the earlier period in the later texts. To this extent, my thesis shows that post-revisionist theory does have some application to both Taylor and his publishers. For much of what Taylor was doing in the first three decades was indeed relevant to the 1640s. His deep involvement in Protestant polemics early in his writing career is directly related to his civil war pamphleteering. For, the "Royalists' conviction that they fought God's as well as the King's war" can be seen taking root in the publications of Taylor, as well as the stationers such as James Boler with whom he was associated, especially in the 1620s and in *All the Workes* in 1630. That this came to fruition only in the 1640s suggests that much of this impetus had gone underground during the 1630s, and that the evidence for it is more difficult to recover.¹⁰⁷

Yet, for example, the developing association between Taylor and Martin Parker in the 1630s was to have enormous consequences in the civil war, even though it appears that Parker during the 1630s was building on Taylor's nonsense verse and histories rather than his overtly religious or topical texts. Taylor's associations with other writers before the 1640s is one of the most neglected areas of his "world" in modern scholarship. Capp's image of Taylor as a "social amphibian" posits two distinct areas of

¹⁰⁷ Robert Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism*, Introduction, p. 1.

society, the popular and the elite, between which Taylor attempted, and ultimately failed, to negotiate. However, as Capp later concludes, Taylor's texts suggest a more nuanced analysis of social strata in the period, and his origins were not as humble as the image of "The Sculler" was designed to suggest. Taylor's family links and occupations placed him at a social level above this image, even before his first publication. His position as Tower Bottle Man had brought him into close contact with the Tower Lieutenants at least seven years before *The Sculler* was published, and when he moved on to become a Ruler in the Watermen's company, he also took the position of Clerk, which was not a rotating office, but was the leading role in the Company and a time-consuming occupation. It is clear that by the late 1630s the ordinary watermen perceived Taylor as moving in different circles with opposing values to their own; his friendships with other Rulers and Royal Watermen, such as Tilbury Strange, point to the same conclusion.¹⁰⁸ Thus it is not surprising to find Taylor developing different links with other writers like Thomas Brewer and Robert Anton, as well as friendships with stationers that suggest more than just a commercial and contingent set of relations within the publishing world.¹⁰⁹

Taylor put his talents to work in a wide range of fields and in the service of those institutions and beliefs that were of particular importance to him. In this respect, he was no different to other writers of the period, whether pamphleteers, poets or playwrights.¹¹⁰ His texts also served the purposes of the very stationers who are described as having to be "persuaded" to take them on, a fact that is especially noticeable where the publications involved were materially attractive or unusual. Taylor was also instrumental in publishing the work of others and was happy to advertise their achievements. Even the folio *All the Workes of John Taylor*, much cited as the acme of self-promotion, was carefully packaged for the shop of the publisher James Boler and directed towards the

¹⁰⁸ His relatives included a court musician in Germany, a "gentlewoman" in Leicestershire, a portrait painter in Oxford whose subjects included William Shakespeare, and the landlord of a major inn in Leicester, clearly an established townsperson of some means.

¹⁰⁹ Taylor spent some of his time in Oxford during the Plague summer of 1625 in the company of college students and fellows, even absorbing some Latin and Greek in the process,

¹¹⁰ As Lander notes, "Capp's argument for the broad yet complex and divided popular culture that determines this "world" [of John Taylor] is very attractive, but fully to convince it would need to demonstrate that Taylor's cultural project was not idiosyncratic, and to do that it would need to give greater attention to the publishers, printers and readers who made this bizarre and fascinating figure of John Taylor, The Water Poet, possible" (Jesse Lander, review of *The World of John Taylor*, p.652).

political situation at the start of the 1630s. The fact that some of Taylor's texts were published anonymously by his regular stationers, and yet could still have a decisive impact, both contemporary and long-term, belies the image of this writer as trading wholly on the marketing tool of individualism. Furthermore, the longer-term influence of Taylor's style and experiments in both genre and format, demonstrates that these texts had an intrinsic appeal to later generations that was not reliant on their author's identity. Just as John Taylor's initial engagement with the print market was prompted by the encouragement of friends and the opposition of detractors, so too his texts were continually shaped by and shaping the culture and medium of communication.

Chapter Two: Poetry in Action: John Taylor and Authorship.

This chapter explores John Taylor's approach to authorship, beginning with a reassessment of the relationship between *Taylor's Motto* and *Wither's Motto* (1621), against the background of the family business of Taylor's first publisher, Henry Gosson, stretching back into the 1590s.

This chapter explores Taylor's approach to authorship and print before the civil war, beginning with a reconsideration of the textual and bibliographic relationship between *Taylor's Motto* and *Wither's Motto* (1621). It challenges the current orthodoxy that Taylor published his own *Motto* simply to take advantage of Wither's market success. Instead, Taylor's point by point refutation of Wither's position on authorship reveals a fundamental opposition between the two writers' ideologies, founded on contrasting religious and political values. These oppositions informed every aspect of their attitudes to publication, so that their relationships with stationers and readers were utterly dissimilar. While for Wither authorship was essentially contemplative, a means of separating the self from earthly matters and enjoying a special relationship with God, for Taylor both writing and going into print were primarily acts of engagement in the political, religious and material world. This engagement was inextricably bound up with ethics of service and loyalty, both to the Crown and the English Protestant church, that were essential to his identity as an author.

Taylor has been characterised relentlessly by modern critics as an unscrupulous opportunist with “an eye for the main chance”, who would seize every occasion to promote himself at the expense of more earnest writers.¹ While there is no denying his ability to turn situations to his advantage and to respond quickly to innovations, this should not be interpreted as a lack of commitment, either to writing as an art or to his duties and beliefs. Although writing and publishing undoubtedly involved a desire for individual recognition and appreciation on Taylor's part, this does not set him apart from other authors, and gives no cause for assuming that Taylor was less “serious” in his practice or beliefs.² The portmanteau term “Water Poet” points to the symbiotic existence of both strands in his authorial identity: the waterman as an active servant to

¹ The quotation is from Paul Salzman, *Literary Culture in Jacobean England*, p.125; see also Mark Aune, “An Englishman on an elephant”, p.36.

² “Taylor's religion was less important to him than to many in his time” (Notestein, *Four Worthies*, p.199).

the monarch and the country, represented by the Thames and the navy, and the poet who fulfils the same role but through writing and publication. These two facets of Taylor's approach to authorship, his active engagement with current events and his professional concern for the art of writing, cannot be separated. Both were present from the start of his career in print and both can be perceived in the earliest image of the plain and solitary waterman that introduced Taylor to the book-buying public:

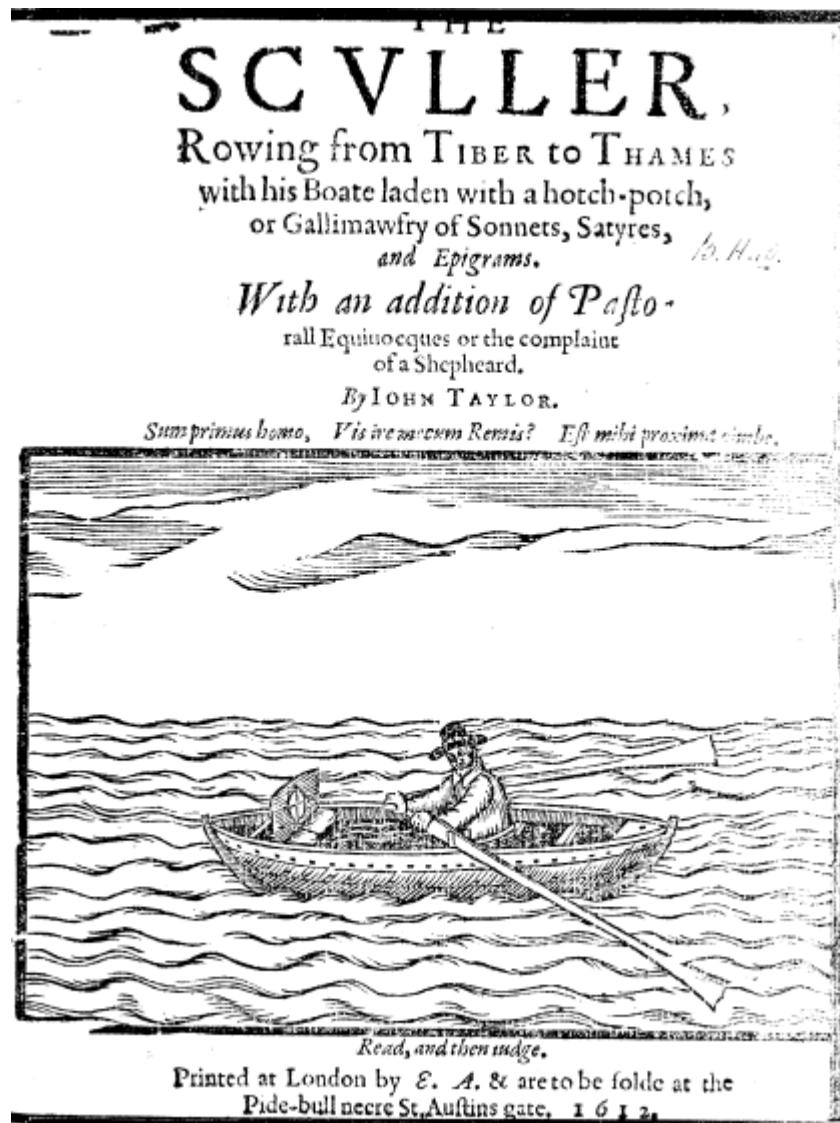


Fig. 2.1. Title page to *The Sculler*, 1612, Taylor's first independent publication.³

³ John Taylor, *The Sculler* (E. Alde [for H. Gossen], tbs. Nathaniel Butter), STC23791
<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>

The title page woodcut of *The Sculler* (1612) has become the most widely recognised visual image of “the Water Poet”. By the nineteenth century this visual iconography had become blended with Taylor’s later poetic account of inspiration by the muses, published as part of his *Motto* in 1621. Here, Taylor elaborated a narrative that had been sketched for him by the dramatist Henry Shirley in his commendatory verse “To the honest Sculler John Taylor” printed in *Taylors Urania* (1615/16). In a playfully elaborate passage, Shirley imagined the Muses searching for a suitable recipient for their gifts and lighting on John Taylor:

*Then chus'd they thee, and on thy nimble braine
Pow'rd out a draught of Heliconian wine*⁴

In *Taylor's Motto*, Shirley’s tale appears reformulated by Taylor:

*It chanc'd one euening, on a reedy banke,
The Muses sate together in a ranke:
Whilst in my boate I did by water wander,
Repeating lines of Hero and Leander,
The Triple three tooke great delight in that,
Cal'd me a shore, and caus'd me sit and chat,
And in the end when all our talke was done,
They gaue to me a draught of Helicon,
Which prou'd to me a blessing and a curse,
To fill my pate with verse, and empt my purse.*⁵

Taylor published this account ten years later than *The Sculler*, as part of *Taylor's Motto* (1621). The elements here, such as the three Muses sitting on a reedy bank listening to the poet reciting verses, and the “draught of Helicon”, are clearly formulaic and not to be taken either literally, or too seriously.

⁴ John Taylor, *Taylors Vrania, or His heavenly muse* (E. Griffin for N. Butter, 1615/16), STC 23806, sig. A4r.

⁵ John Taylor, *Taylor's motto Et habeo, et careo, et curo* (E. Alld for J. Trundle & H. Gossen, 1621), STC 23800, sigs. 5v-D6r.

However, the temptation to utilise this kind of text as the basis for biography is perhaps unavoidable in the absence of other sources of information about Taylor's early years. This may explain why Bernard Capp simply integrates the mythical anecdote into his own biography of Taylor:

It was during this period that [Taylor] developed an interest in literature and learning. He had made many friends among the actors and writers in Southwark ... once aroused, his appetite for books ... before long he had developed an itch to write. One evening, he tells us in fanciful style, he was rowing along "Repeating lines of Hero and Leander" - presumably Marlowe's poem - when the Muses summoned him to a reedy bank ... He tried his hand at a variety of styles, and showed the results to his new friends. In 1612 he brought these scattered verses together...⁶

Here, Taylor's account of inspiration published in 1621 is inserted back anachronistically into Capp's hypothetical explanation of how Taylor first developed a taste for literature. Although the phrase "in fanciful style" acts as a demurrer, nonetheless Capp here uses the fact that Taylor "tells us" this particular snippet about the evening on the Thames to authenticate his own deductions about the sequence of events, which are based only on conjecture. We do not know when Taylor "developed an interest in literature and learning", nor whether it was his friends in Southwark who first encouraged him. Indeed, Taylor's single reference to early encouragement is in *The Sculler*, where he credits John Moray in this role; his later funeral sonnets for Moray strongly suggest a more courtly or religious figure, socially distant from Taylor, and unlikely to be a resident of Southwark. Nevertheless, Capp here knits together a conventional narrative of authorial development, drawing on the accounts of earlier scholars such as Southey and Dow, which has taken on the status of fact for modern scholars.⁷

⁶ Capp, *World of John Taylor*, p. 12.

⁷ In 1930 Robert Dow suggested, "perhaps the patronage by the Tower Lieutenant was a force in that direction. It is more likely that a slow accumulation of acquaintances and friends in his daily work on the Thames achieved the desired end" (Dow, *Life and Times*, p.53).

The simplicity of the narrative Capp has created may be attractive, but by taking these lines out of context he ignores the satirical and topical nuances suggested by Taylor's phrasing and versification. For the point Taylor is making in this passage as a whole, as part of his *Motto*, is not principally about inspiration at all, but about the cares, here specifically financial, that are a necessary accompaniment to being a poet. Taylor has prepared the reader for this ironic use of the penniless poet trope during the previous passage, where he portrayed the waterman's life as a pastoral idyll:

*I that in quiet in the dayes of yore,
Did get my liuing at the healthfull Oare,
.....
My fare was good, I thanke my bounteous fares,
And pleasure made me carelesse of my cares.*⁸

Taylor's assertion in this passage that the waterman's employment was pleasurable and care-free hardly fits with the general impression of the trade's low income and low social status given in other texts from this period. However, the archaic phrasing ("days of yore") reinforces the sense of an idealized past, from which the Muses had lured Taylor, initiating him into a world of intellectual drudgery and poverty, the world of authorship. The heavy echo of "curse" and "purse" that concludes this passage, linked by internal rhyme to "verse", connects together poetry, poverty and misery in a rhyme that rings the knell of Taylor's halcyon days on the river. Thus the Triple Three's "delight" can be read as essentially mischievous, a reading that absolves Taylor of any accusation of pretentiousness that a claim to inspiration by the Muses might otherwise incur.

Despite the reputation of the watermen's trade, Taylor's enthusiasm seems to have been genuine, even if it is doubtful whether he actually spent much time in the 1620s rowing passengers across the Thames. The conventional assumption is that he was initially spurred on to write by a mixture of a desire for fame and the belief that literature

⁸ *Taylor's Motto*, sig. D5v.

could offer a financial release from the physical labour of rowing.⁹ This is certainly the impression given by some of the commendatory verses from *The Sculler* and *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses*. William Bubb, for example, writes in the latter (1614):

*And may thy fortune counteruail thy merit:
Which if it doe (thy worth I will not flatter),
Thou neuer more shalt toyle vpon the water.*¹⁰

Perhaps these contemporaries envisaged some form of patronage that would enable Taylor to give up his trade; it has been argued that Taylor himself had entertained such hopes early in his career. Yet Taylor's positions as Tower Bottle Man and then Royal Waterman, and his subsequent role as a Ruler of the Watermen's Company, would have provided a much steadier and more reliable source of extra income than the vagaries of publication. It is unlikely that he made enough money from any of his printed texts, even those few apparently produced "for the author", to raise his standard of living to any permanent degree. Indeed, he tells us this himself in his many tirades against the poverty of the profession. Publication may of course have produced more indirect financial benefits: nevertheless, his assertion in his *Motto* that he was better off financially as a waterman than he was as a writer, may not be as fanciful as some other details in his account of meeting the Muses on the Thames.

Both Taylor's account of inspiration by a Thamesian muse in his *Motto* and the woodcut for the title-page of *The Sculler* were of course created with strategic goals in mind. The precise context for *The Sculler* is debatable, and will be explored in Chapter 3; but *Taylor's Motto*, which provides a much more extended treatment of authorship, had an obvious trigger, as a response to *Wither's Motto* published the same summer (1621). Taylor clearly set great store by his *Motto*, as its presentation in his *Workes* (1630) suggests, but this later version omits the engraving and description of the emblem

⁹ "His writing earned him celebrity, hospitality, and a better standard of living than a waterman might expect", John Chandler, *Travels through Stuart Britain*, Introduction, p.vii. See also Wheale, *Writing and Society*, p. 89.

¹⁰ John Taylor, *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (E. Griffin for N. Butter, 1614), STC 23779, sig. A2r.

of the original.¹¹ This first edition is rarely discussed: it has only been explored in any depth by Michelle O'Callaghan in relation to Wither's more famous example. However, together these two *Mottos* represent the extremes of early modern concepts of authorship in relation to print culture. The contrast between them is therefore worth close consideration.¹²

Taylor and Wither both emerged onto the scene of print publication at almost the same time, during 1611-12. For both, the growth of Prince Henry's court was a key factor and his death was a significant moment. Taylor developed a strong admiration for Wither, which was not apparently returned. He later reacted with disbelief and horror to what he considered to be Wither's betrayal of the King in the early years of the civil war. Wither is almost certainly responsible for the anonymous poem, *The Great Assises Holden in Parnassus by Apollo and his Assessours* (1645), where Taylor is described with the utmost contempt. This poem has been one of the main pieces of evidence used to argue that Taylor's reputation was generally low in the early to mid seventeenth century. The probability of Wither's authorship necessitates a revaluation of this assumption, just as the disparaging account of Taylor in the earlier *A Continued Inquisition for paper Persecutors* (1625) must be seen as reflecting the personal resentment and hostility to Taylor of its author, Abraham Holland. By attacking Taylor, both of these examples provide evidence that the Water Poet was in fact a force to be reckoned with in the world of writing and publication at the time.¹³

¹¹ In *All the Workes* (1630) Taylor's *Motto* is highlighted by the cartouche round the title which is re-used from the letter-press title-page of the same volume; this frame can be traced to the printing shop of Valentine Simmes in the 1590s and was used for the title-page of Samuel Daniel's *Civil Warres*, the printing of which has connections with Taylor (see discussion of Thomas Cockson's work, below).

¹² Wither's *Motto*, *Wither's motto Nec habeo, nec careo, nec curo* (Augustine Matthewes, 1621), STC 25925; "for John Marriott", STC 25925.5 - 25928.7. Michelle O'Callaghan discusses *Wither's Motto* in, *The 'Shepheard's Nation' Jacobean Spenserians and Early Stuart Political Culture, 1612-1625* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2000); her more extended discussion of the relationship between Taylor and Wither is in, Michelle O'Callaghan, "Three Jacobean Spenserians: William Browne, George Wither and Christopher Brooke", unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford University, 1994. More recently, Paul Salzman has included *Taylor's Motto* in his survey, *Literary Culture in Jacobean England*, pp. 123-125.

¹³ *The Great Assises* yokes together Taylor and Jonson as Court Summoner and Keeper of the Prison to gather the jury of "renowned Poets", whose leader is "George Wither ... entitled Satyrist". Taylor is described as "the Courts shrill Chanticleere" who "had the Cryers place: an office fit, / For him that hath a better voice, than wit." *The great assises holden in Parnassus by Apollo and his assesours: at which session are arraigned Mercurius Britanicus. Mercurius Aulicus. Mercurius Civicus* (R. Cotes for E. Husbands, 1645), Wing: W3160, p.9.

George Wither's background was very different to Taylor's, since he came from a family with property and was Oxford educated. Taylor's first publication is slightly earlier than Wither's, but they began with similar genres, including mourning verses for Prince Henry, satires and epigrams. Michelle O'Callaghan gives a fascinating insight into the community of writers that grew up around Wither in this early period. There was clearly some overlap with Taylor's own circles, since John Davies of Hereford, who contributed to *The Shepherd's Pipe* (1614), wrote several commendatory verses for Taylor.¹⁴ However, the two writers' pathways, both religious and professional, had diverged considerably by the turn of the decade. As the situation in Bohemia deteriorated, Wither's circle had become increasingly disillusioned with James I's response, leading to a sense of disengagement from the court that O'Callaghan describes in terms of oppositional politics. Although these shifts may not have been so clear-cut to contemporaries, by the 1620s Taylor's admiration and sense of fellow-feeling for Wither had waned. It seems likely that Taylor also was disappointed by James's refusal to intervene officially in the Palatinate, but this did not affect his continuing sense of commitment to the crown and unquestioning respect for its authority.¹⁵

Wither found that he could not make money from publication until *Wither's Motto* (1621) became a best-selling sensation. This verse satire had at least five editions in the first months of issue, and made Wither famous. However, he was also sent to prison, ostensibly for the irregularity of publication, but, it has been argued, probably by the influence of the Duke of Norfolk who objected to the veiled political satire in this work. The stationers engaged in a series of legal and illegal ploys in their efforts to secure as many copies of this controversial text as possible, with even the officials of the Stationers' Company contravening their own rules. How far it was the politico-religious

¹⁴ O'Callaghan describes John Davies as one of the "older Spenserian[s]" on the margins of Wither's circle (O'Callaghan, *The "Shepheards Nation"*, p.10). Patricia Panek suggests that Wither is the neglected writer in Taylor's poem "Love's Labyrinth", published in *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614). However, although Taylor refers to Wither admiringly in his preliminary verses to *Nipping and Snipping*, the date of composition for "Love's Labyrinth" is uncertain and the situation of the solitary figure could equally refer to Taylor's early mentor, John Moray (see below). For Panek's article on Taylor see, *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (Detroit, Gale Research, 1992) vol. 121, p. 258.

¹⁵ In *The Subject's Joy for the Parliament* (E. Alde for H. Gossen tbs. E. Wright, 1621), STC 2379.5, Taylor steered a tactful line between James's preference for pacifism and his own deeply felt desire for England to take military action in defence of the Palatinate. See, Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, CUP, 2001), pp.164-5 and p.169.

satire that made the book so attractive to purchasers, and how far the striking title-page increased its appeal, is not certain. This engraving by Renald Elstrack acts as a key to the whole text of *Wither's Motto*. The motto itself, *Nec Habeo, Nec Careo, Nec Curo* (roughly translatable as: I possess nothing, I desire nothing, I don't care/take any notice) is intended to express a Christian and stoic ideal of rejecting worldly concerns through faith in the Divine. In the engraving, the figure representing Wither himself or an allegorical cipher, is shown separated from earthly scenes, gazing to heaven and spurning the globe with one foot. The power of God is shown in a shaft of light piercing the heart of the figure and offering protection from assailing devils (representing spiritual temptations) and armies (representing earthly troubles). Wither's verses emphasise this sense of godly election:

Aboue him houer *Angels*, and his *Eye*,
He fixing, on the glorious *Heauens* on high;
(From whence a *Ray* into his brest descends)
His other word *NEC CAREO*, thither sends:
To intimate, that He can nothing need,
Whom *Angels* guard, and *God* himselfe doth feed.

Finally, the writer's sense of his own self-sufficiency and separation from worldly activities is confirmed in the choice of verbs to describe his rejection of earthly comfort:

And to expresse, how highly He disdaines,
The best Contents, the World affoord him may:
A *Globe* Terrestriall, He doth spurne away.¹⁶

¹⁶ *Wither's Motto*, "The Emblem Explained", (my underlining).

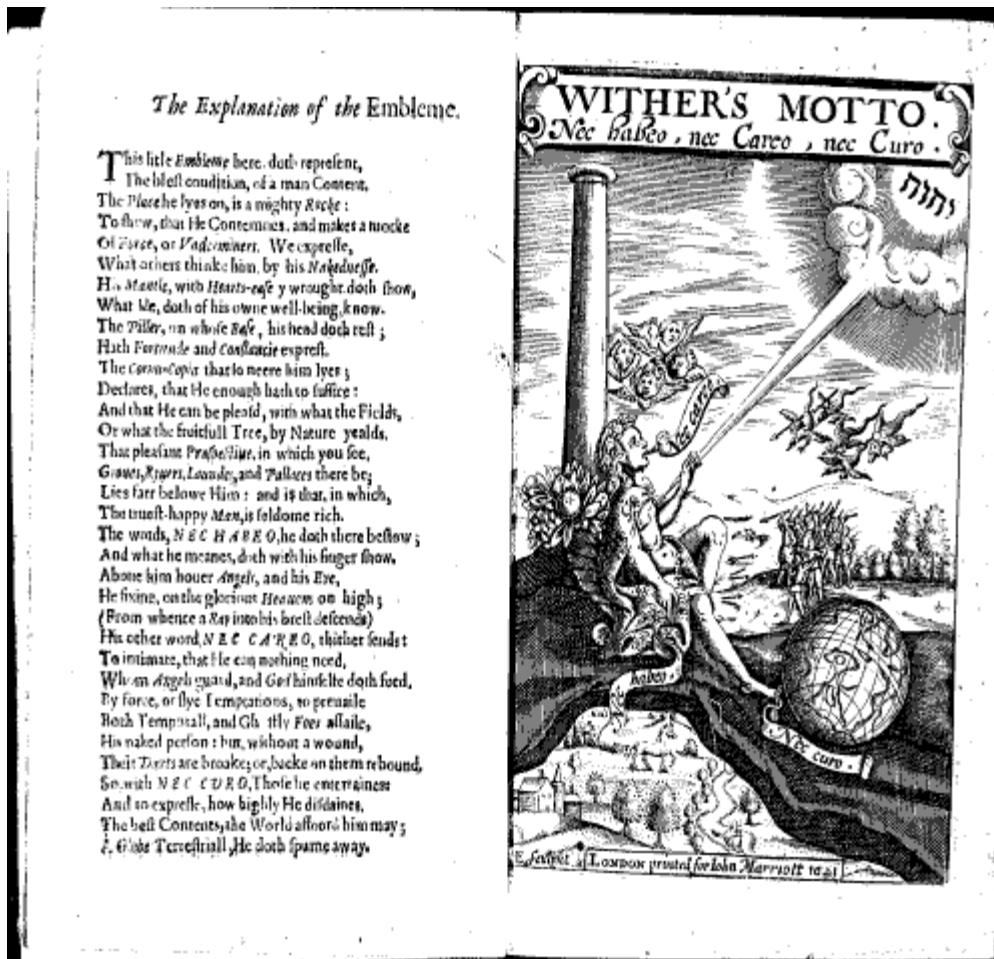


Fig 2.2. *Wither's Motto* (1621): Engraved title-page and Explanation of the Emblem¹⁷

Taylor's Motto can be seen as a point by point refutation of Wither's key assertions. That readers were well aware of this intention is suggested by the existence of a collection of pamphlets in a contemporary binding, now in the Bodleian Library, where the two Mottoes are bound one after the other: the two sets of frontispieces and verses therefore follow on from each other.¹⁸ This was made possible by the two books being in the same octavo format. As Arthur Hind has described, the engraved frontispiece by Thomas Cockson was a "rejoinder" to the engraving for Wither's text.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Wither's Motto* (1621), STC 25926 (John Okes for John Marriott).

¹⁸ This copy is Bodleian shelfmark: 8° O 19(2) Art. *Wither's Motto* is (2) and *Taylor's Motto* is (3).

¹⁹ Hind adds that a ms. note in the copy of *Wither's Motto* in the British Library (1076.c.19) reads: "The author says this poem was printed and published in 1618"; however, no edition is recorded in the STC prior to 1621. Hind, *Engraving*, Pt.2, no. 94, p.209 and Plate 118 (a).

The antitheses between the two title pages are carefully worked out, as Taylor contrasts his active, sea-faring self to the passive, reclining figure of *Wither's Motto*. While the human figure in Wither's frontispiece is emblematic, that in *Taylor's Motto* seems to be a relatively realistic portrait of the author, given its similarity to other near-contemporary depictions of Taylor. In *Wither's Motto*, the figure leans against a pillar and has its foot spurning the globe; Cockson's frontispiece moves the globe to a more central situation, but places it in the bottom third of the design, perched rather precariously between Taylor's feet. The centre of the picture is occupied now by the writer himself, standing upright with legs astride on a tiny rock that juts out of a raging sea. The figure's arms are outspread, and extended further by the oar which he grasps in one hand and the trailing empty purse in the other. Instead of the pleasant pastoral landscape of Wither's emblem, carefully distanced as a "Prospective" that "lies farre belowe/ Him", Cockson's engraving foregrounds the tempestuous sea-scape with deeply hatched waves that appear to be assailing the rock and threatening to engulf it.



Fig. 2.3: *Taylor's Motto* (1621) engraved frontispiece by Thomas Cockson.²⁰

The contrast between Taylor's raging sea-scape and Wither's pastoral landscape suggests that it was Wither's pronounced disengagement from the worldly life, with its implied complacency, that had spurred the Water-Poet's rejoinder. This is evident in the careful wording of Taylor's opening statement:

²⁰ <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>> accessed 10/6/2009.

First on a Rocke, with raging waues embrac'd
My (seeming fixed) *fleeting* feete are plac'd:
The one's like stedfast *hope*, the other then
Presents temptations which encompasse men,
Which he that can resist with Constancy
Is a most happy man in Miserie ²¹

Taylor is picking up and tossing back Wither's own lines about "constancie". Whereas the figure representing Wither "lyes on" his rock while his "head doth rest" on the pillar, the rock depicted in Cockson's emblem is barely sufficient to support Taylor's feet, which are only "seeming fixed" but actually "fleeting", in a paradoxical balancing act. These lines emphasize the need for resistance to the constantly assailing forces of earthly temptation. The label, "happy in Miserie" at the base of Taylor's emblem stresses the gulf between both the philosophies and the social positions of the two men.

Cockson's engraving and Taylor's verses therefore present a conclusive rebuff to Wither's vision of man's relationship with the world. However, this is also a rejection of Wither's approach to God. The ray that connects the allegorical human figure in Wither's emblem to the Hebrew word "Jehovah" in the top right hand corner of the engraving is conspicuously absent from Taylor's design. Yet this does not in the least imply that Taylor has demoted God from his supremacy. For the most significant rearrangement in the whole picture is the way that Taylor reverses the priorities implied through Wither's positioning of the two labels, "Nec Careo" and "Nec Curo". In Wither's Emblem, "Nec Careo" is apparently breathed from the reclining figure's mouth, and points towards God's name etched in the heavens. This implies that an absence of worldly concerns is a reward for divine love, or even a necessary condition for it. Taylor, however, replaces "Nec Careo" with "Et Curo", meaning "and I take notice" or "I attend to" (a phrase commonly used in Protestant prayer). In Wither's emblem his version of this phrase, "nec curo" is attached to the globe, as a statement that

²¹Taylor's Motto, "The Emblem Explained". This page is designed to accompany the engraved title-plate which is described as "A2" but is in effect free-standing.

the speaker will not attend to earthly matters. By contrast, in Cockson's engraving it is "et curo" that is apparently spoken by the human figure, and because of the upright stance of his body, Taylor's face appears to be looking almost directly at the face of God which gazes down from the clouds. This may not be good perspective in a technical sense, but it allows for the suggestion that Taylor is addressing God directly, saying in effect "I am listening to you". Surrounded by a world of troubles, the writer rises above the world, the book, his trade and his empty purse, and turns to God to affirm the supreme importance of that relationship.

Taylor's alteration of Wither's own motto from "nec" to "et" is thus shown to be more than just perverse mockery. The attitude implied by "et" is inclusive, not exclusive, all embracing, rather than negative and divisive. Furthermore, the detail and wit with which the design of this engraving is worked out seems to go far beyond mere spiteful envy. Were Taylor concerned only to seize any opportunity to make money by satirising *Wither's Motto*, he is unlikely to have taken so much care in the assertion of a contrary position. He or his publishers need not even have employed Thomas Cockson to produce such a complex engraving, since a woodcut would have been both considerably cheaper and far quicker to produce. Even Taylor's statement in the body of the *Motto*, declaring that the time spent in its composition amounted to no more than three days is not necessarily an indication of flippancy or intellectual laziness. Rather, it is an expression of this writer's emphasis on active engagement and involvement in the struggles of the world. It was not Taylor's habit to sit on the sidelines and contemplate: he preferred to take up arms against the sea of troubles.

This is not, however, the full story of the religious and political implications of Taylor's emblem. To understand the extent of its significance a modern reader needs to be alive to the powerful message that is conveyed by the contrasts between the figures representing Wither and Taylor. Wither had drawn attention to the nakedness of the reclining figure in his *Emblem*, a condition that emphasises the idea of self-sufficiency driving his *Motto*.

Above him houer Angels, and his Eye,
He fixing, on the glorious Heauens on high;

(From whence a Ray into his Brest descends)

His other word NEC CAREO, thither sends: ²²

In a pointed antithesis to these lines, Taylor highlights the royal crest emblazoned on the Watermen's livery by referring to "the badge upon my breast":

The badge vpon my breast, shewes plainly this,
I haue a Maister, * iust, and who he is.
I haue a Muse to write, a Boat to rowe,
Which both the booke and Oare do plainly shew ²³

These lines, especially the repeated phrases "I have... / I have..." are central to Taylor's critique of *Wither's Motto*. They are a rejection of Wither's declaration, "in a word... I am Master of myselfe", which had become so much identified with Wither that it was used to indicate his authorship for the otherwise anonymous publication of *Faire-Vertue* in 1622. Wither's emphasis on his ownership of his inner self, need not, according to O'Callaghan, preclude loyalty to the King, since he "was capable both of viewing the king as the ideal head of state and seeing himself as part of an independent body of godly citizens...".²⁴ However, this does not seem to be how such self-assertions appeared to Taylor or his contemporaries. Rather, Taylor's statement "I haue a Maister" in his *Motto*, carefully situated as a riposte to Wither's own expression of his relationship with the divine, seems calculated to expose Wither's theological position as in effect a denial of loyalty to the King.

This inference is supported by the marginal note to the phrase "I have a master, just" that appeared in the original edition of *Taylor's Motto*, marked by an asterisk: "Silvestors anagram on His Maiesties Name, in Du Bartas". This marginal note, first pointed out by O'Callaghan, is immensely significant, but rarely acknowledged because

²² *Wither's Motto* "An explanation of the Embleme".

²³ *Taylor's Motto*, "The Embleme Explained".

²⁴ Wither's "constant assertions of his independence from secular authority, including that of the king, were often accompanied by declarations of his loyalty to James", O'Callaghan, *The "Shepheard's nation"*, p. 159.

of the omission of the engraving and description of the Emblem from Taylor's *Workes* (1630).²⁵ Du Bartas was the most influential foreign poet in England in the period, and, although Wither also admired his work, he had a special significance for Taylor. Indeed he was central to Taylor's conception of himself as a writer. Some five years before the *Motto*, the publication of *Taylors Vrania, or His Heavenly Muse* (1615/16) marked a major statement of Taylor's beliefs and attitudes. This poem is mentioned in the commendatory verses to *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614), and was later the key-note piece to Taylor's folio *Workes*. Edward Alleyn owned a copy which was considered sufficiently significant to be inventoried in his library. *Taylors Vrania* is modelled on Du Bartas's own text, *L'Uranie*, a declaration of the French poet's devotion to the Divine but active Protestant Muse. Its title also alludes to the emphasis on the Christian muse exemplified in Du Bartas's *La Muse Chrestiene* (1574). Du Bartas had famously fought for Henry IV and celebrated this Protestant monarch's victories against the Spanish-led Catholic forces in verse. For Taylor, Du Bartas symbolized the epitome of both militant and literary Protestantism, combined with absolute loyalty to a monarch.²⁶

Not only is Du Bartas mentioned in the preliminaries to *Taylors Motto*, but also in the main text. In his list of poets who have "much .../ helpt my skill" Taylor devotes a whole line to "Du Bartas, that much loue hath rightly wonne", while "Chaucer, Sidney, Spencer, Daniel, Nash", whom Taylor also much admired as models, share a single line between them.²⁷ Joshua Sylvester's translations of Du Bartas had become the iconic militant Protestant poetry of the period, and were published in increasingly elaborate formats from 1611 to the 1640s. The anagram to which Taylor refers in his *Motto* forms the central item in the elaborate preliminaries to a folio of Sylvester's translations printed in 1621 by Humphrey Lownes. The presentation of this folio text was already

²⁵ The pamphlet of *Taylors Motto* exists in two different editions, both dated 1621: it was partly re-set. The attractiveness of the engraved frontispiece may be judged from the fact that it is so often missing from the extant texts.

²⁶ Ben Jonson is almost a lone voice in the period in scorning Du Bartas, as "not ... a Poet but a Verser, because he wrote not Fiction" (*Conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden*); this may be a strain of Catholic antagonism to Du Bartas. See also, Anne Lake Prescott, "The Reception of Du Bartas in England", in *Studies in the Renaissance* 15 (1968), 144-173. *Taylor's Motto* is mentioned on p.153. For *Taylors Urania* in *All the Workes of John Taylor*, see Chapter 5, below.

²⁷ *All the Workes*, sig. 1Gg 6r.

reverential in its attitude to monarchy in 1621: it was reissued by Robert Young in 1633 and 1641, in large presentation copies with increasingly elaborate preliminaries. This bibliographic monumentalism may well have had political implications: Young became King's printer for Scotland in 1632, and acquired an interest in the office of King's Printer in London in 1634; James's admiration for Du Bartas was well known, and Du Bartas had become the iconic Protestant poet renowned equally for his loyalty to Henry IV of France. The presentation of these folios strongly suggests that Young or whoever was behind the 1633/1641 folios was deliberately promoting the hagiography of Du Bartas through the materiality of publication during the 1630s, very probably in response to the religious and political atmosphere of the decade. Although it is always dangerous to apply ideas retrospectively, this process for the *Workes* of Du Bartas could be understood to support my characterisation of *All the Workes of John Taylor* as a small scale example of similar processes at work at the start of the decade.²⁸

Thus *Taylor's Motto* is above all a statement of active engagement with the social and political world around the writer, and an assertion of his commitment to professional duty. It is remarkable for rejecting the withdrawal from society portrayed in *Wither's Motto*, and this is linked to their different ideas about the nature of being an author. Taylor's special emphasis on Du Bartas is essential to his argument: for primary with both Sylvester's translation and with Taylor's self-presentation in his *Motto*, is an emphasis on humility, the desire to *follow* the Heavenly Muse. For Taylor, this belief in the subordination of the poet's skills to the higher good of religious devotion is identical with the idea of service to the divinely appointed but earthly monarchy. For Wither, authorship is very much a subjective and internal, contemplative condition that elevates the writer by setting him apart from his fellow creatures. Although Wither stresses his friendships in parts of his *Motto*, these friends are described as a select band and Wither seems to feel that he is favouring them with his attention. The general impression given

²⁸ *Du Bartas his Diuine Weekes, and Workes. With a compleate collection of all the other ... workes translated and written by yt famous Philomusus, Iosuah Sylvester* (Humphrey Lownes, 1621), STC 21653; the later enlarged editions by Robert Young, who succeeded to Lownes's business in 1630, are: STC 21654 (1633) and Wing D2405 (1641). Young worked closely with James Boler, publisher of Taylor's *Workes*, in the mid 1630s (see Chapters 4 and 7). Lownes also produced a supplementary quarto volume to his first folio of Sylvester's Du Bartas, with title: *All the small vvorkes of that famous poet Iosuah Siluester Gathered into one volume* (Humphrey Lownes, 1620), STC 23575.5. It is possible that Taylor's own title, *All the Workes* (1630), is an echo of this.

by *Wither's Motto*, of a writer who is placing himself outside and above the run of society, was picked up in *An Answer to Wither's Motto*, a pamphlet published in Oxford in 1625 but probably written around 1621. Here, the writer “T.G.” offers a point by point commentary on Wither’s text: the heavy sarcasm, the relentless repetition of syntactic patterns (“you want / you want”) and the contemptuous tone are the hallmark of the “railing rhymes” so commonplace in the period. This *Answer* is thus a much more obvious and conventional rejoinder to Wither than *Taylor's Motto*, rather than a creative response; thus it illuminates the more constructive way in which Taylor set about rejecting Wither’s assertions.

Like Taylor, however, TG portrays Wither’s claim to spiritual self-sufficiency as self-evidently absurd, and as leading to dangerous heretical tendencies:

And thus you scoffe the proud *monarkes* of state,
With whom you doe compare at highest rate:---

.....
---If they be be *Princes* sonnes---you are the child
Of God Almighty euer vndefiled:
---If they of followers boast vntoucht, vncast,
A troope of *Angels* followes you as fast:

.....
So you conclude, that if the King did know,
How rich you liue, he would on you bestow
This wish, that if he were not he
He might desire then your selfe to be.²⁹

As this passage shows, Taylor was not alone in his criticism of Wither’s attitude to the monarchy. T.G. uses the pointed couplet rhyme, the simple, jaunty rhythm and the

²⁹ *An answer to WWithers motto Without a frontispice. Wherein, Nec habeo, nec careo, nec curo, are neither approued, nor confuted: but modestly controwled, or qualifid.* (Oxford, J.Lichfield & W. Turner, 1625), STC 11509, sig. D4v. TG accuses Wither of “arrogance, and selfe-loue” (Sig.C6v). O’Callaghan identifies “T.G.” as Thomas Gainsford, (*The “Shepheard’s Nation”*, pp.158, 183), although this is a disputed attribution. Gainsford was imprisoned for *Vox Spiritus* in 1620, and edited pro-Palatine corantos for Butter in the 1620s. He died in 1624, and an attempt was made to get a licence for *An Answer to Wither's Motto* that same year. However, the cleric Thomas Goad is another possibility.

exchange of pronouns to underscore what he perceives as the ridiculous over-reaching in Wither's self-righteousness. This is a style and technique that Taylor himself knew well how to employ, and indeed the whole approach and tenor of *An Answer to Wither's Motto* finds parallels in Taylor's own satires. However, rather than attacking Wither directly, Taylor produces his own manifesto, reversing the insularity in *Wither's Motto*.³⁰ He frankly admits his own *lack* of self-sufficiency, where his "want[s]" must be supplied by God's intervention. In the process, he takes a stab at Wither's publication record, referring to "Fair Virtue":

I want faire virtue to direct my course,
And stand against the shock of vices force:
And (of my selfe) I no way can resist,
Against Hell, the World, the Flesh, or Antichrist³¹

The concept of self-sufficiency is therefore key to the contrast between Taylor and Wither. Their ideas of authorship and its relation to the world begin from different religious and ethical foundations.

The fundamental opposition between these two views of the relationship between the writer and the world around him is evident in one of the least commented upon differences between the engravings for their *Mottos*, their implied attitudes to publication. For while Taylor's design shows a self-conscious awareness of the material and cooperative context of publication, Wither's emblem ignores the whole topic. For Wither, it is as if the text and its illustrations were direct products of the writer's mind alone. In *Taylor's Motto*, however, an open book perches at the top of the globe and the accompanying verses allude to the connection between writing and contemporary events:

..... in scorne of spight, or enuies force,
My booke doth make the world a Hobby horse.

³⁰ Taylor's approach may have originated as a ploy to get his own piece published, since TG's response was apparently suppressed.

³¹ *Taylor's Motto*, "Et Careo", sig. C3r.

Riding the iadish Hackneies of this age,
In this plaine dealing Satyrs Equipage.³²

This apparently refers to Taylor's long-running battle with the advent of the hackney coach as a challenge to river boats; it perhaps alludes to the pamphlet, *The World Runnes on Wheeles*, although the earliest printed edition of this text is 1623.³³ In addition, Taylor's emblem foregrounds the Poet's poverty, by having the empty purse displayed larger than life almost at the centre of the engraving. He also adapts part of Wither's motto to fit this topic:

The empty purse proclaiimes that monie's scant
Want's my fee simple, or my simple fee
And (As I am a Poet) dwells with me.³⁴

Wither had used the phrase “nec careo” to express the necessary condition of his relationship to God; Taylor turns this idea on its head, by attaching the label “et careo” to the purse. He declares that the necessary condition of a poet is to “have care”, exemplified in his straitened financial circumstances. Thus he undermines Wither's assumption of a special relationship with the divine, by implying that the true poet, who is also by necessity a true servant of his master, God, will have many worldly cares. This is the position expressed in Taylor's account of inspiration by the Muses discussed above.

By linking his relationship to God with the poet's worldly circumstances, Taylor locates his rejection of Wither's position firmly within both the marketplace of print and the tradition of the penniless poet. So far as the market-place is concerned, the contrast is made plain by the inclusion of the publishers' imprint for *Taylor's Motto* in the engraving itself. It appears that the first edition of the plate for *Wither's Motto* carried

³² *Taylor's Motto*, “The Embleme Explained”.

³³ *The world runnes on wheeles: or oddes, betwixt carts and coaches* (E. Alde for H. Gosson, 1623), STC 23816, entered to Gosson, 21st June 1623.

³⁴ *Taylor's Motto*, “The Embleme Explained”

only the initials of the artist, “R.E. Sculpsit”, a typical signature that blends unobtrusively into the design as a whole.³⁵ For *Taylor's Motto*, the engraver, Thomas Cockson, has placed his initials even less obviously on the billowing waves. This allows the imprint “London: Printed for IT & HG, 1621” to stand out clearly against an unhatched background at the base of the plate. The contrast to Elstrack's engraving for *Wither's Motto* is not merely fortuitous: for Wither's relationship with his stationers was completely the reverse of Taylor's, as later events would demonstrate. Even at this point in time, Wither had grown frustrated by his inability to make money from publication, for which he blamed the stationers' monopoly. His *Motto* went into multiple editions in 1621 partly because he played one set of stationers off against the other, squeezing as much money or as many copies to sell as he could from each. The contempt that Wither felt for his printers and publishers would eventually culminate in a legal dispute that has been heralded by scholars as inaugurating the modern practice of authorial copyright and the theory of intellectual property.³⁶

Wither's antagonistic relationship with the publishing trade is exemplified by the printing history of his *The Songs of the Old Testament*, English translations from the Latin bible printed by Thomas Snodham in 1621, early in the same year as the *Motto*. This first edition of the *Songs* is prefaced by a lengthy “Epistle to the Clraigie” where Wither places his translations at the mercy of the bishops.³⁷ He reminds them repeatedly that it was they who encouraged and sanctioned his work, but that he had received no support from the church during this laborious task, which required the consultation of many scholarly texts. He suggests, therefore, that there is a moral obligation on the

³⁵ Hind (*Engraving*, pt.2, Plate 118, BML (1076.c.19)) shows what appears to be the earliest state of the engraved title-page from *Wither's Motto*, with Elstrack's signature but without Marriott's imprint. This copy is still in the British Library collection. The engraved title-pages for STC 25926 onwards, as reproduced in *EEBO*, all carry Marriott's imprint, which was added over the original engraving; however, in the case of those editions printed by Okes, the title-pages appear to have been printed from a copy of the engraved plate, possibly a counterfeit.

³⁶ Jocelyn C. Creigh writes of “the battle for the freedom of the press” in “George Wither and the Stationers: Facts and Fiction”, in *Journal of the Bibliographic Society of America*, Volume 74 (1980), 49 - 57; Joseph Loewenstein, *The Author's Due: Printing and the Prehistory of Copyright*, (University of Chicago Press Chicago and London 2002), *passim*.

³⁷ “Only your benediction, your loues & your holy Prayers, next vnto Gods glory, is my principall aime”, *Epistle*, dated January 1621. *The songs of the Old Testament translated into English measures,and with as little circumlocution as in most prose translations. To euery song is added a new and easie tune, and a short prologue also, deliuering the effect and vse thereof, for this profit of vnlearned readers* (Thomas Snodham, 1621), STC 25923, entered December 1620.

Church's part to promote the published results. Although it is his piety for which Wither apparently desires to be noticed, he cannot resist a sarcastic dig at his critics: "and if your R[everen]ces be herewith satisfied, I value not how the wits of our age shall censure the Stile I have vsed". By disparaging the worldly tastes of such wits, with their preference for "the raptures of Hero and Leander", as evidence of their "sensuall capacities", Wither asserts that style is a sign of an author's spiritual and moral fitness. The insertion of this protest suggests that Wither's preface was in fact a pre-emptive strike against criticism, rather than a pious exercise in self-abasement. By drawing attention to the issue of his style, Wither signalled an anxiety about the wider appeal of his translations to the market, that subsequent events appear to have fully justified. Unable to profit financially from his pious endeavours, and convinced that it was the stationers' strangle-hold on publication that was to blame, Wither eventually secured a monopoly from the King (1623). This was designed to force the Stationers' Company to bind up his translations with every copy of the Psalter sold, creating a more expensive package. The public were obliged to buy Wither's translation if they wanted to purchase a Psalter, regardless of whether or not they appreciated Wither's work. Understandably, the stationers resisted this patent at length and, although the courts upheld it in law, booksellers often ignored it in practice. As a result, although he was somewhat better off than he had been, the patent for his *Songs* was not as lucrative as Wither had hoped. He remained frustrated by this attempt to assert what he considered to be his authorial rights in despite of market forces.³⁸

By contrast John Taylor, who made a virtue of his lack of education in the classical languages, had some years earlier issued a pair of miniature verse summaries of the Bible, *Verbum Sempiternae* and *Salvator Mundi* (1614), originally bound dos à dos. These were reprinted in 1616, together with a similarly packaged summary of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.³⁹ Taylor did not need to be able to translate Latin to do this, but his rhyming couplet text was so successful that these tiny books went through many

³⁸ Norman E. Carlson, "Wither and the Stationers" in *Studies in Bibliography* 19 (1966), 210-215; Joseph Loewenstein, "Wither and Professional Work", in *Print, Manuscript and Performance*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti and Michael D. Bristol (Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 2000), 104 -123

³⁹ *Verbum Sempiternae*, *Salvator Mundi* (J. Beale for J. Hamman, 1614), STC 238100; (1616) 23811; *The Booke of Martyrs* (J. Beale? For J. Hamman, 1616), STC 23731.3.

editions. There is no evidence as to whether he received a fee beyond the initial printing of these texts, but the way that the rights changed hands at various stages suggest that he was still involved several years later. The difference between Wither's *Songs* and Taylor's Thumb Bible reflects the contrasting *Mottos*, representing two different approaches to authorship and to the getting of a living through texts. Wither placed authorial rights above any other aspects of a printed text. He denied the freedom of the reader/audience to select according to their own tastes or preferences, avoiding the operation of market forces. If, as he seemed to believe, authorial patents were the way forward, then there could be no need to find ingenious ways to package a text in order to make it attractive to the purchaser, or for the writer to ensure that the contents were similarly desirable.

Taylor's very different approach to the consumer and the market is evident in the production of his pocket-sized Thumb Bibles, which used very little paper and were extremely light, perfect for slipping into a travelling salesman's pack: Taylor himself commented on how many he could carry with him to distribute on his journeys. Wither's psalm translation made the psalters seventy percent larger, making them harder and more expensive to distribute and putting the price beyond many buyers' purses. However, the careful preservation of individual copies of Taylor's Thumb Bibles, some beautifully decorated, suggests that they quickly attained value as curiosities, despite their cheap format. The evidence of owners' names possessively written on the endpapers of these tiny volumes suggests that he and his publishers understood well how to appeal to the audience that Wither had hoped to attract for his own *Songs*.⁴⁰

Wither's attempt to fight market forces, rather than to exploit or cooperate with them, could appear heroic, as recent academic studies have insisted. Yet, from a twenty-first century perspective, with the internet now transforming modern understanding of copyright, this obsession with authorial privilege in the publishing world could equally be considered both retrograde and ultimately unsustainable. Taylor, however, showed

⁴⁰ The small-book format had been recently introduced to the market by John and Edward Wright. *Verbum Sempiternae / Salvator Mundi* was first published by John Hamman, a one-press printer-publisher who had entered his first book only shortly beforehand; the Stationers' Company frequently closed down his operations.

the ability to respond to current interests and to work with, rather than against, the forces of change in publishing. Instead of seeking to set himself apart from the precariousness of the world and of the writer's trade, Taylor seems rather to have relished the challenges presented to him. This is emphasised by the opening lines of "The Embleme Explained", with their metaphorical association between the occupation of the mariner, at the mercy of an ever-changing sea and wind, and the writer, exposed to the vagaries of taste and readership.⁴¹ Through the paradox of the "(seeming fixed) *fleeting feete*", Taylor reminds us that the situation is always precarious, never secure. The image is reminiscent of the religious allegory of the brittle grounds of earthly happiness:

First on a Rocke, with raging waues embrac'd
My (seeming fixed) *fleeting feete* are plac'd:
The one's like stedfast *hope*, the other then
Presents temptations which encompasse men,
Which he that can resist with Constancy,
Is a most *happy man in Miserie*.⁴²

The reference to "stedfast hope" amongst the "raging waues" was especially pertinent in 1621, since the *Motto* was published in the midst of the troubles in Bohemia, at a time of deep concern for the fates of Elizabeth and Frederick and the future of European Protestantism. It is therefore essential to understand Taylor's declaration of active involvement as opposed to passive detachment in his *Motto* as of more than just academic or literary force.

⁴¹ The design also resembles emblems of Fortuna, the Goddess of Fortune, dating from the sixteenth century. eg. Alciati, *Emblematum Liber Emblema* cxxii, (1531, sig. A8r), translated in Whitney's *Choice of Emblems* (1586), as "Occasion". Taylor's figure, balanced astride above the sea with arms outstretched, follows the same pattern as Fortuna. John Danter had used the Fortuna emblem portrayed in Whitney as one of his printer's marques in the 1590s and Simon Stafford followed him in this.

⁴² Taylor's *Motto* "The Embleme Explained".

The *Motto*'s focus on authorship has led critics to describe this text as inaugurating a new phase of “plaine dealing Satyrs” in Taylor’s work, located in the early to mid 1620s. The texts of 1612-16, especially the religious ones, have been categorised as mere preparation for this burst of satirical activity, which is generally believed to be non-religious, intent mainly on a display of Taylor’s talents.⁴³ However, the *Motto* was not a new departure for Taylor: on the contrary, his interest in satire dated back to at least 1614, and probably long before this. The second edition of *The Sculler* published in 1614 contains an added “Inkhorne disputation, or Mungrell conference, betwixt a Lawyer and a Poet” (G1r - G1v), while *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses*, published the same year, includes the “Cataplasmicall Satyre, composed and compacted of sundry simples, as salt, vinegar, wormewood, and a little gall, very profitable to cure the impostumes of vice”.⁴⁴ Several of the commendatory verses to this collection refer to other satirical work by Taylor, which either have not survived or perhaps now form part of later printed pieces. Of particular significance is the advice of William Rowley, who urged Taylor to concentrate on developing his satirical vein:

Go friend, let loose thy lines, and measure out
The length and breadth of vice, it was a doubt
Thou only wert for a mans *Taylor* fit,
When thou didst through thy measures, wast thy wit
On wit-lesse *Coriat*, but from henceforth
The Lawrell Synod shall allow thy worth:
With more addicions, for all may see
Thou likewise maist a womans *Taylor* bee.
Thou canst with Satyres their streight bodies wring,
And loose their skirts againe with sonnetting.⁴⁵

⁴³ Robert Dow, *Life and Times*, p. 354.

⁴⁴ *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614), sig. H2

⁴⁵ William Rowley, “To His friend Iohn Taylor”, published in *Nipping and Snipping*, 1614 [Sig. A1v], my underlining. It is possible that Rowley is referring to earlier versions of the known satires or that some of Taylor’s earlier satires have been lost.

His *Motto* was therefore not a new departure for Taylor: it was not even an isolated piece amongst his work in 1621, as the publication shortly beforehand of a religious verse satire, *Superbiae Flagellum*, confirms.

Like *Taylor's Motto*, *Superbiae Flagellum* has an engraved title-page by Thomas Cockson. The sequence of publication dates for these pieces suggests that *Superbiae* was almost certainly planned and composed before *Wither's Motto* came to be published. We know that *Wither's Motto* was initially issued with only a letter-press title-page sometime around 21st May 1621.⁴⁶ The engraved emblematic title-page by Elstrack did not appear until the second edition, which was issued towards the very end of May. The entrance of *Superbiae Flagellum* is recorded for the 31st of May, thus almost or exactly coinciding with the appearance of this second edition of *Wither's Motto*. Therefore, the decision to give *Superbiae Flagellum* an engraved frontispiece, and the choice of Cockson as engraver, coincided with or anticipated the addition of Elstrack's engraved frontispiece for the second edition of *Wither's Motto*.⁴⁷ Thus, with *Superbiae Flagellum*, Taylor had already produced a book on a similar topic and in an identical format to the second edition of *Wither's Motto*, including an engraved frontispiece, before the runaway success of the latter occurred. This was also well before the legal furore over the subsequent editions of *Wither's Motto*. Hence, contrary to modern opinion, Taylor was not merely leaping on the bandwagon to exploit Wither's legal distress for commercial purposes by publishing his own *Motto*.⁴⁸ Instead, his account of the genesis of his *Motto* appears accurate; for it seems as if he was poised to respond in print as soon as *Wither's Motto* issued from the press for the first time. He describes this as the result

⁴⁶ Weever's attempt to register *Wither's Motto* on 14th May 1621 was unsuccessful; Wither then took the manuscript round other stationers who quickly published it themselves and then claimed that they did not realize it was an unregistered text.

⁴⁷ *Superbiae flagellum, or, The Whip of pride* (G.Eld, 1621), entered to Eld and Flesher, 31st May 1621, dedication to Sir Thomas Richardson, with a variant dedicated to William Seymour, Earl of Hertford (STC 23769).

⁴⁸ Salzman portrays *Taylor's Motto* as a repetition of his treatment of Coryate: "Taylor had an eye for the main chance, and knew how to cash in on someone else's fame, and such a motive is obviously behind his response to the notoriety of Wither and the immense success of *Wither's Motto*", Salzman, *Literary Culture in Jacobean England*, p.125.

of a genuine desire to answer Wither's ideas and implies that his reply had already been composed, at least orally, beforehand:

This Motto in my head, at first I tooke,
In imitation of a better booke ⁴⁹

Thus the contents of both his *Motto* and *Superbiae Flagellum* were natural product of Taylor's interests, rather than a sudden and unprincipled reaction to the fashion of the minute. Indeed, the use of Latin in the title *Superbiae Flagellum* echoes the original title of Taylor's first thumb bible, *Verbum Sempiternae*. *Superbiae Flagellum* also anticipates *Wither's Motto* in a passage castigating court flattery, rather gratuitously attached to the end of the lengthy and generalized religious satire, which may well be a veiled criticism of the pro-Spanish factions at court in 1620/21.

But yet beware; *Pride* hypocriticall,
Puts not humilitie cloake on at all:
A lofty minde, with lowly cap and knee,
Is humble *Pride*, and meeke hypocrisie.
Ambitious mindes, with adulating looke,
Like courteous Crowne-aspiring* *Bullinbrookes*;

.....

This *Pride* is hatefull, dangerous, and vile,
And shall it selfe (at last) it selfe beguile ⁵⁰

Superbiae Flagellum was thus part of a running exchange of topical religious satires in verse, often partly a vehicle for covert political criticism, popular with many writers and readers at the time. Taylor's response to *Wither's Motto* must therefore be perceived in the context of his position as a whole in 1621. The serious temper of the period, at least for a writer of Taylor's Protestant sympathies, is reflected in the fact that

⁴⁹ *Taylor's Motto*, sig. A5v.

⁵⁰ *Superbiae Flagellum*, sig. D7v.

the publication of *Superbiae Flagellum* and *Taylor's Motto* in the summer of 1621 was closely followed by the fourteen “satyres” of *The Water Cormorant*, also valued highly by Taylor or his publishers, since it heads the final section of his *Workes* in 1630.⁵¹ This text shared the same publishers, Eld and Flesher, with *Superbiae Flagellum*, initiating another fruitful association between writer and stationers, which then followed in a similar vein to Taylor’s involvement with Trundle and Gosson.⁵² *Taylor's Motto* was therefore more than just an individualistic assertion of one authorial ego battling with another. It was both in keeping with the trends of the period, and reflected the mutual interests of stationers and author.

In the case of *Wither's Motto* there is no evidence that the stationers involved in producing and distributing this text shared any form of interests with the author, other than a temporary impetus to sell as many copies as possible. Indeed, given the wide range of stationers involved and the fact that the Stationer’s Company’s own officials were implicated in the sale of unlicensed texts, the opposite seems likely.⁵³ In contrast, there is evidence of a considerable degree of sympathy in outlook between Taylor and the publishers of his *Motto*, John Trundle and Henry Gosson. The appearance of the initials I.T. and H.G. together on this title-page engraving is highly significant, as this was the first time that the shared responsibility of these two stationers had been acknowledged in print. It was only after the issue of *Taylor's Motto* that their joint initials began to appear on other texts: the first of these was later the same summer on the title-page of *The vnnaturall Father*, which, although first printed anonymously, later appears in Taylor’s collected *Workes* (1630). This pamphlet was entered on 10 July 1621, less than a month after the entrance of *Taylor's Motto* to Gosson.⁵⁴ However,

⁵¹ Although its title-page is dated 1622, *The Water Cormorant* (STC 23813), was entered to Eld and Flesher on 16th October 1621, only a few months after *Superbiae Flagellum* and *Taylor's Motto*. For *The Water Cormorant*, see Chapter 8.

⁵² Both pairs of stationers shared Taylor political and religious sympathies as well as commercial interests. Eld was a key printer for Taylor early on and Flesher is an essential figure in Taylor’s later career during the 1620s and 30s (see Chapters 7-9, below).

⁵³ O’Callaghan, “*The Shepheard's Nation*”, pp. 180-183; Jocelyn Creigh “George Wither and the Stationers”, *passim*.

⁵⁴ *The vnnaturall father, or, The cruell murther committed by [one] Iohn Rowse of the towne of Ewell ... with his prayer and repentance in prison, ..., and his execution ... on Munday the second of July, 1621* (J. Trundle and H. Gosson, 1621), STC 23808a. There are no other attributed examples of “prison literature” by Taylor: however, the fact that the imprint on *The vnnaturall Father* is identical to the *Motto*,

Trundle and Gosson had actually been involved together in publications for some years beforehand, at least as early as 1615, and it is possible that Taylor had himself been instrumental in initiating this partnership. Trundle had already published at least one text by Taylor when he and Gosson both appeared at the send-off for Taylor on his journey to Scotland in 1618.⁵⁵ The easy familiarity with which Taylor puns on Trundle's name four years later, in the closing lines of the *Motto*, suggests a close relationship of stationer and author:

For no booke in my hands could euer come,
If it were but the treatise of *Tom Thumb*,
Or *Scoggins Iests*, or any simple play,
Or monstrous newes, came Trundling in my way....

It may well be, therefore, that Trundle and Gosson contributed to the cost of the engraved plate for *Taylor's Motto*, thus ensuring the prominence of their names in the design. Nevertheless, Thomas Cockson's almost simultaneous involvement in the *Motto* and *Superbiae Flagellum*, produced by two different sets of stationers, suggests that it was Taylor himself, rather than the publishers, who had made the choice of engraver. This would fit with the later use of Cockson for the engraved frontispiece to Taylor's *Workes* in 1630, which was published by James Boler. It also fits with the evident ideological and religious sympathies between Taylor and Cockson. Hind describes Cockson as "one of the few "native" engravers working in England", which would have been an attraction for Taylor, who had already expressed a deep concern for the promotion of English vernacular traditions in poetry.⁵⁶ Laurence Worms further

"Printed for I.T. and H.G., 1621" may have suggested his authorship to contemporaries, well before the folio printing of 1630.

⁵⁵ The first clearly documented evidence of this partnership is the entry of *Newes of Sir Walter Raleigh* to Trundle and Gosson, 17th March 1618 (Gerald D. Johnson, "John Trundle and the book-trade, 1603-1626", in *Studies in Bibliography* 39 (1986), 177-99, p.188). However, they may have been involved together in the publications relating to the Overbury scandal (1615-16): each published several broadsheets separately but these were also collected into pamphlet compilations that probably involved their cooperation.

⁵⁶ For example in *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614).

describes Cockson as “an important figure in establishing a London-based school of engraving”, noting that both Robert Vaughan and Thomas Fullwood were his apprentices.⁵⁷ However, Cockson also had links with the Netherlands and strong sympathies with European Protestantism. Although his name can only be securely linked to Taylor from 1621, other engravings suggest a sympathy of ideas going back many years. There is certainly a similarity in design between his first frontispiece, for Harington’s translation of *Orlando Furioso* in 1591, and his engraving for Taylor’s *Workes*, which is his last known new piece, in 1630. Although these similarities may simply reflect the style of Cockson, it is also relevant that Taylor himself admired Harington and refers to him prominently in *The Peace of France* (c.1623-7). There are also similarities between the frontispiece for Taylor’s *Workes* and Cockson’s portrait of Daniel for the *Civil Warres*, printed in 1609.⁵⁸ This is a significant association, given Taylor’s particular enthusiasm for both English history and English verse, and, as we saw earlier, Taylor placed Daniel in his pantheon of vernacular poets listed in the *Motto*. Thus the choice of Cockson by Taylor in 1621 almost certainly reflects a sympathy of ideas between engraver and writer.

The majority of Cockson’s topics are not literary in association, however; they cover events from anti-Spanish campaigns of the 1590s, portraits of key figures in Protestant Europe, and satirical anti-Catholic prints. The first of these, the *Chart of the Operations at Cadiz* (1596), is a unique record of the English attack on Cadiz, an event in which Taylor had been involved as a young seaman. This engraving survives only in a manuscript of Sir William Slingsbie’s *Relation of the Voyage to Cadiz*, 1596, and the cartouche states that it is based on a description by Baptista Boazio “taken the 21st of June 1596”, suggesting it follows an eye-witness account.⁵⁹ Several of Cockson’s other engravings also depict expeditions in which Taylor took part during the 1590s.⁶⁰ His

⁵⁷ Laurence Worms, ‘Cockson, Thomas’, *Oxford DNB*, OUP, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5791>], accessed 16 October, 2008.

⁵⁸ See Chapter 3.

⁵⁹ A.M. Hind, *Engraving in England*, Vol. 1, p. 234, no. 33 and Plate 133. Sir William Slingsbie, *Relation of the Voyage to Cadiz*, ed. Julian Corbet, *Naval Miscellany*, Navy Records Society, Vol. I (1902), pp. 23-92.

⁶⁰ Taylor breaks off to mention his naval history in his *Motto*: “Some sixteene times I on the Seas haue beene/ In Spaine and Germany both out and in, / At cales, at Ostend, Prague, and many a where”, *Taylor’s Motto*, sig. C1v.

large-scale equestrian portrait of the Earl of Essex (1599/1600) is again set against the background of Cadiz in 1596, but this time with the expedition to the Isles of Treceras (the Azores) from 1597, and the coast of Ireland on the horizon.⁶¹ Taylor's own experiences on the Azores voyage form the basis for an anecdote in the *Pennyles Pilgrimage* (1618) involving Sir Henry Withrington (Widdrington). Other large-scale engravings by Cockson have similar associations with Taylor's naval history. A companion equestrian portrait to that of Essex shows the Earl of Nottingham, again against a background of the English fleet at Cadiz, and adds a scene of "English ships in pursuit of the Spanish Armada", another iconic event for Taylor.⁶² The later states of these two equestrian engravings confirm such mutual interests. Sometime after Essex's disgrace in June 1600, Cockson altered the Essex plate to show Count Mansfield, leader of the Protestant forces in Europe in 1618-20, where he is described as "The Most Honourable and Valiant Souldier ... and Generall of the King of Bohemia". Cockson's portraits of Elizabeth and Frederick when rulers of the Palatine state confirm this shared enthusiasm with Taylor.⁶³

However, perhaps the strongest evidence of sympathy between Cockson and Taylor, in temper as well as in subject, is an earlier anti-Catholic satirical etching, *The Revells of Christendome* (1609), a historical caricature described by Hind as "an English view of the settlement between Spain and the States General of Holland". This shows James I, Henri IV, Prince Maurice and Christian IV of Denmark playing at dice and

⁶¹ In *The pennyles pilgrimage* (1618) Taylor describes meeting Withrington by chance and discovering that they had both been on The Rainbow during the Azores voyage: Taylor had shared bread with a starving gentleman, who promised to reward him later: "I had no sooner tolde this tale but Sr. *Henry Witherington* did acknowledge himselfe to bee the man that *I* had giuen the Loafe vnto 22. yeares before." Sir Henry fulfilled the promise, giving Taylor a bay mare to complete his journey. See, *The pennyles pilgrimage, or The money-lesse perambulation, of John Taylor, alias the Kings Majesties water-poet* (E. Alde for the author, 1618), STC 23784. The Widdringtons had connections with the Ramsays; John Ramsay apparently secured for Taylor the Tower Bottle post he held from c.1603/5 to 1621.

⁶² Hind, *Engraving in England*, I, 248.

⁶³ The Nottingham portrait was altered to show Christian IV of Denmark, who became head of the Protestant league in 1625. Colvin suggests that the charger used in this portrait "is enlarged from a small portrait of Henri IV engraved by Leonard Gautier in 1596" (Hind, *Engraving in England* 1, p.239). Hind also ascribes to Cockson the frontispiece for Francis White's *Replie to Jesuit Fisher's Answer to King James* (Adam Islip, 1624), STC 25382. White's arguments were commissioned by the King, to combat a Jesuit priest's attempt to convert George Villiers's mother to Catholicism. Hind's other ascription to Cockson, the satirical cartoon *All doe ride the Asse*, has now been ascribed to Reynald Elstrack by Antony Griffiths, on stylistic grounds: see Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, 90, pp.145-6.

cards against the Pope and his representatives. The English couplets below describe the Protestant side as victorious over “proud Rome”:

[The Roiall Gamesters]..... found at last,
That Rome threw false Dice in at every cast
For this, shee never blusht, but onely swore
Shee would with Thos 4 Gamesters play no more
Whome will shee play with then, yf Dice ron true,
At her owne Game, Rome will her selfe undoe.⁶⁴

The phrasing of these sentiments parallels Taylor’s own satirical reference to court sycophants in the conclusion to *Superbiae Flagellum*, which, as discussed above, was probably directed at Catholic courtiers:

This *Pride* is hatefull, dangerous, and vile,
And shall it selfe (at last) it selfe beguile.⁶⁵

The satirical etching of the Pope and his minions in the *Revells* also anticipates Taylor’s unpublished prosopopoeia, *The Suddeine Turne of Fortune’s Wheel* (1631/2), where he extends and updates a dialogue between the Pope and Catholic leaders in Europe on the fluctuating situation in the Thirty Years war. The partially dramatised format, where the Catholic figures are imagined speaking and interacting, is a linguistic version of the cartoon effect in *The Revells of Christendome*.⁶⁶

Yet, despite such clear sympathies between Taylor and Cockson on religious subjects, neither *Superbiae Flagellum* nor *Taylor’s Motto* are overtly anti-Catholic.

⁶⁴ Hind, *Engraving in England*, vol. I, Plate 134, and p.254 -5, no.34. Hind notes (p.255) that “the same design is copied in reverse in a later engraving for another situation in 1627 (*BM Political and Personal Satires I*, no.101, “Royal and Ecclesiastical Gamesters””).

⁶⁵ *Superbiae Flagellum* (1621), STC 23796, sig.D7v.

⁶⁶ For *The Suddeine Turne* see Afterword.

Indeed, Taylor judiciously follows Wither in declaring that his *Motto* bears no reference to current controversies, religious or otherwise:

All my taxations are in generall,
Not any personall, or nationall:
.....
Nor of Religious points my Muse doth chant,
Of Romish Catholick, or Protestant:⁶⁷

Nevertheless, the choice of Cockson as engraver for their frontispieces may have carried resonances for contemporary readers that are now lost. This possibility is made more likely by the publication history of Cockson's equestrian portraits, which became part of a propaganda campaign waged by Essex and various opposing factions in the late sixteenth century over the portrayal of the capture of Cadiz. As Paul Hammer explains:

*By depicting Essex in quasi-regal stance and linking the image with the decidedly royal phrase “Gods elected”, this engraving went far beyond the bounds of what was acceptable. When copies of the engraving began to flood on to the London market in early 1600, it was immediately banned. Rumours even circulated that Essex himself would be sent to the Tower.*⁶⁸

Thus visual and verbal details combined to create a message that is more pointed and specific than the effect of either separately, as would again be the case for *Superbiae Flagellum* and especially for *Taylor's Motto*. Although the controversy over the Essex portrait might be considered to relate to the Earl's own precarious position in 1600, this was not the only image that drew official censorship, since Cockson's engravings of the Earl of Cumberland and the Lord Admiral, Charles Howard were also suppressed in the same order. Thus, Cockson's involvement in packaging Taylor's work in 1621 would

⁶⁷ *Taylor's Motto*, sig. A6r.

⁶⁸ Paul E. J. Hammer, “Myth-Making: Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz in 1596”, in *The Historical Journal* 40.3 (1997), 621-642, p. 639.

almost certainly evoke memories of his earlier controversial reputation for devotion to militant Protestantism.

Controversy was not confined to the engraver of the *Motto*'s emblem, however, for the stationers involved in its production also shared Taylor's own passionate interest in the future of Protestantism within a European context. Just six days before the entrance of *Taylor's Motto* to Gosson, John Trundle had entered *The converted Jew of Prague in Bohemia*, which was then printed by Allde for Gosson, with no mention of Trundle in this imprint. Not only does this show the threesome working together at the same period as the *Motto*, but it also reinforces our impressions of their religious allegiances. In the case of Gosson, like Cockson, these sympathies can be traced right back to the 1590s, this time through a family history.⁶⁹ Although a factor in Taylor's first use of Gosson as publisher may have been the location of one of his shops at London Bridge Gate, convenient for a waterman and close to the Tower where Taylor worked, this motive is not sufficient to account for the length or constancy of their association. A more likely explanation is their shared anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish and anti-Turk sentiments, along with an almost pathological antipathy to church separatists.

The modern characterisation of Gosson has focused almost exclusively on his involvement in the broadside ballad trade, especially the ballad partnership extensively catalogued by Tessa Watt.⁷⁰ Like Trundle, Gosson has been perceived as a hack publisher, interested only in purveying ephemeral trash to the lowest end of the market. However, this ignores the way that his business changed over the years. Before 1620, Gosson's list contains almost exclusively quarto and octavo publications, mostly religious texts, including sermons. Even at the height of his ballad publishing business in the early 1620s he was still producing a steady number of these longer texts. His first recorded imprint is *The Recantation of a Brownist* (1606), letters explaining Peter Fairlambe's reasons for rejecting the Brownist position. Brownism is equated in the literature of the period with schism and in Fairlambe's case his trips to Barbary were implicated in the Brownist seduction. This text ends with a "Table of Martyrs",

⁶⁹ For Edward Allde and John Trundle, see Chapter 4.

⁷⁰ Watt, *Cheap Print*, p.149 and *passim*. Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1660* (Cambridge, CUP, 2002), p.127.

described as taken out of Fox's book, thus affirming its Protestant credentials. Already, then, Henry Gosson's first known text combines significant elements that recur in his list over the years: the fear of schism in general, the particular loathing of Brownism, the association of dangerous religious seductions with the East, and an interest in ships and the navy. All of these are characteristics of John Taylor's work as well.⁷¹

An important factor in Henry Gosson's interests is the continuity with his father's business, dating back to the early 1580s. Although Henry was not the only son to go into publishing, he was the one who inherited Thomas's shops together with some of his copyrights.⁷² Thomas Gosson's list was a similar mix to his son's, with serious religious tracts and prayer books jostling with ballads and jigs. The inclusion of Stephen Gosson's *Playes confuted* (1582) might suggest Puritan leanings, but the entrance of "Francis new jigge" to Gosson in 1595 seems to contradict this possibility.⁷³ Nevertheless, Thomas Gosson was responsible for a key Protestant text, an adaptation of the Catholic translation of Luis de Granada's *Libro de la oracion y meditacion* (1592). This is just one example of many distinctively Protestant publications produced by Thomas Gosson. In addition to sermons and prayer-books, he also published more blatantly propagandist material, such as the satirical anti-Catholic pamphlet *The divels legend. or: a learned cachephochysme*.⁷⁴ The continuity in the interests of the Gosson family business is a key factor in tracing the development of Taylor's commitment to the kind of authorship advocated in his *Motto*.

⁷¹ *The Recantation of a Brownist* (R. Blower for H. Gosson, 1606), STC 10668. A staying entry from 1603 records a possible earlier text for Gosson, "a warninge pheece to bribers", but this is not extant.

⁷² Henry Gosson's brother Edward was also a stationer. Some of Henry's texts carry the imprint "dwelling upon London-bridge, neere the Gate", the wording habitually used by his father, although most refer to "London Bridge" alone. In at least one case, the *Contention betweene three brethren* (1608), STC 1968.7, Henry re-issued a text from Thomas Gosson's list nearly thirty years previously, in 1580 (STC 1968.3-5). This is a moralistic tract about "the vileness of those three vices", namely whoring, drinking and dicing.

⁷³ Stephen Gosson, *Playes confuted in fife actions prouing that they are not to be suffred in a Christian common weale* (for Thomas Gosson, 1582). STC 12095; another edition is dated c.1590 (BLc.39.a.33). *Francis New Jigge* is by George Attwell, the clown who wrote jigs for Philip Henslowe and the Admiral's Men (DNB). There is no evidence of any family relationship between Stephen and Thomas Gosson, but there is also no evidence to the contrary: little is known about the Gosson publishing family.

⁷⁴ Juvenall Borget, *The divels legend. or: a learned cachephochysme.....: wherein doctour Pantaloun, and Zanie his pupill, doo teach that all hope ought to be grounded on the puissant King Phillip of Spaine* (J. Danter for T. Gosson, 1595), STC 3388. Danter also worked with Thomas Gosson on several anti-papist texts with a maritime angle, similar to Henry's later publications, including *The true copie, of a letter ... Lamentably discoursing the crueltie of Bashavy Mahomet* (1595), STC 15115.5.

Both Thomas Gosson in the 1580s and 90s, and Henry Gosson throughout the first three decades of the seventeenth century, consistently produced material that actively promoted the militant Protestant cause. Although this was by no means unusual in the period, the similarities between their types of publication is striking, as Henry's early re-use of his father's titles, texts and rights emphasises. One particular example, the title *Newes from Rome*, is especially significant: both Thomas and Henry used this title, but only Thomas entered a text under this name in the Stationers' Register. Henry Gosson seems to have taken advantage of this entrance to avoid registering his own pamphlet, which has completely different content to his father's version, although with the same Protestant bias. Henry's pamphlet went into three editions from 1606-9, and produced several spin-offs in the form of broadside ballads, because of its addition of "A Jew's Prophesie", predicting events in Protestant Europe. In addition, possibly by coincidence, the two Gossons' use of the title "Newes from Rome" across the decades forms part of a bibliographic chain linking Taylor's own 1621 publications with his earlier mentor, John Moray. These connections demonstrate how deeply Taylor's own publications were rooted in the earlier century and in a Protestant military world; they also show the close relationship between literary and active elements for Taylor.

Thomas Gosson's *Newes from Rome, Venice, and Vienna* (1595), is a piece of anti-Turkish propaganda.⁷⁵ The phrase *Newes from Rome* places it as one of a series of pamphlets amounting almost to a genre of their own, a precursor of the corrautos that appeared in the early 1620s during the Bohemian crisis. An earlier pamphlet with the same name, dated 1590, focused on Henry of Navarre and French Protestant struggles with Catholic forces.⁷⁶ The text was however written for an English audience: the first section, *Newes from Spaine*, describes the Armada and Jesuit attempts to corrupt English citizens. Thomas Gosson's *Newes from Rome*, published five years later, focuses on the Turkish threat to Christendom rather than the Spanish threat to Protestants, but in the

⁷⁵ *Newes from Rome, Venice, and Vienna, touching the present proceedings of the Turkes against the Christians in Austria, Hungarie, and Heluetia, otherwise called Seuenbergh. Also the true copie of a lamentable petition exhibited in the names of the afflicted Christians in those parts, to the Christian kingdoms in the West* (J. Danter for H. Gosson, 1595), STC 21294, entered 10th March 1595

⁷⁶ *Newes from Rome, Spaine, Palermo, Geneuae and France With the miserable state of the city of Paris* (for T. Nelson, tbs. W. Wright, 1590), STC 21293. This contains three satirical woodcuts reprinted from earlier pamphlets.

overall scheme these threats seem interchangeable. It resembles the 1590 pamphlet in format and tri-partite organisation, beginning with a report of the military situation, followed by “The Confession of a Tartarian Horseman taken amongst other prisoners”. It ends with a “*lamentable petition exhibited in the names of the afflicted Christians in those parts, to the Christian kingdoms in the West*”, a moving plea that hovers between begging for help and warning Englishmen against complacency about the Turkish threat. The title *News from Rome* bears little relation to the content of Gosson’s pamphlet, which is wholly focused on the Turkish threat to lands in Southern Germany, and so may be considered generic, indicating a type of text rather than the precise occasion.

Similar conventions seem to be at work in the visual material: Gosson’s pamphlet carries a cut of a knight on the title-page that could easily have been used to illustrate a play or poem about a romantic hero such as Guy of Warwick or King Arthur:

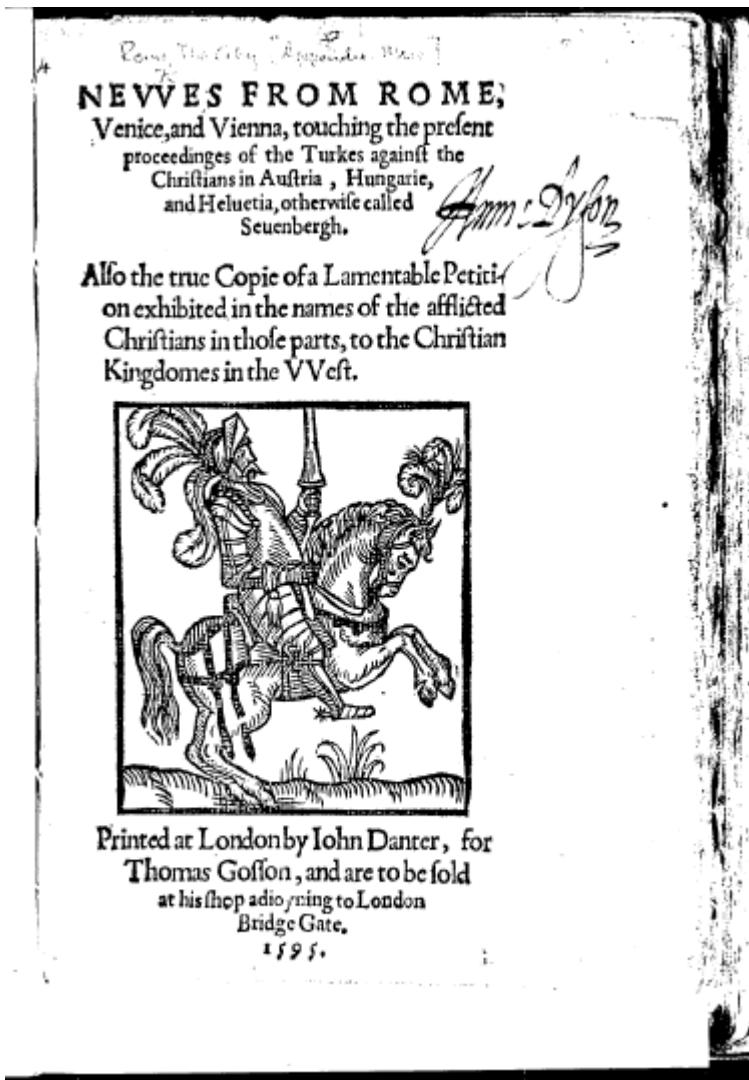


Fig. 2.4: Title page of *News from Rome* (1595), showing the cut of a knight used also for *A Farewell to Captain Andrew Gray* (1605).⁷⁷

There is certainly nothing Eastern or Tartarian about this knight, and yet the same cut is used again part way through, to highlight “The Confession of a Tartarian Horseman”:

⁷⁷ *Newes from Rome* (J. Danter for T. Gosson, 1595), STC 21294, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>> accessed 5th June 2009.



The Confession of a Tartarian Horseman taken amongst other Prisoners.



First hee saith, althoough the Turkish Emperor commanede them to winter in Hungaria, they notwithstanding went so farre, hearing their owne Countrey was afflicte, and sending Sir
tene

taken by the Christians of Scenenbergh.

2 Also hee saith, that the King of Tartars sonne, with the rest of the Armie lye about Tamisweer and Welenbergh, and that of the Tartars onely two thousand shall remaine there.

3 Also he saith, that in the last skirmish thre hundred Tartars, and one hundred Turkes, all horsemen, were sent to learne if the ritter of Rabnitz were hard frozen to passe or no, but what they haue done he knowes not, for by the stumbling of his horse he was taken prisoner; but he thinketh they meant to set upon Capur.

4 Fourthly, hee knoweth not what number of men were at Cappa, but at Rab there were some fiftie thousand.

5 Fiftly hee saith, that no moxe Tartars must come downe, but those that are there, are commanded to set upon Erlaw.

6 Sixtly he saith, all those Turkes that came last from Sea, beeing about fiftie thousand, are all perthe.

7 Seuenthly hee saith, the Turke hath made peace with the Persian, but because the Souldans sonne is dead at Perto, he knoweth not whether the peace will holde.

8 Eightly hee saith, hee knoweth not whether

Fig. 2.5 Illustration from the second section of *News from Rome* (1595), Sig.B4r⁷⁸

It would be easy to dismiss this repetitive illustration as merely showing John Danter's indiscriminate use of old cuts, signifying nothing but the cheapness of the text. However, this cut has a subsequent history which suggests that its use here might be more deliberate. For it is found again ten years later in another pamphlet, *A Farewell To the Renowmed and valiant Captaine, Captayne Andrew Gray*, which carries the imprint of Simon Stafford and is dated 1605. It is this pamphlet that may hold the key to the identity of Taylor's mentor, John Moray.

A Farewell To ... Captayne Andrew Gray is a short, occasional item, containing four poems addressed to Captain Gray: the first signed by John Moray, two by William

⁷⁸ *Newes from Rome* (STC 21294) <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>

Bubb and the last by a “William Hill”.⁷⁹ The occasion is the departure of Captain Gray with English troops to fight in the cause of European Protestantism, described on the title-page as, *going with the mighty Prince, the Duke of Holsten, to the Christian warres against the Turke*. The contributors all emphasise the righteousness of Gray’s cause, and at least two of them, John Moray and William Bubb, clearly had some personal acquaintance with Gray. In addition, three of the four names on the pamphlet, Andrew Gray, John Moray and William Bubb, can be linked to John Taylor. These connections are both literary and military; it seems significant that one of these links appears in the very first of Taylor’s own printed texts, *The Sculler*, which was of course entered to Henry Gossen in 1611. Here, Taylor unequivocally attributes his emergence as a poet in print to a gentleman by the name of John Moray:

Tis thou hast raisd me from obliuions den,
And made my Muse from obscure sleepe to start⁸⁰

Two years later, the names John Moray and William Bubb both occur as signatories to commendatory verses in Taylor’s *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614). Here Moray addresses Taylor as “my true friend”, and compares his work favourably to the more pretentious products of “the best that Britaine now doth beare”. Bubb is much terser in his few lines addressed “To honest *Jack Taylor*” and applauding “thy quick ingenious spirit”.⁸¹

While neither of these names is unique in the period, there are other factors that support an identification between the John Moray and William Bubb in Taylor’s texts of 1612/14 and the contributors to the pamphlet for Andrew Gray in 1605. Key amongst

⁷⁹ *A Farewell To the Renowned and valiant Captaine, Captayne Andrew Gray* (Simon Stafford, 1605), STC 12200.5. The pamphlet is at Sheffield University Library (shelfmark RBR 821.39 (M)), in the collection of Sir Charles Firth (1857-1936), a founder of the University who was also Regius professor of modern history at Oxford. It is presently the only copy known and it is not available digitally. It contains A1 (title page), blank verso [?], A2r (poem by John Moray), A2v (poem by William Bubb), A3r (W.B. His Second Farewell) and what may be A3v or A4r, a poem by William Hill, with FINIS below. The preservation of this apparently unique copy suggests that it was considered of value to the owner. I am grateful to Amanda Berenstein at Sheffield University Library for her assistance.

⁸⁰ John Taylor, *The Sculler* (1612), sig. A2r.

⁸¹ John Taylor, *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614): Moray, sig. A4r, Bubb, sig. A2r

these is the fact that Taylor too had personal links with Captain Andrew Gray, as he tells us when he dedicates his pamphlet *An Englishman's Love to Bohemia* (1620) to Gray. This pamphlet is a pledge of support for Gray's newest attempt to bring success to the Protestant forces in Europe, a situation clearly paralleling the occasion of the 1605 tribute by Moray, Bubb and Hill. Gray is by this time a highly experienced soldier and is leading the volunteers from Leith to the Netherlands. Taylor thanks Gray for a previous favour, dating back to an unspecified period beforehand. His pamphlet is a striking quarto, more than usually lavishly illustrated with woodcuts depicting the English troops:

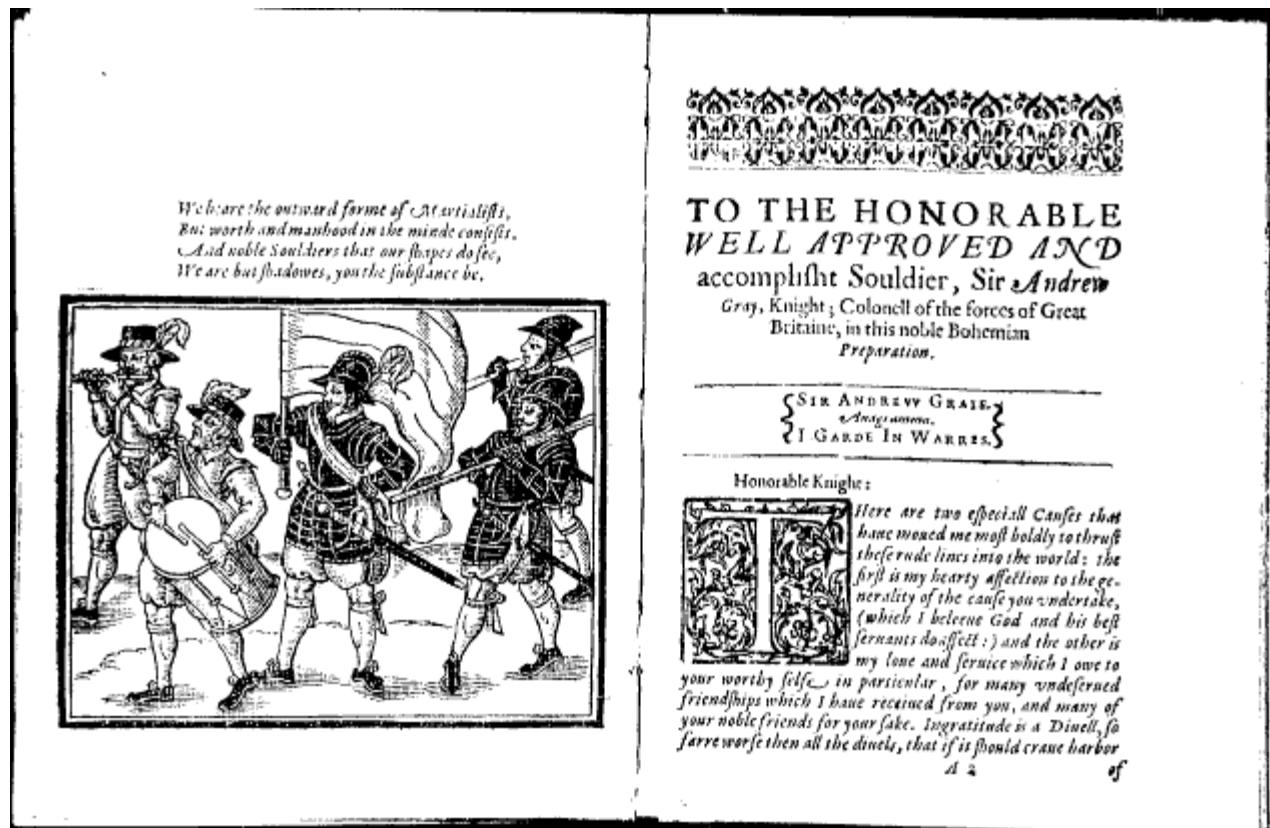


Fig. 2.6 *An Englishman's Love to Bohemia* (1620), showing the dedication to Sir Andrew Gray.⁸²

⁸² *An Englishman's Love to Bohemia* (Dort [ie. London, by George Eld], 1620), STC 23751, sigs.A1v-A2r,

It was issued with a false imprint in 1620, giving only the statement “printed at Dort”; a similar false imprint occurs on another pamphlet of the same date promising an account of “*the happy arriuall of Sir Andrew Gray in Lusatia*”. It is possible that any text that referred to Bohemia at this period was considered suspect, but more likely that it was the mention of Sir Andrew Gray and the movement of troops that was the problem. In the same year, the first edition of *Taylor his travels: from the city of London in England, to the city of Prague in Bohemia*, was published in the official fashion and without any apparent difficulty by Henry Gosson. This is presumably because it was presented as a straightforward traveller’s tale, with an impression of naïve enthusiasm given by Taylor’s account of his welcome at the Palatine court. However, Taylor’s support for the Protestant cause is signalled clearly from his use of verse to predict the future of the newly born Prince Rupert who “shall with his manly feet once trample down/ All Antichristian foes to his renowne”. There is also a post-script at the end, reassuring readers of the buoyant state of the Bohemian forces but coyly declaring,

“Then though no newes of state may heere be had
I know here’s something that will make good men glad”.⁸³

Although these pamphlets for the Bohemian cause in the 1620s and the tribute to Sir Andrew Gray in 1605 relate to different occasions, the Turkish and Catholic threats in Europe seem almost interchangeable in them. The emphasis each time is on the godliness of the cause, which is equated with a righteous Christianity. The presentation of the 1605 title page is quite striking, with the cut of the knight being personalised by the text “God prosper/ Captayne/ Andrew Gray” that is set neatly round it. However, the imprint gives only the name of Simon Stafford and his address in Hosier Lane, suggesting either that Stafford was the publisher, or that he printed this text for the authors. Stafford was a printer-publisher: for example, he printed Nashe’s *Summers last*

⁸³ *Taylor his Travels* (1620), sigs. C4v - D1r. Taylor breaks out in verse here, ending with the word “renowne”, before moving back into prose. This allows the passage to be easily noticed when flicking through the text. *Taylor his travels* ran to two issues in 1620, with a second edition, again by Henry Gosson, in 1621, the year of *Taylor’s Motto*

will and testament for Walter Burre in 1600, but he published the curious prose satire *Moriomachia*, written by John Taylor's friend Robert Anton, in 1613.⁸⁴ However, his use of this cut of the cavalier in 1605, ten years after John Danter made use of it for Thomas Gosson's *Newes from Rome*, is rather puzzling: the names of Danter and Stafford are linked by only a single extant text, Stafford's edition of *A Solemne Passion of the Soule*, extracted from a longer work by Nicholas Breton, originally entered to Danter.⁸⁵ It is possible that Stafford's involvement in Thomas Nashe's last texts may link him to Danter, who had a close relationship with Nashe earlier in the satirist's career.⁸⁶ The two printers did also both have addresses in Hosier Lane, although about ten years apart; Stafford on occasion used a printer's mark similar to Danter's, and so the cut of the knight may have moved with the printing shop or printing materials. It could thus have been picked up quite randomly by Stafford's compositors for the *Farewell to Gray*, without any reference to its use on the earlier *News from Rome*.

⁸⁴ *Moriomachia* (Simon Stafford, 1613), STC 685, was “one of the earliest English responses to Don Quixote”, Colin Burrow, ‘Anton, Robert (fl. 1606–1618)’, *Oxford DNB*, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/592>], accessed 12 September 2009. Anton was ordained in Gloucester in 1618.

Thomas Nashe's *Summers last will and testament* was printed by Simon Stafford for Walter Burre (STC 18376).

⁸⁵ *A Solemne Passion of the Soul* (William Barley, 1598), STC 3696, originally entered to Danter in 1595. The publisher of *A Solemne Passion*, William Barley, worked regularly with Danter.

⁸⁶ In 1592 Danter is recorded as dwelling in “Hosier-Lane neere Holburne Conduit,” (STC 24863 and others); Stafford's address is given as “dwelling in Hosier Lane, neere Smithfield” (STC 14675, 1603; STC 20959, 1602). Stafford had moved by 1606 to “the cloth Fayre”, and the sign of the Three Crowns.

A Farevvell to the Re-

nowmed and valiant Captaine, Cap-
tayne Andrew Gray, going with the mighty
Prince, the Duke of Holsten, to the
Christian warres against the Turke.



God prosper

LONDON,
Printed by Simon Stafford, dwelling in Hosier
Lane, neare Smithfield.

1605.

Fig. 2.7. *A Farevvell to the Renowmed and valiant Captaine, Captayne Andrew Gray* (Simon Stafford, 1605), STC 12200.5, Sheffield University Library.

Most scholars who deal with “cheap print” assume that the re-use of woodcuts was just a matter of expediency, depending merely on availability and a general appropriateness of subject. However, my own studies suggest that the re-use of woodcuts in such texts could be more systematic and carefully targeted. Hence, although this repetition in 1595 and 1605 may have been accidental, it may also reflect the shared focus of both publications, on the Christian fight against the Infidel in Europe, whether Turkish or Spanish/ Catholic.⁸⁷ Some support for this view may be derived from this woodcut’s subsequent use on a broadside ballad, *The Westerne Knight, and the young Maid of Bristoll*, which was assigned by John Trundle’s widow to the ballad partners in 1629.⁸⁸ The epithet “Westerne” was often used in early modern texts to refer to Protestant Christianity: in this particular ballad, the adjective could denote nothing more than “from the West country”, but there are examples where “Westerne” was employed to imply both ideas at the same time. For example, four years previously Trundle himself had printed *Three to one being, an English-Spanish combat, performed by a westerne gentleman, of Tauystoke in Deuon shire with an English quarter-staffe, against three Spanish rapiers*, where the text makes explicit reference to war with Spain.⁸⁹ Thus, although the ballad of *The Westerne Knight* may be just a formulaic love story, it is possible that the word “Westerne” did have specific political or religious associations in this instance. The use of the cavalier woodcut for this ballad, following its appearance on the other pamphlets from 1595 and 1605, could therefore be linked to the text’s purpose, rather than simply a random choice.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ It seems likely that this cut represents a Protestant hero from a romance. The cut used for the ballad of Guy of Warwick circulating in the decades 1650-1680, but probably dating from much earlier, is similar if more elaborate: see, for example, *A pleasant song of the valiant deeds of chivalry, atchieved by the noble knight Sir Guy of Warwick* (John Wright, c.1677). Martin Parker’s *The famous history of that most renowned Christian worthy Arthur King of the Britaines*, as printed by Coles in 1660 (Wing P437aA) carries a similar type of woodcut.

⁸⁸ *The vvesterne knight, and the young maid of Bristoll their loues and fortunes related. To a pretty amorous tune.* (F. Coules, c.1629), STC 25283. This ballad uses the cut of the knight from the Danter/Stafford texts cited above, plus another cut of a city, from a text first printed by George Eld.

⁸⁹ *Three to one being, an English-Spanish combat, performed by a westerne gentleman, of Tauystoke in Deuon shire with an English quarter-staffe, against three Spanish rapiers and poniards, at Sherries in Spaine, the fifteene day of Nouember, 1625. In the presence of dukes, condes, marquesses, and other great dons of Spaine, being the counsell of warre.* (A. Mathewes for J. Trundle, 1626), STC 19529.

⁹⁰ The ballad may be related to the iconography of Thomas Heywood’s *The fair maid of the vwest. Or, A girle worth gold.* (M. Flesher for R. Royston, 1631), STC 13320, but performed many years previously. Not only is Bess identifiable with the Virgin Queen as “The the mirrour of your sex and nation, / Fair English Elizabeth”, but also the second part ends with the conversion of the Bashaw to Christianity.

There are further textual details that link the Gosson publishing house, Sir Andrew Gray, John Moray, John Taylor and John Trundle together, even if the repeated use of this little cut of the “Westerne” knight were mere coincidence. The cumulative weight of these details support the identification between the John Moray of the *Farewell* to Andrew Gray of 1605 and the poetic mentor John Moray for whom Taylor wrote his funeral sonnets, *The Muses Mourning*. Everything that we learn about the John Moray who encouraged Taylor to write during the 1590s and early 1600s, fits with the evidence about the John Moray whose verses are printed in the *Farewell* to Captain Andrew Gray in 1605. The lines addressed by Moray to Gray in this pamphlet are fluent and accomplished, unlike the more pedestrian and awkward offerings of Bubb and Hill that follow. A similar distinction marks the commendatory sonnet signed John Moray, printed in *The Snipping and Snipping of Abuses* in 1614. These lines move with ease and clarity, following through to a satisfying concluding couplet:

Nor art thou alwaises ignorant of Art,
For Nature, so in thee doth play her part,
As prodigall, not lib'rall shee doth seeme.
Whilst thou her Champion, to thy greater grace
Mak'st Art to Nature euen in Art giue place.⁹¹

Here, the play on the paradoxical Art/ Nature trope is skilfully managed: the balance of “prodigall” and “liberall”, the placing of “Champion”, the rhyme of “grace” and “place”, and the weaving of “Art to Nature even in Art” wrapped round with the assonance of “Mak’st” and “place”, all give these lines a poise and elegance that raises them above the workmanlike contributions of other commendatory verses for Taylor. Only the professional dramatists such as William Rowley and Thomas Dekker display this level of skill and control over versification in their various contributions to Taylor’s early publications.

⁹¹ *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614), sig. A4r.

In *The Muses Mourning*, his undated collection of funeral sonnets, Taylor describes John Moray as a patron and connoisseur of poetry. The praise for the poet is quite conventional:

The heau'nly numbers of your Sacred nine
He tun'd as an *Aetheriall* Instrument. (Sonnet 2, Sig. A3r)

However, Taylor also stresses Moray's authority as a critic and judge of others' achievements in this field, aspects that Taylor himself may have found especially valuable. The description suggests that Moray may have been part of a circle of writers:

Now may you theeuing Poets filch and steale,
Without controulement breaking Priscians pate
For he that whilom could your theft reueale,
Your Criticke, and your Hippercriticke late....
He's gone that could and would correct each fault.

(Sonnet 11, Sig. B2r)

However, the major focus of Taylor's tribute is on Moray's integrity and piety:

Well hast thou Run in this thy weary race,
Well hast thou fought with Sathan hand to hand:
Th'ast won the Goale, and gaint the blessed Land,
That's neither limitted with time or place.

(Sonnet 10, Sig.B3r)⁹²

⁹²John Taylor, *The muses mourning: or funeral sonnets on the death of John Moray Esquire* (London, ns.), STC 23775. The printer was almost certainly Edward Alde. The xylographic mourning title page would have been relatively expensive for this apparently obscure publication.

Taylor's emphasis in these sonnets on John Moray's fight with Satan fits with Moray's own tribute to Captain Gray, who goes to fight with a "false and faithlesse race" in 1605. Moray begins "Deare brother Gray" and ends "Thy louing brother": he also addresses Gray as "friend", suggesting not a family relationship but rather the comradeship of arms, whether literal, or metaphorical in the sense of the Christian battle against the infidel. However, the lines addressed to Gray from William Bubb certainly suggest the brotherhood of a military campaign:

And blessed be that time and cause, whereby
Thou daign'st me with that name of thy Comrade⁹³

It thus appears that Bubb, Moray and Gray had been involved in previous expeditions together. Moray's conclusion is bound up with the contrast between his own situation and that of Gray in 1605:

Thou goest a glorious, but a headlong way,
To fight against a false and faithlesse race,
Whilst we obscure, vnknowne, at home must stay,
By darke obliuion buryed in disgrace.⁹⁴

This fits with Taylor's account in *The Muses Mourning*, which makes clear that his mentor John Moray died in disgrace, under some form of protracted confinement. Taylor devotes several sonnets to this long struggle with adverse circumstances, and implies that Moray was suffering for religious or political indiscretions ("I euer hop'd that thy vnwilling crime / Would be forgot, and thou securde from wracke"). Thus the details for these two John Morays, from the *Farewell* of 1605 and from Taylor's funeral tribute, tally with each other, increasing the likelihood of an identification between them.⁹⁵

⁹³ *A Farewell to the renowned and valiant Captaine*, sig. A2v.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, sig. A2r.

⁹⁵ *The Muses Mourning*, Sonnet 3, A4r. This sonnet plays on the idea that death has released Moray from two prisons, the soul's incarceration in the body, and the body's literal imprisonment in "vnrelenting senceles stone".

It is likely that John Moray and William Bubb were both representatives of an older generation, since both names disappear from Taylor's publications during the mid 1610s. The surname Bubb or Bebb is in fact a Gloucestershire name, but the William Bubb known to Taylor may possibly be identified with the person of that name who is addressed in Samuel Rid's *The Art of Juggling or legerdemaine* (1612) as "the ingenious gentleman, and my louing father, Mr. William Bvbb". Rid's dedication emphasises Bubb's age and experience, presenting Rid himself as a new generation. The response from Bubb, in prose and as short as is practicable, is reminiscent of the terseness of the William Bubb of Taylor's *Nipping and Snipping*. In the *Farewell* to Gray in 1605, Bubb's versification is much cruder than John Moray's, and his lines share with William Hill's verses an obsessive focus on the quarrel with the infidel. However, while Bubb employs the language of battle,

Graunt, blessed Christ, such Conquest vnto Gray,
To vanquish Sathan at the latter day.⁹⁶

Hill's emphasis is more spiritual; his poem creates an acrostic with the words "Remember Thy Quarrel is Good" spelled out down the left hand side. The third line explicates this with

Mayntayne thy quarrel: on in Christ his Name
Endeuour still, his glory to disclose⁹⁷

Unlike the verses by Moray and Bubb, Hill sees the glory as all Christ's, rather than appertaining to Gray as a soldier.

⁹⁶ *A Farewell to the renowned and valiant Captaine* (1605), sig. A2v.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. A3v. The phrasing suggests that William Hill may have been a clergyman. A possible candidate is William Hill (d.1619), prebendary of Combe, in the Diocese of Bath and Wells, from 1596 - 1619. In 1616, Butter published a catechism by a William Hill, whose address "To all faithfull pastors" is close in tone and language to Taylor's later *Pastorall* (1624), and his attack on corrupt preachers in *The Unnaturall Father* (1621), STC 13503 (see Chapter 4). Hill's verses to Gray differs from those of Moray and Bubb: he seems to be more distanced from Gray, addressing him as "renownmed Gray, endow'd with virtues fame".

However, the most specific evidence that John Taylor's Moray came from an older generation lies in the parallels between *The Muses Mourning* and Taylor's *Great Britaine Alle in Blache* (1612), his mourning verses for Prince Henry. Sonnet Nine in *The Muses Mourning* ends with the line, "A heauy euening brings a ioyfull morrow"; this is identical with a line in the dedicatory verse to Sir Robert Dowglas, which appears in the second edition of *Great Britaine All in Blache*, the edition with William Rowley's endorsement which was printed soon after the first (1612).⁹⁸ The probability of a connection between the two mourning texts is increased by their positioning when re-printed in Taylor's 1630 *Workes*. Here, although the dedication to Dowglas has been omitted, along with one of the poems from *Great Britaine All in Blache*, the rest of this tribute to Prince Henry occupies a full folio page immediately opposite the opening sonnets of *The Muses Mourning*. These two texts therefore make a double page spread in the final layout of the Folio: this positioning increases the probability that the two sets of mourning verses, the one for Prince Henry and the other for John Moray, were in some way connected. Sir Robert Dowglas (Douglas) was Master of the Prince's Horse, which made him an obvious choice for the dedication of a funeral publication for Prince Henry. However, it may also be relevant that his wife was Nicola Moray (d.1611), of the Morays of Abercairney. It may well be that the John Moray of Taylor's *Muses Mourning* was connected to this particular family of Morays.⁹⁹

Several details from different sources may support this supposition. Nicola Moray's brothers included Sir William Moray of Abercairney, whom Taylor had intended to visit at Stirling, when he joined the hunting party of the Earl of Mar in 1617/8.¹⁰⁰ Another brother was Sir David Murray of Gorthy (1567-1629), who was a favourite of Prince Henry.¹⁰¹ *Sophonisba*, David Murray's collection published in London in 1611, contains verses warmly praising a kinsman, John Moray, which convey a similar impression of this John Moray's poetic grace, especially in religious poetry, to

⁹⁸ John Taylor, *Great Britaine, all in Blache* (E. Alde for J. Wright, 1612), STC 23760.5.

⁹⁹ The first of Taylor's two poems for Henry, not reprinted in his Folio but carrying the title originally entered, *Great Britaines Greatest Woe*, refers to: "Black valiant Edward that war-breathing Prince". The phrase "war-breathing Prince" is also used by John Moray in *A Farewell to captain Andrew Gray*: "With Holstens valiant and war-breathing Prince" This phrase is not obscure but the rhythm and placing of the phrase in the line suggests Taylor may have been echoing Moray's 1605 poem.

¹⁰⁰ See *Taylor's Pennyles Pilgrimage* (1618), STC 23784.

¹⁰¹ Nichola Moray also had a brother, John Moray, a theologian who died in 1632 [DNB].

that given by Taylor in *The Muses Mourning*.¹⁰² The fact that David Murray was forced to return to Scotland because of the hostility of those struggling for new positions after the death of Henry, suggests that his family had lost their influence by 1612. If *The Muses Mourning* is printed by Edward Alldie, as the bibliographic details indicate, this might confirm a date for John Moray's death around the same period. At this time Alldie printed both Taylor's *The Sculler* and *Great Britaine All in Blache* (both 1612), while in 1613 he printed Taylor's *Heauens Blessing, Earth's Joy*. The ornaments on *The Muses Mourning* also feature heavily in several texts by James Maxwell printed by Alldie in 1613, celebrating the Palatine marriage. Since all of these texts were entered to Henry Gossen, it may be that the publication of *The Muses Mourning* was his responsibility as well, although the lack of a stationer's address might indicate that it was distributed privately.

Taken together, the evidence outlined above suggests that the John Moray who first inspired Taylor to publish his writings had also been a comrade in arms with Andrew Gray. He may well have been a kinsman of the branch of the Moray/Murray clan to which the Morays of Abercairney belonged.¹⁰³ Taylor's unswerving loyalty to the Palatine cause, which is consistent with his despair at the death of Prince Henry, was expressed in 1621 by his dedication to *An Englishman's Love to Bohemia*, addressing the same Andrew Gray. This suggests that Taylor had shared some military or naval interests with Gray, and thus that the association between Gray, Moray and Taylor was mutual. This is entirely consistent with everything else that we have seen about John Taylor, including his admiration for the soldier-poet-courtier Du Bartas. Indeed, John Moray seems not unlike Sylvester's Du Bartas as an ideal figure for Taylor, combining

¹⁰² *The tragicall death of Sophonisba. Written by Dauid Murray. Scoto-Brittain* (G.Eld for J. Smethwick, 1611), STC 18296. Gossen also reprinted David Murray's *The Complaint of the Shepherd Harpalus* as a broadside, using cuts from his pamphlets celebrating Prince Henry. This broadside may have political connotations: *The complaint of the shepheard Harpalus to a pleasant new tune / D.M.* (for Henry Gossen, ca. 1625), STC18294.5.

¹⁰³ I have ignored the John Moray (d.1640), favourite of James I, who became Viscount Annandale, acquiring a great deal of property. Taylor addressed an anagram to this John Moray in *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614), suggesting the future Viscount's social climbing: *Industrious Loialty doth daily tell / Thou Aymest at honor, and thou leuel'st well, / And with thy trustie seruice shoot'st so right, / That in the ende thou sure wilt hit the white.* At least four different Morays are addressed in the course of *Nipping and Snipping*, including Sir William Moray of Abercairney. Taylor also dedicated *The severall Sieges of the famous Citie of Jervsalem* (1616 with *Taylors Urania*), to a John Moray, "one of the Gentlemen of his Maiesties Royall Bed-chamber". In the 1630 *Workes*, the dedication was updated to address the Earl of Annandale.

the piety, poetic skill and militant Protestantism of the French poet, and of a generation before Taylor's own. The bibliographic links between these texts relating to Taylor, Gray and Moray, and the stationers Thomas and Henry Gosson, may still be coincidence, given the relatively small scale of the London publishing world in the early modern period. Nevertheless, it is this small scale which makes the influence of personal acquaintance and shared enthusiasms a factor that modern scholarship, with twenty-first century industries in mind, often seems to ignore.

Although they presumably moved in very different circles, John Moray and Henry Gosson are linked together by their common bond with John Taylor. We could even hypothesise that Moray may have brought Taylor and Gosson together: Taylor says that it was Moray who “rais'd [him] from oblivion's den” and Gosson entered Taylor's first independent text in 1611. It was this steady partnership with Gosson that established Taylor so firmly in the print market and their association continued until just before Gosson's death in 1640. Thus it could be stated without exaggeration that John Moray and Henry Gosson together, the one as poetic mentor and the other as anchor in the publishing market, were the foundation of Taylor's identity as an author in print. We may never know whether or not there was any causal relationship between Simon Stafford's use of an old-fashioned wood cut of a knight to represent the intrepid Protestant hero Captain Andrew Gray in the *Farewell* pamphlet of 1605, and the use of the same cut ten years previously in Thomas Gosson's edition of *Newes from Rome*. Nevertheless this little woodcut is a material link between the John Moray who languished in disgrace while his comrade Andrew Gray went to Germany to support the Duke of Holstein in his fight against the “infidel”, and the publishing house that provided such a firm basis for John Taylor's work, under the inspiration of another, or possibly the same, John Moray. Furthermore, this John Moray also languished in confinement and disgrace, while John Taylor also wrote a tribute to Andrew Gray when he departed for the Netherlands on a similar mission fifteen years later. Finally, it is possible that Taylor's funeral sonnets for his mentor John Moray were published by Henry Gosson; they were certainly printed by Edward Alldis, who regularly printed many of Taylor's other early texts for Gosson.

However, it is not just the history of the cavalier woodcut and the *Farewell to Captain Andrew Gray* that links Simon Stafford to the Gossoms and to John Taylor. For in the period 1604-6, when he published the tribute to Gray, Stafford's output includes both anti-Catholic ballads and small books of the type favoured by Thomas Gosson, and several strongly Protestant publications for Nathaniel Butter. His own list includes Samuel Hieron's *An answere to a popish ryme* and the illustrated single sheet, *The Popes escutcheon, or coate of armes*.¹⁰⁴ For Butter, he printed *The History of the Tryall of Chevalry with the life and death of the Cavaliero Dick Bowyer*, a "learned" confutation of Catholic arguments by the French Huguenot theologian Daniel Tilenus, and Thomas Dekker's *The Seven deadly Sinnes of London*, which he shared with Edward Alld. This last text does not carry Stafford's name in the imprint, which therefore gives similar information - that it was printed by Alld and sold by Butter - to the imprint on Taylor's *The Sculler* and *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1612-14). These texts represent a good proportion of Stafford's known output, suggesting a closer link with Butter than with any other publisher, and a decidedly anti-Catholic bias.¹⁰⁵

An identification between Taylor's mentor John Moray and the author of the *Farewell to Captain Gray* in 1605 would therefore support my argument for a much more political and religious basis to Taylor's work, right from the start of his career as a writer. However, if Taylor was serious in his acknowledgements of a debt to John Moray, then the citing of *Hero and Leander* in the *Motto* as the text that inspired him to start writing might seem peculiarly perverse. Critics have assumed that this was Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, as finished by Chapman, and have accepted the reference without question, even claiming that *Hero and Leander* was especially appropriate for a waterman. They also seem agreed that Taylor's choice was intended to show off his

¹⁰⁴ *The Popes eschuchcheon, or coate of armes* (ns. Simon Stafford, 1606), STC 20112.5, BL 1875.d.6 (140), entered to Stafford 17 February 1606. This is similar in conception to Thomas Dekker's *The Double PP or a Papist in Armes bearing ten seuerall shields. Encountred by the protestant. at ten seuerall weapons*, but in a different format. Samuel Hieron, *An answere to a popish ryme, lately scattered abroad in the west parts*, (Simon Stafford, 1604), STC13388.

¹⁰⁵ *The History of the Tryall of Chevalry with the life and death of the Cavaliero Dick Bowyer* (S. Stafford for N. Butter, 1605), STC13527, 13527.5 (variant), an Earl of Derby's men play; Daniel Tilenus, *The true copy of two letters...wherein the principall poynts in controversie with the papists, are...confuted* (S. Stafford for N. Butter, 1605), STC24072; Thomas Dekker, *The Seven deadly Sinnes of London* (E. Alld for N. Butter, 1606), STC 6522.

erudition and aspiration to literary fame.¹⁰⁶ Yet this is surely not the type of poem that would have appealed to a man so pious and high minded as Moray appears to have been. It is also not obviously the kind of poem that fits with the argument that I have been presenting throughout this chapter, concerning Taylor's conception of authorship. The position of *Hero and Leander* within Taylor's contemporary culture was highly equivocal. It was undoubtedly famous, and Taylor could well have admired its flexible versification, as well as being in awe of Chapman's achievement in his collected works of Homer, dedicated to Prince Henry. However, *Hero and Leander* was also controversial, as Wither's scornful remarks about the "wits" preference for such "wanton" verses in the Preface to his *Songs* made clear.¹⁰⁷

That *Hero and Leander* was renowned for its lasciviousness as well as for its high poetry is evident in the many parodies, from Jonson's puppet show in *Bartholomew Fayre* in 1614, to James Smith's mock epic *The Loves of Hero and Leander*, which probably dates from the early to mid 1630s. The style of the poem is similarly a mixture of the elegant, the passionate and the tongue-in-cheek. The rhymes would have appealed to Taylor in particular, and it may be that his own couplet reference to the poem,

Whilst in my boate I did by water wander,
Repeating lines of *Hero and Leander*

is deliberately constructed in the same vein. The reverse syntax of "by water wander" could obviously be understood as a desperate manoeuvre to find a rhyme for "Leander": but Taylor by 1621 had been writing verse of many kinds for many years, and a more likely explanation is an intentional and playful mimicry of Marlowe's own rhymes and rhythms, such as:

At last, like to a bold sharpe Sophister,
With chearfull hope thus he accosted her.

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, Nigel Wheale, p. 89.

¹⁰⁷ *The Epistle to the Clairgie* (1621), STC 25923. See above.

Noel Malcolm argues that Taylor's brand of nonsense verse was modeled to a large extent on the rich declamatory flamboyance that characterizes Marlowe's blank verse. He shows how Taylor's "habitual parodying of Marlowe" developed into the fully fledged nonsense verse of Taylor's *Sir Gregory Nonsense*, a well known and widely influential mock epic.¹⁰⁸ While Malcolm considers Taylor's nonsense verse to be a purely literary phenomenon, dependent on a parodic relationship with the bombastic literary style of the period, the possibility remains of a more direct engagement with the issues of the day. Even the title *Sir Gregory Nonsense* suggests an underlying anti-Papist or anti-liturgical impetus. Thus Taylor's reference to *Hero and Leander* in his *Motto* may carry more complex implications than first appears.

However, it is difficult to be certain of the extent to which Taylor may have intended this reference to *Hero and Leander* to be allusive. It seems unlikely, indeed impossible, that he could have been unaware of Jonson's mockery of him in the puppet version of the Hero and Leander story in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614). Jonson's presentation of a violent and abusive sculler may be hilariously funny but the serious intent of his criticisms is clear from his bitter references to Taylor recorded in *Timber, or Discoveries*. Nigel Wheale suggests that "Jonson may have known [in 1614] that Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* was the poem that inspired John Taylor to begin writing", using Taylor's mention of the poem in his *Motto* as evidence. Yet it seems equally possible that Taylor cites *Hero and Leander* in 1621 as an ironic or defiant gesture, with a deliberate glance at Jonson's earlier attack on him. If so, then he may be responding to Jonson's sarcastic comment as voiced by the puppet master in *Bartholomew Fair*, that "there's no talking to these watermen, they will ha' the last word".¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ *Sir Gregory Nonsense his newes from no place. Written on purpose, with much study to no end, plentifully stored with want of wit* (N.Oakes, 1622), STC 23795.

¹⁰⁹ Nigel Wheale, *Writing and Society*, pp. 88-9. The association between Marlowe and Taylor had some force in the period: Timothy Raylor suggests that James Smith's *The Loves of Hero and Leander*, printed in 1651 but dating from early to mid 1630s "may have involved some mockery of Taylor." It seems quite certain that Smith's later burlesque, *The Innovation of Penelope and Ulysses*, did parody Taylor since it carries a commendatory verse by James Atkins that specifically attacks: "the rabble/ Of pamphleteers even from the court toth' stable,/ Knights, and discarded Captaines, with the scribe;/ Famous in water-works". Raylor considers that Smith's attack could be "a continuation of the battle between Taylor and the earlier clubs, a battle that incorporated a degree of social antagonism". Timothy Raylor, *Cavaliers, Clubs, and Literary Culture* (Newark, Associated University Presses, 1994), pp. 147-8

It is also possible that Taylor chose *Hero and Leander* as a specific challenge to Wither's disparaging comments in his *Holy Songs*, the publication of which almost certainly pre-dates *Taylor's Motto* by several months.¹¹⁰ In this case, his marginal note that these lines are old ones re-vamped for the *Motto* would be purposefully disingenuous. Cyndia Clegg suggests that the stationers who resisted Wither's Patent were in part reacting to the anti-Calvinist tenor of his translations, and his arrangement of them, to follow the feast and fast days of the liturgical calendar. The stationers, she argues, were well aware of the preference of their customers, and did not want to be bound to sell a text that would offend such sensibilities. Meanwhile, the King's ministers such as Richard Montagu, were actually working to their own pro-Arminian agenda, and using Wither's book "as a means of furthering their cause".¹¹¹ How far this scenario can be accepted is debatable, given Wither's increasing sympathies with the Puritan Parliamentarian camp. Nevertheless, the possibility of interpreting the debate over authorial rights as in essence a politico-religious struggle cannot be ignored.

Whatever the precise reason, or combination of reasons, for Taylor's choice of *Hero and Leander*, his account of authorial inspiration should not be read as naïve, or as an unrealistic nostalgia for the glories of the Elizabethan past. Indeed, his insistence on the appeal of *Hero and Leander* to the "delight" of the Nine Muses of the Thames, may be considered part of an ongoing debate over the nature of authorship. Taylor's disclaimer about the non-topical application of his *Motto* should also be taken with a pinch of academic salt. In a typical ploy, Taylor embeds this assertion in a rambling sentence that manages to mention the key controversial events and issues of the moment, in an order that reveals his own concerns:

All my taxations are in generall,
Not any personall, or nationall:
The troubles now in Fraunce, I touch not here
Nor of the Britaine fleete before Argiere.

¹¹⁰ Wither's text was entered in December 1620 and the "Epistle" is dated 1st January 1620/1

¹¹¹ Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001) p.49.

Nor of the forces that the Turk doth bring,
Against the Poland Kindome and their King.
Of Count Buckoy, of Beth'lem Gabor.¹¹²

The list continues for another eight lines, suggesting that Taylor's reputation as a "scribbler" was proving very useful: rather like the full title of TG's *An Answer to Wither's Motto without a frontispiece*, reference to what is left out can be just as suggestive as the main text itself. Academics have been misled by the epithet "honest" attached by his friends to their praises of "honest John Taylor": honesty need not be incompatible with wit or irony.¹¹³ The strength of Taylor's associations with writers, stationers and engravers deeply implicated in the controversies of the day, warns us to read such descriptions with care. As the complexity of his response to Wither in his *Motto* suggests, Taylor was by 1621 an accomplished and professional writer whose texts were precisely targeted and positioned within the complex arena of contemporary print publication.

¹¹² *Taylor's Motto*, sig. A6r.

¹¹³ R.Cadner, in John Taylor, *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614), sig. A2r.

Chapter 3: The construction of *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet* (1630)

Chapter Three is an introduction to the issues raised by *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet*, the collection published by James Boler in 1630. It considers the cultural and commercial positioning of this volume, questions of patronage, choice of format and textual strategies within the preliminary material.

For three hundred years, since late in the seventeenth century, *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet* (1630) has had a decisive influence on the reception of Taylor's work. This collection has been essential in maintaining Taylor's name and presence as a writer through four centuries. It was an original copy of *All the Workes* sent to him by his publishers that prompted Southey to write his seminal account of Taylor in his *Lives of the Uneducated Poets* (1830), which set the tone for all subsequent studies. Following the Spenser Society's reprinting of *All the Workes* in the 1860s, scholars did not even need to consult the original 1630 editions of this folio. Indeed, it has become standard to refer either to this reprinting or to its reissue by the American publishers Burt Franklin (1967) for any text found in this collection, despite the fact that neither the presentation nor the layout of the original folio is reproduced in these editions. The expensive facsimile reprint of *All the Workes* by the Scolar Press (1973) gives a more accurate impression of this layout but it also exaggerates considerably the size and weight of the original, reinforcing the modern view of this volume as a material expression of the enormity of John Taylor's literary aspirations.¹

As English culture from the later eighteenth until the late twentieth century has been a culture of the book, dominated by the Shakespeare folio, a collected edition has been considered the pinnacle and endorsement of a writer's career.² Thus *All the Workes* has been viewed during this period as the concluding effort in Taylor's attempted self-

¹ For Southey's *Lives of the Uneducated Poets* (1830), see Chapter 1, note 7. *Works of John Taylor the Water Poet, comprised in the folio edition of 1630 (Spenser Society Collections, 2-4)*, 3 vols. (Spenser Society, Manchester, 1863, 1869), vol. 3. Reprinted in: *Works of John Taylor the Water Poet, comprised in the folio edition of 1630* (New York, B. Franklin, 1967), 3. vols. The Spenser society also produced supplementary volumes of the texts "not included in the folio" (see Chapter 1). The Scolar Press facsimile uses the Sandars copy of *All the Workes* (CUL, SSS.21.13) but is 5cm wider and over twice as thick, being printed on much heavier paper than any original I have seen. The original copies are relatively portable. *All the Workes of John Taylor The Water Poet, 1630*. (Menston, Yorkshire, The Scolar Press, 1973).

² "By the turn of the twentieth century, a collected edition was the summit of Parnassus", Andrew Nash (ed.), *The Culture of Collected Editions* (Hounds mills, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p.3.

fashioning as a serious poet of orthodox literary status.³ By assembling nearly every item that he had written in the previous twenty years and having them published under the title “Workes”, in a format more usually employed at that time for the Bible or collections of sermons, it seems as if Taylor was claiming weight and permanency for his achievements. The engraved title-page, with the phrasing “collected into one volum / by the author”, the use of “Water Poet” in the title, the lengthy Dedicatory Epistle and the collection of commendatory verses, all appear to support the assumption that this was Taylor’s final bid to be taken seriously as a literary figure. However, this assumption has conferred upon *All the Workes of John Taylor* a meaning and identity that reflects only a small part of its contemporary significance. This collection was published half-way through Taylor’s prolific career and represents much less than half of his total output. Yet everything he published both before and after 1630 has been cast by modern perspectives within the long shadow of this single volume.

Not only has this led to a misunderstanding of Taylor’s reputation and output before and during the 1630s, but it has also had a limiting effect on modern views of his activities in the 1640s. The assumption has been that the civil war pamphlets derived their powerful energies from a radical redirection of Taylor’s efforts, after the failure of the folio’s claims to aristocratic patronage and to a place in the literary pantheon. Thus the visual and linguistic guerrilla tactics of Taylor’s royalist pamphlets in the 1640s are consistently described in modern criticism as a contrast to his pre-1630 “literary” efforts, with the continuity between these phases going unrecognised. By evaluating *All the Workes* according to retrospective concepts of the literary, by which it spectacularly fails, the book appears to need no further explanation. It has therefore received minimal scholarly investigation, either from a textual point of view or as part of the early modern publishing market. Whereas the folios of Shakespeare, and more recently Ben Jonson, have been subject to rigorous analysis down to the scrutiny of every full-stop, *All the Workes of John Taylor* has simply been raided for snippets of historical information,

³ Capp describes *All the Workes* as “the high point of Taylor’s literary career”, but later comments, “the fact that in the 1630s Taylor largely abandoned his literary ambitions and the quest for patronage demonstrate its failure”: Bernard Capp, *World of John Taylor*, p.30, p.196. Mardock describes *All the Workes* as “Taylor’s last serious attempt to woo the cultural elite”: James Mardock, p.12. Dow declared that Taylor, “allowed his labours to rest” on the Folio, which “practically ends his literary career”: Robert Dow, “Life and Times”, p.254.

providing a convenient source for details of early modern plebeian life. It is valued highly from this perspective, which has certainly contributed to the preservation of so many copies. However, early modern texts, including printed texts currently labelled as “popular”, do not fall so neatly into categories historical or literary. Although this may seem an obvious point, it still needs emphasis for writers like John Taylor, whose work continues to be subject to old-fashioned categorisations.⁴ By treating *All the Workes* as a naïve and unmediated account of popular culture, a random assemblage of curious facts and opinions from an unsophisticated observer, critics have largely ignored the more complex, constructed nature of this volume, as well as its underlying ideological basis. It is therefore necessary to look afresh at this construction and to investigate the positioning of *All the Workes* within a culture where to write and publish were rarely, if ever, transparent actions.

The lack of critical discussion concerning the publication history of *All the Workes* reflects the way in which the myth of renaissance self-fashioning has been taken to extremes in the case of John Taylor. In this respect, the example of Ben Jonson has not been helpful. The received wisdom is that *All the Workes* was Taylor’s personal attempt to emulate Jonson’s *Workes* of 1616. This opinion has become so entrenched in modern scholarship that recent developments in book history have failed to shift it, and it has taken on the status of historical fact:

*Fourteen years after the appearance of Jonson’s first collected works in folio, Taylor issued an edition of his own collected works in an effort to establish himself as a poet of similar stature.*⁵

Despite the lack of any contemporary statement of motivation on the part of Taylor, his stationers or his friends, this parallel with Jonson is still taken as self-evident. It is based on Taylor’s acknowledged admiration for Jonson, who had initiated his own literary monument while he was still alive, unlike the more conventional posthumous

⁴ As Kevin Sharpe, in particular, has argued. See, for example, Kevin Sharpe, “Print, Polemics, and Politics in Seventeenth Century England”, review article, in *The Journal of British Studies* 41.2 (April 2002), 244-254, *passim*, especially p.247.

⁵ Laurie Ellinghausen, *Labor and Writing*, p. 93 (my underlining).

publication of the Shakespeare folio. Jonson had been ridiculed by his contemporaries for his presumptuousness in printing dramatic scripts in folio format and labelling them “Works”: the belief is that Taylor was deliberately following this lead, by putting his own ephemeral pamphlet material into the same respected format.

However, these opinions of the motivation behind *All the Workes* reflect the last two centuries’ obsession with the idea of the authorial collected works. This approach has been reinforced by the tendency to minimise the importance of collaborative factors in early modern textual production and to highlight the author as the sole agent of the printed text, as if composition and material publication were the same process. In 1930, Robert Dow rejected as fantasy a remark made by Anthony Wood two centuries earlier, that Taylor’s works “were most of them esteemed worthy to be remitted into a large folio”. Wood’s phrasing implies that the impetus for the collection arose from a collective judgement external to the writer himself: the passive and impersonal voice, “were most of them esteemed worthy to be remitted....” portrays these pieces as material items, independent of the mind of their original creator. Dow could not accept such an explanation for the existence of this “somewhat extraordinary” volume, despite the fact that Wood himself had been twenty-one years old when Taylor died, and therefore had far more authority for his report.⁶ Looking back from an early twentieth century perspective, it seemed inconceivable that anyone other than Taylor could have considered these texts “worthy” of such bibliographic respect:

*I call this remark inexact because there is no indication anywhere that the notion arose outside Taylor’s own ingenious mind and because it seems doubtful that there was any popular demand for such a volume despite the apparent selling power of Taylor’s name.*⁷

⁶ Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, 2nd edition (1721), II.393, sig. Cc3. Wood states that much of his information came from Taylor’s nephew, also John Taylor, a portrait painter based in Oxford, whose subjects included the Water-Poet and William Shakespeare (apparently not from life). Dow considers the portrait painter an unreliable witness but Wood and Aubrey, who shared information, were of a generation that overlapped with Taylor. See also John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, 1669-1696 (repr. Oxford 1898). Wood owned several Taylor texts: see Kiessling, Nicolas (ed.), *The Library of Anthony Wood* (Oxford, Oxford Bibliographical Society, 2002).

⁷ Dow, “Life and Times”, p.248 (my underlining). Tessa Watt’s view that “there was enough demand from wealthy Taylor readers to justify a folio volume in 1630”, is unusually positive: Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p.291.

Dow's opinion that the motivation for *All the Workes* lay entirely within the author's "own ingenious mind" has been axiomatic in modern scholarship. Following Dow, Bernard Capp declares in his 1994 biography of Taylor that the author "persuaded the publisher James Boler to issue his collected *Workes*".⁸ The term "persuaded" and the attribution of this persuasion to Taylor's agency is a conjectural version of how this book came to be published, but has not been questioned by subsequent critics. However, as Dow himself commented with some frustration:

*One would have liked to know a great deal about the publishing of this folio, and Taylor says exactly nothing.*⁹

Apart from the advertising statements in *A Memoriall of all the English Monarchs* (1630) and *The Complaint of Christmas* (1631), neither author nor stationers have left any direct record of the process by which this book was conceived or put through the press. This absence of information leaves the motivation behind this volume open to interpretation: even the apparently self-aggrandising title "All the *Workes*", often understood as a manifestation of possessive authorship along the lines of the Jonsonian model propounded by Joseph Loewenstein, may have several different explanations. "All" could reflect Taylor's pride in the sheer proliferation of print but may also be a transfer from an earlier collection, or even an echo of the title *A Memorial of All the English Monarchs*. Furthermore, this simple choice of epithet could reflect the influence of the publisher or printer, James Boler or John Beale, rather than simply the ego of the author himself.¹⁰

The widespread view that *All the Workes* was entirely the product of John Taylor's bibliographic ego, without any external encouragement, has drawn support from a near-contemporary reference in the play *Wit in a Constable* which was first performed, probably by Beeston's boys, in the late 1630s. The scarcity of such allusions

⁸ Capp, *World of John Taylor*, pp.29-30 (my underlining).

⁹ Dow, "Life and Times", p.248.

¹⁰ "All" may also be a parallel to the collection of the minor works of Sylvester's Du Bartas (1620), see Chapter 2.

to *All the Workes* has made this single comment extremely influential in shaping modern attitudes to the collection. However, this reference must be understood both in terms of its function within the play and within the wider theatrical and cultural context where it occurs. The opening scene of the play shows Jeremy Holdfast, Squire Holdfast's son, who has just come down to London from Cambridge with the reputation of a scholar, and is ordering books for his library. His servant Tristram informs the audience that Holdfast is incapable of understanding the books he requests:

Holdfast: I have been idle
Since I came up from Cambridge, go to my stationer
And bid him send me *Swarez Metaphysickes*,
Tolet De anima is new forth,
So are *Granidas commentaries on*
Primus secundae Thomae Aquinatis,
Get me the *Lyricke Poets*. And ---

Tristram: I admire
How he retaines these Authors names, of which
He understands no syllable, 'twere better
I bought the *Authenticke Legend of Sir Bevis*,
Some six new Ballads and the famous Poems
Writ by the learned waterman.

Holdfast: John Taylor, get me his nonsense.

Tristram: You meane all his workes, sir.¹¹

These lines have been interpreted by scholars as a comic demonstration of Holdfast's stupidity and poor taste, and as indicating a widespread contemporary contempt for

¹¹ *Wit in a constable A comedy written 1639... And now printed as it was lately acted at the Cock-pit in Drury lane, by their Majesties Servants* (J. Okes, for F. Constable, 1640), STC 11914, Act I, sc.i, (sigs. B1r-B1v).

Taylor's collected works.¹² Tristram's application of "learned" to "Waterman" can be understood as a sarcastic oxymoron (a waterman could not be learned, and this particular waterman had made a virtue of his own lack of education). Holdfast's reference to "nonsense" probably alludes to Taylor's *Sir Gregory Nonsense*, first published in 1622. It is notable that *Sir Gregory Nonsense* is reprinted prominently in *All the Workes* and became the model for Martin Parker's *Legend of Sir Leonard Lackwit* (1633), where Parker pays homage to Taylor as his model. References to *Sir Gregory Nonsense* in *The Tell-Tale* suggest that a theatrical audience in the period would be familiar with *Sir Gregory Nonsense*, whether directly or by reputation. They could therefore be expected to recognize the allusion in Holdfast's "John Taylor, get me his nonsense", and thus to appreciate the full implications of Tristram's joke, "You mean all his work, sir", alluding to the title, *All the Workes*.¹³

Thus Glapthorne or Beeston's Boys, or perhaps both, achieved a double hit in *Wit in a Constable*, mocking Taylor both for his nonsense verse and for his pretensions to grandeur in producing a "works" as if he were indeed "learned". These references to Taylor's "nonsense" and "works" also reinforce the characterization of Holdfast as a foolish gentleman, by analogy with *Sir Gregory Nonsense* /*Sir Leonard Lackwit*. Such a multi-layered allusion suggests that neither *All the Workes* nor *Sir Gregory Nonsense* were forgotten by 1638/9. Perhaps the issue of the presence of John Taylor's *Workes* in a gentleman's library was a topic for discussion during the 1630s. Tristram's listing of "the famous Poems/ Writ by the learned Waterman" together with ballads and chapbooks relegates his work, and perhaps specifically *All the Workes*, to the world of 'cheap print'. It is notable that these other texts are not specified by author but by type or story, reflecting a general assumption that ballads and chapbooks were not produced by proper writers, but churned out by anonymous hacks. This linking of social class with lack of literary sophistication parallels another, much less well-known contemporary reference to Taylor, in Fletcher's *The Night Walker*, first printed in 1640 but updating an earlier script. In this play, thieves disguised as peddlers distract a Judge's servants with

¹² Paul Hartle uses Tristram's lines for the title of his article: P.N.Hartle, "'All his Workes, Sir': John Taylor's *Nonsense*", in *Neophilologus* 86 (2002), 155-169.

¹³ *The Tell-Tale* is extant only in an undated ms. belonging somewhere between 1615 and 1640, but probably between 1622 and 1633. See Chapter 5. For Martin Parker, see Chapter 6.

books and ballads so they can tie him up and rob him while the servants are reading “in that which was the Brewhouse; / A great way off”. Amongst the “daintie books” mentioned is “John Taylor’s booke of Hempeseede” (1620). Thus in *The Night Walker* Taylor’s work is portrayed in a comic fashion as disrupting the hierarchical nature of Jacobean society and even threatening the preservation of law and order.¹⁴

However, this passage from *The Night Walker* also carries a possible allusion to *All the Workes*. It refers to “the late Histriomastix”, suggests that Taylor’s *The Praise of Hempseed* was an attack on Puritans and takes the opportunity to incorporate a witty rhyme:

*So many a Puritans ruffe, though starched in Print;
Be turn’d to Paper, and a Play writ in’t:
A play in the Puritans ruffe? Ile buy his Workes for’t,
And confute Horace with a WaterPoet*¹⁵

These lines were probably inserted into the text when it was revised by James Shirley for performance in 1633, but the play’s textual and performance history is complex. “Histriomastix” is likely to be Prynne’s attack on the theatres (published 1632), which would be an obvious target for the playing companies, and the allusion to a “Workes” in conjunction with “a Water Poet” suggests that this was indeed a topic of discussion among theatre audiences at this time. Furthermore, the complex of references in this passage place Taylor’s work, whether in folio or not, in an environment of current theatrical and religious debate, and an ongoing process of appropriation and definition of his authorial identity.

¹⁴ *The night-walker, or The little thief. A comedy, as it was presented by her Majesties Servants, at the Private House in Drury Lane* (T.Cotes, for A. & W. Crooke, 1640), STC11072, sig. F3v. The dating of this passage is problematic as the script may have been revised several times. The references to *The Praise of Hempseed* probably date from the early 1620s, after the play’s first performance, and may have been altered by Shirley in 1633 to add in the discussion of Puritanism. This pattern would fit with performance by the Queen’s Revels / Lady Elizabeth’s Men in the 1610s, revival in the 1620s when the Lady Elizabeth’s Men were playing at the Cockpit (1622-5), before moving into the repertory of Queen Henrietta’s Men and finally Beeston’s Boys. See Clare Wikeley, “The Repertory of the Lady Elizabeth’s Men, 1613-1625”, unpublished MA dissertation, University of Southampton, 2002.

¹⁵ *The Night-Walker*, sig. F3v.

These two theatrical dialogues together suggest that both the format and the title *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water-Poet* may have been chosen to be deliberately provocative and thus to encourage sales. It is implausible that either Taylor or his publishers could have been unaware of the significance of the choices being made when his collection was conceived as a folio with the label “*All the Workes*”. Taylor must have been well aware of the hostility that greeted Jonson’s hubristic gesture in designating his plays “works” for his own folio in 1616. Indeed, Taylor never denied his own lack of qualification for the status of a learned author, and often played up this “uneducated” aspect of his authorial identity. Thus we must be wary of taking the dialogue of Holdfast and Tristram in *Wit in a Constable* as a straightforward indication of a scornful attitude to *All the Workes* throughout all areas of society in the 1630s. Instead, we need to be constantly aware of the wider cultural context for such witticisms.¹⁶

The comic portrayal of Holdfast’s scholarly tastes in the opening scene of *Wit in a Constable* introduces themes of learning, wit and social status that run through the rest of the play. At the end of this scene Holdfast’s cousin, Thorogood, persuades him to sell his learned library and plunge into the city’s excitements. Thorogood then proceeds to trick Holdfast and his family friend, Sir Timothy Shallow-Wit, into marrying the eponymous Constable’s two daughters, instead of Alderman Covetous’s beautiful daughter and niece, as initially expected. As a consequence, the latter pair of young women escape the foolish Squires and succeed in wedding the witty city gallants of their own choice. Thus by the end of the play everyone has been matched according to their natural deserts, but across the social boundaries. In the process, Constable Busy has got the better of Alderman Covetous, by marrying his own daughters to the wealthy squires and can now address Sir Geoffray Holdfast as “good brother Knight”. Thus the plot of *Wit in a Constable* appears to prove the opening scene’s premise that scholarly learning is pointless. Tristram’s assessment seems to be proved right: the “Poems of the famous Waterman”, are indeed appropriate “nonsense” reading for Holdfast, despite his being heir to Sir Geoffray and an ex-Cambridge graduate. Holdfast’s true intellectual level,

¹⁶ “[by] concentrating on those elements in a period which to hindsight appear progressive we subtly but inevitably misinterpret the way things looked to contemporaries”, Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis*, 1632-1642 (Cambridge, CUP, 1984), p.184.

and thus the appropriate level for Taylor's work, is apparently demonstrated by his marriage down the social scale, with a London citizen's daughter.

However, the full effect of *Wit in a Constable* seems to be more complex and ambivalent. For the inversion of the social order also means that the Constable has outwitted both the Squire and Alderman. As the gallant Freewit concludes: "Mr Busie / We're all beholding to you, and tis fit / We should confesse this Constable had wit." This conclusion is convenient for Glapthorne, who is able to please all areas of his audience at once: the young women all make good marriages, the citizens demonstrate intelligence, and the gentlemen are either clever gallants or foolish but good-hearted knights. Although the Squires are outwitted, so too is Alderman Covetous: thus fortune is even-handed and no-one need feel offended.¹⁷ Yet the title of the play *Wit in a Constable* would have alerted a contemporary audience to this play's engagement in a wider series of skirmishes over the nature of wit and its socio-literary construction in the period.¹⁸ Glapthorne has been described as "[Ben] Jonson's disciple" and the differentiation taking place in his opening scene, between Taylor's writings and the classical texts suitable for a Cambridge graduate, is one that Ben Jonson himself had assiduously cultivated.¹⁹ Tristram's dismissal of philosophical commentaries on Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* as too difficult for his foolish master, forms part of this differentiation, contributing specifically to Glapthorne's denigration of Taylor's lack of learning.

The potential complexity of such allusions is shown by the references to Taylor as an "English Aquinas" or "Aquinatus", punning on the birthplace of the satirist Juvenal, in the Latin commendatory poems to *All the Workes*.²⁰ Ben Jonson was known by contemporaries as the "English Horace", and by contrast Taylor was famous for his defiant stance on his "small Latin". Thus by opposing "Thomae Aquinatis" to "the

¹⁷ *Wit in a Constable* (1640), Sig. I 2v.

¹⁸ In 1643 the royalist pamphlet *Britanicus Vaplulans*, probably written by Daniel Featley, compared wit in a Roundhead to a prodigy in nature "as monstrous as the title of the play, *Wit in a Constable*" (Ernest Shirluck, "Shakespeare and Jonson Among the Pamphleteers of the First Civil War: Some Unreported Seventeenth-Century Allusions", in *Modern Philology*, 53 (1955), 88-99, p.92). *Britanicvs vapulans, or, The vvhipping of poore British mercury* (ns. Nelson and Seccombe, 29). Featley was a colleague of Thomas Goad and licensed some of Taylor's publications. See Chapter 9, below.

¹⁹ For Glapthorne, see Shirluck, "Shakespeare and Jonson", p. 92, note 20.

²⁰ "vt est propheta Aquinas: / Anglicanus eris poeta Aquinas", *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630), preliminary pages. See Chapter 1 for a discussion of these allusions.

poems of the learned Waterman" Glapthorne was drawing on a complex set of allusions that would have been familiar to at least part of the Cockpit audience, and had been a subject of lively debate even before the publication of *The Sculler* in 1612. *Wit in a Constable* thus presents a highly nuanced engagement with *All the Workes of John Taylor*: the image of the Water Poet created in this scene is tied to the specific social and cultural milieu, perhaps to the very theatre in which the play was performed. This comic moment must therefore be understood as a skirmishing manoeuvre in the struggle for control of authorial image in relation to social context during the 1630s.²¹

Furthermore, in assessing the implications of this comic reference to Taylor, we must also take into account the circumstances of publication for the play script in which this scene occurs. The printer of *Wit in a Constable* was John Okes, whose father, Nicholas, had printed a series of early texts by John Taylor, including *Sir Gregory Nonsense*. Nicholas Okes's business had been in trouble during the late 1620s and he apparently had nothing to do with the production of *All the Workes*. However, in 1636 he printed Taylor's *A brave memorable and dangerous sea-fight* for Henry Gossen. This pamphlet marks a return to the Okes printing shop for Taylor: in the following four years the Okeses senior and junior were involved in the production of a total of fourteen new Taylor texts, the majority of his output during the late 1630s. In 1637/8, John Okes issued two such texts by Taylor, *Taylors Feast* and *Newes and strange newes from St. Christophers*. The latter of these was sufficiently appealing to be prized by the young William Clarke, who wrote his name and the price he had paid carefully on his copy.²² There are records of entry to Okes for at least seven texts by Taylor in 1639, although four of these are not extant; he also printed at least two Taylor texts for other publishers. Since most of these texts were entered to Okes, we can assume that he expected to profit from their sales. Thus by printing Glapthorne's plays and Taylor's pamphlets simultaneously, Okes was part of an established publishing strategy: the continuation of a debate concerning relative authorial status and audience tastes, played out both on

²¹ For Taylor's elegy for Ben Jonson, see Afterword.

²² *A brave memorable and dangerous sea-fight*, (Okes for H. Gossen, 1636); *Newes and strange newes from St. Christophers of a tempestuous spirit, which is called by the Indians a hurry-cano or whirlwind* (J. Okes for F. Coules, 1638), anonymous, entered as by Taylor to Okes, 4 December 1638 (STC23778.5). William Clarke's copy of this book is in the library of Worcester College, Oxford (with thanks to Frances Henderson for advice on this). For Nicholas Okes, see Chapter 4.

stage and in these printed texts, could be expected to encourage audience interest and sales on all sides. Like the flying with William Fennor at the start of Taylor's career, and the flurry of pamphlets produced in response to Tom Coriate's adventures, the allusions to Taylor's texts in *Wit in a Constable* may have been beneficial to all parties, authors, players and publishers.²³

The complex context underlying this apparently trivial comic allusion to "all his works" in *Wit in a Constable* demonstrates the difficulties of catching the nuances of early modern theatrical references, and the importance of understanding the printed medium by which they have come down to us. Although it is impossible to build a satisfactory assessment of the impact of *All the Workes of John Taylor* on this single reference in *Wit in a Constable*, its existence confirms that the book had caused a lasting stir, at least amongst the social classes that frequented the Cockpit Theatre in the 1630s. At the same time, the publishing context of the play itself, which was produced alongside the continued list of new small books by John Taylor, alerts us to the fallacies inherent in our modern tendency to separate out folios from the full range of printing activities in the period and to consider them in isolation. We therefore need to revisit the context of the publication of *All the Workes*, examining more closely not only how the author himself might have conceived his book, but also its nature as a constructed object, both within the market for print and within the fields of religious and cultural debate at that moment. It is essential to understand *All the Workes* both as a re-casting of previously issued material and as new item in its own right, with an agenda and position unique to the date of its production. By examining the changes that were made to the printed elements of these texts as well as their arrangement within the volume, we may go some way towards defining the intentions of those who compiled the collection.

In this respect, a key question to be asked is how far Taylor may have been acting alone in these editorial decisions. Scholars have too easily accepted the scenario of Taylor as an egotistic individualist who was entirely responsible for all aspects of

²³Stationers were not at all averse to producing both thrust and counter-thrust in such debates from the same press. Walter Burre published Coriate's work and Taylor's *Odcombs Complaint* (1613), which ridicules Coriate. John Okes and Taylor were very probably involved in their own example, in the late 1630s, with the *Juniper* and *Crabtree* pamphlets, culminating in *The Womens Sharp Revenge* (1639, STC 23706). See, Dow, "Life and Times", p.107; Simon Shepherd (ed.), *The Women's Sharp Revenge. Five Women's Pamphlets from the Renaissance* (London, Fourth Estate, 1985).

each of his printed texts. Everything that we now know about early modern society and the composition and consumption of text at the time, casts doubt upon this hypothesis. The idea that *All the Workes* was Taylor's project alone is also contradicted by the evidence of Taylor's social and professional relationships up to 1630. There is a dichotomy in current academic assessments of Taylor between the constant emphasis on his sociable nature as an entertainer / conversationalist, and the myth of his isolation as a publishing writer. However, the production of Taylor's printed texts makes much more sense viewed from the perspective of his network of social and professional relationships, including those with stationers and other writers. We should not be misled by the woodcut of a lonely Sculler on the title-page of Taylor's debut work in 1612. This visual image has been read as an iconic representation of Taylor's individualistic authorship, especially in the context of the labouring poet. However, as the Latin tags above it demonstrate, this first title-page was a much more complex textual fabrication than the simplicity of the woodcut would suggest. Indeed, the success of this picture as a marketing strategy, amply proven by posterity, confirms the essentially *interactive* and sociable nature of Taylor's textual productions. For, just as a waterman's *raison d'être* was to secure a paying passenger as quickly as possible, so John Taylor's aim as a writer was to engage his readers in a textual conversation, and the oral qualities of his texts amply reinforce this paradigm.

All the Workes must therefore be considered as part of this engagement in the flow of exchange constituted by the print medium, rather than a solipsistic assertion of identity intended to separate Taylor from the publishing current. This purpose is reinforced by the presence of the passenger in the wherry that is engraved in the cartouche above the book's title on the frontispiece. By representing the author in his occupation as a waterman, this image certainly endorses the thematic focus of the whole engraving on the "Water" element of "Water Poet". At the same time, however, it insists upon the concept of dialogue and exchange that was at the root of Taylor's authorial self-conception. While the careful attachment of the full name "By John Taylor" to the vast majority of his individual publications does suggest a sense of proprietorial pride, nevertheless print for Taylor was fundamentally a medium of communication. As such, it was a continuation of oral exchanges, rather than an opposite; by going into print

Taylor was opening further channels of exchange rather than closing down the interactivity of the oral medium. Thus one can sense in the text of William Fennor's "Defence" (1615), his frustration that Taylor had taken advantage of Fennor's avoidance of their planned oral combat at the Hope theatre, by turning it into an opportunity for an attack in print, thus forcing Fennor to respond.²⁴

Throughout his career in print, Taylor showed an acute awareness of circulation as the lifeblood of the publishing trade, most obviously, of course in the swiftness by which pamphlets such as *Prince Charles his Welcome from Spaine* beat all competitors to the printing house, but also in his development of tiny memorials, like the condensations of the Kings or the Thumb Bibles, which could be carried around easily in the fashionable pockets of the period. However, portability and speed, either of production or distribution, are not factors usually associated with a folio, and the apparent contrast to Taylor's usual instinct for marketability in his choice of this more cumbersome format has contributed to the belief that this book marks a point of Marlovian overreaching for Taylor, expressing what Nigel Wheale has called, "the scale of Taylor's desire to be acknowledged as an author".²⁵ Nevertheless, the assumption that this single volume tells us more about Taylor's attitudes to his writing than his enormous output of printed quartos, octavos, duodecimos, the tiny format Thumb Bibles and Booke of Martyrs, and the political and religious broadsides, can surely be questioned. In this respect the comparison between Ben Jonson's *Works* and Taylor's own volume has been misleading. Jonson's "self-fashioning" as a writer has fascinated academics largely because of the determined and possessive manner in which the playwright approached the task of establishing himself as a laureate poet through print. It appears that the creation of a collected *Workes* was an integral part of this programme, towards which Jonson's energies were directed from an early stage. However, the playwright's approach to print was intimately associated with his antipathy towards the judgements of theatre audiences and as such cannot be taken as typical of the period.²⁶

²⁴ *Fennors defence: or, I am your first man Wherein the Water-man, Iohn Taylor, is dasht, sowst, and finally fallen into the Thames* (G. Eld for R. Barnes, 1615), STC 10783, sigs. A3r-A3v.

²⁵ Nigel Wheale, p.93 (my underlining).

²⁶ The publishers' summary of Richard Dutton, *Ben Jonson: to the First Folio*, refers to Jonson's *Workes* as "the greatest landmark of Jonson's career, the 1616 folio collection of his works with which he crowned his growing reputation as a man of letters". <<http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/enhancements/>

Such intentional shaping of himself as a laureate poet through an inevitable progression towards folio status can hardly be argued in the case of John Taylor. While Taylor's serious commitment to authorship is not in doubt, it is clear from the book itself and from his advertising ploys that he was well aware of the disparate nature of the texts collected there. Taylor was not under any illusion that *All the Workes* represented a body of classical genius and learning. Indeed, his contributions to the preliminary materials express a wryly humorous awareness of the disparity between the folio format and many of the pieces "done up" within it. After all, this disparity was part of the book's very attractiveness and uniqueness. While the Water Poet may have been self-important, he was clearly no fool. We must therefore look elsewhere for the genesis of *All The Workes*. If Taylor was not claiming to be another Jonson or Shakespeare, then why and how did the idea of producing a folio collection present itself to him or to the publisher?

Here it is necessary to separate out three different strands of enquiry: the idea of a collection, the issue of format and the use of the term "Workes". This is to some extent an artificial exercise, since the nub of the issue is the conjunction of these three elements in *All the Workes*. However, it is useful to clarify how far each factor was new or unusual in the publication of this particular volume. In outer appearance, *All the Workes* is unremarkable: it is a small folio in all dimensions, with the cut copies often barely larger than the biggest quartos from the period. There do seem to have been some presentation copies, where the paper is thicker and slightly larger than the run of the mill variety, so that the white space around the top and bottom is more even and the effect is somewhat grander.²⁷ However, for the most part the copies I have seen are printed on thin paper, the quality of printing is not impressive and, with a few exceptions, the cutting and binding is ordinary. Compared to the thickness and grandeur of the Shakespeare folios, both first and second editions, or the lavish white space and rulings of the 1616 Jonson folio, *All the Workes* seems positively self-effacing.

This is a fact that must be stressed, as it cannot be gleaned from any of the reproductive media through which *All the Workes* has usually been read since the

fy0904 /83001819-d.html> accessed 23/09/09. However, Dutton himself describes this volume as "an equivocal milepost in [Jonson's] career", Richard Dutton, *Ben Jonson: Authority and Criticism* (Hemel Hempstead, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), p.18.

²⁷ See, for example, the copies at Worcester College and at All Soul's, Oxford (Appendix).

nineteenth century. All the paper reproductions before the facsimile change the appearance, format and layout of the text to suit their own purposes, giving little impression of the appearance of the original folio text. Even the “facsimile”, where the text and letter-press appearance of the original Sandars copy is for the most part faithfully reproduced, is printed on paper larger in dimensions and a great deal thicker than any of the originals, which appear comparatively slim and unimpressive. At the other extreme, the digital version for Early English Books Online, which is a reproduction of the original British Library copy, gives little impression of the book’s material substance. Furthermore, by their choice of copy text here, the online editors have compounded the image of Taylor and his publisher/printer as shoddy and cheapskate. For the British Library copy is printed on the thinnest paper, and contains some of the poorest effects of inking and the movement of individual letters during printing; the thinness of the paper makes it especially susceptible to show-through, which is then reproduced in the digital copy, making the electronic text sometimes difficult to read.

The material appearance of *All the Workes* might therefore not have seemed so strikingly pretentious to Taylor’s contemporaries as the term “folio” seems to imply. Furthermore, the relatively modest bulk of this book makes it easy to handle in comparison with many of the more cumbersome folios produced at around the same period. It has the air of a book intended for use, rather than for display alone, an impression that fits with the fact that the publishing concept of gathering together and re-issuing some of Taylor’s works is not in itself surprising, and had almost certainly been tried before. Nevertheless, a collection purporting to contain “all” of a writer’s works when he was still alive was less to be expected. Compilations of non-theological writers’ works, apart from Juvenilia, were more usually created after their death, by relatives, friends or often by stationers, as a tribute and a summing up of the author’s achievement. Unless there were special circumstances, these collections were also more usually published in quarto or even octavo format, with a folio sometimes following if the smaller book was deemed a publishing success.

Several explanations might be suggested for Taylor offering “all” of his pieces in one volume, whilst still certainly alive. The most straightforward is that Taylor (or his

friends) might have felt that he had already reached a good age for the period and could not be expected to continue composing new material for so many years afterwards. Indeed, the Dedicatory Epistle refers to his age as almost 60 years, and stresses Taylor's world-weariness in keeping with its title. The tone and general tenor of this epistle may act as a justification for the collection, conceived as a farewell to the world:

*And knowing further, that the way to immortalitie, is euer to remember mortalitie, and that death hath more manners then an Ague; for death will bee a mans guest but once, which when hee comes, I wish all men readie to bid him welcome; So world, in plaine termes I tell you there is no trust in you (yet I like a foole put you in trùst with my Booke) the reason is, I am wearie of you and it, and take leaue to leaue you.*²⁸

Indeed, had Taylor died within a few years of the book's publication, the whole effect of *All the Workes*, both contemporary and more long-term, might have been very different.

However, one function of a collection for a still-living writer in the early modern period could be to support a bid for patronage. By presenting a substantial body of work in a handsomely bound volume, the author might hope to secure the attention and perhaps the financial support of a rich or influential patron. A patronage motive has frequently been ascribed to *All the Workes*, yet, as Wheale notes, Taylor appears to have given up any serious attempts to secure patronage many years previously. He sometimes addressed "the world" or "the multitude", or a fictional character in his dedications. Where he continued to dedicate his publications to individuals, the nature of these dedications and their addressees makes the idea that he was seeking a reliable source of income, beyond the occasional reward for a single dedication, seem doubtful. Indeed, while some of these addresses were conventionally respectful or supportive of a particular cause, others were ironic or satirical, and clearly not intended to procure a return from the dedicatee. An example of such a mock dedication is the lavish back-handed paean to James I's jester, Archy Armstrong attached to the original edition of *In*

²⁸ *All the Workes of John Taylor*, A4r.

Praise of Beggery (1622). This seems to have been too offensive to be reprinted in the *Workes*, where the piece appears without any preliminaries.²⁹

The ambivalence in Taylor's use of dedications for his individual publications should make us wary of attributing a patronage motive to *All the Workes*. Certainly, in keeping with the usual niceties of a folio, this volume does have dedicatory pages. The first, on the verso of the letter-press title-page, contains three anagrams, addressed respectively to The Marquis of Hamilton, the Master of the King's Horse, and the two brothers William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery. The parallel to Hemminge and Condell's choice of the two Herbert brothers for the dedication of the Shakespeare folio in 1623, has led to the general view that Taylor was copying the First Folio. However, it is not necessary to assume that Taylor was copying Hemminge and Condell: indeed, this would seem a very peculiar way to choose dedicatees, who were usually selected in relation to the contents and to the author and/or the publisher's situations. Academics assume that the leaders of the King's Men chose the two Herbert brothers for the Shakespeare folio because of their close involvement with entertainment at court, with the offices of the Chamberlain and Master of the Revels, and very possibly because of the then Earl of Pembroke's personal involvement with Shakespeare's career. These choices were logical under the circumstances in 1623, and reflect the nature of the publication involved. There is no reason to suspect that Taylor, his editors or publisher would have proceeded by a different principle.

The fact that Taylor places the Marquis of Hamilton before the Herbert brothers on his dedicatory page casts immediate doubt on the parallel to the Shakespeare folio. All three of these figures would without doubt have been politically and religiously sympathetic both to Taylor himself as well as to others who might have had some involvement in the projected collection, but Hamilton was by far the best placed in relation to the particular construction of *All the Workes*. Appointed Master of the Horse in November 1628, James Hamilton was the Scottish son of a "deeply Calvinist mother", Anna Cunningham, and had proved himself so far an able and dedicated public figure. As Earl of Arran, he had become a close friend of Prince Charles during the trip to

²⁹ *The Praise, antiquity, and commodity, of beggary, beggers, and begging* (E. Allde for H. Gossen tbs. E. Wright, 1621), STC 23786.

Madrid in 1623, and after its failure was involved in the attempt to secure an alliance with the Netherlands against Spain. The esteem in which he was held by Charles during the 1620s is clear from his involvement in ceremonies that Taylor himself probably witnessed, including leading the Scottish contingent at King James's funeral in 1625 and carrying the sword at Charles's English coronation.

It is Hamilton's position in 1629/30 that is of most interest in relation to Taylor's beliefs and the presentation of *All the Workes*. After the failure of the anti-Catholic factions in parliament to persuade the King to pursue war with Spain in Spring 1629, Hamilton began negotiations with Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, leader of the Protestant campaign in Europe.³⁰ By the end of May 1630 he had secured an agreement to reinforce the campaign with 6,000 English troops. The recruitment was to be financed by Charles I himself, although England's financial commitment would not reach to provisioning this volunteer force abroad. John Scally comments that "it is fairly certain that Gustavus viewed Hamilton's little army as a snare to draw the over-cautious Charles into a public commitment to the European war against the Hapsburgs".³¹ Although these details may not have been known publicly when *All the Workes* was going to press early in 1630, the importance of the Marquis of Hamilton as the best hope for a continuing practical and active English commitment to Protestantism in Europe may well have been a key factor in Taylor's choice of dedicatee. Furthermore, the active involvement of Hamilton in European negotiations during this period runs counter to the idea that Taylor would be seeking some kind of endorsement as a literary poet. It is far more likely that Taylor was expressing support for Hamilton's political and military activities by selecting this figure as his first dedicatee.³²

³⁰ Taylor's unprinted *The Suddeine Turne of Fortunes Wheele* (1631), is a panegyric to Gustavus Adolphus. See Afterword.

³¹ James Hamilton (1606-1649), later Duke of Hamilton. The expedition was a disaster but Hamilton continued to support the Palatine cause at home. John Scally notes that Hamilton's strongly anti-Spanish views were probably the reason why he was never appointed to the Privy Council Committee on foreign affairs. He was also an active patron to Gilbert Primrose, Chaplain to James and then Charles I, who was a colleague of Bishop Joseph Hall. John J. Scally, James Hamilton (1606-1649) Oxford *DNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12087>], accessed 11 Oct 2009.

³² It may also be relevant that the Marquis of Hamilton was for a period, "responsible for the regulation and licensing of hackney coaches" in Westminster (J. F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, court and community, 1525-1640* (Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 170).

Taylor had placed an anagram and poem to William Herbert before his first Satire in *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614) and dedicated his miniature *Booke of Martyrs* to the Herbert brothers (1616/17).³³ Indeed, Dick Taylor argues that Taylor was engaged in a competition with William Fennor for William Herbert's favour in 1615-16, and that this rivalry underlies the bitterness of the flyting between these two. However, the disputations with William Fennor took place fifteen years before the publication of *All the Workes*, and before most of the contents of this volume had been issued. There is no evidence that Taylor received any particular favours from Herbert over these years, despite his consistent respect for the Pembroke family and interest in Wilton House.³⁴ It is of course possible that he was involved in other bids for patronage from that quarter, whether by manuscript or orally, and his position as Royal Waterman and Tower Bottle Man may have given him opportunities for addressing either of the Pembrokes in person. If, as Taylor himself describes, he did indeed present some of his verses to King James, possibly on more than one occasion, William Herbert may have been present. In addition, as my discussion of the religious agenda of *All the Workes* will suggest, there was almost certainly a particular sympathy between Taylor and William Herbert on the topics of the Reformed Church and the dangers of Arminianism. Furthermore, Taylor's involvement with various theatrical figures, his acquaintance with Edward Alleyn and his probable associations with Philip Henslowe could all have brought him into possible contact with the Herbert family, through the Master of the Revels. However, as with so much else in Taylor's life, speculation about such matters must be limited: there is no trace of any closer relationship and we have only the textual evidence before us.

³³ *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614), STC 23779, sig. D3r.; *The Booke of Martyrs* (1616/1617), STC23731.3-.5. Taylor's sonnet praising, "The Right Honourable, Vertuous, and learned Lady, *Mary*, late Countesse of *Pembroke*" follows immediately after the sonnet on Queen Elizabeth in *The Needle's Excellency* (1631), STC 23775.5, sig. B3r.

³⁴ Taylor visited Wilton House twice. The first time is described in *A New Discovery by Sea* (1623): Pembroke was not in residence but Taylor was shown round by, and dined with, Sir Thomas Morgan. The King had been staying there three days previously. Taylor includes two sets of verses within his prose account of the visit, one a conventional sonnet on the house, the other in praise of the landscape architect, Adrian Gilbert, whose work he describes with particular enthusiasm: *A new discouery by sea, with a vvherry from London to Salisbury. Or, a voyage to the West* (E.Allde for the author, 1623), STC 23778, sig. C2r-c3r. Taylor's reference to the tapestries in his sonnet to the Countess of Pembroke (1631) would therefore be based on personal experience (see previous note).

If these anagrams were indeed a serious bid for long-term patronage, then this would seem to be a curiously inept way of going about the task. Firstly, the lack of a fulsome address to any of the three lords would appear churlish, if not suicidal: the anagrams are enthusiastic but hardly constitute the type of lengthy dedicatory epistle usually found in such circumstances, when a writer is attempting to convince a potential patron of his interest and care for their name.³⁵ More significant still is the fact that in some copies of *All the Workes* Taylor's mock Dedicatory Epistle addressed to the World is placed directly opposite the page on which these anagrams are printed. This mock Epistle has provoked some interest from scholars, because of its satirical tenor and weary tone, inaugurated by the lengthy opening address to, "The Most High, Most Mighty, and most Ancient Prodver, Sedvcer, and Abvser of Mankind, The World". The contents adroitly fulfil the double function of delivering a moralizing discourse on Worldly vanities while simultaneously satirizing the sycophancy that is the usual hallmark of dedicatory epistles:

*I neuer will make my tong like a plasterers Trowell, to dawbe and
smooth ouer the vices or villanies of any, with Sicophantizing
Parasiticall flatterie.*³⁶

As usual with Taylor, however, this apparently plain dealing approach should not be taken at face value: the epistle as a whole is a complex document that pursues a number of different strategies and contains allusions to several other texts. Thus, although the attitude to worldly vanities would certainly have appealed to the religious proclivities of the dedicatees, and in particular to the pious William Herbert, it is hard to be sure of Taylor's purposes here.

³⁵ See, for example, Daniel Featley's dedication of *The Grand Sacrilege of the Church of Rome* to Pembroke in the same year: he expresses gratitude to the Earl for past encouragement, praises Pembroke's piety and learning, and speaks of future encouragement (*The grand sacrilege of the Church of Rome, in taking away the sacred cup from the laiety at the Lords Table* (F. Kingston for R. Milbourne, 1630), STC 10733, sigs. A3r-A4v).

³⁶ *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630) Sig.A3v.

This uncertainty about the author's or editor's intentions for the dedicatory material in *All the Workes* is increased by differences between extant copies. The preliminary pages have been bound in several different orders across the copies I have examined [see Table A, below]. Thus we cannot be absolutely certain that the Epistle to the World was intended to follow the dedications to Hamilton and the Herbert brothers, even though the signature A3 on the first page of this Epistle would normally indicate such a position. This is the sequence found in the Sandars copy, which was used for the facsimile in 1970; it is by far the most common order of binding. However, the British Library copy presents an entirely different sequence: here, the *Epistle Dedicatory* is bound further on in the preliminaries, and the page of dedicatory anagrams is followed instead by the commendatory verses. Although this binding order is rare, the British Library copy has become the standard version known to users of microfilm and digital copies across the world. A third binding order, where the *Catalogue* is inserted between the page of anagrams and the *Epistle*, seems most likely to be an error. It is also rare, but nevertheless presents further possibilities in its sequencing of the material (see Table A, below).

Table A: Binding Order of Preliminaries to *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet (1630)*.

	Sandars Copy, CUL ³⁷	British Library ³⁸	St. John's College, Oxford. ³⁹
1	Engraved frontispiece	Engraved frontispiece	
2	Blank verso	Blank verso	
3	Letter-press title-page	Letter-press title-page	Letter-press title-page
4	Dedicatory anagrams (verso)	Dedicatory anagrams (verso)	Dedicatory anagrams (verso)
5	<i>Epistle</i> to “The World” (Sign. A3)	‘To the Author’ (Brewer) Latin verses (T. G.)	<i>Catalogue</i> (recto)
6	<i>Epistle</i> continues (A3v)	Commendatory verses (R.H., Branthwaites, Dekker)	<i>Catalogue</i> (verso)
7	<i>Epistle</i> ends: triangular tailpiece.	<i>Catalogue</i> (recto)	<i>Epistle</i> to “The World” (Sign. A3)
8	<i>Errata</i> ; ‘In laudem authoris’ (Viell)	<i>Catalogue</i> (verso)	<i>Epistle</i> continues (A3v)
9	‘To the Author’ (Brewer) Latin verses (T. G.)	<i>Epistle</i> to “The World” (Sign. A3)	<i>Epistle</i> ends: triangular tailpiece.
10	Commendatory verses (R.H., Branthwaites, Dekker) (verso)	<i>Epistle</i> (A3v)	<i>Errata</i> ; ‘In laudem authoris’ (Viell)
11	<i>Catalogue</i> (recto)	<i>Epistle</i> ends: triangular tailpiece.	‘To the Author’ (Brewer) Latin verses (T. G.)
12	<i>Catalogue</i> (verso)	<i>Errata</i> ; ‘In laudem authoris’ (Viell)	Commendatory verses (R.H., Branthwaites, Dekker) (verso)
13	<i>Taylors Vrania</i>	<i>Taylors Vrania</i>	<i>Taylors Vrania</i>

³⁷ CUL shelfmark: SSS.21.13: used for the Scolar Press facsimile (1972). Copies following this order of binding include: Guildhall, Oxford Colleges (3), Cambridge Colleges (3) CUL (3, incl. Sandars). See Appendix.

³⁸ Used for UMI microfilm; *Early English Books Online*: see also copy at: Wadham College (Oxford) owned by Richard Warner in the 1740s.

³⁹ St. John's College (Oxford): Phi .2.46 (previous shelfmark, Psi 81); the copy at Christ's College (Cambridge), donated by W. H. Rouse, has the commendatory verses in the same place as the St. John's. Oxford copy, although the Catalogue is after the *Epistle Dedicatory* instead of before it

These contrasting orders of binding for the preliminaries to *All the Workes* create a range of contradictory impressions. By a simple switch in the arrangement of the pages, the two extant copies of this volume that are most readily available to English academics, digitally from the British Library and in facsimile from Cambridge University Library's collection, suggest completely opposite conclusions about this book's position in relation to patronage. The most common sequence, where the Epistle to the World follows the anagrams to Hamilton, Pembroke and Montgomery, creates an ironic counterpoint by juxtaposing an address to wealthy potential patrons with a satirical discourse on worldly vanities. In the rare instances where the Catalogue is inserted between the anagrams and the Epistle, separating them sufficiently for the whole sequence to appear accidental, this ironic effect is neutralized.⁴⁰ However, where the commendatory verses "To the Author" are bound in immediately opposite the anagrams, an entirely contradictory effect is achieved. For, instead of undercutting the patronage motive apparently expressed through the dedications, which is the effect of the Epistle to the World, the presence of these poems could be viewed as confirmation of the author's aspirations to elite status.⁴¹ Thus, a reader skimming through the preliminary pages to the British Library copy, or flicking through these images online, is likely to assume that the presence of commendatory verses in Latin directly opposite dedications to a Marquis and two Earls, reflects such authorial hubris. This observation must necessarily affect the characterization of the volume as a whole, feeding into the mythology of *All the Workes* described above.

⁴⁰ Where the engraved title page is missing this is a perfectly sensible option. This binding order allows the letter-press title-page and the leaf containing the catalogue, which are without signatures, to be notionally designated A1 and A2 respectively.

⁴¹ For these Latin poems, see Chapter 1.

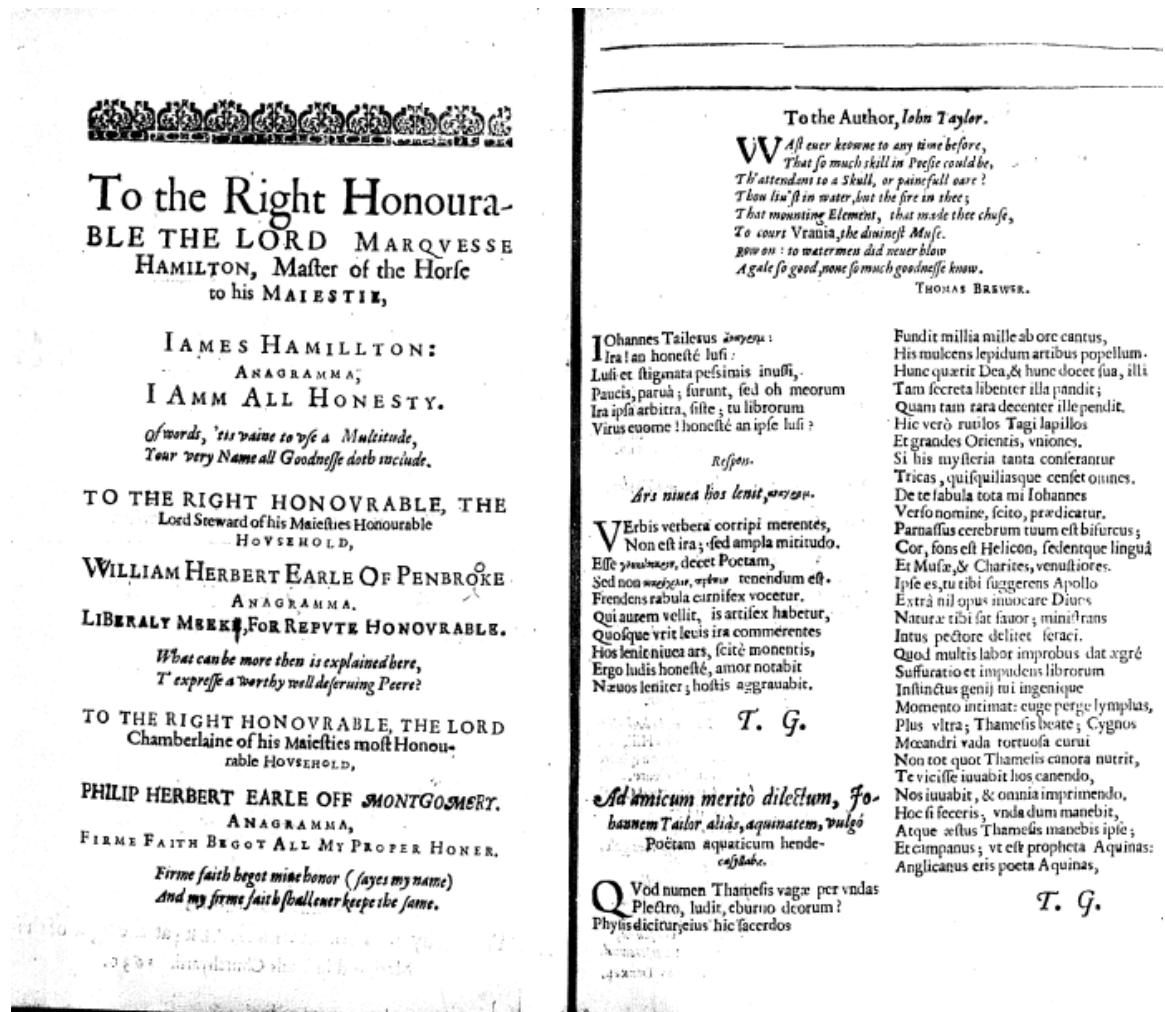


Fig. 3.1. *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet* (1630) British Library copy.⁴²

It is tempting to raise the possibility that this flexibility in binding order was a deliberate strategy, so that copies of *All the Workes* could be customized according to the intended recipient. Indeed, there is some evidence that suggests that binders may have taken an interest in the contents of the books they put together, providing yet another intermediary stage between author and readership. However, it is also possible that the anagrams and the *Epistle* were intended to complement one another thematically rather than in counterpoint, since they share a common religious focus. For the anagrams lay emphasis on the piety and virtue of the dedicatees, virtues necessarily in opposition

⁴² <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>> accessed 11/07/09.

to wordly vanities: James Hamilton's name, for example, becomes "I AMM ALL HONESTY" and is glossed by the couplet,

*Of words, 'tis vaine to vse a Multitude,
Your very Name all Goodnesse doth include.*

William Herbert is described as "liberally meek", and his brother Philip is praised for his "firm faith". The following *Epistle* describes the deceptions and sins of this earthly life and declares a desire to be rid of them, focusing on the words of "our blessed Sauior" who declared that he would not pray "for the world". In this sense, there is no contradiction with the praise of the three individuals expressed through the anagrams. Indeed, the minimal quality of the anagrams takes on a sense of deliberate spareness in the light of the refusal to flatter in the *Epistle*. Taylor seems to be demonstrating through the reduced, even humble lines addressed to such great lords, the practical effect of his personal world-weariness.

Therefore, rather than contradicting the force of the book's dedication to three of the most powerful men in the land, the *Epistle* can be understood as reinforcing the sincerity of Taylor's admiration for these courtiers. By expressing such antipathy for flatterers on the opposite page, Taylor makes his praise of Montgomery as "a worthy well deseruing Peere" appear precise and just; the deliberately understated tone is all the more convincing. Furthermore, the visual presentation of these various pages suggests that the Epistle was indeed planned to sit opposite the anagrams, forming a symmetrical design, with the same ornamentation at the top of each page. By contrast, the plain double rules above the Latin commendatory verses fit more appropriately later in the sequence of preliminaries.⁴³ Indeed, some of the differences in binding order found in extant copies actually create a false impression of the book's lack of coherence, visually as well as textually. Since many of these copies may have been sophisticated by collectors, combining pages from several copies, we must be cautious about making judgements based on such sequences.

⁴³ The tone and topic of the Latin verses do not correspond to either the anagrams or the Epistle; they probably date from the early to mid 1620s, whereas the anagrams and *Epistle* were almost certainly composed for the 1630 folio. For these Latin poems, see Chapter One.

The issue of patronage is further complicated by the death of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, on April 10th 1630. This date may possibly give a terminus ad quem for the issuing of *All the Workes* from the press. Since Philip Herbert succeeded immediately to the Pembroke title, both anagrams to the two brothers would have been out of date almost immediately. We have little information for the precise dating of *All the Workes*, beyond the title-page date of 1630. There is no entrance in the Stationers' Register, and no direct record of the transfer of title to the texts for the purpose of this collection. However, the volume was probably in preparation up to two years previously and on the presses by late 1629, although some individual pieces, such as *The Great Eater of Kent*, were apparently not available until the end of the year.⁴⁴ William Herbert's death was entirely unexpected: he had celebrated his birthday on April 8th and on April 9th had dined out with the Countesses of Bedford and Devonshire. He died "suddenly of apoplexy" early the next morning. As the death was so sudden, it is possible that the publishers would still have released the book with retrospective dedications, something which otherwise generally occurred only with reprints of already issued texts. However, all other extant books with dedications to William Herbert had been entered by January 1629/30, and would presumably have been off the press by February or March at the latest. It seems more sensible to assume that *All the Workes* had itself been published during these early months of the year, shortly before Herbert's death.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ *The Great Eater of Kent* (1630) was entered on 19 December 1629. It appears in different positions in the two advertisements for *All the Workes*. The first, in *A Memoriall* (1630, Beale for Boler) declares "This Author hath newly caused All his works (being above 60) to bee printed into one volume": it contains all the items in a different order to the folio and ends with *The Great Eater of Kent*. It was reprinted in the 1635 edition of *Wit and Mirth* (Cotes for Boler). The advertisement in *The Complaint of Christmas* (1631, Beale for Boler & Gosson), entered 4 December 1630, announces "A Catalogue of All Mr Iohn Taylors seuerall Bookes, Printed together in one Volumne in Folio", but includes only the first page of the folio catalogue, in the same order, followed by Taylor's verse from the second page about the lack of order. In this advertisement, *The Great Eater of Kent* is absorbed into the list. This suggests that the 1630 *A Memoriall* was printed before the preliminaries to the folio.

⁴⁵ Books dedicated to William Herbert in 1630 are: John Thornborough, *The last will and testament of Jesus Christ* (Oxford, W. Turner, 1630), STC 24037; Daniel Featley, *The Grand Sacrilege of the Church of Rome* (Kyngeston for Milbourne, 1630), STC 10733, ent. 8 July 1629 (Arber IV.217); Sir James Perrott, *Certaine short prayers* (A Matthewes for R. Swayne, 1630), STC 19772, ent. 20th December 1629; Captain John Smith, *The True Travels... of Captaine J. Smith, from 1593 to 1629* (J. Haviland for T. Slaughter [tbs.M. Sparkes], 1630), STC 232796, ent. 29 August 1629 (Arber iv 218). The latest entry in the Stationer's Register dedicated to William Herbert is: John Dowle, *The True Friend, or, a bill of exchange, expressed in a sermon preached at Whitehall* (W. Jones for N. Bourne, 1630), STC 710, ent. 10 Jan. 1629/30. Apart from Smith's *True travels* (where the connection is the Virginia settlement), these are

Critics have assumed that William Herbert's death was a serious blow to Taylor's aspirations, rendering *All the Workes* useless as a bid for patronage, and making it appear even more ridiculous to contemporaries. This hypothesis has been used to support the picture of the Water Poet's disillusionment with literary aspirations in the 1630s, which in turn has underpinned the teleological narrative whereby the 1640s offered Taylor the chance to reinvent himself as a polemical pamphleteer. However, these conjectures do not fit with the evidence from the 1630s and miss the point of the textual strategies that Taylor employs in the preliminaries and arrangement of *All the Workes*. Given Taylor's personal experience and situation at the time, it is highly unlikely that he was hoping for much in the way of financial reward from printing such anagrams. It is just possible that he hoped for, or even was promised, a one-off payment for the dedications: certainly he expected some reward from the Mayor of York when he presented him with a collection of some of his work in 1622, although we do not know whether that volume carried a personalised dedication.⁴⁶ However, rather than fooling himself with false hopes in *All the Workes*, every aspect of the preliminaries to this volume suggests that Taylor was acutely aware of the limitations of his position as a writer, even before Herbert's death.⁴⁷ Although some of his cynicism is no doubt gestural and strategic, his attitude to dedications is so frequently ironic and satirical throughout the 1620s, as to be almost certainly genuine in *All the Workes*. Taylor cannot have expected to grow rich in 1630 by securing long-term patronage for his writings.

Indeed, the little that we know of Taylor's financial situation in this period suggests that he was, at least for the moment, reasonably well off: not only was he a Ruler of the Watermen's Company for three separate periods during the 1620s and 30s but he was also assessed for Ship Money taxes, an indication of a householder "of some

all religious books, the authors have connections to Herbert through Oxford University or personal links, and most are strong Calvinists, with Featley and Thornborough especially notable.

⁴⁶ See discussion of *A Very Merry Wherry-ferry Voyage* (1622), below.

⁴⁷ The signature "Wm. Herbert" on the letterpress title-page of a copy of *All The Workes* now in Otago, New Zealand, belongs to the eighteenth century book collector of the same name, who may have been a descendent of the family but lived in Southwark. His signature appears on other books at CUL. This copy has several lengthy annotations of a religious nature in seventeenth century hand and a near-contemporary binding with gold tooling, so the original owner may be traceable. I have as yet been unable to identify the binding. (I am grateful to Donald Kerr at Otago University Library, for supplying photographs and subsequently allowing me to examine this volume.)

means''.⁴⁸ Given Taylor's age in 1630, we might deduce that his real patronage aim was a pension from one of these dedicatees or from King Charles himself, in reward for his previous loyalty to the monarchy. However, since Charles had already proved singularly unresponsive to the Water Poet's compositions, the King's financial favour seems an unlikely target. Whereas Thomas Coriate apparently financed the printing of his books himself in the hope of securing both fame and patronage, there is no indication that this applies to *All the Workes of John Taylor*.⁴⁹ On the contrary, the available evidence about its publication and subsequent history, strongly suggests that *All the Workes* was intended primarily for sale, whether in Boler's shop alone or through several outlets. It was certainly listed in at least two contemporary publishers' catalogues, and advertised in reprints of other texts by Taylor. With the exception of presentation copies, it seems that *All the Workes* was designed and targeted for a particular type of paying customer.⁵⁰

While the issue of patronage may therefore be something of a red herring with regard to *All the Workes*, the dedications to Hamilton and the two Herbert brothers may have considerable implications for our understanding of this collection's historical and cultural positioning. These issues cannot of course be separated from the discussion of a target audience for the volume, since they would have formed the principle factor in attracting consumers. However, before considering the book's positioning in detail, it is worth exploring a more straightforward commercial explanation for both a collection of Taylor's works in general and the adoption of the title *All the Workes* in particular. The commercial motive for the book's publication has been consistently ignored by scholars, who find it difficult to account for the selling power of Taylor's work without recourse

⁴⁸ Wheale, *Writing and Society*, p.102.

⁴⁹ The belief that Taylor printed most of his books by subscription is a generalisation from his early and very late journey pamphlets. Robert Dow noted this as early as 1930, but the belief has been remarkably persistent.

⁵⁰ A copy of *All the Workes* at the Huntington Library (Call no. 601579) contains a laid-in slip, describing a "presentation copy" of the Folio being sold by a dealer, with inscription: "Geven me by my well wishinge frende John Taylor (1633) valeant qui me volunt", with the signature effaced but some added verses in the same hand, signed "W.C". The title-page had the signature of Robert Cranmer. The whereabouts of this presentation copy is at present unknown (I am grateful to Stephen Tabor at the Huntington Library for details). "W.C" may possibly have been William Cartwright (1611-1643), who left over 100 poems in manuscript, and plays including *The Royal Slave* (1636); he was ordained in 1638, served on the King's council of war, and preached the victory sermon for Charles after the battle of Edgehill (Dennis Flynn, Oxford DNB [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4823>], accessed 11 Oct 2009).

to outdated concepts of popular versus elite culture. According to these concepts, Taylor is supposed to have become notorious by exploiting the opportunities afforded by cheap print, where his topics and approach were apparently perfect for marketing amongst a hypothetical growing middle class and urban readership. This hypothesis renders problematic the question of who would have been able to find the considerable sum of money required to purchase a folio. This is an issue that has perplexed even the most meticulous of bibliographers, as demonstrated by Arthur Freeman's rather impatient declaration "it is a testimony to popular taste that [this] pretentious and expensive volume was a commercial success".⁵¹

The answer to the paradoxes in Freeman's view of *All the Workes* is in fact to be found in the very same article about nonce collections where he made this comment. It is simply necessary to take the bibliographic details to the logical conclusion that would dispel the dichotomy in his judgments of this volume as "expensive" yet "popular" and a "commercial success". Freeman argues that "nonce collections", where different items by the same author were re-issued as a set, were a logical step for stationers, especially when they already held the rights to several pieces. This might involve just binding together two or more of the author's already printed items and selling them as a unit, as Henry Gossen did with *A Very Merry Wherry Ferry Voyage* and *The Great O'Toole* in 1619-1622/3. However, Freeman also looks at the further possibility that stationers may have deliberately reissued a series of texts by one author in a uniform format, which could be bound together immediately at the point of purchase. John Taylor's output in the early 1620s seems to have been ripe for such an undertaking and it is no surprise to find evidence that this may indeed have occurred.

Some of the evidence for previous collections of Taylor's work is anecdotal. However, while it is not always wise to take Taylor's autobiographical narratives at face value, there seems no reason to doubt the basic facts of his account of a journey undertaken to York in 1622, to market a chest full of his own publications. This is

⁵¹ For Anthony Wood's view, quoted above, see *Athenae Oxoniensis* (1721), II, 393. Arthur Freeman, "Octavo Nonce Collections of John Taylor", in *The Library*, 5th series, 18 (1963), 51-7, p.51.

described in *A very Merry Wherry Ferry Voyage* (1622).⁵² Taylor tells how he presented “a bound copy of his works” to the Mayor of York:

*I gaue his Lordship in red guilded leather,
A well bound booke of all my Workes together,
Which he did take**

The asterisk refers to a marginal note: “*Heere I make a full point, for I receiued not a point in exchange”. Taylor draws attention to his deliberate half line, leaving the second part of the line blank, to emphasise the Mayor’s failure to reward him for this presentation. This blank space stands out on the page, where all the other lines are full length with no subheadings. It is thus an amusing print strategy which would not be so effective in manuscript (see Fig. 3.2):

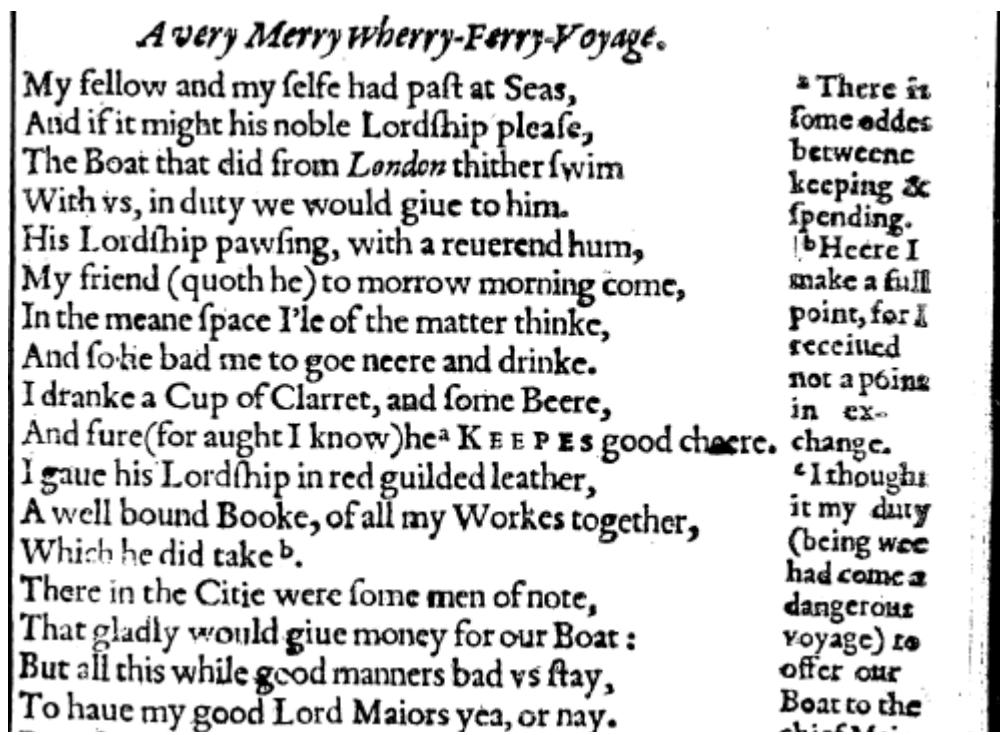


Fig. 3.2. *A Verry Merry Wherry-ferry-voyage* (1622), sig. B7r. ⁵³

⁵² See also, Bernard Capp, *World of John Taylor*, p.27.

Taylor clearly felt that the presentation of such a bound copy was not a gift but an exchange, and it seems he was accustomed to being paid, whether by money or hospitality. The phrase “of all my Workes together” suggests a compilation perhaps prepared especially for this journey, which can only be described as a marketing trip. In an earlier incident, Taylor attempted to persuade the townspeople of Cromer that he and his crew were not pirates, by explaining to them, “How we to *Yorke*, upon a mart were bound”⁵⁴; when “all this would not satisfie” his interrogators, he had “freely op’d my Trunke” and showed them the,

*Bookes, of Chronicles and Kings,
Some Prose, some Verse, and idle Sonettings.*

Clearly, this was a last resort, and he would have preferred to keep the treasure trove from view, presumably to maintain its sea-worthiness until reaching their destination. However, even this did not establish the trust of these uncultured locals, and it was only the recognition of the magistrates next day, who “knew me not in prose and lookes” but “had read of me, in my verse and bookes” that allowed the trip to continue. Thus Taylor incidentally suggests the extent to which his publications were already distributed across the country by the early 1620s, at least in the homes of local dignitaries. This confirms the good sense of Tessa Watt’s comment that “there was enough demand from wealthy Taylor readers to justify a folio volume in 1630”⁵⁵

⁵³ *A verry merry vvherry-ferry-voyage: or Yorke for my money sometimes perilous, sometimes quarrelous, performed with a paire of oares, by sea from London* (E.Allde, 1622), STC 23812, sig. B7r. < <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 12 September 2009 The marginal note becomes a footnote in the folio, which takes away from the immediate impact of Taylor’s strategy. Taylor follows this account with his narration of the Mayor’s refusal of the Watermen’s proposed gift of the wherry in which they have just journeyed from London. The following year, Lord Edward Gorge, captain of Hurst Castle, accepted Taylor’s damaged wherry at the end of the voyage to Salisbury, giving the crew the price of a new boat (*A New discovery by Sea* (1623), sig. C1v).

⁵⁴ That York might have offered a market worth this effort is reflected in the inventory of bookseller, John Foster, (1616): this shows a wide range of texts, including authors published by Taylor’s publishers, such as Richard Bernard, Richard Brathwaite and Sir Hugh Platt. Foster’s list included many religious books, especially the writings of Bishop Joseph Hall, discussed in the next chapter. See, John Barnard and Maureen Bell, *The Early Seventeenth Century York Book Trade and John Foster’s Inventory of 1616* (Leeds, Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society Ltd., 1994).

⁵⁵ *A Very Merry Wherry Ferry Voyage* (1622), sigs. A6r-A7v. Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p.291.

It is possible that a volume identified by Freeman in New York Public Library, described in the binder's title as, "Collection of poems, orig. edns. By Taylor, the water poet", bears some relation to this marketing trip.⁵⁶ Although the binding is later in origin, five of the six texts included are dated 1622, and the sixth, *Sir Gregory Nonsense* carries 1700 on the title page but dates from 1622 as well. These texts are not all by the same combination of stationers, so that the collection does not necessarily represent a single stationer's initiative, as Freeman believed. The collection may have been created long after Taylor's demise, but the fact that the texts had been kept together, and their shared date of 1622 offers the possibility that it resembles the bound volume presented to the ungrateful Mayor at York, which of course could have been bound with material from different stationers. The joint edition of *A Very Merry Wherry Ferry Voyage* and *The Great O'Toole* published the previous year certainly suggests that Gosson had been experimenting with nonce collections of Taylor's work.⁵⁷ Gosson's later re-issue in 1635 of a series of Taylor's most popular 1620s works in a uniform format provides further evidence for the existence of this publishing concept. Although these re-issues postdate the Folio, and some of the texts may have been printed from there rather than from the originals, they certainly have all the appearance of a deliberate marketing ploy, including parallels in the set-up of the title-pages and woodcuts. Freeman's conclusion that "seventeenth-century pre-assembled collections of pamphlets, poems, plays, and sermons [by single authors, at point of sale] ... may have been more common than we have assumed", therefore seems a reasonable one to apply to Taylor.⁵⁸

If there had already been moves towards collections or sets of Taylor's work earlier in the 1620s, then a collected "Works" issued in 1630 might not have appeared to the author, his publishers or readers, such a hugely unprecedented step. Indeed, it is

⁵⁶ New York Public Library, Arents S 0204 (there is some discrepancy between the details given by Freeman and those in the *NYPL* catalogue). Freeman traces this collection's provenance back to 1795, but his line is complex and makes some hypotheses that are open to question (Freeman, "Octavo Nonce Collections of John Taylor", *passim*).

⁵⁷ *A very merry wherry-ferry-voyage ... whereunto is annexed a very pleasant description of that famous man, O'Toole the Great* (E. Alld for H. Gosson, 1623), STC 23812.3.

⁵⁸ An entry in the Hanrott catalogue (1834), describes a collection of Taylor reprints and new texts dating from 1635 to 1638, with a date of 1639 for the collection as a whole, which tallies with the uniform appearance of these editions (Freeman, "Octavo Nonce Collections", p.56). Pollard's discussions of possible collections of the Shakespeare quartos deals with some similar issues for the same period of time: A.W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos: A Study in the bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays, 1594-1685* (London, Methuen, 1909), p.150.

possible, even probable, that there was demand for such a collection towards the end of the 1620s. Although Taylor's output for the year 1622 had been especially high, (nine new texts), he continued to produce new pieces steadily through the middle of the decade. Several reprints from the period survive and it is not unlikely there were others no longer extant. External evidence also suggests that these pieces from the mid 1620s were reaching a wide audience. As well as indications of ownership by a range of more affluent readers, from Frances Wolfrestan to Sir Simondes d'Ewes and Scipio Le Squyer, the satirical attack on Taylor by Abraham Holland in 1625 suggests that his work was sufficiently high-profile to create alarm at its effectiveness. The motivation for Holland's attack may have been complex, including personal pique at the interest shown in Taylor by both his father, Philemon Holland, and his brother/cousin the print-maker-publisher Compton Holland. Abraham Holland also held opposing religious ideas to Taylor's, and had a general sense of his own superiority in learning and birth which perhaps made his antipathy to Taylor inevitable.⁵⁹

However, the nature of this attack in *Paper Persecutors* chimes with other evidence that Taylor's publications were doing well, in the sense of being well received in the market, in the 1620s. The dismissive reference by Holland to the books being the delight of servants should be read as a defensive strategy, rather than a sober critical assessment of the quality or reception of Taylor's texts. Indeed, literacy figures for the period show that the lowest classes would not have been sufficiently literate to consume such texts in large numbers, and Taylor's style and allusions, as both Bernard Capp and Nigel Wheale have pointed out, demand much more than a basic competency in letters.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Abraham Holland, *A scourge for paper-persecutors. Or Papers complaint, ... By I.D. With a continu'd iust inquisition of the same subiect...* By A.H (H.Holland for G.Gybbs, 1625), STC 6340. Holland's list of items that misuse paper includes "all the merrie Wherrie-Bookes, / That I have found in Kitchen-cobweb-nookes" (sig. A2r). Holland prided himself on being a scholar from Trinity, Cambridge, and claimed to prefer manuscript to print; most of his poetry was published after his death by his brother, Henry. However, *Naumachia* (1622) is an account of the Catholic victory over the Turks at Lepanto in "the overblown manner associated with Lucan", an extreme contrast to Taylor's own accounts of sea-fights. Holland's Catholic leanings are also shown in the dedication of *Naumachia* to George Gordon, Earl of Enzie, and his father, the Marquis of Huntley, leader of the Scottish Catholics and patron of recusants: see, R. Cummings, Abraham Holland, Oxford DNB, 2004, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13514>]; J. R. M. Sizer, George Gordon, [article/11036]; D. Stevenson, George Gordon, [article/11037], accessed 11 Oct 2009.

⁶⁰ "His literary style could be quite demanding, and this also indicates that he was not writing for the least able readers, but addressing people with some reading sophistication and store of reference", Wheale, *Writing and Society*, p.102.

Although the situation might have been somewhat different in London, where literacy was more widespread, Taylor's testimony itself supports the conclusion that many of his readers went by the designation gentleman or lady. This suggests that a market for a more expensive collection, bringing together previously printed items in a format that would render them less ephemeral than the originals, could well have existed by the 1620s.

Thus the idea of a collection of Taylor's work may not itself have been so surprising to his contemporaries. Indeed, even the grand title *All the Workes* may have had a precedent, following the phrase in *A Very Merry Wherry Ferry Voyage*, where Taylor writes of the presentation to the Mayor "of all my Workes together".⁶¹ Furthermore, the detail of the good quality binding "in red guilded leather" suggests a substantial and relatively expensive product. It cannot be ruled out, therefore, that even in 1622 Taylor or his publishers were experimenting with something more ambitious than a little octavo collection of a few of his most recent pamphlets. It is possible that something larger, perhaps quarto sized, and involving a greater range of material, was being piloted even at this early stage. Quarto collections of a writer's work were not so unusual; if successful, such collections could develop from modest beginnings through subsequent editions to become substantial, sometimes even making the leap from quarto to folio. This process can be observed, for example, with Lownes's transitional quarto collections of Josuah Sylvester's translations and poems from 1606-13, which developed into the increasingly elaborate *Sylvester's Du Bartas* folios of 1621-41. In the case of Sylvester, however, the cultural authority of Du Bartas' name, as the most admired religious poet of the early seventeenth century, endorses the move from small to large format. Despite being produced by a living author, Sylvester's translations also carried the dead master's auctoritas. After 1625, the volume became in addition a monument to King James, whose admiration for the French Huguenot poet was well known from his earlier attempts to establish him as his court laureate in Scotland.⁶²

The collected editions of Sylvester's Du Bartas are to some extent a unique instance where the names of two poets a generation apart became melded into one, and

⁶¹ *A Very Merry Wherry Ferry Voyage* (1622), sig. B7r.

⁶² For the Sylvester's Du Bartas quartos and folios, see Chapter One.

the movement into folio format would have seemed appropriate because of the status of this composite poetic figure. For Taylor's contemporaries the term "Workes", when applied to writing published in a Folio format, generally designated a substantial body of texts, usually in prose, of a respected and learned nature and written by a single author. The vast majority of collections published under this label were theological, and hence necessarily held the two major qualifications of moral worth and classical learning.⁶³ Although the term had been applied as early as 1532 to Chaucer, in William Thynne's *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer*, this title was expanded by 1598 into *The Workes of our Antient and Learned English Poet, Geffrey Chavcer*, in the collection edited by Thomas Speght. The addition of the term "Antient" suggests that justification for the label "Workes" was by the authority of antiquity, to reinforce the implications of "learned".⁶⁴ This fits with the fact that in the period 1620-30, two-thirds of all books published under the label "Workes" were theological in content, and two-thirds of all books labelled "Workes" were in folio format. Thus, matching format to content, over half of all books labelled "Workes" in this decade were both theological and in folio. The only authors who might be considered outside the designation "theological", but whose "Workes" were published in folio during these years, were King James (1620) and Sylvester's Du Bartas (1621); however, both of these collections focus on topics that could be termed religious, and each had special status from a social or cultural perspective.⁶⁵

⁶³ The discussion here is confined to books with the word "Work[es]" as the keyword in their title: it does not include examples such as the *Sermons with Some Religious and Divine Meditations* of Arthur Lake, published in folio by Nathaniel Butter in 1629 (STC 15134), although this is referred to in a Catalogue (1631) as "The Workes of Arthur Lake" (see below, Afterword).

⁶⁴ *The Workes of our Antient and Learned English Poet, Geffrey Chavcer*, (A.Islip for B. Norton and others, 1598), STC 5077-5079 (my underlining). Pask argues that the transformation of Chaucer's verses into "Workes" reflects the construction of the author as an identity constituted by the history of his works, rather than as the producer of single, discreet texts: Kevin Pask, *The emergence of the English author: Scripting the life of the poet in early modern England* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.17. Helgerson notes that "to Jonson ... learning was a prime distinguishing characteristic of the laureate poet": Richard Helgerson, *The Elizabethan Laureate: Self-Presentation and the Literary System*, in *ELH* 46 (1979), 193-220, p.215. Taylor plays on this idea satirically in *Mercurius Aquaticus* (1644), in an attack on Thomas May: he describes himself as "I Thorny Aylo Water-Poet Laureat", and mocks the Parliamentarians: "You see I have gathered some scraps of Latin since I came to the Vniversity; if it please the City, they may petition that the Synod may be sent hither to learne some also".

⁶⁵ There was also an edition of Seneca in English, but this classical author was considered "theological" by contemporaries. *The Whole Workes* of Samuel Daniel was published in quarto (N. Okes for S. Waterson, 1623), STC 2368.

Despite the different social and cultural status of its author, *All the Workes* certainly follows the folios of more orthodox writers in its material presentation: indeed, there is almost a family resemblance in appearance and organisation between many of the large format books produced at this period. Opening one of the copies of the Spenser folio, for example, is almost the same visual and tactile experience as opening *All the Workes of John Taylor*. This is in part an inevitable result of practical factors such as the relatively small range of printers involved, since folios were a specialist item not produced by every printing shop, and the number of master printers overall was still restricted.⁶⁶ Hence, some of the larger ornaments used for the John Taylor folio are, to the untrained eye, almost indistinguishable from those used in the printing of the first Shakespeare folio (1623), among other texts. Inevitably, since they were an expensive and distinctive piece of hardware, ornaments of the correct size for a folio were used repeatedly over many years, passed on when businesses were transferred, or partners moved, and even borrowed.⁶⁷ As a result, such resemblances are common, and some parallels are probably more accidental than intentional, although there is an element of branding where ornaments, or combinations of ornaments, are exclusive to a particular printer. This effect of printing practices has particularly ironic consequences in the case of *All the Workes of John Taylor*, since John Beale, who printed the preliminaries and over half the main text, has since become notorious as the victim of Ben Jonson's fury, for his shop's execution of the second instalment of the playwright's *Workes* in 1631. The irony lies in the fact that Jonson's text shares the ornaments used for *All The Workes of John Taylor*, so that, for example, the Prologue to *Bartholomew Fayre* is presented on a page that displays the main ornament from Taylor's letterpress title-page. Moreover, since the Jonson text is dated 1631, it could be that the ornaments were being used concurrently for both books, or more likely that the Jonson followed after the Taylor.

⁶⁶ For the regulation of presses, see: Robin Myers and Michael Harris, (eds.), *Aspects of Printing from 1600* (Oxford, Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1987), chapters by Sheila Lambert, "The Printers and the Government, 1604-1637" (pp.1-29), and by Michael Treadwell, "Lists of Master Printers: The Size of the London Printing Trade, 1637-1723" (pp.141-170).

⁶⁷ *Mr William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (I. Jaggard & E. Blount, 1623), STC 22273: for example, sig. A2 compares to the dedicatory pages for *Sir Gregory Nonsense* (sig. Aa) or *A Discovery by Sea* (Sig. Bb6) in Beale's section of *All the Workes*. See Chapter Six, below. For the transfer of printers' ornaments, see: R. B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' devices in England & Scotland, 1485-1640* (London, Bibliographical Society, 1913), p.xii.

One can only speculate on Jonson's apoplexy in discovering his plays taking second place to Taylor's *Workes* in the printing house.

In terms of the effects of print on presentation, there are equally noticeable visual links between *All the Workes* and other folios passing through Beale's presses during this period. This is true in particular of Beale's part in the 1625 (first) and subsequent editions of the Works of Bishop Joseph Hall and the 1631 edition of Stowe's *Annales*, which carry the same ornaments as those used by Beale in *All the Workes*. However, Taylor's collection also resembles the two Jonson folios in editorial treatment as well as in typographical appearance. For, contrary to the impression given in discussions of *All the Workes* over the last two centuries, the volume must have involved a considerable amount of editing, since the final text is far more than the mere throwing together of a hastily gathered pile of pamphlets. The key factor that distinguishes Taylor's folio from most others in this period is not the aspirations of the author so much as the disparate nature of the contents. The combination of a wide range of genres, many short pieces, individual texts containing a variety of different kinds of verse and prose, the need for frequent changes in typographical conventions to incorporate titles, dedications, anagrams, and so forth, makes this indeed a rather "extraordinary" compositional undertaking, very different from the extended play and masque texts that make up Jonson's volumes. Nevertheless, these texts have been carefully prepared for the collection: obvious aspects include the fact that the dedications have sometimes been filleted or removed, dates been added or altered, and titles have been adapted. Other changes, more minor but nevertheless notable, indicate that whoever marked up the copy text had specific aims in mind. We do not of course know for certain how far this editing can be attributed to Taylor alone.

The impression that *All the Workes* was an amateurish and sub-standard attempt at mimicking orthodox folios has been compounded by a number of factors, not all of them contemporary. There are certainly some peculiar local effects of punctuation and rather obvious spelling errors in many copies, and the pagination contains anomalies, although these are not all evidence of carelessness.⁶⁸ However, the overall impression of

⁶⁸ Examples of mis-punctuation include the commendatory verse by R.H. and the erratic treatment of the Latin poems by T.G., both in the preliminaries, printed by John Beale.

an especially poor text has been considerably compounded by modern methods of reproducing *All the Workes*. For example, the selection of copy text for modern reproductions has highlighted one of the most obvious printing errors early in the preliminaries, the appearance of “Chales” for “Charles” on the second page of the catalogue (Beale’s section). This error has been corrected in some copies but not in others: unfortunately, both the Cambridge copy used for the Scolar Press facsimile and the British Library copy used for digital reproduction are uncorrected at this point. Since the error is so prominent (it has been corrected by a contemporary hand in several other copies I have seen) the impression of careless printing and lack of proof reading is reinforced for a modern readership, seeing only these two examples. In a corrected copy, such as the Worcester College folio, the title is printed as *Prince Charles His Welcome from Spain*.⁶⁹

The frequency of pagination errors in *All the Workes* is also something of a red herring: many folios, including the Shakespeare Folios, carry a similar number of errors, which is perhaps unsurprising given their length.⁷⁰ However, with *All The Workes* the problems for the compositors would have been compounded by the frequent change of copy text, as they moved from one pamphlet or book to another: it is noticeable that errors occur most often with changeovers between texts. Furthermore, in the original editions as printed, especially the nonsense texts and the sequence on Thomas Coriate, Taylor sometimes used “errors” as textual strategies. For example in *Laugh and Be Fat*, his satirical commentary on the commendatory verses from *Coriate’s Crudities* (1611), Taylor takes Robert Philips’s ambiguous references to the “Asse” and turns them into an all out assault on Thomas Coriate. To draw attention to how he has treated Philips’s poem, he uses a sequence of nonsensical figures (16, 44, 94 and so on), referring to non-existent notes, to highlight words such as “patient bearing Asse”, “Balamms asse”, “foole”, “toole” and “asse”. These continue through the text and finish with a bracketed blank in his version of Hugo Holland’s poem where the reader is supposed to supply the word “Asse”. This effect is not reproduced in *All the Workes*, which reduces the impact

⁶⁹ The Sandars copy in CUL (SSS.21.13) is a particularly error filled version on thin paper: it was chosen for the facsimile because it has been rebound and is a “clean” copy without annotation (I am grateful to Nicholas Smith, Rare Books Librarian at CUL, for this information).

⁷⁰ For example, the 1623 Shakespeare folio has numerous irregularities and pagination errors, see note 66. above.

of the humour in this text.⁷¹ Some of the “errors” in *All the Workes* may be similar deliberate textual strategies, rather than a fault in the printing house: for example, in the group of texts on Thomas Coriate where *Laugh and Be Fat* is also printed, but a few leaves beforehand, pages 63 to 66 are printed as a second set of page numbers 59 to 62, creating a repeat of the previous correct numbering. Although a common error in such volumes, this is an unusually long series and comes right in the midst of Taylor’s other nonsensical tributes to Coriate, *Odcombs Complaint* and *The Eight Wonder of the World*.⁷²

These examples raise the important issue of Taylor’s strategic manipulation of the printed page, a factor that has rarely been considered in discussing *All the Workes*. The tendency to take Taylor’s declarations of amateurishness at face value has led scholars to miss some of the ploys to which contemporaries would, I believe, have been much more alert. This has particular force for *All the Workes*: as I have argued above, Taylor must have been well aware of the reception accorded to the Jonson and Shakespeare volumes. In addition, he would almost certainly have been familiar with other collected volumes, whether in folio or quarto format, especially those of authors he admired such as Sylvester’s Du Bartas, Spenser and Daniel. Furthermore, the publisher and printers of *All the Workes* were highly experienced and their compositors, especially those in the print-shop of John Beale, would have set up the material for folios many times before. Despite Ben Jonson’s criticisms of Beale’s treatment of his 1631 volume, we need to be sceptical of assuming that every aspect of *All the Workes* is the result of cheap and shoddy workmanship, when most of the errors are the normal effects of the printing house.

Right from the start of his career in print, Taylor’s individual printed texts had been carefully designed to produce specific effects in terms of readers and markets. This is especially true of the title pages and preliminary material. We know from the single example of marked up printer’s copy in Taylor’s hand, that he gave clear indications

⁷¹ *All the Workes of John Taylor*, sigs. GG1v-Gg2r; *Laugh and Be fat* (W. Hall. 1612), STC 23769, sigs. B6v-B7r, C2v; *The Odcombian banquet* (G.Eld for T. Thorpe 1611), STC 5810, sigs. D3r-D3v, F2r-F3v; Thomas Coriate, *Coryats crudities hastily gobled vp in five moneths trauells* (W.Stansby for the author, 1611), STC 5808, sigs. C7r-C7v.

⁷² *All the Workes of John Taylor*, sigs. Ff3r-Ff4v.

about many of the features of these publications for the compositors.⁷³ Since *All the Workes* came after almost twenty years of the author's experience with print, it seems more than likely that features of this text reflect a similar attention to the semiotics of presentation, within the restrictions imposed by the practicalities of the press. Thus we need to consider whether the impression of artlessness in the content and presentation of the preliminaries to this volume may have been intentionally exaggerated by the author. In particular, some features may reflect strategies adopted by Taylor to pre-empt the anticipated public response to this move to folio format. Indeed, it could be argued that in media terms Taylor's book is a more sophisticated product than the grander volumes on which it is modelled, and with which its more modest dimensions and print quality could not hope to compete.

However, even this contrast can be over-emphasised. For, although many aspects of *All the Workes* suggests that the author and/or editors were intentionally undercutting the conventions of folio presentation, the book as a whole is also as attractive visually as many other folios. The removal of the individual title pages, with their pictorial and graphical appeal so essential to their attraction in pamphlet form, has given the text a more uniform appearance in some sections; in this respect the editing has taken it closer to the more usual volumes of sermons and religious tracts. However, the volume as a whole is broken up and varied by the different types and ornaments for each of these pieces, and the concentration of pictorial images in the chronicle sections appears to have been a considerable draw for readers, whether contemporary or later. Thus it would be inaccurate, as well as missing the humour and ironies of the text, to dismiss the physical and visual presentation of *All the Workes* as merely reflecting Taylor's inability to cope with the transition from pamphlet to folio format.

If *All The Workes* were attempting to mimic an orthodox folio in sober earnestness, then it clearly has shortcomings, not least in the very obvious peculiarities of the preliminary pages, peculiarities which have been highlighted by the author

⁷³ The printer's copy is for *The Causes of the Diseases* and *Aqua Musae* (both 1645) and was found in the loft of a former printer's shop. See Marjorie Rushforth, "Two John Taylor Manuscripts at Leonard Lichfield's Press", in *The Library*, 4th series, xi (1930), 179-192. Taylor's hand is clear and despite Percy Simpson's dismissive description of these manuscripts, they are in good enough condition to provide useful material for study (Bodleian MS. Add. C. 209, fols.2-4, 7-14.); Percy Simpson, *Proof-reading in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (London, OUP, 1970), 84-86 and Plate 15.

himself. It would seem disingenuous on Taylor's part to draw attention to just the faults that deny this book the elevated status he supposedly so ardently desired for it. However, further consideration suggests that this was a deliberate strategy, with aims that go beyond the conventional expression of humility expected of authors in the period. Thus, the surface impression of carelessness given by the Catalogue and the Errata seems to contradict the careful structuring of the volume as a whole, as well as the detailed attention to the re-arranged apparatus for individual pieces. It may still be that these features do reflect Taylor's genuine despair at the printer's poor workmanship, and his inability to retain control over his copy-text in the process. However, this explanation does not fit with Taylor's usual cooperative, and long-standing, relationships with stationers and printer. Nor does it sit easily with other evidence in the book itself. For, while the presence of a full set of preliminaries⁷⁴ creates an initial impression of a plodding attempt at formality, this effect is then carefully undermined by the content of each item. Instead of attempting to emulate as closely as possible the preliminary material of a volume such as the Shakespeare folio or Samuel Hieron's *Workes*, Taylor has taken the conventional apparatus of such respected volumes and turned them upside down. By so doing, he presents his readers with a challenge that is entirely in keeping with his approach to the social restrictions of early modern attitudes to authorship and print.

An obvious example of this challenge is the verse "Errata, or Faults to the Reader" which is not, as in most publications of this nature, a functional item detailing specific errors. Instead, these lines more closely resemble a playhouse Prologue or Epilogue, addressed to the audience and intended to smooth the players' pathway to their approval. Taylor's reference to "my occasions mix'd with sicknesses" and the "foure Printers dwelling farre asunder" have been seized upon by critics as the explanation for the book's supposed short comings. However, it is clear that the author is for the most part enjoying the fun of composing his Apology, rather than agonizing over the horrors of the printing house. This is evident in the running play on the term "escap'd" and the careful use of rhyme and run-on lines for an effect of lightness and wit. However, it is the final request to the reader that is most interesting:

⁷⁴ See Table A, above.

*Looke through your fingers, wink, conniue at mee,
And (as you meet with faults) see, and not see.* ⁷⁵

This couplet sounds just like a stage-player's plea to the audience and the rhythm is especially suggestive of that milieu. Taylor was well versed in Shakespeare's plays, and it may be that there is an intended echo here, whether of Puck's last speech in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or, a closer match, of Prospero's Epilogue to *The Tempest*.⁷⁶ Whether such an allusion would be intentional or merely the effect of Taylor's knowledge influencing his composition, is unclear. However, Taylor's phrasing does set up a sense of an interactive relationship, almost a conspiracy between author and reader, suggested most strongly in the verb "connive". The sense of reader and author being implicated together in this project may have particular significance in the light of my discussion of the underlying agenda of *All the Workes* in the following chapters. The sophistication of these verses raises the question of how Taylor might have expected his readers to read and understand them. In particular, the ambiguity of the final request to "see and not see", with its hint of double awareness, seems more appropriate to a morally challenging text such as *The Tempest* than to the apparently transparent miscellanea of an uneducated waterman.

A similar ambiguity may be observed in the "Catalogue" to *All the Workes*, which at first appears to be no more than a functional piece of bibliographic apparatus. Indeed, a list of contents might seem to be a prerequisite for this collection, since the key factor that distinguishes Taylor's folio from most others in this period is the disparate nature of the contents, rather more than the aspirations of the author. The combination of a wide range of genres, many short pieces, individual texts containing a variety of different kinds of verse and prose, and frequent changes in type for titles, dedications and anagrams, can give the impression of an amorphous and disorganized mass. Charles

⁷⁵ *All the Workes* (1630), "Errata, or Faults to the Reader".

⁷⁶ See *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 5.1.401-416, *The New Cambridge Shakespeare*, ed. R.A. Foakes (Cambridge, CUP, 1984); *The Tempest*: Epilogue ("And my ending is despair, / Unless I be reliev'd by prayer, / Which pierces so, that it assaults / mercy itself, and frees al faults. / As you from crimes would pardon'd be, / Let your indulgence set me free"), in *The Arden Shakespeare* ed. Frank Kermode (1954, repr. 1977).

Hindley's comment in 1872, that the texts in *All The Workes* are "thrown together with an utter disregard to their Chronological order" typifies the views of even a sympathetic antiquarian.⁷⁷ However, the lack of organisation in this collection is much more apparent than real, and has been compounded for post seventeenth century readers by differences in conventions.

For while a modern reader might expect a strict division by chronology or theme, the principles at work in the organization of this volume make a different kind of structural sense, depending on early modern categories that are sometimes no longer current. The main difference from a modern single-author collection is the lack of a linear chronology. Rather than beginning with Taylor's first independently printed piece, *The Sculler* (1612), and moving through the decades in a timely progression, the order works on other principles that are mainly based on a hierarchy of topics and genres, but may have other agendas as well. Sometimes the organization seems logical: for example it seems natural to find all the pieces on Tom Coriate linked together, and we can understand the principle of genre where most of the mock encomia or "Praise poems" are gathered in one place. Other decisions about the organization of the material can appear arbitrary: however, there is almost always an explanation, even if this necessitates a reference outside the collection, to earlier editions of the individual items.

However, readers might be excused for assuming that *All the Workes* is a disorganized and hasty collection, since this is the impression given by the curious verse appended to the Catalogue:

*These Bookes in number sixty three are here,
Bound in one Volume, scattered here and there,
They stand not thus in order in the booke;
But any man may finde them, that will looke.*

⁷⁷ Charles Hindley, *Works of John Taylor the Water Poet*, 1872, Introduction, p.xxviii.

This verse is frequently cited by critics when mentioning *All the Workes*, even in a brief discussion.⁷⁸ However, the message of this verse, that the Catalogue bears no relation to the order that follows, is misleading. The first page of the Catalogue, which covers the major proportion of items in the volume, is mainly accurate. It does omit *The Praise of cleane Linnen* and *The Great O'toole*, which have been added at the end of the second page, and also leaves out *Great Britaine All in Blache*, which may have been a late addition. Instead, this first page includes two texts that are actually found together in the final section, *Taylor's farewell to the Tower Bottles* and *Heaven's Blessing*, and so should have appeared at the end of the list, on the verso. Nevertheless, this first page is sufficiently ordered to provide an essential aid to navigating the bulky volume. The lack of page numbers for the Catalogue is not unique to *All the Workes*, and early readers have sometimes added them for themselves, as well as underlining or highlighting titles in various ways, demonstrating that they found it a usable tool.

The second page of this Catalogue is much shorter and describes only the final section of the book. Although it is less accurate than the first, all but three of the seventeen pieces listed are indeed found in that section, and the three exceptions are named close together in the second column.⁷⁹ This is hardly the complete confusion described in the verse that follows (quoted above): “scattered here and there” does not apply to either the arrangement of the book’s contents or their listing in the Catalogue. The statement that “They stand not thus in order in the booke” is hardly truthful, since the vast majority of pieces are in the same order as listed. Thus this little verse, seemingly innocent and apparently excusing Taylor for hastiness and/or the printers for carelessness, seems entirely in excess of the facts. Whether intentionally or not, Taylor’s lines exaggerate the impression of artlessness, and highlight mistakes that might well have gone unnoticed otherwise. However, the unexpectedness of this short verse engages the reader’s attention and, like the frank avowal of faults in the “Errata”, goes beyond the conventional author’s or editor’s plea for the reader’s tolerance. At the risk

⁷⁸ An unidentified seventeenth century reader of the copy now at Christ’s College spent some time copying out the same lines several times in the white space below. Hindley commented that “even though a “Catalogue...” is printed after the Commendatory verses, it is not correctly arranged”, quoting Taylor’s verse to prove his point (Hindley, *Works of John Taylor*, 1872, p. xxviii).

⁷⁹ For a fuller discussion of this Catalogue, see Chapters Five to Eight, below.

of over-interpretation, it is tempting to make a link between the endings of these two pieces of verse, which both seem to be negotiating a cooperative relationship with the reader, offering instructions for the correct understanding of this material. The Errata's,

*Looke through your fingers, wink, conniue at mee,
And (as you meet with faults) see, and not see.*

and the Catalogue's:

*They stand not thus in order in the booke;
But any man may finde them, that will looke.*

work together to invite the reader to “connive” with the author's, or perhaps the editor's, intentions, in the way that they experience the text. By circumventing the officious conventions of the format that he has apparently striven so hard to emulate, Taylor's jesting approach thus seems deliberately calculated to deflect any accusations of pretentiousness and turn potential shortcomings into virtues.⁸⁰

Thus, by following the conventions of the folio format but simultaneously undermining them, the Catalogue and Errata adroitly fulfil a dual purpose. In this respect, they are consistent with the ambivalent effects of Taylor's dedicatory anagrams and Epistle, as described above. Of course this could be considered a weakness of *All the Workes*, since it looks rather as if Taylor is hedging his bets, by advancing a claim to elite status through the publication of a collected folio *Works*, whilst simultaneously offering a cynical criticism of the system which he is attempting to enter. However, this could also be perceived as strength: rather than following the conventions slavishly, Taylor shows his usual spirited determination to adapt these strategies for his own ends. In the process, he provides an amusing gloss on the often obsequious and formulaic use of such conventions by contemporary authors and publishers. His energies reinvigorate a

⁸⁰ The mock errata to *Sir Gregory Nonsense* (1622 and *All the Workes*) begin convincingly, quoting page and line number, but become increasingly absurd, ending “In every page for sence read nonsense”.

tired and distinctly conservative tradition, reflecting his own preference for pursuing a modernizing agenda with regard to the uses of print.

Thus, rather than seeing *All the Workes* as a fixed and isolated entity, divided from Taylor's other publications by its format and hubristic title, and separated from the hurly-burly of every-day life by its apparent claim to monumental status, it is more fruitful to see it as one more publication in the interactive world of 1630s culture. Chedgzoy, Sanders and Wiseman have pointed out in relation to Jonson's 1616 *Workes* "the impossibility of its attempt to wrest a permanent literary value from a changing market".⁸¹ Perhaps modern scholarship has been too quick to assume, on the model of the *Workes* of Jonson or the commemorative act of the Shakespeare Folio, that publication in folio form represented for Taylor a point of stasis, a landfall. This was indeed the opinion of Robert Dow, who declared that Taylor "allowed his labours to rest" on the Folio, which "practically ends his [Taylor's] literary career". Dow's opinion was based on his judgement that only the mock encomia, or "praise poems", had any claim to the label "literature", and so everything produced after 1630 was of negligible consequence. However, underlying such views are the doubtful premises, first, that this book was the creation of Taylor's sole agency, and thus expresses only authorial intentions, and secondly, that the principle attraction of print for Taylor was always the promise of a fixed medium, a sort of counterpoint to the flow of water which was the basis of his "day job".⁸²

Both of these misconceptions are contradicted by the frontispiece engraved by Thomas Cockson for *All the Workes*. As has often been pointed out, the architectural designs in the frontispieces of early modern texts seem to represent in visual terms this concept of the book as a fixed object, as if opposing the permanency of print to the ephemerality of speech.⁸³ However, the design for the frontispiece to *All the Workes*

⁸¹ Julie Sanders, ed., with Kate Chedgzoy and Susan Wiseman, *Refashioning Ben Jonson: gender, politics and the Jonsonian Canon* (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1998), p.14.

⁸² Dow, 'Life and Times', p. 254.

⁸³ Examples, which can be many times multiplied, include: Hole's engravings for Chapman's *The Whole Works of Homer*, Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* and Jonson's 1616 *Workes*; Jan Barra for John Smith's *The Generall Historie of Virginia*; Elstrack for *The Workes of Mr. Sam. Hieron* (1614); Payne for Gerarde's *The Herball or General Historie of Plantes* (1633), and Bishop Cowper's *Workes* (Beale for Allott, 1629). See, Margery Corbett and Ronald Lightbown, *The Comely Frontispiece* (London, Routledge &

both draws on and contradicts this opposition, blending the moving effects of water with the structural scaffold of the conventional architectural motif. We cannot be certain how far these effects are the choice of Taylor, who we must assume to be the inventor of the design, or whether they reflect the artistic conception of Thomas Cockson, the engraver. As discussed in Chapter Two, Cockson, who is probably best known for the frontispiece to Harington's *Ariosto* (1591), engraved the frontispieces of both *Taylor's Motto* and *Superbiae Flagellum* (1621). These earlier frontispieces for Taylor were very different from Cockson's design for *All the Workes*, which more closely resembles his designs for other authors, including *Orlando Furioso*, the *Replie to Jesuit Fisher* (1624) and the octavo frontispiece to Boler's reprinting of Lucan's history of Rome. This latter text was entered on March 3rd 1630, very close to the publication of Taylor's *Workes*.⁸⁴

The frontispieces to *All The Workes* and to Lucan's history of Rome thus share some common features. Apart from the basic symmetrical architectural design, which is a common element of frontispieces, the column plinths and the use of receding square tiles to give perspective are almost identical, although obviously in much smaller proportions for the Lucan. Both engravings are also carefully related to the book's themes, but how far this is the engraver's doing and how far that of the author or stationer is doubtful. There are also marked differences, quite apart from dimensions. The Lucan frontispiece is much more conventional than the design for *All the Workes*, with the placing of two full-length figures at either side as if they were statues, the trumpeting angels and the portrayal of "Historia" as Muse at the center top. There is little unique or unusual about this conception, and as Hind has declared the execution is rather undistinguished.⁸⁵ The Lucan engraving is also designed to form a complete frontispiece, obviating the need for a letter-press title-page, since it carries the details of

Kegan Paul, 1979); McKerrow and Ferguson, *Title-page Borders*; A.F. Johnson, *Catalogue of Engraved English Title Pages* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1934).

⁸⁴ The octavo *Continuation of Lucan* by Thomas May was entered to Boler on March 3, 1630, and probably printed by Haviland. Other frontispieces by Cockson include: Samuel Daniel, *The Civil Warres betwene the Howses of Lancaster and Yorke* (Lownes for Watersonne, 1609), modified from William Rogers's title-page for Camden's *Britannia* (1600), and used again in the *Whole Workes of Samuel Daniel* (1623); and Francis White's *Replie to Jesuit Fishers Answere to King James* (Adam Islip. 1624), previously attributed to Ronald Elstrack (Hind, *Engraving in England*, I, 253-4). For Cockson's other engravings see Chapter 2.

⁸⁵ Hind, *Engraving in England*, I. 233. For the paired figures on columns, compare, for example, Hole's *The Surveyor in Foure Bookes by Aaron Rathbone* (Stansby for Burre, 1616), in Johnson, *Title Pages*, "Hole", Plate 15.

the publisher clearly below the title, with the name of the author himself in initials. By contrast, the *All the Workes* frontispiece is focused squarely on the author, whose name appears in the second line of text and in the second largest font; the appellation ‘The Water Poet’ is placed parallel to and below this, and set off in a wavy lettering as if in apposition to the personal name. The information that the pieces were “Collected into one volum / By the Author” receives almost as much emphasis as the rest. There is no indication of printer or publisher, who are identified on the letterpress title page that follows. If we are looking for evidence of authorial possessiveness and over-reaching, it is found in the bravado of this engraving, which could be said to represent the writer rather more than it represents the book itself (Fig. 3, overleaf).⁸⁶

⁸⁶ For the title-pages of *Taylor's Motto* and *Superbiae Flagellum* see Chapter 2. Elizabeth Skerpan-Wheeler gives an opposite impression of relations between authors and engravers in her discussion of Wither's prefatory poem “A Preposition to this Frontispiece” for his *Emblemes* (1635), Elizabeth Skerpan-Wheeler, “Authorship and Authority: John Milton, William Marshall, and the Two Frontispieces of *Poems 1645*”, in *Milton Quarterly*, 33.4 (1999), 105-114, p.108.

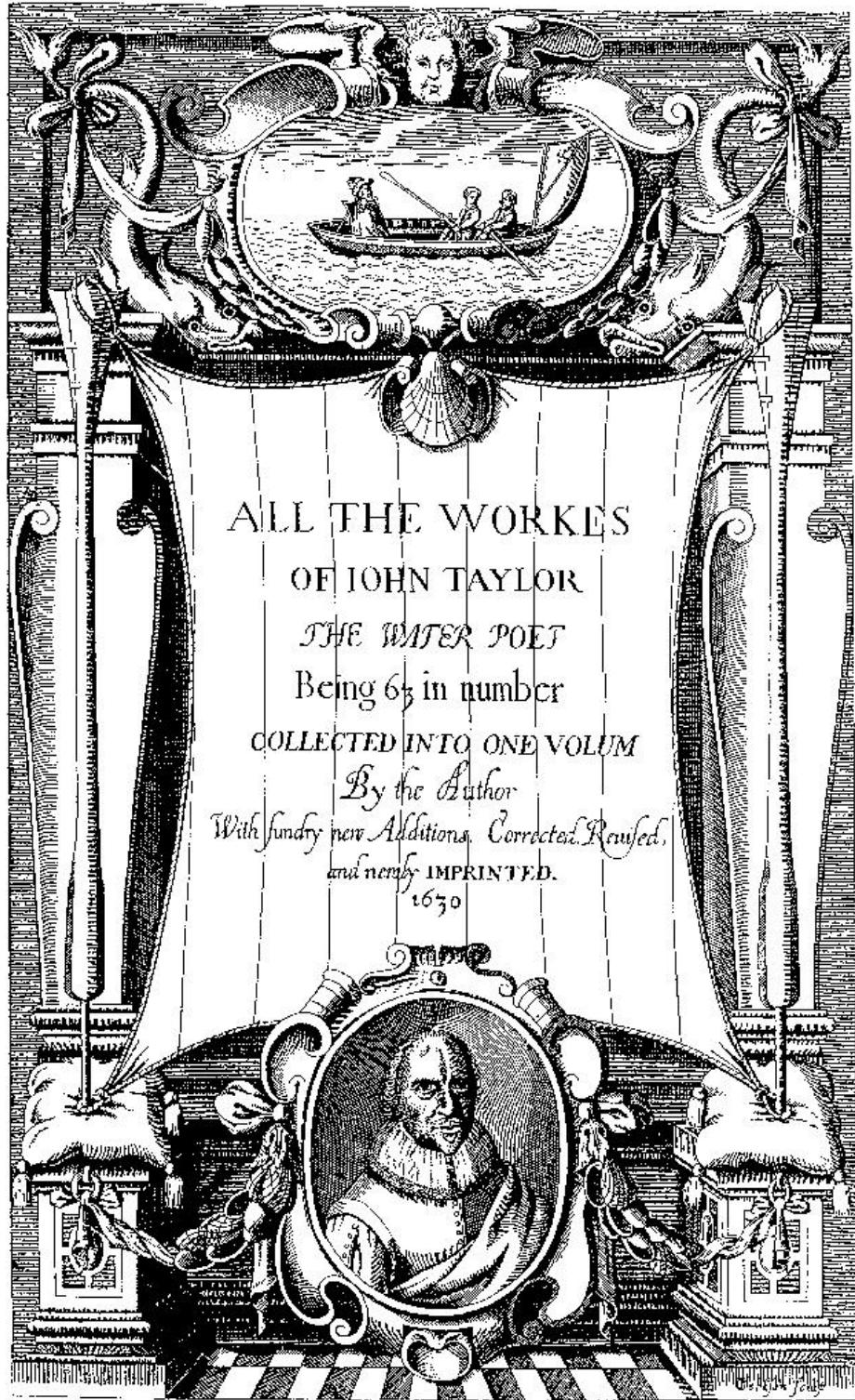


Fig. 3.3. *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630), engraved frontispiece by Thomas Cockson.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet*, (Menston, Scolar Press, 1973).

⁸⁷ *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet*, (Menston, Scolar Press, 1973).

The omission of publication details from the engraved title-page of a text at this period is unusual but not unique, so it would be unwise to place too much emphasis on this aspect of the Taylor frontispiece. Indeed, Cockson's first known title page, for *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse*, also highlights the author but has no trace of the stationers' details. Where space for writing occurs, there is a Latin epigram from Horace, "Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est", and the oval cartouche at the base is filled by a spirited portrait of the courtier-poet himself. That Taylor and/or Cockson may have had this engraving in mind when designing the frontispiece for *All the Workes*, may be reflected in the similar placing of the portrait of Taylor at the base of the design.⁸⁸

The more usual practice is shown in another folio with connections to Taylor's Works, *The Workes of Mr. Sam. Hieron*, where the names of the printers, Stansby and Beale, share a cartouche decorated by a shell motif at the base. The shell cartouche was in itself a conventional motif in such designs, and Cockson used a similar example for *All the Workes of John Taylor*, to frame the wherry at the top.⁸⁹ This detail casts a qualifying light on what seems at first to be the impressive coherence of conception in the engraving for *All The Workes*: for the emphasis on "the Water-Poet" with the boat above containing Watermen and passenger in animated conversation, and the use of shells, oars, and a sail as a scroll for the lettering, which certainly suggests immense care in the planning, does not necessarily reflect authorial invention alone. Shells were standard embellishments in pseudo-classical engravings, and even the two rather perplexed looking fish have precedents elsewhere. Nevertheless, the way in which the oars secure the sail and are fixed by being speared through the conveniently placed cushions, the use of the fish as structural elements appearing to hold in place the framed illustration of a wherry, and the precise details of the figures in the boat suggest just the care and ingenuity that might be expected from Taylor. The oars firmly planted in the cushions appear as a deliberate gesture, as if to mark the integration of physical labour

⁸⁸ When Cockson copied his title-page design for Harington from the engraving for the 1584 Venice edition of Ariosto (Hind, *Engraving in England*, I., p.251) he substituted Harington's portrait for the figure of Peace that had originally occupied the space, as a counter-balance to the bust of Ariosto at the top of the architrave.

⁸⁹ Johnson, *Title Pages*: "Elstrack", 5, p. 15, and Plate 5.

with the supposedly gentler pursuit of letters.⁹⁰ Thus the emphatic focus in this design on Taylor's occupation as waterman, rather than a classical portrayal of the sea, surely gives the lie to the idea that the author, or his editor/publisher, was intent on disengaging his writing from the active world, or from the social stigma of labour.

This lack of pretension extends to the sartorial details in the portrait, where the contrast to the courtier Harington in Cockson's 1591 engraving seems almost deliberate. In place of the elegant moustache and the fine features, set off by the fancy Elizabethan ruff, we have a plain, and stern figure, no longer youthful. Modern critics have been disparaging about this portrait, considering it clumsy and inappropriate to the context, and have surmised that this discontinuity with the few other contemporary depictions of the Water Poet indicates a failure on the part of the engraver.⁹¹ However, the severe expression, prominent forehead and nose, and full lips make perfect sense if we consider the portrayal as intended to be partly emblematic, rather than photographic. For Taylor is being presented here, not as the humanist author crowned with bays, all decoration being conspicuously absent, but as the plain, downright satirist praised by "TG" in the Latin poems that follow soon after. Moreover, the strength and positioning of this portrait tends to draw the eye downwards, from the river-scene of the Sculler, via the white, notionally curved space of the sail, framed by the oars, to this solid individual, becoming the point of focus for the cumulative graphical proposition that this is no armchair poet, but an active satirist engaged with the world.

The plainness of this portrait confirms the irony in Taylor's request for the gift of "good cloathes" in his mock *Dedicatory Epistle* addressed to 'The World'. Taylor is always sensitive to the connotations of clothing and clothing metaphors, and this particular example appears to be a general thrust at the pretensions of those who sue for courtly favour.⁹² It is probably more than a coincidence that Cockson's portrait of Taylor

⁹⁰ However, the wherries plying between Whitehall and the City were sometimes more richly furnished than others (Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster*, p. 100).

⁹¹ Wheale comments that Cockson, "unfortunately didn't do the author any favours with his likeness", Wheale, *Writing and Society*, p.95. Other contemporary portraits are the engraved frontispiece to *Taylor's Motto*, also by Cockson, and the portrait by Taylor's nephew from Oxford, which was apparently painted in 1655, two years after Taylor's death (Capp, *World of John Taylor*, p. 38). For the Latin poems by TG, see Chapter One, above.

⁹² There may be an ironic reference to the ostentatious Archy Armstrong, who was in 1630 still several years off being banished by Archbishop Laud. The dedication to Archy in *The Praise of Beggary* (1621) plays out a series of metaphors on the topic of clothes, satirising the Fool's predilection for finery. See

in the frontispiece resembles in outline his much earlier depiction of Samuel Daniel as England's historian. It would not be surprising if Taylor should have wished to invoke Daniel's histories in his frontispiece, since his own books of the English Monarchs play such a large part in *All the Workes*.⁹³ However, Taylor's second request to the World is altogether less playful:

Secondly, that thou wilt keep close from my readers all prejudicate opinions, or let them be persuaded that this following Booke is not of my writing; for opinion doth worke much in such cases.

Taylor's sensitivity to social construction is revealed in the inevitability with which he envisages the response to this "Booke", retailing two anecdotes that show, first, verses losing their estimation when it is discovered that they were "of a poore mans writing" instead of by the "learned Italian Poet named Sanazarus"; secondly, an "Anthem" sung before a Duchess that was "but slightly regarded" until "being knowne that Iaquin de pris made it, it was extolled.". However, although his next statement begins in all humility, there is a gradual change in tone:

So for my poore inventions or my poorer selfe, were it namelesse, I am perswaded that it would passe more blamelesse, howsoever (world) to thee I send it; I know thou hast many humours and qualities, and I hope to finde some of the best of them, resolving to take my lot as it fals with patience, fortitude, and as many virtues as I have, and more too; knowing myself for two conditions to have no fellows; first, in being a Sculler; secondly a Water-Poet, of the last of which,

Clare Wikeley, "Honour Conceal'd; Strangely Reveal'd: The Fool and the Water-Poet", in Alexander Samson (ed.), *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006), 189-208, pp. 196-200.

⁹³ The resemblance between this portrait of Taylor and Cockson's engraving of Samuel Daniel for the 1609 *Civile Wares* suggests that it is Cockson's own. However, there is also some resemblance with Cornelis Van Dalen's portrait of Josuah Sylvester, first state 1614-15 (National Portrait Gallery, D 11207). This portrait appears in copies of *Sylvester's Du Bartas* from the 1620s onwards. Van Dalen was in England from 1631-42 and engraved the title-page of Nicholas Hunt's *The hand-maid to arithmeticke refined* (Beale for Boler, 1632-3), ent. July 1631. He made two engravings of Thomas Parr, the subject of Taylor's *The Olde, Old, Very old Man* (1635), which carried Van Dalen's engraving in one edition, although others carried a cruder woodcut.

there is and shall be no more I hope. And knowing futher, that the way to immortalitie is ever to remember mortalitie, and that death hath more manners than an Ague; for death will bee a mans guest but once; So world, in plaine termes I tell you there is no trust in you (yet I like a foole put you in trust with my Booke) the reason is, I am wearie of you an it, and take leave to leave you.

It is interesting that Taylor avoids the term “Workes” here, but the reference to “the way to immortalitie” perhaps demonstrates his anticipation of society’s assumptions about the hubris of his authorial intentions.⁹⁴ The ironic request to the World to “keepe close from my Readers all preiudicate opinions”, reinvokes with heavy irony the invocation to read before judging so graphically expressed on the title-page to his very first collection, *The Sculler*. Yet Taylor’s irrepressible nature is demonstrated when he seems unable to resist moving from a show of humility to the defiant reiteration of his vocation. The revealing semantics of the phrase “knowing myselfe for two conditions to haue no fellow; first in beeing a Sculler; secondly a Water-Poet” return us to the bold outlines of the engraved frontispiece, with its confident incorporation of the oarsman’s trade within the classical design. Taylor’s syntax here leaves the meaning ambiguous: it suggests both a chronological progression, from Sculler to Water-Poet (*first ... secondly*), and a hierarchy of values (first: primarily), but leaves the connotations of the term “secondly” open to interpretation. Yet of course, as the visual semiotics of the book’s engraved frontispiece have boldly asserted, the one feeds into the other: the Sculler is the precondition for the Water-Poet, rather than simply an earlier state.

⁹⁴ Taylor’s words here perhaps anticipate Heywood’s explanation for the non-materialisation of his projected “Ages” play collection in 1631-2, where he declares, “it neuer was any great ambition in me to bee in this kind Voluminously read”. Given Taylor’s earlier associations with Heywood, for example in his commendatory verses to *An Apology for Actors* (1612), it seems possible that his own references to the Gold, Silver and Iron Ages may be linked to Heywood’s plays, although Henry Gossen also published a series of ballads on this topic in the 1620s. For Heywood, see Benedict Scott Robinson, “Thomas Heywood and the Cultural Politics of Play Collections”, in *SEL* 42 (2002) 361-380.

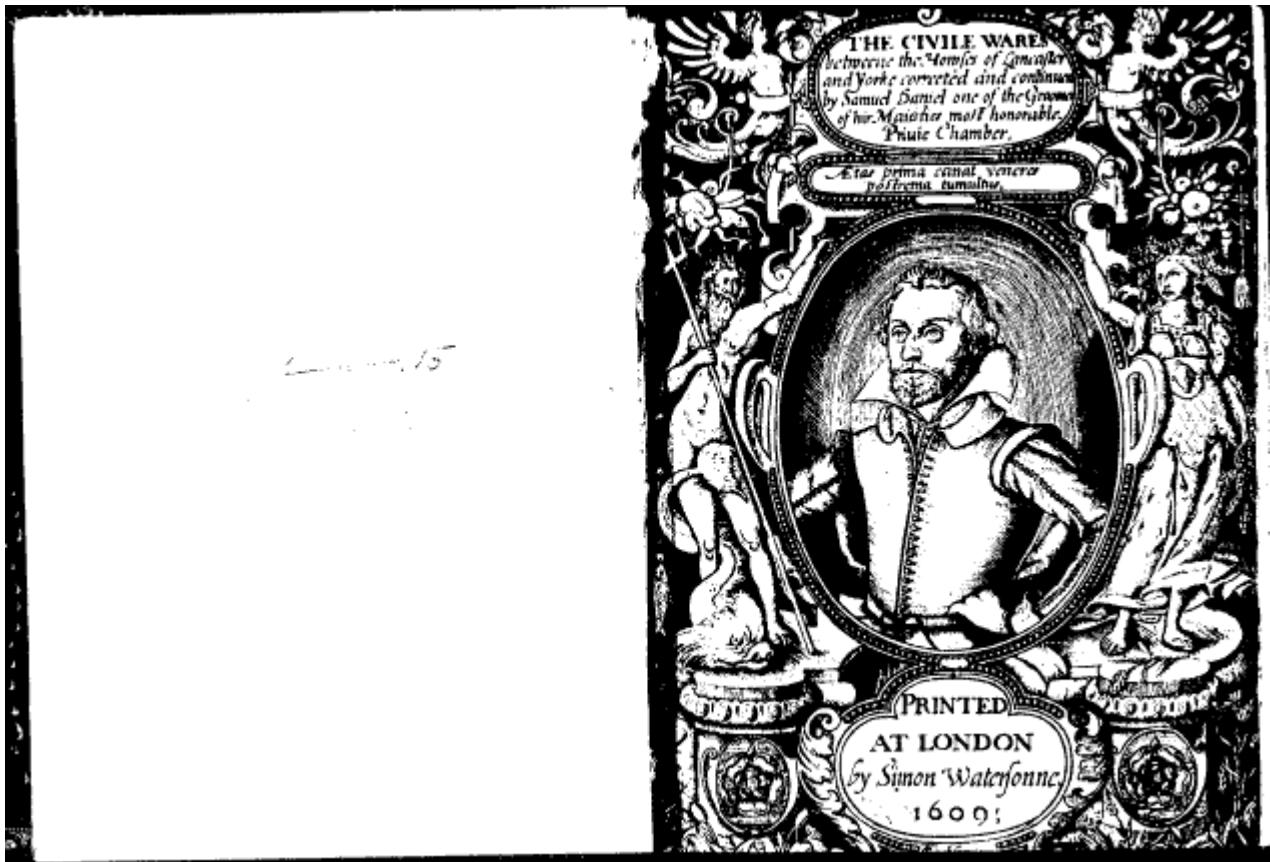


Fig. 3.4. Thomas Cockson's frontispiece for Samuel Daniel's *The Civil Wars*.⁹⁵ This was also used as the portrait for Daniel's *Works*, published by his brother posthumously. The pose of the sitter, the general outline of the features and some aspects of the clothing (although not the high collar) resemble the portrait of John Taylor in Cockson's frontispiece for *All the Works of John Taylor* (1630).

⁹⁵ *The ciuile wars betweene the howses of Lancaster and Yorke corrected and continued by Samuel Daniel one of the groomes of her Maiesties most honorable Priuie Chamber* (H. Lownes for S. Waterson, 1609), STC 6245 <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 5 September 2009.

Chapter 4. All the Workes and the Stationers.

Chapter Four considers the stationers involved in the production of *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630). It explores the publishing business of James Boler, the syndicate of printers led by John Beale, and others who had been instrumental in the publication of Taylor's work before the folio.

This chapter investigates the stationers involved in *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet*, and in particular the involvement of James Boler and John Beale in Taylor's career. Following from the discussion in Chapter Three, it questions the view that Taylor alone was responsible for the decision to issue a collected works and for specific choices about format, content, organisation and aspects of the presentation. Whereas the common assumption has been that Taylor himself chose Boler's shop in Paul's Churchyard in an attempt to move upmarket, as "a last serious attempt to woo the cultural elite", by claiming a place in the literary pantheon, evidence suggests not only that Boler and Beale had their own interests in Taylor's works, but also that this volume had several purposes beyond the author's "desire to be acknowledged as a poet".¹ Information from records of the Stationers' Company suggests that several of Taylor's regular publishers and printers were in financial difficulties at the end of the 1620s, whilst James Boler and John Beale, the printer who led the syndicate for *All the Workes*, were both in the ascendant. Boler in particular had seen a meteoric rise in his business from 1627 onwards, and was at the peak of his career around the time of Taylor's collection, in 1630-31. The peculiarities of the relationship between Boler and Taylor, and the unusual lack of evidence about the treatment of copyright for *All the Workes*, suggests that both Boler and Beale were acting in their own best interests over this publication. Indeed, it is possible to interpret the evidence in a more negative fashion, to demonstrate the unscrupulous nature of early modern publishing. We can trace both Boler and Beale taking advantage of the crisis in Henry Gosson's business to pick off the most appealing of Taylor's recent texts. A kinder interpretation would point to the generally supportive nature of the Stationers' Company towards its members, and explain this evidence as part of a mutually beneficent deal which helped to keep Henry

¹ James Mardock, "The Spirit and the Muse; the Anxiety of Religious Positioning in John Taylor's pre-war Polemics", in *The Seventeenth Century*, 14.1 (Spring 1999), pp.1-14, p.12.

Gosson solvent. Either way, it is clear that the production of *All the Workes* was part of a larger agreement between the stationers, albeit one that seems to have been of brief duration.

As discussed in Chapter 2, *All the Workes* is most unusual amongst early seventeenth century collections in having left no direct trace of its pre-publication history in extant records. This silence of the records is so peculiar that it could be considered an important piece of evidence in itself, signifying a break from normal publishing conventions.² There is no evidence that the publisher James Boler had been involved in any of Taylor's work before 1629. Out of the range of stationers who had published Taylor's work over the previous twenty years, some with long-term associations with Taylor, only the Alldes and John Beale had any input into *All the Workes*. However, while the Alldes had printed extensively for Taylor before 1630, John Beale's involvement had been sporadic, and he had no regular connection with Taylor. This circumstance is unusual for the period: collections were usually published and sold by stationers who already held the rights to a proportion of the reprinted pieces, whether formally by entrance in the Stationers' Register, or informally by virtue of having previously produced the item. Often we can trace entries detailing the way that rights had been transferred or accumulated by these stationers in preparation for the projected collection.

Critics have seized upon this information gap and interpreted it as conclusive evidence that *All the Workes* was an irregular publication financed by its author, which would otherwise never have seen the light of day. The absence of records of negotiation over rights to the individual items is taken as indicating that the material held no financial value for stationers and that the book was rushed from the press in gaps between more marketable projects, by whatever printer Taylor could commandeer at that moment. Taylor's own reference in the Errata to *All the Workes*, speaking of errors and confusion caused by "four printers ... dwelling far asunder" has reinforced this strongly

² The construction of the second Shakespeare Folio may be traced through Cotes's gradual acquisition of the copyrights recorded in the Stationers' Register; similarly, Joseph Loewenstein gives considerable detail of the disputes between Stansby and Walter Burre in the development of the 1616 Jonson *Workes*, see Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship* (Cambridge, CUP, 2002), *passim*. On Samuel Hieron's collected folio works, see the comments in the paper *STC*, under Hieron's name (STC 13377.5 to 13384.7).

held belief amongst scholars, who have pointed to the division of the text between John Beale, Elizabeth Alld, and Alsop and Fawcett (actually three, rather than four printing houses) as proof of its hasty and cheap production.³ However, the use of multiple printing houses to produce a large volume is not unusual in the period; indeed, the single-press folio is more the exception than the rule. For example, where Jonson's *Workes* (1616) are concerned, the exclusive involvement of William Stansby in the printing reflects the unusual nature of this stationer's business, plus the possessive jealousy of the playwright himself.⁴ We must therefore be wary of taking Taylor's dissatisfaction with the printers as evidence of irregularity in the book's production, since this would then be the case for countless other early modern folios.

Furthermore these three printing houses had recently been involved together in two other syndicates with an almost identical make-up. The closest parallel to the Taylor folio is the 1629 edition of the *Workes* of William Cowper, which had been divided between John Beale and his partners at that time. Here, we find Beale in his customary position as lead printer on the project, with the Alldes in the middle, and Alsop and Fawcet rounding off this lengthy volume.⁵ Although there were many more presses involved in this volume (and no-one has suggested that this was a cheap-skate affair because of this factor) all three printing houses from the Taylor folio are involved, and the order in which they appear has parallels to the divisions of *All the Workes*. The other syndicate where Beale, Alld and Alsop and Fawcet are found together is in the production of the 1630 edition of Camden's *Annales*, the antiquary's detailed and celebratory history of the reign of Elizabeth I. This was a translation from the Latin text first published as *Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum regnante Elizabetha* in 1615. It initially appeared in English in 1625, printed for Benjamin Fisher by Purslowe, Lownes and Flesher, in a highly ornamented folio. The 1630 folio, which again carries

³ In *All the Workes*, Beale printed the preliminaries (A), Aa-Ss (*Sir Gregory Nonsense to Wit and Mirth*) and First Aaa-Kkk (*A Dogg of Warre* to the end of the Funeral pieces); Alld printed B-O (*Taylors Urania to The Great Eater of Kent*); and Alsop and Fawcet printed Second Aaa-Mmm (*The Water-Cormorant* to the end). Beale therefore printed over half the book (353 pages).

⁴ The Hieron folio, for example, has proved so problematic to bibliographers because, as well as different binding orders and editions, “a number of printers and publishers shared in the production of Volume 1” (STC, see STC 13378-13379). The printing history of Volume 2 is equally complex.

⁵ The details are: Brudenell (A-R); Thomas Harper, (S - Tt); Miles Flesher (Aaa-Zzz); Legat (aaaa-Mmmm); Alld (Nnnn-Xxxx), and Alsop & Fawcet (Yyyy to end).

Fisher's imprint, is a plainer affair, and was produced through the combined efforts of at least five different presses. The distribution of text between these printing houses is complex: for example Nicholas Okes printed two leaves in the preliminaries and then two different sets of signatures some distance apart; the second of these was shared with John Beale, who also shared another set of signatures with Thomas Purfoot.⁶ Overall, however, Beale seems to have had the lion's share of this edition and probably printed much of the preliminary material as well.

Thus the three printing shops that produced *All the Workes* were involved together in similar folio projects just before and just after its production, (Cowper's *Works* (1629), Taylor's *Workes* (1630) and Camden's *Annales* (1630)). These are the only recorded occasions involving all three printing shops and the only times when Elizabeth Alldre worked with Alsop and Fawcet; thus John Beale seems to have been the common denominator between the three shops. Whereas Beale was much more of a printer-publisher, who not only took a leading role in shared printing but also published texts for himself, both Elizabeth Alldre and Alsop and Fawcet were mainly trade printers. Alsop and Fawcet worked as partners from 1625/6 to 1641, but their recorded involvement with Beale was confined to four folios between 1629 and 1631/2, plus the printing of the title-page to the second volume of Jonson's *Works* when this was finally issued in 1640/1.⁷ 1630 was Elizabeth Alldre's most prolific year in the printing trade; while she continued as a master printer after this, the nature of her business seems to have changed somewhat, arguably becoming increasingly puritan in its direction. Her involvement with Nathaniel Butter is also significant for Taylor's situation and will be explored further below.⁸

Therefore the fact that the copies of *All the Workes* were produced by a syndicate of printers with John Beale as the leading figure is no different to the production of the works of such learned and revered figures as Bishop Cowper, William Camden, John

⁶ The STC suggests the following divisions: Nicholas Okes A4, B2, (Aa)-(Gg), Eeee-Gggg; E. Alldre possibly B-T; Alsop and Fawcet (Hh)-(Pp); Purfoot, Aa – Gg and Oo-Ss; Beale, Hh-Nn, Aaa-Dddd.

⁷ Alsop and Fawcet were involved in four folio printings with Beale, with various other printers: Cowper's *Works* (1629), Camden's *Annales* (1630), Taylor's *Workes* (1630) and Stow's *Annales* (1631/2); they also printed the title page to the 1640/1 issue of the second volume to Ben Jonson's *Works*, which was made up of the three plays already printed by Beale in 1631 but not issued.

⁸ Elizabeth Alldre never worked with these particular stationers again, although she continued until 1636, when her son-in-law, Oulton, took over.

Stow or Samuel Hieron. The range of Beale's printing projects is extremely wide, from the very smallest format to the largest folio, but he had something of a speciality in illustrated texts. He began his independent career in 1611 with the production of Speed's *Genealogies*, with maps and tables, in several different formats to suit different kinds of Bible. Although this was a staple of his list for over ten years, he quickly diversified: within three years he was producing everything from small poetry books to play-texts and falconry manuals, in a range of languages.⁹ There are a number of single sheet forms surviving from his presses, and his opposition to the Boislore-Symcoke patent confirms that this must have been a lucrative side of his business as well. Thus Beale's activities covered nearly every aspect of the market. As early as 1613 he printed part of a pamphlet for Joseph Hunt to be sold by John Wright, which has strong resemblances to Taylor's work at that time. In 1616 he took over the printing of Taylor's tiny 64° Thumb Bible, *Verbum Sempiternum*, for John Hamman.

However, Beale also diversified into other types of folio once the work on Speed began to diminish in the mid 1620s. He produced the Latin dictionary of Sir Henry Spelman, and joined in a variety of syndicates to produce collections such as *The works of Joseph Hall* (1625 and 1628) and those of Samuel Hieron (1625). In 1629 he was printing Captain John Bingham's translation of Aelian's *The art of embattailing an army* with marvellous engravings by Droeshout, as well as *The Workes of Mr Willia[m] Cowper late Bishop of Galloway*. As discussed above, he led a similar syndicate of printers in the production of Camden's new translation of his *Annales*, *The historie of the most renowned and victorious princesse Elizabeth*, which carries the magnificent Dellaram engraving of the Queen taken from Nicholas Hilliard's miniature, and had been delayed several years by the King's objections to the contents. In the following year, just after *All the Workes* was completed, the very same presses started on the production of the second volume of the *Works* of Ben Jonson, although the final issue of this folio was to be delayed for another ten years.

⁹ Plays printed by John Beale include Marlowe's *The famous tragedy of the rich Jew of Malta* (for N. Vavasour, 1633), STC17412, with an editor's dedication by Thomas Heywood; and Robert Tailor's *The Hoggge hath lost his Pearle* (for R. Redmer, 1614), STC 23658. Poems range from Richard Brathwait's *The poets willow* (for S. Rand, 1614), STC 23658, to *The rape of Lucrece. By Mr. William Shakespeare. Newly revised* (for R. Jackson), STC 22351.

Thus there was nothing unusual in itself in the material production of *All the Workes of John Taylor* as a combined effort from these three printing houses, with John Beale, a master printer of long experience, as the main figure in the syndicate. Indeed, this line-up seems perfectly natural and unexceptional given the nature of the volume, a collected Works with illustrations in folio format. Nevertheless, the peculiarities of the publishing history of *All the Workes* do call for particular investigation and this task is not quite as hopeless as Capp's remark would have us believe. For although Taylor himself does tell us "precisely nothing" on these matters, there are clues to be gleaned from the previous publishing history of the individual texts and details of the businesses of the stationers involved. Critics have failed to pursue these avenues of research because their approach has been limited by their image of *All the Workes* as the amateurish creation of Taylor alone. Their dependence on what Taylor did or did not say about the volume himself, has led them to ignore the evidence available in the records of the Stationers' Company and the imprints of other texts.

The stationers involved in Taylor's publications have been little studied, although several have attracted interest for particular items in their lists. For example, Nicholas Okes is known as the printer of an important quarto of *King Lear*, while Nathaniel Butter's partnership with Nicholas Bourne in the production of corrantes has been the subject of much investigation as the forerunner of twentieth century newspaper industry. Similarly, Henry Gossen's business has been scrutinised in relation to the Ballad Partnership, which in fact began at least fifteen years after he took over his father's business and ran alongside the rest of his publishing operations. Even John Trundle, an elusive middle-man with a key role in many significant texts, including the first quarto of *Hamlet*, has been stereotyped as a dealer in sensational pamphlets. The excellent bibliographical study by Gerald Johnson does not explore the wider implications of Trundle's activities in relation to the authors involved. However, the lesser known aspects of these businesses form an essential background to an analysis of the factors leading to the publication of *All the Workes*.¹⁰

¹⁰ Peter Blayney, *The Texts of King Lear and Their Origins*, 2 vols, vol. 1 "Nicholas Okes and the First Quarto", (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982); Leona Rostenburg, "Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne First 'Masters of the Staple'", in *The Library*, 5th Series, 12, 23-33; Tessa Watt, *Cheap*

The printing of a folio was costly and involved considerable organization. Thus, while the wording of the title-page of *All the Workes*, and the advertisement in *A Memorial*, might seem to imply that Taylor alone was responsible for running the whole project, financial and practical realities make this unlikely. It is probable that Taylor's position in the Watermen's Company (the years 1629-31 were the second of his three terms as one of the eight Rulers of the company) and his relatively secure financial condition at this period would have enabled him to devote time and perhaps some funds to preparing the copy for the volume.¹¹ However, it is not necessary to assume that he both financed the whole undertaking and arranged all the details of the operation. Instead, records of the stationers involved in *All the Workes* strongly suggest that this project had at least a partly commercial basis. Critics have always assumed that it was Taylor who chose James Boler as the publisher for his collected Works, and that he did so because of his determination to move up-market, away from his previous customer base.

As Boler's address was at the sign of the Marigold in Paul's Churchyard, while several of Taylor's regular stationers had shops in areas such as Christchurch Gate (close to Smithfield) or London Bridge, the theory goes that Taylor deliberately selected a shop that would confer instant respectability on his book and offer access to wealthy purchasers. The majority of Taylor's texts until 1629 had been sold by Henry Gossen, John Trundle, John and Edward Wright, and Nathaniel Butter, who are generally considered to have been at the 'cheap print' end of the market. Their shops are usually described as being situated to take advantage of road and transport links by which itinerant peddlers could quickly move out through the outskirts of London and across the country. By contrast, Paul's Churchyard was known as a centre for news, the haunt of gentlemen who wanted to keep up with the latest political and personal gossip about London's elite. It was an old established bookselling venue and a prized situation for traders. Thus there is no doubt that an outlet in Paul's Churchyard would have been an

print and Popular Piety, passim; Gerald D. Johnson, "John Trundle and the book-trade, 1603-1626", in *Studies in Bibliography* 39 (1986), 177-99, passim.

¹¹ For Taylor's terms as Ruler in the Watermen's Company, see *The Thames Watermen*, Appendix 1, pages 1-3.

appropriate place to attract customers who might afford the price of a folio. However, the assumption that this move indicates Taylor's desire to change his target audience, and to translate his texts permanently into a new and elite arena, is open to challenge in several ways.

First, there is no evidence that it was Taylor himself who initiated the association with James Boler. Indeed, the available records and the presentation of the folio could indicate several contrary scenarios, including the possibility of an intermediary who suggested the arrangement. It is also possible that Boler's publication of *All the Workes* was a calculated step to exploit both his own position in the Stationers' Company and the selling power of the Water Poet's name. Both factors were dependent on the particular timing of the project, and whether this decision may have arisen for polemical religious purposes or for commercial reasons, or both, remains an open question. It might seem improbable that an up and coming publisher and bookseller, well situated in a venerable market position, with a list consisting almost wholly of substantial religious material, should seize eagerly upon a disparate collection of pamphlets by a Thames waterman. However, rather than considering this unprecedented publishing event a reflection of Taylor's Marlovian overreaching, I believe that we must entertain the possibility, indeed probability, that it was a collaborative project where the interests of the various parties momentarily coincided in the particular circumstances of the turn of the decade, 1629/30. In my interpretation of the evidence, every individual involved in this project had something to gain from it, and rather than being "persuaded" to produce *All the Workes*, James Boler was pursuing his own agenda, as he had done and continued to do throughout his successful business years.¹²

Secondly, there is no recorded evidence to suggest that Boler's association with Taylor marks a rejection of the Water Poet's previous close working relationships with stationers such as Henry Gosson, the Wright brothers or the Alldes. Indeed, since these associations seem to have been mutually beneficial until this juncture and continued into the 1630s, this hypothesis would be difficult to prove. The key characteristics of the association of Boler and Taylor are its relative suddenness and brief duration, at least in terms of active involvement on Taylor's part. Both these factors could be interpreted as a

¹² The term "persuaded" is used by Capp, *World of John Taylor*, p.29.

sign that one of the two did not wish to pursue the involvement: however, Boler's shop continued to issue editions of two of the Water Poet's texts for at least ten years subsequently, and *All the Workes* was marketed from this address through the decade. Thus we need to assess carefully the precise nature of this publishing relationship and explore what Taylor's usual stationers might have had to gain or lose by allowing or cooperating in the publication of this volume.

Boler's business began slowly. The first appearance of his name is in 1624, on a text that had been entered to Fulke Clifton (whose apprentice he had been): this was a sermon by Thomas Gataker, the Presbyterian clergyman: *A marriage praier*. Gataker had edited the sermons of the outspoken puritan Samuel Ward in 1617 and produced a series of controversial anti-papist tracts in the 1620s-30s. Two years later, in 1626, Boler issued a new edition of Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, and Thomas Raynalde's illustrated quarto, *The birth of man-kinde*, in association with Andrew Hebb, another bookseller who was just starting business independently.¹³ There is also evidence in this year that Boler had started to sell books for Michael Sparke, the puritan publisher: this association was to continue through into the 1630s and would cause Boler much grief with the authorities. However, from 1627 onwards Boler's business truly began to flourish: the first use of the imprint "Marigold", initially also spelled "Mary-Gold", appears this year, suggesting that this was when he moved into his premises in Paul's Churchyard.¹⁴ If, as Peter Blayney suggests, the location was the shop known previously as "The Brazen Serpent", then this was one of the prime book-selling sites in London. Boler was involved in the publication or sale of several high-profile texts that year,

¹³ Thomas Gataker, *A marriage praier* (Haviland for Clifton and Boler, 1624), STC1169, issued again by Anne Boler in 1637; John Jewel, *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (H.Lownes for James Boler, 1626), STC14587; Thomas Raynalde, *The birth of man-kinde* (H. Lownes for A.H. tbs. by Boler, 1626), STC 21163. Hebb's business does not appear to have been as successful as Boler's.

¹⁴ Five books are extant from 1627, including a shared publication with Sparke of *The free-exchanger*, a response to the King's proclamation for reform of the coinage, with running title "An advice touching light gold", *The free-exchanger: or, the mint for uncurrent coyne* (I. Jaggard for J. Boler & M. Sparke, 1627), STC 10614.5. This book and the Puritan Francis Rous's *The only remedy* (STC 21346) are the first two publications to carry the imprint of the Marigold: for *The Free-exchanger*, the spelling is "Mary-Gold", possibly a deliberate reference to its topic. The marigold was also known as "occulus Christi" or "the eye of Christ", which may be the reason for Boler's choice of sign, perhaps as a punning combination of religious and commercial connotations. Books carrying the Boler family name, and subsequently that of his apprentice Francis Eglesfield, are the only early modern texts from the sign of the Marigold. See Peter W. M. Blayney: *The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard* (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1990), pp.21-2, 27.

including Robert Sybthorpe's sermon recommending the willing payment of the King's subsidies, *Apostolike obedience. Shewing the duty of subiects to pay tribute and taxes to their prince*. At the other end of the political and religious scale, Boler was involved the same year with the controversial publication of *Vox piscis: or, The book-fish contayning three treatises which were found in the belly of a cod-fish in Cambridge Market on Midsummer Eue last, anno Domini 1626*. This little book, which reprints a text by John Frith from the previous century, was issued with additions probably written by Thomas Goad and was far more incendiary than its rather playful title and presentation might suggest.¹⁵

Boler's business appears to have grown rapidly between 1627 and 1631 and its nature became increasingly religious; formats ranged from duodecimo to quarto, with a preponderance of the latter. Although *All the Workes of John Taylor* was the first and only folio to carry his imprint in 1630, he had in fact entered the *Works of William Perkins* in 1629: this huge collection of sermons and religious material was published with a variety of imprints naming a group of publishers and printers, all dated 1631. Several folios followed in 1632-3, the biggest project being the *Works of John Barlow* where Boler and Lathum shared the imprint. However, the bulk of Boler's list from 1629-33, when his output was at its highest, was a mixture of formats, including several illustrated books. The topics were predominantly religious but included a sprinkling of etiquette such as Sir Hugh Plat's, *Delights for Ladies* (1628), needlework books, such as Taylor's *The Needle's Excellency* (1631), and the occasional item related to astronomy or calculation, for sailors and merchants.¹⁶ Many of the new editions of religious texts came from an assignment by the Widow Legge of the books of Cantrel Legge, Cambridge University printer, in June 1629. Boler had several other Cambridge

¹⁵ Robert Sybthorpe, *Apostolike obedience. Shewing the duty of subjects to pay tribute and taxes to their prince ... Febr.22.1626*. (M.Flesher for R. Mynne tbs. J. Bowler), STC 22525.5 -7. Sybthorpe became chaplain-in-ordinary to the King: in 1643 he joined the King at Oxford and his livings were sequestered in 1647. For *Vox piscis*, see Afterword, below.

¹⁶ William Perkins *The whole works of that famous and worthy minister... in three volumes*. (J. Leggatt tbs. J. Boler, G. Lathum, J. Grismand, R. Milbourne, J. Bellamy, 1631), STC 19652.5, and other editions. The assignment by widow Legge to Boler was on 1 June 1629 (Arber IV.212). John Barlow, *The Works* (R. Young [for N. Newberry?], tbs. J. Boler and G. Lathum, 1632), STC 1435.5; Sir Hugh Plat, *Delights for ladies, to adorne their persons, tables, closets, and distillatories* (H. Lownes and/or R. Young tbs. Boler, 1628), STC 19983.7; John Taylor, *The Needle's Excellency* ([T. Harper] for James Boler, 1631), STC 23775.5.

connections: his apprentice John Williams was the son of a stationer and bookbinder with a Privilege from the University, and he printed John Preston's sermons for Leonard Green of Cambridge in 1630.

Much of Boler's output during this period had puritan sympathies, although his list overall might best be described as strongly Protestant. This is typified by his edition of Preston's sermons for Green: John Preston (1630-31) was a Cambridge puritan divine, Dean of Queen's College, whose "heart was firmly set on the propagation of the Calvinist theology".¹⁷ Preston was considered a founding figure of the English Protestant Church. Boler also published a second edition of William Martyn's *The history and liues, of the kings of England* (1628), a book that had displeased King James on first publication by its criticism of Mary, Queen of Scots; the puritan Richard Bernard's *Bible-battells* (1629), and Alexander Grosse's *Deaths deliverance* (1632). Several of the most puritan texts in Boler's list suggest a link with the West Country, especially Exeter and Plymouth. William Martyn was from a prominent Exeter family; John Mico was rector of St. Petrocks in Exeter; Richard Bernard's book was dedicated to two Devonshire squires with links to Sir Francis Drake; John Barlow, Alexander Grosse and Thomas Bedford were all preachers at Plymouth. Barlow and Grosse were expelled from Exeter for non-conformity, while Mico was regarded as a "schismatic".¹⁸ However, these West Country connections of Boler's business may have been through booksellers, as much as authors: Boler published Mico's *Spirituall food and physicke* in conjunction with the Exeter bookseller Thomas Hunt, while his edition of Martin Nicholes's *A Catechisme* was also sold by William Russell in Plymouth.¹⁹

¹⁷ Preston gained James's favour for sermons against Arminianism, whilst a secret paper by him against the Spanish match was circulating among the House of Lords. He was appointed Chaplain to Charles I, but his sermon prophetic of Buckingham's defeat at the Isle of Rhe led to his dismissal. Jonathan D. Moore, 'Preston, John (1587–1628)', [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22727>, accessed 8 Oct 2009]

¹⁸ I am grateful to Professor Mark Stoyle of the University of Southampton for information on these puritan preachers at Exeter.

¹⁹ Mico's *Spirituall food* is the recorded link between Thomas Hunt and London. Maxted suggests that Eglesfield, who had been apprenticed to Boler in 1628, (McKenzie 1974, 19), may have "had a hand in the negotiations". He describes Hunt as "a member of a long-lived Exeter artisan dynasty". Eglesfield later published Christopher Jelinger's *The excellency of Christ* (1641) with William Russell in Plymouth. See, Ian Maxted, *Exeter Working Papers in British Book Trade History*, 12: "A history of the book in Devon"; 38: "The structure of the 17th century book trade in Exeter" <<http://bookhistory.blogspot.com>>, accessed 17 January 2009.

Boler's apprentices Eglesfield and Williams each carried these links with Hunt and Russell into their own businesses in the 1640s. The connection with Hunt may be behind their joint publication of Robert Herrick's *Hesperides* (1648), with the unusual imprint "at the Crown and Marigold", a variation on several joint publications from "the Crown and the Marigold" during the civil war.²⁰ Although this trajectory for the businesses of his apprentices might at first seem to contradict the evidence of puritanism in Boler's West Country publications, the fine distinctions create a more complex picture. This is evident in Boler's association, with the Amsterdam stationer, Sabine Staresmore, who came from a non-conformist family in Leicestershire. Boler took at least one surreptitious shipment of illegal books from Staresmore, and the success of this secret trade suggests that there were probably other instances. The books were not intercepted en route, and news of Boler's involvement only reached England in a roundabout way from The Hague.²¹ Staresmore is now known as a "famous Separatist", but his Leicestershire roots were more complex than this label implies; there was a strong degree of sympathy for the Anglican Church even amongst non-conformist preachers in Leicester. Indeed, Staresmore was continually rejected by Separatist churches, instead joining a godly Puritan church in London and then a Congregationalist church in Leiden.²²

Thus we need not necessarily characterize Boler's connections with the West Country or the Netherlands as evidence of schismatic tendencies, but more as a form of

²⁰ *Hesperides or, The vworks both humane & divine of Robert Herrick, Esq.* ("printed for John Williams, and Francis Eglesfield, and are to be sold by Tho: Hunt, Book-seller in Exon, 1648"), Wing H1595; variant omits Hunt's name and includes the phrase "at the Crown and Marigold" (Wing H1596). Tom Cain comments that the involvement of Hunt "[implied] the existence of a local market". Tom Cain, "Robert Herrick" [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/articleHL/13092?>], accessed 15 Jan 2009.

²¹ The book was a tract by William Ames against Church ceremonies. Sir William Boswell, Ambassador to the Hague, reported by letter: "I have heard very credibly that 3, or 400 coppies wear immediately Sent from Amsterdam for London unto the Stationer of the Mary-Gold in Pauls- Church-yard; to bee passed for white paper, and so never looked into", (Greg, *Companion to Arber*, no.264, p.86 and no. 65 p. 290).

²² C.E. Welch, "Early non-conformity in Leicestershire" [www.lw.ac.uk/atis/downloads], accessed 12 September 2009. Staresmore was a member of Henry Jacob's non-separatist church in London, was rejected by the Separatist church in Amsterdam and eventually joined the Pilgrim church at Leiden, "Congregationalists of the non-Separatist kind". John Robinson, their leader, wrote a "Treatise of the Lawfulness of hearing of the Ministers in the Church of England", which was published posthumously in 1634. See Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism; A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1982), pp.136-7; ; C. Burrage, *The early English Dissenters in the light of Recent research (1550-1641)* (Cambridge, CUP, 1912), 2 vols. vol. i. pp. 171-9

godly Protestantism that allowed for his monarchical enthusiasms and the later royalism of his apprentices' businesses. Furthermore, despite associations with puritanism, and despite his involvement with Michael Sparke's disputes with the authorities, Boler seems to have been adroit at keeping his own business trouble-free. He continued to publish fairly constantly for the last few years of his life, although not at the peak levels of 1629-32. Furthermore, several of his texts were produced in association with Richard Young, who was King's Printer in Scotland from 1632, and obtained an interest in the London Office from 1634.²³ Boler was evidently well respected within the Stationers' Company, and when he died in 1635 careful steps were taken to protect the interests of his two sons: his widow, Anne, took over the business in trust for them, with support from the Company. However, in 1638 her copies were assigned, again in trust, to Francis Eglesfield, who had begun his indentures with the family in 1628. It was Eglesfield who eventually took over the Sign of the Marigold permanently and continued the business through his own family into the 1680s.²⁴

The success of James Boler's bookshop at the Marigold is itself an indication that the publication of *All the Workes of John Taylor* had probably appeared as a good business proposition. Boler was clearly able to judge what would sell and his trade was expanding rapidly in 1629-30, leading to a peak in production in 1631 [see chart, below]:

²³ The STC notes that in 1640 Young joined with Richard Badger to produce "several royalist publications". Young also produced the elaborate 1641 Folio of Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, already mentioned in connection with *Taylors Vrania* (Chapter 2).

²⁴ Some of Boler's copies, including Taylor's *Wit and Mirth* and *The Needle's Excellency*, were later issued by John Dawson, who had been one of his printers. Both of these late editions are from 1640.

Output of James Boler at the signe of the marigold in Paul's Churchyard

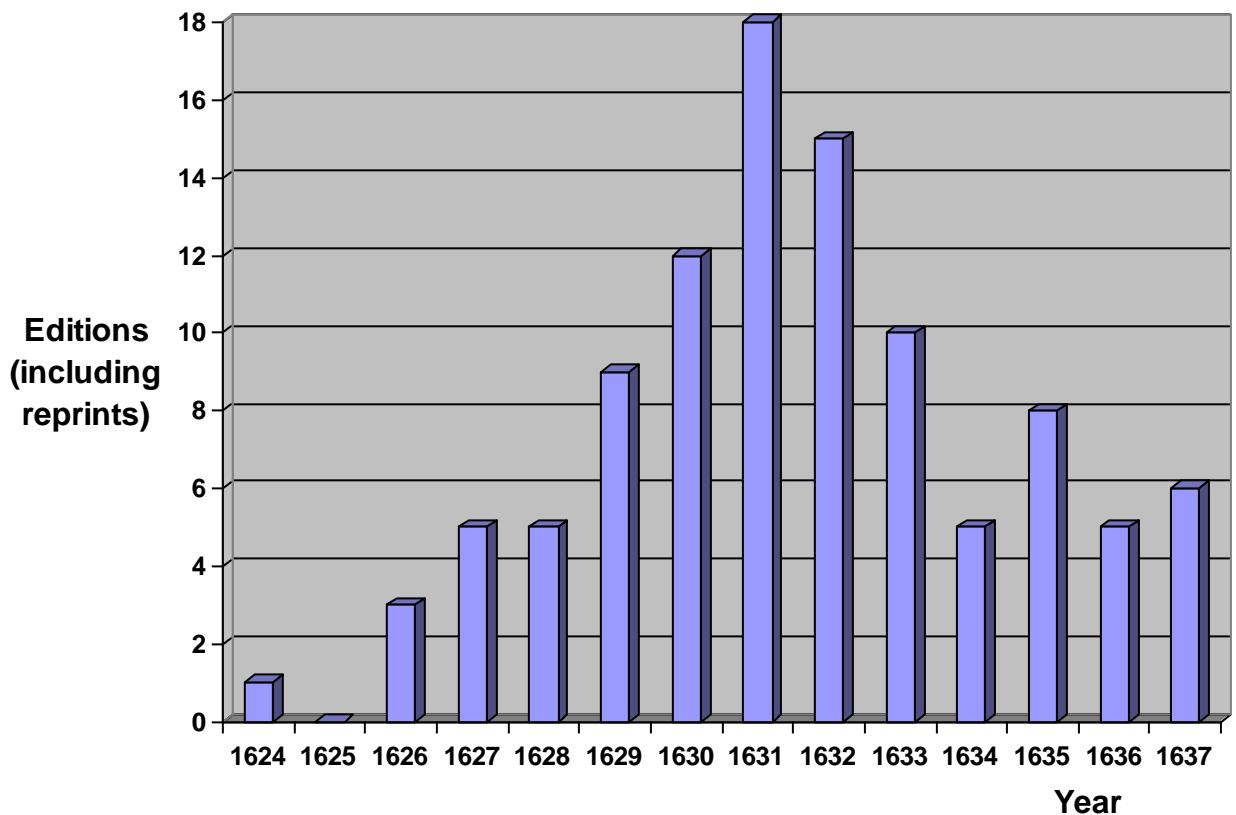


Fig. 4.1. Chart showing books published and/or sold by James Boler, 1624-1637.

As this chart demonstrates, the point where Boler can first be linked to John Taylor coincides with the sharp upsurge in his business in 1629. On the surface, the association began innocuously and on a small scale: Boler's name appears in the imprint of the third known edition of *Wit and Mirth* (1629), a jest book previously issued for Henry Gossen in 1626 and 1628. This book has generally been considered to be an unexceptional hotchpotch of anecdotes and jokes, amusing only for contemporaries and directed to a fairly uneducated audience. However, Boler's interest in *Wit and Mirth* and its continued popularity may indicate that there was more to this book than we now appreciate. In 1630, as well as Taylor's folio, Boler's name appears on the imprint of the second

edition of *A memorial of all the English monarchs*, an octavo with distinctive woodcut portraits of the monarchs' heads, first printed by Nicholas Okes in 1622. In 1631 he published the first known edition of *The Needles Excellency*, a book of engravings showing embroidery patterns with an elaborate frontispiece and a series of verses by Taylor. Perhaps most intriguing is *The complaint of Christmas*, an apparently unassuming quarto that appears in two variants, one with Boler's full imprint and the other with the initials "IB and HG" plus Boler's address. This text is the only one of the five Taylor texts in which Boler was involved that has a regular entry in the Stationers' Register, and even this is jointly to Boler and Gosson.²⁵ Thereafter, Boler's involvement with Taylor is confined to a further edition of *Wit and Mirth* (1635) and two more of *The Needles Excellency* (1634, 1636), although it is likely that there were unrecorded editions of both books over this period, especially *The Needle's Excellency*.

This pattern of Boler's publication of Taylor's work therefore suggests that his active relationship with the Water Poet was of limited duration. Only two of the total of five texts were entirely new: *The Needles Excellency* and *The Complaint of Christmas* both dated 1631. The later re-prints of *The Needles Excellency* did not involve changes to the letter-press, so that it is doubtful whether Taylor had anything to do with them. It is more likely that these re-issues were part of Boler's normal business operations with the profits accruing to the stationers. There is also no reason to believe that Taylor was involved in the 1635 edition of *Wit and Mirth*, which was a straight reprinting of the earlier editions before the folio. This book of anecdotes was clearly marketable and the date 1635 coincides with an upsurge in reissues of Taylor's texts by Henry Gosson, as well as the first edition of his best-selling narrative of the life of Thomas Parr, the "old, old, very olde man". It is therefore likely again that Boler was simply taking advantage of having *Wit and Mirth* in his back list. Hence we can conjecture that Taylor's active involvement with Boler lasted at most three years, from 1629 to 1631, and probably for less. Indeed, the two texts dated 1631 could well have been in production by the end of 1630 (new style). The plates for *The Needles Excellency* are probably the "book of cutworks" transferred to Boler from Williams in November 1629. *The Complaint of Christmas* carries the date 1631 but actually relates to the winter of 1630 and was

²⁵ Arber IV, 244, 4th December 1630.

entered on 4th December 1630. Thus Taylor's involvement in both these texts could have been over by some time in December 1630.

These details all suggest that Boler profited from his brief association with Taylor. He re-issued two of the texts that he had acquired during this short time later in the 1630s and held on to the half share he had acquired in *The Complaint of Christmas* up to his death in 1635, when it passed to his wife, Anne, and was subsequently entered in trust for his children in 1638.²⁶ In addition, *A Memorial of all the English Monarchs*, which he had reissued coincidentally with *All the Workes* in 1630, seems to have been an especially appealing little book, much treasured by its owners.²⁷ One of the most puzzling aspects of this brief connection, however, is the suggestion of a temporary alliance between Boler and Henry Gosson, two publishers apparently from opposite ends of the social spectrum and catering to contrasting readerships. Gosson held the rights to at least 30 of the 63 items reprinted in *All the Workes*, and the joint entry of *The Complaint of Christmas* to Gosson and Boler (4 December 1630) might suggest that these two publishers had initiated a new venture. Perhaps they were planning to cooperate in the marketing of other material through their shops in such different locations from that time onwards. If so, this venture was very short-lived. *The Complaint of Christmas* is their only joint entry, and the existence of the two different title-pages may indicate that even at this point there were no long-term plans of association. Nevertheless, the imprint "for IB and HG" invokes parallels with the series of joint publications issued by Gosson and John Trundle a decade earlier. Of course Trundle and Gosson were much closer to each other on the publishing spectrum, and so the parallel with Boler is not exact; however, so far as Gosson was concerned, this does suggest a precedent for his cooperation with other publishers.

It certainly seems likely that Boler's involvement in publishing Taylor's folio Works involved some kind of temporary agreement with Gosson, who held the rights to such a substantial proportion of the texts included. Perhaps this involved trading his assistance in sales, for which his shop and distribution facilities were especially apt, for the permanent rights to several texts by Taylor, including *Wit and Mirth* and *The*

²⁶ Jackson, Records, p.307; Arber, IV. 435-7.

²⁷ For *A Memorial*, see Chapter 7.

Needle's Excellency. Gosson's own premises at London Bridge, and his extended distribution network via the Wright brothers who operated out of Christ Church Gate, were set up for the quick dissemination of smaller format material, ranging from quartos to broadsides; it would have been only sensible, if not essential, to turn to a more appropriate trading outlet for a folio. The sudden involvement of Boler in the publication of John Taylor's folio may indicate not so much an attempt by the author to change the social class of his clientele, as careful consumer targeting for this particular product. For, as discussed in Chapter 3, Taylor's pamphlets seem already to have gained an established readership amongst gentlemen and courtiers as well as more "middling" social classes. Rather than accessing an entirely new audience, Taylor or his publishers were capitalizing on the interests of more wealthy purchasers, who would already have a range of folios and the collected works of other authors in their libraries.

The question of the legal mechanisms by which the temporary alliance between Boler and Gosson came about is bound up with the wider issue of the copyright for Taylor's texts. As there is no record of entrance for *All the Workes* nor any extant direct records of the transfer of the rights to individual pieces between publishers, there is no direct evidence of how the issue of rights in these copies was resolved. The book is not in the list of texts entered to the Stationers' Company in trust for the sons of Boler, 7 September 1638, after the death of their mother, Anne, who had carried on the printing business for three years after her husband's demise. This suggests either that *All the Workes* never officially belonged to Boler, which would follow from the absence of entrance for the title, or that the family did not consider the collection of any value. The issue of copyright for *All the Workes* has not generally been a concern for literary scholars, largely because of the assumption that ownership of Taylor's work was only of interest to the author himself. This also reflects the widespread belief that Taylor had retained control of his own texts after their printing, either through an informal agreement with Gosson or through having printed them at his own expense. However, these assumptions are erroneous. Taylor's work was published by a wide range of stationers in addition to Gosson and there are records of the rights in these texts changing hands in the Stationers' Register. Indeed, several pieces reissued in *All the Workes* changed hands amongst the stationers at just this time. For example, the copies

for the two tiny volumes, the Thumb Bibles and the *Martyrs*, had originally been entered to John Hamman and issued with his initials in the imprint. However, they appear in *All the Workes* with no reference to Hamman, because the rights had been recently acquired by John Beale, who had previously printed some editions for Hamman. Beale's acquisition is recorded in the Register and he subsequently printed the *Book of Martyrs* several times for himself, enlarging the format and changing the dedications, possibly but not necessarily with Taylor's assistance. Thus in this example, it seems it was indeed necessary to record a transfer of ownership for Taylor's texts. Beale had also printed/published other Taylor texts in the past and presumably there would therefore be no challenge to his reprinting of these texts in 1629/30.

However, while John Beale appears to have used the situation in 1630 to acquire rights to several Taylor texts that were of interest to him, there is no extant evidence for the official transfer of rights in those texts owned by Henry Gossen to either Beale or Boler. As discussed above, the only case where Gossen and Boler are linked legally is *The Complaint of Christmas*, where the joint imprint was matched by an official half share for each publisher. By contrast, the edition of *Wit and Mirth*, previously published by Gossen and reissued by Boler in 1629 appeared without any record of transfer. These two instances, which frame the time-span of 1629-30 for the production of *All the Workes*, seem to indicate opposed methods of procedure with regard to ownership. In 1629, Boler may have infringed Gossen's rights to *Wit and Mirth*, one of Taylor's most marketable works, while in November 1630 the two stationers are found setting up legal shares in *The Complaint of Christmas*, a new text that had not yet been proven in the print market. The fact that Boler entered into a formal arrangement with Gossen in the latter case casts doubt on the prevailing view that publishers had no desire to guard their rights over texts by John Taylor. Instead, it may perhaps indicate that Gossen or Taylor, or both, had been warned by Boler's easy appropriation of *Wit and Mirth*: despite this text's obvious appeal, to judge from its many reprints, it seems never to have been formally entered to Gossen; once Boler had issued his own edition in 1629, he seems to have considered the copy as his, reissuing it in 1630 as part of the folio and again in 1635, before it was taken over by John Dawson. Taylor did however re-use part of *Wit and Mirth* in a later text printed for Gossen in 1637/8, under the title *Bull Beare and*

Horse. Whether the way that the *Wit and Mirth* material was embedded within the new copy for this 1638 text suggests an attempt to outwit Boler is debatable; it could equally have had other purposes. Nevertheless, the entrance of *The Complaint of Christmas* jointly to Boler and Gosson in 1630 does suggest that the latter was now guarding more carefully against further inroads into the set of Taylor copies his business had been accumulating over the years.

Gosson's relationship with Taylor as publisher had certainly been unusual in its duration, from the entrance to him in 1611 of Taylor's very first text, *The Sculler*, to his death in 1640. While other publishers developed close associations with particular writers in this period, such a link lasting nearly thirty years appears almost unprecedented. However, there is no reason to consider it irregular. Although Gosson is now known largely for his involvement with the ballad publishers in the 1620s, in the first two decades of the century he was producing mostly octavos and quartos of a religious or moralising type. It was not until the Overbury scandal broke in 1615 that Gosson's list started to change its nature, as he and John Trundle both began to move into the apparently more sensationalist realm of broadsides. Even then, Gosson's business was evenly balanced between more substantial book formats and ephemeral broadsides, and between deeply religious material and apparently trivial popular topics. Thus modern academia's characterisation of Gosson as a purveyor of cheap print, often careless and irregular in his publishing practices, needs considerable modification.²⁸ This in turn should lead us to query the usual account of his relations with John Taylor, which have generally been taken as indicating that Taylor was forced to turn to the irregular end of the market to get his work entered and sold.

About half of all John Taylor's individual titles up to 1629 had been entered in the Stationers' Register to Gosson, if they were entered at all. The hypothesis has been that Gosson operated as some kind of "sleeping partner" for Taylor, providing a secure path of entrance so that his texts were protected from piracy by other stationers, but

²⁸ Robert Daborne, the playwright, bound his son, John, as apprentice with Gosson in 1623, after he himself had taken orders and become a minister at Waterford. Daborne had written commendatory verses for Taylor in 1614 and was a regular writer for Henslowe and the Queen's Revels/ Lady Elizabeth's Men. His only extant plays focus on Christianity.

having no active part in their production or sale.²⁹ However, the actual evidence for such an arrangement is scant, and depends on a few instances where Gosson's name appears in the Stationers' Register but is apparently replaced by a different publisher in the imprint. In many cases, however, his name or initials do appear in the published text; where it is absent, the printer is often the only name given, and this is not at all unusual for the period. Indeed, in the majority of such examples, the printer is Edward Allde, who had a very close working relationship with both Gosson and Taylor. In addition, there is a group of texts that carry Gosson's name in the imprint but were apparently never registered. This again is not in the least unusual for the period: although in some instances there may have been legal reasons for omitting to obtain official sanction for a copy, in others we can conjecture that the main motivation was to save the sixpence entry fee. This leaves a few instances that could be considered irregular: where other evidence indicates that Gosson was involved in the publication but his name appears neither in the register nor in the imprint of the first edition; or where the book was entered to Gosson but there is no indication of his further involvement with that text.

Up to 1629, there are only a few examples of these two circumstances altogether and therefore such occurrences have been much exaggerated. They have probably received unusual prominence because of the circumstances of Taylor's first known independent publication, *The Sculler* (1612). This copy had been entered to Gosson in the Stationers' Register in 1611, but it does not mention his name in the imprint ("By E.A. and are to be solde at the Pide Bull neere St. Austins gate"). Here the names are the printer, Edward Allde, and the shop in which the book was to be sold, the Pied Bull, which belonged to the anti-Catholic publisher Nathaniel Butter. This is the only extant example for Gosson where the phrasing of the imprint clearly indicates the functions and names of both printer and bookseller, but omits that of the publisher. The second edition of *The Sculler* brought out in 1614, with the title *Taylors Water-worke*, names Butter as if the rights had been transferred to him: "for Nathaniel Butter, 1614". However, no record of such a transfer is found in Arber, and thus in this particular instance it appears that Gosson may have allowed Butter to take over the text without any official

²⁹ A possible reason for Taylor's initial choice of Gosson is that Gosson was a resident of St. Saviour's, or had strong associations there, and this was Taylor's home ground for many years.

negotiation of rights. There was no subsequent edition until this text's inclusion in *All the Workes*, where the 1614 version was used as copy text, with the preliminaries altered. Since Butter appears to have had no direct involvement in the publication of *All the Workes*, it is impossible to be certain whether he would have been considered the legal owner of the 1614 copy or not. Thus the wording of the 1614 imprint is not proof of an official transfer of ownership from Gosson to Butter, nor does it necessarily indicate that Gosson did not value the Taylor texts that were entered to him over the years. Indeed, since Gosson later re-issued some of his own copies of Taylor's texts himself, this seems an unlikely conclusion.³⁰

Thus the fact that Gosson and Taylor had maintained a cooperative relationship over so many years does not necessarily indicate that Taylor himself held the rights to most of his own work. Indeed, this authorial ownership of printed texts would run contrary to everything that we know about early modern stationers and the zealous way in which they generally guarded their legal rights. When George Wither obtained the privilege to control the printing of his own translations of the Psalms, this was considered a direct challenge to the Stationers' Company's authority, and he found it almost unenforceable. Given the fierce fight that the stationers put up in this instance, it seems unlikely that the Company would allow Taylor to operate differently from every other author whose work had been printed by their members. Yet if Taylor did not have personal control over his printed work by 1629, then it appears that Gosson and others either ceded their own rights to Boler voluntarily on a largely temporary basis, specifically for *All the Workes*, or that they were not in a position to complain of any infringement of such rights.

One way in which the issue of rights could have been side-stepped is the involvement of Elizabeth Alld, whose shop printed about a quarter of the volume's main text, in terms of the number of pages. Her section of *All the Workes* follows after the preliminaries, which were printed by Beale (Quire A), occupying the rest of the first

³⁰ After this first publication, Gosson would often enter Taylor's new texts, but only a proportion of the imprints acknowledged this entrance. In just a few instances Gosson's name in the Register is the only indication of his involvement, and the phrasing of the imprint suggests that the text was marketed entirely by others. Examples include: *Laugh and Be Fat* (1612), *Great Britaine all in Blacke* (1612), *The Pennyles pilgrimage* (1618) and *Prince Charles His Welcome from Spain* (1623).

set of signatures, B-O (*Taylors Vrania* to *The Great Eater of Kent*). Table B, below, shows the previous publication details of the individual items:

Table B: Publication History of Elizabeth Alld's section of *All the Workes* (1630).

Title	Previous publishers/ printers	Entrance in Stationers' Register
<i>Taylors Urania.</i>	Griffin for Butter, 1615/16	None
<i>The severall sieges of.... jerusalem.</i>	Griffin for Butter, 1615/16	None
<i>The life and death of ... the Virgin Mary</i>	Eld for Trundle, tbs. E. Wright, 1620/1622	None
<i>Superbiae Flagellum</i>	Eld and Flesher, 1621	1621, to Eld and Flesher
<i>Against cursing and swearing</i>	E. Alld (?)1625/6 (in <i>The Fearfull Somer</i>)	Assigned by Gosson to Coules, 1626
<i>The fearefull symmer</i>	Lichfield & Turner / Alld, 1625	
<i>The travels of twelve-pence</i>	Alld for Gosson, 1621	1621, to Gosson
<i>An armado</i>	Alld for Gosson, 1627	1627, to Gosson
<i>The praise, antiquity and commoditie of beggerie</i>	Alld for Gosson, tbs. E. Wright, 1621	1621, to Gosson
<i>Taylors goose</i>	[Alld] for Gosson, tbs. E. Wright, 1621?	None
<i>Jacke a Lent: his beginning and entertainment:</i>	Purslowe for I.T. [Trundle], 1620; [Eld for Trundle] 1617.	None
<i>The pennyles pilgrimage</i>	E. Alld "at the charges of the author", 1618	1618, to Gosson
<i>The Great Eater of Kent</i>	Elizabeth Alld for Gosson 1630	December 1629, to Gosson

As Table B (above) indicates, most of the texts in the first section of *All the Workes* had either been printed separately by the Alld shop before 1630, or by George Eld. Two of Eld's texts were printed for John Trundle, whose texts had been assigned by his widow to the ballad partners, who included Henry Gosson, in 1629. Thus Elizabeth Alld's portion of *All the Workes* consists mainly of texts that had either been printed by her printing house previously, or could be legitimately claimed by Henry Gosson. There are two exceptions: first, *Taylor's Vrania / The Siege and Sacking of Jerusalem*, first known printed in one book together by Edward Griffin for Nathaniel Butter; secondly, *Superbiae Flagellum*, which had been printed and published by the partnership of George Eld and Miles Flesher. *Taylors Urania* has a complex history, including the possibility of an earlier edition, now lost, which will be discussed in Chapter 5. Although Edward Alld appears not to have been involved in the initial printing, he was

a close associate with Butter and had printed Taylor's debut piece, *The Sculler* to be sold by Butter in 1612. Elizabeth Alldes was also working with Butter in 1630, simultaneously with her printing of Taylor's work, so this may have facilitated her printing of *Taylors Urania / The Siege and Sacking of Jerusalem*, if indeed this text did belong formally to Butter. However, the occurrence of *Superbiae Flagellum* in the first section of *All the Workes* is more difficult to explain in terms of stationers' rights. This piece had been entered in a regular fashion to Eld and Flesher in 1621. However, Eld died in 1624 and Flesher had no direct involvement in *All the Workes*; other pieces printed by this partnership for Taylor between 1621 and 1630 are found in Alsop and Fawcett's section at the end of the volume. Thus there is no clear bibliographical reason for the position of *Superbiae Flagellum* in Elizabeth Alldes's section of *All the Workes*.³¹

The Alldes, Edward and Elizabeth, had been regular printers for Taylor's texts from 1612 to 1630: in total, they were involved with over thirty separate items, printing approximately twenty-two for Henry Gossen plus eight or nine without record of Gossen's involvement.³² In addition, the Alldes printed at least twenty texts by other authors for Gossen over these decades, indicating a close working relationship between both stationers, as well as through Taylor himself. Edward Alldes printed at least one text for Taylor directly: *A New Discovery by Sea* (1623), a quarto described as being printed "for the author" and with no record of entrance in the Stationers' Register. In this particular case, a direct working relationship between Taylor and the printer is certainly indicated, but in the earlier instance of *The Pennyles Pilgrimage* (1618), also printed by Alldes "at the charges of the author", this title had actually been entered to Gossen. These two books are the earliest examples where the imprint suggests that Taylor may have retained some rights over his texts, and the only ones before 1630 to use such phrases. *The Pennyles Pilgrimage* is the first extant Taylor text to use the formula "at the charges of the author", and Taylor himself tells us that he had arranged to provide each of his

³¹ George Eld (alternative spelling "Ellde"), may well have had links to Edward Alldes: they sometimes worked together and it is likely that they shared a family link to the Low Countries.

³² These figures are uncertain because the printers of individual items have not been identified by the *STC* in all cases. For example, *The Muses Mourning*, Taylor's sonnet sequence for the death of John Moray, is recorded in the *STC* without publishing details, but the type is clearly from the Alldes shop. As this example suggests, it is likely that the higher totals are more accurate. The link between Taylor and Edward Alldes may go back beyond the first known publication, *The Sculler* (1612), since Alldes was also a regular printer for John Tapp, a publisher of nautical texts who may have known Taylor around 1605-8.

sponsors with a copy of the text. The amounts for which he was sponsored were considerably more than would normally be spent on such a pamphlet. Sponsorship for journeys was a normal procedure and the idea of collecting wagers for a challenge had been tried by others, such as Gervase Markham: Taylor was combining customs in this venture rather than initiating something new. This is not a reflection of desperation to get published; rather it shows the entrepreneurial confidence characteristic of Taylor. His outrage at the refusal of some sponsors to pay up, expressed in *A Kicksey Winsey*, suggests that he was not anticipating this difficulty. Hence, the phrase “at the charges of the author” may reflect the importance of showing his sponsors that he had injected his own capital into the venture.³³

When Edward Alldे died his wife took over the business and it was she who was involved in the production of *All the Workes* in 1630. At this point, her involvement in Taylor’s career seems to have been following the same pattern as her husband’s. She printed the separate first edition of *The Great Eater of Kent* and also included it in her section of the folio; this was entered to Gosson on December 20th 1629, showing a continued partnership between the stationers at this late juncture. This entrance is also a helpful factor in dating the folio printing, since it is unlikely that *The Great Eater* would have been ready for inclusion before December 1629; more probably, the printing of the folio version occurred after this entrance, which would fit with other details suggesting that *All the Workes* was in the presses over the Christmas season 1629/30. Elizabeth Alldе also produced the broadsheet of *Christian Admonitions* for Gosson sometime around 1630, although it is not dated; this text had been transferred to Gosson in 1626 but apparently not printed at that time.³⁴ After 1630, however, Elizabeth Alldе appears to have had nothing more to do with either Gosson or Taylor. Perhaps this reflects the influence of her son-in-law, Oulton, who officially took the business over in 1636. 1630 was in fact the year in which Elizabeth Alldе’s presses produced the widest and most eclectic range of items, while after this date they were increasingly occupied with texts of a distinctly puritan bent, including Prynne’s *Histriomastix*. This move towards a more extreme puritan bias in the Alldе printing house may be reason enough for the lack of

³³ John Taylor, *A New Discovery by Sea* (1623), STC 23778; *The Pennyles Pilgrimage* (1618), STC23784; *A Kicksey Winsey: or a Lerry-Come-Twang* (Okes for Wallbanck, 1619), STC23767.

³⁴ See Table B, above.

further contact with Henry Gossen and John Taylor, who could both be described as staunchly Protestant but disapproving of anything that might approach separation from the mainstream English church.³⁵

However, the involvement of the Alldes in the production of *All the Workes* would only accounts for the rights to some of the material in the volume and thus does not explain its anomalous publication history. The most likely explanation is more complex and relates to the financial and legal circumstances in 1630 of several of the stationers who had been involved with Taylor. This has two aspects, a general situation that applied across the Company in 1629/30, regarding the Bloislore-Simcock patent, and the particular history of individual stationers' financial difficulties traceable in the Stationers' Company records. In particular, there is evidence that Gossen needed money to pay back a loan from the Stationers' Company that he had been awarded three years before *All the Workes* was published. Since both Boler and Beale were senior members of the Company around 1629/30, and in positions of authority that may have enabled them to manipulate this situation, these details are of particular interest. The Company records show that Gossen had been awarded a loan of £12 in 1627; he did not pay back any part of this amount until 1630, when he produced the full amount on the same day, 20th February. This date coincides with the point when *All The Workes* would have been in the final stages of production or even ready to sell, after the entrance of *The great eater of Kent* at the end of 1630 and just before the death of the Third Earl of Pembroke on April 10th 1630.³⁶ Gossen's sudden repayment of the whole £12 loan in one day three years after it was granted to him could thus be the result of an agreement, more or less voluntary, and with Boler or Beale or both, waiving his rights in Taylor's individual works. Whether this agreement may have involved a cut of the profits from Boler's sales, or copies for Gossen to distribute himself, it is of course impossible to say. The fact that the Stationers' Register records several payments from Gossen during the day on February 20th to complete the repayment almost suggests the latter scenario, with

³⁵ Elizabeth Alld printed Prynne's *Histrio-mastix* (1633), for Sparke and the first edition of *Arden of Faversham* (1633) for Pemel.

³⁶ On 29th March 1627, the Court of the Stationers' Company noted "The £12 received of Mr Lee for Taezey lent to Henry Gossen" (Jackson, *Records*, p.193): the money had actually been loaned on 14th March. On 20th February 1630, Gossen paid back £9.10s, then one shilling and then the rest of the outstanding amount to reach £12 (Jackson, *Records*, p.224).

Gosson accumulating the cash from the sale of copies of *All the Workes* and bringing it straight to the Company's offices.³⁷

This interpretation of the Stationers' Company records is supported by circumstantial evidence that Gosson was one of a group of stationers whose normal business practices had been threatened in the closing years of the 1620s. The same evidence would also suggest that both Elizabeth Alld and John Beale might have been glad of the opportunity to make up a downturn in their own revenue in the late 1620s, although they do not appear to have had personal financial difficulties like Henry Gosson. This has to do with the so-called Boisloré-Symcocke patent, which was granted to Boisloré in 1618, with Roger Wood and Thomas Symcock as the assignees.³⁸ It originally covered patents, indentures, bonds, licenses, epitaphs, playbills, portraits and so on, although not if they were printed for binding in a book. Almanacs, proclamations and ballads were at first excluded. The patentees declared they were going to distribute this work to the poorer stationers but those they approached refused their overtures, while rich stationers like Beale would apparently have been willing to pay £200, or £30 per year, to buy Boisloré out.³⁹

By 1628 Wood had abandoned the partnership and Symcock received a new assignment of the patent that specifically included ballads. He "lost no time in entering the ballad market", printing at least thirty-nine between 1628 and 1631; and also joined with John Hammon, who began to print for himself, in contravention of the rules of the patent, undercutting the Stationers' Company considerably.⁴⁰ It seems that it was Symcock's individual operation of the patent in the late 1620s that drove the Stationers to more concerted action: in February 1629 the Company ordered Beale, with Flesher, Wright and others, to petition parliament. In May 1629 Beale and colleagues petitioned

³⁷ Freeman comments: "the copyright arrangements for Boler and Beale's folio edition must have been rather complicated, but one may suspect that Gosson received more than a flat fee", citing the advertisements in *A Complaint of Christmas* (1631) and the reprinted *An Arrant Thiefe* (1635) as evidence for some kind of pro rata share in sales. He was apparently unaware of the information regarding Gosson's loan.

³⁸ Boisloré was a French Huguenot who had served James I as a roving ambassador/diplomat, and the patent was granted to him as a reward.

³⁹ The lengthy list of stationers in the petition against the patent in March 1620/1 includes Lownes, Pavier, Jaggard, Beale, Bourne, Trundle, Gosson, and the Wrights. (Greg, *Companion to Arber*, p.168).

⁴⁰ Jackson describes Hammon[d] as a "disaffected" printer/publisher whose presses were often seized by the Company (Jackson, *Records* p. xx). For Taylor's Thumb Bibles, see Chapter 2.

the King as “poor printers”, although Hammon alleged, to the contrary, that they were worth four thousand pounds. A commission found against Boisloré / Symcock, but the case was then delayed in Chancery, until finally in 1631 the Lord Keeper ordered a compromise: Symcock was to refrain from exercising the patent, and the Stationers’ Company was to buy out his business at a fair price. The printing work was to be distributed among the poor of the Company by the oversight of the Bishop of London, and proper wages were to be offered. This benevolent decision resulted, according to Jackson, in a fairly swift return to the status quo of twelve years previously.⁴¹

The critical period when Symcock was operating aggressively, from 1628 to 1630, was the time when *All the Workes of John Taylor* would have been brought together, prepared and printed. Henry Gosson may well have been affected by this restriction of his ballad trade and may have used his rights in the Taylor texts to support his business, by allowing them to Beale and Boler temporarily in return for some financial reward. In this scenario, Taylor could be seen as almost an insurance policy for Gosson, as appears to have been the case again later in the decade, with the group of reprints issued by Gosson in 1635, perhaps to coincide with the obviously successful *The Old Old Very Olde Man*.⁴² Perhaps John Beale also had more space on his presses for the production of folios because of the trouble over the patent, since although his business often dealt in folios and quartos, he also produced single-sided texts on a regular basis. As the Alldes’ business involved a large proportion of single-sheet items, it must have been especially vulnerable to fluctuations in the ballad/broadside trade. Thus Elizabeth Alldes’s movement into the syndicates for folio printing over this period may have been a helpful diversification. *All the Workes* would therefore provide the opportunity to capitalize on the Alldes backlist of Taylor’s work.⁴³

However, the printer-publisher John Hammon’s part in the furore over the Bloisloré-Symcocke patent is also relevant to *All the Workes*, and especially to John Beale’s situation. Hammon was the first owner of *Verbum Sempiternum/Salvator Mundi* and the *Booke of Martyrs*, although Beale had initially been printing them for him.

⁴¹ Jackson, *Records*, xxi-xxii.

⁴² John Taylor, *The Old Old, Very Olde Man* (A. Mattewes for H. Gosson, 1635), STC23781.

⁴³ The fact that Elizabeth Alldes did not seem to possess ornaments specifically for the printing of folios would support this scenario.

Hammon gave evidence in opposition to Beale during the legal investigations into the Symcocke patent in 1630-1. Yet he then sold the rights to these small books to Beale in December 1630. This may have been a case of bowing to the inevitable: the texts had already been printed in the folio, without evidence of Hammon's previous agreement to this. It certainly suggests that Beale had used his position to acquire texts that he especially wanted for further printing.⁴⁴ Gosson, Alld and Beale would have been far more directly affected by troubles in this particular area of the trade than would James Boler. It is indeed possible that these three stationers had conceived the project of producing Taylor's *Workes* between themselves, as one way to capitalize on their backlists and compensate for the loss of other sources of income. Since Alld had been involved with Beale in other folio projects, such a hypothesis cannot be discounted. Elizabeth Alld may have recognized a way to help Gosson, as a long-term associate of her family's business, to repay his loan, and proposed to Beale this extension to their syndicate's work. Furthermore, the desperate nature of Gosson's situation at this date might have coincided conveniently with the availability of several key Taylor texts that had not been in the possession, nominally or legally, of any of the three. These are texts published by Nicholas Okes and John Trundle.

Nicholas Okes had printed several key Taylor texts, such as *the Eighth Wonder of the World*, *A Kicksey Winsey* and *A memorial of All the English Monarchs*. Although the ownership of some of these texts is uncertain, others, including the infamous *Sir Gregory Nonsense* did clearly belong to him. In the period leading up to the publication of *All the Workes*, Okes, like Henry Gosson, was in a precarious financial position. Indeed, this may explain how Beale and Boler were able to take complete control of *A memorial of All the English Monarchs* for their simultaneous publication in both folio and octavo format in 1630. For the Stationers' Company records show that Okes had

⁴⁴ Jackson, *Records*, xx – xxii. Beale's position in relation to the Stationers' Company seems equivocal: he was clearly a Master Printer of long standing, being described in an annotation to Laud's list of 1630 as "blinde & Rich" (Greg, *Companion to Arber*, p.259); in 1628 he was appointed by the Company to lead their campaign against Symcocke's patent (Jackson, *Records*, p.208; see below). However, he had also been in difficulties over "vnfitting wordes vsed to the Master of the Companye", being fined forty shillings, which he then refused to pay (Jackson, *Records*, p.200); there was a dispute with Samuel Macham in July 1629, and over the repayment of Thomas Brudenell's partnership payment (£140) in April 1630. Perhaps the best that can be said is that Beale was an argumentative individual who had a high profile in the company.

mortgaged some of his copies to Francis Grove, and in September 1629 he was ordered to deliver these texts over to Grove unless he could pay off his loan by the next Court Day. There appears to be no record of such a payment, and the woodcuts from Okes's original printing of Taylor's little *Memorial* are used twice by Beale and Boler in 1630; they subsequently reappear on a broadside by Martin Parker, celebrating the royal succession, which was printed for Francis Grove.⁴⁵ Thus Okes's Taylor texts seem likely to have become available at the right moment in 1629 through his own financial difficulties: they were few, but they were essential items in the collection of *All the Workes*.

The same is true of those Taylor texts belonging to John Trundle: no collected works of Taylor could have been considered complete without *Taylors Motto* or *The Life and Death of the Most Blessed among all women, the Virgin Mary*, and Trundle owned *Jack a Lent* and a share in *The unnatural father* as well. However, Margery Trundle had guarded her husband's copies zealously since his death in 1626, running the business herself for three years, and would probably have driven a hard bargain for their use by another stationer, had she assented at all.⁴⁶ Although several of Taylor's pieces had been shared by Trundle and Gosson, *The Virgin Mary* was John Trundle's sole copy: the fact that this book is named in Margery Trundle's list in 1629, seven years after its initial publication, suggests its value to the stationer. Certainly, whoever assembled *All The Workes* wished to give this text prominence, placing it straight after *Taylors Urania / The siege and sacking of Ierusalem*: the dedication and "Argument" to this account of the Virgin Mary are afforded a careful layout, with a generous use of paper.⁴⁷ It was

⁴⁵ Jackson, *Records*, p. 211. Okes's financial position does not seem to have improved, for in 1631 Simon Waterson is making payment on a bond on his behalf, suggesting that Okes himself was unable to pay (Jackson, *Records*, p.228).

⁴⁶ The attractive nature of Trundle's list is suggested by the speed with which the Ballad Partners put these copies to work once they had secured them. Some enjoyed a very long after-life: William Perkins's *Deaths Knell* was still being re-printed in 1705 (*Deaths Knell: or, The sick man passing-bell* (Pursole for M. Trundle, 1628), STC 19684).

⁴⁷ *The Life of... the Virgin Mary* appears in a bookseller's records for 1622, described by A.N.L. Munby, "Fragment of a Booksellers Day-Book of 1622" in, *The Book Collector* 3 (1954), 302-306. Taylor's insistence on shared sympathies between Protestants and Catholics in the Argument may account for this text's prominent position in *All the Workes* ("I put it to the Presse, presuming it shall be accepted of pious Protestants and charitable Catholikes", whilst aware that "this worke will be vnrelished in the pestiferous pallates of the dogmaticall Amsterdammatists"). Taylor states that *The Life* is based on a book he found in a shop in Antwerp and that he has taken out anything "antichristian", keeping only the authority of the

therefore perhaps a fortunate coincidence for the *All the Workes* syndicate that Margery Trundle was forced by circumstances to assign all her rights to the Ballad partners, who included Henry Gosson, in June 1629. By this means, Gosson could gain control of those texts that he had shared with Trundle when they were initially published, and they could thus form part of whatever informal arrangement he agreed with Boler and Beale for the production of *All the Workes of John Taylor* the following year.

The notable publisher of Taylor's early work who has so far been left out of this discussion is Nathaniel Butter, in whose shop *The Sculler* was first sold in 1612. Considering Butter's vital role in bringing Taylor to the reading public, it might seem strange that there is no indication of his involvement *All the Workes*, especially as he was still an active publisher in 1630. However, although Butter had been vital in Taylor's early career, this was for a limited period and a few key texts only; by 1630 Butter had not published or sold works by Taylor since 1616. It is also uncertain whether he had ever established ownership of the texts he had sold or published in 1612-16: the only one with entrance recorded in Butter's name is *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* in 1614. *The Sculler* was entered to Gosson to be sold by Butter: *Taylors Water Workes* is a re-casting of this text, and although the change in imprint from "to be sold by" Butter to "printed for" him, coincided with a change in printer from Allde to Snodham, Butter's regular printer, there is no official record of the rights being transferred. Similarly, although Butter is named fully as publisher and book-seller in the imprint for *Taylors Urania*, there is no record at all of entrance for this text. The pieces he published are distributed through all three sections of *All the Workes*: *Taylors Urania* at the beginning, *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* near the middle, and *Taylors Waterworke (The Sculler)* in the final section printed by Alsop and Fawcet.

Thus the absence of any direct reference to Butter in the publication of *All the Workes* has obscured the importance of this stationer in Taylor's work overall. Nevertheless, taken as a whole, *All the Workes* expresses sentiments that are precisely in line with the evidence of Butter's own ideology, and there is good reason to believe that Butter and Taylor continued to be close in their position in regard to both religion and

scriptures. *The life and death of the most blessed among women, the Virgin Mary mother of our Lord Jesus* (G. Eld for J. Trundle tbs. [E. Wright?], 1620), STC 23770.

the monarchy through to the 1650s. Scholars have generally been content to view Butter, like John Trundle and Henry Gossen, as an opportunist with a good eye for a popular publishing hit. He is known largely for his partnership with Nicholas Bourne in the production of corantos, which are considered the forerunners of the newspaper: Leona Rostenberg declares that ‘in the history of English journalism they [Butter and Bourne] rank as the first newsmen to the people’. The term “journalism” is often understood as pejorative; even Rostenburg states that the corantos of the 1620s and 30s “titillated the interest of the public”, as if they were simply scandal-mongering.⁴⁸ Yet, like Trundle and Gossen, and indeed like John Taylor as well, Butter was driven by a genuine devotion to a cause.

The nature of Butter’s publishing career has been obscured by interpretations of his partnership with Bourne in the production of corantos as a purely commercial “journalistic” enterprise, as if newspapers were transparent channels of information without any ideological weighting. However, the history of this partnership makes clear that Butter’s interest was in conveying foreign news to the English public was in order to report the fortunes of Protestantism in the military struggle against the Catholic powers in Europe. It was Butter, not Bourne, who began their first series of corantos in the autumn of 1621, when the Bohemian crisis was at its height.⁴⁹ As the fortunes of militant Protestantism declined abroad, Butter attempted to keep this propaganda weapon going, with a significant revival in 1631-2, following the victories of Gustavus Adolphus. Butter’s enthusiasm for the Swedish King, which amounts to a form of messianic monarchism, chimes with Taylor’s unpublished *Suddeine Turne of Fortune’s Wheele* (1631). With the death of their hero, Bourne did the commercially sensible thing and pulled out of the enterprise, as it became clear that the corranto, like the Swedish King’s campaign, was doomed to failure. When it came to the civil war, Butter remained loyal to the crown, despite his strongly anti-Papist feelings. Both he and Taylor were arrested by Parliament on charges of spying early in the 1640s: however, Butter was imprisoned in 1643, whilst Taylor was let go. Butter’s death “very poor” in

⁴⁸ Leona Rostenberg, “Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne”, p.23.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26. The earliest corantos were published by Thomas Archer, but these are not extant. See, Folke Dahl, *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks, 1620-1642* (Bibliographical Society, 1952) pp.49-50.

February 1664 suggests that he never recovered from the effects of Parliamentarian dominance. However, the fact that Butter's intense focus on militant international Protestantism had been overtaken by events does not invalidate the strength of his commitment.⁵⁰

Modern evaluations of Butter as a publisher have also suffered from a fixation with the works of Shakespeare: thus his publication of the first quarto of *King Lear* in 1608 has been the subject of intense scrutiny, while Butter's publications of some of the key works of Thomas Dekker is rarely discussed.⁵¹ However, the grouping of plays by Dekker, Rowley and Heywood in Butter's list for the first decade of the 1600s is of particular relevance to Butter's interest in the early work of John Taylor. There is strong evidence that these figures were important to Taylor's initial career as a writer, and, in the case of Heywood at least, through to the 1630s, while Dekker provided the sonnet dubbing Taylor as the "Ferryman of Heaven" that figures significantly in the presentation of the preliminaries to *All the Workes* in 1630.⁵² Butter was also involved in a range of important folio projects, which again have received little attention as publications. The composite volume of Chapman's *The whole Works of Homer* was made up by Butter in 1616 from "the unsold sheets of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which he had recently issued separately".⁵³

Butter began his independent publishing career with Sir David Lindsay's *Workes* (1602-4), in collaboration with the King's Scottish publisher, Robert Charteris, together with *The Downefall of Poperie* or "T. Bels challenge to the papist" (1604).⁵⁴ The list of his publications over the years is predominantly made up of texts that express an anti-Catholic and/or pro-Protestant impetus. This in itself might be considered unexceptional in a period when popular feelings on these topics ran high, but in Butter's case the bias

⁵⁰ By contrast, Bourne's career flourished as he became increasingly involved with the management of the Stationers' Company (Rostenberg, "Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne", pp 31- 33).

⁵¹ *Mr William Shak-speare: his true chronicle historie of the life and eath of king Lear and his three daughters* (Okes for Butter, 1608), STC 22292. Butter published two editions of Dekker's *The Bellman of London* in the same year (STC 6481, 6482).

⁵² For Dekker's sonnet, see Chapter 5.

⁵³ Rostenburg, p. 27. This is another example of publishers helping to create authorial image in the period.

⁵⁴ J. Bell, *The Downefall of Poperie: proposed by way of a new challenge to all English Jesuits* (STC 1818.5). This book's companion piece, *The Pope's Funeral*, was published by William Welby in 1605 (STC 1825). Sir David Lindsay, *Workes of the famous and worthy knight, Sir David Lindsaie of the Mont, alias Lyoun King of Armes* (Edinburgh, Robert Charteris tbs. N. Butter in London, 1602-4), STC 15682.

is absolutely clear and consistent.⁵⁵ Butter also had continental contacts. George Waters, deacon of the English Reformed Church at Dort, and printer of “several important Puritan treatises”, published an edition of *The Primer* for Butter in 1611.⁵⁶ His predilection for controversial material, as well as perhaps for poaching news-worthy texts from other stationers, is shown in his publication in 1608 of Henoch Clapham’s *Error on the left hand*, the sequel to *Error on the Right Hand*, also 1608. Clapham had returned from a period of Separatism in Amsterdam to become vicar of Northbourne in Kent; his two *Error* pamphlets are dialogues between “Malcontent”, a Puritan minister “who is critical of the national church but not willing to separate” and “Flyer”, a radical Separatist. In *Error on the Left Hand*, Malcontent disputes with Romanists and is eventually led by “Mediocrity” safely back to the middle way in the English Church. Butter’s publication of this second dialogue is a precursor to his involvement with Bishop Joseph Hall, who was the English Church’s most eloquent and persistent advocate of the “middle way”.⁵⁷

However, Butter as a publisher was more fiercely militant in his Protestantism and more stridently, or at least openly, anti-Catholic than the Bishop. Butter’s decision to market John Taylor’s first independent publication in 1612 fits with this anti-Papist impulse. The original title under which *The Sculler* was entered, ‘*The Sculler Anti-Papa*’, makes the text’s credentials clear: the removal of the phrase “Anti-Papa” before printing was probably prudent, but who was responsible for this cannot be determined. The rest of the lengthy title expresses a similar idea but in a comic and riddling fashion that plays on Taylor’s occupation as a waterman, steering away from the more strident

⁵⁵ See, for example: Valentine Day, *A Comfortable and heavenly inquisition* (E.Griffin for N. Butter, 1618), STC6434; James Wadworth, *Further observations of the English Spanish Pilgrime* (F.Kyngston for N. Butter, 1630), STC 24928; William Hill, *The first principles of a Christian* (E.Griffin for N. Butter, 1616) (STC 13503); Griffith Williams, *Seven Goulden candlesticks* (T.Snodham for N. Butter [1624]) (STC 25719); Dekker’s plays such as *The Whore of Babylon* ([Eliot’s Court Press] for N. Butter, 1607), STC 6532..

⁵⁶ Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, p. 308. Butter was deprived of his yeoman’s part for this infringement of the Company’s constitution (Jackson, *Records*, p.52, Note 1); he was fined on 12 November 1621 for “printing two letters from the Pope to the French King without entrance” (STC 12356), Jackson, *Records*, p.139.

⁵⁷ Henoch Clapham, *Error on the Left Hand* (Okes for Butter, 1608), STC 5342. See, Andrew Parkinson, <<http://freespace.virgin.net/andrew.parkinson4/clapham.html>>, accessed 7th September 2009.

and naked aggression of the phrase ‘Anti-Papa’.⁵⁸ Modern scholars prefer to attribute the collection of fiercely anti-Catholic verses at the start of *The Sculler*, addressed to “To the whole kennel of AnthiChrists hounds”, to a marketing ploy and have even suggested that these verses were written for such a purpose. However, Nicholas Breton was in no doubt of the strength of Taylor’s commitment to this position:

*Was never Taylor shapt so fit a Coate,
Unto the corps of any earthly creature,
As thou hadst made for that foule Romish Goate,
In true description of his devilish nature.*⁵⁹

However, Butter’s most significant publishing venture in relation to Taylor remains his long association with Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, and later Norwich. We know that Hall copied Taylor’s *Verbum Sempiternum* into his commonplace book, suggesting their shared Protestant values, but the two are also associated by their common interest in satire.⁶⁰ The common association of Butter and Hall and Butter and Taylor is therefore significant, and highlights the parallels between Taylor’s own ideology and the Bishop’s particular brand of eirenic, Calvinist, and anti-Separatist Protestantism. The centrality of Butter in the publication of Hall’s work, which he issued regularly for the Bishop and after his death, over a period of forty-four years (1615–

⁵⁸ The entry reads: “The Sculler Antipapa rowinge from Tyber to Thames ... being Epigrams done by John Taylour waterman” (Arber, III.468). The term “Epigrams” suggests a possibly deliberate parallel to Ben Jonson’s ‘Epigrams’, which were entered by John Stepneth on 15th May 1612 (Arber III. 485) but apparently not printed, as Stepneth died later that year. However, Drummond of Hawthornden refers to having read “Ben Jhonsons epigrams” under his list of “bookes red be me anno 1612”: see C.H. Herford and Evelyn Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, 11 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1925–52), Vol. 8, p.16. The first extant printing is as “Epigrammes. I. Booke” in Jonson’s *Workes* of 1616.

⁵⁹ Taylor, *The Sculler* (Allde for Butter, 1612), sig. A3v.

⁶⁰ Commonplace Book of Joseph Hall, Folger Shakespeare Library, ms V.a.339, fos. 24v-29 (Wheale, *Literacy and Society*, p.92). Bernard Capp comments “it is even more striking [than Robert Burton’s ownership of “fifteen” books by Taylor] to find Joseph Hall, the learned bishop of Norwich, transcribing the whole of Taylor’s summary of the scriptures into his copybook”, Capp, *World of John Taylor*, p.70. The British Library copy of Taylor’s Thumb Bible, *Verbum Sempiternum/Salvator Mundi* (1616) carries the owner’s name, “R.B[ol?]ton.” on the title page: this may be Robert Bolton, a “patriotic puritan minister”, whose conversion from Catholicism made him especially vehement in his later “diatribes against popery”; or Robert Burton, whose initials on his Taylor books at the Bodleian are in a similar hand, but who habitually used just ‘R.B’ rather than his full name. Stephen Wright, ‘Bolton, Robert (1572–1631)’; [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2806>], accessed 8 Oct 2009.

1659), suggests an especially close relationship between prelate and publisher. As well as issuing the Bishop's work in many separate editions, Butter brought out the first *Works of Hall* in 1625 and a second in 1628; these were huge undertakings involving a varied group of publishers and printers, but Butter was clearly the key figure, in conjunction with his regular printer, Miles Flesher. Butter also published all of the Bishop's controversial tracts in response to the religious crises of the late 1620s. It was Hall's *The Reconciler* that got Butter into trouble in 1629, at the time when *All the Workes of John Taylor* would have been in preparation and this may be one reason why Butter did not have any involvement in Taylor's folio, although their contact seems anyway to have ceased from 1616 to the early 1640s. When Butter handed over many of his copies to Miles Flesher in 1639, it was Hall's individual works that Flesher continued to re-issue, rather than the plays that modern scholars believe to be so important. Considering what we know of Flesher's other interests, it seems very likely that this had been his principal aim in acquiring Butter's copies. During the civil war, Flesher continued to print a steady, if diminished, number of Hall's texts for Butter.⁶¹

Thus the confidence shown by Nathaniel Butter in the viability of John Taylor's first publications in 1612-16 may be interpreted not just as opportunism but also, as with Henry Gossen, as an indication of shared values between author and publisher. Similarly, the lack of any evidence that Butter or Gossen were involved directly in the production of *All the Workes* should not be taken to indicate that Taylor himself was attempting to shed such associations. Rather, at the point of the book's publication in 1629/30, both James Boler and John Beale were producing texts that would have fitted with the religious and political profile of Taylor's work. The interests displayed in their other publishing activities at the time relate very closely to the focus of this collection, although the direction in which they moved during the 1630s differed. When Beale took over the publication of Taylor's summary of the *Booke of Martyrs*, he issued several repeat editions during the 1630s, altering the text and presentation to become more stridently puritan, to suit the increasingly polarized religious tensions of that decade.

⁶¹ Bishop Joseph Hall, *The Works of Joseph Hall* Vol. i, (J. Haviland, M. Flesher and J. Beale for R. More, T. Pavier, M. Flesher, J. Haviland, N. Butter, G. Windet, H. Barret, 1625), STC 12635a -c; the 1628 edition has seven variant imprints, including one "M.Flesher for N.Butter" (STC12637); *The Reconciler* (M. Flesher for N. Butter, 1629), STC 12709a. For the importance of Miles Flesher in Taylor's work, and in particular his publication of *A Thankfull Remembrance* (1625), see Chapters 8-9, below.

These modifications were probably made without any further involvement by Taylor. Beale's tendency to pick off single texts, especially controversial ones, in order to print them again for himself suggests that he had learned from his apprenticeship with Robert Waldegrave, the puritan printer of the early Marprelate tracts.⁶² There is evidence that both Beale and Boler sometimes took an active role in assembling texts for the press, going beyond the role of printer or book-seller. John Beale's dedicatory letter in the edition of Hieron's sermons published in 1625 demonstrates this kind of involvement. It is addressed to the puritan Sir Henry Yelverton and his "virtuous and Religious Ladie":

I therefore pittyng that [this volume] should be both Fatherlesse and Patronlesse (and being somewhat interessed therein by undergoing some part of charge in publishing it) thought my selfe engaged to provide some worthy Patron to undertake the protection thereof. ⁶³

James Boler's sympathies are more complex and difficult to define, since they combine the tendency to Puritanism noted above with an enthusiasm for the history of the monarchy. We can see this in Boler's edition of William Martyn's Protestant account of the *The Historie and Lives of the Kings of England* (1628), where he took a prose text and added *Basililiogia*-type engravings, to create effectively a new book, much altered from its original presentation. As Martyn himself had died in 1617, this appears to have been the publisher's own initiative. He also intended to issue an updated edition, entering in 1633 "additions" of the histories of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, by

⁶² For Beale's apprenticeship and Robert Waldegrave's involvement in the Marprelate tracts, see Chapter 6, below.

⁶³ *The Sermons of Master Samuel Hieron* (J. Legat, J. Beale, & J. Dawson for J. Macham et al., tbs. T.Pavier, J. Bellamie and S. Waterson, 1620), STC 13379, Volume 1 of the *Workes*; the engraved title page of 1625 has "Printed by William Stansby and John Beale". Sir Henry Yelverton (1566-1630), Attorney General 1617-20, stated: "that he had always been accounted a Puritan and thanked God for it, and so he would die" (J. T. Cliffe, *The Puritan Gentry: the great Puritan families of early Stuart England* (London and Boston, RKP, 1984), p.12). He had graduated from Christ's Cambridge, "a distinctly Puritan college" (Gardiner). His wife was the daughter of Robert Beale (1541-1601), privy councilor to Elizabeth I, and notorious for his "advocacy of Puritan causes". It may be that John Beale, the printer, was from a branch of the same family, which would fit with the tone of his dedication of Hieron's *Works* to the Yelvertons. See, R. Gardiner, 'Yelverton, Sir Henry', rev. Louis A. Knafla, [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30214, accessed 18 Oct 2009]; Gary M. Bell, 'Beale, Robert' [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1804, accessed 8 Oct 2009].

“B.R. Master of Arts”. These additions were entered by Boler and Robert Young together, but were published after Boler’s death by Young, in a partnership arrangement with Anne Boler (1638).⁶⁴ However, in the meantime Boler had issued *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630), with not one but two sets of illustrated histories of the monarchs, one of which was a new edition of Taylor’s own variation on the *Basiliologia*, his *A Briefe Remembrance of All the English Monarchs*. Thus the presentation of *All the Workes*, with the careful placement of Calvinist, almost godly, religious texts at start and end, seems to be reflecting Boler’s interests as much as John Taylor’s own.⁶⁵ Taylor’s collected *Workes* as it stands therefore has a natural place in the publisher’s list. It seems reasonable to suggest that both James Boler and John Beale, as the lead printer responsible for the preliminaries and a considerable proportion of the text, may have played some part in the conception and physical presentation of the volume as a whole. As the following chapters will show, these details suggest the establishment of what can only be described as a “monarchist” trend at the sign of the Marigold. It was a trend that Boler’s two apprentices, Francis Eglesfield and John Williams, were to develop with significant consequences for their own businesses at the signs of the Marigold and the Crown during the 1640s.

Thus, a combination of fortuitous circumstances in the publishing trade, affecting businesses generally and individuals in particular, could have provided the stimulus for the appearance of a collection of Taylor’s work in 1629/30. This includes the financial positions of Henry Gossen and Nicholas Okes, the death of John Trundle in the late 1620s and the situation of his widow, and the effects of the Bloislore-Symcocke patent on the trade of Allde and Beale. Together, these circumstances suggest that a one volume collection of John Taylor’s works in 1630 may have been as much the idea of the stationers involved as the sole inspiration of its author. We can trace the way that best-selling Taylor texts moved into the possession of John Beale and James Boler coincidentally with the publication of *All the Workes*, which further supports the

⁶⁴ William Martyn, *The historie and Lives of the Kings of England* (H. Lownes for J. Boler and G. Thompson, 1628), STC 17528. Thompson published only the list of Dukes and Earls appended at the end of this volume. *The historie and lives of the kings of England... Whereunto is now added the historie of King Ed. VI of Queene Mary, and Q. Elizabeth. By B.R. Mr. of Arts* (R. Young, “for himselfe & others”, 1638), STC 17529: these additions increased the length of the book substantially.

⁶⁵ For Taylor’s two histories of the *English Monarchs*, see Chapter 7.

hypothesis that these two stationers, both senior figures in the Stationers' Company at the time, were taking advantage of the situation that presented itself to them in the closing years of the 1620s. Taylor's work could be considered attractive material in the 1620s and the successful careers of these stationers certainly indicate that they would be able to spot an opportunity when it arose.

The simultaneous publication of Taylor's *A Memorial* in 1630 by Boler and Beale together in folio and octavo format is highly significant and underlines the need for a close consideration of the political and religious concerns of the stationers involved in *All the Workes*. The publication of this collection cannot be seen as an isolated authorial gesture: it required an investment of time, money and resources from all involved in the project. Rather than being set apart from the publishing market, all the evidence suggests that this was a text that was designed to appeal to the moment, presented as topical both in content and presentation to the situation at the turn of the decade 1629/30. Scholars have been distracted from this topicality by the excessive emphasis placed on the book's format as a reflection of Taylor's imputed literary aspirations. Despite the conjectures of critics from Robert Dow onwards, there is no evidence that this book marks a change of direction for Taylor as an author. As we have seen above, in the same year that the Folio was issued, two of the texts it contained were published separately in small book format, and one, *The Great Eater of Kent*, was apparently just the type of "journalism" that critics have subsequently blamed Taylor for. The entrance of this piece in December 1629 shows that Taylor must have expected its publication in the same year as *All the Workes*, thus targeting two apparently contrasting ends of the publishing market and the social scale.⁶⁶

However, modern distinctions between different types of early modern printed material on the grounds of the social class of the targeted readership are often specious. Indeed, the breadth of Taylor's texts, in terms of topics and approach, continued to be very wide in 1630. In addition to the folio *All the Workes* and the separate printing of a cheap octavo edition of *A Memorial of All the Kings*, there were at least two new texts of very different kinds. *The Great Eater of Kent* is a prose account giving news of a topical sensation in which Taylor was personally involved; *A mediation on the passion* is a

⁶⁶ John Taylor, *The Great Eater of Kent* (E. Alldde for H. Gosson, 1630), STC 23761.

serious devotional piece, where Taylor presents a meditative acrostic poem on Christ's passion by an anonymous author, with his own commentary. This is printed as a broadside over a full folio sheet, and was no doubt intended for display in pious households. It was published by Thomas Harper, who had not previously been associated with Taylor. Despite the date of 1630, the text of *A Meditation on the Passion* does not appear in *All the Workes*: the survival of a single copy now in private hands suggests that most copies had undergone the common fate of such display items, and been destroyed by the method of use.⁶⁷

1630 was not a year where Taylor either rested on his laurels or set himself apart from his previous incarnation as Sculler and Water-Poet in order to achieve some kind of elevated poetic status. Rather, the year of *All the Workes* seems to have been for Taylor a year of business as usual, so far as his writing career was concerned, with the added new venture of a folio selling in a shop in St. Paul's Churchyard. He was still active in the market for print across the full range of formats and the usual variety of genres and topics, from serious religious mediations to topical sensationalism, through chronicle histories. This is the multi-faceted, topical image of John Taylor that *All the Workes* presents to the reader: while the modern assumption is that Taylor chose the folio format for its monumental inferences, this is a book that was designed to appeal to contemporary tastes and addresses the religious and political concerns of the turn of the decade 1629/30. It is no surprise that such an entrepreneurial stationer as James Boler should be selling *All the Workes of John Taylor* at the sign of the Marigold in 1630, in a clear continuity with Taylor's previous and subsequent career in print.

⁶⁷ *A meditation on the passion* (Thomas Harper, STC 23772a.5); the only surviving copy is in private hands, but is photographed in: Tessa Watt, *Cheap print and Popular Piety*, p.233, Plate 41.

Chapter Five: ‘The Ferriman of Heaven’: Elizabeth Alldé’s section of *All the Workes*.

Chapter Five considers the presentation of texts in the first section of *All the Workes* printed by Elizabeth Alldé. It focuses especially on the opening poem, *Taylors Vrania*, and its connection to the commendatory verses in the preliminaries.

This chapter is the first of four to consider in depth the presentation and organisation of the main text in *All the Workes of John Taylor*. It focuses on the first section printed by Elizabeth Alldé. The involvement of three different printing houses in *All the Workes* means that the organisation of each of the three main sections follows different principles and each section is typographically distinct from the others. Nevertheless the collection as a whole gains coherence from several factors, most obviously the placement of the religious material at the start and end of the volume. This connects the opening and closing sequence of texts firmly together despite their different presentational features. A further link between the beginning and end of this folio is provided by the connections between the commendatory verses selected for the preliminaries and the choice of texts at the conclusion. Thus, despite the separate printing houses involved, the volume as issued and bound appears purposefully planned and shaped.

However, the opening section is set apart from the middle and last by the fact that the majority of its contents, just over three-quarters, were initially issued separately by the Alldes. Thus most of this first section consists of reprints by the same presses in a new format. This is not in itself an unusual bibliographic feature, since it was common practice for collections to be reissued by the publishers and printers of the originals. However, this normally involved a limited number of longer items, with little alteration, typically occurring perhaps two or three years after the separate issues. This first section of *All the Workes* is unusual in the number of different individual items, a total of eight, in the range of dates for the originals from 1618 to 1630, and in the fact that this printing arrangement contrasts to both the other main sections of the volume. In the middle and last sections, the texts are not grouped according to their previous printing houses, but by other principles entirely. This bibliographic difference also highlights a key point

about the arrangement of the first part of *All the Workes*. For the minority of texts that had not previously been printed by the Alldे shop (*Taylors Urania*, *The Life and Death of the Virgin Mary* and *Superbiae Flagellum*) are gathered together to form a distinct group at the start of this section, linked firmly by their serious religious focus.

The choice of all the rest of the texts in Alldе's section, following on from this opening group, was apparently dictated by the printing house alone, as Elizabeth Alldе took on all those texts previously issued by her husband. However, the decision to place an apparently unrelated group of religious texts at the start of this section provides clear evidence of an editorial intention behind the arrangement of *All the Workes*. The choice of these texts, and especially the positioning of *Taylors Urania* as the key-note poem, suggests a careful targeting to contemporary religious concerns. However, this was not simply a tactical move to present Taylor as a serious artist by reiterating his authorial dedication to the Heavenly Muse from 1615/16. Rather, in the spirit of Sylvester's Du Bartas, on whose work *Taylors Urania* is modelled, the placement of these religious texts at the opening of the volume is part of the overall polemical strategy of the collection. For, although not directly addressed to the King, *All the Workes* is organised to highlight the pressing religious and political issues that had come to a head in the period surrounding Charles's move to Personal Rule in the spring of 1629.

Every aspect of the arrangement and presentation of this volume points in this same direction. Prominence is given at the opening to the religious material of *Taylors Urania* and the life of the Virgin Mary, prefaced by the careful arrangement of the commendatory material. The central section of the book, which shows similar evidence of deliberate planning, is dominated visually by the concentration of illustrations from the two potted histories of English monarchs, with their emphasis on the Protestant succession, a reprise of the more well known *Basililiogia* of the 1620s. Thus the first two sections of the main text culminate in a celebration of the Protestant monarchical succession, with particular emphasis on the transition from James to Charles. The theme of royalty is continued in the third section, with the frequent use of an ornamental banner header carrying the Tudor royal arms and garter motto, a decoration that suggests associations with Elizabethan revivalist texts such as Camden's *Elizabeth*. This final section of the book, often ignored by scholars, appears at first to be a disordered

assemblage of disparate items. However, woven through such apparent carelessness is a sequence of material relating to the Bohemian match of 1614, rounded off with another set of religious texts and brought up to date with pointed reference to 1630 in the verses of *The Churches Deliverances (Gods Manifold Mercies)*.

This concluding item to *All the Workes* brings the volume back full circle to the concerns of the opening texts and the preliminary verses. Originally published in 1625 as *The Thankfull Remembrance*, this text focuses on the preservation of England and its established Protestant church from the threat of Spanish Catholicism. The updated version in *All the Workes* appears to be a reminder to Charles and/or his advisors, of the monarch's responsibilities as defender of the Protestant church both in England and in Europe, following the collapse of military attempts to rescue the Palatinate. The emphasis on the year 1630 and the references to previous dates in the calendar of England's anti-Papal triumphs, make this piece a fitting ending to the final section of the folio. The religious theme picks up the thread of the volume's opening texts, especially *Taylors Urania*. The whole collection has opened with a poem that contemporaries would have connected directly with both James I and the Protestant cause in Europe; it closes with verses that present "Charles the Great", as the inheritor both of his father's crown and of this same Protestant tradition.

This shaping of *All the Workes* as a contribution to the religio-political debates being conducted through print in the 1620s and 30s, is reinforced by the choice and arrangement of the commendatory verses, which relate closely to both the opening and closing material of the folio. Most obviously, the selection and positioning of Dekker's sonnet presenting Taylor as the "Ferryman of Heaven" highlights the active, militant Protestantism that is being promoted in the closing text of the whole volume. The surprising inclusion of a set of Latin verses within these preliminaries may well have been intended to serve a similar function. Indeed, the choice of commendatory verses for *All the Workes* contradicts the modern assumption that the collection was a last-ditch attempt by the author to present himself in a wholly literary light. For it is notable that the commendatory verses from both *Taylors Urania* and other early Taylor texts that address the issue of literary status alone are not reprinted in the preliminaries. Instead, prominence is given to verses that emphasise Taylor's role as a satirist and his religious

credentials in the context of his post as a royal waterman on the Thames, where the literary is subsumed in the political.

It is in this association between Water Poetry and religious/ political polemic that Taylor's authorial identity rested for many of his contemporaries. The playful descriptions of the Water Poet as "Aquinatus" and as the swan of Thames with his "snow white arts" in TG's Latin verses, promote Taylor, however fancifully, as an ambassador for Protestant vernacular poetry. Like *All the Workes* as a whole, therefore, these preliminary verses position Taylor in the tradition encapsulated by the symbolism of Bartas' *Les Sepmaines*, where Sir Philip Sidney himself had been celebrated as the swan of Thames:

*Et le Milor Cydne qui, Cygne doux-chantant,
Va les flots orgueilleux de Tamise flatant,
Ce fleuve gros d'honneur emporte la faconde
Dans le sein de Thetis, et Thetis par le Monde.*¹

Thus "Water Poet" can be associated with the paradigm of the soldier-poet in both Sir Philip Sidney and Du Bartas, combining words and actions. Similarly, the choice of Dekker's sonnet to sum up the commendations of the author in *All the Workes* places this volume firmly in the arena of militant Protestantism. By 1630, this sonnet was already at least fifteen years old, and Dekker's heyday as a dramatist and pamphleteer had long passed. However, Elizabeth Allde was in the process of printing the second part of Dekker's *Honest Whore* on the same presses that were also producing the first section of *All the Workes*.² This suggests a contemporary revival of interest in Dekker's play, implying that the placement of his sonnet in the preliminaries to *All the Workes* was not just a nostalgic gesture, or a mark of respect for an old friend. Instead, it was an

¹ *La Seconde Semaine : le second jour*, pt. ii, (1615) p. 283, quoted in, Sir Sidney Lee, *The French Renaissance in England: an account of the relations of England and France in the sixteenth century* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1910), p.342, at <<http://www.archive.org/stream/frenchrenaissance>>, accessed 22 Sept. 2009.

² *The second part of The honest whore with the humours of the patient man, the impatient wife: the honest whore, perswaded by strong arguments to turne curtizan againe: her braue refuting those arguments.* (E. Allde for N. Butter, 1630), STC 6506, entered to Thomas Man on 29 April 1608, and then again to Butter on 19 June, 1630.

active declaration of Taylor's credentials as a spokesman for a form of English Protestantism that was felt to be under threat from Catholic Europe without, and from a doctrinal challenge for influence over the monarchy, within.

The discussion below therefore begins with an overview of the organisation of Elizabeth Allde's section of *All the Workes*, before developing a more detailed exploration of the publication history of *Taylors Urania*. This leads to a consideration of the selection of commendatory verses for *All the Workes*, and in particular the choice of Dekker's sonnet. The implications of these choices in the context of the structure of *All the Workes* demonstrates the coherent topical positioning of Taylor's collection as published in 1630.³

The organisation of the material in *All the Workes* does not follow the kind of chronological structure that a modern reader might expect in a single writer's collection. The pieces are not gathered in order of original publication and there appears at first to be no attempt to trace the progression of Taylor's authorial career within it. Indeed, apart from the obvious placement of religious pieces at the very start and end of the volume, readers from the eighteenth century onwards have generally been struck by an impression of randomness in this volume. Even such a sympathetic editor as Charles Hindley highlights this factor in his 1872 single-volume collection of Taylor's work, which is partly reprinted from *All the Workes*:

*[The contents] are thrown together with an utter disregard to their Chronological order; even though a “Catalogue ...” is printed after the commendatory verses, it is not correctly arranged.*⁴

It is true that Taylor's *Workes* differs from other early modern writers' collected works in several ways. Many such collections of both poets and divines, in both small and

³ On *The Churches Deliverances/Gods Manifold Mercies* and *A Thankfull Remembrance* (1625), see Chapters 8-9.

⁴ Charles Hindley, (ed.), *Works of John Taylor, the Water-Poet*, (Reeves and Turner, London and Westminster, 1872), p.xxviii. Hindley dedicates this volume to Jonas Levy esquire, of Gray's Inn and Kinsgate Castle, Kent, Barrister-at-Law, Deputy Chairman of the London, Brighton and South Coast Line etc. For Hindley's other Taylor reprints, see Chapter 1.

larger formats, simply reprinted the separate texts, employing the same layout and title-pages as the originals, either in order of publication, or according to two or three types of genre, such as sermons and meditations, or plays separate from epigrams. As most of these texts were lengthy and uniform in appearance, the result was a series of substantial sections, with most of the preliminary material right at the start of the volume, and just an occasional Epistle relating to the individual texts appearing part way through the volume.

Thus the overall impression given by such collected ‘Works’ was one of order and a progressive accumulation of substance, with the texts neatly divided by their internal title-pages. In this respect, the Shakespeare folio is unusual and in fact closer to *All the Workes of John Taylor*, being divided by genre and without intervening title-pages. However, in this particular case, Hemminge and Condell were careful to avoid using the label *Works* on the title-page, no doubt wary of invoking parallels to the reception of Jonson’s 1616 volume. Indeed, like so much about Taylor’s folio, the title “Workes” has proved somewhat of a red herring. For if we bring other kinds of early modern collections into the arena, *All the Workes* does not appear such an anomaly. The overall effect of Taylor’s volume is visually closer to the folio histories and geographies of Camden, Stow and Speed than to the *Works* of learned divines. Given the close relationship to Camden’s volume in terms of publishing details and indeed the interpretation of history involved, this is perhaps unsurprising. However, another folio with similarities to *All the Workes*, also published in 1630, is *The true travels, adventures, and observations of Captaine Iohn Smith*.⁵ This includes Smith’s *Generall Historie of Virginia*, containing accounts of many voyages, together with arguments for the importance of sailing and colonization to the English nation. The *True Travels* may be compared to *All the Workes* in several ways: it is an assemblage of disparate pieces from different dates published in one volume under a single author’s name, although several of the pieces were not written by Smith, as the extended title clearly

⁵ *The true travels, adventures, and observations of Captaine Iohn Smith in Europe, Asia, Affrica and America, from anno Domini 1593. to 1629. His accidents and sea-fights in the straights; his service and stratagems of warre in Hungaria, against the Turks, and Tartars....Together with a continuation of his generall History of Virginia.... since 1624. to this present 1629; as also of the new plantations of the great river of the Amazons... the iles of St. Christopher... All written by actuall authours, whose names you shall finde along the history* (Haviland for T. Slater tbs. Michael Sparke, 1630), entered 29 August 1629.

acknowledges. It is not in verse and does not contain so wide a mix of genres as Taylor's collection, but its composite nature closely resembles *All the Workes*.

The similarity between these folio collections of John Taylor the Water Poet and Captain John Smith extends to the topicality of the contents and, obviously, the narratives of travel and sea-faring. This association is highlighted by the parallel between the phrasing "the true travels, adventures and observations of Captaine John Smith" and several of Taylor's individual pamphlets, such as *Taylor his Travels: from the city of London in England to the city of Prague in Bohemia* (1620/1621). Furthermore, Smith's title places his name centre stage, making use of his celebrity and authority, and presenting the text as an embodiment of the adventurer himself. Captain Smith had been Governor of Virginia and Admiral of New England, and thus was a "writer" who was essentially a professional navy and government man, of a higher status but with a similar viewpoint to Taylor. In addition, and again like Taylor's *Workes*, the *True Travels* is dedicated to William Herbert, whose position made him the obvious dedicatee for a history of Virginia. However, the choice of Herbert was not just mechanical, for the Earl of Pembroke was also an appropriate patron for the religious and nationalistic thrust of Smith's collection. Indeed, Captain Smith's active pursuit of the cause of Protestantism abroad, together with his assiduous championing of the interests of English mariners and fishermen in the international arena, are interests that were shared with Taylor himself.

As a combination of personal manifesto, history, travelogue, and religious and nationalistic propaganda, Smith's folio provides one example of the cultural context within which Taylor's own collection must be understood. Taylor had a natural interest in the expeditions to the West Indies, to which he often alludes, and he later produced a pamphlet, *Newes and strange newes from St. Christophers*, giving a graphic account of a storm on this island, described as '*a tempestuous spirit, which is called by the Indians a hurry-cano or whirlewind*'.⁶ Taylor's *An Armado, or navye, of 103 ships & other vessels* (1627) may also owe something to Smith's *New Englands Trials Declaring the successse of 26.Ships employed thither... and how to build threescore sayle of good Ships*

⁶ *Newes and strange newes from St. Christophers of a tempestuous spirit, which is called by the Indians a hurry-cano or whirlewind Blowing downe houses, tearing up trees by the rootes, and it did puffe men up from the earth, as they had beene feathers* (J. Okes for F. Coules 1638), STC 23788.5.

to make a little Navie Royall (1620). Neither *An Armado* nor *Newes and strange newes* has received much attention from critics, beyond Capp's dismissal of the former as "a ponderous device, not repeated", but there is evidence that both of them were popular with readers at the time.⁷ William Clarke's copy of *Newes and Strange Newes* is carefully preserved and has the inscription "William Clarke / His booke Bought Jan 10./ 1638" on the blank verso to the illustration, which is bound opposite the title page; further down the page are the words "Liber est meus".⁸ *An Armado* is highlighted enthusiastically in a contemporary hand in the catalogue of at least one copy of *All the Workes* and has been annotated in others. It was also reissued by Gosson in 1635 along with several of the mock encomia that are now considered the most "successful" of Taylor's early works.

The example of the treatment of *An Armado* by owners of *All the Workes* also points to a practical function of this volume, which was to provide a compendium of Taylor's different texts for easy reference. Thus the organisation of the collection as a whole is more likely to reflect the way that a contemporary reader might have categorised these items, rather than the preconceptions of modern readers who would be more likely to search the collection by the date of original publication. This is certainly the case within the first two sections printed by Elizabeth Allde and John Beale, although the initial basis on which the texts of these two sections were divided between the printing houses was according to the original publisher/printer, as discussed above. Three quarters (8/12) of the texts in the first section of *All the Workes*, defined by the first run of pagination, were originally printed by the Allde shop and entered to Henry

⁷ Capp, *World of John Taylor*, p.87. *An armado, or nauy, of 103. ships & other vessels, who haue the art to sayle by land, as well as by sea morallly rigd, mand, munition'd, appoynted, set forth, and victualled* (E. Allde for H. Gosson, 1627), STC 23726, 23726a, reprinted for Gosson in 1635 (STC 23727). The 1627 text includes a commendatory verse by "John Smith" who may possibly be identified with Captain John Smith ('John Smith of His Friend Master John Taylor and his Armado' (*An Armado*, Sig. A8r). Smith's verse, not reprinted in *All the Workes*, explains the conceit of *An Armado*: lines such as "Truth in his Navye such a power doth leade" suggest an allegorical meaning to this text. The date of publication for *An Armado* (1627) is just prior to Buckingham's expedition to the Isle of Rhé.

⁸ Clarke was about fifteen years old when he bought this copy of *Newes and strange newes*. He had previously purchased the 1635 edition of Taylor's *Booke of Martyrs*, inscribed "William Clarke His Book/Witness by William Bruther/ Anno Domini 1635. June 10", beneath the frontispiece cut. Clarke's ownership of *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630) probably dates from the late 1630s or early 40s; Clarke crossed out the previous owner's signature heavily and wrote his own as, "W. Clarke". This is one of the better copies of Taylor's folio with good quality paper. I am grateful to Frances Henderson of Worcester College for her advice on William Clarke's books.

Gosson, if they were entered at all. *Table C* shows the order in which these items appear in the folio:

Table C. Elizabeth Alld's section of *All the Workes of Iohn Taylor the Water Poet* (1630)

	Title of text as printed in <i>All the Workes</i>.	Previous Editions	Previous Details
1a	<i>TAYLORS / VRANIA.</i>	1615/16	Griffin for Butter
1b	<i>THE/ SEVERALL SIEGES./ASSAVLTS,SACKINGS... OF/ the famous, Ancient, and memorable City/ of JERUSALEM.</i>	1615/16 ⁹	Griffin for Butter
2	<i>THE/ LIFE AND DEATH OF / THE MOST BLESSED AMONGST / ALL WOMEN, THE VIRGIN MARY</i>	1620/1622	Eld for Trundle, tbs.E. Wright
3	<i>SVPERBIAE FLAGELLUM,OR / THE WHIP OF PRIDE.</i>	1621	Eld and Flesher
4	<i>AGAINST CURSING AND SWEARING</i>	1625/6	E. Alld (?)
5	<i>THE / FEAREFVLL / SVMMER; / OR / LONDONS CALAMITIE.</i>	1625	Lichfield & Turner (Oxford) Alld (London)
6	<i>THE TRAVELS / OF/ TWELVE-PENCE</i>	1621	Alld for Gosson
7	<i>AN ARMADO, OR NAVY / OF SHIPS AND OTHER VESSELS, / WHO HAVE THE ART TO SAYLE BY / LAND, AS WELL AS BY SEA.</i>	1627	Alld for Gosson
8	<i>THE / PRAISE, ANTIQVITY / AND COMMODITIE / OF BEGGERIE, BEGGERS, / AND BEGGING</i>	1621	Alld for Gosson, E. Wright
9	<i>TAYLORS GOOSE: / DESCRIBING THE VVILDE GOOSE, THE / Tame Goose, the Taylors Goose, the VVinchester Goose, the ... worthiness of the pen, ..., with the valour of the gander.</i>	1621?	[Alld] for Gosson, sold by E. Wright
10	<i>IACKE A LENT /HIS / BEGINNING AND ENTERTAINMENT: with the mad prankes of his Gentleman-Vsher Shroue- / Tuesday that goes before him</i>	1617/1620	Purslowe for Trundle, 1620; [Eld for Trundle] 1617.
11	<i>THE PENNYLES / PILGRIMAGE, / OR / THE MONEY-LESSE PERAMBVLATION, / OF JOHN TAYLOR, ALIAS, THE KINGS / MAIESTIES WATER-POET.</i>	1618	E. Alld "at the charges of the author"
12	<i>THE GREAT EATER,/ OR/ PART OF THE ADMIRABLE/ TEETH AND STOMACKS EXPLOITS/ OF NICHOLAS WOOD</i>	1630	Elizabeth Alld for Gosson

The final text in this section, *The Great Eater of Kent*, was published almost simultaneously in the Folio and in a quarto version by Elizabeth Alld. It was entered to Gosson on December 20th 1629, but the date on the imprint is 1630. This suggests that Elizabeth Alld's involvement in the project of *All the Workes* was part of a more general relationship with Taylor at the time, much like the involvement of John Beale,

⁹ *Taylors Urania* and *The Siege of Jerusalem* are counted together as one text, as they appear in the only extant version before 1630; however, it is possible that *Taylors Urania* was originally published separately

although in Aldde's case this was the last link with the Water Poet. Nevertheless, the allocation of texts to the first section of the volume could be explained as a decision based solely on practical considerations and a means of ensuring Elizabeth Aldde's interest in the project. However, this factor does not immediately account for the first three texts in this section, which have no obvious connection to the Alldes, nor for item ten in the Table, *Jacke A Lent*.

The publishing history of *Jacke A Lent* is complicated by the loss of imprint in the surviving copies of the first edition, which probably dates from 1617. The *STC* suggests George Eld as printer of this first edition, with John Trundle as publisher; Trundle's name appears on the later edition (1620), which was probably printed by George Purslowe. The first edition of *Jacke A Lent* therefore shares some publication details with *The Life and Death of the Virgin Mary*, which was also printed by Eld for Trundle (1620, 1622). However, these two pieces appear to have nothing else in common and are not positioned close to each other in Aldde's section of the Folio. The more likely explanation for the positioning of *Jack a Lent* here is therefore a link with *Taylors Goose*, the text printed in the slot before it.¹⁰ Both are, on the surface, mere entertaining squibs, based on puns and flights of fancy, with an irreverent attitude to religious customs. Furthermore, both texts may be understood to express anti-Catholic ideas, with *Jack a Lent* mocking the Catholic practices of Lenten fasting and *Taylors Goose* satirizing whoring and greed, two of the Seven Deadly Sins most often ascribed by anti-Catholic propagandists to the Pope and his priests. Both texts were well known amongst the literati of the day. *Jack a Lent* has a grotesque cartoon on its title-page and this may well have been one of its attractions. The only extant copy of the original *Taylors Goose* is damaged, with loss of the title-page, but this is very likely to have

¹⁰ A single extant copy of *Taylor's Goose* is at the Guildhall Library London. It was not entered in the Stationers' Register, and the copy has no title-page. However, the folio gives some indication of the probable wording: the *STC* proposes: Aldde for Gosson to be sold by E. Wright, 1621. *Taylor's Goose* is dedicated to Sir Thomas Parsons and refers to Taylor having recently dedicated *The praise of Beggerie* to Archy Armstrong (ent. January 16th 1621). In the folio, the dedication to *Taylors Goose* shares a page with the end of *The Praise of Beggerie*. The title "Taylors Goose" plays on the pun where the "tailor's goose" (literally, a pressing iron used by tailors) had the double meaning of a searing satire.

carried a similar satirical illustration, perhaps more along the lines of the popular cartoon for *The Travels of Twelve-Pence*, which was probably printed in the same year.¹¹

There is no very obvious reason for the order of the remaining texts printed in the middle of this section. However, *The Travels of Twelve-Pence*, *An Aramado*, *The Praise of Beggerie* and *Taylors Goose* are all loosely similar in genre: each one takes a single object or concept and rings the changes on it in a series of ingenious variations on a theme. Each is also both satirical and moralizing, more so than even recent critics seem willing to recognize. Deborah Valenze's enthusiastic account of *The Travels of Twelve-Pence*, for example, explains Taylor's portrayal of "the triumph of money over every situation" without a single reference to the satirical intent. Her curiously naïve interpretation owes much to Bernard Capp's image of Taylor's lack of sophistication, and she even transfers the epithet "honest" to the coin itself. Nevertheless, Valenze does usefully quote William Winstanley's reference to *The Travels of Twelve-Pence*, which demonstrates the enduring popularity of these texts and the close association in contemporary or near-contemporary readers' minds between the visual and the verbal content:

*I remember when I was a Boy, I read a Book Written by John Taylor the Water Poet called The Travels of Twelve-Pence, which had for the Frontispiece the picture of a King Edward shilling, with wings on the top of it flying to a Usurer, and on the bottom a Snail carrying it with a slow pace backward to a Spade and Oares.*¹²

Nevertheless, the most salient common factor linking the selection of at least eight of these nine texts in this opening section of *All the Workes*, from *Against Cursing and Swearing* onwards, remains their original printing in the Alldde shop. By contrast, the grouping of the first three texts *Taylors Urania*, *The Life and Death of the Virgin Mary*

¹¹ Henry Hutton's satire on poetasters mentions *Jack a Lent*: "He has a subiect he did late inuent, / Will shame the riming sculler, *Jack a Lent.*.", Henry Hutton, *Follie's anatomie. Or Satyres and satyricall epigrams* (1619, Matthew Wallbancke), STC 14028, sig. B4r.

¹² Valenze traces the influence of Taylor's *Twelve-Pence* through Winstanley's *A Hue and Cry after Money* (1689) and Addison's tale of a "twelve-penny piece" published in *The Tatler* (No. 249, 1710). Deborah Valenze, *The Social Life of Money in the English Past* (Cambridge, CUP, 2006), pp. 74-82.

and *Superbiae Flagellum* is striking. None of these has any immediate bibliographic connection to the Alldē printing shop or to Henry Gossen. Each one is a serious and extended treatment of a religious topic in its own right, but in three contrasting genres. *Taylor's Urania* is a lyric poem of dedication to the Heavenly Muse; *The Life and Death of the Virgin Mary* is a prose narrative apparently modeled on a Dutch version, and *Superbiae Flagellum* is a lengthy religious satire in rhyming couplets. The texts following immediately afterwards, *Against Cursing and Swearing* and *The Fearefull Summer*, form the start of the sequence originally printed by the Alldē presses. Although they are also religious in content, they are different in tenor from the first three, and are closely connected to each other bibliographically. Both texts are warnings to sinners: *Against Cursing and Swearing* is a composite text, containing material originally printed at the end of *The Fearefull Summer*. It also includes another piece, *Christian Admonitions*, which had been issued in a single-sheet format to be pasted on the wall in family homes.¹³ *The Fearefull Summer* is an occasional piece on the resurgence of plague in London in 1625.

By contrast, the first three items in *All the Workes* are not tied to a specific occasion or situation: they explore issues of personal belief and religious conduct in general, and *Taylor's Urania* is essentially a reflective poem. Taken together, they form a substantial platform from which to launch the image of Taylor as a serious author of depth and gravitas. The position of *Taylor's Urania* at the opening is especially significant, since it presents this poem as the key note to the whole collection. As religious topics were considered the best subject for literary endeavours in the early modern period, the highlighting of *Taylor's Urania* seems to confirm the view that *All the Workes* was Taylor's last bid to be taken seriously as a literary poet.¹⁴ Certainly the poem's presence here does reiterate Taylor's dedication of his Muse to a Protestant God, as expressed in the first extant version of this poem, in 1615/16.¹⁵ The full title of

¹³ *Christian Admonitions* is listed as a separate title towards the end of the Catalogue to *All the Workes*. See Chapter 8.

¹⁴ James I's preference for religious poetry had inaugurated a period of competition for his approval. Capp interprets the first edition of *Taylor's Urania* as a stratagem to gain approval, as "a collection of religious reflections designed to establish his credentials as a serious writer" (Capp, *World of John Taylor*, p. 17).

¹⁵ *Taylor's Vrania, or His heauenly muse With a briefe narration of the thirteene sieges, and sixe sackings of the famous cittie of Ierusalem. ...In heroicall verse compendiously described.* (E. Griffin for N. Butter, 1615 [i.e. 1616]), STC 23806.

Taylors Urania, “Taylors Vrania, or His Heavenly Muse” is clearly a reference to Josua Sylvester’s translation of Du Bartas’ *L’Uranie*, entitled in English, *Urania, or The Heauenly Muse*. There is no doubt that Taylor intended his readers and thus his wider audience to appreciate this allusion to Sylvester’s Du Bartas, and thus to connect *Taylors Urania* to the ubiquitous iconography of Du Bartas in contemporary European culture. In addition, the name “Urania” carried multiple connections to other versions of Du Bartas’ poem, some of which had almost certainly been known in manuscript during the 1590s and 1600s.

Du Bartas was one of the most admired writers of the whole period and his works as translated by Sylvester represented for Taylor the epitome of Protestant poetry.¹⁶ Sylvester’s translation of *L’Uranie* was first published in English in 1605, in *Bartas His Divine Weekes and Workes*. It was reissued frequently in this quarto format over the next two decades, before the first of the folio collections of Sylvester’s translations appeared in 1621. The number of editions and copies of the quarto surviving indicates just how widespread a first-hand acquaintance with these verses must have been amongst the educated reading public.¹⁷ Sylvester’s *Urania* is a fanciful account of Bartas’ encounter with the goddess of that name, the chief female deity of the heavens, who appears crowned with the planets and clothed in a dazzling array of stars:

*Vpon her Head, a glorious Diadem,
Seaven-double-folded, moving diversly;
And on each fold sparkled a pretious Gem,
Obliquely turning o’re our heads on high.* ¹⁸

¹⁶ See discussion of *Taylor’s Motto*, Chapter 2, above. For the importance of Du Bartas see, Anne Lake Prescott, “The reception of Du Bartas in England”, *Studies in the Renaissance* 15 (1968), passim.

¹⁷ *Bartas: his deuine vweekes and workes translated: & dedicated to the Kings most excellent Maiestie, by Iosuah* (Humfrey Lownes, 1605), STC 21649. Du Bartas’s first publication was 1574, *La Muse Chretienne*, the story of Judith and Holofernes, published with *L’Uranie. La Semaine ou Creation du monde* was his second work in 1578, with *La Seconde Semaine* in 1584.

¹⁸ Du Bartas, *L’Uranie*, in J. Sylvester, *Bartas: his deuine vweekes and workes translated: & dedicated to the Kings most excellent Maiestie, by Iosuah Sylvester Paradoxe que les adversitez sont plus necessaires que les prosperites* (Humphrey Lownes, 1605), STC 21649, Verse 10. Subsequent quotations will give verse numbers for this edition.

The goddess complains of the wrongs done to poetry by the profanities of secular subjects such as Love, and invites Bartas to take her as his Muse and “*Soar up to Heav’n*” (v. 7). In the course of the poem, Urania develops a comprehensive theory of divine inspiration as the hallmark of the true poet (“Each Art is learn’d by Art: but Poesie / Is a meer Heavenly gift” (v.22)), locating the origins of the art in the psalms of David. Of particular relevance to Taylor’s position when he was at the start of his own career is her insistence that poetry is a gift from Heaven and that no amount of learning (paying particular attention to book-learning and the classics) can bring success.

There are close parallels between these ideas as expressed in Sylvester’s translation of *L’Uranie* and the arguments put forward in the preliminary material to *The Sculler* (1612) and *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614), both in the commendatory verses and in Taylor’s own assertions about his art. The very first commendatory verse in *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* is couched in terms that recall Sylvester’s translation:

To the superlative Water-Poet

John Taylor

*No Water-man, or Sculler art thou none,
Nor need thou ever taste of Helicon:
They all mistake thee Jacke, full well I know,
Thy Heav’n bred braine could never stoope so low:
For unto me, thou plainly doest appeare
The Lofty Plannet of the watry Spheare:
So that Apollo he himselfe can tell,
Thy influence gives water to his well.*¹⁹

Here Moray’s conceit moves through a series of water-based images, opposing the springs of Helicon (classical learning and inspiration) to the powers of “Heav’n” and

¹⁹ *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (STC 23779) Sig. ¶3r. The smooth style and easy wit of this poem is reminiscent of Taylor’s first mentor John Moray, who remains unidentified. However, the signature “Ia: Moraye” suggests James Moray, to whom Taylor dedicated another piece. For the first John Moray, see Chapter 2.

the “Lofty Plannet[s]”. The hyperbolic conclusion neatly reverses the concept of the Heliconian spring, placing the classical God of poetry, Apollo, at a disadvantage as the recipient of a Christian divine inspiration through heavenly “influence”. The concept of divine inspiration here is not simply a repetition of the idea expressed in the well worn phrase *poeta nescita non fit* (the poet is born, not made), although this is certainly a trope that was often cited with regard to Taylor in the 1610s. Rather, Moray is emphasizing that divine (Christian) inspiration is more powerful than the classical, and further, that the whole of classical literature sprang from the Christian Heavens. This is in keeping with the argument of the goddess in Sylvester’s translation of *L’Uranie*, “But God, himself, the Delphians Songs doth teach“(v.21).

The idea that education and specifically classical book-learning could be counter-productive for the poet is another theme highlighted in Sylvester’s translation:

*Dive day and night in the Castalian Fount,
Dwell upon Homer and the Mantuan Muse*
Read while thou wilt, read over every Book.....
Yet worthy fruit thou shalt not reap of it,
For all thy toil, unless Minerva grace thee.

(v.26-28)

This theme is obviously applicable to Taylor’s situation, especially when he first moved into print. For example, in *The Sculler*, R.B. (Robert Branthwaite?) concludes:

*Thou native language we have done thee wrong,
To say th’art not compleat, wanting the tongue
Cald Latine, for heere’s one shall end the strife,
That never learned Latine word in’s life.
Then to conclude, I truly must confesse,
Many have more bene taught, but learned lesse.²⁰*

²⁰ “To my friend both by water and land John Taylor”, *The Sculler* (1612, STC 23791), sig. A4v (my underlining).

Sylvester himself was a “merchant turned poet” who could translate from the French but did not compose in either Latin or Greek.²¹ The success of his translations from Du Bartas was proof of the unimportance of classical learning, as indeed was Du Bartas’ original decision to compose in vernacular French, celebrating his national language, rather than in the more elevated but less accessible Latin. This is a major factor in Taylor’s appreciation of Du Bartas as expressed in his *Apology in defence of Naturall English Poetry* printed at the start of *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* in 1614. Here, Taylor’s simple argument is expressed in a deliberately plain and colloquial manner: he declares that admired classical poets such as Virgil and Ovid only wrote in Latin because, “*In no tongue else they any thing could doo: / They Nat’rally did learne it from their mother, / And must speake Lattin, they could speake no other*”. The emphasis on “must” and the phrase “speake no other”, echoing “mother”, carries a rhythm and intonation that mimics speech, conveying the idea of the obviousness of the statement, as if Taylor were in conversation with the reader. The classical poets, including Homer, are immediately followed with Du Bartas:

*Du Bartas heauenly all admired Muse,
No unknowne Language euer us’de to use:
But as he was a Frenchman, so his lines
In native French with fame most glorious shines* ²²

²¹ Wimmers points out that Sylvester links his own position as a poet to his lack of a University education and places himself firmly as a minor talent. In *A Funerall Elegy* he states that his teacher, Hadrianas Saravia, gave him his translation skills: “had my Muse t’our either Athens flowne …had been much more mine owne … (But prais’d be God, who pleas’d to bring about/ His better will, to better mine; lest I / Too-puft with knowledge, should be huft too-hie)”, lines 132-138. Sylvester places the emphasis on Divine inspiration through the power of Urania. See, Eric W. Wimmers, “The Style of Josuah Sylvester, translator of Du Bartas”, unpublished doctoral thesis (Indiana University, 1972), pp. 156-7.

²² “And in the English tongue tis fitly stated, / By siluer-tongued Silvester translated. / So well, so wisely, and so rarely done, / That he by it immortal fame hath wonne”, *The Authours description of a Poet and Poesie, with an Apology in defence of Naturall English Poetry*, in *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614), STC 23779, sig. B1v.

Taylor devotes another four lines to praising “silver-tongued Sylvester”, so that in total Sylvester’s Du Bartas is given more space in the argument than Ovid and Virgil together.

Taylor was not just paying lip-service to the fame of the French poet. He found a real empathy with Sylvester’s Du Bartas, studying these translations with care and absorbing not just the ideas but also elements of the style and versification. He maintained this enthusiasm through the 1620s and well into the 1630s, modeling part of his pamphlet *Drinke and Welcome* (1637) on a passage from *La Premiere Sepmaine*.²³ Of course the Du Bartas that Taylor so admired was an anglicized version, and, as Susan Snyder points out, Sylvester’s translations change the emphasis of the original in some important respects. In the original, Du Bartas had been careful to avoid anti-Catholic rhetoric, an essential ploy considering his situation as a Huguenot poet at the French court. However, Sylvester takes a much more strident tone, turning Du Bartas’ Protestantism into a much harsher anti-papist stance. He also ensured that he followed Du Bartas’s lead in his emphasis on a vernacular literature, even replacing the details of French landscape and history with English equivalents when he translated *Les Sepmaines*.²⁴ It is also Sylvester’s version of Du Bartas’s style, rather than the French original, that has influenced Taylor, especially in his approach to rhyme.

The influence of Sylvester’s Du Bartas on Taylor may have stretched back well beyond the date of the first extant publication of *Taylor’s Vrania* in 1615/16. The quarto texts of these translations were widely available and Taylor acknowledges as early as 1612 in *The Sculler* the importance to his work of his mentor, John Moray, who echoes Du Bartas in his own verses. Sylvester himself was living in London during the period just before the publication of *The Sculler*, a period when Taylor was almost certainly circulating his work in manuscript. Sylvester’s known association with Prince Henry and

²³ Taylor’s reference to Du Bartas in *Drinke and Welcome* (1637), is to the first day of the *Premiere Sepmaine*, and is in the context of waters, which is a key topic of a long passage in Du Bartas (see Taylor’s text, Sig. C2). Taylor states that he had been planning a poem on “All Waters” in *Taylor on Thames Isis* (1632), STC 23803; the time gap contradicts Taylor’s boast about high speed writing in *Taylor’s Motto*.

²⁴ Snyder notes, for example, the substitution of the English driven from Calais by the English sack of Cadiz, which would no doubt have appealed to Taylor: “throughout the Weeks there are explosions of anti-Catholic fervour, capped by a long passionate outburst at the end of *The Captains*” against the Gunpowder plot. Susan Snyder, (ed.), *The divine weeks and works of Guillaume de Saluste, Sieur du Bartas, translated by Josuah Sylvester*, 2 vols. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1979), vol.2, pp. 50 -51.

his court began around 1607/8, when Henry awarded him a pension; Taylor's first possible published poem dates from 1608 and his early associations with the players and London intelligentsia date from around this period. The two writers may therefore have encountered each other personally at this time or after the death of Prince Henry, during the period 1613-16, when Sylvester was living a financially precarious existence in London, before his move abroad in 1617.

External evidence also suggests that Taylor's composition of his own *Urania* may date from some time before its first extant publication with *The Seige and Sacking of Jerusalem* in the 1615/16 octavo. References in *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* suggest that both of these pieces may already have been known to Taylor's acquaintances by 1614. Samuel King refers to a tragic account of "a bloody fight" in his commendatory verse to *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614):

*Nought comes amisse, for now thou tak'st delight
In bitter Satyres to explaine thy minde:
Then tragicke like, describst a bloody fight,²⁵*

While William Bubb refers specifically to 'Urania' in the same 1614 edition:

*Friend Taylor thou hast here this glory won,
Tha'st made a coate Urania may put on.
I doe applau'd thy quick ingenious spirit*²⁶

This is not conclusive proof that either *Taylors Urania* or *Jerusalem* had been circulating before 1614. Both Bubb and King might possibly have been referring to the contents of *Nipping and Snipping* itself. Bubb's reference to "Urania" could apply to the "Twelve Sonnets upon the Sunnes" (Sigs.E1 to F2), while King's "bloody fight" might

²⁵ Samuel King, "To the humidious Poet, and my very friend John Taylor", in *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614), sig. A1r (my underlining).

²⁶ William Bubb, "To honest Jack Taylor", *ibid.*, sig. A2r (my underlining).

refer to “Certain Sonnets …on the destruction of Troy”. However, neither of these sets of sonnets from *Nipping and Snipping* is a close fit for Bubb and King’s descriptions, while both *Jerusalem* and *Taylors Urania* fit these same descriptions precisely.

Other details support this conjecture of an earlier edition of *Taylor’s Urania*, whether in print or manuscript. First, *All the Workes* was generally set up from previously printed copy texts, and it is notable that *Taylors Urania* and *The Siege and Sacking of Jerusalem* are completely separated in this folio printing, leaving no indication that they were ever joined as a single publication, except for the fact that *Jerusalem* follows directly after *Vrania*. They are also listed separately in the Catalogue to *All the Workes* and there is no common title heading to introduce the two pieces, as occurs later in the folio with other pieces that were originally published together. Secondly, the texts are recorded separately by Park in his bibliography of Taylor’s work: whereas Dow assumed that this was because Park was following the Catalogue in the folio, Park’s bibliography contains pieces not in *All the Workes* at all and it is clear that his knowledge of Taylor’s work extended beyond the folio. There was still enough of a link between the generations back to the seventeenth century for Park’s knowledge of Taylor’s works to be in some ways more accurate than Dow’s in the twentieth century.

The existence of previous editions of one or both of these poems would also account for the anomalies in the combined 1615/16 octavo. In this version, the title-page for the whole book refers to both texts and carries the date 1615. *Taylors Urania* has a separate dedication to Sir George More, who became Lieutenant of the Tower in September 1615.²⁷ *The Siege and Sacking of Jerusalem* has a separate title-page and a separate dedication, dated 1616 and addressed to John Moray, Viscount Annandale. The register for the whole book is virtually continuous: *Taylors Urania* ends with D3 and *Jerusalem* begins with gathering E. The typography and layout of the general title page places *Taylors Urania* as the major text and the “briefe Narration” below it in plainer

²⁷ Sir George More (1553-1632) was Tower Lieutenant from 1615 to 1617, when he sold the post for £2,500. He was a member of the Earl of Leicester’s household in the 1580s, favoured by Queen Elizabeth, treasurer to Prince Henry’s household and Chancellor of the Order of the Garter (1611-1630). He sat on many government committees, including one on the London Watermen (8 December, 1601); he declared of Mary Queen of Scots that “only Popery is the chief and principle root of all the late horrible and wicked treacheries and practices” (4th November 1586). More’s daughter Anne married John Donne; Edward Alleyn married Constance Donne in 1623. See, <http://www.tudorplace.com/Bios/GeorgeMore.htm>, accessed 12 Sept, 2009.

print. This typographical subordination may be the result of a compositors' decision or an indication of Taylor's own valuation of the relative importance of the two works. However, it could also indicate that there was a previous printing of *Taylors Urania*, which was now being re-issued with the addition of the "briefe Narration".²⁸ If so, then the date 1615 on the general title page would be carried over from the previous edition of *Taylors Urania*, explaining the anomaly of the 1616 date on the internal title-page for *The Siege and Sacking of Jerusalem*.

²⁸ Dow describes the date of 1616 for *Jerusalem* as "incorrect[ly]"; however, the STC prefers to date the whole octavo 1616 and indicate that the 1615 on the general title-page is inaccurate. If the printing of this octavo took place towards the end of the winter season 1615/16 then by Lady Day dating both 1615 and 1616 could be "correct" (Dow, *Life and Times*, Bibliography, p.29).

TAYLORS
VRANIA,
OR
His Heauenly Muse.

WITH
A briefe Narration of the thir-
teene Sieges, and sixe Sackings
of the famous Cittie of
IERUSALEM.

*Their miseries of Warre, Plague, and
Famine, (during their last siege by
VESPAZIAN and his Son
TITVS.)*

*In Heroicall Verse compendiously
described.*

London
Printed by Edward Griffis for Nathaniel Butter,
and are to be sold at his shop at S. Ayfins
gate, at the signe of the Pyde
Bull. 1615.

Fig. 5.1. Title page to the first known edition of *Taylors Vrania* (1615/16).²⁹

The question of an earlier circulation for *Taylors Urania* prior to 1616 is relevant to the folio printing of this text for several reasons. An earlier date for his *Vrania* would support my view that this poem does not represent a change of direction for Taylor in 1615/16. Thus the choice of this poem to front *All the Workes* is appropriate to Taylor's conception of authorship throughout his career, from his earliest ventures into print.

²⁹ STC 23806, Folger Shakespeare Library <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 27 September 2009.

Critics have taken pamphlets such as *The Sculler, Laugh and be Fat, The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* and the Coriate and Fennor pieces which appeared during the period 1612-15 as evidence that Taylor's first and fundamental purpose as a writer was to promote himself as a curiosity, achieving a position of fame by any means at his disposal.³⁰ In particular, the Coriate and Fennor series have cast a shadow over all other works being issued by Taylor at that time, such as *Great Britaine All in Blache*, the Thumb Bibles and the summary of the *Booke of Martyrs*. These more overtly serious pieces have generally been belittled by critics and dismissed as sycophancy or commercial opportunism, while Taylor's true interests have been assumed to lie elsewhere, in the cut and thrust of flying with his competitors.³¹ The assumption has been that both Coriate and Fennor were the innocent parties in any dispute and that Taylor hounded them mercilessly in print, perhaps writing *Fennors Defence* himself, or even, according to some critics, manufacturing the whole episode simply to generate publicity.³²

However, we cannot so easily ignore the weight of evidence from the range of Taylor's output within the first five years of beginning his career in print. By 1615/16 he had produced at least as many pieces directly appropriate to the Heavenly Muse as he had pieces focused on Thomas Coriate or William Fennor. Furthermore several of the very texts from this early period that are now considered merely trivial also demonstrate Taylor's commitment to an active Protestantism.³³ These include *The Sculler, Laugh and Be Fat* and *The Nipping & Snipping of Abuses* all of which can be shown to have

³⁰ "The man [Taylor] was continuing his previous experiments with any ingenious writing that might amuse the public for five minutes" (Dow, *Life and Times*, p.108).

³¹ An exception is David Scott Kastan's study of Taylor's *Booke of Martyrs* and Thumb Bibles: Kastan recognizes the strength and sincerity of these publications, although he ends by describing the format as a "joke", David Scott Kastan, 'Little Foxes', in *John Foxe and his World*, ed. Christopher Highley and John N. King (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002), 117-129, pp. 124-128.

³² Taylor may have 'ghost written' another text concerning an attack on the Dolphin (1617): there are two different versions of the same incident, both apparently by Taylor, although only one carries his name. Taylor altered *A Fight at Sea*, perhaps to suit the authorities' desire to smooth relations with the Turks at the time, turning a xenophobic text into an exemplum of Christian Providence. *A fight at sea famously fought by the Dolphin of London against five of the Turkes men of warre, and a satty the 12. of Ianuary last 1616* (Henry Gosson, 1617), STC 6993; John Taylor, *The Dolphins danger and deliverance* (Henry Gosson, 1617), STC 23748.5.

³³ It is possible that Taylor's rivalry with Fennor was based on religious oppositions: Fennor may have been related to Dudley Fenner (c.1558-1587), the controversial Puritan preacher in Middleburg, or to William Fenner, Puritan Minister (1600-1640). For Dudley Fenner, see Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, pp.19-24, 319-321.

strongly anti-Catholic and serious religious elements. Nevertheless, the critical tendency to portray Taylor's output as a continual effort to gain fame at all costs has even led to the interpretation of *Taylors Urania* as no more than an effort to curry favour with patrons, expressing not the poet's own beliefs but his determination to please the rich and powerful. The two figures who were obvious targets for such a poem in 1615 are William Herbert and King James himself. James was a great admirer of Du Bartas and had offered the French poet his patronage after Du Bartas visited the Scottish court in 1587; he attempted his own translation of *L'Uranie* while King of Scotland in 1584.³⁴ That such factors may have been in Taylor's mind in the composition of his own *Urania* can hardly be ignored, since just the previous year he had addressed a sonnet in *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* to James, using extended imagery of himself as candle-light beside the King's sun-like glory, and concluding with the plea:

*And let Pans Pipe, obtaine a little grace,
When Great Appolloes Harpe is out of place*³⁵

However, *Taylors Urania* is not dedicated to James, or at least not in the extant printed copies of 1615/16. Furthermore, although Taylor's interest in divine verse was in line with many writers who sought the King's favour early in his reign, this was not the only source of the influence of religious poetry on him at this time. In particular, Taylor had been closely associated with the writing master and poet John Davies of Hereford, whose importance for Taylor's early career, before his death in 1617/18 has probably been underestimated. Although Davies' copious output included collections of satirical and occasional verses, he was especially devoted to a form of mystic Christianity, as expressed in several lengthy texts that have not found favour with later critics. The influence of Davies on Taylor has been obscured partly because his commendatory verses in the 1615/16 octavo of *Taylor's Vrania* were not transferred to *All the Workes*. They were omitted along with Henry Shirley's lines on the nymphs of the Thames,

³⁴ See Anne Lake Prescott, "The reception of Du Bartas in England", p.148; James Doelman, "The Accession of King James I and English Religious Poetry", in *SEL* 34.1 (Winter 1994), 19-40, pp.23-27.

³⁵ "Great Appolloes Harpe" may refer to George Wither or to Ben Jonson. Wither was imprisoned for four months in the Spring of 1614 for *Abuses Stript and Whipt*. In both cases, "Pans Pipe" is a humorous reference both to Taylor's less elevated status and to the roughness of his satires, compared to these more august rivals.

possibly because both writers were dead before 1630. This is an example of the disproportionate effect of contingent events on early modern texts, for by removing both sets of verses in the transfer to the folio, whoever made this decision left out the evidence for a set of significant personal links in Taylor's early years as a writer.

John Davies of Hereford and Henry Shirley seem to have moved in similar circles.³⁶ However, Shirley was much younger than Davies, and his death in 1627 was premature; he was killed by the drunken Sir Edward Bishop in a quarrel over an inheritance. Prior to this Shirley had begun a promising career as a dramatist, mostly with the Lady Elizabeth's Men. His only extant play is *The Martyr'd Souldier*, an account of the birth of the Swedish monarchy through the triumph of the Christian Bishop Eugenius. The Bishop's conversion of the whole kingdom of the Vandals to Christianity is presented as a miraculous event, in the context of the influence of a royal marriage on the King of the Vandals. The survival of this play is important evidence for the shared interests of Shirley and Taylor. Four years after Shirley's death, Taylor was writing his tribute to Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish King whose Protestant forces seemed to promise the defeat of Catholic Europe. However, *The Martyr'd Souldier* probably dates from the beginning of the 1620s; it was being performed by the Lady Elizabeth's Men in 1622/3, when the book was confiscated from the company by Sir Henry Herbert for failure to implement his cuts.³⁷ The date and the nature of the play suggest that these cuts may have been related to the sensitive issue of negotiations for the Spanish match during these years. *The Martyr'd Souldier* was not published until 1638, by Francis Eglesfield, who had taken over the business of his master, James Boler at the Marigold. We know from catalogues that Eglesfield was selling copies of Taylor's *All the Workes* from the Marigold in this same year, 1638. Thus Shirley's play

³⁶ Henry Shirley came from the family of "adventuring Shirleys who inspired Day's play *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (1607)"; his cousin, Jane Mildmay, wife to Sir Humphrey Mildmay, was related to the Crofts of Suffolk and thus to Sir Francis Wortley (1591-1652), who treated Taylor generously on a visit to Yorkshire (John Taylor, *Part of this summers travels* (1639), STC 23783, p.20 (Sig.B4v), p.24-26 (Sig. B5v-B8v)). Wortley was later author of *A loyal song of the royal feast kept by the prisoners in the Tower* (London, sn. 1647), Wing 3639, with refrain "God send the King his own again", and of several pamphlets devoted to Elizabeth of Bohemia. For the Mildmays, see Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis: 1632-1642* (Cambridge, CUP, 1984), pp.113-118.

³⁷ Herbert passed the play to the Palsgrave's Men, who had lost their playbooks in the fire at the Fortune Theatre; from them it probably went to Queen Henrietta's Men, perhaps ending up with Beeston's Boys in the late 1630s. See Bawcutt, p. 143, entry 49. Butler offers the conjectural date 1619 for the original performance of *The Martyred Soldier* (Butler, *Theatre and Crisis*, p.115).

celebrating the Christianising of the Swedish monarchy was being sold in the same shop at the same time as *All the Workes*, reinforcing the impression of a coincidence of ideologies between the dramatist and the Water Poet.³⁸

Considering Shirley's involvement with the Lady Elizabeth's Men and the nature of *The Martyr'd Souldier*, the presence of his commendatory verses in the 1615/16 octavo of *Taylors Urania* supports the interpretation of this poem as a sincere expression of Taylor's religious position. The background of *The Martyr'd Souldier* also associates Shirley with Thomas Dekker and his own militant Christian plays, which will be discussed below. However, these influences on Taylor do not necessarily run contrary to the possibility that *Taylors Urania* was a bid for the patronage of King James, nor do they preclude the alternative candidate for such a bid, William Herbert. Indeed, the critic Dick Taylor Junior is certain that the 1615/16 publication of *Taylors Urania* was an attempt to claim Herbert's patronage, despite the fact that Herbert is not named in the extant octavo, which is instead dedicated to figures personally associated with Taylor. He believes that this deeply religious poem is part of the rivalry between Taylor and William Fennor, in a battle to attract Herbert's favour, and that the date 1615/16 makes *Taylors Urania* ideally situated as ammunition in this fight. As a general idea this is not impossible: Herbert was an important patron, not just because of his position in the government, but specifically for writers expressing a strongly Protestant nationalistic point of view, as James and then Charles moved towards temporizing with Spain. Herbert was known for his piety and his interest in literature and learning. The fact that Herbert is one of the three dedicatees of *All the Workes* could be considered reason enough for the choice of *Taylors Urania* as the opening poem of the collection, especially if we assume, as many critics have done, that Herbert was the main focus of these dedications.³⁹

³⁸ *The martyr'd souldier: as it was sundry times acted with a generall applause at the Private House in Drury lane, and at other publicke theatres. By the Queenes Majesties servants* (J. Okes for Francis Eglesfield "at the signe of the Mary-gold", 1638). John Okes was Taylor's main printer-publisher during the late 1630s. The dedication is by John Kirke a dramatist from the Fortune/Red Bull, whose own play, *The Seven Champions of Christendome*, was published the same year

³⁹ Dick Taylor's interpretation does fit the inclusion of Abraham Vieill's poem "In Laudem Authoris" in the preliminaries to *All the Workes*. See, Dick Taylor, Jr., "The Third Earl of Pembroke as a Patron of Poetry", in *Tulane Studies in English*, 5 (1955), pp. 41-67. See note 42, below.

Nevertheless, Herbert is in fact the second of the three dedicatees for the folio: if anyone is likely to be specifically targeted by the choice of opening poem, we might expect it to be the first named dedicatee, the Marquis of Hamilton.⁴⁰ Furthermore, in this 1630 folio printing *Taylors Urania* is not specifically dedicated to any one person. The previous dedication to Sir George More is not reprinted, probably a practical move as More was no longer Tower Lieutenant. By contrast, the dedication to John Moray for *The Siege and Sacking of Jerusalem* is retained and carefully updated for the folio to take account of the addressee's change of status to Earl of Annandale. However, the treatment of the preliminaries to *Taylors Urania* is unique for the folio and an important factor in its overall effect. For whoever prepared the copy text of *Taylors Urania* removed the commendatory verses from their position in the original 1615/16 edition, leaving the poem itself without any introduction save Taylor's own verse "To the Vnderstander" (B1r), which belongs with the main text of the poem. Five out of seven of the commendatory verses from the 1615/16 octavo of *Taylors Urania* were then transferred to the preliminaries to the folio. It is not immediately apparent that such a large proportion of the commendations for *All the Workes* come from this single source, partly because the titles have been altered where necessary, so that they apply generally to the collection as a whole rather than to *Taylors Urania* in particular. Thus the phrase "In Vraniam" is carefully removed from the two sets of verses signed by William and Robert Branthwaite. William Branthwaite's "In Vraniam *Iohannis Taylor* Encomium." becomes in the folio, "To the deserving author, Iohn Taylor", while the Latin heading to Robert Branthwaite's verse is changed to the simple "To his friend the Author". The other three poems are transferred with their original titles, which were addressed in more general terms "to the Author" or "To My Friend".

These changes do not appear to be a straightforward effort to obscure the fact that these commendatory verses are taken from the 1615/16 edition of *Taylors Urania*, as the references to *Taylors Urania* within them are left unchanged. Instead, the care with which the items have been arranged, and their titles altered, suggests that the purpose was to enhance the effect of opening *All the Workes* with a poem dedicated to the Heavenly Muse. The aim was to apply this theme more widely to the author's work

⁴⁰ For the dedications to *All the Workes*, see Chapter 3.

as a whole, endorsing the image of Taylor expressed in Dekker's sonnet as "The Ferriman of Heav'n". This purpose is discernable in the overall order and layout of the commendatory verses within the preliminaries to *All the Workes*, where Dekker's sonnet is clearly intended to round off the whole set. In most extant copies, the commendatory verses are bound in sequence, starting below the Errata with the heading "In Laudem Authoris" and the short poem by Viell below. This finishes the verso of the leaf carrying the end of the Epistle Dedicatore. The leaf carrying all the rest of the commendatory verses follows on from this, with Thomas Brewer's poem and the Latin verses by TG on the recto, and the rest of the poems on the verso. The final poem on this verso is Dekker's sonnet, which thus brings the sequence of commendatory verses to an end; the concluding couplet to Dekker's sonnet provides a fitting conclusion to match the phrase "In Laudem Authoris" with which the set of commendatory verses was introduced.

The conventional Latin title "In Laudem Authoris" is at odds with the content of Viell's poem which opens defiantly "Thou hast no learning", a phrase reminiscent of Gabriel Harvey's sarcastic "Trimming" of Thomas Nashe published in 1597.⁴¹ However, "In Laudem Authoris" is probably a transfer from the title of the opening commendatory verse in *Taylors Urania*, which is not reprinted in the folio. This is John Davis of Hereford's tribute to Taylor, "In laudem Authoris. To the Heliconian Water-Poet, my honest friend, Iohn Taylor". The concluding lines of Davis's poem sum up its whole theme, which would have been entirely appropriate to *All the Workes*:

*Art makes not Poetry, thou dost plainly proue,
But supernaturall bountie from aboue.*

This statement of heavenly inspiration was of course apposite to the original publication of *Taylors Urania*, understood as a tribute to Sylvester's Du Bartas and the theme of divine grace in the first *Uranie*, as explored in detail above. Although Davis's poem is not included in the preliminaries for *All the Workes*, its theme is clearly reiterated in

⁴¹ Gabriel Harvey, *The trimming of Thomas Nashe Gentleman* (E. Alldde for P. Scarlet, 1597), STC 12906, Sig. E3r.

Dekker's concluding sonnet, where the conjunction of heavenly grace and plain style in Taylor's work is specifically highlighted.

The coherence of this sequence of commendatory verses needs emphasis for the modern reader because it has been obscured by the choice of copy-text for the UMI and digital copies of *All the Workes*. As explained in Chapter Three above, these are reproduced from the British Library copy, where the preliminaries are bound in an unusual order, which is probably erroneous. Table A (Chapter 3) shows the difference between the British Library copy's binding order and the Sandars copy, which was used for the Menstone Press facsimile (1973). In the former, the Epistle to the World has been dislodged from its more common position directly after the Dedicatory anagrams, and moved to the end of the preliminaries. The leaf containing the bulk of the commendatory verses has been inserted there instead, replacing Viell's quatrain with Brewer's poem "To the Author" as the headline poem for all the commendatory verses in the collection. Although Brewer was an important colleague for Taylor early in his career, his poem is less general than Viell's, indeed it is specific to *Taylor's Vrania*. It is taken from the last page of the commendations in the 1615/16 octavo of *Taylors Urania*, and printed in *All the Workes* on the same sheet as the Latin verses signed TG. As discussed in Chapter 3, by bringing these Latin verses into a position immediately opposite the dedications to Hamilton and the Herbert brothers, the British Library copy reverses the effects otherwise created by the situating of the *Epistle to the World* opposite these dedicatory anagrams in most copies of the volume.

The displacement caused by this change of binding order in the British Library copy shifts Abraham Viell's four-line poem to the very end of the Preliminaries, because it is printed on the verso of the *Epistle*, beneath Taylor's versified *Errata*. This places Viell's quatrain with the grand title *In Laudem Authoris* awkwardly on its own, as if it were doing no more than filling a space at the bottom of the page before the main text of *All the Workes* begins. However, as discussed in Chapter Three, the British Library copy is a poor specimen compared to other extant copies of *All the Workes*, and its order of binding in the preliminaries is rarely repeated (only once amongst the copies I have seen). The fact that this binding order sets the commendatory verses in disarray provides further evidence that this is probably not the preferred or intended sequence. Yet the

widespread influence of electronic media, especially the internet, may well allow this representation of the preliminaries to *All the Workes* to become the dominant version for readers in the future. As such, it reinforces by an accident of modern technology the spurious impression that *All the Workes* was “flung together”, with the commendatory verses distributed in an illogical manner and with the disconnected juxtaposition of the commendations by Brewer and TG opposite the dedicatory anagrams at the start of the preliminaries.

By contrast, the order of the preliminaries in the Sandars copy is logical in both a thematic and a practical sense. The commendatory verses are all placed together following the *Epistle to the World*, with the Catalogue as the final item before the opening of *Taylor's Vrania*. This arrangement has the material evidence of usage to recommend it. For, contrary to the assumptions that have been made about the Catalogue from the nineteenth century onwards, it is clear that earlier readers did use it to locate particular items. Thus in various copies it has been annotated with manicules or underlining, and there are even page numbers added in some instances. These annotations do apply mostly to the first page, which is closer to the printing order within the main text than the second page.⁴² The binder was therefore providing a useful service to the reader by placing the Catalogue at the end of the preliminaries, directly before the main text. This sequence is also in keeping with contemporary binding methods. If the preliminaries were made up of three folio sheets folded and stitched inside each other then the first page of the Catalogue would have been printed on the right hand side of the first folio sheet, opposite the blank verso to the engraved title page. When stitched together, this would place the Catalogue at the end of the preliminaries, in the equivalent position to the leaf carrying the engraved title page at the beginning. Thus rather than being muddled or hasty, the whole arrangement is entirely sensible.

These material details contradict the belief that Taylor's collection lacks coherence and is simply a jumble of items assembled with no other purpose than to fill a folio and prove its author's success by its sheer bulk. In this respect, the selection and

⁴² For the order of texts in the Catalogue to *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet*, see Chapters 7 - 9.

arrangement of the commendatory verses in relation to the opening pieces of the collection is a vital factor. The division of material from an early edition of *Taylor's Vrania* which was then used for both the preliminaries, printed by John Beale's presses and the first main section of the text, printed by Elizabeth Alde, points to some degree of cooperation between the different printers, or at least to careful planning and coordination. Furthermore, practical considerations and authorial/editorial purposes may be understood to reinforce each other here: the demands of the printing house and the reader's convenience could be satisfied at the same time as promoting the particular agenda of *All the Workes* as a whole. For example, it might seem that the separation of the commendatory verses and the opening of *Taylors Urania* by the insertion of the Catalogue between them interrupts the logic by which these verses have been selected, and leaves the poem itself unnecessarily stripped of the usual preliminaries. This is certainly a contrast to the treatment of most of the other individual items in the folio, nearly all of which have parts of the title-page apparatus, dedications and commendatory verses transferred from their original printings.⁴³ However, the unusual arrangement for *Taylors Urania* can be understood as fitting the wider purposes of the folio collection as a whole.

In order to trace this purpose at work, we need to consider the differences between the presentation of the opening of *Taylors Urania* in the folio and the 1615/16 octavo. In both editions, the poem is prefaced with a separate verse entitled "To the Vnderstander". In the 1615/16 octavo, "To the Understander" is printed on the page opposite the first two verses of the poem; the title *Taylors Urania* is placed above these two verses on the right-hand page. Thus "To the Understander" appears to be detachable from the main poem, functioning as a type of dedication. It is possible that "To the Understander" was designed to accompany an illustration, following a similar format to the engraved emblem in *Taylor's Motto* (1621). There, the verse description of the emblem is printed opposite the engraved image of Taylor standing on a globe amidst the troubled seas. The wording of "To the Understander" could well have been intended to describe a similar emblematic illustration:

⁴³ For example, for *Taylors Water-Worke*, which is printed towards the end of the collection, the title-page wording, the dedication and two and a half pages of commendatory verses are included, and lead directly into the main text (*All the Workes*, 1630, Sig. 2Bbb2r - 2Bbb3v).

*See here the Pride and Knowledge of a Sayler,
His Sprit-saile, Fore-saile, Main-saile, & his Mizzen;
A poore fraile man, God wot, I know none frailer:
I know for sinners Christ is dead and rizen.
I know no greater sinner than Iohn Taylor*

It could be argued that the gestural phrasing in “See here” is metaphorical, and that the “Pride and Knowledge of a Sayler” should be understood as referring to the poem that follows. However, there is a parallel usage in the 1612 edition of *Great Britaine All in Blache*, Taylor’s tribute for the death of Prince Henry. Here, the verse describing the half-page illustration of Henry at the tilt, begins with similar phrasing, “See here the portrait of that matchless wight / Whose valour paralel’d the God of fight”. Here, the verse description of the image fits the half-page illustration beneath which it is printed.



See here the portraite of that matche's wight
 Whose valour paraleld the God of fight:
 At Tilt, at Barriers, both with sword and speare
 He made his hopefull proweſſe oft apeare:
 His shadow's here, the world his ſubſtance miſſes
 That was this Iſles Achilles and Uliſſes.
 His ſoul's inthroan'd aboue Heauen's ſpangled frathe,
 And earth's adorn'd with his reſounding fame.

A

Fig. 5.2. John Taylor, *Great Britaine, all in blacke* (1612).⁴⁴

This parallel with *Great Britaine All in Blacke* could explain the arrangement of the verses in the 1615/16 octavo, where “To the Understanter” is separated from the main text:

⁴⁴ *Great Britaine, all in blacke For the incomparable losse of Henry, our late worthy prince* (E. Alde for John Wright, 1612), STC 23760 <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 20 July 2009. This page is followed by a dedication to Robert Douglass, Master of the Horse, and then a mourning title page. The main poem, “Great Britaine All in Blacke” begins on A3. Part of this text is transferred into the folio of 1630.

And that's thy Selfe, transporting Soules to blisse,
VRANIA sits at Helme and Pilot is ;
For Thame, thou hast the latte a via sound,
Be thou with bayes (as that with starres is) crown'd.

Thomas Dekker.

To the Vnderstander.

Se heere the Pride and Knowledge of a Sayler,
His spritsaile, foresaile, mainsaile, & his Mizze ;
A poore fraile man God wot, I know none fraiser :
I know for Sinners, Christ is dead, and rizzen.
I know no greater sinner then Iohn Taylor
Of all his Death did Ransome out of Prizzen,
And therefore heere's my Pride, if it be Pride,
To know Christ, and to know him Crucifide.

Thine in all humilitie

Iohn Taylor.

TAYLORS

VRANIA.

(1)

Eternall God which in thine armes do'st Graspe
All past, all present, and ali future things :
And in ineveitable doome doſt claspē
The liues and deaths of all that dies and springs,
And at the doomefull day will once vnhaspē
Th' acusing booke of Subiects and of Kings.
In whom though ending nor beginning be,
Let me (þ Lord) beginne and end in thee.

(2)

All cogitations vaine from me remooue,
And cleane my earthly and polluted heart :
Inspire me with thy blessings from aboue,
That (to thy honour) I with Artleſſe Art
May ſing thy Inſtice, Mercy, and thy Loue ;
Poſſeſſe me with thy Grace in every part
That no profane word iſſue from my pen
But to the Glorie of thy name ; Amen.

3 I

Fig. 5.3. Taylors *Vrania* (1615/16, STC 23806) Folger Shakespeare Library⁴⁵

The arrangement shown above could suggest that there had indeed been an earlier edition of *Taylors Urания* with an illustration, possibly a half-page woodcut as with *Great Brtaine All in Blacke*. Alternatively, it is possible that the 1615/16 octavo was

⁴⁵ <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 20 July 2009.

intended to carry an illustration, which was not forthcoming or only appeared in some copies. The most likely position for an illustration in this 1615/16 printing would be on the blank page opposite Taylor's dedication to Sir George More, although an earlier edition might have been arranged differently. Perhaps Taylor's imagery, with the abstract concepts "pride" and "knowledge" being described in terms of a ship's sails, proved too difficult to transfer to a visual medium. If we were seeking for the illustration to the verse "To the Understanter" for *Taylors Urania*, we might envisage a ship in full sail, with perhaps a symbolic reference to Christ and / or a representation of Taylor himself. It is interesting, therefore, that this idea is partially represented in the engraved frontispiece to *All the Workes*, which presents the book's title carved onto the background of a sail.⁴⁶

The layout of the verses in the 1615/16 octavo of *Taylors Urania* illustrated above creates a visual link between the verse "To the Understanter" and the end of Dekker's sonnet, which is split on the recto and verso of the same leaf. This sonnet was the last of the seven commendatory verses printed in the octavo, bringing them to a resounding close with its especially extravagant praise of the author. The appearance of the last four lines of Dekker's poem above "To the Understanter" and opposite the first two numbered verses of *Taylors Urania*, makes them stand out from the rest of the commendations that have appeared on the previous pages. They follow on from the words "The Ferryman of Heav'n I know well" at the bottom of the previous page:

*And that's thySelfe, transporting Soules to blisse,
Vrania sits at Helme and Pilot is;
For Thames thou hast the lactea via found,
Be thou with baies (as that with stars is) crowned*

The effect is to give prominence to Dekker's fanciful image of Taylor as the Heavenly Charron, and to link Taylor's "selfe" firmly to the figure of "Vrania". It also highlights

⁴⁶ For the frontispiece to *All the Workes*, see Chapter 3.

the identification between the Thames and the Milky Way, strengthening the conceptualisation of Taylor as the poet of the Thames.

However, the position of Dekker's lines also produces a discordance between the content of "To the Understanter" and the sonnet's extravagant image of Taylor as the Ferriman of Heav'n rowing amidst the wide stretches of the astrological heavens. For Dekker's laureation of the water-man is immediately off-set by the humility of Taylor's own short introductory verse, which stresses his role as a simple sailor, and his sense of human frailty and sin. While the playwright's language is formal and hyperbolic, the water poet's description of the "sinner" John Taylor is purposefully humble and self-castigating, and expressed in the technical terminology of the practical waterman:

*See here the Pride and Knowledge of a Sayler,
His Sprit-saile, Fore-saile, Main-saile, & his Mizzen;
A poore fraile man, God wot, I know none frailer:
I know for sinners Christ is dead and risen.
I know no greater sinner than Iohn Taylor*

The contrast between the sonnet and the eight-line rhyme could thus not be greater, and their appearance on the same page has the effect of undercutting Dekker's hyperbole without reducing the effectiveness of either verse. For it suggests that, while others are driven to praise Taylor extravagantly, he himself recognizes his own unworthiness for such praise, with the Christian humility summed up by the signature "Thine in all humilitie, John Taylor". This neatly side-steps any potential accusations of hubris in the publication of *Taylors Urania* with its swathe of admiring commendations, accusations that had already been alluded to in the preliminaries to Taylor's early texts, *The Sculler* (1612) and *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614), and were clearly a source of concern for Taylor.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ In *Taylor's Urania* (1615/16) the poet's name is reproduced in much smaller print than the divine figure, both on the title page and in the opening of title of the poem, so that Taylor is presented as merely a servant of this Divine Muse.

However, the arrangement of these pieces for the 1630 folio seems at first to counteract all these associations. In *All the Workes*, the commendatory verses, including Dekker's sonnet, are separated from both *Taylor's Urania* itself and from the introductory verse "To the Understanter". This is the case in both the common arrangement found in the Sandars copy and the much rarer order of the British Library volume, although there are a couple of exceptions which will be discussed further below. In all copies of *All the Workes*, 'To the Understanter' becomes an integral part of the main poem, because it is printed directly beneath the title "Taylors Vrania" and above the first four verses. Thus the theme of the writer's human frailty and its redemption by "Christ crucified" becomes the key point of the poem:

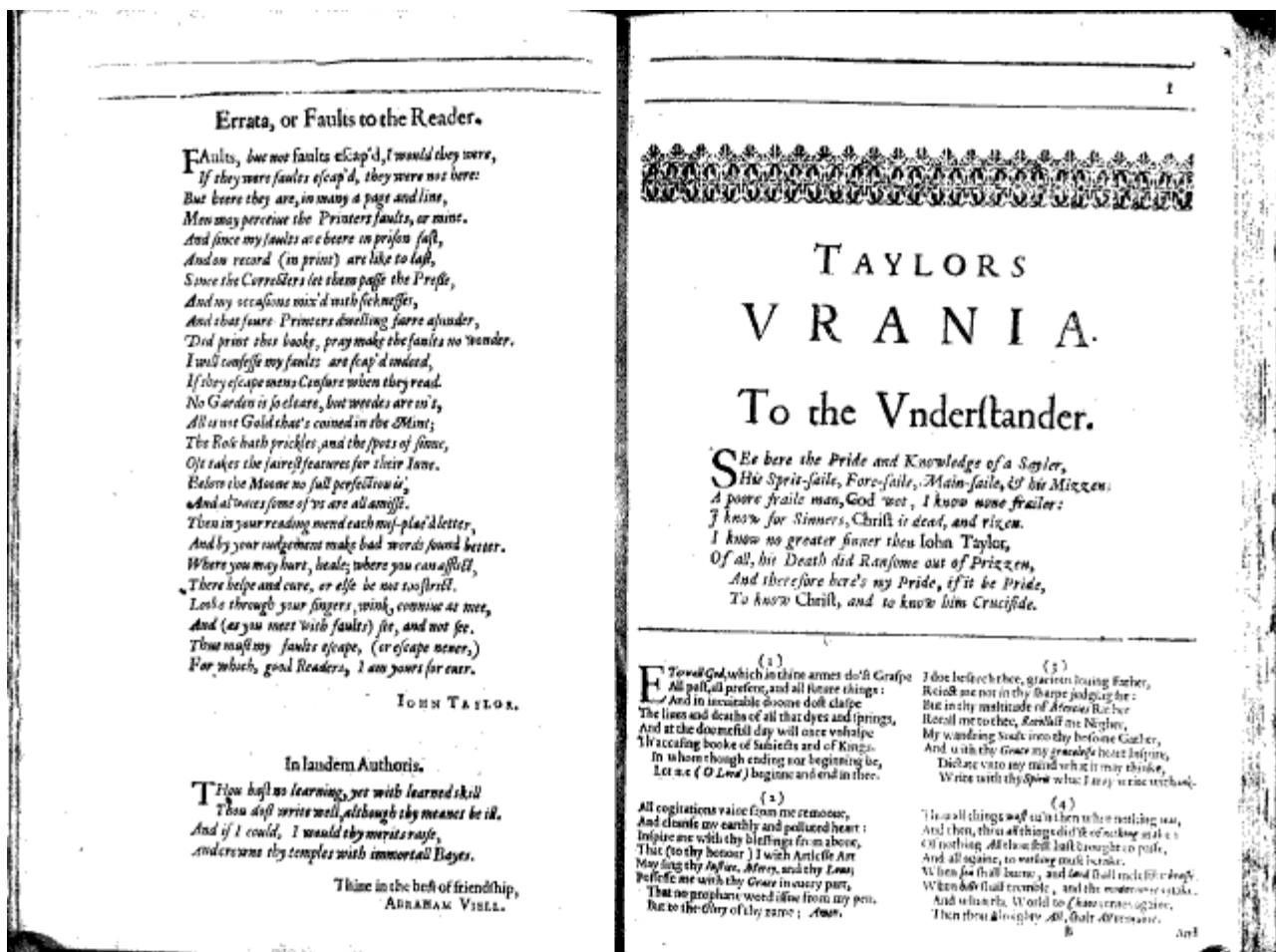


Fig. 5.4. *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet*, British Library copy, displaying the opening of *Taylors Vrania* opposite the *Errata*. This binding order is rare.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ John Taylor, *All the Workes* (1630), STC 23725, BL 79.h.22 <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 20 July 2009.

Furthermore, by its position at the focal centre of the opening page of the main text, this address to the understanding reader becomes the key concept of *All the Workes* as a whole. This is entirely in keeping with the emphasis on earthly vanity and Christ's redemption in the Epistle to the World and therefore can be seen as a continuation of that theme. The new prominence afforded to this verse in the folio format also brings it into line with other significant moments in *All the Workes*. In particular, the placing of Christ's name in the opening and closing lines of "To the Understanter" matches the conclusion to the whole folio. For the ending of *Gods Manifold Mercies* sums up that poem's theme of the monarchy's dependence on a Protestant English Church, concluding with explicit reference to Christ the intercessor:

*The Church of Christ doth acknowledge no other Intercessor, Defender;
Maintainer and Deliuerer, but onely Christ himselfe.*

The collection thus begins with a personal statement of Taylor's faith, with a distinctly Calvinist tenor, emphasizing man's sinful nature and Christ's ransom, and ends by reiterating the same point of view with regard to the wider sphere of the English Church. The re-arrangement of the verses at the opening of *Taylor's Vrania* therefore contributes to the overall effect of the volume as a whole:

*I know for sinners Christ is dead and rizen.
I know no greater sinner than Iohn Taylor
Of all, his death did ransome out of prizzen
And therefore here's my Pryde, if it be Pride,
To know Christ, and to know him Crucifide.*

By stripping the opening of *Taylors Urania* of its preliminary material, leaving only this simple address "To the understander", whoever prepared the copy for this part of the folio seems intent upon conveying the Calvinistic piety of the author. However, the visual effect of this layout also depends on the page that is bound opposite it. In this respect, the order represented by the British Library copy is especially unhelpful, in placing in that position the page carrying the verse *Errata* with Viell's quatrain tagged

on at the bottom. These items seem peculiarly inappropriate to this meditative religious poem opposite. The *Errata* is a humorous complaint about shoddy printing, expressed with some deftness, but of little relevance to *Taylors Urania*; Viell's verse is plain and plodding. The inappropriate nature of this material for the poem that follows is yet another reason to suppose that the British Library binding order is erroneous.⁴⁹

Yet it might seem that the Sandars copy binding order is equally inappropriate, since it places the verso of the Catalogue, apparently so slapdash and inaccurate, opposite such a carefully arranged declaration of faith. However, as discussed in Chapter Three, there is more to the Catalogue than first appears; the apparently jumbled second page is less chaotic than it seems, and the trivial little quatrain at the end may be less innocent than supposed. Furthermore, the situation of *Taylors Urania* opposite this page of the Catalogue brings into conjunction the titles of the opening and closing poems in which these references to Calvinist orthodoxy are so prominent. The title of *The Churches Deliverances* (running title for *Gods Manifold Mercies*) is listed in the second column of the Catalogue, two items from the end, bringing it visually within range of the title of *Taylors Urania* on the opposite page. Although this may be no more than coincidence, the second Catalogue page carries very little type, being mostly white space, so that the short columns containing these titles stand out clearly. Furthermore, as explored in Chapter Three, the message of the quatrain beneath these columns, that "Any one may find [the right text], that will looke", is an injunction to look carefully for the important items, rather than skimming over these columns. This quatrain is aptly placed on the page opposite the address "To the Understander" at the opening of *Taylor's Vrania*, conveying a clear message: this volume is arranged for the discerning

⁴⁹ The brevity of Viell's commendation may be the reason for its inclusion in *All the Workes* beneath the title "In Laudem Authoris": in *Fennors Descriptions* (1616), Taylor's arch rival had printed an elaborate set of lines with the title "In Laudem Authoris", by the lawyer and astrologer John Melton (1616, STC 10784). Fennor dedicated this book to the Earl of Pembroke. Taylor may well have considered Viell's lines a fitting riposte to the ridiculously inflated rhetoric of Melton's praise for Fennor: "What Enthousiasmos, what celestiall spirit,/ What sacred fury doth thy braines inherit?/ Why shouldst thou not then weare a wreath of bayes, / Nay a whole grove of Lawrell to thy praise" etc. *Fennors descriptions, or A true relation of certaine and diuers speeches spoken before the King and Queenes most excellent Maiestie,. By William Fennor, His Maiesties seruant* (E. Griffin for G. Gybbs 1616), STC 10784.

reader, who is invited to scrutinize with care, and therefore to “understand” the implications of the contents.

It is notable that neither of the most well known binding orders for the preliminaries to *All the Workes* maintains the 1615/16 octavo’s close relationship between Dekker’s sonnet and Taylor’s “To the Understanter”. In the octavo the layout emphasises the personal link between these two writers, an effect compounded by the presence of the signatures of both men in parallel positions on the page. In nearly all copies of *All the Workes*, however, this proximity is disrupted. In the Sandars binding order the interruption consists of the single leaf carrying the Catalogue, while in the British Library copy the gap is much more substantial. As discussed above, this separation has the virtue of bringing the simple dedication of *Taylor’s Vrania* “To the Vnderstanter” (Sig. B1r) into much greater prominence than in the earlier octavo. Indeed, the plainness and humility of this opening might have been deliberately designed to minimize the temerity of a Waterman presenting his work in Folio format, by counteracting the grandiose material presentation of the text.

However, a few copies of *All the Workes* have reinstated the link between the sonnet and *Taylor’s Urания*. In these rare instances, the Catalogue has been moved back earlier in the preliminaries, leaving the page carrying the commendatory verses at the end, directly opposite *Taylor’s Urания*. This arrangement has the advantage of moving the Errata page carrying Viell’s quatrain back to an earlier position in the preliminaries, rather than leaving this rather weak stanza in an isolated position as the final item. Instead, it casts Dekker’s sonnet as the concluding item to the whole set of preliminary material in *All the Workes*. Although this does diminish to some extent the deep humility of the “sinner” John Taylor as expressed in “To the Understanter”, it also alters the dynamics of this opening sequence, making the imagery of Dekker’s sonnet the driving force for the presentation of *All the Workes* to the reader. The effect of this layout in the copies I have seen, moving straight from the lauration of Taylor as the “ferriman of heav’n” to his address to the Heavenly Muse, convincingly reproduces the effect of the 1615/16 octavo. Even though this may be the result of chance, where the Catalogue leaf has been detached from its intended place right at the end of the Preliminaries, nevertheless this arrangement reinforces the position of Dekker’s sonnet as the

summative statement of all the commendations for Taylor's collection.⁵⁰ Thus in the overwhelming majority of copies of *All the Workes*, it is Dekker who has the last word on Taylor's reputation in 1630, just as he did in the octavo *Taylors Urania* in 1615/16.

Thomas Dekker's importance for Taylor has been underplayed in modern criticism, perhaps because until recently Dekker too had an unenviable reputation as a popular dramatist and author of coney-catching pamphlets. Yet many factors point to a close association between Dekker and Taylor, and it is therefore important to establish the significance of the sonnet to "The Ferriman of Heav'n". For, despite the exclusively literary style of this sonnet, the endorsement of Dekker would surely have suggested to contemporary readers a wide range of associations - with militant Protestantism, with popular theatre, with satirical and moralizing pamphlets, and with a specifically London milieu - that might seem at odds with the sober and studious air of the poem itself. There is disagreement amongst modern scholars about the extent to which Dekker should be understood as committed to militant Protestantism: some argue that this writer was too much of an opportunist and too driven by a constant need for cash to be seriously committed to such beliefs, a view that has been equally applied to John Taylor himself. However, there is no doubt that militant Protestantism is the primary focus of plays such as *The Whore of Babylon*, an allegorical account of the assassination of Elizabeth I by Roman Catholicism (the 'Whore of Babylon').⁵¹ The famous portrayal of the Armada through a staged sea- battle in this Red Bull play is precisely the type of performance that would have appealed to Taylor.⁵² Similarly, *The Double PP. or A Papist at Armes*, written at the same period, is a classic anti-papist satire. Even such entertaining coney-catching pamphlets as *The Belman of London* have a strongly moralizing strain.

⁵⁰ This is shown in the copy of *All the Workes* in the library of St John's College, Oxford, which is in a near-contemporary binding, more elaborate than the usual plain leather over boards. See Table A in Chapter 3, and Appendix.

⁵¹ *The Whore of Babylon* was probably written shortly after the 'discovery' of the Gunpowder plot. Gasper describes it as the "definitive militant Protestant play", Julia Gasper, *The Dragon and the dove: the Plays of Thomas Dekker* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 62. Susan Krantz endorses Gasper's view, but insists on the topicality of *The Whore* to events of 1605, Susan E. Krantz, "Thomas Dekker's political commentary in 'The Whore of Babylon'", in *SEL*, 35.2 (Spring, 1995), pp. 271-291, p. 272. For a contrasting view, see John Twining's opinion that both this play and *The double PP* were misdirected attempts by Dekker to "cash in on" anti-Catholic sentiment at the time, John Twynning, 'Dekker, Thomas', [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7428>], accessed 20 Sept. 2009.

⁵² T. Howard Hill endorses Gasper's location of this play within the genre of 'comoedia apocalypтика', aligning it with Foxe's play *Christus Triumphans*, T.H. Howard-Hill, 'Review of The Dragon and the Dove: The Plays of Thomas Dekker by Julia Gasper', in *RES*, ns. 43, no. 172 (November 1992), 554-555.

However, Dekker was also capable of writing meditatively, as demonstrated by his book of prayers, *Four Birds of Noah's Ark* (1609), including "Christ, the Pellican" and "the true and only Phoenix ...Christ Jesus". Although these are in prose, not verse, and their style is in keeping with their function as prayers for a range of occasions and persons, they carry the distinctive hallmark of Dekker's metaphorical style.⁵³ Thus, although it is beyond doubt that contemporaries would have associated Dekker's name with militant Protestantism and virulent, if often comically presented, anti-papist sentiments, this was not incompatible with a more lyrical and contemplative image.

Therefore, Dekker's tribute to *Taylors Urania* does not undermine Taylor's contemplative mediation on sin and divine inspiration. Rather, it creates a context for this poem that is typical of Taylor's approach to authorship, where poetry and action are inseparable. This is not a contradiction of the ethos of either Du Bartas or Sylvester. As Frances Malpezzi points out, in *L'Uranie* Urania considers the true poet to be "God's soldier":

*a member of the Church Militant fighting a spiritual battle. Poetry can be used by the Church Militant in this earthly warfare, can help man to overcome, to gain the final victory as a member of the Church triumphant.*⁵⁴

This description would fit both Dekker's plays on Queen Elizabeth and indeed Henry Shirley's *Martyr'd Souldier*, as described above. Thus the choice of *Taylors Urania* as the keynote poem for *All the Workes* is not at odds with the commitment to active engagement shown through the rest of the collection, but is very much in line with its whole ethos.

However, Dekker's sonnet does not openly express the type of abrasive anti-papist sentiment found in his plays. Instead, it focuses upon the portrayal of Taylor within the trope of the divine poet.

⁵³ *The double PP. A papist in armes. bearing ten seuerall sheilds. Encountred by the protestant. at ten seuerall weapons. A Iesuite marching before them* (T. Creede for J. Hodgets, 1606), STC 6498; *Foure birds of Noahs arke viz. 1. The dove. 2. The eagle. 3. The pellican. 4. The phoenix* (H. Ballard for N. Butter, 1609), STC 6499.

⁵⁴ Frances M. Malpezzi, "Du Bartas's *L'Uranie*, the Devotional Poet's handbook", in *Allegorica*, 8-10, (1983-9), 185-198, p.189.

*Row on (good Water-man) and looke backe still
(Thus as thou do'st) vpon the Muses Hill,
To guide thee in thy course: Thy Boate's a Spheare
Where thine Vrania moues diuinely-cleere.
Well hast thou Plyd'e, and (with thy learned Oare)
Cut through a Riuer, to a nobler shore
Then euer any landed-at. Thy saile
(Made all of clowdes) swells with a prosp'rous gale.⁵⁵*

The verse has a flexibility and sophistication that many of the other tributes to Taylor lack. Dekker's smooth handling of the syntax subsumes the familiar images of Taylor's oar cutting through the water and the swelling sails within the wider symbolism of a heavenly voyage. There is no indication that Dekker may be writing tongue-in-cheek, deliberately adopting this style in opposition to the contemporary image of watermen as endemically uncouth and foul-mouthed. Instead, the versification and the development of the conceit suggest rather that the playwright was relishing the opportunity to contradict the stereotype of the waterman. The conceit is carefully built up so that the rhyming couplet arrives as a natural consequence of the poem's progression.

*For Thames thou hast the lactea via found,
Be thou with baies (as that with stars is) crowned*

Here, the extravagant metaphorical leap from the prosaic Thames to the milky way is made to seem inevitable by the parallel of “lactea via” and the parenthetical “as that with stars is”, a parallel reinforced by the repetition of the vowel-consonant pattern between the Latin “lactea via” and the English “that with stars”.

However the most obvious effect in this concluding couplet is the placing of “crowned” as the final word in the poem, pointing up the hyperbole of the whole, but also creating a sense of inevitability, as if the coronet of bays is Taylor's without

⁵⁵ *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630), preliminary verses.

question. The finality of this couplet offers a triumphal context for the opening of *Taylors Urania*: there appears to be no hesitation in affording the waterman this accolade. This last point may also explain the particular importance of Dekker's sonnet for the presentation of Taylor both in 1615/16 and in the 1630 *Workes*. Other commendatory verses tend to argue that Taylor has already put off his waterman's identity and taken on a new life as a writer, or else to urge him to do so. They place a social distance as well as a material separation between the physical labour of the waterman and the cerebral work of composition. William Bubb, for example, struggles hard to separate Taylor from the circumstances of his physical "toyle":

*And may thy fortune countervale thy merit
Which if it doe (thy worth I will not flatter),
Thou never more shalt toyle upon the water.* ⁵⁶

Like many others, Bubb sees this privileged writer's future as conditional for Taylor, and associates physical labour with the material context of "the water". Dekker's sonnet goes beyond these divisions: his conceit of Taylor as the "Ferriman of Heav'n" incorporates the two worlds in one. By adopting the terminology of Taylor's trade, he effectively merges the corporeal and the spiritual:

*Some say, there is a Ferryman of Hell,
The Ferryman of Heau'n, I now know well,
And that's thy Selfe, transporting Soules to blisse,
VRANIA sits at Helme and Pilot is*

While the use of waterman-related imagery is almost ubiquitous in verses addressed to Taylor, Dekker is one of the few to turn this trope in an entirely positive direction. Even the phrasing of the final image is subtly inclusive, allowing the Thames to merge into the heavens, as river and stars become images of one another in the "lactea via". This Latin phrase, smoothly integrated into the English verse, prepares for the reference to the

⁵⁶ William Bubb, *Nipping and Snipping*, sig. A2v.

classical crown of “baies” in the concluding line, and links specifically to *Urania* who ‘sits at helm’. It is thus entirely appropriate to the concept of *L’Uranie* as portrayed by Sylvester’s *Du Bartas*.⁵⁷

Dekker’s sparing use of Latin might also remind a contemporary reader that the playwright himself was sufficiently learned in the language, despite not being a university man. In this respect, the choice of this particular author’s tribute to conclude the preliminaries to *All the Workes* and to provide the bridge to the main text may be understood not just as a stratagem to create a certain image of Taylor, but also as a reflection of empathy between the two writers. Dekker was one of the few successful early modern playwrights without a University background. His determination and dedication to his craft enabled him to survive on the edge of penury, adapting to circumstances by moving into pamphleteering and back to playwriting when plague interrupted the operation of the theatres. Cockson’s graphic image of the penniless writer holding up his empty purse for *Taylor’s Motto* would no doubt have struck a chord with Dekker, and indeed it is very likely that the sonnet under discussion was written whilst its author languished in debtor’s prison, during the years 1613-20.

This sonnet is the clearest evidence for a direct link between Dekker and Taylor, but there are several other connections from the 1610s and early 1620s. On a personal level, both writers shared an acquaintance with Edward Alleyn, the actor who endowed Dulwich College. The theatrical connection obviously lies behind Alleyn’s links to Dekker, but the actor’s kindness, as recorded in their correspondence now held at Dulwich College, seems to go beyond mere acquaintance. Alleyn’s acquaintance with Taylor may have arisen through their local connections in the parish of St. Saviour’s, or even through Taylor’s trade, as Alleyn was a regular user of the river in his everyday business trips. Alleyn records in his Diary giving Taylor money for his trip to Scotland, presumably as part of the subscription process for *The Pennilesse Pilgrimage* (1618). He also possessed a copy of *Taylors Urania*, which is listed in the inventory for his

⁵⁷ It is also possible that this phrasing would have suggested a quite different allusion in the minds of readers in 1630, by reference to the “via media” or middle way, then being advocated by the Calvinist followers of Bishop Abbott. See Chapters 8-9.

library.⁵⁸ It is possible, given their acquaintance in common, that this copy was a gift to Alleyn from either Taylor or Dekker. It certainly seems more than a coincidence that Alleyn owned a copy of the only text (to my knowledge) where Dekker and Taylor's compositions are printed on the same page together.⁵⁹

There are further associations between Taylor and Dekker through their dealings with the stationers, John Trundle and Nathaniel Butter, who were significant figures for both writers and also sometimes worked with each other. Trundle was involved in the publication of at least six texts by Dekker, dating from 1606 to 1625. Gerald Johnson comments that "these manuscripts were apparently acquired from the author", and as Trundle either acted as publisher or as middle-man, procuring copy to sell on to others, this suggests that he was personally acquainted with Dekker over this period of time.⁶⁰ However, the peculiarities of Trundle's situation means that this relationship has been obscured because his name does not appear in the imprints of several of these texts. Thus, for example, *The Double PP* was entered to Trundle and Edgar in 1605 but published under the name of the bookseller John Hodgetts in 1606. Similarly, the first part of *The Whore of Babylon* was entered in 1607 to Butter and Trundle but published "for" Butter alone. Trundle also seems to have been more than just an acquaintance for Taylor. Some degree of friendship is suggested by the account of his presence with Gossen at Taylor's departure from London for his *Pennilesse Pilgrimage* and by the jokes that Taylor plays on his name. Trundle was involved in the publication of at least five texts by Taylor, including *Taylor's Motto* (1621) and *Prince Charles his Welcome from Spain* (1623). He also published the original edition of Taylor's tract on the Virgin

⁵⁸ [Inventory]. A connection between Alleyn, Dekker and Taylor is also suggested by the allusions to Taylor in *The Tell Tale*, an unattributed play in manuscript preserved at Dulwich College. Although anonymous, there is evidence, internal and external, for Dekker's authorship and an approximate date around 1622 (see Chapter 6).

⁵⁹ For Alleyn's involvement in Parish affairs of St. Saviour's, see S. P. Ceresano, "Edward Alleyn's 'Retirement' 1597-1600" in *MRDIE* 10, pp. 98-112, pp.103 and 111. His interest in the Bear Garden and Mastership of the Bears with Henslowe from 1604, may also have brought him into contact with Taylor (Ceresano, op. cit, pp.104-5); Taylor's *Bull, Beare and Horse* (1638, STC 23739) was dedicated to Thomas Godfrey, keeper of the Game. Jacob Meade, a Watermen's Ruler alongside Taylor (1622-3), was also Henslowe's business partner: see G.F. Warner (ed.), *Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Muniments of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich* (London, 1881), no.171. Alleyn purchased a piece of the Queen's barge and had it installed as part of the paneling in Dulwich college (Warner, *Manuscripts*, no. IX, p. 176, 19th December 1618). See also, S. P. Ceresano, "Edward Alleyn: His Brothel's Keeper", in *MRDIE* 13, pp.93-100. For Alleyn's portraits of English monarchs and Taylor's *A Briefe Remembrance* (1618-21), see Chapter 7.

⁶⁰ Johnson, "John Trundle and the Book-trade", p.192.

Mary, which is printed directly after *Taylors Urania* and *The Siege and Sacking of Jerusalem in All the Workes*. Although the main period of these publications is the early 1620s, Trundle's appearance in *The Pennilesse Pilgrimage* is one of several indications that his association with Taylor had begun before this period, possibly as early as 1615, and was certainly underway by 1617.⁶¹

As Gerald Johnson comments, Taylor and Dekker were the most consistent named authors amongst the list of texts in which John Trundle's involvement has been traced. Thus they were clearly significant writers for Trundle. The list of books published or sold by Nathaniel Butter is much longer and better documented, but again there seems to have been a particular affinity between this stationer and these two authors. Indeed, it could be argued that it was Butter, rather than Henry Gossen, who first established Taylor as a celebrity in the publishing market in 1612-16, selling the first copies of *The Sculler* in 1612, and publishing the second edition, *Taylors Water-Worke* in 1614. He also published *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614) and *Taylors Urania* (1616).⁶² Butter had a similar involvement with Dekker: in addition to *The Whore of Babylon*, he published at least five other Dekker texts between 1606 and 1609. These include the successful *Bellman of London*, which ran to three impressions in 1608 and was reissued by Butter in 1616.⁶³ Thus Butter's early involvement with both Dekker and Taylor ended in about 1616, just as Trundle's relationship with Taylor was probably starting.

However, Butter did come into contact with both Taylor and Dekker again much later. For Taylor, this was not until 1641, when he published *A Sea Fight*. However, for Dekker, this was in 1630, when Butter published *The Second Part of the Honest Whore*, the sequel to *The Honest Whore* (1605), which had been entered to Thomas Man in 1608

⁶¹ See Chapters 2 and 8.

⁶² *The Sculler* was entered to Gossen in 1611: the change of imprint in *Taylors Waterworke*, from "to be sold by" Butter (*The Sculler*) to "printed for" Butter (*Waterworke*), coinciding with a change in printer from Aldde to Snodham, may indicate that Butter acquired the rights, but there is no record of this. *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* was entered 7 December 1613 and printed for Butter by Edward Griffin. Although there is no record of entrance for *Taylors Vrania*, the similar imprint suggests that Butter could have claimed the rights to this poem as well.

⁶³ *The belman of London bringing to light the most notoriouvs villanies that are now practised in the kingdome* (N. Butter, 1608, 1616) STC 6481-6483; another edition under Butter's name in 1620 was a piracy by William Stansby.

but apparently not printed.⁶⁴ It is notable that 1630 marks the start of several re-issues of Dekker's older play texts, as well as some that had been performed during the 1620s; this flurry of publication may possibly be related to Dekker's death in 1632, but it might also indicate a revival of interest in the particular plays and their topics.⁶⁵ Titles such as *The Virgin Martyr* (a collaboration with Massinger), *The Honest Whore* and *The Noble Souldier*, might be indicative of common themes. However, Butter's publication of *The Second Part of the Honest Whore* is of particular interest in relation to *All the Workes* because of the coincidence that the printer of this text was Elizabeth Alld. One of the curiosities of the publication of *All the Workes of John Taylor* is the absence of Butter's name from any part of the process. As discussed in Chapter 4, Butter's lack of involvement in Taylor's 1630 collection may be insignificant; it may simply indicate that he was fully occupied with the production of Bishop Hall's *Workes*, a massive undertaking, or because of the troubles after his publication of Hall's *The Reconciler* (1629).⁶⁶ However, his use of the Alld presses that same year for *The Second Part of the Honest Whore*, suggests that Butter was still interested in the same type of material that had linked him to both Taylor and Dekker in 1606-16.

The paradoxical idea of the “honest whore” is one with which Taylor himself had had some success in the 1620s, although in a contrasting genre. His *A Common Whore* (1622) is a scathing satirical treatment of the subject, and is reproduced in *All the Workes* with three other mock encomia, *A Bawd*, *An Arrant Thief* and *The Praise and Vertue of a Jayle and Jaylers*, all referring to topics that were common material for Dekker's pamphlets in particular. However, *The Second Part of the Honest Whore* combines a complicated plot of knavish thievery with the moral exemplum of the reformed whore, who continues her path of virtue from the *First Part* printed in 1605. In this sequel, the Christian messages seem peculiarly appropriate to the situation of the

⁶⁴ *The second part of The honest whore with the humours of the patient man...: the honest whore, perswaded by strong arguments to turne curtizan againe: her braue refuting those arguments*, (E. Alld for N. Butter, 1630), STC 6506, entered to Thomas Man, 29 April 1608, and again to Butter on 19 June, 1630. The first part of *The Honest Whore* was printed at least five times (1604, 1605, 1615, 1616 and 1635).

⁶⁵ These include *The Virgin Martyr* (1631), first published 1622, a collaboration with Philip Massinger; and *The Honest Whore* (first part), reprinted by Okes in 1635. In addition, the plays *Match Mee in London* (1631) and *The Noble Souldier* (1634) were published for the first time, but had probably been performed in the early 1620s by the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Dekker died in 1632.

⁶⁶ For Butter and *The Reconciler*, see Chapter 9.

English Church in 1630. Bellafronte, the reformed Italian whore who refuses to turn back to her former evils, despite constant pressure and deceitful tricks by those who should be protecting her, could well be understood as a metaphor for the Reformed Church at the close of the 1620s. Similarly, the Patient Husband, who was set up as a symbol of Christ's enduring patience at the end of *The Honest Whore*, becomes in this sequel an exemplum directed specifically to the court. The very last line of the play is the Duke's admiring declaration that, "A Patient man's a Patterne for a King".⁶⁷

This conjunction of authors and stationers may reflect the shared topical concerns of Dekker and Taylor, and/or the stationers involved, relating to the situation of the English Church and monarchy at the end of the 1620s. There are certainly strong parallels between the content and structure of the earlier *Whore of Babylon*, and the broadside verses of *The Churches Deliverances* that form the conclusion to *All the Workes*. As the following two chapters will show, the organization and presentation of *All the Workes of John Taylor* can be understood as targeted to the religious and political concerns of the turn of the decade 1629/30. This coincidence of the play by Dekker and the *Workes* of Taylor therefore shows that even if Nathaniel Butter was not directly involved in *All the Workes*, the concerns of both Dekker and Taylor from the earlier period when they were both being published by Butter and Trundle were being revived in 1630. The decision to publish the second part of the *Honest Whore*, which of course may have been consequent on revivals in performance, and the careful structuring and shaping of *All the Workes*, indicate a common concern for the pathway of the English monarchy in relation to the English church at the turn of the decade 1629/30.

Thus the choice of *Taylors Urania* and of Dekker's sonnet to front *All the Workes*, far from attempting to portray Taylor as a contemplative religious or literary author focused on a higher spirituality outside the real world, like George Wither's authorial image, was designed instead to express with renewed urgency an intense concern for the interrelated religious and political situation in 1630. While *All the Workes* does present Taylor as seriously committed to his Heavenly Muse, this was a Heavenly Muse in the model of Du Bartas and as beloved by King James. For Taylor, his stationers, in particular the publisher James Boler, and we must assume also a good

⁶⁷ The second part of *The honest whore* (STC 6506), sig. L3r.

proportion of his customer-base, this was not just old fashioned nostalgia for a glorious Elizabethan past, but a real religious and political engagement with the future of English Protestantism.

Chapter 6: “for sence read nonsense”: John Beale’s section of *All the Workes*

Chapter Six explores the organization and presentation of the central section of *All the Workes of John Taylor*, focusing in particular on the choice of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* (1622) for the opening of this sequence.

This chapter focuses on the presentation of the central section of *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet*, which was printed by John Beale. This is the most substantial portion of the collection to be produced by a single printing house. Together with the preliminaries, Beale’s shop was responsible for over half the total pages of the folio. At first glance, it also appears to be the least organized out of the three main sections of *All the Workes*. Despite some grouping of texts according to their genre, it may seem to modern sensibilities as if the middle of the volume has simply become the repository for all the pieces that conform least well to the sober religious image conveyed by the opening and closing stages of the book. Here, all Taylor’s nonsense verse, his jest book *Wit and Mirth*, the bulk of his mock encomia and even his experiment in doggerel verse, *A Dogge of Warre*, are sandwiched together with his two potted histories of English monarchs and rounded off with seven short funeral elegies. The range of this section seems almost to be deliberate, show-casing Taylor’s ability to turn his hand to a wide variety of genres and styles.

While this facility could be considered a valuable attribute in itself, a closer examination reveals that there is more sense in the organization of this central section than first appears. This can be seen most plainly in the loose grouping of texts, whether by genre, such as the four closely related mock encomia, or by topic, such as jails and hangings, or by focus on a particular individual, such as Thomas Coriate or William Fennor. Other organizational principles are more difficult to trace, especially as the links between items have sometimes been obscured by changes between the planned and printed order of the texts. Nevertheless, it is possible to recover some of the underlying associations between texts by tracing these bibliographical substitutions and alterations. The most obvious challenge to modern sensibilities in this section, however, is the sharp dichotomy between the genres of the opening and closing items. By opening with Taylor’s well-known nonsense text, *Sir Gregory Nonsense* (1622) and closing with two

summaries of the English Kings, followed by seven funeral elegies, Beale's section seems to be addressing a very different agenda from the packaging of the collection as a whole. As discussed in Chapter Five above, the framing of *All the Workes* by *Taylors Urania* and *Gods Manifold Mercies* seems to promote the image of an author committed to religious contemplation. However, this central portion of *All the Workes* appears at first to contradict this effect: from the perspective of the twenty-first century, it seems difficult to make sense of a section that opens with a whimsical nonsense tale concerning a fictional knight of dubious sanity, where all rules of time and place are flouted, but concludes with the most serious of all genres, elegies lamenting the deaths of historical persons in real time. The solemnity of Taylor's elegies, which is especially intense and unremitting in *The Muses Mourning*, his sonnet sequence for John Moray, seems entirely at odds with the apparent flippancy and irreverence of *Sir Gregory Nonsense*.

Yet it seems that this arrangement of texts in Beale's section of *All the Workes* was intentional, for rather than down-playing the presence of these very contrasting pieces, the presentational devices employed give them considerable prominence. *Sir Gregory Nonsense* is highlighted typographically by the more lavish printers' ornaments and expensive use of white space, while the histories of the Kings and the funeral elegies stand out because of the concentration of illustrations, again an expensive factor in the printing house. Thus it is necessary to consider the reasons behind this apparently contradictory presentation and its significance for the shaping of the collection as a whole. Unlike other items in this section, the opening and closing texts in Beale's section have received little attention in Taylor scholarship. The texts in this section of *All the Workes* that were most attractive to eighteenth and nineteenth century readers were items such as *A Pennilesse Pilgrimage* and *A Very Merry Wherry-Ferry Voyage*, which were believed to offer rare glimpses of plebeian life in Shakespeare's England. By contrast, the two potted histories have been virtually ignored since the nineteenth century, and are usually regarded as "hack work". The funeral elegies, too, are barely mentioned in modern accounts, and any references tend to be pejorative, attributing

them to Taylor's search for patronage rather than his genuine respect for the subjects.¹ By contrast, *Sir Gregory Nonsense* has recently received some attention from critics, largely because Noel Malcolm has placed this text at the centre of his history of early nonsense verse. However, Malcolm's insistence on the exclusively literary nature of this phenomenon has effectively isolated one of Taylor's most significant achievements from the rest of his work as well as from the wider historical context.²

However, all external evidence points to the salience of these very texts for Taylor's contemporaries and for the generations immediately following. The two chronicles of the Kings and *Wit and Mirth* show the most frequent signs of usage in extant copies of *All the Workes* preserved in libraries across England. These texts are the most often annotated and have suffered more than any others in the collection from the disintegrating effects of perusal. The pictures in the Histories, especially the full length portraits of the monarchs in *A Briefe Remembrance*, were traced, copied and sometimes cut out of the text altogether. The jest book *Wit and Mirth* was of particular interest to readers in the following centuries for its references to theatrical matters, especially figures who could be linked to Shakespeare or Jonson. By contrast, the chronicles of the Kings seem to have appealed especially to earlier readers, reflecting the new trends initiated by the more expensive *Basililiogia*, first published in 1618, to which the *Briefe Remembrance* is closely connected bibliographically. This appeal is also in keeping with the growing early modern fashion for creating personal collections of historical information.

As with his earlier Thumb Bibles, Taylor showed a remarkable ability in these examples to seize the initiative in the print market, working with the stationers to adapt new trends in a way that would find and satisfy a wider audience. *All the Workes* showcases these innovations, confirming that Taylor and his publishers were deliberately appealing to contemporary tastes as well as the topical concerns of the turn

¹ In Dow's opinion, *A Briefe Remembrance* was "a hack job for Gossom"; the death of Prince Henry "enabled Taylor to make a bid for notice" with *Great Britaine All in Blache*, and *True Loving Sorrow* (for the Duke of Lennox) was "the first of some half-dozen funeral pieces by Taylor which have led commentators to describe him as a person who could be hired at a moment's notice to perform a hack eulogy" (Dow, "Life and Times", pp. 90, 144-5 and 238).

² For Malcolm, see below. Victor Skretowicz examines Taylor's nonsense language in, "Poems of Discovery: John Taylor's Barbarian, Utopian and Barmooda tongues", in *Renaissance Studies* 6, issue 3-4 (1992), 391-9.

of the decade 1629/30. External evidence indicates that *Sir Gregory Nonsense* was one of the most well-known of Taylor's compositions at this period, and continued to be a trend-setter for many years afterwards. Like the histories and the Thumb Bibles, Taylor's nonsense verse was imitated by his contemporaries, with its influence appearing in both print and manuscript, whether or not directly acknowledged. However, this was not just a question of the fashions of the moment: in particular, the response to both Taylor's nonsense verse and his histories by the ballad writer Martin Parker had a far-reaching effect. Parker, the most famous and successful ballad writer of his day, is best known to historians for the royalist ballad, *When the King enjoys his own again*, which was the most significant royalist song of the civil war and its aftermath. The influence of Taylor on Parker, which predates their partnership as propagandists during the early part of the civil war, is highly significant.

Thus the organization and presentation of this central section of *All the Workes* reflects to a considerable extent the perceived market appeal of Taylor's texts. As Chapter Four has demonstrated, John Beale and James Boler seem to have targeted for their own businesses precisely those items from the collection that subsequently received the most attention from purchasers of the folio itself. This suggests that the marketing appeal of *All the Workes* was founded on a real demand from an existing audience for particular types of text in the period. This is evident in the pattern of re-printing of Taylor's texts both before and after the production of the folio. It is notable that Beale's section contains most of the items that had been reprinted earlier in the 1620s, including several of the mock encomia, the two books of the Kings and *Wit and Mirth*. Gossen reissued several of the mock encomia and two texts from Elizabeth Alldé's section in 1635, but Beale and Boler between them also reissued several pieces more than once. Boler reissued *Wit and Mirth* both in 1629 and in 1635 and apparently shared the 1630 octavo of *A Memoriall of All the English Monarchs* with Beale; meanwhile even the Thumb Bibles and summary of the *Book of Martyrs*, which were printed by Alsop and Fawcet in the folio, had been transferred to Beale's ownership by the end of the year, 1630. These details confirm that John Beale, the only printer named on the title-page of

the volume, is likely to have profited most out of the three printing shops from this project.³

However, it is the publisher James Boler whose interests most clearly match the prominence given to the two Kings texts and the funeral elegies at the end of this section. Taken together, these texts express a similar brand of English Protestantism to that conveyed by the treatment of *Taylor's Urania*. The emphasis of the histories is on the ancient roots of the monarchy, on the Tudor succession and on James's continuation of Elizabeth's stand against Rome, with the hopes of Protestant Europe vested in Charles as his successor. The elegies, which are focused on King James and his close associates, continue the themes of the histories; this is emphasised by with the inclusion of *Great Britaine All in Blache*, apparently a late decision. This arrangement both reinforces the choice of *Taylor's Urania* as in part a tribute to James at the opening of the volume, and looks forward to the book's conclusion in *Gods Manifold Mercies*, with its insistence on Charles's duty as Preserver of the Faith at home and abroad. Thus the apparently disparate assortment of genres and topics in the central section of *All the Workes* is brought to a conclusion in a swathe of historical matter that celebrates the establishment of Britain as a united Protestant nation.

Yet the serious weight of these concluding texts is not really so much of a contrast to the comic and satiric genres that introduce this section. For even the apparently nonsensical narrative of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* has a sub-textual topicality, rooted in Taylor's consistent antipathy to religious extremes. Beneath its flamboyantly ridiculous surface, this poem satirises both Catholics and Anabaptists, expressing through its display of linguistic pyrotechnics a veiled polemical agenda which is conveyed openly in the histories and elegies. Taylor's use of nonsense techniques in his civil war pamphlets defending the crown has recently been highlighted by several critics: it therefore seems appropriate that the central section of *All the Workes* should be introduced by the oratorical energies of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* and should conclude by focusing on the past and future of the English monarchy. Thus *All the Workes* can be understood as consistent with Taylor's later career in the changed circumstances of the

³ Both Taylor's *Verbum Sempturnum* and his *Booke of Martyrs* were assigned to Beale on 16 December 1630 (see Chapter 4).

civil war, despite the apparent anomaly of the strongly Protestant, even Calvinist, tenor of the whole volume. Thus although printed by John Beale, this central section of the folio equally encapsulates the interest of James Boler, anticipating the direction of his business through the 1630s and into the 1640s as developed by his apprentices at the signs of the Marigold and Crown.⁴

The inclusion of so many texts in this central section of *All the Workes* would have been a challenge to any editor. It is therefore useful to consider the organization of this section before looking more closely at the presentation of *Sir Gregory Nonsense*. Beale's section begins with new pagination and new signatures, running Aa - Ss (*Sir Gregory Nonsense* to *Wit and Mirth*); then First Aaa - Kkk (*A Dogge of Warre* to the elegy for the Earl of Holdernes). The pagination is continuous for this second set of signatures, so that the whole of Beale's portion of the folio forms one unit. However, this pagination is interrupted by a missing set of twenty-four pages just before *A Dogge of Warre*. Either the printers had been expecting two more gatherings for the signatures Aa- Ss, following on from *Wit and Mirth*, or there was simply an error when the page numbers were started off for the third set of signatures.⁵ There are also several discrepancies between the list of texts for this section in the Catalogue (which was itself printed by Beale as part of the Preliminaries), and the final arrangement in the volume. While the Catalogue list for Elizabeth Alld's section matches the printed order precisely, for John Beale's section two substantial texts named in the Catalogue were not finally printed by Beale, but are found later, in Alsop and Fawcet's section. Conversely, two of the texts listed for Alsop and Fawcet's section are in fact added into Beale's. This is not a straight swap of one set of texts for the other and the reasons do not appear straightforward. Finally, the Funeral poems in Beale's section are printed in a different order from the Catalogue, and include the poem *Great Brittaine All in Blache*, from Taylor's 1612 eulogy for Prince Henry, even though it is not in the list. These details are shown in *Table D*, below.

⁴ For Boler's apprentices, see Chapter 4.

⁵ A third explanation may be printing practices: the work may have been shared between two presses or interrupted by other work.

Table D: John Beale's section of *All the Workes*: sigs Aa -Ss and 1st Aaa - Kkk

	Title in <i>All the Workes</i> (1630)	Previous editions	Publication details
1	<i>SIR GREGORY NONSENCE HIS NEWES / FROM NO PLACE.</i> ⁶	1622	Nicholas Okes, not entered
2	<i>A very Merrie Vvherrie-Ferry-VOYAGE /OR, /YORKE for my Money.</i>	1622 and 1623	Allde [for Gosson?], to Gosson 1622
3	<i>THE GREAT O TOOLE.</i>	[1618], 1622 and 1623	[Allde] for Gosson, not entered
4	<i>A DISCOVERY BY SEA , /FROM LONDON TO / SALISBURY.</i>	1623	Allde “for the author” Not entered
5	<i>The Scourge of Basenesse: / OR / The old Lerry, with a new Kicksey</i>	1619 (as <i>A Kicksey Winsey</i>), and 1624	Nicholas Okes for Matthew Wallbancke. Entered 1619
6	<i>Taylors Motto</i>	1621	[Allde] for Trundle and Gosson, ent. to Gosson 1621
7	<i>Odcombs Complaint</i>	1613	Eld for Burre, ent. to Burre 1613
8	<i>The Eighth Wonder of the World</i>	1613	Nicholas Okes (nonsense imprint) Ent. to T. Thorpe, 1613
9	<i>Laugh and Be Fat</i>	1612	[W.Hall?] ent. to Gosson 1612
10	<i>Master Thomas Coriat to His Friends in England</i>	1618	John Beale, entered 1617.
11	<i>A Bawd</i>	[1624?] Not extant before F.	Not known. 1635 edition is [Matthewes?] for Gosson. Not entered
12	<i>A Common Whore</i>	1622	[Allde] for Gosson, entered 1622 to Gosson
13	<i>An Arrant Thief</i>	1622 and 1625	Allde for Gosson, Not entered
14	<i>The Praise and Vertue of a Jayle and Jaylers</i>	1623	[Haviland] for Badger, entered 1623 to Badger
15	<i>The Unnaturall Father</i>	1621 (Anon.)	Trundle and Gosson [no printer named] ent. 1621 (both?)
16	<i>Taylors Revenge</i>	1615	Allde Nonsense imprint, not entered
17	<i>Fennors Defence</i>	1615	
18	<i>A cast over the Water</i>	1615	[Eld] for W. Butler, to be sold by Edward Marchant, not entered
19	<i>The Praise of Cleane Linnen</i>	1624	[Allde] for Gosson, ent. 1624 to Gosson

Table D: John Beale's section (continued from previous page).

	Title in <i>All the Workes</i> (1630)	Previous editions	Publication details
20	<i>The true Cause of the Watermens Suit</i>	[1614?]	[Eld] No title page extant, not entered
21	Wit and Mirth: / CHARGEABLY COLLECTED/ OVT OF TAVERNS, ORDINARIES	1626, 1628, 1629	Flesher for Gosson, tbs. Wright (1626, 1628); Cotes for Boler (1629) Not entered
22	A DOGGE OF WARRE, /OR,/ The Trauels of Drunkard, the famous Curre/ of the Round Woolstaple in Westminster.	[1628?]	Nonsense imprint Not entered
23	The World runnes on wheeles:/ OR,/ Oddes betwixt cart and Coaches.	1623	Allde for Gosson, ent. 1623 to Gosson
24	The Nipping or Snipping of ABVSES: / OR,/ The Wooll-gathering of Wit.	1614	Griffin for Butter, ent. 1613.
25	A Memorall of all / The English Monarchs,/ being in number 151. from Brute/ to King Charles.	1622	1622 Nicholas Okes; 1630 Beale for Boler, not entered
26	<i>A Briefe Remembrance/ Of all the English Mo-/narchs, from the Normans Con-/quest, vntill this present.</i>	1618 and 1621 and 1622	Eld for Gosson (1618), ent. to Gosson. Compton Holland (1621/22?)
27	<i>A Living Sadnes in Duty/ Consecrated to the Immortal memory of our late Deceased all-beloued Sove;/ raigne..../ Iames, King of great Britain....</i>	1625	Allde for Gosson, not entered
28	<i>For the sacred memorial....Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham</i>	1625	Gosson, not entered
29	<i>A Funerall Elegie...Lancelot, Lord Bishop of Winchester</i>	[1626? - not extant separately]	No extant version known.
30	<i>True Loving Sorrow....Lewis Steward, Duke of Richmond and Linox</i>	1624	Gosson [broadside, no printer named], not entered
31	<i>Great Britaine all in Blacke</i>	1612	Allde for Wright, ent. 1612 to Gosson
32	<i>The Muses Mourning....John Moray esquire</i>	1612-15? (sn)	[Allde - my suggestion], not entered
33	<i>A Funerall Elegy.... John Ramsey, Lord Viscount Haddington, earle of Holdernesse</i>	Not extant	Not extant

Table D (above) lists the texts in section two of *All the Workes* in the order in which they were printed. Beale's section is by far the longest part of the volume, containing thirty-three separate texts, although several of these are short occasional pieces, such as

the funeral poems. The range of stationers involved in the previous editions of these texts is wider than for Elizabeth Alld's section, and the balance of entered to non-entered pieces (14:19) is lower. Whereas only one item in Alld's section was registered to a stationer other than Gosson, this is the case with at least five texts in Beale's section, involving five different stationers. This diversity of publication history is matched by the wide range of genres and topics in this section, from nonsense verse to funeral elegies. However, despite this variety of material, there is a logic in the organization that becomes even clearer once the differences between the Catalogue and the printed order are taken into account. The obvious grouping by genres and topic mentioned above, include the four texts on Thomas Coriate, four closely related mock encomia, the three pieces related to William Fennor, and the two "Kings" texts placed together with all the funeral poems to form a conclusion. In total, these straightforward groupings account for twenty of the thirty-three individual items in this section.

It is also possible to trace links between pairs of texts, even where there is an extreme contrast in genres. An example is the appearance of *The Unnaturall Father* after *The Praise and Virtue of a Jayle*. Bibliographically, *The Unnaturall Father* (1621) is an anomaly in *All the Workes*: it is one of the few pieces by Taylor that we know to have been published anonymously in the 1620s, and Taylor's authorship was not acknowledged until the folio, nearly a decade later. It is also the only example of a "jail pamphlet" to be ascribed to Taylor at all, although, given the interests of both Gosson and Trundle, it seems likely that it is not the only one in which he was ever involved.⁷ Furthermore, its placement immediately after Taylor's verse satire on jails and hangmen turns *The Unnaturall Father* into an exemplification of the point of the mock encomium. For *The Praise of a Jayle* ends with an ironic "The Description of Tyburne", which carries over to the next page, where *The Unnaturall Father* begins. At the end of this prose narrative John Rowse, the eponymous father, is "condemn'd to be hang'd ... on the common Gallows at Croydon". The final sequence includes his verse "Confession" as he "lay Prisoner in the White Lyon", where "gnawing wormes my fellow-Prisoners are". However, embedded in Taylor's narrative is a protest against the corruption of the

⁷ It is probable that Taylor contributed to the publications of 1615/16 in relation to the Overbury scandal, when several of his fellow writers were involved, including Thomas Brewer. See Chapter 8 (note 48).

system of preaching that had left John Rowse without religious support and bereft of sermons in his home town of Ewell, just when he was most subject to the temptations of the devil. Taylor declares in this protest that “I could runne further upon this point, but that I do shortly purpose to touche it more to the quick in another Booke”. Thus by placing the tale of John Rowse opposite his satirical praise of “The virtue of a Jaile, and Necessitie of Hanging”, Taylor has highlighted the tragic waste of the lives of Rowse and his two little daughters, where neither jails nor Tyburne would have been necessary if the Devil had been kept at bay by properly funded pastors looking after the moral health of their flock.⁸

However, the connections between other texts within this section, such as *Wit and Mirth* and the three texts that follow it are not immediately obvious from a modern perspective. *The World Runnes on Wheeles* might more logically have been placed earlier, after *The True Cause of the Watermen’s Suit*, as both texts deal with challenges to the watermen’s livelihood. However, its presence next to *A Dogge of Warre* may perhaps be accounted for by an indirect association of genres, as both texts have links to musical settings. *The World Runnes on Wheeles* formed the basis of a ballad *The Coaches Overthrow*, although this was probably not by Taylor, and the verses from *A Dogge of Warre* were certainly set to music.⁹ Although the surviving settings date from the early eighteenth century, the versification seems intended for a more contemporary setting.¹⁰ Furthermore, neither of these texts is as innocent as it first appears. *A Dogge of Warre* purports to be a heart-warming tale of loyalty between a soldier and his pet, in unsophisticated and suitably termed “doggerel” verse. Yet the references to the Isle of

⁸ *All the Workes* (1630), pp. 134- 139, sigs. Mm3v - Mm6r. In *The Unnaturall Father* Taylor makes much of the cozening “friend” whose treachery plunged Rowse into despair: his coded references to this friend’s identity suggest this may be a satire on Catholic priests, possibly Jesuits. Capp comments on Taylor’s “obsession with preaching”, citing this pamphlet as an example (Capp, *World of John Taylor*, p. 137).

⁹ *The coaches ouerthrow. Or, A ioviall exaltation of divers tradesmen, and others, for the suppression of troublesome hackney coaches* (Francis Grove, 1636), STC 5451, described as “possibly” by Taylor in the STC. However the style is not characteristic of Taylor. A more likely link for Taylor’s *The World Runnes on Wheeles* (1623) is to a pre-1599 play of this title by Chapman, which was recast as “all foolles, but the foolle” and performed at court on New Year’s Day, 1605. This play satirised the sale of knighthoods and social climbing. See Shona McIntosh, “Knighthoods, Hamlet, and the date of George Chapman’s *All Fools*” in *Notes & Queries* 56.1 (2009), 64 -7.

¹⁰ *A dogg of warre, or, The trauels of Drunkard, the famous curre of the Round-Woolstaple in Westminster His seruices in the Netherlands, and lately in France, with his home retурne* (nonsense imprint, 1628?), STC 23748. The earliest recorded settings are found in *Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1714, 1720).

Rhe where English forces failed to save the French Huguenots from a cruel defeat, indicate a satirical purpose.¹¹ The phrase “Dogge of Warre” has ironic inferences, and Taylor expresses trenchant criticism of those who refused to support English troops fighting for the Protestant cause. This complaint is directed specifically against Puritans, who are “top-full with Faith, but no Good workes, / A crew of fond / Precise-men”. The layout of these verses in the original, which is carefully reproduced in *All the Workes*, is an important factor in their effect; it emphasizes the satirical tone through the sneering rhymes such as “fond / Precise - men” with “wise men” [see illustration below]:

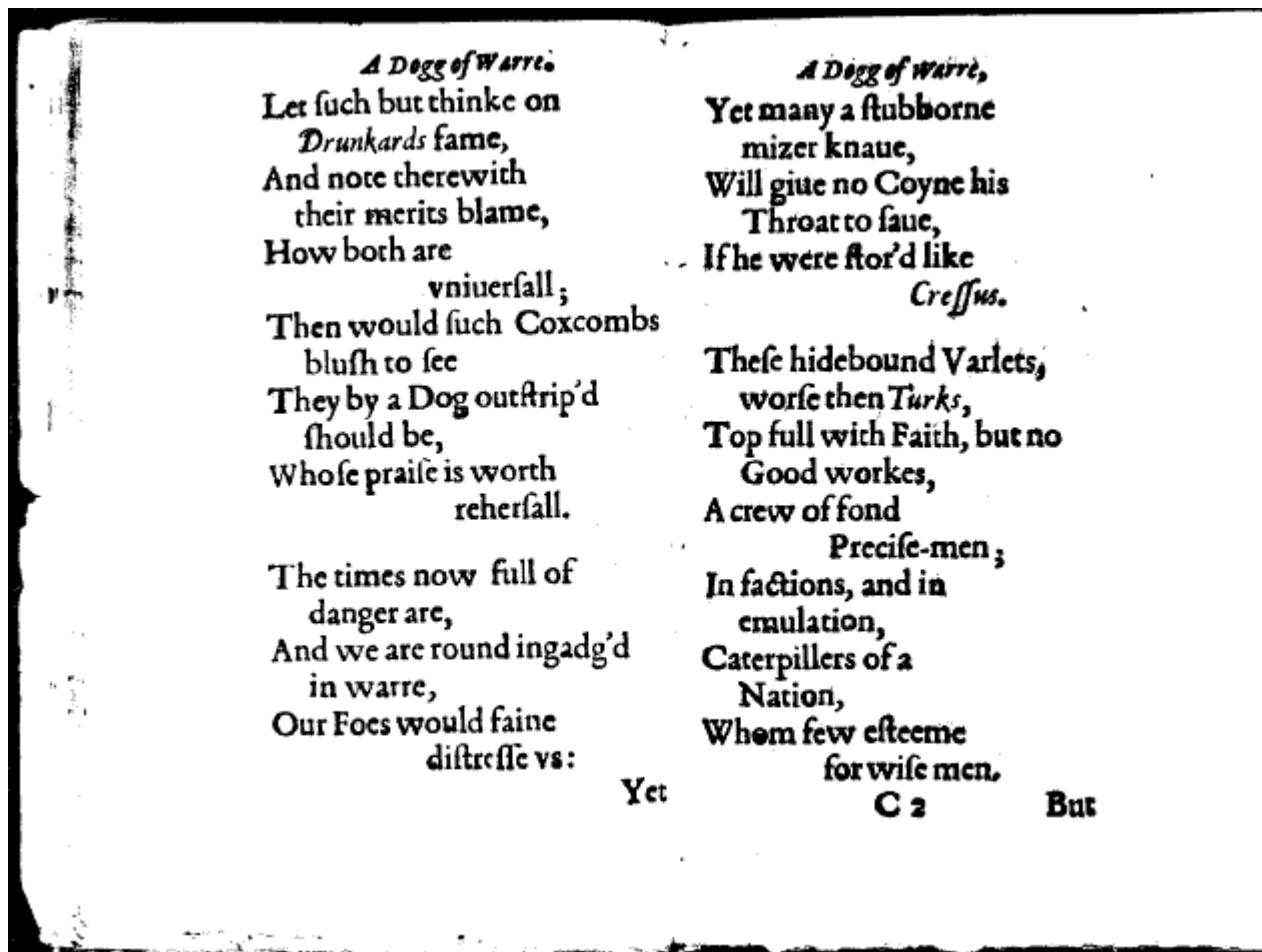


Fig. 6.1. John Taylor, *A Dogg of Warre* (c.1628), detail.¹²

¹¹ *A Dogg of Warre*, sigs. A3v-A4r, B5r.

¹² *A Dogg of Warre* (c.1628), STC 23748, sigs. C1v - C2r <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/hom>>, accessed 19 September 2009.

Thus despite its later use as a children's book with softly tinted illustrations focusing on the eponymous canine "Drunkard", *A Dogge of Warre* more closely resembles the bitter satire of some of Taylor's mock encomia of the mid 1620s. To confirm this resemblance, Taylor's typically disingenuous "To the Reader" refers to the history of this genre, declaring that the reader must expect no "ouerplus of Witt or Sence" in the verses that follow.¹³

Thus *A Dogge of Warre* could be described as a "protest pamphlet" but, like the undated *Peace of France with the Praise of Archy*, its polemical impetus is wrapped in a sugar pill of nonsense and sentimentality. By recognizing the force of the mock encomium within this innocent guise, the situation of this pamphlet within Beale's section of *All the Workes*, following on from *Wit and Mirth*, another text which straddles genres as a mixture of plain jest book and anti-Catholic satire, becomes comprehensible.¹⁴ A satirical impetus may also account for the inclusion of *The World Runnes on Wheeles* here in John Beale's section, when the original pamphlet had been produced by the Allde presses. The first edition carried a striking title-page woodcut, a graphic portrayal of a devil and a whore drawing the world to damnation. This is the only pamphlet illustration to be reproduced in *All the Workes*, apart from the portraits of the Kings in the histories. It is possible that many of the original title-page cuts had been worn out or destroyed, and critics have assumed that their absence is part of Taylor's attempt to claim literary status for his folio. However, the retention of the cut for *The World Runnes on Wheeles*, which provides the focus for "The Meaning of the Embleme", has been ascribed to Taylor's deeply entrenched opposition to the hackney carriage.¹⁵ As most owners of a folio were likely to be sufficiently wealthy to travel by

¹³ "In doggrell Rimes my Lines are writt, /As for a Dogg I thought it fitt. /And fitting Best his Carkas, Had I beene silent as a Stoick, /Or had I writt in Verse Heroick, /Then had I beene a Starke Asse. / Old Homer wrot of Frogs and Mice, /And Rabelais wrot of Nitts and Lice" (*A Dogge of Warre*, sig. A7v): the rhyme of "Carkas" and "Starke Asse" suggests the abrasive undertones of this text. Robert Burton's copy of this pamphlet is in the Bodleian library (8°T 14(5) Art. BS). The illustrated version is: "*A dog of War*" by John Taylor, *the Water poet; with hand-coloured engravings on wood by Hester Sainsbury* (London, Haslewood Books, 1927).

¹⁴ There may have been plans to include other items between these two texts: *Wit and Mirth* ends on p.200 (sig. Ss6v, wrongly signed Rr6v) and *A Dogge of Warre* starts the new set of signatures on p. 225 (Aaa1r). This is a gap of twelve leaves, thus possibly two gatherings.

¹⁵ The preservation of this cut suggests that it was a potent image. Gosson's re-use of it in 1635 (STC 23817) suggests that either Taylor or Gosson had retained possession: it was used by Gosson (1623) then Beale/Boler (1630) and then Gosson (1635).

coach, this might be an opportunity to address the right audience. Yet this cut's iconography suggests a specific anti-papist impetus, consonant both with the religious packaging of the folio as a whole, and with what we know of John Beale's own leanings. For example, Beale issued Taylor's summary of the *Book of Martyrs* in increasingly inflammatory editions through the 1630s, adding his own crude woodcuts of burnings. Thus he may have had a particular interest in including this striking image in his section of *All the Workes*:

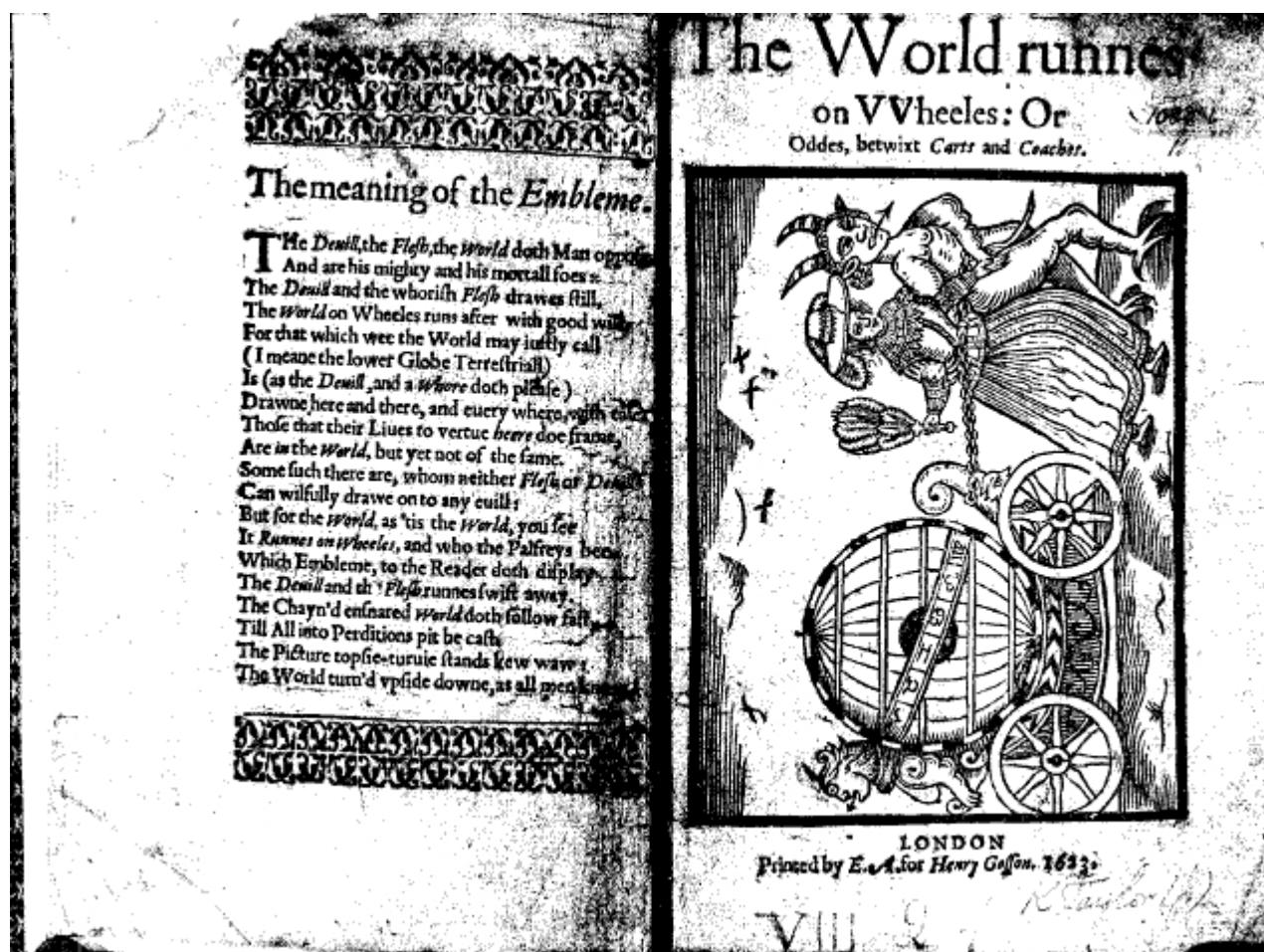


Fig. 6.2. John Taylor, *The World Runnes on Wheeles* (1623), "To the Embleme" describes the picture as "topsie turvie...kew waw".¹⁶

¹⁶ *The World Runnes on Wheeles* (1623), STC 23816, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 24th July 2009. In *All the Workes* this picture is printed the 'right' way up. The ballad, *The Coaches Overthow* (1636) shows a real coach upside down.

An anti-papist impetus would also link *The World Runnes on Wheeles* to *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses*, which is printed next in *All the Workes*. Although both texts include a defense of the watermen's livelihood, the *Nipping and Snipping* also has a strong connection to the Plantation of Ulster (1608 onwards). The copious anagrams and sonnets addressed to a large number of figures in this text are usually considered merely sycophantic. Bernard Capp is especially dismayed by them, calling Taylor "naïve in the extreme" and "hopelessly inept" for what he sees as indiscriminate targeting of a "host of English and Irish country gentlemen".¹⁷ It is true that the original edition of *Nipping and Snipping* (1614) is so full of these short tributes that Taylor seems to have taken a scatter-gun approach in the hope of achieving a few hits. However, a closer consideration shows that they are carefully organized and grouped specifically to accompany particular items. Thus the first set of anagrams are mostly addressed to writers, courtiers and officials whom Taylor knew or admired, including Samuel Daniel and Josuah Sylvester, poets from whom he cannot have expected any patronage. Those figures who shared a common association with the Plantation of Ulster are grouped together towards the middle of *Nipping and Snipping*: these individuals had strong personal links to each other and through the particular areas of their grants, such as Coleraine, Clogher and Mountjoy.

Furthermore, this group of tributes is arranged carefully around Taylor's sequence of "Certaine Sonnets on the destruction of Troy". As the Plantation had been described as "a new Troy", for example by Thomas Blennerhasset, it seems likely that Taylor designed this sonnet sequence to celebrate the Plantation.¹⁸ The majority of these individuals, with a few exceptions, are not addressed elsewhere in Taylor's extant texts: thus it may be that the sequence had started as a manuscript presentation several

¹⁷ Capp considers this text and those of 1615-16 aimed at the "financial reward[s]" of patronage which "proved disappointingly small". He cites the "farewell to poetry" published in *Nipping and Snipping* in 1614, as evidence for this disappointment; he later suggests that it was an attempt to "shame courtiers into paying up" (*World of John Taylor*, p.16, p.62).

¹⁸ "And they the successors of high renowned *Lud*, will there reedifie a new *Troy*", Thomas Blennerhasset, *A direction for the Plantation in Ulster* (Allde for J. Budge, 1610) STC 3130, D3r, addressed to Prince Henry. In August 1610, Sir John Davis compared the Londoners' operations in Coleraine with Dido's Carthage, quoting from the *Aeneid* (PRO.SP.63/229/125A). See: T. W. Moody, *The Londonderry plantation, 1609-41: the City of London and the Plantation of Ulster* (Belfast, W. Mullan, 1939); John Davies, *The Plantation of Ulster* (London, 1890); Philip S. Robinson, *The Plantation of Ulster: British Settlement in an Irish landscape, 1600-1670* (New York, St Martin's Press, 1984); George Hill, *Plantation Papers: ..in the year 1610* (Belfast, 1889).

years prior to the publication of *Nipping and Snipping*. Taylor places his dedication to Sir Thomas Ridgeway, first Earl of Londonderry, at the head of the sequence, and concludes it with an anagram to Sir Thomas's wife, Lady Cecilia. In between, he addresses Ridgeway's son and daughter and their respective spouses, including his son-in-law Sir Francis Willoughby.¹⁹ Several of those addressed were, or would soon become, high officials in Ireland as a consequence of the Plantation; others were undertakers or had specific roles in its establishment.²⁰ It is not clear whether Taylor had any personal involvement in the Plantation, but some connection is possible through his naval associations or his role as Tower-Bottle man, which involved customs and excise. Trade and movement by ship and barge was a key part of the strategy, and Captain Arthur Bassett, to whom Taylor addresses an anagram, had been employed in 1612-13 by his uncle, Lord Chichester, to patrol the Irish coast against pirates in a Royal ship.²¹ Thus a substantial portion of *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* in 1614 was a celebration of the Plantation. The Oath of Supremacy expelled Jesuits and confiscated Catholic lands, while the new Irish Parliament of 1613-15 supplanted the old Anglo-Irish Catholics, replacing them with Protestant newcomers. The fiercely Protestant Sir Thomas Ridgeway was the major figure in ensuring that this sweeping change of power was established. Given the other evidence we have of Taylor's strongly Protestant leanings, it seems extremely likely that this sequence of tributes to Plantation undertakers and officials had a religious and political motivation, although of course this does not discount a patronage motive as well. Nevertheless, the inclusion of these

¹⁹ The Ridgeways were from Devonshire; Lady Cicely had been a maid of honour to Elizabeth I. Sir Thomas fitted out his own ship for the Azores voyage (1597), when Taylor sailed in The Rainbow (*The Pennilesse Pilgrimage*, 1618). See, Robert Dunlop, 'Ridgeway, Thomas', rev. Sean Kelsey [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23623>], accessed 15 September 2009. The Willoughbys were related to the Spencers of Wormleighton and Augustine Palgrave, who rescued Taylor from villagers at Yarmouth (1622), and probably to Frances Wolfreston, owner of Taylor's books (see Afterword).

²⁰ Of those addressed here, Plantation officials include: George Calvert (later Lord Baltimore), Sir Henry Foliot, Sir Edward Blayney and Sir Oliver St. John (President of Munster, later Lord Deputy). Undertakers include: Robert and Samuel Calvert, Francis Conyers and Francis Annesley. Several had been involved in the earlier Irish campaigns of 1601-2.

²¹ Chichester's letter book, 26 June 1613, p.111, in: John Davies, *Historical Tracts* (Dublin, W. Porter for White, Gilbert et al., 1787). The Bassetts were from Devonshire and related to the Godolphins, whom Taylor visited at the end of the civil war. Taylor was also acquainted with several Scots courtiers who took shares in the Plantation, such as Robert Hay and James Ratray, whose commendatory verses to Taylor are also in *Nipping and Snipping* (Sig. ¶ 3r).

verses and anagrams in *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* was not indiscriminate but carefully managed and directed, whatever the result.

However, these connections between texts are much less obvious for modern readers. Furthermore, the impression of randomness in this central portion of *All the Workes* has been compounded by the difference between the order of the pieces as indicated in the Catalogue and the eventual organization of the volume as printed. My reason for assuming that the order given in the Catalogue preceded the actual printing of the pieces in Beale and Alld's sections is based on the details of these shifts in position and the probable copy texts used for *All the Workes*. For example, in the Catalogue *The Great O'Toole* is listed for inclusion in the last section, to be printed by Alsop and Fawcett. However, it is actually printed near the start of Beale's section, after *A Very Merrie Wherrie Ferry Voyage*. An obvious cause of this slip-up is that there were two editions of both these texts: they were initially printed separately, but when Gosson brought out a second edition of the *Merrie Wherrie Voyage* he appended *The Great O'Toole* to it (1623). It is probable that the copy text used in Beale's shop was this nonce collection and that the compositors simply continued from the first to the second text without stopping to consult either author or catalogue. While this would have made perfect sense for compositors doing their job in the print shop, it has apparently disrupted the original plans of the author or editor(s) of *All the Workes*. For if *The Great O'Toole* had not intervened, the *Merrie Wherrie Voyage*, which recounts Taylor's journey from London to York, would have been followed in the folio by *A Discovery by Sea*, a narrative of Taylor's journey by wherry "from London to Salisbury". These two items would then have formed a triple bill with *The Scourge of Basenesse*, the famous text where Taylor berated those persons who had promised in advance to pay for copies of his journey pamphlets and failed to honour their pledges. In the introduction to *The Scourge* Taylor lists seven journeys, building to a crescendo of trials and tribulations: the last two in the list are the trips to York and Salisbury. Thus it would have made perfect sense for the accounts of these two journeys to have followed on from each other in the collected *Workes*. The unplanned position of *The Great O'Toole* in the final printing of the folio has therefore obscured one of the organizational principals within Beale's section.

A similar effect can be seen with the other stray text in this section, *The Praise of Cleane Linnen*. This is a mock encomium along the same lines as the group of four at the start of Beale's section, but has been separated from them. It seems out of place in its present location, inserted between the group of poems relating to William Fennor and *The True Cause of the Watermens Suit*, pieces which date from early in Taylor's writing career (c.1614-1616). Unlike *The great O'Toole*, there is no obvious practical reason for this insertion. *The Praise of Cleane Linnen* is listed last in the Catalogue at the very end of the texts destined for the third section of the volume, as if it were a late addition. It is possible that there had been some difficulty in finding a copy text, as the survival rate of the original is low. Unlike the other mock encomia published by Henry Gossen there is no record of a further edition apart from the folio text; it is not amongst the mock encomia that Gossen reprinted in 1635.²² However, *The praise of Cleane Linnen* is mentioned in the folio text of *A Bawd*, the first of the four mock encomia printed together in this section, and itself an unusual text as there is no surviving original before its folio printing. This makes it even more puzzling that *The Praise of Cleane Linnen* was not included in this group but ended up instead being relegated to the end of the Catalogue and finally printed between two pieces to which it apparently bore no relation.

²³

It may be that *Cleane Linnen* was moved from the position listed in the Catalogue because it was considered unsuitable to the conclusion of *All the Workes*. For this scurrilous text hardly fits the sober image of Taylor carefully cultivated at both the start and end of the collection.²⁴ However, although this provides a reason for moving *The Praise of Cleane Linnen* away from the conclusion of *All the Workes*, it does not

²² Only two copies of the first edition (1624) are now extant, the second re-using the typesetting of one quire from the first: *The Praise of Cleane Linnen* (E. Alde for H. Gossen), STC 23787; 23787.5. This may indicate that the text was reprinted rapidly when first published. The fourth of these mock encomia, *The Praise and Virtue of a Jayle*, was not Gossen's to reprint, since it had been entered to and published by Richard Badger in 1623.

²³ The 1635 reprint of *A Bawd* is taken from the folio text. The reference to *Cleane Linnen* in the folio text of *A Bawd* has been used to date the first publication of *A Bawd* to 1624. The other three pieces that have not survived in print prior to *All the Workes* are *Honour Conceal'd* (c.1623-8) and the funeral elegies for Launcelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester and for Viscount Haddington (both 1626). See *Table D*, above.

²⁴ Robert Dow's comment that this text is "rather more coarse than Taylor is wont to be" does have some weight in this instance (Robert Dow, "Life and Times", Bibliography, p. 68-9). However, *The Praise of Cleane Linnen* may also have carried anti-Puritan overtones that would have disturbed the godly aura of the concluding texts in *All the Workes*.

account for its final resting place between *A Cast Over the Water* and *The Watermen's Suit*. The possibility that this was a late decision is strengthened by a pagination error: the first page of *Cleane Linnen* is numbered 155 instead of the correct figure, 164, but unlike some other pagination errors in *All the Workes*, this is a single slip, and page 165 follows in the correct sequence.²⁵ This suggestion of haste makes it possible that the insertion of *The Praise of Cleane Linnen* may have been a last-minute attempt to obscure the link between the three Fennor pieces and *The Watermen's Suit*, which might have been embarrassing for Taylor. The Fennor pieces arose from an incident at the Hope theatre in the winter season 1614/15, when William Fennor failed to show up for a competition with Taylor, and the resident playing company had to rescue Taylor from the furious audience.²⁶ This theatrical thread and proximity in date would naturally link the Fennor texts to *The Watermen's Suit*, as the latter's running title, "The Watermen's Suit / Concerning Players" would emphasise. However, *The Watermen's Suit* includes Taylor's self-defence against accusations that he had been secretly favouring the players over the watermen, by not promoting his Guild's cause actively enough in their attempt to prevent the actors moving away from the Bankside.²⁷ Thus it may have seemed politic to whoever was arranging the collection to avoid bringing together a text where Taylor is rescued by the players and another containing a plea from the Watermen against the actors' interests. By inserting *The Praise of Clean Linnen* between these texts the inconsistency in Taylor's dealings between the players and the watermen would be less obvious.

Nevertheless, as with *The Great O'Toole*, the position of *The Praise of Cleane Linnen* as printed appears to make little sense in terms of theme, genre or even date of composition. As a consequence, the middle section of *All the Workes* appears less organized than it might have done if printed as planned. If *O'Toole and Cleane Linnen*

²⁵ The correct page 155 is found at the start of the text before this, *A Cast Over the Water* (sig. Oo2r), following *Fennors Defence*, to which it is a reply.

²⁶ The company was most probably the Lady Elizabeth's Men.

²⁷ The postscript to *The Praise of Cleane Linnen* purports to explain its composition but is actually a bawdy account of the journey of "Captaine Catso" from Tuscany to London. Catso takes ship from Ireland, where he had been "struck lame". It is possible that Taylor was making a jibe at Fennor, who had attempted to make his fortune in Ireland soon after the debacle with Taylor at the Hope theatre in 1615. For Fennor in Ireland, see W.H.G. Flood, "Fennor and Daborne at Youghal" in *MLR* 20 (1925), pp. 321-322.

were removed, the printed sequence that starts with the *Merry Wherrie-Ferry Voyage* and ends with *The True Cause of the Watermen's Suit* would contain four sets of related items: the first set on the topic of Taylor's ferry voyages; the second on Thomas Coriate; then the four mock encomia and finally a group of texts with a theatrical link from 1614-15. This is a reasonably clear and sensible organization, which certainly suggests an editorial hand, whether or not it may be ascribed to the author himself. These examples demonstrate that, while the wide range of genres in Beale's section of the Folio gives the impression of a *pot pourri* or gallimaufry of items, there is nevertheless much more method than madness at work in their organization.

However, it is unsurprising that later readers have missed the planning that went into the collection's structure, since it has been obscured not just by the last minute changes described above, but by other aspects of the presentation as well. Most obviously, there is the apparent absurdity of opening the whole section with *Sir Gregory Nonsense* (1622), which is generally considered to be one of the least serious and most inconsequential pieces that Taylor ever published. The lavishly ornamented reprinting of this piece in *All the Workes* makes an immediate visual impact, more appropriate to the opening of a folio volume [see illustration below]:

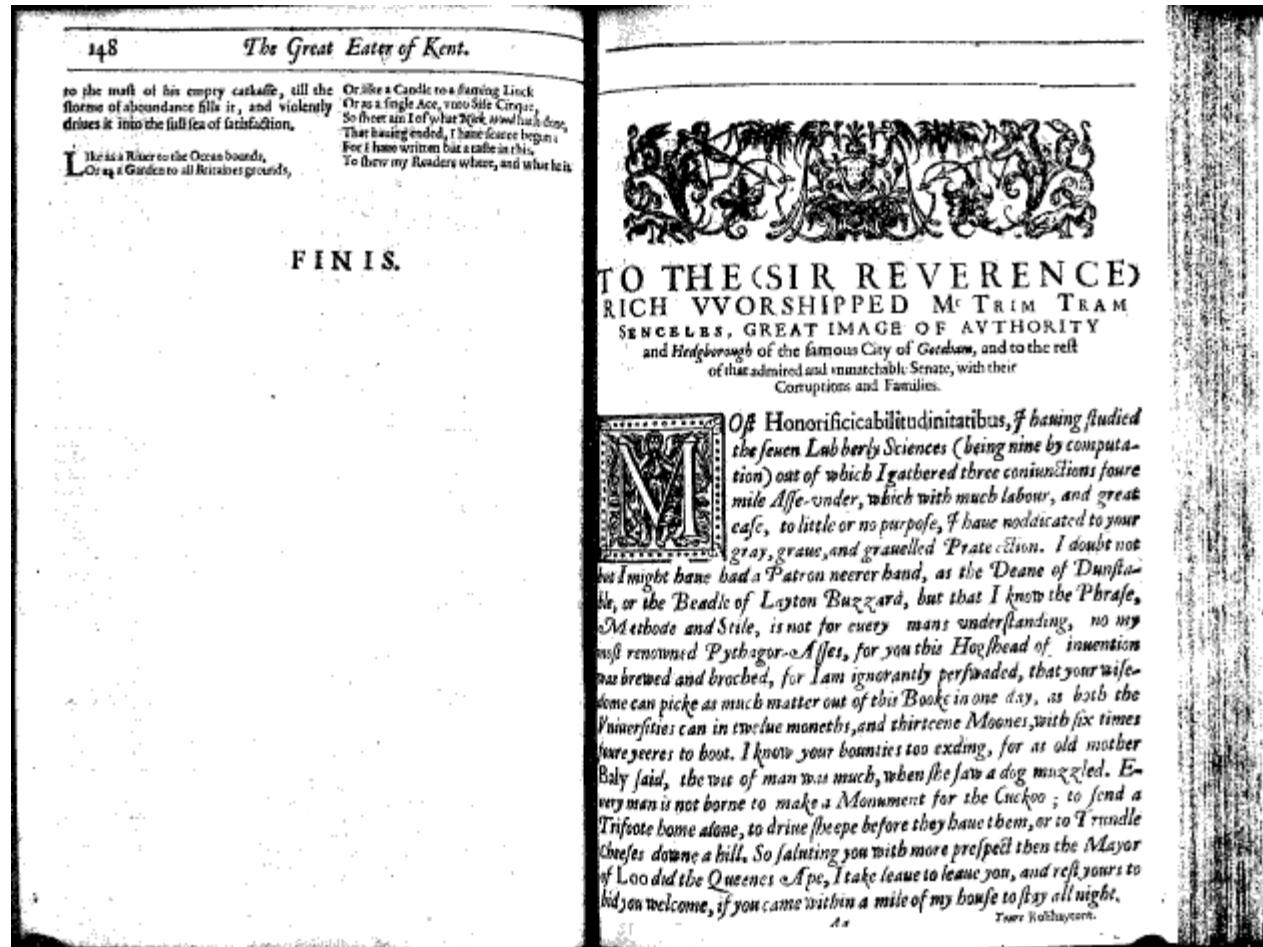


Fig. 6.3. *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet* (1630), showing the opening of John Beale's section with "Sir Gregory Nonsense".²⁸

The ornamental header for the mock dedication resembles those found in the folios of Shakespeare or Jonson; in the case of Jonson, the second volume (1631) actually shares the very same ornaments and type.²⁹ There is also a visual parallel to the copies of the 1630 English edition of Camden's *Annales* produced soon after *All the Workes* by the same syndicate of stationers (see Chapter 4):

²⁸ *All the Workes* (STC 23725), sigs. O2v - Aa1r, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 21 July 2009.

²⁹ A different ornament used by Beale's printers on the letter-press title page of *All the Workes of John Taylor* is also found above the Prologue to the King's Majesty and the Induction to "Bartholomew Fayre" in the 1631 second volume of Ben Jonson's Works (*Bartholomew Fayre: a comedie ... Beale for Robert Allot, 1631*) STC 14753.5, (Sig. A3r and A4r), and on "The Staple of News" (thus, ironically, Jonson's satire on the rise of cheap print carries the same printing ornaments as John Taylor's *Workes*).

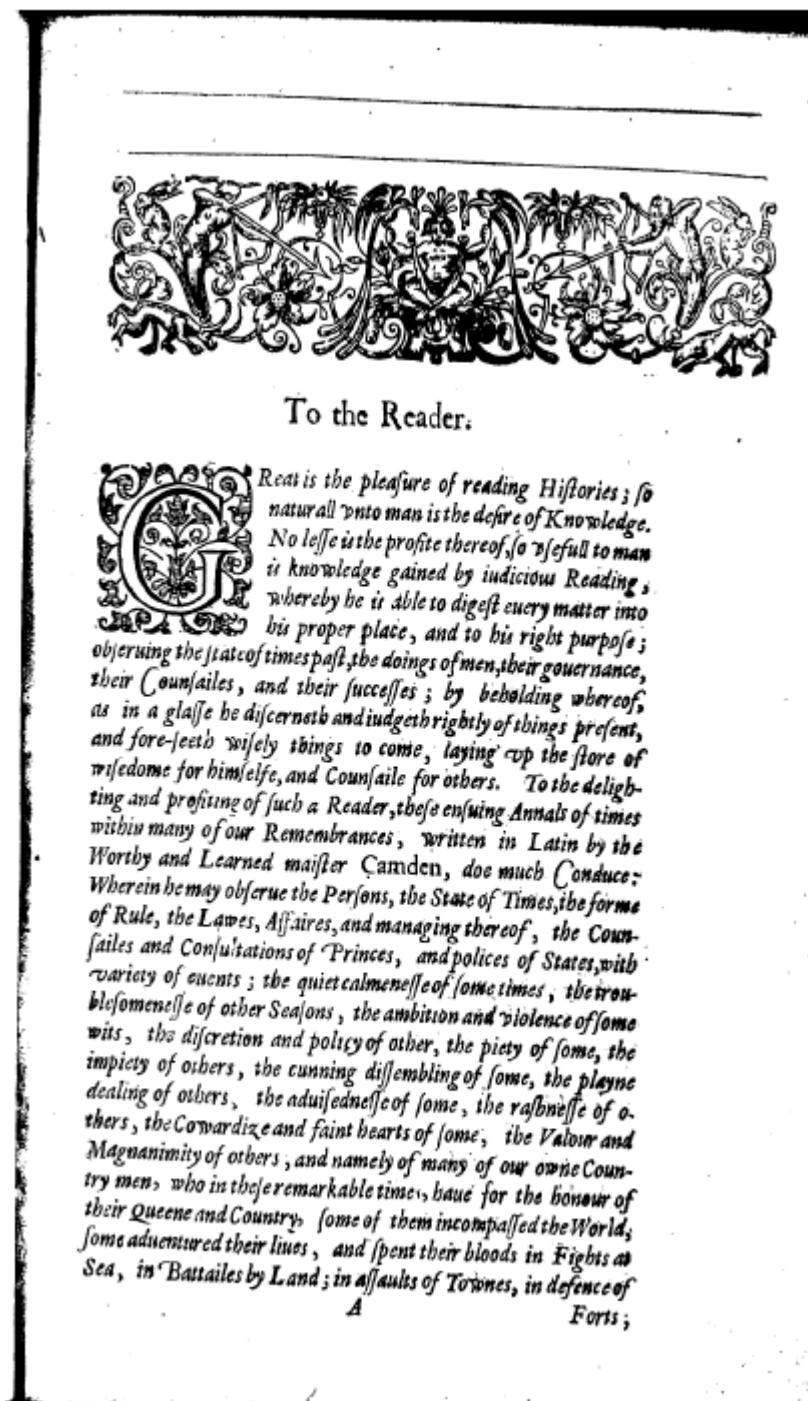


Fig. 6.4. Opening page to Camden's *The historie of the most renowned and victorious princesse Elizabeth* (1630).³⁰

³⁰ *The historie of the life and reigne of the most renowned [sic] and victorious Princesse Elizabeth/late Queene of England* (J. Beale, N. Okes, [E. Alldel] B. Alsop & T. Fawcet, N. Pufoot, for Benjamin Fisher, 1630), STC 4500., sig. A1r. <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 23 Sept. 2009.

The second page of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* is laid out as if introducing a learned sermon, with “The names of such Authors Alphabetically recited, as are simply mentioned in this Worke” following the scholarly practice of listing the authorities for the text, whilst actually being pure nonsense [see illustration below].

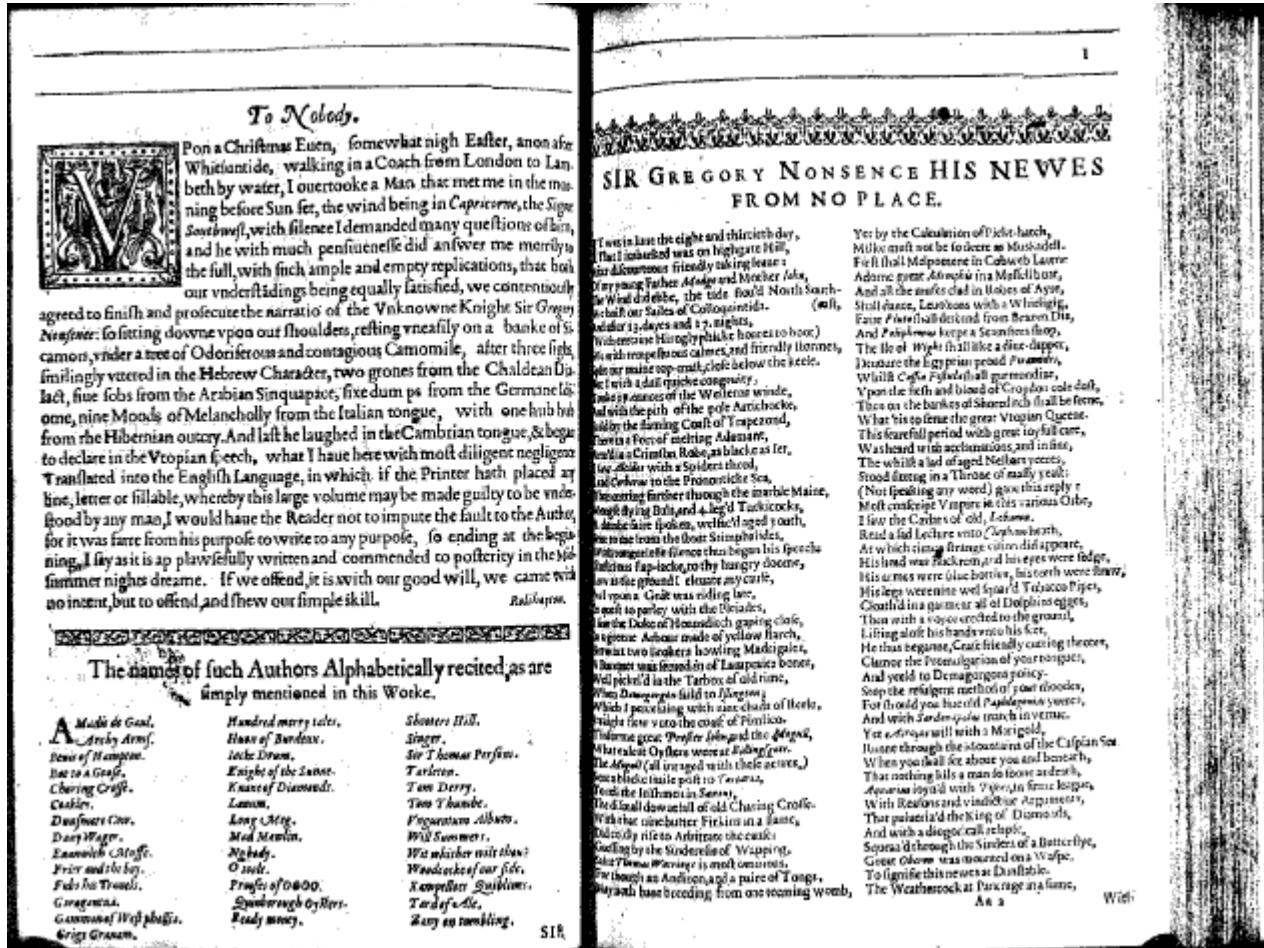


Fig. 6.5. *All the Works of John Taylor* (1630), showing the second and third pages of “Sir Gregory Nonsense”.³¹

The layout of this second page highlights the dedication ‘To Nobody’ where the concluding lines echo the Mechanicals’ prologue to *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (“If we offend, it is with our good will, we came with no intent but to offend, and shew our

³¹ STC 23725, sigs. Aa 1v - Aa 2r, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 21 July 2009.

simple skill’’).³² Allusions to Shakespeare are not uncommon in Taylor’s work, but this example matches with the other references to *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* in *Sir Gregory Nonsense*, creating a particular association between these texts. While Hartle considers that these references to Shakespeare’s comedy are intended to ground Taylor’s nonsense text in “the real world”, his interpretation seems at odds with the nature of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* itself. It seems more likely that this inter-textuality may have had a more complex significance for Taylor.³³ It is notable, for example, that the allusion to the Mechanicals’ Prologue at the end of “To Nobody” echoes the theatrical references in the earlier preliminary materials to *All the Workes*, which was also printed by Beale. These theatrical links occur on both a linguistic and a typographical level, since the appearance of the opening pages to *Sir Gregory Nonsense* and of the general preliminaries resembles the presentation of play openings in the first Shakespeare folio (1623). While William Jaggard’s ornamentation from 1623 is not identical to Beale’s in 1630, it is close enough to create a family resemblance between these different folios, offering contemporary readers a similar visual experience. Beale was of course about to print the second volume of Jonson’s folio in 1630, using the same presses and ornamentation as for *All the Workes*, and here a typographic parallel between the genres was inevitable, given the choice of folio format for both.

However, since folios of this period tend to resemble one another through the common use of similar ornamentation it may be unwise to read too much significance into these aspects of the visual presentation of *All the Workes*. The grander ornamentation of Beale’s section of *All the Workes* by comparison to Elizabeth Allde’s, may simply be a consequence of the change of printing shop. In Allde’s much plainer printing, the aim seems to have been to fit as much text as possible onto each page, a strategy intended to save paper and thereby cut costs. Thus in most cases the next text begins as soon as the previous one is over, with some straightforward decorated rules between. There is little blank space and consequently minimal distinction between the

³² *All the Workes*, sig. Aa1v.

³³ P.N. Hartle, “‘All his Workes Sir’: John Taylor’s Nonsense”, p.157. There may also be a link to the exchange of epigrams with Henry Parrot in 1613/14 where Parrat refers to “poore Mechannick toyling Water-men”; Taylor’s response utilizes the “nonsense” language conventional for early modern parrots. See, Franklin B. Williams, “Henry Parrot’s Stolen Feathers”, in *PMLA* 52.4 (Dec. 1937), 1019-1030, pp. 1026-1027.

items. However, Beale's compositors seem to have been working to different conventions. They used ornaments specific to the folio format, whereas Allde's compositors employed only decorative motifs made up from individual ornaments also used in smaller formats. In addition, Beale's compositors allowed more space to key pieces, which considerably enhances the presentation.

Sir Gregory Nonsense is a prime example of these effects at work. In addition to the ornaments and layout already noted above, the piece ends a third of the way down one page (Sig. Aa4r). In the section of *All the Workes* printed by Elizabeth Allde, a space of such a size would have been filled with the start of the next item, which in this case would be the dedication and prologue to *A Very Merry Wherrie-ferry Voyage* (Sig. Aa4v). However, Beale's compositors have instead filled the space with a large triangular tail piece. This distinctive ornament has a long history in Beale's shop: for example, it is used in Camden's *History of Elizabeth* (1630, discussed above), but it also appears in the printing of Speed's *The Historie of Great Britaine*, in editions from 1611 to 1623.³⁴ Here it sets off the conclusion of 'The Proeme' and ends various sections and whole books. The presentation of the history texts in *All the Workes* bears some resemblance to the illustrated pages of Speed's *Historie of Great Britaine*, especially the later editions with medallion portraits of monarchs and emperors in profile. The common use of Beale's triangular tail-piece in both texts increases this resemblance. Although the parallels could be ascribed merely to the coincidence of printing shop, the references in *Wit in a Constable* to Taylor's "Nonsense" in conjunction with sarcastic allusions to his learning and his pretentious "Works", suggest that there may have been a deliberate strategy in presenting *All the Workes* in the same manner as these learned tomes (see illustrations below).

³⁴ John Speed, *The history of Great Britaine under the conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans* (W. Hall & J. Beale for J. Sudbury & G. Humble, 1611), STC 23045.

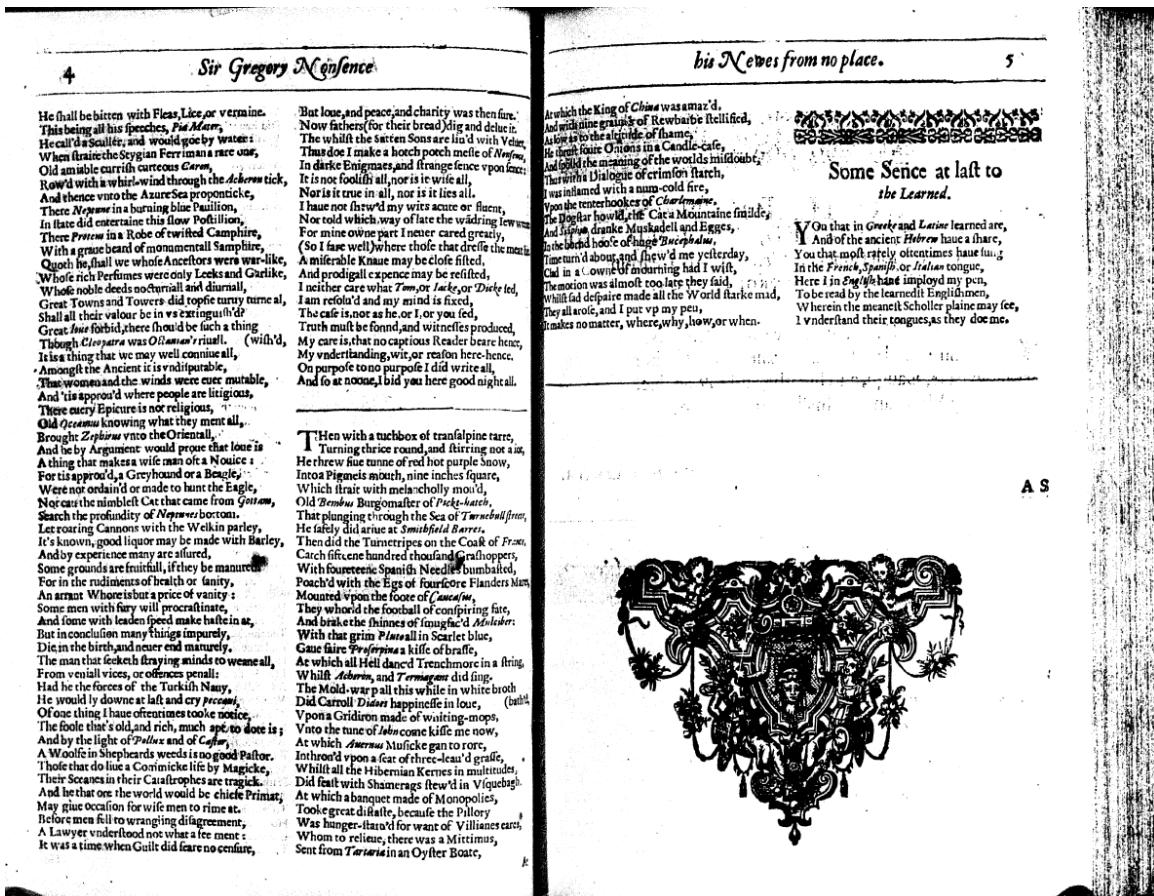


Fig. 6.6. *All the Works of John Taylor the Water Poet* (1630), showing the use of the triangular tail-piece at the end of "Sir Gregory Nonsense".³⁵

³⁵ *All the Works*, Sig. Aa3v-Aa4r, British Library copy, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 21st July 2009.

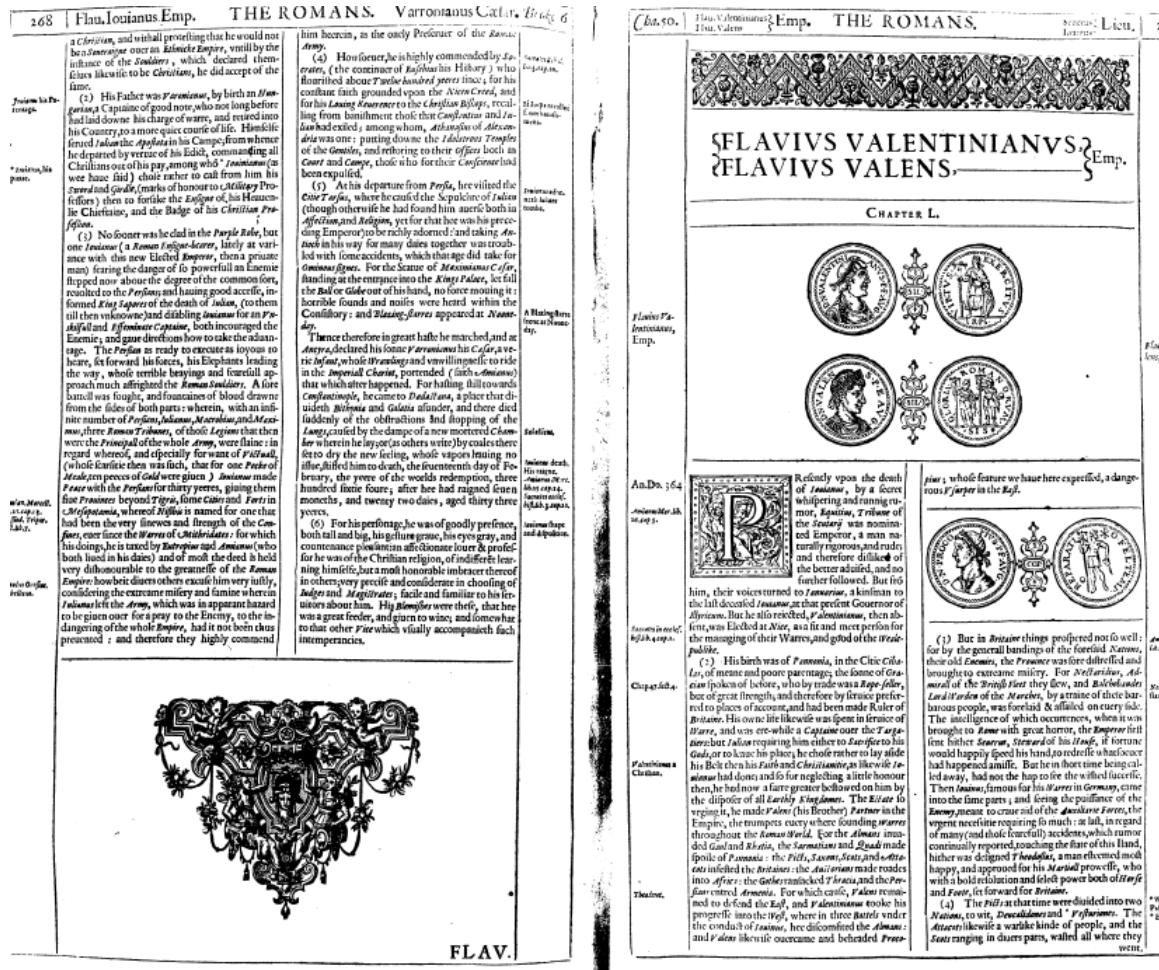


Fig. 6.7. John Speed, *The history of Great Britaine* (1611), Showing the triangular printer's tail-piece that re-appears in *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630).³⁶

Whether or not it was intended to suggest a parallel with the works of Camden and Speed, the use of this tail-piece at the end of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* is also significant within *All the Workes* itself. For its use adds support to the possibility that Beale's section of the folio was intended to stand alone or to be marketed separately for later binding with the other parts of the volume. As Beale was also responsible for the preliminaries to *All the Workes*, the first appearance of this tail piece is at the end of the Epistle Dedicatory (A4r). This creates a visual link between the opening of *All the*

³⁶ STC23045, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed January 12th 2009.

Workes and the end of *Sir Gregory Nonsense*, which is its next appearance. In both instances, the ornament is placed at the end of a relatively short prose text which is itself near the opening of a longer section of the book. This may simply reflect compositorial practice in Beale's shop, but it also suggests that *Sir Gregory Nonsense* might have been envisaged by the printers as the opening of a folio, rather than merely a text in the middle of a volume. There is some support for this notion in the allusion to Taylor's "Nonsense" in *Wit in a Constable*, since *Sir Gregory Nonsense* would obviously have gained a high profile as the opening text of a separate volume. The pagination, starting afresh with Beale's section, is also suggestive of this scenario.

The care with which *Sir Gregory Nonsense* is presented here makes it impossible to explain away the positioning of this nonsense poem at the start of Beale's section as merely the result of a rush to print. We must therefore assume that whoever was compiling *All the Workes* deliberately chose *Sir Gregory Nonsense* to open the central and most substantial section of the whole collection. This in itself undermines the critical view of *All the Workes* as Taylor's failed attempt to claim the status of a serious literary poet following the model of Ben Jonson. For the typographical and structural highlighting of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* foregrounds a highly irreverent approach to learning and to classical languages. Indeed, it might be considered a deliberate challenge to elite circles where classical learning was a major criterion for inclusion. In this respect, the use of the triangular ornament on the final page of the text could be considered to contribute to this strategy, by drawing attention to the final verse, which is in a prominent position at top right of the page, set off from the rest by a decorative heading. These are the lines that explicitly highlight the issue of classical learning to which Glaphorne's text of *Wit in a Constable* also refers:

Some Sence at last to the Learned

*You that in Greeke and Latine learned are,
And of the ancient Hebrew haue a share,
You that most rarely oftentimes haue sung
In the French, Spanish, or Italian tongue,*

*Here I in English haue employd my pen,
To be read by the learnedst Englishmen,
Wherein the meanest Scholler plaine may see,
I vnderstand their tongues, as they doe me.* ³⁷

As the conclusion to a virtuoso display of nonsense verse, this short envoi carries considerable irony. The allusion to the “tongues” of scholars can perhaps not be fully appreciated without reference to Taylor’s earlier adventures in nonsense language, including his experiments in “the Barmooda tongue”, which appeared in the texts addressed to Thomas Coriate from 1613-16. In *All the Workes* these Coriate texts are grouped together a little further on in Beale’s section, so that *Sir Gregory Nonsense* is a fitting introduction to their nonsense elements. However, the pointed references to learning and Englishmen in this envoi also highlight the link between a sense of national identity and a vernacular literary tradition. This was a constant concern for Taylor and a central issue for both Du Bartas and Josua Sylvester. In Sylvester’s translation of Bartas’ *L’Uranie* the decision to compose in the vernacular is presented as a truly religious commitment, denoting that the poet places his vocation above any personal desire for self-agrandisement. Thus the folio’s typographical highlighting of Taylor’s envoi to *Sir Gregory Nonsense* foregrounds an issue that was at the heart of his own sense of authorial identity.³⁸

Although Taylor and his admirers had explored such concepts from his very first forays into print in 1612-14, these earlier debates had mainly focused on the defence of Taylor against charges of plagiarism. With *Sir Gregory Nonsense*, however, Taylor took the debate to a new level, presenting the text itself as evidence of the irrelevance of classical languages to the art of the poet. In this respect, the mastery that Taylor demonstrates within this text over the two genres of nonsense verse and narrative is an essential factor in his argument. Taylor had already faced up to the issue of the surface triviality of the mock encomium by his genealogy of this sub-genre in *In Praise of Hempseed* (1620). He quickly demonstrated the potential of the mock encomium as a

³⁷ *All the Workes* (1630), sig. Aaa4r.

³⁸ For Du Bartas, see Chapters 2 and 5.

satirical weapon on topical subjects, for example in the extreme anti-Catholicism of *A Bawd*. It is this potential for turning nonsense into polemic that must be considered in the case of *Sir Gregory Nonsense*.

Taylor's use of nonsense as a weapon in his civil war pamphlets has been much admired by academics. However, the consensus has been that the polemical political purpose to which he put this technique after 1642 contrasts sharply to the “innocent[ly] confident pastime” of his practice before the civil war. Even Paul Hartle, in his Freudian explanation for the “world-turned-upside-down” motif in Taylor's later pamphlets, which he applies with some subtlety to their linguistic effects, retains the civil war as the dividing moment between naivety and subversion in Taylor's approach. He considers normative values essential to Taylor's pre civil-war nonsense: “good sense is the prerequisite of Nonsense: whilst the author enjoys a secure position within a stable world, Nonsense writing can be both untroubled and untroubling”.³⁹ However, the sophistication with which Taylor employed this nonsense technique from early in the 1640s renders the assumption of the “innocence” of his earlier nonsense questionable. The polemical techniques that he employed with such devastating effectiveness after this divide are clearly discernable much earlier in his writing career, as the example of the coach turned “topsey turvey” or “kew-kaw” in the frontispiece to *The World Runnes on Wheeles* in 1623 demonstrates.⁴⁰

However, the antecedents of texts such as *The World Runnes on Wheeles* in the drama of the turn of the sixteenth century, and the roots of Taylor's work stretching back to the 1590s, suggest a textual and indeed oral basis in much earlier practice for the techniques of these civil war years. In this respect, John Beale's apprenticeship to Robert Waldegrave is highly relevant. Waldegrave had “attached himself to the Puritan party” from the start of his career in the early 1580s: he was imprisoned for Puritan printing in 1585 and his presses produced the first three *Martin Marprelate* tracts.⁴¹ With this

³⁹ The quotation is from Hartle's account of *Mercurius Nonsensicus* (1648), where he refers to “the Nonsense which was once so innocently confident a pastime”. He makes an exception for the “graver possibilities” of the short addition to the second edition of *Jack a Lent*, but he does not apply this to any other pre-1640 text (P.N. Hartle, “All his Workes Sir”, p. 157).

⁴⁰ See Chapter 1.

⁴¹ John Beale was freed by Widow Waldegrave on 7th November 1608, “never formally bound” (D.F. McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices, 1605-1640* (Charlottesville, Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1961), Pt. 2, p. 131, no. 2631. Waldegrave produced John Knox's *Confessions*

background, it is unsurprising to find Beale responsible for printing the section of *All the Workes* containing satires, mock encomia and nonsense verse that uses similar strategies to such famous polemics as the *Marprelate* tracts. For a printer such as John Beale, the Puritan streak in these Taylor texts, as well as their obvious anti-Catholicism, would have rendered them highly attractive. This may be an additional explanation for the way in which Taylor's work was divided up between the printing houses. However, while both John Beale and Elizabeth Alldred turned increasingly to Puritan printing after *All the Workes*, with Alldred eventually being involved in *Histriomastix*, James Boler trod a more careful line during the 1630s.

However, according to Noel Malcolm, it is the “literary” qualities of Taylor's nonsense verse which reveal its antecedents, and *Sir Gregory Nonsense* is his prime example. Malcolm traces the linguistic and rhythmic energies of this text back to the “radical destabilizing of poetic diction” by a combination of Marlowe's blank verse rhythms and Marston's experiments with “unstable and potentially explosive” vocabulary. Malcolm believes that the nonsense genre could only flourish alongside the material that it was parodying, and that its success reflects the intense literariness of the early seventeenth century. However, the effectiveness of Taylor's later nonsense verse, which cannot be ascribed to parody alone, suggests that this literary explanation for *Sir Gregory Nonsense* is only partially correct. Indeed, Malcolm's account of the regeneration of the nonsense genre through the orations of John Hoskyns, just prior to Taylor's publications, alerts us to the importance of orality and performance as factors in the equation.⁴²

Sir Gregory Nonsense proceeds structurally by a series of embedded orations, which are presented in the context of brief dramatic moments that reproduce the scenario of formal presentations, rather like the structure of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Taylor creates the impression of an exchange of dialogue, where readers can picture the speaker

(1581). For the Marprelate tracts he moved his presses around the country to escape detection by the authorities. He printed two other Puritan tracts at Rochelle, then went to Edinburgh where he was King's printer to James I, following him to London in 1603/4 (R.B. McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, 1557-1640* (1910, rpt. London, the Bibliographical Society, 1977), p. 277).

⁴² Noel Malcolm, “Fustian, bombast and satire: the stylistic preconditions of English seventeenth-century nonsense poetry”, in *The Origins of English Nonsense Verse*, pp. 30-51.

and the presence of listeners, despite the nonsensical import of the speeches themselves. This technique also gives a natural context for the abrupt switches in topic and ideas that contribute to the impression of a nonsensical world, where the focus is continually shifting without warning or apparent reason. These structural devices create an impression of progress that is denied by the circularity of the textual meanings, setting up a tension that keeps the reader focused on the text. Thus it is not just the vocabulary, the juxtapositions and contradictions of terms, or the ridiculous rhymes, that create the fabric of the verse, but also the structural devices and the semi-dramatic effects. While none of these techniques are unique to Taylor, he demonstrates a remarkable ability in *Sir Gregory Nonsense* to achieve a balance between freedom and organization. By underpinning the extremities of nonsense with a structural scaffolding of form and syntax, he gives scope for the diction almost to take on a life of its own. This allows a copiousness and elasticity in the texture of the verse that suits the concept of nonsense as a release, while not allowing the piece to become wholly uncontrolled. In this respect, Taylor's preference for switching between forms within a single text becomes a positive virtue in *Sir Gregory Nonsense*. The changes from blank verse to rhymed verse, and occasional interpolation of skeltonic prose, not only help to avoid stylistic monotony, but also reinforce the structural and lexical tensions of the text.

Yet the virtuosity of the nonsense techniques in *Sir Gregory Nonsense* need not divert an alert reader from the possibility of serious targets for its satire. Clues include the vestige of a narrative traceable through the text, with its cross-references to other writers, and the appearance of topics more typical of Taylor's overtly polemical pieces. The vestigial narrative hangs upon a journey to the underworld, the "no-place" of the title. This hints at inter-textual parallels with other journeys to Hell, notably in the work of Thomas Nashe and Thomas Dekker.⁴³ The possibility of satire is revealed by the encounter of an unidentified "Anabaptist" with Pluto which becomes the centre-piece of this journey. Appropriately, the sequence begins with a reference to Amsterdam, the seat of Puritans and Separatists:

⁴³ See for example, Thomas Dekker's *Newes from Graves-end sent to nobody* (T.Creede for T.Archer, 1604), STC 12199, which also mentions Watermen in the Epistle Dedicatory; Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse his supplication to the diuell* (J. Charlewood for Richard Jones, 1592), STC 18371; (A. Ieffes for John Busbie), STC 18372 - 18373.

*This was no sooner knowne at Amsterdam,
But with an Ethiopian Argosey,
Man'd with Flap-dragons, drinking vp sifreeze,
They past the purple gulfe of Basingstoke.*

.....

*With that I turn'd mine eares to see these things,
And on a Christall wall of Scarlet dye,
with mine eyes began to heare and note,
What these succeding Verses might portend,
Which furiously an Annabaptist squeak'd,
The audience deafly listning all the while.*

Appropriately for a nonsense-poem, the grandiose delivery of this speech (presented as the Anabaptist's "Most learned lie and illiterate oration") conceals a hollowness at the centre and ends in a bathetic lack of meaning. The Anabaptist's many words mean nothing and are thus the epitome of "nonsense".

A most learned-Lye, and Illiterate Oration, in lame galloping Rime, fustianly pronounced by Nimshag, a Gimnosophicall Philosopher, in the presence of Achittophell Smel-smocke, Annani-Asse Arette, Iscariot Nabal, Fransiscus Ravigliaco, Garnetto Iebusito, Guido Salpetro Fauexit Powderio, and many other graue Senators of Limbo.

*THe Story of Ricardo, and of Bindo,
Appear'd like Nylus, peeping through a Windo:
Which put the wandring Iew in much amazement,*

*In seeing such a voyce without the Cazement.*⁴⁴

Pluto's reply is equally nonsensical, making a mockery of the whole exchange. This befits Taylor's animosity against religious sects like the Anabaptists, which he considered an extreme danger to the English Church. If Taylor's aim here is simply entertainment, the amusement has a sharp edge and the humour is directed against targets that were real enough in the early 1620s, but even more to the point in the tensions of the turn of the decade 1629/30. The list of names in the introduction to the "illiterate oration" begins with several reminiscent of the Puritan spoilers of the fun in Jonson's play, *Bartholomew Fayre* (1614, performed by the Lady Elizabeth's Men), *Achittophell Smel-smocke, Annani-Asse Aretine*, where the spelling deliberately mocks "Ananias". Taylor also ensures that he gets in a reference to the Gunpowder plot, (*Garnetto Iebusito, Guido Salpetro Fauexit Powderio*), moving from Puritans to Catholics with no distinction. This is typical of Taylor's enmity to either extreme, the excessively Puritan or Catholic, whom he saw as equally dangerous to the moderate English Church.

Having presented the reader with dangerous schismatics, heretics and Jesuits as "Grave Senators of Limbo", the underlying narrative structure is again invoked for the return from Hell. Here, the author apparently inveigles himself into his own narrative as "the Stygian Ferriman":

*This being all his speeches, Pia Mater,
He call'd a Sculler, and would goe by water:
When straight the Stygian Ferriman, a rare one,
Old amiable, currish curteous Caron,
Row'd with a whirlwind through the Acheron ticke
And thence unto the Azure sea Proponticke.....*⁴⁵

⁴⁴ *Sir Gregory Nonsense*, sigs. B1r-B1v.

⁴⁵ *Sir Gregory Nonsense*, sigs. B4r-B4v. This may echo Othello's vow to Iago, which also has Hellish associations ('Like to the Pontic sea / Whose icy current and compulsive course/ ... keeps due on / To the Propontic and the Hellespont', W. Shakespeare, *Othello* ed. E.A.J, Honigmann, (The Arden Shakespeare, 1997), 3.3.456-459).

This reference to Charon is reminiscent of Dekker's presentation of Taylor as the Ferriman of heaven in the 1615/16 *Taylors Urania* and in the preliminaries to *All the Workes*. There of course Dekker had defined Taylor as the Heavenly alter-ego of the Stygian ferryman, bringing the reader's soul to heavenly bliss. The image of Taylor as the oarsman who transports souls to their end, whether heaven or hell, was a well-worn contemporary metaphor.⁴⁶

The appeal of this passage to contemporaries is suggested by the existence of several later allusions. Martin Parker's reference appears in the opening to *Sir Leonard Lackwit* which was modeled on *Sir Gregory Nonsense*:

*A Boate, a Boate, John Taylor come make haste,
Here comes a Knight that faine would have a cast*

Sir Leonard Lackwit first appeared in print in 1633, over a decade after the first publication of Taylor's poem. Although this date suggests that Parker's tribute might relate to the popularity of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* as reprinted in *All the Workes* in 1630, the material presentation of Parker's text seems more appropriate as a response to Taylor's earlier octavo edition of 1622.⁴⁷ Parker's extended title, which promises more along the lines of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* would make sense as an advertising ploy soon after that text was first issued:

*The legend of Sir Leonard Lack-wit sonne in law to Sir Gregory Nonsense,
by the marriage of his wiues eldest daughter to Sir Simon Simple, translated
out of all Christian languages into the Kentish tongue.*

⁴⁶ For example, William Hemminge's satiric elegy on *Randolph's Finger*, c.1632 (William Hemminge's *Elegy on Randolph's Finger*, ed. G.C. Moore Smith (Oxford, Blackwell, 1923)). A mocking association between verse composition and the rhythmic beating of oars is common in allusions to Taylor, for example in *Apollo Shroving* (1627) and the disputation between Gerard de Malynes and Edward Misselden (see, Andrea Finkelstein, "The Learned Library of the Seventeenth Century Merchant" in *Book History*, 3 (2000), pp. 1-20, <http://muse.jhu.edu.journals/book_history>). Taylor refers to rhyming extempore as a skill of the watermen in his 'Defence' of watermen printed in *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614).

⁴⁷ *The legend of Sir Leonard Lack-wit sonne in law to Sir Gregory Nonsense, by the marriage of his wiues eldest daughter to Sir Simon Simple, translated out of all Christian languages into the Kentish tongue.* (1633, E. Purslowe for S. Pemmill), STC 19251, ent. 8 Jan 1633 (Arber IV 290), BL: C.71.a.17.

The format and presentation of Parker's imitation is also much closer to the octavo version of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* than to its grander production in the folio:

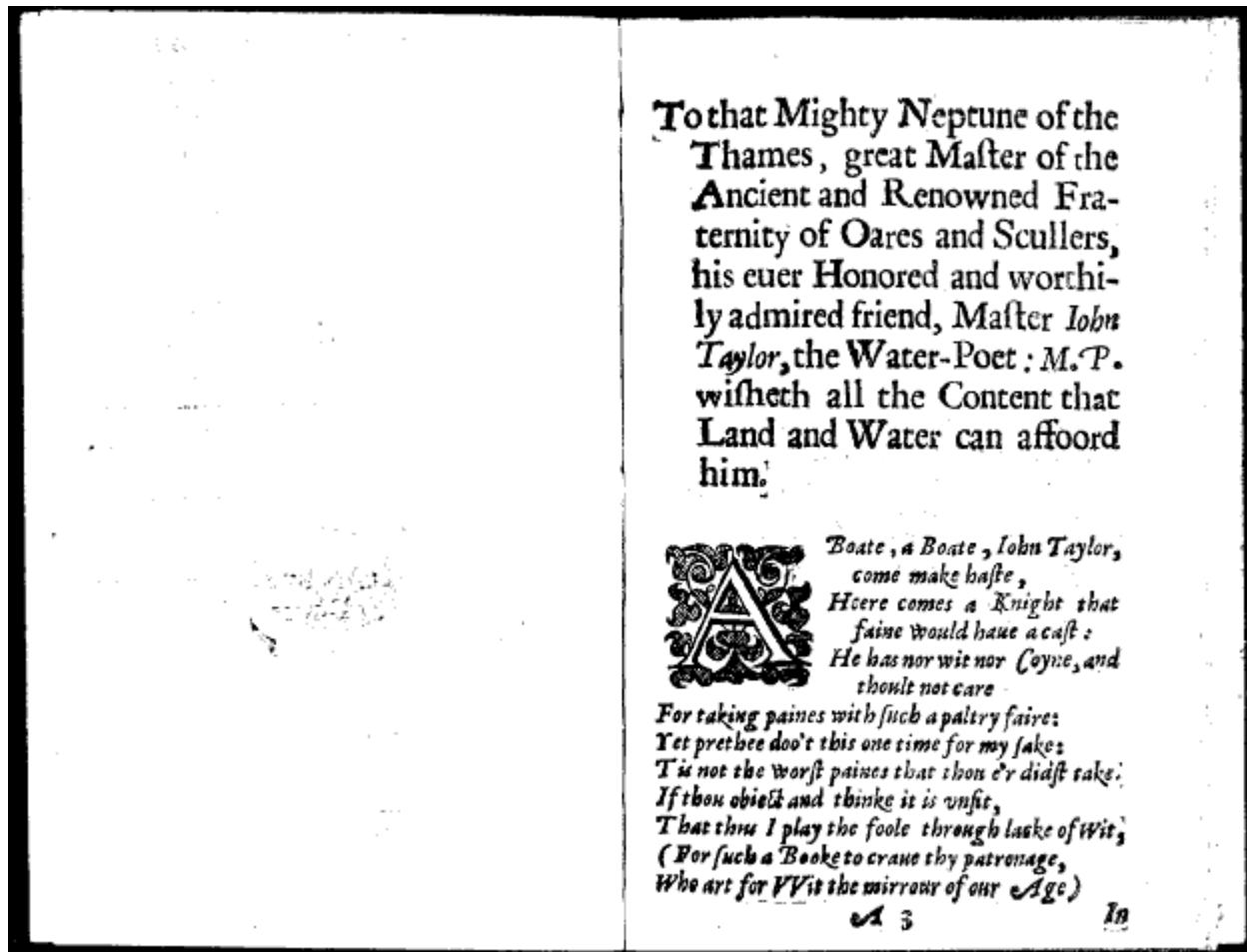


Fig. 6.8. Martin Parker, *The legend of Sir Leonard Lack-wit sonne in law to Sir Gregory Nonsense* (1633).⁴⁸

The phrasing of Parker's dedication, especially his description of Taylor as "Who art for Wit the mirrour of our Age", whilst perhaps conventional, seems rather too hyperbolic. However, it would be appropriate as an allusion to Taylor's mock dedication to Archy Armstrong which appears only in the original edition of *The Praise of Beggary* (1621). This dedication was not reprinted in the *All the Workes*, possibly because it was considered too offensive. However, it is a particularly skilful and effective piece of

⁴⁸ STC 19251, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 4 May 2009.

satirical writing, also in the vein of the mock encomium, and thus perfect material for Parker's imitation.⁴⁹ The date of 1621 for *The Praise of Beggary* would again suggest that Parker's presentation of *Sir Leonard Lackwit* is a response to the textual strategies of the original edition of *Sir Gregory Nonsense*.

However, there are some complications to the relationship between *Sir Gregory Nonsense* and *Sir Leonard Lackwit*. The words, “A Boat! A Boat!” with which Parker's dedication opens, are not actually found in the text of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* as printed in 1622 or in the 1630 folio. The closest match in the poem itself is the idea in the passage quoted above, where the Anabaptist summons the Stygian ferryman. However, Parker's use of the phrase “A Boat! A Boat!” in the context of John Taylor's work is echoed in *The Tell-Tale*, an unpublished play script that probably dates from around 1622-3.

Count: *A boate, a boate, sweet death send in a sculler*

I am thy first man; hei kerry, mery, ferry

*Ile saile to the Northstar in a paper whirry*⁵⁰

There is enough in these lines to point to *Sir Gregory Nonsense*: the reference to “sweet death”, the demand for a Sculler, the feigned madness of the Count, and the nonsense words “hei kerry” which echo the nonsense inscription on the title-page of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* (1622), “Toyte, Puncton, Ghemorah, Molushque, Kaykapepson” (this inscription is not reproduced in the 1630 *Workes*). As Peter Ridgeway Jordan points out, however, this short passage in *The Tell-Tale* also alludes to several other Taylor texts, including *A Very Merry Wherry-ferry Voyage* (1622, 1623) and to the title-page of *The Sculler* itself (1612). The latest date in these texts is 1622-3, which is also the most likely date for the script of *The Tell-Tale*. It seems, therefore, that this theatrical reference may predate *Sir Leonard Lackwit*, and thus that Parker's “A boate. A boate!”

⁴⁹ *The Praise, Antiquity and Commodity of Beggary* (E. Alde for H. Gossen tbs. E. Wright, 1621), STC 23786, see Clare Wikeley, “Honour Conceal'd; Strangely reveal'd: The Fool and the Water Poet” in *The Spanish Match*, ed. Alexander Samson, (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2006), pp.189-208.

⁵⁰ *The Tell-Tale* ed. R. Foakes and J.C. Gibson, (Oxford, *The Malone Society*. 1959 (1960)), p.104, lines 1991-3, punctuation regularized. These allusions to Taylor were first recognized by Peter Ridgeway Jordan in “Allusions in two Early seventeenth-century plays” in *N & Q* 229 (1984), 330-331.

may be a cross-reference to this play, rather than directly to Taylor's poem.⁵¹ The manuscript of *The Tell-Tale* was found wrapped in the plot of *The Seven deadly Sinnes* in Dulwich College Library, and thus probably has a connection to Edward Alleyn. It has been attributed to Thomas Dekker, and details of language and names of characters seem to confirm this attribution.⁵² The fact that the phrasing “A boate! A boate!” occurs in both *Sir Leonard Lackwit* and *The Tell-Tale* rather than in the extant texts of *Sir Gregory Nonsense*, may therefore indicate that both allusions relate to an alternative source, and a specifically theatrical context.⁵³

However, the material situation of the manuscript of *The Tell-Tale*, wrapped in the plot for *The Seven deadly Sinnes*, does not rule out a religious context for *Sir Gregory Nonsense*. In her bibliographical study of Martin Parker's work, Susan Newman notes an entry for 1632 in the Stationers' Register to George Purslowe of “*An abridgement of the wonderfull history of that irreligious and unchristian knight Sir Timothy Troublesome*”. This was either a different piece or possibly the first thoughts of Parker, who subsequently turned his Timothy Troublesome into Leonard Lackwit. However, the separate entrance for each title suggests that *Timothy Troublesome* may have been published but since lost.⁵⁴ The description of Timothy Troublesome in this entry as an “irreligious and unchristian knight” supports my interpretation of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* itself as more than just meaningless froth, since it suggests that Parker's text had a religious agenda. This makes it more likely that the name ‘Gregory’

⁵¹ However, the phrase “A boat! A boate!” also appears in Taylor's epigram against Henry Parrot in *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614): “Why doth the Parrat call a Boate, a Boat? / It is the humour of his idle note” (Sig. K3v). The call may have been too common in the period to ascribe to any particular source. For Henry Parrat, see Franklin B. Williams, “Henry Parrot's Stolen Feathers” *passim*, and especially pp.1026-7.

⁵² Freeman notes that “synderesis” is a pet word of the Count in *The tell-tale*: Taylor also uses this term in line 44 of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* (“guessing by the Sinderesis of Wapping/ Saint Thomas Watrings is most ominous”). The word refers to conscience and was a term much debated in the period, Arthur Freeman, “The Authorship of *The tell-tale*”, in *JEGP* 62 (1963), 288-292.

⁵³ In addition to *Wit in a Constable* (see Chapter 3), references to *Sir Gregory Nonsense* appear in several manuscript sources. In Ashmole ms.38, no. 186 (Bodleian Library), the author of “O that my lunges could bleat like buttered pease” is named as “Sir Jeffray Nonsense”. Hartle also notes that the name “Gregory Nonsense” appears in an epigram printed in Robert Heath's *Clarastella* (1650), but dating from substantially earlier; however, this epigram has nothing else in common with Taylor's poem (Hartle, p157, p.167 note 17).

⁵⁴ Arber IV. 272. A pre-1631 ballad “by F.D.” refers to Sir Leonard Lackwit, see Susan Newman, in “The broadside ballads of Martin Parker; a Bibliographical and Critical Study”, unpublished doctoral dissertation (The Shakespeare Institute, November 1975), pp.348-349.

was chosen by Taylor for its allusion to Pope Gregory XV, who was in office when *Sir Gregory Nonsense* was first published. A title coupling the current Pope with the term ‘nonsense’ would no doubt have been an appealing, if rather basic, joke for Taylor and his contemporaries. It would also make the narrative framework of a trip to Hell in *Sir Gregory Nonsense* even more pointed, especially since the “Great Senators of Limbo” met there include the engineer of the Gunpowder Plot.⁵⁵

Thus both contextual and textual evidence conspire to suggest that the contemporary appeal of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* as published in 1622 had a great deal to do with its satirical treatment of both papistry and separatism. Rather than viewing this nonsense poem as a purely literary burlesque, as suggested by Noel Malcolm, or as an “innocently confident pastime”, its context within the contemporary market for print points to a polemical engagement with topical controversies.⁵⁶ This conclusion is entirely in keeping with Taylor’s other satirical and topical activities at this period, as indeed through the rest of his career. Within one year of the publication of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* Taylor was to be in the vanguard of celebrations for the safe return of Prince Charles from the clutches of a Spanish Catholic marriage (1623). Two years further on, his broadside verses for *A Thankfull Remembrance* (1625) would express the conviction that the whole of recent English history was a series of miraculous escapes from papist plots, condoned by the Pope himself, against the Protestant monarchy and church. In this text Taylor employed the satirical techniques of his previous mock encomia and nonsense verse, to mock the Papal Bull of 1570 that had excommunicated Elizabeth I:

*There was a Bull in Rome was long abreeding
Which Bull prov’d little better than a Calfe
Was sent to England for some better feeding
To fatten in his Holiness behalfe*⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Gregory XV was Pope from February 1621 to July 1623.

⁵⁶ Noel Malcolm dismisses any link between Taylor’s nonsense and the Italian poet ‘Il Burchiello’, whose nonsense verses were not published in English, being untranslatable (Malcolm, p.77). However, Taylor could have been aware of Il Burchiello: the books were available in England (the B. L. copy of *Rime del Burchiello Fiorentino* (Vincenzain 1597), BL 239.c.25, has the contemporary signature of ‘Nicolo. Bairnfield’), and several of Taylor’s colleagues, notably Thomas Heywood, could read Italian. Tricks such as the nonsense index at the end of Burchiello’s *Rime* are obvious without knowledge of Italian. The metaphor “Il Burchiello” (a small two-oared river boat) was applied to the verse as well as to the author himself. I am grateful to Anthony Oldcorn for his advice on Il Burchiello.

⁵⁷ For *The Thankfull Remembrance* (1625), see Chapters 8 & 9.

Taylor labels Pope Pius V the “goodly Sire” of this “raging” Bull, with the irreverent pun “Impious Pius”. His satirical and punning treatment of the Papal Bull in 1625 links this passage back to the references to Bulls in the purportedly nonsensical *Sir Gregory Nonsense*. For example:

*When loe a Bull long nourish'd in Cocitus,
With sulphure hornes, sent by the Emp'rour Titus,
Ask'd a stigmatike Paraclesian question,
If Alexander euer lou'd Ephestion.*

The association of this “Bull” with the Roman emperor, with Stigmatics and with Paracelsus reveals its consanguinity with the Papal Bull of 1570 that excommunicated Queen Elizabeth I.⁵⁸

Therefore, the choice of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* to open John Beale’s section of *All the Workes* in 1630, eight years after its initial publication, was an astute appeal to the market, offering a more topical engagement with the controversial issues of the end of the decade than may be obvious to a modern reader.⁵⁹ It was also entirely in keeping with the wider agenda of the collection as a whole, with its opening and closing focus on Protestant orthodoxy and the vital inter-relationship of the English Church and monarchy in resisting any threat to national security. The use of *Sir Gregory Nonsense* to open the central section of *All the Workes* is not in the least at odds with the histories and funeral elegies that conclude it, for they provide the historical ballast to this more satirical expression of ideas. Furthermore, it is these apparently disparate genres, out of all Taylor’s pieces in the 1630 collection, that have the strongest connection to Martin

⁵⁸ Paracelsus, the Swiss alchemist and astrologer, considered sulphur an important factor in the basis of chemistry; one of his adopted middle names was ‘Bombastus’, which may be another reason for Taylor’s choice here. Stigmatics were especially associated with Roman Catholicism and Taylor refers to the idea pejoratively in *A dogg of Warre*.

⁵⁹ As Hartle demonstrates, Taylor took the use of allusion within an apparently innocent nonsense text to its height in *Nonsense Upon Sence* (1651-2), where he used inter-textual references to alert readers to the political inferences behind the nonsense veneer, when it was too dangerous to speak out openly (Hartle, pp.164-5). James Mardock comments that ‘in the last years of his life [Taylor] turned to writing mainly in the safer genre of nonsense verse’ (Mardock, “The Spirit and the Muse”, p.12, my underlining).

Parker, Taylor's partner in the propaganda of the early civil war years. For Taylor's influence on Parker is shown not only in his response to *Sir Gregory Nonsense* but also in the after-life of *A Memorial of All the English Monarchs*. These two texts share a bibliographic history, being printed by the same presses both in 1622, by Nicholas Okes, and in 1630, by John Beale. Thus the nonsense verse and the potted history, which bring together John Taylor and Martin Parker, also unite the themes of religious orthodoxy and monarchy, which are at the basis of *All the Workes* itself. The following chapter therefore considers the significance of *A Memorial of all the English Monarchs* and *A Briefe Remembrance* as presented in *All the Workes*, and with reference to Taylor's wider career and reputation.

Chapter 7: All the English Monarchs

This chapter considers the significance of the publication of Taylor's two illustrated books on the English Monarchs, *A Briefe Remembrance of all the English Monarchs* (1618) and *A Memorial of All the English Monarchs* (1622), which are placed together near the centre of *All the Workes* (1630), in the section printed by John Beale.

The appeal of Taylor's two histories of the Kings to contemporary readers is clear from their treatment in *All the Workes*, their publication histories and evidence of ownership and reception. Taylor seems to have been especially proud of these texts, mentioning them in *Taylor's Motto* in 1621, and carefully updating them for each new edition. Their appearance side by side in *All the Workes* might seem excessive: as *A Memorial of All the English Monarchs* does indeed cover "all" the British monarchs from the legendary Brute onwards, the inclusion of *A Briefe Remembrance*, which contains portraits and sonnets only from William the Conqueror onwards, might seem unnecessary to a modern audience. Furthermore, as both texts retain their copious illustrations, these must have added considerably to the expense of the folio's production. This cost would have been increased further by the fact that new woodcuts had to be made for *A Briefe Remembrance* from the most recent set of engravings, while in the case of *A Memorial* the original little cuts could be re-used, with some additions.¹

These two texts were certainly a key attraction of the folio for readers, contemporary and subsequent, and therefore the stationers and/or author obviously made a sound marketing decision on the inclusion of both. Part of this appeal to contemporary readers no doubt lay in the growing interest in history at this time, reflected in the increasing use of commonplace books to collect historical information, often from several sources.² Indeed, Taylor's own habit of adding ever more detailed snippets of information to both texts demonstrates his individual interests and, perhaps more significantly, his opinions concerning the various monarchs, their reputations and their

¹ *A briefe remembrance of all the English monarchs, from the Normans conquest, vntil this present* (George Eld for Henry Gosson, 1618), STC 23736, 23737. *A memorial of All the English monarchs, being in number 150. from Brute too King James. In heroycall verse* (Nicholas Okes, 1622), STC 23773. In *All the Workes* (1630) these texts are found at: *A Memorial*, sigs.1Ddd4v-1Fff6r ((2) 268-294); *A Briefe Remembrance*, sigs. 1Fff6v-1Iii1r ((2) 295-321).

² D.R.Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, CUP, 2000, 2005), pp. 96-101.

contributions to the nation's progress. It is this area above all, the importance of each monarch in the developing sense of a national and decidedly Protestant history, which appears to have been of most significance to Taylor, and was an important factor in the attraction of this collection for both James Boler and John Beale. The presence of these two books of the Kings within *All the Workes* thus reinforces the importance of taking a fresh perspective on the volume's significance as a whole. For their prominence and the attention lavished on them, specifically for this new edition in 1630, suggests that *All the Workes* was conceptualised at least as much in the vein of the histories and geographies of Speed and Camden than as a successor to the play collections of Shakespeare or Jonson.

When we consider the publication history of these books in their original small format, as well as the determination with which Beale and Boler poached *A Memorial* for a new edition alongside the folio, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Taylor was at least as famous for his books of "Kings" as he was for texts such as the mock encomia that now receive the most critical attention. The title "Taylor's English Monarchs" is listed in the inventory of Scipio LeSquier's library, while the Stationer's Register has an entry referring to the plates for "TAYLOR of the Kings", suggesting that the name "Taylor" and the subject of Monarchs or Kings was a well known combination that needed no further explanation.³ Perhaps even more surprising from a twenty-first century perspective is the probability that James Boler's interest in *All the Workes* may well relate to his publication two years previously of an edition of William Martyn's *The historie and lives, of the kings of England* with engraved plates, that is usually described as the sequel or "second edition" to the prestigious *Baziliologia* (1618).⁴ Many copies of

³ "Taylors English Monarchs" is catalogued under "History" in Scipio Le Squyer's library inventory (no. 169): the editors identify this as either the 1618 *A briefe Remembrance* (STC 23736) or the 1622 *A Memorial* (STC 23773); "Martin's History" (identified as the 1615 edition, STC 17256) is no. 194 in the same category. No. 148 is "Cambden's Brita[n]ia Elizabethe in 4^o" (identified as STC 4506). Scipio Le Squyer also owned Taylor's *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614, STC 23779), entry no.377, under "Poesy"; *The Fearfull Somer* (1625, STC 23754), no. 404, also "Poesy"; and a book titled "A Thief" (no. 401), which the editors do not gloss, but which may be Taylor's *An arrant thief* (1622, STC 23728), where "A Thief" is the running title. See: F. Taylor, 'The books and manuscripts of Scipio le Squyer, deputy chamberlain of the exchequer, 1620–1659', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 25 (1941), 137–64.

⁴ *The historie and liues, of the kings of England: from William the Conqueror vnto the end of the raigne of King Henry the Eighth ... By William Martyn Esquire, recorder of the honourable citie of Exeter* (H. Lownes for J. Boler and G. Thompson, 1628), STC 17528, with 23 plates by R. Elstrack from the

Boler's edition of the *Historie and lives, of the kings of England* survive, suggesting its appeal for contemporaries, and it was sufficiently attractive for the prominent stationer Robert Young to re-issue it in a shared arrangement with Anne Boler after her husband's death. Boler's publication of *All the Workes of John Taylor* should therefore be seen as part of this publishing trend.⁵

The attention focused by readers on these Kings texts within *All the Workes* and the pattern of ownership of the folio amongst gentlemen who kept this volume on their library shelves alongside more conventionally respected tomes, suggests that for contemporaries the name "John Taylor the Water Poet" carried associations very different from the image that has come down to modern critics from the nineteenth century. For Taylor's contemporaries, at least from the early 1620s onwards, his name was associated with a particular perspective on the English monarchy and Protestant history, as much as or even more than the image of a travel writer or "literary aspirant". While the political image of Taylor during the civil war is now well established, it is necessary to recognise that this identity was taking shape much earlier in his career in print. For the inclusion of these two Kings texts in *All the Workes* was clearly based on their existing appeal to the market, which dates back to at least 1618, when *A Briefe Remembrance* was first issued and almost immediately re-issued, indicating that demand for this small book swiftly outstripped supply.

These two histories of the monarchy are often considered synonymous by modern critics, if indeed they are mentioned at all. This confusion may be understandable considering the ambiguities in their early publication history, as well as their similar titles. The earliest known reference to either book, an entry to Henry Gossen in the Stationers' Register on 24 July 1618, of "Verses upon the Kinges of England from Brute to King James", seems to be referring to *A Memorial*, for which the

Baziliologia (1618), STC 13581. *The historie, and liues, of the kings of England ...* (W. Stansby for J. Bill, W. Barrett and H. Featherstone, 1615), STC 17527 (variant, STC 17526, has title *The historie and lives of twentie kings of England*).

⁵ *The historie and lives of the kings of England ... Whereunto is now added the historie of King Ed. VI of Queene Mary, and Q. Elizabeth. By B.R. Mr. of Arts, Printed by R. Young , for himselfe & others*" (STC 13581) The addition by "B.R." was entered to Boler and Young in 1633, suggesting that they had intended to produce a new edition of Martyn's text then or in 1634.

first known edition is 1622, rather than to *A Briefe Remembrance* which actually carries the date 1618 in its imprint.⁶ Other puzzles include the possible dispute between Okes and Gossen over ownership of the woodcuts for *A Memorial*, as discussed in Chapter 4 above, and Taylor's reference in his *Motto* to "two" histories of the Kings when the first known edition of *A Memorial* post-dates the *Motto* by at least a year. None of these discrepancies is explicable with any certainty. However, Taylor is usually accurate in his accounts of his publications, and therefore it seems likely that there had been one or more earlier editions of *A Memorial*, now lost. The title page of the first known text is dated 1622 but does not carry full imprint details; Okes's initials are instead given in a colophon. As these two texts' history seem to be directed at very different markets, the existence of parallel editions in the same year or close together in time would not be excessive. Indeed, the reputation of one text could have drawn purchasers for the other: perhaps *A Memorial* was first published in 1620 or 1621 to satisfy the demand from readers who could not afford the expense of the engravings in *A Briefe Remembrance*.

However, it is also possible that the contrasts between these two small books were sufficient for purchasers to be interested in owning a copy of each one. For *A Briefe Remembrance* and *A Memorial of all the English Monarchs* represent two extremes of fashion in historical publication at the time. *A Memorial* is a late example of the type of chronicle that had been popular in manuscript and then in print since medieval times. However, as Daniel Woolf has documented, this genre had been in slow decline over the previous century, following changes to conceptions of history writing and the gradual predominance of print over manuscript. The crude little woodcuts, which are largely interchangeable at least for the early part of this history, are a visual reminder of how old-fashioned this type of potted biography must have seemed in comparison to the elegant engravings of the new *Baziliologia* and its spin-offs. The fact that *A Memorial* was issued in a new octavo edition alongside the folio version in 1630 is quite remarkable considering the much more fashionable appeal of the *Briefe Remembrance*. However, the cheaper little book was clearly treasured by its owners, and as Woolf himself demonstrates, a few examples of this genre did survive the general

⁶ Arber III, 631: for further details, see below.

downward trend, almost as a form of niche marketing.⁷ However, there are also political implications in the persistence of the chronicle genre and these should certainly not be discounted in the case of *A Memorial*. For there is evidence that despite its unsophisticated appearance, this small book had a particular ideological appeal in relation to current events, in which the genre and presentation were essential factors.

The title, content and presentation of the octavo editions of *A Memorial* all recall the medieval Brut chronicles, which can be dated as far back as 1333.⁸ These early chronicles recorded a medley of events for each year, but by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they also included lists of monarchs and their deeds as found in *A Memorial*; indeed it seems likely that Taylor's book is modelled on others before it. The shortened versions that became popular by the mid sixteenth century tended to lengthy titles advertising their inclusiveness, especially the phrasing "all the Kings", as in *A short chronicle, wherein is mentioned all names of all the kings* (1539) and the *Breviat chronicle contayning all the Kinges from Brute to this daye*.⁹ The title-page of the 1622 edition of *A Memorial* seems designed to highlight this chronicle patrimony, and perhaps specifically to recall the title-page to the third volume of the folio *Holinshed's Chronicles* (1587), [see illustration below].

⁷ The title in the Folio is updated from the 1622 Octavo, where the number was 150: *A Memorial of all the English Monarchs, being in number 151, from Brute to King Charles*, (my underlining). Frances Wolfreston owned a copy of the 1630 Octavo edition, which has an added full-length engraved portrait of Charles, dated 1631. As her marriage to Francis Wolfreston took place in 1631, she may have acquired this book with the engraving already incorporated. See, Paul Morgan, "Frances Wolfreston and 'Hor Bouks': A Seventeenth-Century Woman Book-Collector", in *The Library*, 6th series, 9.3 (September 1989), pp. 197-219.

⁸ See Daniel Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England*, pp. 13-15. It is possible that Taylor had seen the "English illuminated chronicle from Brutus to Henry V, with a Latin continuation in a sixteenth century hand" owned by his employer at the Tower, William Waad (Bodleian ms Laud. Misc 733, fos.18-169, at fo.168v (described by Woolf, *Reading History*, p.51 and note 118).

⁹ *A Short Chronicle* was printed by J. Byddell; for these and similar titles see Woolf, *Reading History*, p. 39. The phrasing "all the Kings" is found frequently in publications using the title "chronicle" in the sixteenth century, see Woolf, opus cit., p. 18, note 24.

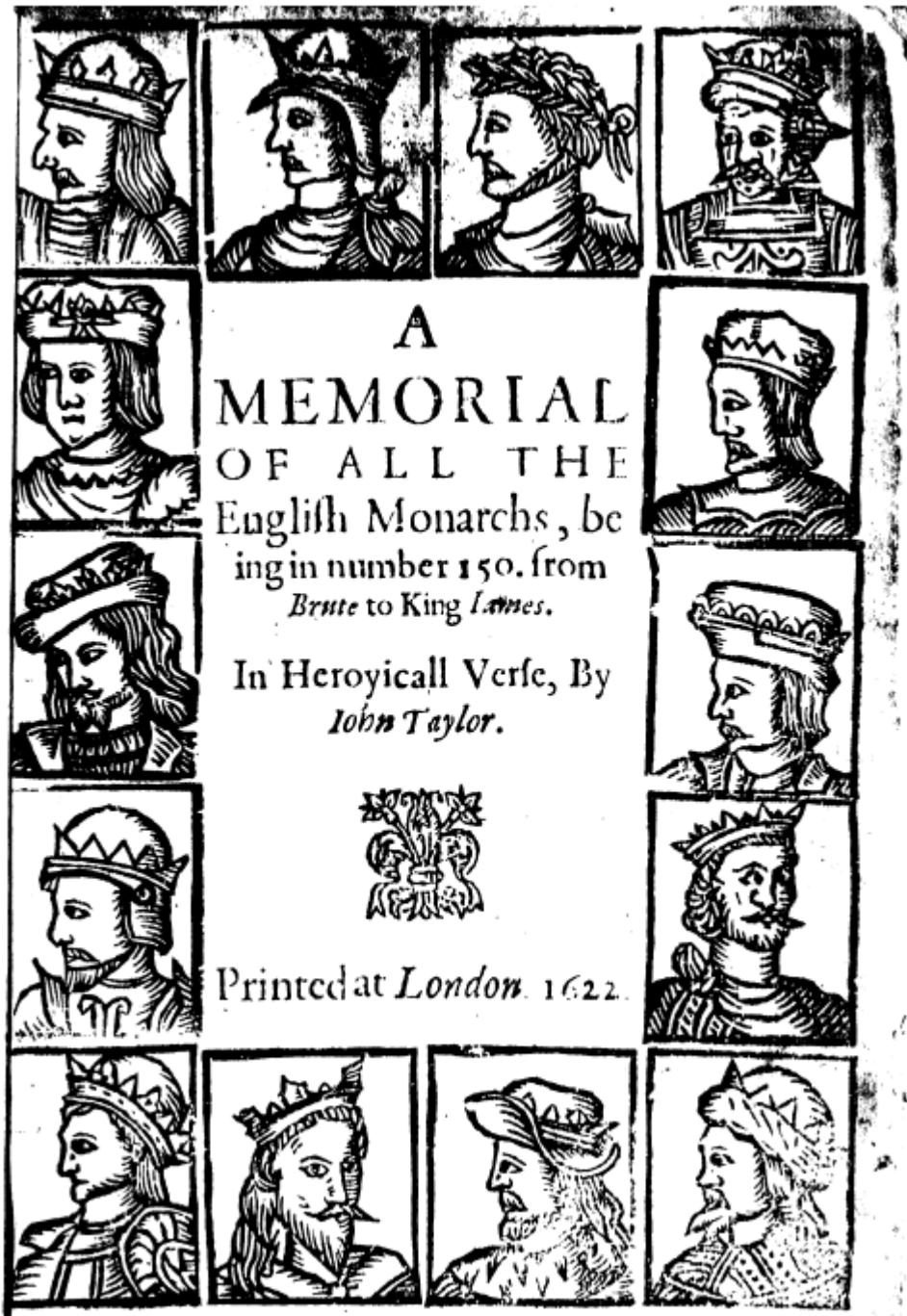


Fig. 7.1. Title page to Taylor's *A Memorial of All the English Monarchs* (1622)¹⁰

¹⁰ <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>> accessed 29 July 2009.

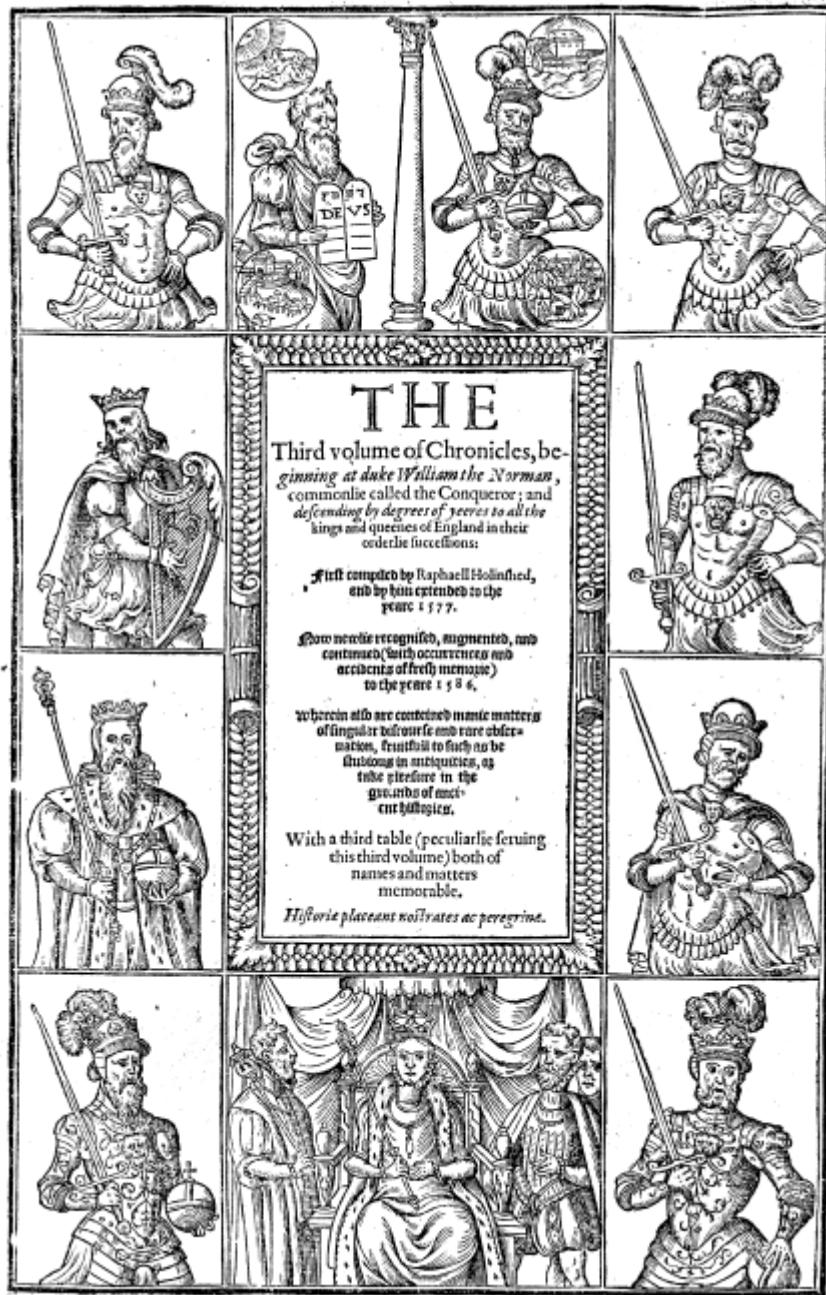


Fig. 7.2. Title page for the Third Volume of *Holinshed's Chronicle*, completed in 1586/7.

This title page replaced the earlier woodcut frame for this volume only, which focuses on recent history including the Tudors, and especially Queen Elizabeth.¹¹

¹¹ *The Third volume of Chronicles, beginning at duke William the Norman...and descending by degrees of yeeres to all the kings and queenes of England in their orderlie successions* (H. Denham for J. Harison et al.), STC 13569, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 28 July 2009.

This parallel between *A Memorial* and the third volume of Holinshed's *Chronicle* is highlighted by their common use of the woodcuts to create a pictorial frame. If this effect is deliberate, then it would seem that one of Taylor's motives in producing *A Memorial* may have been a repetition of the effects achieved by his 1616 abbreviation of the huge *Booke of Martyrs*, itself a follow on from his first Thumb Bibles of 1614-16.¹² The success of these abbreviated texts, which provided portable and easily accessible versions of texts fundamental to English Protestantism, may well have suggested a similar approach for the history of the British monarchy, also fundamental to Taylor's ideology. Taylor makes specific reference to the much weightier histories in the dedication to *A Memorial*:

*Tis but an Argument that's written here,
That in such time such and such Princes were,
But he that meanes their Actions more to know,
May read Boetius, Hollinshed, or Stow,
Or our true labouring Moderne Master How,
Which Authors, Learned Judgement do allow.*¹³

Here Taylor refers his readers to the works of learned masters for further elucidation, apparently expecting that some will follow his advice. In this respect, he seems to envisage *A Memorial* as a taster, drawing readers into the study of British history which they can then pursue in more depth elsewhere.

However, Taylor's choice of format and level of detail was also a realistic recognition that not every reader could, or would wish to tackle these often daunting volumes. The preference for lighter versions of history amongst contemporary book-buyers is well documented. As Daniel Woolf observes, Stow's large format chronicles

¹² For the Thumb Bible, *Verbum Sempern[um] /Savator Mundi*, 1614, see Chapter 2.

¹³ *A Memorial of All the English Monarchs* (1622), sig. A2r.

were much less successful, in terms of number of reprints, than his abridgements.¹⁴ However, Taylor makes both a quantitative and a qualitative distinction between the potted history in *A Memorial* and the likes of Boetius and Stow. His frank admission of his lack of learning skilfully narrows the distance between himself and his readers: part of the fun of *A Memorial* is the defiantly minimal abridgements that it provides by contrast to the epic form of “heroyicall verse” in which they are couched. Taylor makes a virtue of the shortness of his summaries and the small size of the book. He sometimes gives merely names and dates to accompany a host of small portraits. At other times he refers dismissively to the lack of important events in the various reigns:

Elanius (as most histories agree)
Was King of Britain yeers just three times three
What Acts he did, or what Lawes he decreed,
*They are unwrit, and therefore are unread.*¹⁵

Taylor is often disapproving of the more primitive kings who preceded the Plantagenet and Tudor monarchies, listing murders, incest and betrayal, often with little detail. However, his accounts lengthen considerably as he draws near to his own times, where the insistence on brevity as a virtue gives way to a celebration of the Protestant succession. The increased length of the accounts of Edward VI, Elizabeth and James, the additions being largely hagiography and the rhetorical repetition of praises, thus provides a typographical marker of the importance of these monarchs for Taylor’s conception of British history.

Thus Taylor’s version of the chronicle genre is both conventional, carefully reproducing the general tenor of these older texts, and unconventional, in the humorous and often irreverent treatment which he applies to some of the early monarchs. However, in harking back to an older bibliographic tradition, and especially in the parallels to the Brut chronicles and to Holinshed, Taylor was also using genre and

¹⁴ Woolf counts seven editions of the full-length version and twelve of the abridgement (which is still quite substantial), the last three being edited and continued by Edmund Howe(s), Woolf, *Reading History*, pp.40-41.

¹⁵ *A Memorial of All the English Monarchs* (1622), sig. B7v.

form to promote a particular view of the English monarchy. By insisting that the roots of the present incumbents can be traced back to the legendary King Brut and the fall of Troy, this account reinforces the strength of the Tudors and Stuarts, built on such apparently ancient foundations. This is part of the same myth that is found in the parallels between the destruction of Jerusalem and the fall of Troy in texts such as Taylor's own *The Siege and Sacking of Jerusalem*, the supporting narrative to his publication of *Taylors Vrania*. It is thus a myth very close to the heart of the political ideology that is promoted in *All the Workes* as a whole. The emphatic presentation of Elizabeth the First, whose major achievement was to "Repurifie this Land once more/ From the Infection of the Rhomish Whoore", presents her as a biblical heroine,

*A Debora, a Iudith, a Susanna,
A Virgin, a Virago, a Diana.*

This approach locates *A Memorial* within the field of Elizabethan revivalism to which texts such as Camden's *Elizabeth* also belong. The transfer of *A Memorial* from octavo to folio format merely reinforces this family resemblance.¹⁶

Thus although from a modern perspective there seems to be a ridiculous hubris in Taylor's daring to claim folio status for such a cheap, crudely presented and old-fashioned text, the process of translating *A Memorial of All the English Monarchs* from octavo to folio is simply an inversion of the transfers from large to small format that had already been operating as an effective strategy with chronicle histories over many years. This parallel is reinforced by the simultaneous publication of folio and octavo versions in 1630, using the same updated text for both. Furthermore, this was not the last change of format for this particular text, for the very same woodcuts appeared one more time in Martin Parker's royalist ballad, *The Wandring Jews Chronicle*. The first extant copy of this ballad was issued by Francis Grove following its entrance to him in July 1656, but the title was originally entered by Thomas Lambert in 1634.¹⁷ This double-page folio

¹⁶ *A Memorial of All the English Monarchs* (1622), sig. F4v.

¹⁷ *The wandring Jews chronicle: or The old historian his brief declaration* (Francis Grove, c.1660), STC 19279. For full details of the various editions, see Susan Newman, "The Broadside Ballads of Martin Parker" pp. 274 - 282.

spread uses as its principal attraction a double line of 26 woodcuts most of which are identical to those used by John Beale in printing *A memorial* in folio and octavo in 1630. Bibliographers have not previously linked these cuts on Francis Grove's 1656 edition of Parker's ballad to Taylor's *A Memorial* and *All the Workes*, but their provenance is unmistakeable. It seems unlikely that their reappearance in Parker's broadside twenty years after *A Memorial* is just coincidence, especially given the close professional links between Parker and Taylor through the 1630s and 40s.

The Wandring Jews Chronicle is closely related to *A Memorial* and may possibly be identified with the title 'A Short Chronicle of the Kings' that was entered for Parker at the same time as his *Historie of the renouned maiden Queene* in mid-November 1630. The fee of sixpence for this entry, usually applied to a single item, suggests that the *Historie* and the 'Short Chronicle' were originally intended as parts of one volume; alternatively, this was an attempt either to save money or evade the licensors by entering two texts as one. Since *An abstract of the Historie of the reouned maiden Queene Elizabeth* was then issued as a book of verses to be sung to a ballad tune, it seems very possible that the 'Short Chronicle' would have been of a similar nature.¹⁸ However, no text with this precise title by Martin Parker has survived, which raises the possibility that this was actually an early version of *The Wandring Jews Chronicle*. The coincidence of the woodcuts and the date of entry late in 1630 supports the possibility that Parker's ballad was composed as a follow-up to Boler and Beale's reissue of *A Memorial* in 1630.¹⁹

¹⁸ Martin Parker, *An abstract of the historie of the renounced maiden queene Elizabeth. Briefly relating the principall matters throughout her raigne. In English meter* (T. Cotes, 1631), STC 19217.5, entered to T. and R. Cotes, 16 November 1630; described as "32° in 8s" in the STC, indicating an unusually small format. The only extant copy is in the Arthur Houghton collections. Parker comments that the stipulation of a tune for a book, rather than a broadside, is highly unusual (Newman, "The broadside ballads of Martin Parker", p.321).

¹⁹ "The 1634 entry indicates that [*The Wandring Jews Chronicle*] was written and probably printed during Parker's lifetime" (Newman, p. 280). This printing is almost a certainty, as Parker's ballad *The Two Inseparable Brothers*, (M. Flesher for T. Lambert, 1637) carries the instruction "To the tune of the wandring Iewes chronicle". Thus the first circulation of *The Wandring Jews Chronicle* as a broadside was almost definitely between 1634 and 1637.

The Wandering Jew's Chronicle

The Old Historian His Brief Declaration, Made in a mad fashion, of each Coronation Since William's Invasion, For no great Occasion But meer Recreative

To the Tune of, *Our Prince is welcome out of Spain.*



Fig. 7.3. Martin Parker, *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* (printed c.1660), detail.²⁰

The parallels between *A Memorial* and *The Wandering Jew's Chronicle* extend beyond publication details to content, style and ideology. However, it is likely that Parker's text relates to an edition of *A Memorial* that post-dates the 1622 text, possibly the folio or 1630 octavo, but also possibly a lost version that may have appeared in the intervening years. The possibility of one or more lost editions of *A Memorial* might account for Boler and Beale's acquisition of this text at the time of *All the Workes*, as they are more likely to have been attracted to a text that had already proved a good sales prospect. The 1622 edition of *A Memorial* of course ends with King James, who receives a fulsome account, providing the volume with a resounding conclusion:

²⁰ STC 19279, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 5 September, 2009.

*Peace (happy peace) doth spread tranquillity,
Through all the bounds of Brittaines Monarchy:
And may we all our Actions still addresse,
For peace with God, and warre gainst wickedness.
And with a Loyall heart, thus ends my pen,
Concluding with, GOD save the King.*

*Amen.*²¹

The 1630 edition, which has many additions throughout, is updated to take into account James's death and the accession of Charles I. The end of the verses on James is carefully re-cast so that the new conclusion is integrated into the original sense:

*And may we all our actions still addresse,
For peace with God, and warre gainst wickednesse.
Vnto which peace of God this King's ascended,
To reigne in glory that shall ne'r be ended.
His mortall part at Westminster enter'd,
His soule and Fame immortally prefer'd.*²²

However, the treatment of Charles in the 1630 editions is perfunctory. Although a new little portrait woodcut is included, there are no verses dedicated purely to the Caroline period. Instead, the only text to appear beneath the picture of Charles is an updated version of the counting rhyme that appeared earlier in the 1622 edition, where it had been printed out of sequence before the portrait of James I. The earlier verse had been rather lame and awkward. However, in updating it Taylor corrected some inaccuracies and improved the versification:

²¹ *A Memorial of all the English Monarchs* (1622), sig. F6r.

²² *A Memorial of all the English Monarchs* (1630), sig. G4r.

*Two Williams, Henries 8. I Stephen, I John,
Six Edwards, Richards 3 and 1. Queene Mary,
Elizabeth, and James, all dead and gone,
Our gracious Charles doth now the Scepter carry,
And may they live & dye of God accurst,
Who wish the prejudice of Charles the first.* ²³

Although this rhyme is much more accomplished than the previous version in the 1622 edition, there is nonetheless an obvious discrepancy between the lengthy accounts of the reigns and achievements of Elizabeth and James and this short rhyme, with only three lines devoted to Charles. The most obvious explanation is that the 1630 editions of *A Memorial* were printed from a text that had actually been published several years beforehand, sometime between the accession of Charles and the preparation of the folio. The brevity of the references to Charles might place this soon after the accession in 1625. While no such edition of *A memorial* is known to be extant, this is nonetheless a real possibility. Most of the folio texts are reprinted from previous publications rather than from manuscript, and thus it seems unlikely that the copy for the folio text of *A Memorial* would have been a manuscript. The 1630 octavo edition is clearly printed from the text in *All the Workes*, or from a common source, and in addition it carries an advertisement for *All the Workes*. While this common source could have been a copy of the printed 1622 *A Memorial* with manuscript additions by Taylor, a number of different features in the 1630 texts make this very unlikely. In particular, the layout and even the fine details of the letter-press in the 1630 octavo is sometimes identical with the 1630 folio printing, so that it appears to have been set up from a copy of the folio. Furthermore, the errors that have crept into the octavo, which is poorly printed overall, are consonant with the letter- text having been copied from the folio.²⁴

²³ *A Memorial of all the English Monarchs* (1630), Sig. Ddd4v. In the copy of *All the Workes* at Christ's College, Cambridge (Rouse 7.15), a reader has responded to Taylor's short rhyme on Charles: "Amongst the damn'd I wish they may be reckon'd / That doe wish hurt unto King Charles y[e] second." This is a manuscript addition in a contemporary hand, just above the ornament at the end of *A Memorial of All the English Monarchs* (sig. 2Fff6r).

²⁴ An example of errors creeping into the 1630 octavo is "By reason, mischeife...." in the account of Richard III (sig. F6v), where the 1622 octavo (sig. F1r) and the 1630 folio (sig. Fff4r) both have "By

This sequence of transmission is even more evident from the differences in the distribution of the woodcut illustrations between each edition of *A Memorial*. The narrative is divided into two sections: the first deals with all the Kings from Brutus up to Harold and Hardicanute, who are treated as a pair; the second section covers William the Conqueror to James or Charles I. In this second section, all extant editions carry similar woodcuts, each one specific to the monarch, and relating in a crude fashion to engraved sets such as the *Baziliologia*. However, for the first section, which covers over 120 monarchs, the cuts are allotted either on the basis of convention or at random. Readers apparently accepted these profiles as generic representations, not intended to bear specific resemblance to the monarch to whom they were applied; several occur more than once, and a few even three times in the course of the narrative. Each edition of *A Memorial* carries a different combination of pictures for this first section, with the core set of cuts from 1622 being supplemented by the appearance of different ones in the later texts. In the folio printing, the sequence of cuts at first follows the 1622 edition exactly, but begins to vary after the first dozen, and after “Gorguintus” (B6v) the correspondence becomes increasingly rare. Furthermore, from this point onwards, the 1622 cuts are allocated more appropriately to each monarch than those in the folio; in some instances the woodcut in the folio is obviously inappropriate to the King or Queen under discussion. With the 1630 octavo, the order changes once again, and the correspondence with the 1622 octavo is even rarer. Indeed, this 1630 octavo is very much the poor relation in this sequence of editions of *A Memorial*, and this drop in quality, together with the errors of content in the advertisement for *All the Workes*, suggests that Beale and Boler may have reproduced this text with minimal cooperation from Taylor, indeed possibly without his agreement.²⁵

Although the changes in the illustrations between the 1622 edition of *A Memorial* and those in 1630 could only be described as a gradual deterioration in quality, with the 1630 octavo being such a shoddy piece of printing, the careful updating of the letter-text between 1622 and the 1630 folio suggests much loving care on Taylor’s

Treason, mischiefe”. It is unfortunate that the digital transcript in *EEB0* uses the error-ridden 1630 octavo rather than the better 1622 edition.

²⁵ The advertisement for *All the Workes* is on sig. G5r to G6r in the 1630 octavo of *A Memorial of all the English Monarchs* (STC 23773).

part. These additions occur throughout the 1630 folio text, varying from a few words to several sentences. For example, Taylor has added the note “Some write that he reigned but 42 yeares, and that he was buried at Troynouant” below the account of Gorbodug (Ddd6v), while he comments on Bledgabredus, “A great lover of Musicke, and a good Patron to Musicians” (Eee2v). These additions are all the more remarkable in comparison with most of the other texts in *All the Workes*, which are simply reprinted from previously published editions, with the titles and preliminary materials edited for the folio. This difference is a further reason for the conjecture that there was a lost edition of *A Memorial* from which the folio text was set up. As discussed above, the most likely date for such an edition would have been late in 1625, when an updated issue of *A Memorial* might have seemed especially timely as a response to the new reign. The fact that two other popular Taylor texts originally published in 1622, *An Arrant Thiefe* and *A Common Whore*, appeared in second editions in 1625, would fit with such a scenario.²⁶

However, Parker’s broadside of *The Wandring Jews Chronicle* also says little about Charles’s reign. After offering some detail on the monarchs from William the Conqueror onwards, Parker’s concluding verse refers merely to Charles’s accession, expressing a conventional wish for a lengthy reign:

*From [James] by lineal right did spring
This happy Charles our Royal King
And now to make conclusion
I wish him and his gracious Queen
And Princely off spring may be seen
Until earths dissolution.* ²⁷

The omission of any detail about Charles’s reign must indicate either that the version of this ballad printed in 1660 is copied from a text composed just after the accession in 1625 or, if the entry in 1634 reflects the date of composition, then this omission seems to

²⁶ *An Arrant Thiefe* and *A Common Whore* were both re-issued by Henry Gossen in 1625 (STC 23729 and STC 23743), probably both printed by Miles Flesher instead of the original printer, Edward Alde.

²⁷ Parker, *The Wandring Jews Chronicle* (printed 1660).

be a tactful (or tactical) silence concerning Charles's achievements up to 1633/4. However, this dating is further complicated by the fact that the 1660 printing of *The Wandring Jew* specifies a tune entitled "Our Prince is Welcome out of Spaine". Although this particular tune has not been identified it presumably refers to songs that had been in circulation in 1623. It strongly recalls the final title of Taylor's own pamphlet scoop of that year, "Prince Charles His Welcome From Spaine". If the specification of this tune in c.1660 dates from an earlier non-extant edition of *The Wandring Jews Chronicle*, as far back as 1634, or even earlier, then the implications are considerable. For this would suggest that Parker and John Taylor were following common stratagems in their approach to Charles's accession, well before they teamed up to produce Royalist propaganda during the civil war. By wishing a vague but glorious future upon Charles under the auspices of a tune invoking the iconography of 1623, when the return from Spain appeared to promise future anti-papist achievements, Parker, like Taylor, seems to be keeping alive the belief that the King will live up to his earlier promise and not betray the hopes of his Protestant subjects.

Thus *The Wandring Jews Chronicle* invokes a set of allusions that point straight back to *All the Workes* itself, both in the reprinting of these two Kings texts and in the presentation of the final section of Taylor's collection. Although the extant 1650s edition of this text carries a subtitle that seems to place it post-civil war, and sounds very like Taylor's own civil war texts, the contents and the use of the woodcuts places its origins firmly in the 1630s or mid 1620s.²⁸ The focus on Charles's youth and his accession rather than subsequent events, the black letter type-face and the use of woodcuts from the Water Poet's *Memorial* that dates back to the early 1620s, could all be interpreted as an invocation of this past era. By its use of the term "Chronicle", the title also harks back to a previous age, and the designation of the eponymous "wandring Jew" as "the old historian" stresses this idea of old-fashioned tradition. Thus Parker's ballad reinforces the impression that Taylor had chosen the chronicle genre and the quaint old-fashioned format for his *Memorial*, with its primitive woodcuts, in a deliberate stratagem to locate

²⁸ "The old Historian/ His Brief declaration/ made in mad fashion/ Of each Coronation/ That past in this Nation./ Since William's Invasion/ For no great occasion/ But meer Recreation/ To put off vexation" (*The Wandring Jews Chronicle*, Francis Grove, c. 1650).

his teleological account of the recent Protestant monarchy within the conventions of traditional ancient British history.

Thus, in terms of genre and format, *A Memorial of All the English Monarchs*, with its nostalgic reference to an ancient tradition of chronicles, is an extreme contrast to the innovative nature of *A Briefe Remembrance*, which belongs in the vanguard of bibliographic fashion for the time. The publication of these two texts together in Beale's section of *All the Workes*, reusing the little woodcuts from the 1622 edition of *A Memorial*, presents a clear visual contrast while at the same time emphasising the common aims and shared values of the two different texts. Like *A Memorial*, *A Briefe Remembrance* seems to have held a particular appeal for contemporaries, making an immediate impact in the print market on its first publication in 1618. Its early bibliographic history is another demonstration of Taylor's talent for seizing the initiative and recognising the potential of innovative formats, while the later transference to the folio created an unusual and visually attractive focus for *All the Workes* that evidently became a highpoint for many purchasers of that volume. Therefore, rather than seeing *A Briefe Remembrance* as a contrast to the *Memorial*, it may be more helpful to view the two texts as complementary, each enhancing the effects of the other, as the common ideas in their titles suggest.

There is no doubt that *A Briefe Remembrance* would have been received as an innovative text in 1618, for it followed fast on the heels of the first edition of the *Baziliologia*.²⁹ The *Baziliologia* is a handsome near-quarto sized collection of engraved plates of English monarchs from William the Conqueror to James I, showing each king in a half-length portrait, with a few details of dates and death engraved below each one. There is no separate letter-press accompanying these portraits. According to the earliest

²⁹ The Grolier Book Club editors suggest that *A Briefe Remembrance* was not a derivative of the *Baziliologia* but a simultaneous publication in its own right: this seems unlikely but possible. Portrait series of the monarchs had suddenly become fashionable and Edward Alleyn records two purchases of a portrait series of Kings, dated 29th September and 8th October 1618. In between, only one entry is transcribed, for 4th October: "Tho. Allen Jo. Taylore dind wt vs". Warner glosses "Jo. Taylore" as Joseph Taylor, the actor, since, "John Taylor, the water-poet ... did not reach London on his return from Scotland till 15 Oct." However, it is possible that John Taylor had reached his home earlier, and returned a few days later to the inn where Lord Derby's Men performed a play to celebrate his arrival. Therefore, although Joseph Taylor is a more likely dinner guest for Alleyn, the possibility that John Taylor saw or heard of Alleyn's new portrait collection while Alleyn was engaged in the purchase, cannot be discounted. Alleyn mentions Taylor on 12 December 1618 as "Jo. Taylor ye Poett" (Warner, *Manuscripts*, IX, p.175 and Note 1).

title-page, this “Book of Kings” was first issued as a set in 1618, by Henry Holland to be sold by Compton Holland. However, the history of this “book” is complex: bibliographers are uncertain whether a standard complete copy exists, or indeed whether an idea of completion is appropriate to this text at all, because the prints stand alone without any letter-press text linking them together. Griffiths believes that these impressions were issued separately as soon as ready, and the title-page of 1618 was used by collectors to front their own personal selection, built up according to taste and purse. By contrast, Hind believes that the collection was planned as a complete entity, with a core sequence consisting of the engraved title-plate and twenty-six portraits, to which individuals might add supplementary prints issued for this purpose.³⁰

Taylor’s *A Briefe Remembrance*, also dated 1618, is clearly modelled on this more expensive *Baziliologia*. As Hind explains, the engravings for both texts probably derive from a common source, the 1597 edition of *The Portraiture of the Kings of England*, which bears the initials “T.T”.³¹ The term “briefe” in Taylor’s title may also recall the title of the *Baziliologia*, which mentions “*a briefe chronologie of [their] liues and deaths*”, referring to the inscriptions engraved below the portraits in the plates. In the *Baziliologia* these inscriptions are mostly between four and seven lines long, although for Elizabeth and Edward VI they are more substantial.³² However, Taylor’s *A Briefe Remembrance* differs from the *Baziliologia* not just in its smaller format, but by providing a page of letter-press relating to each portrait. This consists of a separate title and a sonnet summing up the reign and importance of each monarch. Taylor’s letter-press addition is a significant alteration to the overall effect of the original *Baziliologia*, arguably transforming this concept from a catalogue of portraits where the attraction is

³⁰ *Baziliologia: a booke of kings beeing the true and liuely effigies of all our English kings from the Conquest vntill this present: with their seuerall coats of: armes, impresaes and devises: and a briefe chronologie of their liues and deaths. Elegantly grauen in copper* (Printed for H: Holland tbs. C. Holland, 1618), STC 13581. Most plates were engraved by Renald Elstrack, a few by Delaram or Simon de Passe. Descriptions of the size of the 1618 *Baziliologia* are not consistent: the *ESTC* specifies a folio; Griffiths describes “a set of octavo portraits” with sheet size 224x125mm; Hind describes the *Baziliologia* as “nearer quarto in size” with plates (approx. 7 by 4.5 inches), much larger than those of *A Briefe Remembrance* (4.5 by 3.25 inches).

³¹ *A booke, containing the true portraiture of the countenances and attires of the kings of England, from William Conqueror, vnto our Soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth ...Diligently collected by T.T.* (R. Field for Iohn de Beauchesne 1597), STC 23626. T.T. is Thomas Talbot, Thomas Twyne or Thomas Tymme).

³² Hind has reproduced many of these portraits, including later states and alternatives (Hind, *Engraving in England*, Vol. II (1955), Plates 57-65).

almost wholly visual, to a narrative history that expresses a particular view of the development of the monarchy. The letter-press for *A Briefe Remembrance* also provides a bibliographic framework for the portraits: the sequence of signatures confers a defined structure and thus a sense of the book as a shaped whole, rather than the disconnected individual portraits in the *Baziliologia*.

Despite these different qualities, the close bibliographic relationship between the 1618 *Baziliologia* and the 1618 *A Briefe Remembrance* is evident. Although Taylor's book was published by Henry Gossen and the letter-text was printed by George Eld, the imprint of Compton Holland, who sold the prints for the *Baziliologia*, appears on the print of Elizabeth I. *A Briefe Remembrance* is clearly intended as a pocket-sized version of the more expensive *Baziliologia*, even though Taylor's letter text transforms the genre and creates an integrated text with a more specific political agenda. It is possible that the Holland brothers had sanctioned this cheaper edition of their prestigious collection of Kings, but it seems much more likely from the bibliographic record that Taylor and Gossen had acted independently, having swiftly realised the market potential in such a venture. The success of Taylor's octavo is suggested by the existence of a so-called "variant" in 1618 which is not actually a variant but a second edition, with the letter-press set up afresh, rather than a re-imposition from the first edition. This indicates that a single print-run of *A Briefe Remembrance* in 1618 had proved insufficient and another edition had been called for unexpectedly in the same year. The two 1618 issues differ not only in their typography but also in some engravings, notably the Elizabeth I, which is numbered (23) in the Huntington Library copy (STC 23737) whilst the engraving in the British Library copy is unnumbered and presents the Queen as much older (STC 23736).³³ Of course it is possible that each print-run would have been smaller than for an ordinary octavo, as the expense of the illustrations may have made the stationers cautious of over-production at first.

Further evidence for the success of Taylor and Gossen's small format version of the *Baziliologia* is the appearance of another edition of *A Briefe Remembrance* in 1621, this time bearing the imprint of Compton Holland alone. It appears that Compton

³³ The portraits of James and Charles are also unnumbered in STC 23736 (BL) and numbered in STC 23737 (Huntington).

Holland was now cashing in on this venture, having missed out on the proceeds from the 1618 editions. For this new edition is generally a poorer product than either the 1618 texts printed by Eld for Gosson or the 1622 edition that carries Eld's name alone. Compton Holland's 1621 edition of *A Briefe Remembrance* has several peculiarities that distinguishing it from the 1618 editions. In addition to the substitution of several portraits, including those of Elizabeth and James, the plates are poorly reproduced and the letter-press is less even in appearance than it was in 1618.³⁴ The printers seem to have chosen ornaments that mimic the pattern of the 1618 editions printed by Eld, but they are inferior in quality and less effectively matched. Some details of the original letter-press are also missing: for example, Henry the Eighth was described in 1618 as "Defender of the Faith", the first of the monarchs to be so labelled, no doubt as the instigator of the split with Rome. This title is missing for Henry Holland's 1621 edition. Indeed, the overall impression of this 1621 *Briefe Remembrance* is much less attractive than Eld's printing in 1618. As Compton Holland was dead by 1622, a possible reason for this poor quality is that his health was declining and he was unable to supervise the book's production.³⁵ Alternatively, his 1621 edition of *A Briefe Remembrance* may have been a semi-piracy, where he appropriated Taylor's letter-text from Gosson without permission, although having some intellectual right to the design of the engraved plates.

This possibility is strengthened by the appearance of a third or fourth edition of *A Briefe Remembrance* in 1622, this time stating on the title-page "Printed for George Eld, 1622".³⁶ This edition uses the same sonnets as Gosson's original 1618 edition but the portraits are entirely different, being full length engravings of considerable attractiveness, based on a series by Hendrik Goltzius (c.1584), with that of Charles being signed by Renold Elstrack. They are thus apparently unrelated to the original

³⁴ H. C. Levis records an entry for a copy of this edition in Ellis's Catalogue, 73 (1891), item 606, as 12° which suggests that it was smaller than the editions printed by Eld in 1618 and 1622. However, I have not been able to confirm this possibility. The Library of Congress catalogue gives two different sizes for the portraits (14cm and 19cm) while the Harvard University Library catalogue gives 15cm but does not specify whether this applies to the impressions or the whole page. See also, Hind, *Engraving in England*, II, pp.141-2.

³⁵ Hind says Compton Holland died before 1620 (*Ibid*, p.146); Griffiths gives the year of death as 1622 (Griffiths, p.9).

³⁶ *A briefe remembrance of all the English monarchs vwith their raignes, deaths, and places of buriall: from the Normans Conquest, vnto our most glorious soueraigne* ("Printed by George Eld, 1622"), STC 23738.

Baziliologia published by the Hollands in 1618, and may have been intended to circumvent any dispute over ownership with Henry Holland. The letter-text is also altered by the addition of factual information containing dates and places, which is incorporated into the pages facing each portrait. The earlier 1618-21 editions carried some of this information in the engraved inscriptions below the half-portraits, but the full length illustrations that replace them leave no room for such details below. However, the redesigned pages incorporate even more information than before, over-compensating for the loss of these inscriptions with a mass of extra details. These additions are almost certainly by Taylor himself, which indicates that he cooperated with Eld in this new edition.



Fig. 7.4. Portrait of Prince Charles signed by Renold Elstrack, from the 1622 edition of A Briefe Remembrance.³⁷

³⁷ STC 23738, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 15 September, 2009.

Taylor's involvement in updating the 1618 *Briefe Remembrance* fits with the effort that has obviously been made to maintain continuity between these editions. The repeat use of Eld's presses confers such continuity through the typology and ornamentation, and the title is also carefully worded to indicate that the text has been augmented without losing its former phrasing. This is achieved by the addition of the phrase "with their raignes, deaths, and places of burial" as a parenthesis within the original wording of 1618. Thus, despite the new set of portraits, the 1622 *Briefe Remembrance* is carefully presented as an updating of the 1618 editions, while Compton Holland's 1621 edition was merely a poor copy of those earlier texts.³⁸

The cost of these new engravings is possibly the reason for a folio sheet relating to the 1622 *A Briefe Remembrance*, preserved only in an incomplete copy at the British Library. This sheet is divided into four quarters, with the bottom two containing the book's title and the sonnet on Prince Charles, described by the STC as "re-imposed" from the 1622 copy. The upper left side carries a heavily decorated engraving of a shield with the garter motto and emblazoned with the royal coat of arms. One quarter of the sheet, the upper right, is missing and the STC conjectures that this "may have contained a full-length portrait of Prince Charles". However, this is not certain and the sheet has several puzzling features. The wording in the bottom half is transferred almost identically from the 1622 *Briefe Remembrance*, using the same type face, but the use of space and layout differ to varying extents. The engraving of the royal arms is puzzling as it does not reproduce any part of the extant 1622 *Briefe Remembrance*. There, the portrait of Charles, which is signed by Renold Elstrack, carries the insignia of the Prince of Wales. The only equivalent coat of arms in the book is on the portrait of James, where the shield has been added very awkwardly to the figure, which seems to be of an earlier design [see detail, Fig 7.6, below]. Thus, although it seems unlikely that this single sheet was a straightforward advertisement for the extant 1622 *Briefe Remembrance*, the care with which it was prepared does fit with the evidence that both Taylor's book and its related engravings were attractive commodities and well known in the period.

³⁸ The focus on deaths and burial in the updated 1622 text of *A Briefe Remembrance* seems to reflect a growing obsession amongst the reading classes, perhaps as a result of the increasing interest in Antiquarian history at the time. See Woolf, *Reading History*, pp. 96-104.



Fig. 7.5. Single folio sheet relating to the 1622 edition of *A Briefe Remembrance*.³⁹

³⁹ Harleian 5952/37 (British Library) STC 23738.5 <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 23 September 2009.



Fig.7.6. Detail from portrait of James I in the 1622 edition of *A Briefe Remembrance*, showing the shield added onto the original design.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ STC 23738, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 23 September 2009.

However, 1622 was not the last updating of *A Briefe Remembrance*, for the text printed in *All the Workes* in essence constitutes another new edition. Here, most of the full length engraved portraits from the 1622 edition have been reproduced in woodcut copies. With a few exceptions, these cuts retain the poses, detailing and style of the 1622 engravings, although in a simplified version appropriate for the medium of reproduction. Even more so than the 1622 collection, these illustrations form a distinctive set with a strong consistency of design. As with the 1622 edition, moreover, there is a strong focus on coats of arm. The shields carried by each monarch are simplified and stereotyped into a matching sequence that foregrounds the gradual accumulation of kingdoms, with the Stuart arms as the culmination of this process. As if to reinforce this effect, the portraits of James and Charles from the 1622 edition are replaced for the folio. While this was to some extent a necessity, as now Charles must be presented as King instead of Prince of Wales, the alterations go further than this. Whoever drew and/or cut this 1630 series seems to have been intent upon creating a pair of illustrations that match each other in nearly every detail. Furthermore, it is notable that although in 1622 both had been portrayed in ordinary clothing, this new 1630 version shows the two kings in matching suits of armour. They carry identical shields with the Stuart royal arms, and the other details of clothing, faces, hair styles, moustache and beard are almost identical too. Thus these two portraits appear as mirror images of each other, printed on facing pages, forming a strikingly symmetrical double-page spread as the conclusion of both histories of the monarchs.

It is possible that some elements in this effect came about accidentally. It seems that whoever cut the 1630 woodcuts had a preference for matching pairs, as shown by the two queens Mary and Elizabeth in the previous facing pages. Although these are close copies of the 1622 engravings, some features such as their eyes have been simplified and exaggerated in a way that increases their similarities. Furthermore, the fact that the portraits of James and Charles are the only ones to have been substantially changed from 1622 may simply be the combined consequence of the change of reign and a deliberate attempt to create a coherent sequence for the folio. However, the completeness of the match between these figures seems to go beyond these factors. It appears that whoever planned these changes instructed the carver to produce matching

images of James and Charles, as if promoting the wished-for ideal that the son should become the mirror image of the father. Furthermore, the switch to armour for both kings is a material contrast to the 1622 versions. It is tempting to interpret this as an invocation of the ideal of the English monarch as a Christian soldier fighting against the Antichrist, in the specifically Protestant context provided by the packaging of *All the Workes* as a whole. This anticipates the conclusion of the volume, where the final verses of *Gods Manifold Mercies (The Churches Deliverances)* express Taylor's hope for "Charles the Great" through such Militant Protestant imagery.



Fig.7.7. *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630), showing the end of *A Briefe Remembrance of All the English Monarchs*, as printed by John Beale. ⁴¹

Furthermore, the arrangement of the texts at this point in Beale's section seems intended to reinforce the concept of the son as a repetition of the father. For the funeral elegies

⁴¹ STC 23725, sigs. Hhh6v - Iii1r, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 23 September 2009.

follow straight after this conclusion to the histories and the first elegy is, appropriately, *A Living Sadness*, Taylor's tribute to James himself. As this begins with a dedication to Charles as the inheritor of his father's throne, the verso of the page showing Charles in armour at the end of *A Briefe Remembrance* carries these first lines by Taylor addressed to Charles as King (Sig. Iii1v). Moreover, the facing page contains the beginning of the elegy itself, so that James's name appears prominently at the top of that page. Thus father and son are repeated in sequence across these four pages: first James followed by Charles at the end of the history of the English Monarchs; next Charles as dedicatee for the elegy, followed by Taylor's verses on James. There could not be a much more pointed way of using the layout and page sequence to promote the idea of "like father, like son".

However, the alterations to the portraits are not the only changes in the 1630 folio printing of *A Briefe Remembrance*. Once again, Taylor has added to the information supplied alongside the sonnets, although the poems themselves remain largely the same. Of course, the sonnet for Charles, which had not been altered between 1618 and 1622, is changed to take into account his father's death and the new reign, but the change is the minimum necessary for this purpose. However, the set of information accompanying the poems is substantially augmented, so that it now fills the whole of the right hand column of each page. In the other column, the sonnets sit above the portraits, which are printed without frames but with a good degree of white space around them. Thus the letter-text and illustrations are integrated in a consistent pattern throughout this text, creating a coherent sequence at the heart of *All the Workes*. Together with the effect of the full length portraits, where the thicker lines of the woodcuts make them stand out boldly, this also creates a striking visual impact that probably reflects the shared intentions of author and stationers.⁴²

⁴² The folio *A Briefe Remembrance* is also prefaced by a dedicatory sonnet addressed to Sir Robert Carr, "one of the Gentlemen of his Maiesties Royall bed-chamber", which is not present in any of the editions 1618-22 that I have seen. This dedication is somewhat of a mystery. If it refers to the King's favourite, Viscount Rochester, who was implicated in the Overbury affair, then it may date from early in 1622, when Carr and Frances Howard were released from the Tower. Carr received a full pardon in 1624, but continued to be banned from public affairs and died in 1645. Another Sir Robert Carr, second baronet of Sleaford in Lincolnshire, was the recipient of various dedications from 1622 to 1643, including John Spencer's *Votivae Anglicae*, which is addressed to "true hearted Protestants" (Wing, S4955A).

Taylor's involvement in updating his own text in his two Histories of the monarchies, both *A Briefe Remembrance* and *A Memorial of All the English Kings*, suggests a particular concern for these texts. While *A Memorial* may either have been updated for the 1630 folio, or based on an already updated edition from the mid 1620s, the available evidence suggests that several of the key features of *A Briefe Remembrance* were adapted and augmented specifically for the folio edition. The attractiveness of these texts for the publisher and printer of *All the Workes* is demonstrated by their issue of an octavo edition of *A Memorial* the same year. There is also strong evidence that James Boler would have been especially interested in *A Briefe Remembrance*. This is found in entries in the Stationers' Register and in the records of Boler's publishing business. On 1st January 1629/30, Francis Williams assigned "the Plates and Copies of DAVIES *Copie Booke* and TAYLOR *of the Kings*" to "Master Sparkes".⁴³ Both Williams and Sparke were associates of Boler and it is likely that this entry has something to do with Boler's publication of *All the Workes* the same year. Williams also held the plates to *The Needles Excellency*, which he assigned to Boler on 24th November 1629, but with no known edition before 1631.⁴⁴ Boler's name is engraved on the frontispiece for all extant editions of this text, which he issued in several editions during his lifetime, with more following later. The combination of verses by Taylor with engravings in *The Needles Excellency* is managed differently from *A Briefe Remembrance*, in accordance with the book's ostensible purpose, but shows publisher and author working together more than once on a project where the attraction is the combination of illustrations and text.

Michael Sparke and James Boler had been associated since very early in Boler's independent career: in 1626 they shared the publication of *The Money Manager*, only the second text to carry Boler's name. Of particular relevance to Williams' assignments of engraved plates to Sparke and Boler in 1629 is a series of legal records relating to Sparke's involvement in publishing controversial texts, especially in the period 1629 to

⁴³ Arber, IV, 224.

⁴⁴ Arber, IV.222. The first known edition of *The Needles Excellency* is dated 1631, (STC 23775.5). It is an oblate quarto with 18 pages of text and 25 leaves of plates. The edition with title-page dated 1634 says "The 10th. edition inlarged wth. Diuers newe workes" (STC 23776). Other editions during the 1630s may have been lost. In 1640 appeared "The 12th edition" (STC 23777), printed by J. Dawson, still with engraved imprint "James Boler", although James the elder had died in 1635. There are at least six extant copies of this 1640 edition.

1631, where Boler's name frequently figures. Sparke was summoned before the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical for *Christs Confession and Complaint*, and was subsequently embroiled in a series of tussles with the authorities for the importation of foreign bibles and religious books. While Sparke was at the centre of these rows, Boler is consistently associated with him, along with others such as Bourne and Overton, apparently because these stationers sold the books that Sparke imported and/or distributed to them. James Boler was summoned to give evidence several times by different courts, but his own book-selling business does not seem to have been harmed. It appears that these stationers were adept at circumventing the authorities. For example, Boler gives an evasive explanation about *Christs Confession*, where he claims to have been "away from home" when strangers delivered these unsolicited books which his employees immediately sent "into the country" to be sold. Only when Boler returned home and examined a copy, did he discover that this was controversial material, by which time it was too late to prevent their sale.⁴⁵

While Boler's distribution of such controversial material may have been via itinerant chapmen, as mentioned by Sparke in another context, it is also possible that his reference to "into the country" could refer to the West Country booksellers with whom he had links, especially Thomas Hunt in Exeter and William Russell in Plymouth (see Chapter 4, above). This suggests a regular correspondence between Boler's shop and Devonshire in particular, beyond the imprints that show Boler publishing books with or for Hunt and Russell. Boler may well have been channeling the more controversial books that came his way from Michael Sparke, and possibly also those he received in secret shipments from the Netherlands, down to these Devonshire outlets. This West Country connection may be one reason why Boler took over the publication of William Martyn's *The historie and lives, of the kings of England* in 1628, just before he took on Taylor's *All the Workes*. William Martyn had been recorder of Exeter for much of his life. He left the area for a few years to attend Broadgates Hall (later Pembroke College) in Oxford and to be called to the Bar in London (1589), but returned to the city and lived

⁴⁵ For the records, see *SPD Charles I*, vol. 205, art. 102, 1631 concerning "a scandalous book called *Rome's Ruin*"; Greg, *Companion to Arber*, pp.78-9, 82-4 and 273-274 concerning *Christs Confession*; Greg, pp.268-273 concerning another dispute regarding William Turner of Oxford (Madan, *Oxford Books*, vol.ii, pp. 520-524). See Chapter 4.

there until his death in 1617. His *Historie*, originally published in 1615 without illustrations, caused some controversy for its idiosyncratic, moralizing approach, and his criticism of Scottish Kings, which apparently offended James I so much that Martyn was briefly arrested. Although this did no lasting damage to the book's publication, Martyn was devastated by the King's anger and "never recovered his former cheerfulness".⁴⁶

This controversial past clearly did not trouble Boler, who took the book on after Martyn's death, whether or not with permission from the previous publishers. Boler combined the text from Martyn's earlier history of the same title (1615), with twenty-three plates from the 1618 *Baziliologia*.⁴⁷ The resulting volume is usually described as the "second edition" of the *Baziliologia*, but the inclusion of Martyn's text changes the original collection of engravings into a history of the monarchy with Martyn's idiosyncratic, broadly Protestant or Puritan slant. While Daniel Woolf is dismissive of the old-fashioned type of historical writing in which William Martyn engaged, the text clearly had strong market appeal.⁴⁸ Boler's decision to team Martyn's lengthy prose accounts of the Kings of England with the plates from the innovative *Baziliologia* seems to have been an adroit publishing strategy. Many copies of this 1628 edition survive in libraries and collections, and it was clearly successful enough to command a continuation, written by the unidentified B.R. This was entered to Boler and Robert Young in 1633, as if the two stationers intended to bring out an updated edition immediately. However, there is no evidence of its appearance before the text published by Young "printed for himselfe & others" in 1638. It is possible that Boler's failing health in 1634 led to a postponement of this edition, for he died in 1635. The unusual imprint in the 1638 edition indicates that Young shared the proceeds of these sales with Boler's widow, Anne, and/or the two sons to whom the business had been left in trust. Thus the pattern of publication for this illustrated *Historie* from 1628 to 1638 confirms its attraction as a publishing proposition.

It is in this context that we need to view Boler's involvement in the publication of *All the Workes* in 1630. The close relationship between earlier editions of *The Briefe*

⁴⁶ D. R. Woolf, *The idea of History in Early Stuart England: Erudition, Ideology, and the 'Light of Truth' from the accession of James I to the Civil War* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 75.

⁴⁷ Martyn's original 1615 *Historie* was a small folio edition that strongly resembles Taylor's *All the Workes* in size and quality of paper. For details of all the editions of this *Historie*, see notes 4 -5, above.

⁴⁸ Woolf, *The idea of History*, p. 73.

Remembrance and the *Baziliologia* and the care with which this text is updated and reproduced in *All the Workes* suggests that Boler may well have perceived this project as fitting neatly into his growing business in *Baziliologia*-type publications. The fact that he and Beale acquired the more down-market potted history of *A Memorial of All the English Monarchs* at the same time may well have been a bonus to the acquisition of the *Briefe Remembrance*, with the transfer of the ownership of the plates for “Taylor of the Kings” being somewhere in the background of these transactions. Boler would have known how well his folio of Martyn’s book was selling in 1628, as evidenced by the survival of so many copies today, and would no doubt have been receptive to the proposition of having his imprint on another publication that combined a controversial author’s name with not one but two illustrated histories of the Kings. Thus, although the decision to issue *All the Workes* in folio may have been entirely Taylor’s idea, we should not discount the possibility that Boler, who had already taken Martyn’s text from the small folio of 1615 (which resembles *All the Workes* in size) and combined it with the *Baziliologia* prints to create a very marketable product at some expense, might have had some input to the format and presentation of Taylor’s collection.⁴⁹

However, it seems likely that *A Briefe Remembrance* was only one element, albeit probably an important one, in the overall appeal of *All the Workes* for James Boler and John Beale. These stationers’ combined interest in *A Memorial of All the English Monarchs* is demonstrated by the simultaneous production of the 1630 octavo of this potted history, together with their adoption of other texts from the folio. We must also bear in mind that the overwhelming majority of Boler’s publications were religious, and that the packaging of *All the Workes* to present Taylor as “the ferryman of heav’n”, as discussed in Chapter Five above, fits this list equally well. From a modern perspective, the strongly Protestant, almost Puritan elements of Boler’s business might seem entirely out of keeping with his parallel enthusiasm for what can only be described as monarchist

⁴⁹ In 1630 a second edition of the Holland brothers’ *Baziliologia*, stating “to be sold by Thomas Geele at the dagger in Lombard Street” appeared: *Baziliologia a booke of kings beeing the true and liuely effigies of all our English kings* (tbs. T. Geele, 1630), STC 13581.7; this had no letter-press. Geele replaced all the original imprints on the engravings with his own; this imprint was removed again for the 1638 edition printed by Young, which once again combined portraits and letter-press (see note 5, above).

publications, in his series of books of the Kings through the 1620s and 30s.⁵⁰ The association with Sparke, who became a leading Puritan publisher in the 1640s and 50s, might suggest that Boler would have moved towards oppositional publishing as the 1630s developed, and that his business might have become associated with Parliament during the civil war. In fact, the opposite occurred, and in the 1640s the sign of the Marigold became deeply implicated in Royalist publishing. This development involved not only the apprentice Francis Eglesfield, who carried on Boler's business at the Marigold, but also his fellow apprentice John Williams, who started his own publishing business, and whose sign of the Crown was closely associated with the Marigold during the civil war years.⁵¹

As discussed in Chapter 5, the presentation of *Taylors Vrania* and other religious texts in Taylor's collection turns this volume firmly in the direction of orthodox Calvinism, as it was still constituted through the 1620s into the early 1630s. That such a direction could, even at the turn of the decade, be seamlessly combined with an enthusiastic focus on the monarchy and its prospects in the Caroline era, might seem naïve in retrospect, but was clearly a commonly held ideology. For *All the Workes* could fit comfortably into the list of a publisher who was carefully keeping just on the safe side of the authorities through the early 1630s, and whose business was certainly flourishing as a result. Thus it appears that Taylor was representative of a significant constituency in England at that period. Rather than an individualist project, the result of Taylor's overweening personal ego, as described in recent criticism, *All the Workes* therefore emerges as a text that expresses the ideological temper of the turn of the decade. If, as Bernard Capp suggests, Taylor was foolishly nostalgic in persisting in his

⁵⁰ Perry comments on Thomas Heywood's *Troia Britanica* (1609): "it was at least possible for Londoners during the first decade of James's reign to support the crown while cherishing a memory of Elizabeth replete with oppositional potential", while "the generation of frankly oppositional feeling lagged behind the production of possibly oppositional affective structures", Curtis Perry, "The Citizen Politics of Nostalgia: Queen Elizabeth in early Jacobean London", in *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 23.1 (Winter 1993), pp. 89-111.

⁵¹ The association between the Crown and the Marigold as royalist publishers during the late 1640s is best known from their joint publication of Herrick's *Hesperides* (1648), but also involved important polemical publications. Both signs continued the West Country connections from Boler's involvement with Exeter and Plymouth booksellers. The involvement of Boler's apprentices in *Hesperides* creates a parallel between Herrick's collected works and *All the Workes of John Taylor*, despite the contrasting social constructions placed upon these two authors. For *Hesperides*, see Randall Ingram, 'Robert Herrick and the Making of *Hesperides*', in *SEL*, 38.1 (Winter 1998), pp.121-147. See also, Afterword, below.

belief or even desire for Charles's glorious future, then this was a folly apparently shared by a whole swathe of the book-selling and book-buying public at that time.

However, in *All the Workes* it is not the two books of the Kings which complete John Beale's section, but the group of elegies and funeral poems. As with the earlier part of John Beale's section described in Chapter Six, this seems a sensible organisation, with funeral elegies naturally coming as a conclusion, and indeed naturally following after two Histories.⁵² In addition, this arrangement increases the possibility that Beale's section of *All the Workes* might have been planned with separate publication in mind. These elegies also modify the optimism of the teleological histories, disarming to some extent any accusation of naivety in Taylor's hopeful if vague vision of Charles's future at the end of his two histories of the monarchy.⁵³ The arrangement of these funeral poems does suggest some element of strategy: the opening sequence follows precedence, with the King followed by the Lord Admiral and Earl, then the Bishop, then the Duke. However, the following placement of *Great Britaine All in Blache*, Taylor's tribute to Prince Henry, opposite *The Muses Mourning*, his sonnet sequence for John Moray, who was untitled and apparently died in obscurity, suggests a different set of criteria. This presentation hints at an affinity between the obscure John Moray and the famous Prince, or indeed what the Prince symbolises for Taylor. Furthermore, the sombreness of "Great Britaine all in Blache" matches the emphatic title "The Muses Mourning". In contradiction to the more upbeat tone of the ending to his histories, it is tempting to see in this especially bleak double-page spread, Taylor's sense that the loss of the potential champion of militant Protestantism through the death of Henry had been highly significant for his own Muse.

⁵² The inclusion of two elegies that have not survived independently, for Launcelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester and for the Earl of Holderness, suggests that there may have been others, not collected here. These may not necessarily have been in print, for Taylor clearly produced material only in manuscript: for example, he mentions a genealogy presented to Charles Howard, Earle of Nottingham, in the funeral text of 1624/5. Capp also prints two short occasional poems in manuscript found amongst the papers of Baron Buckhurst (*World of John Taylor*, Appendix).

⁵³ We need not read back into these earlier books of Kings, Taylor's darker cynicism about the progress of history expressed in the very late *The number and names of all the kings* (1649), which is obviously affected by the fate of Charles I. The very title of this piece announces the slant of the 'history' to come, including: *how many of them came to untimely ends, either by imprisonments, banishments, famine, killing of themselves, poysone, drowning, beheading, falling from horses, slaine in battells, murthered, or otherwise* ([sn.]1649) Wing T942, second edition 1650, Wing T493.

However, the elegies do not end with either the Prince who symbolised the hopes of Militant Protestantism or the shadowy gentleman who had encouraged Taylor's move into print. The choice instead of the elegy for the Earl of Holdernes (John Ramsay, Viscount Haddington) as the conclusion to the whole of John Beale's section is especially revealing. This is also a rearrangement from the Catalogue where, according to precedence, both earls had been placed together after the King. This re-arrangement suggests a deliberate stratagem, which may reflect Taylor's own vision, although of course the stationers, or practicalities, might also have played a part in this organisation. Nevertheless, Holdernes was an essential figure for Taylor, for as plain John Ramsay in 1612/13, it was he who had apparently secured for Taylor his position as Royal Waterman, which coincided with the early years of Taylor's 'career' in print. That this particular tribute should be placed at the conclusion to Beale's section, suggests once again the overwhelming importance to Taylor of his role as a servant to the crown, underpinning his identity as a writer.⁵⁴

Yet the gravity of this conclusion to the longest section of *All the Workes* has been offset from the start by the apparent frivolity of *Sir Gregory Nonsense*, with which the whole section has opened. The balance of these two antithetical genres at either end of the central portion, both pieces announced with a degree of typological pomp and circumstance, prevents *All the Workes* from taking itself too seriously. At the same time, however, this organisation maintains the underlying focus on the religious and political situation of the day. By opening this section with his "Nonsense", Taylor presented the hellish absurdity of the religious extremes that the English monarchy had a duty to hold at bay - and that the poet could disarm by the judicious employment of wit. In following up his presentation of Charles as the inheritor of the Protestant succession in the Histories, with the funeral elegies for figures associated with James I and Prince Henry, the structure of Beale's section has emphasized the weight of the past pressing upon the Caroline future. In this respect, Beale's section is not really designed as a stand-alone volume in the middle of this collection, but as an essential part of the whole. For the distribution of genres across this central portion is an appropriate forerunner of the final

⁵⁴ "I, in particular am now depriu'd / Of him who formerly Did cause King Iames of his especiall grace,/ On me (desertlesse) to bestow a place", (*All the Workes* (1630), sig. Kkk6r).

section. Even the very last poem of *All the Workes*, the piously titled “Gods Manifold Mercies”, begins with an irreverent and satirical treatment of the Papal bull that brings it close to *Sir Gregory Nonsense*. It ends, however, by repeating the hopes for Charles’s future as a Protestant hero implied by the histories and elegies, but with an added sense of urgency and relevance to the decade to come.

Chapter 8: “Prince Charles His Welcome”: Alsop and Fawcet’s section of *All the Workes*.

Chapter Eight explores the organization of the last section of *All the Workes*, which differs considerably from the order of texts printed in the Catalogue. It considers in particular the final sequence which interweaves material relating to the Palatine match, the Bohemian crisis and Prince Charles’s return from Madrid in 1623.

The last part of *All the Workes* printed by Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcet is in many ways the most intriguing of the three. It presents us with several puzzles that are not easily solved. Until recently, one of the mysteries of this section was the presence of two texts that were apparently never printed separately before or after *All the Workes*. The first of these, *Honour Conceal’d or The Peace of France, with the Praise of Archy*, is still unidentified and has not been precisely dated. It is perhaps appropriate that this fanciful account of the antics of Archy Armstrong, James I’s court fool, remains the greatest bibliographical conundrum of *All the Workes*. The second of these was the concluding text, *The Churches Deliverances*, which scholars believed to have been composed specifically for the folio in 1630. However, as explained in the introduction to Chapter Five, this assumption has been proved erroneous by my identification of a previous edition dated 1625, forming the letter text commentary for an early copy of the engraving that became known after the Restoration as ‘Popish Plots and Treasons’. The existence of this earlier edition of *The Churches Deliverances* supports my interpretation of some other puzzling features of Alsop and Fawcet’s section of *All the Workes*, and throws into question previous critical views of the nature of this collection as a whole.

This third section of *All the Workes* appears materially distinct from the earlier parts of the volume. This is partly due to its position following the bulky middle portion, which is linked typographically to the opening of the collection, since both were printed by John Beale’s shop. This pattern of printing means that the first section produced by Elizabeth Alldde, which is roughly the same length as Section Three, seems nevertheless to be more closely integrated within the volume. Alldde’s section is linked to the preliminaries by the shared material relating to *Taylor’s Urania* (as discussed in Chapter Five); it is also framed by sets of pages printed by Beale, creating a sense of coherence for the earlier part of the folio that leaves Alsop and Fawcet’s section seeming all the

more isolated. This impression is reinforced by the sense that this last section offers something of a new start for the collection. It opens with a series of items where the idea of Water seems to have been deliberately highlighted, including Taylor's very first independent text, *The Sculler*, under its second edition title of *Taylors Water-Worke*. This to some extent seems to be presenting readers with the kind of paradigm of authorial development that I have suggested is largely a creation of modern literary criticism. Such an impression is reinforced by the later inclusion here of *Taylors Farewell to the Tower Bottles*, a text that has been read as Taylor's autobiographical account of self-realisation as a writer, narrating his final transformation from labouring waterman to literary artist.

However, although the printed appearance of Section Three could be considered distinctive from the rest of *All the Workes*, its content does provide an appropriate ending for the collection as a whole. In particular, the final group of texts (the summaries of the Bible and Book of Martyrs, and *The Churches Deliverances*) can be understood as a reprise of the opening themes, which had been signaled by the key-note poem, *Taylor's Urania*. Similarly, the internal organization of this third section could be described as repeating the tendencies of the other two sections: for example, it is possible to explain the grouping of the texts according to themes such as water or foreign travel, or again by genres, such as Praise poems. Like the earlier sections, there is no consistent chronological basis to the organization of the items, contradicting the modern predilection for tracing authorial development over time. Indeed, it could be argued that this third section is the most muddled and contrary in this respect, with the juxtaposition of texts that were published at widely differing times, focusing on events that took place many years apart.

The surface impression of disorder created by this juxtaposition of apparently unconnected texts could be interpreted as the result of a rush to complete the last section of *All the Workes*. This scenario could gain support from the lack of correspondence between the order of texts as listed in the Catalogue and their appearance as actually printed. Whereas the first two sections follow the Catalogue closely, with the exceptions already noted in the relevant chapters above (Chapters 5 & 6), Alsop and Fawcet's section seems to turn this list on its head. The difference from the first two sections is

highlighted by the actual presentation of the Catalogue, since the items contained in the first two sections are listed in order on the recto of the Catalogue leaf, while the reader has to turn the page to find the rest of the list, relating to Section Three, on the verso. As discussed in Chapter Three, the brief verse which appears at the end of the Catalogue seems intended to draw attention to this muddle:

*These Bookes in number sixty three are here,
Bound in one Volume, scattered here and there,
They stand not thus in order in the booke;
But any man may finde them, that will looke.*

Given that the first two sections correspond almost exactly to the order in the Catalogue, this verse seems in excess of the facts. Perhaps Taylor realized at the last moment that the Catalogue verso lists the Section Three texts apparently at random, and rushed to minimise the damage by inserting this disclaimer, without remembering that the first page was perfectly satisfactory. However, as with his lines for the Errata, we should not take this comment on the Catalogue at face value. For Taylor seems again to be inviting an active participation by the reader in interpreting the collection.

Even without this possibility, the changes between the Catalogue and the printed order of Section Three are still intriguing: my analysis will show that the compiler(s) of *All the Workes* gave careful attention to the final order of the items as printed, belying the surface appearance of randomness. This analysis holds good whether or not they intended to alert the reader to this order through the presentation of the Catalogue, and is also supported by the publishing history of *The Churches Deliverances (Gods Manifold Mercies)*. Contemporary evidence points to the logical conclusion that contemporary readers or owners of *All the Workes* were already familiar with Taylor's writings or at the very least with his reputation and activities. In all likelihood these contemporary readers were also sympathetic to Taylor's religious and political views. This is certainly reflected in the material evidence of ownership and of annotation offered by the extant copies of the book that I have consulted. We must therefore take into account the

possibility, indeed probability, that such readers would bring to the collection expectations built upon their prior experience of Taylor's work. For some this would no doubt have included the knowledge about specific texts such as *The Churches Deliverances*, *An Englishman's Love to Bohemia* or *Honour Conceal'd* that we now have to reconstruct from the scant remains of these cultural artifacts. In the case of Alsop and Fawcet's section of *All the Workes*, where the visual and contextual aspects of the texts had been so essential to their original impact, this reconstruction is especially important.

The last section of *All the Workes*, printed by Alsop and Fawcet, (*The Water-Cormorant to The Churches Deliverances*) has a new set of signatures (Second Aaa - Mmm, with an unsigned gathering of two leaves at the end), and new pagination (1-146). The unsigned extra gathering contains the bulk of *Gods Manifold Mercies* and this has led to speculation that this text was a late addition. However, this factor needs more consideration and will be discussed further below. The new pagination might suggest that this section could be issued separately, as discussed above in relation to Sections One and Two. This possibility may be increased by the presence of a blank page forming the verso to the last item in Section Two, *A Funerall Elegie, Upon the death of the Earle of Holdernesse* (Kkk6). However, there is no extant evidence for a separate issue of Section Three. It is more likely that Beale's compositors (or Taylor himself) were uncertain about the pagination of the central section, especially as the position of some texts there apparently changed between the planning and execution stages. The changes to the order and number of the group of funeral elegies at the end of Section Two is a further reason for keeping the pagination of Section Three separate. Separate pagination would have allowed simultaneous printing of Sections Two and Three in the two different printing shops.

The material presentation of Section Three to some extent encourages the impression of a new start after Beale's central portion. It is approximately the same length as the first section of the volume, printed by Elizabeth Alldde, whereas Beale's central section is longer than both of these put together. The typographical appearance of Section Three is also distinctive: Alsop and Fawcet used initial letters and folio

ornaments with designs very different from those found in Beale's section. They had their own triangular tail-piece which was used a total of six times, double the number found in Beale's section, despite the shorter length. Alsop and Fawcet also used a simple decorative motif, commonly found in octavos and quartos, combined in single, double or triple layers to create ornamental bands. Beale's compositors had created more elaborate and varied effects using many different ornamental designs, several appropriate only to the folio format. However, the overall visual impression of Alsop and Fawcet's section is still as impressive as Beale's. This is due partly to the more frequent use of the triangular tail-piece within a much shorter section, but also because of the introduction of a coat of arms on a banner heading, which appears for the first time nearly half-way through the section, at the head of *Taylors Pastorall* (Eee1r), but is then used several times for the final pieces in the volume. This ornament is formed of two side panels with cherubs and roses, framing the Tudor coat of arms with the insignia of the Order of the Garter, which is supported by kneeling angels (see Figures 8.1 to 8.2, below).

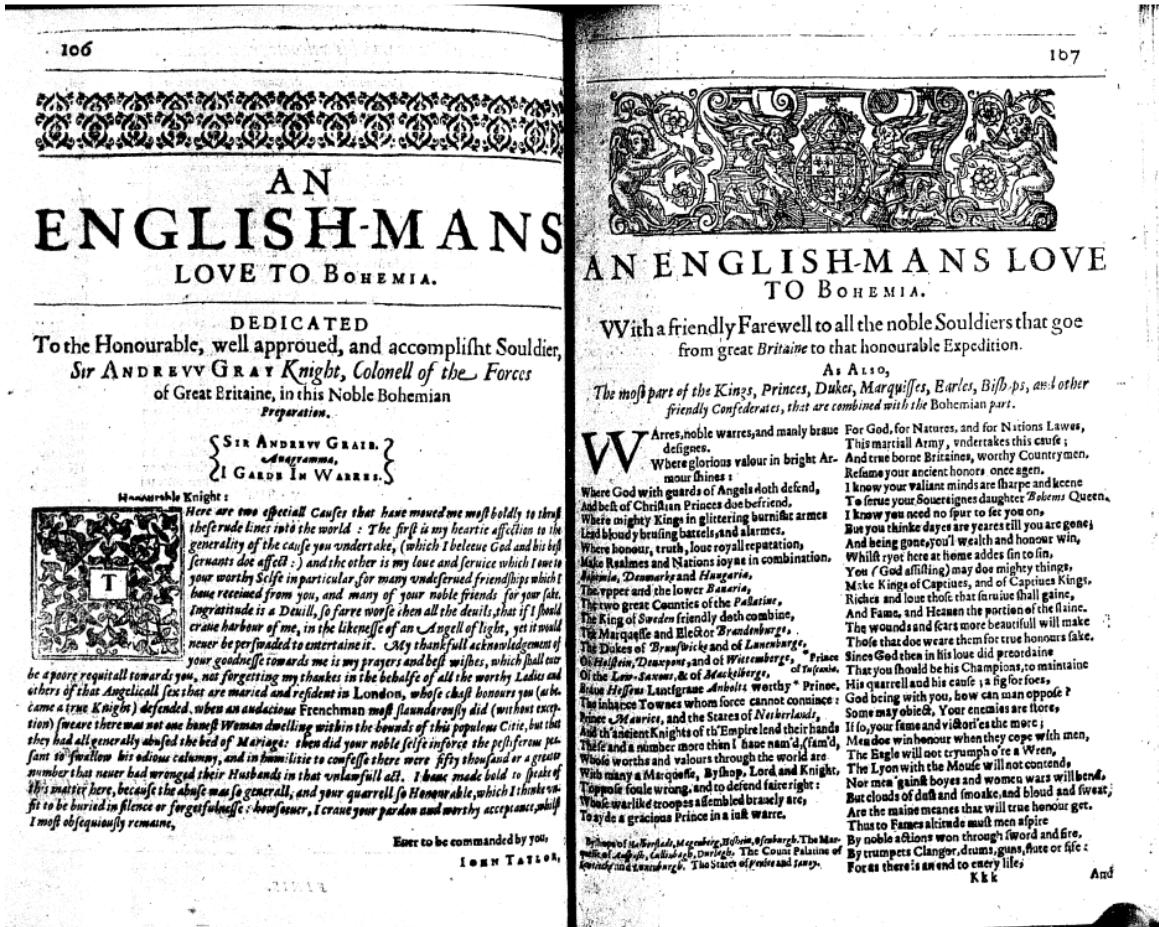


Figure 8.1 *All the Workes of John Taylor*, opening of "An Englishman's Love to Bohemia", showing the use of a printer's ornament carrying the arms of Queen Elizabeth.¹

This ornament appears to be carved as a single piece, although similar examples in other texts are composite, with the side motifs separate from the central section. Although it is similar to several others, I have not been able to trace this particular example to any other text: the closest match is in the 1625 edition of Camden's *Annales*, or History of Queen Elizabeth I, above the explication of the frontispiece:

¹ John Taylor, *All the Workes*, Sig. 2Jjj6v -2Kkk1r. <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 25 September 2009.



Figure 8.2 a. *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630): opening of “An Englishman’s Love to Bohemia”, (detail)²



Figure 8.2 b. William Camden, *The true and royall history of the famous empresse Elizabeth* (1625) (detail).³

² Taylor, *All the Workes*, Sig. Printed by Alsop and Fawcet (1630), STC 23725. <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 20 September 2009.

³ William Camden, *Annales the true and royall history of the famous empresse Elizabeth*, translated by Philemon Holland (1625) STC 4497, printed by G. Purslowe, H. Lownes and M. Flesher for Benjamin Fisher (1625). <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 20 September 2009.



The explication of this Bookes FRONTISPICE.

The Pillars deckt wth Armes, Palms, Laurell bounes,
Supporting the Rave P HOENIX, to you shewe
The Nobles, on whose loyall prudenc brest,
The Phanix, Quene, E LIZ A S grace drest:
whose wisedome pillars did uphold her Crowne,
As columns, which rested her renowne.
Their stately val we did support this land,
And all her prouideing for wthland:
For whose exploits, it pleat ater A tacity
To dab some Knights of dreadleffe chivalry,
whom he not only did to knighthood rase,
But of his kingdome made them propes and playes.
And those whose meritis added to their worth
Renowned Glory, H mow to their birth,
In whose true worthy ait, she most delighted,
She, with the Order of the Garter, knighted.
Some few reftor in their Ancestors place,
Made wicount hounds, one of Noble Rase:
Some Earles, some Barons, all she did restore,
Or did create as they had won before:
Other ftes summon d by her wisedmes chyce,
To Parliament as Peeres to have there voyce:
whose prudenc and whose valor (under God)
Proud Englands peace, p spaine a heauy rod.
The fird townes, which on each side are plante,
Do memorize how spaine was once dispart:
when that braue Effox, Englands General,
With Nottinghams, that famous Adourall,
their Cite Cadiz did with fire surrise

Those that with bended knees did him entreat,
He would not them or theirs of life defeat, (bounes
Now undercath D RAKE s famous shipp is (blow
(whose bright renown swift Honors trump hath
How he therin did circum earth s whole frame,
And in his voyage added to his fame.
The glory of a prize won through his paine,
The CACAFOWE, Royall shipp of Spaine.
At the two corners, two great Spanish Fleets
Your gazing eyes with admiration greets.
One is confundid by unquenchable flames of fire,
The other is overwhelm d through NERVENE in
which moralizeth our good God doth bend
His wrath, gainst thos that Albion ill intent
which wrath did full most merclese on Spain,
And ever will to their disgracie remaine.
One thousand (deth) fift hundred eighty fewer,
Their ambitions with infamy, make even.
The port of Gibaltars straightes, we can tell,
How that a Spani shipp Fleet (by D RAKE) therfore
The very firs will witnessse, that with four
Of Royall shipp, he burnt two hundred more.
If you enquire from whence these Royals came;
From Englands shore, Spaines fury for to tame.
To end, the flet of Eighty-eight doth bow,
England was ayed in that overthrow
Given to Spaine by God, whose serpent hand
Pferord E LIZ A S glory, and her land.
Gainst thos that owe true Relion on Biche.



Herereade the dayes,
when Britanns ground,
With blesings all,
was compast round.

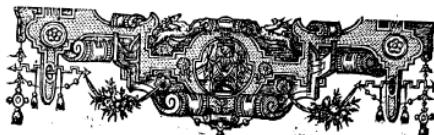


Figure 8.3. William Camden, *Annales the true and royll history of the famous empresse Elizabeth* translated by Philemon Holland (1625)⁴

The coat of arms is distinctively Tudor rather than Stuart and repeats those found on the shields of Edward III to Elizabeth I, in the portraits of the Monarchs in *A Briefe Remembrance of All The English Monarchs* in John Beale's section of the folio. This in itself is significant since these portraits were re-drawn for the folio printing. It is possible that these portraits and the banner ornament for Alsop and Fawcet's section were created at the same time, and even by the same designer. There is a degree of simplicity about both that might support this conjecture, especially given that the Alsop and Fawcet ornament cannot be traced to a previous usage.

Although it has a general relevance to the topics of royalty and Taylor's service to the crown which form part of Section Three, this banner heading seems to have been

⁴ William Camden, *Annales the true and royll history of the famous empresse Elizabeth*, translated by Philemon Holland (1625) (printed by G. Purslowe, H. Lownes and M. Flesher for B. Fisher), STC 4497. <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed 20 September 2009.

intended to highlight specifically the Protestant heritage of the monarchy, and in particular the position of James I's daughter, Elizabeth. Elizabeth was Charles I's heiress presumptive from 27th March 1625, when James I died, until 29 May 1630, when a healthy baby boy was born to Charles and Henrietta Maria. In those five years, Charles was King but had no official male heir. The use of this ornament fits with the concentration of Bohemian material in this section of *All the Workes*, together with texts highlighting the Protestant affiliation of the English crown; it may also be connected to the particular importance of the Order of the Garter for the Palatine couple. Frederick, Elector Palatine, was proud of his admission to the Order of the Garter and his official portraits after his marriage in 1613 show him displaying this insignia prominently.⁵ It is also relevant that in the 1620s and 30s the second royal Elizabeth was seen as the symbolic reincarnation of the first - of Queen Elizabeth I. The use of the Tudor arms would therefore emphasise this set of associations in the texts relating to Elizabeth and the cause of Protestantism in Europe that are intertwined through Alsop and Fawcet's section. The fact that *All the Workes* was probably issued early in 1630, prior to Herbert's death on April 10th and before the birth of the new Prince at the end of May 1630, would support this interpretation.

As Table E (below) shows, the texts included in Alsop and Fawcet's section of *All the Workes* have widely different publication histories. Their previous editions were produced by a range of publishers and printers: two carry the false imprint "Dort" and it is possible that *Honour Conceal'd* would have carried a similar imprint, or a nonsense imprint, if it were ever published. Two others, the Thumb Bible (*Verbum Sempiternum/ Salvator Mundi*) and the summary of the *Booke of Martyrs* had come into John Beale's ownership by December 1630, but were not printed by his shop in this folio; this suggests that their inclusion in this last section was considered important by the compiler(s) of the collection. It is also notable that Miles Flesher was involved in the previous editions of the first and last texts in this section: *The Cormorant's Complaint* was entered to Eld and Flesher on October 26th, 1621; *Gods Manifold Mercies*, which carries the running title *The Churches Deliverances*, was printed by Flesher in 1625 as the letter-press to the engraving, *The Thankful Remembrance*. This letter-text was not

⁵ See, for example, Griffiths, Plate 7, p. 49 (Princess Elizabeth and Frederick, Elector Palatine, c.1613).

entered as a separate item and the engraving itself carries Thomas Jenner's imprint, but it seems likely that Flesher would have been considered to be the copy owner of the letter-text.⁶

Table E: Alsop and Fawcet's section of *All the Workes* (1630).⁷

Title in All the Workes	Previous editions	Publication details
<i>THE WATER- CORMORANT</i> Aaa2v-Bbbv	1622	Eld and Flesher (<i>The Cormorant's Complaint</i>), ent. Oct. 26, 1621 to Eld & Flesher.
<i>TAYLORS WATER-WORKE: OR, THE SCULLERS TRAVELS</i> Bbb2r-Ccc5	1612 (<i>The Sculler</i>), 1614 (<i>Water-Worke</i>)	1612: Allde tbs. N. Butter; 1614: Snodham? tbs. Butter. ent. to H. Gosson, 4 October 1611
*****	*****	*****
<i>THE DOLPHINS DANGER: AND DELIVERANCE</i> Ccc5v-Ddd	1616/17	Henry Gosson (2 texts separately issued, both printed here in F). No entry recorded.
<i>A FAMOUS FIGHT AT SEA</i> Ddd1v - Ddd6v	1627 (<i>A brave Sea-Fight/ in the Gulph of Persia</i>)	Haviland for Gosson, ent. 1627 to Gosson.
*****	*****	*****
<i>*TAYLORS PASTORALL, BEING BOTH HISTORICALLY AND SATYRICALLY Eee-Fff</i>	1624	Purslowe for Gosson/Wright. No entry recorded.
<i>THE PRAISE OF HEMP-SEED</i> Fff1v-Ggg3r	1620,1623	Allde for Gosson tbs. by Wright; entered to Gosson, 22 May 1620.
<i>* TAYLORS TRAVELS To Hamburgh in Germanie.</i> Ggg3v-Hhh4r	1617	Edward Griffin for George Gybbs, ent. to Griffin, March 15 1616/17.
*****	*****	*****
<i>TAYLOR'S TRAVELS TO PRAGVE IN BOHEMIA</i> Hhh4v-Iii3v	1620, 1621	Okes for Gosson t.b.s. Edward Wright, no entry recorded.
Title in All the Workes (1630)	Previous Editions	Publication Details
*****	*****	*****
<i>*PRINCE CHARLES HIS WELCOME FROM SPAINE</i> [Iii4r-Iii6v]	1623	Eld for John Wright, t.b.s. at the Signe of the Bible without Newgate. Ent. to Trundle and Gosson, Oct. 7 th 1623.
<i>*AN ENGLISH-MANS LOVE</i>	1620	Printed by Eld under false imprint

⁶ For the complex history of *A Thankful Remembrance*, see Chapter 9.

⁷ New pagination, pages 1- 146 (set 3). In Table E, ***** denotes the use of the printers' triangular tail-piece at the end of an item.

<i>TO BOHEMIA</i> Iii6v-Kkk2v		“Dort”. No entry.
*****	*****	*****
<i>Honour Conceal'd; Strangely Reveal'd (The Peace of France, with the praise of ARCHY)</i> Kkk3r-Kkk4v	(1623 /1627?)	No separate text presently known.
<i>*HEAVENS BLESSING, AND EARTHS IOY (with EPIHALAMIES)</i> Kkk5v-Lll3r	1613	Pt 1: Aldde for Joseph Hunt tbs. John Wright Pt 2: <i>Epithalamies</i> : for Henry Gosson tbs. London Bridge ent. to Gosson Jan. 1613.
<i>TAYLORS FAREWELL TO THE TOWER BOTTLES</i> Lll3v-Lll5v	1622	Augustine Matthewes “at Dort”. No entry.
<i>VERBUM SEMPITERNVM / SALVATOR MVNDI</i> Lll6r-Mmm3r	1614, 1616, 1627, 1630	[J. Beale] for John Hammon, ent. to Hammon 4 March, 1614. tsf. to Beale, Dec. 1630.
<i>THE BOOKE OF MARTYRS</i> Mmm3v-Mmm6r	1616, 1617, 1627 (1631, 1633, 1639 - possibly 1625 too - Bodleian notes)	1616, 1617, 1627 John Hammon (pr. Beale?); ent. Hammon, 27 Feb 1615/16 (<i>Speculum Marturam</i>). tsf. to Beale, Dec. 1630.
<i>*GODS MANIFOLD MERCIES IN THESE MIRACULOUS DELI-verances of our Church of England</i> Mmm6v-Nnn2v (unsigned after Mmm)	1625 [<i>The Thankful Remembrance</i>]	1625: Miles Flesher (letter press); Thomas Jenner (print-seller) See Chapter 9 for details.
*****	*****	*****

The organization of these texts as printed in Section Three is almost completely different from that given in the Catalogue, which was printed by John Beale as part of the preliminaries to *All the Workes*. The differences are so great that they are unlikely to reflect a faulty memory of the actual printing, and the fact that two texts listed for Beale's section in the Catalogue have moved to this last part in the printing suggests that the Catalogue represents a list compiled prior to the actual printing of the folio. While this Catalogue list may have been part of the planning for the collection, it may also have been used for the purpose of advertising the book, possibly to be sent out to prospective purchasers or distributed to strategic locations. It might also be a printed version of a list intended for the licensing of the book, although there is no record of entrance for *All the Workes*. *Table F*, below, shows all five texts that were printed in different places to the Catalogue listing:

Table F: *All the Workes* (1630): Catalogue versus Printed Order:

Title in <i>All the Workes</i>	Position as printed	Catalogue listing	Earlier publication
<i>Christian Admonitions</i>	Section 1 (Allde), as last part of <i>Against Cursing and Swearing</i>	Listed for Section 3, between <i>The Sculler</i> and <i>The Great O'Toole</i>	Ent. 5 Dec. 1626 (not extant). Eliz. Allde prints F and single-sheet display version in same year.c.1630.
<i>The Great O'Toole</i>	Section 2 (Beale), after <i>A Very Merry Ferry Wherry Voyage</i>	Listed for Section 3, between <i>Christian Admonitions</i> and <i>The Churches Deliverances</i> , fourth from end of Catalogue.	1618, 1622, 1623 (with <i>Merry Wherry-Ferry Voyage</i>). All editions, Allde for Gosson.
<i>The Praise of Cleane linnen</i>	Section 2 (Beale), after group of texts relating to Fennor.	Listed for Section 3, last item in Catalogue.	1624, Allde for Gosson
<i>A farewell to the Tower Bottles</i>	Section 3 (A & F), fourth item from end of Folio.	Listed for Section 2, after the two Kings chronicles and, before <i>Heavens Blessing</i>	1622 “at Dort”. [Augustine Matthews]
<i>Heavens Blessing</i>	Section 3 (A&F), after <i>Honour Conceal'd</i> , before <i>Tower Bottles</i>	Listed for Section 2: after <i>Tower Bottles</i> , before the funeral elegies.	1613 Pt 1. Allde for Hunt/Wright; Pt. 2. Henry Gosson. Ent to Gosson.

As Table F (above) shows, three items that are found amongst the texts listed for Section Three in the Catalogue were actually printed earlier in the volume by Allde and John Beale. One of these, *Christian Admonitions*, was absorbed into another title, *Against Cursing and Swearing*, although retaining its independent title as a subheading. The movement of the other two, *The Great O'Toole* and *The Praise of Cleane Linnin*, which were printed in John Beale's section, has been discussed in Chapter 6, above. However, the movement into Section Three of the last two texts in Table F, *A Farewell to the Tower Bottles* and *Heavens Blessing*, offers a starting-point for the analysis of the organisation within this final section. Technically, Alsop and Fawcet's section lost two texts and gained two texts, since *Christian Admonitions* was absorbed by Elizabeth Allde within *Against Cursing and Swearing* in her own section. This could therefore be considered a purely practical reorganisation. However, the choice of the pair of texts, A

Farewell to the Tower Bottles and *Heavens Blessing*, to replace the lost texts in Section Three seems to have been led by more than expediency.

Both of these texts originally appear together on the recto of the Catalogue leaf, as if intended for inclusion in John Beale's section. There, *Taylors Farewell to the Tower Bottles* is listed first, immediately after the two summaries of the Kings; "The Marriage of the Princesse Elizabeth" (*Heavens Blessing*) is listed next, just above the Funeral elegy for James I.⁸ As *A Farewell to the Tower Bottles* and *Heavens Blessing* appear together in both locations (although in reverse order), it seems likely that they were moved as a unit. Certainly, by removing both these pieces together from their projected position in Section Two, the printer or editor achieved a much more coherent sequence for the pieces left behind in Beale's section. As printed there, the two summaries of the monarchs are followed directly by the funeral elegy for James, with the sequence running: portrait and description of King James (p.320, Hhh6v); portrait and description of King Charles (p.321, Iii1r); dedication to King Charles, introducing *A Living sadness*, Taylor's funeral elegy for King James (p.322, Iii 1v). This is a neat and logical arrangement, which even has Charles figuring on both sides of the same printed leaf (Iii 1r - Iii 1v). It reinforces the idea of Charles I's monarchy as a continuation of his father's, which is followed by the presentation of Charles's history as Prince of Wales in the final section of *All the Workes*.

Thus *Heavens Blessing* and the *Farewell to the Tower Bottles* would have divided the group of funeral elegies from the portraits of the kings if printed as listed in the Catalogue. Their removal reinforces the focus on Charles's monarchy as part of the Protestant tradition at the end of Beale's section.⁹ However, although this may well be the reason for taking this pair of texts out of their planned position in Beale's section, it does not account for their final position in the last section of *All the Workes*. To understand this decision, we need to explore the total rearrangement of Alsop and Fawcet's section from Catalogue to printed order. Table G (below) shows the contrasting order of texts for Section Three, as listed in the Catalogue and as printed in the Folio; texts that moved between sections are highlighted in bold:

⁸ See Chapter 6.

⁹ The funeral texts were also rearranged between the list in the Catalogue and the printing of Beale's section (see Chapter 7).

Table G: All the Workes: Alsop and Fawcet's section: order of Catalogue compared to order of printing.

	Order Listed In Catalogue [bold denotes NOT printed in Section 3]		Order as Printed in Folio [bold denotes NOT listed in Catalogue for Section 3]
1	<i>Summe of the Bible</i>	1	<i>The Water Cormorant</i>
2	<i>Booke of martyrs</i>	2	<i>Taylors Water-Worke (Sculler)</i>
3	<i>Archy his Making peace</i>	3	<i>The Dolphins Danger/ A Fight at Sea</i>
4	<i>The Praise of Hempseed</i>	4	<i>A Brave Sea Fight</i>
5	<i>Taylors Pastorall</i>	5	<i>Taylors Pastorall</i>
6	<i>Three Weeks, Three Days</i>	6	<i>The Praise of Hempseed</i>
7	<i>Taylors Travels (Bohemia)</i>	7	<i>Taylor's Travels (3 Weeks, 3Days)</i>
8	<i>An Englishmans Love to Bohemia</i>	8	<i>Taylors Travels (Bohemia)</i>
9	<i>The Dolphins Danger and Deliverance</i>	9	<i>Prince Charles his Welcome</i>
10	<i>The Cormorant</i>	10	<i>An Englishman's Love to Bohemia</i>
11	<i>A Brave Sea-Fight</i>	11	<i>Honour Conceal'd (Archy)</i>
12	<i>The Sculler</i> (listed as?)	12	<i>Heavens Blessing</i>
13	<i>Christian Admonitions</i>	13	<i>Farewell to the Tower Bottles</i>
14	<i>The Great O'Toole</i>	14	<i>Summe of the Bible</i>
15	<i>The Churches Deliverances</i>	15	<i>The Booke of Martyrs</i>
16	<i>Prince Charles his Welcome</i>	16	<i>The Churches Deliverances</i>
17	<i>The praise of Cleane Linnin</i>		

At first glance, both lists in *Table G* (above) appear to be equally jumbled, but in different ways. The Catalogue list begins with a degree of order, with the two religious summaries, which may be deliberately placed together as a parallel to the opening of the whole collection with *Taylors Urania*. However, the third item in the Catalogue list, *Archy His Peace Making in France* (the alternative title for *Honour Conceal'd*) seems to be completely out of place. There does not appear to be any logical connection between this irreverent and fanciful mock encomium to James I's jester and the two summaries of the holy books that precede it. The rest of the Catalogue list continues along the same lines. For example, a vestige of sense appears in the grouping of *Archy His Peace Making* with *The Praise of Hempseed* and *Taylors Pastorall*, since they are at least largely composed in the same satirical genre, even if their topics differ considerably. However, there seems to be no obvious connection between *Taylors Pastorall* and the text that follows afterwards, *Three Weekes Three Daisies*, an account of a journey to

Hamburg that took place nearly a decade before the publication of the *Pastorall*. There is certainly no attempt here to sequence the texts according to date of publication. Finally, the presence of *The Praise of Cleane Linnin* at the end of this list highlights the disorder: as discussed in Chapter 6 above, this text seems completely out of place as the conclusion to *All the Workes* and may well have been a late addition to the list. This confirms that the Catalogue order represents an earlier stage in the planning of the collection; even perhaps the first thoughts of the compiler(s) when they were simply bringing together as many of Taylor's texts as they could find.

The contrast between these two lists in *Table G* is therefore worth further investigation. *Table H* (below) tabulates the movement between the two lists:

Table H: All the Workes: changes of position of texts within Section 3.

Title in Catalogue	Catalogue (verso)	Section 3	Change in position
<i>Summe of the Bible</i>	1	14	+13
<i>Booke of martyrs</i>	2	15	+13
<i>Archy his Making peace</i>	3	11	+8
<i>The Praise of Hempseed</i>	4	6	+2
<i>Taylors Pastorall</i>	5	5	0
<i>Three Weeks, Three Days</i>	6	7	+1
<i>Taylors Travels (Bohemia)</i>	7	8	+1
<i>An Englishmans Love to Bohemia</i>	8	10	+2
<i>The Dolphins Danger and Deliverance</i>	9	3	-6
<i>The Cormorant</i>	10	1	-9
<i>A Brave Sea-Fight</i>	11	4	-7
<i>The Sculler</i> (listed as?)	12	2	-10
<i>Christian Admonitions</i>	13	-	Moved to Sect. 1
<i>The Great O'Toole</i>	14	-	Moved to Sect. 2
<i>The Churches Deliverances</i>	15	16	+1
<i>Prince Charles his Welcome</i>	16	9	-7
<i>The praise of Cleane Linnin</i>	17	-	Moved to Sect. 2
<i>Heavens Blessing</i>	-	12	New in section
<i>Farewell to the Tower Bottlesⁱ</i>	-	13	New in section

As *Table H* shows, the two summaries of the Bible and *Book of Martyrs* had the biggest place change within Section 3: they move from the opening to the closing moments, to become the lead-in to *The Churches Deliverances*. The next biggest place change involves the two long texts, *The Sculler* and *The Water Cormorant*, which are moved from separate places in the Catalogue list to first and second place as printed in Section

3. They thus form the opening texts of Section 3, replacing the religious summaries, and providing an added emphasis on water through their titles: *The Water Cormorant* and *Taylors Water-Worke* (title of the second edition of *The Sculler* in 1614). There are no notable bibliographical or date connections between these two pieces. However, by looking back at the previous table (Table G) it becomes clear that they have been moved as part of a set of four texts, with *The Dolphins Danger* and *A Brave sea-Fight* moving with them. This rearrangement does seem to represent a deliberate attempt to highlight the theme of Water and thus to fit with the iconography of the engraved title-page to the whole collection.

However, the choice of *The Water-Cormorant* rather than *The Sculler* as the opening text in the section calls for some comment. If *All the Workes* had been conceived along the lines of an authorial biography, we would expect *The Sculler*, or *Taylors Water-Worke*, to have been placed first. This was Taylor's debut text as an author in his own right, and its distinctive woodcut title-page has become iconic in Taylor mythology. Its familiarity to Taylor's contemporaries is also evident from later use of this image, both by publishers re-issuing his work and in satirical treatment by rival pamphleteers.¹⁰ From a modern point of view, therefore, the decision to place *The Water Cormorant* at the opening of Alsop and Fawcet's section, giving it much more prominence than *The Sculler* might seem perverse. However, *The Water Cormorant* (first edition 1622) clearly carried much more significance for contemporaries than we now credit.¹¹ It was one of the series of three satirical texts entered in the Stationers' Register around the time of *Taylor's Motto* in 1621 (*Superbiae Flagellum* (end of May 1621), *Taylor's Motto* (18 June 1621) and *The Water-Cormorant his complaint* (16 October 1621)).¹² *The Water Cormorant* and *Superbiae Flagellum* were both published and printed by George Eld and Miles Flesher, and share a common focus on religious practice: *The Water-Cormorant* contains a series of satirical portraits of religious figures such as Jesuit priests, in the manner of the then fashionable "Character".

¹⁰ For example, the pamphlet printed by Henry Hills in 1699 (Chapter 1).

¹¹ For *Taylor's Motto* and these three satires, see Chapter 2.

¹² Many of Taylor's texts published in 1621/2 were not entered: the only other texts entered in 1621 are: *The praise, antiquity and commodity of beggary* (16th January 1621) and *The unnaturall father* (10th July 1621).

The particular attraction of *The Water-Cormorant* for contemporaries may in part have been the result of the visual presentation of the first edition. Although in a relatively cheap octavo format, this first edition of *The Water-Cormorant* has an unusual pair of illustrations as part of the opening sequence. These are woodcuts, not engravings, and therefore not as sophisticated as the frontispieces to *Taylor's Motto* and *Superbiae Flagellum*. Nevertheless, the title-page cut of a dial with a marigold centre-piece, and the sketch of a water-bird below seems likely to have been based on Taylor's own instructions. It is quite different to the simpler and more generic illustrations used by Henry Gossen for texts such as *A common whore* or *The Praise of Hempseed*, both of which appear to re-use cuts from the printing-shop stock (see Figure 8.4, below).

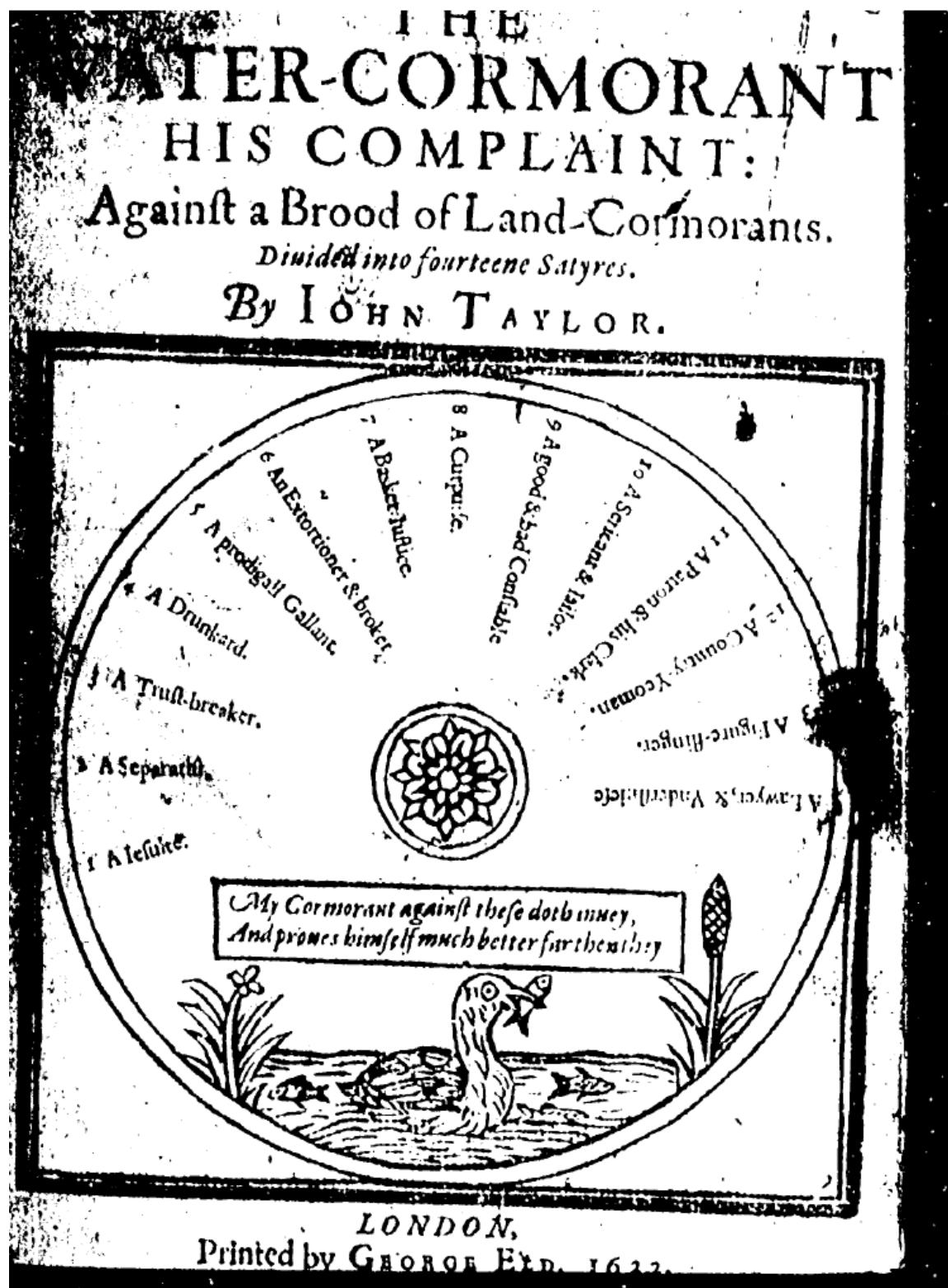


Figure 8.4: Title-page to John Taylor's: *The water-cormorant his complaint* 1622.¹³

¹³ John Taylor, *The water-cormorant his complaint against a brood of land-cormorants. Diuided into*

However, the copy of this text now in the Bodleian Library also contains a second woodcut illustration, presently bound opposite the title-page, which is not reproduced in the digital copy (*Early English Books Online*). This shows a series of birds representing each of the characters in the main text; each bird has a different pose and an added distinguishing feature, piece of clothing or object, so that it can be identified with one of the satirical descriptions. The result is a fairly crude but highly amusing illustration, satirical in its conception, very close to a modern cartoon. This simple page was presumably so attractive to contemporaries that its rare survival intact is hardly surprising.

Thus this original state of the text from 1622, with its satirical illustrations, could well have played a role in *The Water-Cormorant's* continued popularity, rendering it a commercially sensible choice for the opening of Alsop and Fawcet's section. However, this text's position in *All the Workes* may well have had further significance. The text of the *The Water-Cormorant* is what may be described as a biting satire, pulling no punches in its condemnation of corruption amongst those who should be models of virtue. It is also balanced, if such a term is appropriate, in its approach to the corruption of the clergy. The first two satires attack both religious extremes, Catholic and Puritan, in the figures of the Jesuit and the Separatist. This approach is characteristic of Taylor, reflecting the 'orthodox' position of moderate ecclesiasts in the English Church during the early seventeenth century. The religious position implied here is therefore consonant with the careful arrangement of texts at the opening of the whole volume, where the Calvinist stance of *Taylors Urania* is followed by his *Life* of the Virgin Mary, with its caustic rejection of Separatism and diplomatically moderate approach to English Catholics. By placing *The Water-Cormorant* at the opening of Section Three, the compilers are therefore giving prominence to Taylor's role as a scourge of vices, and in particular of vices in a religious context.

Thus the placing of *The Water Cormorant* at the head of Section Three can be understood in several ways. First, it introduces the material theme of water in relation to Taylor's biography and identity as waterman. Secondly, and more figuratively, it can be

fourteene satyres (George Eld, 1622), STC 23813. Reproduction of original in the Bodleian Library.
<<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 5 April 2009.

seen as an assertion of Taylor's claim to the title "Water-Poet", with the ornithological representative of the Water-Cormorant. Thirdly, this position could be understood as intended to strike the key-note of caustic and moralising satire, where the elements of humour and playfulness do not detract from the serious purpose. This approach is relevant to such pieces as *Honour Conceal'd*, the mock encomium to Archy Armstrong. As events unfolded subsequently, moreover, the opposition between the *land*-cormorant and the *water*-cormorant that is developed through *The Water-Cormorant* was to become a key trope in the sparring between Taylor and his opponents later in the 1630s and into the 1640s. Thus whoever compiled this section of *All the Workes* might be considered prescient in the choice of *The Water-Cormorant* to introduce the most overtly polemical section of this collection.

However, some aspects of the organisation of *All the Workes* appear to reflect a straightforward desire for uniformity. A degree of tidy-mindedness is evident in the pairing of the two sea-fights just after *The Water-Cormorant* and *The Sculler*, as well as the later pairing of the two accounts of Taylor's own continental journeys, *Three Weeks Three Daies* (1617) and *Taylors Travels to Prague* (1620). For the latter two texts, moreover, uniformity is also reinforced by a rearrangement of the titles: *Three weekes, three daies, and three houres observations and travel, from London to Hamburgh in Germanie....[and so on]*, becomes "Taylors Travels", importing the subtitle and running-title of the original edition as the main title in the folio.¹⁴ As a consequence, both of these items now carry '*Taylors Travels*' as their main caption. This may have been a last-minute decision, possibly by the compositors, since in the *Catalogue* the trip to Germany is still listed as "Three Weekes and Three Dayes trauells". However there are other links between the content of these two pieces: the visit to Germany in 1617 brought Taylor into contact with continental Protestants, including a visit to the merchant's hall in Middleburg, and involved a meeting with his "brother", who was a musician at the court in Buckeburg.¹⁵ The later trip to Prague was undertaken with the express purpose of visiting the Palatine couple whose marriage Taylor had celebrated in

¹⁴ *Three weekes, three daies, and three houres observations and travel, from London to Hamburgh in Germanie* (E.Griffin for G.Gybbs, 1617), STC 23807.

¹⁵ It is just possible that Taylor undertook his journey to Germany to avoid the consequences of his involvement in the production of texts sympathetic to Sir Thomas Overbury in 1615 (see Note 42, Chapter 8).

Heavens Blessing. *Taylors Travels to Prague* was therefore unashamedly a piece of propaganda for the Palatine cause. The second edition of this text (1621) expressed this purpose even more clearly. Thus the yoking together of these two journeys that took place four years apart (1616 and 1620) makes political sense beyond the simple pairing of two “travel” pamphlets.¹⁶

However, the travel theme cannot be completely dismissed as an organising principle in Alsop and Fawcet’s section, since an effort was also made to position *The Praise of Hempseed* immediately before these two journeys to Germany and Prague. As the Tables above reveal, these *Travels* texts are two from a set of four items that were kept together between the Catalogue list and the final printing. These four, *The Praise of Hempseed*, *Taylors Pastorall*, *Three Weekes Three Daisies* and *Taylors travels to Bohemia* were simply shifted one place from positions 4-7 in the Catalogue list, to positions 5-8 in the printed text, and then rearranged. The fact that *The Praise of Hempseed* and *Taylors Pastorall* were swapped round for the final printing suggests that this was a carefully considered decision. For while *Taylor’s Pastorall* (1624) is decidedly un-watery in its topics (cloth, sheep and shepherds), with no hint of a journeying theme, *The Praise of Hempseed* (1620) contains Taylor’s account of the famous Paper Boat incident. Although in the original copies of *The Praise of Hempseed* the short narrative of the Paper Boat is embedded in the middle of the whole mock encomia, its was still clearly signalled on the title-page as “With the voyage of Mr Roger Bird and the writer hereof, in a boat of brown paper”. It is this that seems to have suggested the positioning of *Hempseed* before the two *Travels* text as printed in *All the Workes*.¹⁷

Nevertheless, the idea of travel is not the dominant principle at work in this sequence. If so, it would be hard to account for the position of *Taylor’s Pastorall* which is printed between *A Brave Sea Fight* and *The Praise of Hempseed*, interrupting the flow from the tales of the water-based sea-fights to the anecdote of the water-logged paper boat. *Taylor’s Pastorall* purports to be a history of sheep and shepherds, with a tribute to

¹⁶ *Taylor his Travels: from the city of London in England, to the city of Prague in Bohemia* (N. Okes for H. Gosson, tbs. E. Wright, 1620), STC 23802. *All the Workes*, sig. Iii2.

¹⁷ *The Praise of hemp-seed. With the voyage of Mr. Roger Bird and the writer hereof, in a boat of brown paper* (E. Alde for H. Gosson tbs. E. Wright, 1620), STC 23788.

the guild of Drapers towards the end.¹⁸ The firm attachment of *Taylor's Pastorall* to *The Praise of Hempseed* in the folio may possibly be connected to their common focus on England's agricultural manufacturing, whether in the cultivation of hemp for linen and paper, or rearing of sheep to supply the cloth trade. To some extent they also share a common genre, since both could be described rather loosely as "Praise poems". In this respect, the pairing of these two texts is a helpful hint that we should not dismiss *Taylor's Pastorall* too quickly as a mere bid to gain the patronage of the Drapers. For Taylor protests his "innocence" too frequently in the first few pages, speaking of "my poore Shepeardly invention, and their harmlesse flocke" and we soon discover that this is a "pastoral" in the tradition of Spenser's *Colin Clout Come Home Again*. The potential for religious satire based on the punning use of "pastor" and "flock" is fairly obvious, and indeed signalled by the dedication of this *Pastorall* to Thomas Dove, Archdeacon of Northampton. In the final section, Taylor turns upon 'rascally sheep-biters' with their 'poultry scabbed and infectious kinds of Sheepe' that might "infect the good", an analogy that picks up the language of Thomas Scott's *Vox Dei* (?1623) and *Vox Regis* (1624), published at the same period.¹⁹ However, Taylor's attack does not distinguish between Catholics or Separatists, maintaining the impartial condemnation of any danger to the orthodoxy of the English Church, from whatever source, that is shown equally in *The Water-Cormorant*.²⁰

Thus even the presence of a 'Pastoral' amongst a group of texts apparently focused on waterways can be explained in terms of matching genres, and satire is never far from the surface in any of these pieces. However, whereas the opening of Alsop and Fawcet's section as printed is therefore revealed as carefully arranged, with pieces matched by genres and topic, the opposite appears at first to be the case for the rest of

¹⁸ *Taylor's pastorall: being both historicall and satyricall: or the noble antiquitie of shepheards, with the profitable vse of sheepe: with a small touch of a scabbed sheepe, and a caueat against that infection* (G. Purslowe for H. Gosson tbs. E. Wright, 1624), STC 23801. The opening page of the main text in *All the Workes* (Eee2r) shows the first use of the printer's ornament with the Elizabethan coat of arms, discussed above.

¹⁹ According to Peter Lake, Scott describes the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar as the "sole cause of the grievances of the commonwealth from sheep rot and slack husbandry to the corruption of the court". Thomas Dove (c.1587-1629) was the son of Bishop Thomas Dove of Peterborough (1555-1630).

²⁰ The biting satire at the conclusion to *Taylor's Pastorall* (*All the Workes*, 2Eee6v-2Fff1r) is introduced by the disingenuous statement that Taylor is moving from "solid Prose To pleasant Poetrie and mirth againe": the passage that follows is anything but "pleasant". The term 'Mirth' is always suspect in Taylor's vocabulary.

this section. From *Prince Charles his Welcome from Spaine* onwards, texts concerning Elizabeth of Bohemia and the events of 1613-21 are interwoven with others relating to Prince Charles's trip to Madrid in 1623, ending with the summaries of the bible, book of Martyrs and *The Churches Deliverances*. Furthermore, in amongst this medley, we find two texts that seem on the surface to bear little connection to any of these topics, *Honour Conceal'd* and *Taylor's Farewell to the Tower Bottles*. *Table J* (below) shows this pattern in more detail:

Table J: *All the Workes* (1630): second half of the Alsop and Fawcet Section: ²¹

²¹ Table J: [*** denotes use of triangular tail-piece; ♣♦ denotes use of Tudor arms ornament]

As *Table J* (above) shows, texts that relate to the Palatine match are interspersed with those that relate primarily to Charles I: in both cases, moreover, the order as printed reverses the chronological order of events. Those that relate to the Palatine match are *Taylors Travels to Prague in Bohemia*, *An Englishman's Love to Bohemia* and *Heavens Blessing*. The reverse order is evident here: as printed, the third and last one describes the celebration of Princess Elizabeth's marriage in London in 1613, while the two printed earlier in the sequence concern the Bohemian crisis of 1620/1. The second strand relating to Charles begins with *Prince Charles his Welcome from Spaine*, which describes the rapturous reception that the returning Prince received upon his return from Madrid without a Spanish bride in autumn 1623. The sequence ends with *Gods Manifold Mercies* or *The Churches Deliverances*, which covers the history of 'Papist plots' from the start of Elizabeth's reign onwards; it originally ended with the same incident of Charles's return from Spain in 1623, but is updated to 1630 in the folio printing. These two texts are printed a long way apart in Section Three: *Prince Charles his Welcome* is almost exactly half-way through, whereas *The Churches Deliverances* is the concluding piece. However, it may well be that one of the intervening items, *Honour Conceal'd*, should actually be considered part of the same thread. For this piece almost certainly alludes to the behaviour of Archy Armstrong at the Spanish court in the summer of 1623, when he accompanied the courtiers who were sent to accompany the Prince and Buckingham in Madrid.

If *Honour Conceal'd* does indeed relate to the events of 1623, then the pattern of interweaving within this last part of *All the Workes* is even more noticeable: from *Taylor's Travels to Bohemia* onwards, there is a consistent sequence, rather like alternating rhymes in a verse: first Bohemia (*Taylors Travels*), then Spain (*Prince Charles His Welcome*), then Bohemia (*An Englishman's Love*), then Spain (*Honour Conceal'd*), and then Bohemia again (*Heaven's Blessing*). The sequence is partly interrupted at this point by the *Farewell to the Tower Bottles* and the two summaries of the bible and Book of Martyrs, but then concludes with *Gods Manifold Mercies*. This final item could be considered to bring together the topics of the two threads, the Palatine match and Bohemian crisis, with Prince Charles's history and role as defender of the Reformed Church. Or, looked at slightly differently, the two interwoven threads

concerning the contrasting marriage prospects of Elizabeth and Charles in the previous two decades, are brought together in *Gods Manifold Mercies*, where Charles is portrayed as the King who will achieve what the Palatine couple failed to do, the preservation of Protestantism from Catholic powers in Europe.

It is not possible to prove that this effect was intended by whoever organized the texts in Section Three of *All the Workes*. It might be argued that pressure of time simply led to the collection in one place of all Taylor's pieces concerning royal marriages, and that the switching back and forth between the brother and sister was merely an accidental effect. However, the rearrangement of the texts between the Catalogue list and the final printed order appears so purposeful overall that this explanation is unsatisfactory. As many of the changes noted earlier in the section indicate a desire to create a impression of uniformity and structure, it would seem inconsistent with this evidence to view the rest as merely random. Furthermore, it seems very likely that the compiler(s) had intended all along to end the collection on the topic of Charles and 1623, since both the texts that highlight this subject (*Gods Manifold Mercies* and *Prince Charles his Welcome from Spaine*) are listed together at the end of the Catalogue, with *The Praise of Cleane Linnin* apparently an after-thought, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Although the removal of *Cleane Linnin* from its position at the end of the Catalogue back into Beale's section of the folio could have left *Prince Charles his Welcome from Spaine* as the volume's concluding piece, the rearrangement actually gives this position to *Gods Manifold Mercies*, which shifts a single place, from fifteenth to sixteenth in the list. However, *Prince Charles his Welcome from Spain* is moved a considerable distance, from being the penultimate text in the Catalogue to the middle of the section, where it is printed between the two 'Bohemia' texts. Given that other pairs of texts have been kept together in the rearrangement, it seems significant that the two items with a specific focus on Charles and the Spanish Match, *Gods Manifold Mercies* and *Prince Charles his Welcome from Spaine*, should have been split apart and become widely separated in the final printing. It is interesting to note therefore that the extent of this place shift for *Prince Charles his Welcome from Spaine* (-7), almost precisely mirrors the reverse transference of *The Praise of Archy*, which moves well down the list (+8). Here, the issue of the addition of *Heaven's Blessing* and the *Farewell to the Tower*

Bottles comes into play: for without this pair of texts, *Archy his Peace Making* would have been printed directly before the final sequence of the thumb bibles and *Gods Manifold Mercies*. The final printed position of this mock encomium would thus have been very similar to the original situation of *Prince Charles his Welcome from Spaine* in the Catalogue list. Thus by temporarily ignoring the addition of the two pieces from Beale's section, it becomes clear that *Archy his Peace Making* and *Prince Charles His Welcome from Spaine* have practically swapped places in the rearrangement of Section Three.

This rearrangement hints at a number of things: firstly, by creating a parallel between *Prince Charles His Welcome* and *Honour Conceal'd* it supports my analysis that *Honour Conceal'd* is actually a satirical attack on Archy's behaviour at the Spanish court in Madrid in 1623.²² Its final position, between two texts that relate to the Bohemian cause, makes it one of the thread of interwoven Prince Charles texts. Here it comes directly after a text polemically supporting Protestant forces in their battle against the Catholics in Europe - whereas Archy is portrayed as getting far too friendly with foreign powers, and striving for peace, not war. The title "Honour Conceal'd, Strangely Reveal'd" is satirical: Archy is shown in this mock encomium to have no honour, and this gap is revealed by his peculiar antics abroad (with a triple pun on "Strangely", which Taylor also uses to mean 'illicitly' in other contexts). The dangers of treating with the enemy, seeking alliances with foreign powers that are actually plotting to overthrow the English monarchy, are clearly hinted at here. However, hidden plots are also the very topic of verse after verse in *Gods Manifold Mercies*, and thus the original position of *Honour Conceal'd* in the Catalogue, just two texts (and because these texts are very short, only a few pages), before this piece would have been a very suitable placement.

The allusions to the debacle of 1623 are however hidden in *Honour Conceal'd* by the displacement of the tale to the French court. Although this might have seemed a safe manoeuvre in 1623 when the piece was presumably composed, by 1630 it seems to have created problems for Taylor. We do not know whether there was an interim

²² Robert Dow considered *Honour Conceal'd; Strangely Reveal'd* "utterly inexplicable", Dow, 'Life and Times' p.228, and Bibliography, p. 66.

publication of *Honour Conceal'd*, indeed we presently have no evidence of publication at all. However, the problematic nature of this text for a 1630 printing may be one reason for the way it was moved about so much in the reorganisation of Alsop and Fawcet's section. Some such difficulty is suggested by the references to Rhe and Olleron found in the disclaimer at the head of the text (2Kkk3r), which may have been added for a reissue of the text in 1628, prior to its appearance in *All the Workes*.²³ However, another reason why *Honour Conceal'd* may have been moved away from its designated place in the Catalogue listing could be to do with the satirical treatment of Archy himself: for Taylor's mocking account of the jester's behaviour might have made *Honour Conceal'd* a liability for any stationers. This possibility is raised by the fact that Taylor's brilliant satirical dedication to Archy from *The Praise, Antiquity and commodity, of Beggery, Beggers, and Begging* (1621) is missing altogether in the folio.²⁴ Although the preliminary material to several texts has been reduced or modified for their printing in *All the Workes*, this is the only example where such a lengthy passage by Taylor himself is removed completely, leaving the text without any preliminaries at all. Having lost both its unique illustration and its mock dedication, the satirical power of *The Praise, Antiquity and commodity, of Beggery, Beggers, and Begging* is considerably reduced in the folio printing. Since in 1629/30 Archy's position at court was not yet endangered as it was to be later in the decade, when he clashed with the might of Archbishop Laud, Taylor and /or his editors or publishers may well have considered it politic to avoid publishing anything so directly attacking the royal jester.

Nevertheless, it seems that *Honour Conceal'd* could still be slipped into *All the Workes* in 1629/30 because its treatment of Archy was sufficiently ambiguous to avoid censure. On the surface, this text is a humorous squib, a playful game, without any serious intent, as befits a poem addressed to a professional Fool. Furthermore, because of the mock encomium convention, it would be possible for author or printer/publisher

²³ A printed copy of *Honour Conceal'd* may still be extant in some form, perhaps unidentified as part of another text or with a different title. The original would almost certainly have been an anonymous printing with a false imprint. Taylor's disclaimer does seem to be alluded to in the 1629 text of *Austin's Urania*, and if so then it is likely that *Honour Conceal'd* was in circulation in 1628. See, Clare Wikeley, "Honour conceal'd; Stranfely Reveal'd: The Fool and the Water-Poet", in *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623*, ed. Alexander Samson (Ashgate, Aldershot, Hants., 2006), pp. 189-208.

²⁴ *The Praise, Antiquity and commodity, of Beggery, Beggers, and Begging*. By Iohn Taylor. (Edward Alde for Henry Gossen, to be sold by Edward Wright, 1621), STC 23786, sig. A2r.

to claim that this piece does indeed praise Archy and his peace-making. Thus whereas the mock dedication to *The Praise, Antiquity and commodity, of Beggery* is openly insulting to Archy, *Honour Conceal'd* literally conceals its sharpness under the guise of nonsense - of course Archy never tried to make peace in France, nor did he achieve any of the other absurd exploits with which the opening section of *Honour Conceal'd* credits him. The original position of *Honour Conceal'd* in the Catalogue list would have allowed for this interpretation of the text's essential innocence and lack of topical reference. For here it was placed just before *The Praise of Hempseed*, which is one of Taylor's most light-hearted mock encomia (despite the discussion of the fitness of rope for hangings) and also carries his first genealogy of the genre. The subtitle of *Honour Conceal'd* as printed in *All the Workes, The Peace of France with the Praise of Archy*, would have signalled this generic link between the two mock encomia. Thus in the Catalogue, the topical potency of *Honour Conceal'd* is safely neutralised by its association with *The Praise of Hempseed* and even by its otherwise rather peculiar location straight after the summary of the *Book of Martyrs*.²⁵

However, exactly the opposite effect is observable in the new position of *Honour Conceal'd* as it was actually printed, situated between the two Bohemian texts. This position seems designed to draw attention to the piece, since it appears so completely out of place at this serious juncture in the volume. However, the relocation of *Prince Charles His Welcome*, which is found between the *Travels to Bohemia* and *An Englishman's Love to Bohemia* also brings these two texts close to each other: in the Catalogue, they were listed third and sixteenth, with twelve texts between them; as printed, they have become ninth and eleventh, with only *An Englishman's Love to Bohemia* between them. This increases the likelihood that *Honour Conceal'd* relates to the 1623 Madrid debacle, since it has been moved right across this section of the folio, back into the midst of such material. It could also be argued that the satirical discussion of the benefits of peace as opposed to war fits neatly after *An Englishman's Love to Bohemia*, which praises the soldiers going to fight in what Taylor considered to be a just and necessary cause. When first published, this pamphlet was related to King James's

²⁵ It is tempting to see Taylor's sense of humour at work here - Archy at this stage of his career was about as far from a Christian martyr as possible, in Taylor's estimation at least.

vacillations over military support for the Bohemian monarchy in the early 1620s, but when Charles first came to the throne in 1625 he hoped to re-enter the military situation in Europe decisively. Thus the linking of texts connected to Charles in 1623 and to the problems over English supply to the Protestant armies earlier in the 1620s is relevant, especially since *All the Workes* is dedicated to the Marquis of Hamilton and the two Herbert brothers (see Chapter Three).

However, unlike the Bohemian texts, which do not conceal their partisan enthusiasms, both *Honour Conceal'd* and *Prince Charles His Welcome* are notable for their lack of any obvious anti-Spanish or indeed anti-papist animus. Indeed, *Prince Charles His Welcome* is usually described as a “scoop”, a piece of hack journalism, the first report of Charles's return to be entered in the Stationers' Register, only a day after the event.²⁶ However, entrance is not the same as publication, and it is likely that this was a blocking move by the publishers, Trundle and Gosson, designed to pre-empt the competition. Since Charles's return produced what has been described as “one of the most impressive displays of popular emotion in the entire seventeenth century”, this pair of stationers showed the same canny judgment as they had with their publication of *Taylor's Motto* two years earlier.²⁷ Nevertheless, Jerzy Limon has claimed that *Prince Charles His Welcome From Spaine* is an example of the naivety of popular response in the period, in its failure to register ‘any anti-Spanish comment or allusion’.²⁸ This dearth of Taylor's usual xenophobic sentiments has been taken to reflect his ignorance as to the political implications of the Prince's bride-less return, as if the only thing to be celebrated was the physical safety of the young Prince.

As Thomas Cogswell has shown, however, there was no need for anyone writing for public consumption at that moment to labour the obvious. Popular response to the Prince's return reflected widespread relief that the heir to the throne had escaped from the clutches of Spanish Catholicism, and had not succumbed to the seduction of a match with the Infanta, which they believed would imperil the security of the whole nation.

²⁶ Taylor's pamphlet was the first on this topic to be entered in the Stationers' Register, on 7th October 1623, to John Trundle and Henry Gosson, (Arber, IV, 105). Its imprint carries only the name of the printer, George Eld, and bookseller, John Wright. For Gosson and Trundle, see Chapters 2 and 4, above.

²⁷ Thomas Cogswell, ‘England and the Spanish Match’, in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (eds) *Conflict in Early Stuart England, Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642* (Harlow, Longman, 1989), p. 109.

²⁸ Jerzy Limon, *Dangerous Matters: English Drama and Politics in 1623/4* (Cambridge, CUP, 1986), p.20.

Thus the lack of overt reference to the dangers of a Spanish alliance, and the silence on the matter of the Bride who had been the object of his journey, do not imply that John Taylor himself was either politically naive or ignorant. For his approach is no different from other pamphlets and illustrations of this incident, in avoiding explicit anti-Spanish sentiment: instead, the apparent simplicity of Taylor's narrative in *Prince Charles His Welcome* must be set against the implicit assumptions that would have been shared by contemporary readers.²⁹ With the context in mind, even the phrasing of the title as printed in 1623 is thick with implications. Charles is "well come" in removing himself "from" a Spain that is both a geographical location and a religious trap. In arriving "from" Spain, the Prince has distanced himself and set his back against this dangerous seduction. The title entered in the Stationer's Register for Taylor's pamphlet, "A Booke called *Brittaines Joy, for the happy Arrivall of Prince Charles* by John Taylor" is much more staid and conventional.³⁰ It seems likely that Taylor and /or his publishers adopted the new title as an allusion to the songs that must have begun circulating as soon as the Prince's arrival at Portsmouth became known by the lighting of the bonfire beacons across the country.

It is thus almost certain that this choice of title would already have held a powerful resonance for Taylor's contemporaries. The tune of "Our Prince is welcome out of Spain" is cited for Martin Parker's *The Wandering Jews Chronicle*, a Protestant propaganda ballad on the monarchy that was entered in 1634. This suggests that the phrase "Prince Charles his [is] Welcome from Spaine" continued to hold this resonance well after Charles's accession.³¹ The ballad was still being sung to this tune in the 1660s. Thus, like the dates 1588 and the term "Armada", 1623 and Charles's "welcome" had become ciphers for the security of both the crown and the English Church from

²⁹ For a comparison see: *The High and mighty prince Charles, Prince of Wales, &c. ..His happy Returne, and hearty welcome, both to the King and Kingdome of England, the fifth of October, 1623.* (1623), STC 5024.5. Describing popular opinion in 1623 as 'vehemently, even pathologically, anti-Spanish', David Cressy notes that the length of the Prince's sojourn in Spain had prolonged the 'nightmare' that 'the prince might be ensnared by Catholicism, as were so many other young Englishmen on their travels abroad', David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989), p.96.

³⁰ Arber, IV.105.

³¹ For Parker's broadside, see Chapter 7.

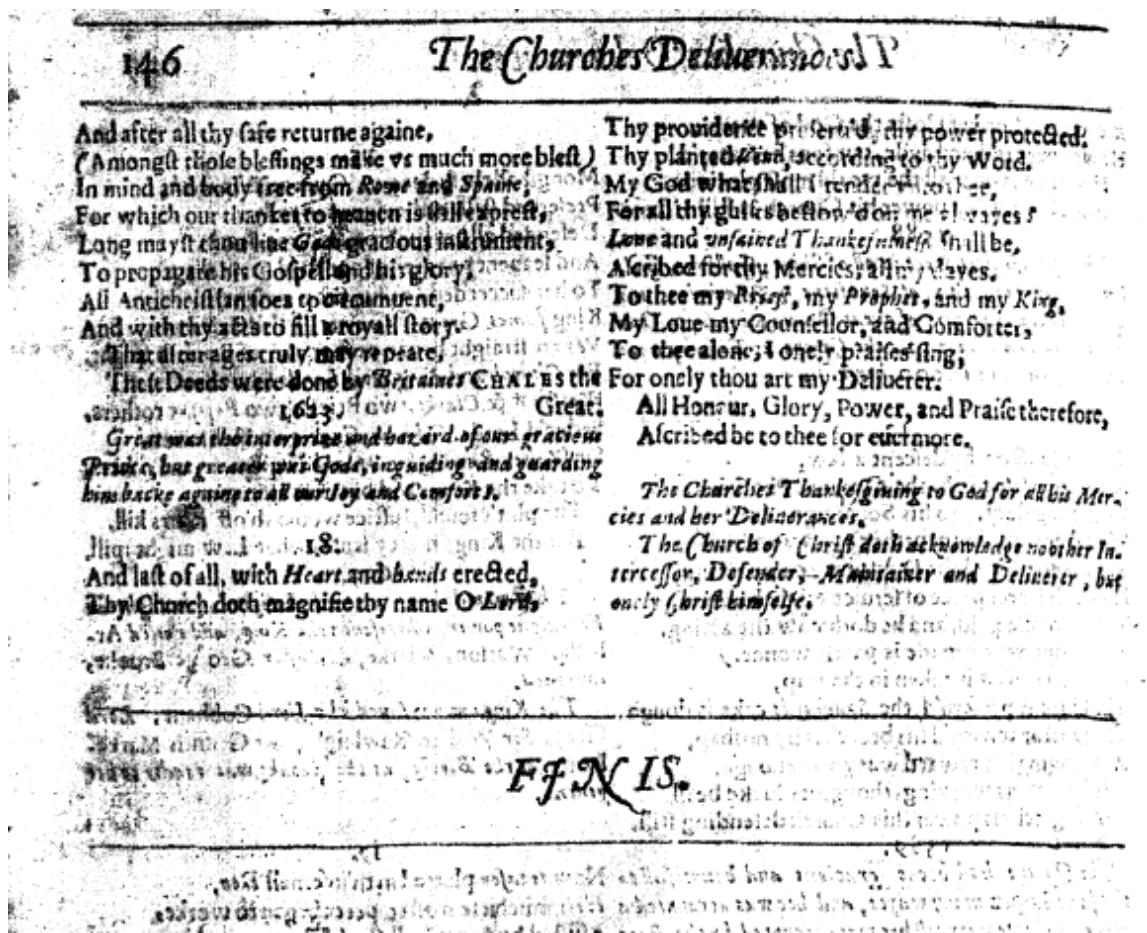
foreign plots and invasions.³² The adoption of this popular phrasing for Taylor's pamphlet in 1623 and its transfer thence into the folio format seven years later is testimony to the power of oral culture. It is more than likely that contemporary readers of *All the Workes* in 1630 would retain this association between the text as printed in this folio and the oral connotations of its title. Furthermore, in the folio the use of the printer's banner ornament carrying the Elizabethan arms and the English rose reinforces these connotations (see Fig. 8.5, below):



³² It may be possible to trace similar associations between oral and literary culture in the title *Honour Conceal'd; Strangely Reveal'd*: the term "Honour" seems to have carried particular resonance in relation to foreign affairs in the late 1620s, as suggested by another Martin Parker ballad, *Englands Honour Revived* (1628). See, Susan Newman, "The Broadside Ballads of Martin Parker", Ballad 15, pp.69-73.

Fig. 8.5. *All the Workes of John Taylor (1630)*, showing the opening of “Prince Charles His Welcome from Spaine” opposite *Taylors Travels to Bohemia*.³³

The continuity in these associations between 1623 and 1630 are supported both by the position of *Prince Charles His Welcome* in the Catalogue list for *All the Workes* and by its eventual situation as printed. In the Catalogue it is coupled with *The Churches Deliverances*, where 1623 is also the key date. For although the title of this piece was updated to 1630 as printed in the folio (*Gods manifold Mercies in these miraculouſe deliverances of the Church of England, from the yeare 1565 vntill this present, 1630*), the date that appears on the last page of the poem that follows is 1623. This emphasis is reinforced by the effects of transferring *The Thankful Remembrance* from the original broadside to the folio, where 1623 is highlighted much more obviously than on the 1625 display sheet. (see Fig.8.6 , below):



³³ *All the Workes*, sig. Iii4r. <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 20 Sept. 2009.

Fig.8.6. All the Workes of John Taylor (1630), final page, showing the end of “Gods Manifold Mercies”.³⁴

As Fig.8.6 shows, in *All the Workes* 1623 becomes the single date visible on the final page. The topic of 1623 is further highlighted by the way that Prince’s name is picked out in capital letters, as well as the probably unplanned effect of the length of the line, which allows “Chales” and “the Great” to appear prominently in the white space near “1623”. The name ‘Charles’ is also highlighted in the Catalogue, and here again the spelling is Chales, although some copies have the correction “Charles”.³⁵ Thus the interwoven sequence of texts related to Prince Charles and the Bohemian crisis in this third section of *All the Workes* would have conveyed its own significance to readers sympathetic to Taylor’s viewpoint, who might pick out a meaning according to the advice printed at the end of the Catalogue - ‘*any man may finde them, that will looke*’.

However, this interpretation does not immediately explain the importation of *A Farewell to the Tower Bottles* and *Heavens Blessing, Earth’s Joy*, the two texts initially planned for John Beale’s section of the book, into Alsop and Fawcet’s section.³⁶ *Heavens Blessing* is not such a puzzle: it seems sensible to place this account of celebrations for the Palatine marriage close to *Taylor’s Travels to Bohemia* and *An Englishman’s Love to Bohemia*, which concern the fate of this royal couple. Although this pamphlet is printed out of chronological order in relation to these items, its position is nevertheless appropriate to the theme of the vital importance of a Protestant monarchy for Europe. By placing this celebratory text near the climax of *All the Workes*, editors or author were therefore supporting the message of *Gods Manifold Mercies*, while the two

³⁴ *All the Workes*, unsigned final gathering. <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>> [accessed September 20, 2009] This is an especially poor state of the final page from the British Library copy, with inking and show through.

³⁵ There is a strong possibility that both the Catalogue and *Gods Manifold Mercies* were printed from manuscript copy, so that ‘Chales’ may be a spelling favoured by Taylor himself. The compositors for the Catalogue (Beale’s printing) and for Alsop and Fawcet’s section did not necessarily share spelling habits. On the *Gods Manifold Mercies* copy-text, see Chapter 9.

³⁶ *Heauens blessing, and earths ioy. Or a true relation, of the supposed sea-fights & fire-workes, as were accomplished, before the royll celebration, of the al-beloved mariage, of the two peerlesse paragons of Christendome, Fredericke & Elizabeth With triumphall encomiasticke verses, consecrated to the immortall memory of those happy and blessed nuptials.* (E. Alldde for J. Hunt and H. Gossom, tbs. J. Wright, 1613) STC: 23763. Joseph Hunt’s name appears for a brief period in imprints of books of a similar type to this one; it is possible that he was a relative of Thomas Hunt in Exeter, with whom James Boler shared some publications.

texts concerning the failure of the Bohemian cause are moved further back, allowing the hopeful note of *Heaven's Blessing* to speak more strongly. This significance would be more apparent, however, without the intervention of the *Farewell to the Tower Bottles*: without this latter text, the celebration of the ideal Protestant union on earth would have been followed immediately by the summaries of the bible and Book of Martyrs, with their emphasis on heaven, leading up to the messianic monarchism of *Gods Manifold Mercies*.

Heavens Blessing is a natural companion piece to *Gods Manifold Mercies*, since these items concern the marriages of sister and brother, and their consequences for the English church. The change of main title from the Catalogue's 'Marriage of Princesse Elizabeth' back to the more potent phrasing of *Heavens blessing, and earths joy* reinforces this parallel (see Fig. 8.7, below):

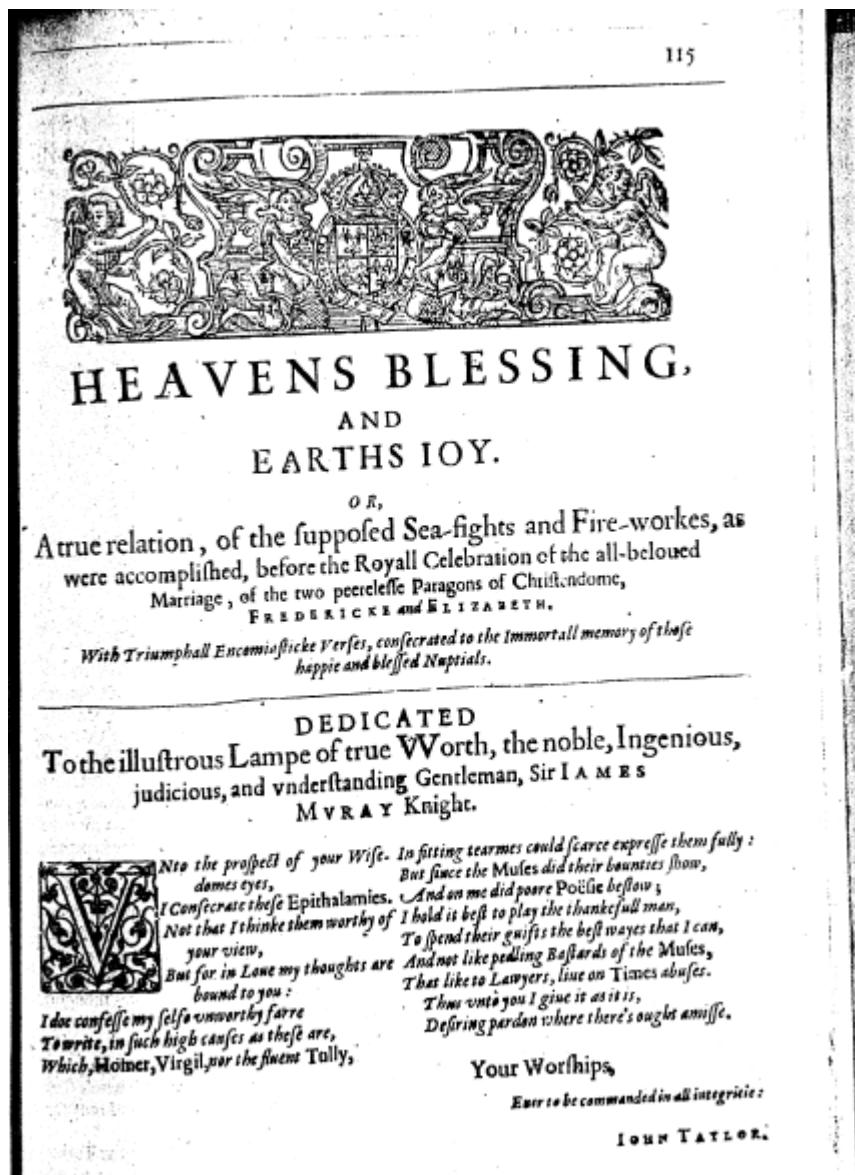


Fig. 8.7. *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630), opening of *Heavens Blessing, Earth's Joy*.³⁷

It is therefore *Taylors Farewell to the Tower Bottles* that appears to be the intruder in the final stages of *All the Workes*. Of course, we could account for this intrusion by the importance of this text for Taylor's biography. The *Farewell to the Tower Bottles* is usually described by scholars as a light-hearted account of Taylor's change of career, from very minor government official to full-time writer. The date coincides with the burgeoning of his publishing activities and his first documented sales

³⁷ *All the Workes*, sig. 2Kkk5r, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>>, accessed 21 September, 2009.

trip.³⁸ According to Robert Dow, this new “literary” phase was entirely due to the loss of the Tower Bottles post, so that 1622 is the most significant date in the evolution of Taylor as a literary author. Thus in accordance with the concept of the collected works as the crowning moment of a writer’s career it would not be surprising if Taylor had chosen his *Farewell to the Tower Bottles* to place at this culminating moment in *All the Workes*. There is no doubt that Taylor did feel the loss of his official position (and the loss of its accompanying financial security) very deeply. The disclaimer about the purely comic intentions of the *Farewell to the Tower Bottles* and the absence of revenge motives, expressed in the poem’s introduction, cannot disguise the depth of these feelings. However, the focus of this emotion in the pamphlet is not so much on Taylor’s personal sense of chagrin, as it is directed towards what he considers a betrayal of the royal office, and thus evidence of corruption in the very institution that symbolized the international security of Britain.³⁹

Taylor’s main objection in the *Farewell to the Tower Bottles* is that the office of Tower Bottle Man had been changed from one that was in the gift of the Tower Lieutenant, to be bestowed “freely, and for nothing” upon a worthy recipient, to one that was to be sold to the highest bidder, described in the verse below:

*O Bottles Bottles, Bottles, Bottles, Bottles,
Platoes diuine workes, nor great Aristotles,
Did ne're make mention that a guift so Royall,
was euer bought and sold, like slaues disloyall.*⁴⁰

The orality in these lines is evident, for example in the repetition of Bottles for the whole line, which calls for the thumping of the table by the performer and /or perhaps the listeners’ flagons; the irreverent rhyme with ‘Aristotles’ and so on. This fits with the use of the “We three” idea all through this piece, which may indicate that there was an illustration, and also that parts of this *Farewell* could have been performed by Taylor.

³⁸ For the trip to York, see Chapter 3.

³⁹ The current assessment of this piece as low on the list of Taylor’s achievements is contrary to the evidence: there are more copies of the *Farewell to the Tower Bottles* surviving than nearly any other Taylor text except the *Workes* itself.

⁴⁰ *Taylors Farewell to the Tower Bottles*, (1622), STC 23797, sig. A7v.

We can imagine the audience response to the exaggerated sorrow and the mock address to the “Tower Bottles”. However, this satirical humour may have been potentially libelous which would explain the use of the (apparently false) “Dort” imprint. The phrase ‘*like slaves disloyall*’ is also especially telling: Taylor places considerable emphasis on the generosity and moral probity of Sir William Waad, the Lieutenant who awarded this post to him around 1603-5:

*I was a Waterman twice Foure long yeare,
And liu'd in a Contented happy state,
Then turn'd the whirling wheele offickle Fate,
From Water vnto Wine: Sir William Waad
Did freely, and for nothing turne my trade.*⁴¹

This passage becomes more significant in the light of Taylor’s account of Waad’s heroic part in the ‘Torn Papers’ affair, described in Verse 8 of *Gods Manifold Mercies*. Here Waad’s intelligent actions are portrayed as the only means by which England was saved from the threat of Papist plots. In the engraving itself, Waad is pictured piecing together the scraps of paper that the Scottish Jesuit Creighton had attempted to scatter to the winds when Dutch pirates seized his ship. This link between the *Tower Bottles* and *Gods Manifold Mercies* is made more likely by the date of the original editions of both pieces in 1622 and 1625, with the broadside *The Thankful Remembrance* being based on Bishop Carleton’s book which was first published in 1624. Hence by 1624 at the latest, Sir William Waad was being portrayed as a Protestant hero in defence of the English monarchy against Jesuit plots.⁴²

⁴¹ Ibid., sig. A2v

⁴² Taylor’s scorn for the impiety of the new Tower Lieutenant may relate to the earlier scandal of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower (1613-15). In the *Farewell*, Taylor describes corrupt Tower officials as “such vntoward Elues / That did more idely cast away themselues./ To such lowe Ebbe your basenes now doth shrinke”. “Elues” may be a pun on “Helwys”: Sir Jervais Helwys (or Elvis) was Tower Lieutenant when Sir Thomas Overbury was murdered. Waad had been removed on trumped up charges so that Helwys could be installed, allowing the poisoners access to the prisoner. Taylor apparently stayed on in his position as Tower Bottle Man during this period, but Gerald Johnson’s attribution of the elegy for Sir Thomas Overbury (signed “I.T”) to him is probably correct. The coupling of *Tower Bottles* in the folio with *Heaven’s Blessing* would then be ironic: the marriage of the Palatine couple was the iconic Protestant union, whilst the Overbury scandal and marriage of the Carrs was interpreted as a Catholic threat.

Thus if we read *Taylors Farewell to the Tower Bottles* with an emphasis on the Tower, rather than on Taylor's biography or authorial development, its position as printed in the last section of *All the Workes* does not seem so illogical. Like *Honour Conceal'd*, the *Tower Bottles* could lead a double life, with its topical and political ramifications running alongside its undoubted attractions as a comic tour de force. Its presence in this sequence of texts, just before the volume takes an overtly religious turn with the *Summe of the Bibles* and the *Booke of Martyrs*, acts in much the same way as the *Praise of Archy* slightly earlier. These mock encomia provide the sweeteners to leaven the more obviously serious material focusing on the Protestant cause, but are really dealing with essentially the same topics from a satirical point of view. The references to Sir William Waad in both *Gods Manifold Mercies* and the *Farewell to the Tower Bottles* are a reflection of this cohesive ideological fabric which underlies the apparently disparate and disconnected items assembled in Taylor's collection.

The importance of the print-publishing context for the effect of each of these individual texts is especially apparent with *Gods Manifold Mercies*. This text has received very little attention from modern scholars, who have been content to follow Robert Dow's assumption that it was composed especially for the folio in 1630.⁴³ It has thus shared the fate of *Honour Conceal'd* in being largely ignored in assessments of Taylor's career as a writer. The presence in *All the Workes* of two pieces with no previous or subsequent history has been considered unimportant, perhaps because of academic prejudice concerning the failure of this volume to achieve literary status. Following this theory, the composition of *Gods Manifold Mysteries* has been understood as a sycophantic attempt to attract royal approval from Charles I, who did not share his father's enthusiasm for the work of the Water Poet. However, there is no evidence for this supposed hostility from Charles, which seems to be based upon the impression that the new king's taste was much more refined than his predecessor's. While Taylor's behaviour in relation to the King in the 1640s is not a sure guide to his sentiments in the previous decades, it is entirely consistent with the evidence we do have from these years. There is nothing to suggest that Taylor expressed any open criticism of Charles or that he tried to separate himself from an association with the monarchy during the late 1620s

⁴³ See Chapter 9.

or the 1630s. However, an unwavering loyalty to the crown did not necessitate agreement with the individual policies and actions of the reigning King. Taylor's concern for the dire situation of Elizabeth of Bohemia and the Protestant cause in Europe, together with his sympathies with the orthodox Calvinism championed by Archbishop Abbott, Bishop George Carleton and the like, are certainly evident in the presentation of texts in *All the Workes*. His persistent desire for a more militant Protestant stance is clearly discernable from his publications in that period. The existence of his unpublished prospopoeia, *The Sudden Turne if Fortunes Wheele*, which celebrates the victories of Gustavus Adolphus as "the star of the North" confirms this aspect of his ideology.⁴⁴

We must therefore be sceptical of reading *Gods Manifold Mercies* as merely a piece of window-dressing, appended to Taylor's collected Works at the last minute to ensure this volume's acceptance in courtly circles. We have already seen that the arrangement of the texts in this final section has been more carefully thought out than modern critics have assumed. In this respect, *Gods Manifold Mercies* forms a natural conclusion to the sequence of pieces related to the Palatine marriage and Prince Charles's escape from the Spanish match in 1623 that occupy the second half of Alsop and Fawcet's section. The eighteen verses of *Gods Manifold Mercies* narrate a series of key events in the Protestant calendar, tracing the preservation of Elizabeth I and James I from repeated Papist plots. These plots often involve Spain or have Spanish connections, and the text is explicit in its identification of a league between Spain and the Pope. After following in a chronological sequence from the Papal Bull of 1569/70 (which excommunicated Elizabeth I) to the Gunpowder plot of 1605 (Verse 16), the narrative concludes with the safe return of Prince Charles in 1623.

Just like Taylor's pamphlet of 1623, Taylor's verses for *A Thankful Remembrance* avoid explicit mention of the purpose of Charles's foreign voyage, substituting the non-specific phrase, "and Rome's temptations which thou didst withstand" (my underlining). The hendiadys in the line declaring that the Prince was now "In mind and body free from Rome and Spaine" clearly identifies the significance of this event, and perhaps tactfully implies that this freedom would permit the Prince to

⁴⁴ For *The Sudden Turne of Fortunes Wheele* (1631) see Afterword, below.

seek a bride elsewhere. The fact that this verse is addressed directly to Charles, and ends with the phrase “Britaines CHALES the Great”, might be interpreted out of context as flattery, but when read in context its conclusion is actually hypothetical:

*Long mayst thou live Gods gracious instrument,
To propagate his Gospell and his glory,
All Antichristian foes to circumvent,
And with thy acts to fill a royall story.
That after ages truly may repeate,
These Deeds were done by Britaines Charles the Great.*⁴⁵

Here, it is the “after ages” that are envisaged as making a historical judgment on this particular King’s reign, as Taylor imagines their retrospective admiration for Charles’s contribution to the progress of militant Protestantism. However, in the context of *Gods Manifold Mercies*, as in *A Thankful Remembrance*, this future has not yet arrived. The optative mood of “Long mayst thou live” is carried through to the conditional phrasing of “That after ages truly may repeate”. The adverb “truly” creates an ambivalence about this putative “royall story”: whether or not intentionally, this ambivalence suggests that the actual future may turn out to be less satisfactory. The narrative of Charles’s reign may not wholly or “truly” *fill* the pages of a ‘royal story’ and thus the Prince may not match up to the glory implied in ‘Britaines Chales the Great’.

The conditional endorsement in this conclusion to Verse 17 follows from Taylor’s treatment of the events of 1623 in its opening. While the short narrative of “the dangers of a long and tedious way” (Verse 17, line 1) is given a degree of personal prowess, Taylor has to work hard to make this sound a convincing display of physical heroism:

*The dangers of a long and tedious way,
The perils of the raging Sea and Land,
The change of ayre and dyet many a day,*

⁴⁵ *All the Workes*, (1630), unsigned final gathering .

And Romes temptations which thou didst withstand

The best Taylor can come up with is ‘*perils of the Raging Sea and Land*’, followed by the somewhat bathetic ‘*change of ayre and dyet many a day*’. It is true that the Prince’s return to England was delayed by storms, and his journey across France with such a limited entourage was considered foolhardy once the details were revealed. It is also perhaps important to remember that in 1612 his elder brother, then the great hope of Protestant Europe, had succumbed in the prime of life to a sudden illness. Thus ‘The change of ayre and dyet’ is not such a minor consideration for this Prince’s safety as a modern reader might suppose. However, these lines still leave the Prince as a largely passive figure, whose primary virtue was to resist threats of a rather moderate kind, rather than as an active soldier fighting for the Protestant cause. This is the context for the hopes or wishes expressed by Taylor in the second half of the verse. For in 1623 Charles had yet to demonstrate the aggressive militancy and physical heroism in relation to the cause of Protestantism in Europe that had been promised by Prince Henry, the previous heir to the throne.

However, *Gods Manifold Mercies* does not end with the narrative of the Spanish Match, for the final verse (Verse 18) switches from an address to Charles to an expression of gratitude for God’s Providence. This is conceived in the form of a prayer apparently uttered by the author himself:

*My God what shall I render unto thee,
For all thy gifts bestow’d on me always*

The reference to the Church at the start of this verse is repeated in the prose note that follows, which brings the focus of the whole piece back to the general theme of the protection of the English Church, in accordance with the running title *The Churches Deliverances*. This focus also fits with the position just before *Gods Manifold Mercies* of *Verbum Sempiternum / Salvator Mundi* and *The Booke of Martyrs*, summarising the key texts of the Protestant church,. As noted above, these summaries moved from the

opening position in the Catalogue list to the closing stages in the printing of Alsop and Fawcet's section. It is difficult to avoid interpreting this final arrangement of texts as a definitive statement of commitment to the Protestant (and therefore Calvinist) church. This is entirely in keeping with the opening statement of *All the Workes*, where the first verse of *Taylors Urania*, "To the Understanter" ends with the defiant statement:

*And therefore here's my Pride, if it be Pride,
To know Christ, and to know him Crucifide.* ⁴⁶

Just as the *All the Workes* opens with a reference to Christ's crucifixion, so it ends with an even stronger assertion on the same theme.⁴⁷ The image conveyed by the final verse of *Gods Manifold Mercies* is of an intense love of God, with a particular emphasis on Christ's intercession as expressed in the prose note printed at the end of the poem:

*The Church of Christ doth acknowledge no other Intercessor,
Defender, Maintainer and Deliverer, but onely Christ himselfe.*

Considering the evidence of Taylor's biography and his publications in general, we can assume that this assertion comes within the limit of his own Protestant orthodoxy.

However, the placement of the summary of the *Book of Martyrs* just before *Gods Manifold Mercies* could suggest a more godly emphasis to this conclusion. Taylor's verse summary of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* has been described as more anti-catholic than Foxe himself.⁴⁸ This may partly be the effect of the reduction of that enormous text to such a minimal narrative which becomes not much more than a list of martyrs. In *All the Workes*, it is this role-call of Protestant martyrs that is positioned to form the print context for *Gods Manifold Mercies*. With this prologue, the repetitive

⁴⁶ For this verse, see Chapter 5.

⁴⁷ Taylor's broadside *A meditation on the Passion*, also published in 1630, certainly fits with this emphasis.

⁴⁸ See D. Scott Kastan, "Little Foxes", *passim*. Although Taylor later expressed detachment from his roots in Gloucester, it is worth noting that this town was strongly Puritan during the civil war. Taylor also had several relatives in or near Leicester, known for its old-fashioned, Elizabethan Protestantism. The copy of Taylor's *Workes* at Gloucester Cathedral shows careful annotation, apparently for use in the Cathedral school, probably in the late seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.

anti-Catholic message of *Gods Manifold Mercies* itself becomes even more urgent and insistent. Although this emphasis is by no means incompatible with orthodox Calvinism, as displayed in the works of Bishops Abbott, Hall and Carleton, or chaplains Thomas Goad and Daniel Featley, some of the rhetoric in *The Churches Deliverances* does have a more Godly ring to it. The ambivalence in Verse 17 about Charles's future reputation as Defender of the Protestant church is couched in this language, as Taylor's conventional wishes for the King's long life are expressed in terms of Charles's subjection to the will of God:

*Long mayst thou live Gods gracious instrument
To propagate his Gospell and his glory*

Crucially, the phrasing here links the King's long life to his usefulness as an "instrument" of the Protestant cause; similarly the prose summary that follows emphasises that Charles's preservation in 1623 was entirely a matter for Providence. Charles's personal qualities were of little importance beside God's care:

*Great was the enterprise and hazard of our gracious Prince, but greater
was Gods, in guiding and guarding him backe againe to all our Ioy and
Comforts.*

An element of criticism might even be detected here, in that the Prince's "enterprise and hazard" seem to relate to the journey to Madrid, whilst the responsibility for the return is entirely God's. The underlying implication is that the Prince's identity as the heir to the English throne is what makes him precious to God, whose Providence is focused on the importance of this heir for the preservation of his Church, rather than on Charles as an individual.

In the arrangement of *Gods Manifold Mercies* as printed in *All the Workes* in 1630, the second half of Verse 17 and the whole of Verse 18 appear alone together on the final page. This arrangement differs from the 1625 broadside, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 9, below. In the folio, the layout brings the two short

prose notes appended to Verse 18 into a position in the second column almost directly opposite the reference to “Chales the Great” in the first column. Thus the hypothetical future of Charles as the perpetrator of famous “Deeds” against ‘Anti-Christian foes’ is linked through the layout and typography to the overwhelmingly Calvinist rhetoric of these two notes. Furthermore, because of the changes in layout between the broadside of 1625 and the folio format, it is these two notes, rather than the verses themselves, which have become the final statement in *All the Workes*. The second of these can be understood as epitomising Taylor’s anti-Catholic ideology in the absolute denial of Papal authority implied by “no other Intercessor but onely Christ himselfe”. This note takes *Gods Manifold Mercies* full circle to match the opening verse, with its contemptuous narrative of the 1569 Papal Bull that “proved little better than a Calfe”. However, the folio layout focuses attention more immediately upon the link between these notes and the discussion of Charles’s monarchy in Verse 17, found opposite it on the same page. Thus, in this printing of *Gods Manifold Mercies* at the turn of the decade 1629/30, it is the relationship between ‘Britaines Chales the Great’ and ‘The Church of Christ’ that might catch the reader’s eye (see Fig.8.6, above).

These textual details support the suggestion that *Gods Manifold Mercies* was placed at the end of this section of *All the Workes* in order to highlight the King’s situation in relation to the crisis of Protestantism abroad and the growing debates concerning the direction of the English church at home. The premise of *Gods Manifold Mercies* is the essential identification between the English monarch and the English Church, defined as a Church that is necessarily the stronghold of Orthodox Calvinism. The first sixteen verses constitute a relatively simple narrative describing the preservation of these two institutions, the Church and the monarchy, from repeated Catholic plots. However, when this history reaches 1623, the tone and approach shifts. This change is signaled by the switch to direct address, further complicated by the fact that the Prince described in Verse 17 has since become the reigning monarch. The complexities of the different time-perspectives, modes of discourse and moods of the verbs in this verse, where the “royall story” has yet to be told, create sufficient ambiguity to avoid any charge that writer, printer or publisher are attempting to lecture or remonstrate with the King. However, the implications are clear. By placing this text in

its present form at the end of *All the Workes* those responsible are joining their voices to those in the country who were urging the King to take a more active role in the defence of the Protestant cause in Europe and at home. The particular emphasis of this message in the folio is clarified by a minor textual change, where the term “plots” in the 1625 broadside edition has been replaced by “foes”, in the lines:

*Long mayst thou live Gods gracious instrument
To propagate his Gospell and his glory
All Antichristian foes to circumvent
And with thy acts to fill a royall story*

This is one of only a tiny number of changes at the level of diction, rather than spelling or punctuation, in the folio text. It must therefore have been included quite deliberately. The reference to “foes” rather than “plots” suggests an external force and presents the desired scenario as a battlefield: this single change of noun affects the implication of the verb “to circumvent” which becomes more physical than metaphorical, suggesting a sweeping movement of forces around the “foes” rather than a more intellectual outwitting of “plots”. It is therefore Charles’s wished-for future as a militant Christian soldier that is being projected by these lines.

This passage could therefore be interpreted as urging Charles to lead or send military forces to join the religious wars in Europe. Such an interpretation would fit with the updating and printing of the two histories at the end of John Beale’s section, as discussed above. In this respect, the gap of five years between the broadside and the folio printing of *Gods Manifold Mercies* is a key factor. In 1625, straight after his accession, Charles and Buckingham had been trying to get Parliament to vote additional Supply in order to send forces to join the Protestants fighting in Europe. By 1630 Charles had abandoned this aim and embarked on the period of Personal Rule.⁴⁹ It would also be appropriate to the dedication of *All the Workes* to the Marquis of Hamilton and the Pembroke brothers (see Chapter 3). Although the collection is headed by the

⁴⁹ See Christopher Thompson, “Court Politics and Parliamentary Conflict in 1625”, in *Conflict in Early Stuart England: Studies in Religion and Politics, 1603-1642*, ed. Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, (Harlow, Longman, 1989), pp. 168-192.

devotional poem *Taylors Urania*, this in itself is no bar to the promotion of a militant form of Protestantism through *All the Workes*, which is indeed suggested by the choice of a sonnet by Thomas Dekker as the concluding tribute in the series of commendatory verses, as discussed in Chapter 5. Even the interweaving of the pieces relating to the Bohemian crisis with those focused on Charles in this final section can be interpreted as highlighting the urgency of the situation for Elizabeth of Bohemia and her cause. Furthermore, the movement of *Prince Charles his Welcome* backwards from its projected position at the conclusion to the volume to around the middle of these texts could reflect the need to separate that text from the more equivocal treatment of this incident in *Gods Manifold Mercies*. After all, Charles's return was seen by some as more ignominious than glorious, and his failure to make a Protestant match after this as equally disappointing.

However, in order to appreciate the full significance of the choice of *Gods Manifold Mercies* as the conclusion to *All the Workes* in 1630, we need to be aware of the publication history of this text. For the earlier edition of *Gods Manifold Mercies*, published by Miles Flesher in 1625, was designed to accompany an engraved synopsis of Bishop George Carleton's prose history *The Thankful Remembrance* (which was published in a series of editions from 1624 to 30). The relationship between these texts is complex and has implications not just for the folio itself but more widely for our understanding of Taylor's position in the 1620s. Bishop George Carleton is no longer a famous name but the opposite was true in the 1620s when he was one of the most popular and widely read defenders of orthodox English Calvinism. He had been the leading prelate at in the English delegation at the Synod of Dort (1618/19) and was the cousin of Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador to the Hague, who provided refuge for Elizabeth of Bohemia and her family during the 1620s. Although Taylor's verses on this broadside were apparently published anonymously, as his name does not appear on the unique copy extant in the Sutherland Collection, nevertheless it would be disingenuous to suppose that those involved in producing Taylor's folio in 1630 could have been unaware that *A Thankful Remembrance* stands behind *Gods Manifold Mercies*. For although this 1625 text has been updated for Taylor's folio by the provision of a lengthy title asserting that the contents stretch 'from the yeare 1565 untill this

present, 1630.', the rest is almost wholly a repetition of the verses from the broadside printing in 1625. Chapter Nine therefore begins by exploring the publishing history of *Gods Manifold Mercies* in more detail before considering some of these wider implications.

Chapter Nine: Gods Manifold Mercies

Chapter Nine explores the publishing context and composition of the 1625 broadside, *A Thankfull Remembrance*, which contains an early edition of Taylor's "Gods Manifold Mercies", the concluding item in *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630).

This chapter focuses on the broadside *A Thankfull Remembrance* (1625), which contains an early edition of *Gods Manifold Mercies* (running title *The Churches Deliverances*), the long poem that concludes Taylor's *Workes* in 1630. With the single exception of Robert Southey, who considered this poem "the best specimen of his historical verses", critics have generally discussed *All the Workes* (1630) as if it ended with Taylor's summaries of the Bible and the *Book of Martyrs*. They have either ignored *Gods Manifold Mercies* altogether or have followed Robert Dow's assumption that this piece was hastily composed just to round off the collection in 1630 and has no wider significance.¹ However, the discovery that *Gods Manifold Mercies* had a previous existence as part of a large broadside from 1625 confirms that Taylor was deeply involved in polemical publishing early in his career. It also demonstrates the importance of material presentation in the impact of Taylor's work. For this set of verses was composed to be closely integrated with the striking engraving of *A Thankfull Remembrance* by Cornelis Danckerts, requiring the reader to "see" as well as "read". This past history of circulation is essential for an understanding of the impact of *Gods Manifold Mercies* in Taylor's folio of 1630.

My attribution of the anonymous verses pasted round the broadside of *A Thankfull Remembrance* to Taylor dispells the myth of Taylor's exclusively literary aspirations before the civil war. Neither medium nor genre tally with the kind of text with which Taylor has traditionally been associated before the 1640s. The name of John

¹ *The Lives and Works of the Uneducated Poets* (ed. J.S. Childers, London, Humphrey Milford, 1625), p. 36. Southey quotes and discusses Taylor's opening and concluding verses in full, concluding: "These are no mean verses. Indeed, in every General Collection of the British Poets there are authors to be found, whose pretensions to a place there are much feebler than what might be advanced on behalf of Taylor the Water-Poet" (Southey, *Lives*, pp. 37- 38). Capp states that *All the Workes* "ends with the summaries of scripture and Foxe's 'Booke of Martyrs'" but later repeats Robert Dow's description of 'Gods Manifold Mercies' as "probably composed as an edifying conclusion to the Workes" (Capp, *World of John Taylor*, pp. 121-3). Dow states: "it allows an edifying conclusion to the volume. It somehow has an air of being composed for the occasion" (Dow, "Life and Times", Bibliography, p. 83).

Taylor would not previously have occurred to scholars examining such a piece of anti-Papist propaganda from the mid 1620s, especially when so closely linked to the works of a famous Bishop. This is despite the distinctive hallmarks of Taylor's satirical approach in his treatment of the Papal Bull, as well as stylistic evidence for his authorship throughout. The line that has been drawn by scholarly tradition between the "literary" genre of Taylor's mock encomia in the mid 1620s, and the polemical pamphleteering of the civil war years, is confirmed as an imaginary construct. Taylor did not suddenly transform from a failed literary artist to a successful propagandist on the deregulation of print in the early 1640s. On the contrary, and despite the accusations of his civil-war adversaries, his attitude to the crown and to the English Church was consistent across the course of his writing career.

The discussion below begins by examining the Sutherland collection broadside, exploring the relationship between the engraving of *A Thankfull Remembrance* and the surrounding letter-text, which carries the imprint of Miles Flesher. It considers the connection of this broadside with the four editions of Bishop Carleton's *A Thankfull Remembrance* (1624-1630), published by Robert Milbourne and Humphrey Robinson, in the context of Carleton's strongly anti-Arminian position in the 1620s. Taylor's prior associations with the stationers involved in *A Thankfull Remembrance*, especially Miles Flesher, who went on to print many of the key anti-Montague texts in the *Appello Caesarem* controversy for Robert Milbourne (1626-7), are an important factor in assessing the impact of the republication of *A Thankfull Remembrance* at the conclusion of his collected works of 1630.

The visual impact of Taylor's verses in the broadside *A Thankfull Remembrance* in 1625 and *Gods Manifold Mercies* in 1630 is so different that critics might be forgiven for missing the identification between them.² The contrast demonstrates that Taylor's text was composed for the type of layout shown in the broadside. Here, the fourteen line verses are printed in two columns on either side of the complex engraving, each with

² The engraving has been described by Hind, Volume II, pp.297-9, and Plate 16; Griffiths, no. 97 (*Popish Plots and treasons*), pp. 154-157, p.154; Alexandra Walsham, *Providence and Print in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 258-260. Walsham reproduces the Sutherland broadside in a small photo, plate 37, page 260. *Gods Manifold Mercies* occupies pages 143-145 in the third section of *All the Workes*, an unsigned gathering following the end of 2Mmm.

two further columns running parallel, giving key dates in one and additional notes in the other. This layout offers the spectator/reader a clear chronology, separate from but alongside the verse narrative, with the notes functioning as marginalia. The organisation is clear, accessible and fit for purpose. By contrast, the folio text is organised in a linear fashion. The verse narrative is printed in double columns, with dates and notes beneath each verse, creating an uneven appearance.³ The compositors have also broken up verses across the ends of columns and even from page to page, paying scant regard to the sense. As a result, the main text of *Gods Manifold Mercies* appears cramped and disjointed, and the chronological progression is obscured. However, the folio compositors have compensated to some extent for the loss of the engraving by the layout of the opening title. Particular prominence is given to the first three words, *Gods Manifold Mercies*, which are not present in the broadside; these are set in unusually large type just below the printer's header, carrying the arms of Elizabeth 1 and English garter rose, which signals the ideology of the text to follow.⁴

However, this typographical effort in the folio cannot compete with the effect achieved by the conjunction of Taylor's verses with striking engraving in the Sutherland broadside. This in itself seems to be unique, a single surviving specimen from the 1620s. No other copy of the engraved plate is known before the editions circulated by John Garrett in the 1670-90s, under the title *Popish Plots and Treasons*, for which a new letter-text was added (Fig. 9.1). The 1625 broadside is a more complex item, assembled from several pieces of printed material pasted together to form a single wall display. The large engraving, a double folio size measuring 21 x 12 7/8, occupies the central section, with the letter-press pasted round it. As described above, the text is organized to show a clear chronological progression from 1569 at top left to 1623 at bottom right. The letter-text title runs across the top of the whole broadside, above both the engraving and the columns of verses and notes, uniting these different elements together. The verses on either side also continue below the point where the engraving itself stops, creating a

³ Southey comments on the verse form: "This is in a series of what some late writers have conveniently called quatorzains, to distinguish them from sonnets of proper structure" (p.37) and refers in a note to Wordsworth: "It is remarkable, that Mr. Wordsworth should have cast his Ecclesiastical Sketches in a form so nearly similar. The coincidence (for I know Mr Wordsworth had never seen Taylor's works, nor heard of this portion of them) may seem to show the peculiar fitness of this form for what may be called memorial poetry", Southey, *The Lives and Works of the Uneducated Poets*, p. 36.

⁴ See Chapter 8.

space beneath which is filled with three shorter columns of prose text. These are almost certainly the work of a different author, offering a religious commentary on the illustrations, to compliment the narrative provided by Taylor's verses.⁵



⁵ *A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercie*, (Miles Flesher / Thomas Jenner, 1625), STC 4643.5, Sutherland Large Volume III, p. 101, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University (I am grateful to Kate Heard at the Ashmolean Museum for her assistance).

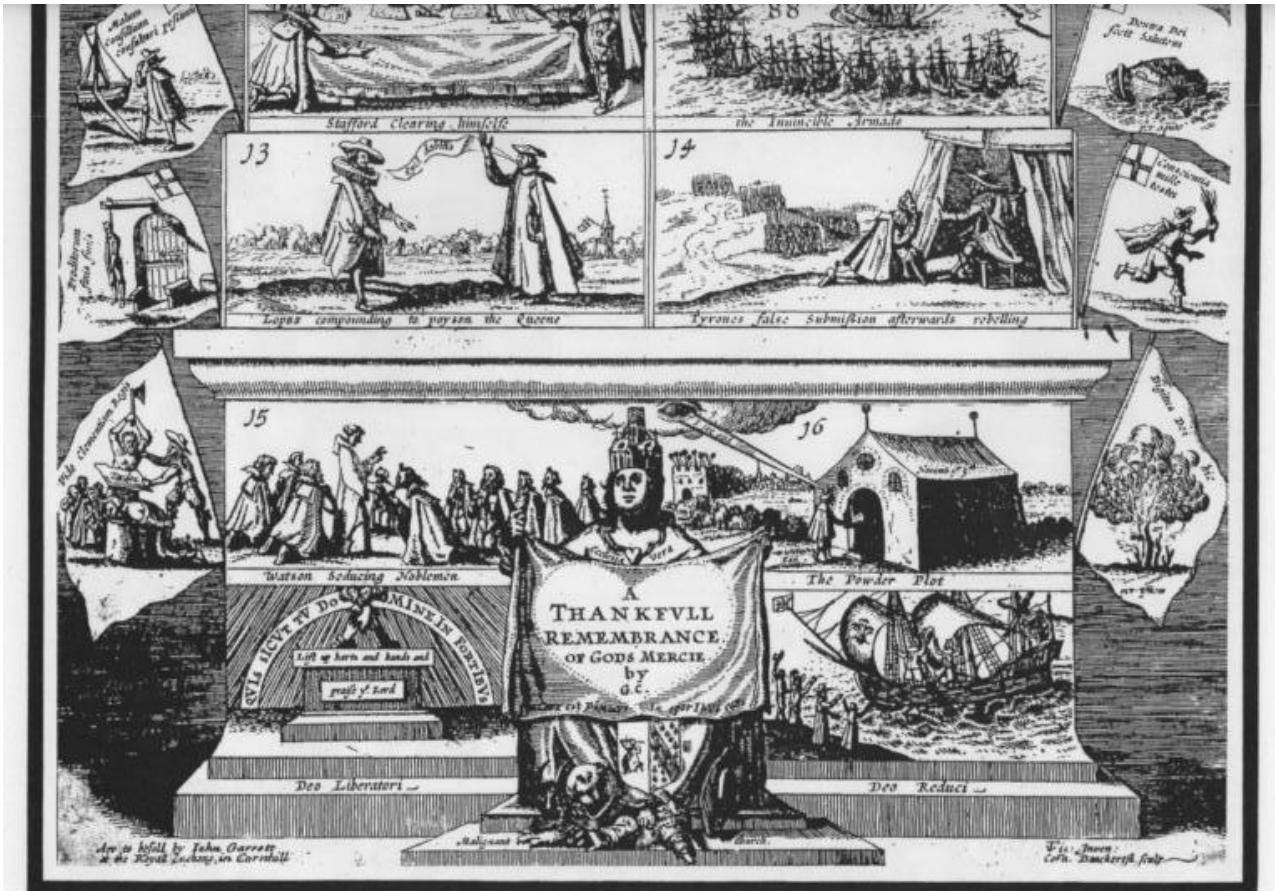


Fig. 9.1. Engraved Plate from 'Popish Plots and Treasons', c. 1670-90.

Fig. 9.1: Engraved Plate from *Popish Plots and Treasons*, c.1670-90 (David Kunzle, *The early comic strip; narrative strips and picture stories in the European broadsheet from c. 1450 to 1825* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973), Plate 5.3, p.124).

The engraving by Cornelis Danckerts presents sixteen narrative tableaux in pairs, built up to create the impression of a tapered pillar set on a square plinth. Each tableau presents one of the “cursed plots” against Elizabeth or James I, with a short caption in English beneath it, answering the question in the title, “What meaneth this pillar?” The plinth carries a further pair of unnumbered pictures, with the figure of *Ecclesia Vera* seated on the steps in front of them. This figure “treads on Pope, monk and goat (*Ecclesia Malignantium*)” and holds a cloth on which is inscribed the title *A Thankfull*

Remembrance of Gods Mercie by G. C.⁶ The personification of *Ecclesia Vera* and various other details are repeated from Wilhem van de Passe's engraving for the title-page to the first edition of Bishop Carleton's book, *A Thankfull Remembrance*, dated 1624. Carleton's history of Popish plots had been entered to Robert Milbourne and Humphrey Robinson on 24th May 1624.⁷ It was printed by John Dawson in a thick prose quarto and dedicated to "The high noble and most virtuous Charles Prince of Great Britain", with an address emphasising the book's function as a guide to the Prince's future spiritual conduct.

On either side of the pillar in the Danckerts engraving there is a series of smaller vignettes, each related to the tableau beside which it is drawn. These vignettes are presented as banners or flags hanging from the pillar at each level, and they depict "the fate meted out" to the conspirators in the main tableaux.⁸ The background is etched to appear dark so that the pillar and flags stand out with a three-dimensional effect, reinforced by the perspective drawing of the pillar. The contrast between the solidity of the pillar and the movement suggested in the banners gives the design a sense of life, complimented by the animation of the figures depicted in the various scenes. At the base of the obelisk, the rounder and more flowing shapes of *Ecclesia Vera* contrast to the straight lines of the stone steps. The overall design is striking and attractive, drawing the gaze into the pictures and providing a satisfying symmetry. The content of the individual panels is similar to other engravings that represent the key events of the history of the Protestant church, notably Jan Barra's *The Great Deliverances* (1627) and Samuel Ward's *Double Deliverance* (1621).⁹ However, *A Thankfull Remembrance* is more

⁶ This description of *Ecclesia Vera* is from Hind, Volume II, *Cornelis Danckerts*, description of Plate 16, p.299.

⁷ *A thankfull remembrance of Gods mercy. In an historicall collection of the great and mercifull deliverances if the Church and state of England, since the Gospell began here to flourish, from the beginning of Queene Elizabeth*, London, John Dawson for Robert Milbourne and Humphrey Robinson, 1624 (STC 4640).

⁸ Griffiths, p.154. Walsham comments: "Each of the crimes committed by the 'Devils instruments' is adjoined by a banner showing the divine retribution which ensued" (Walsham, *Providence*, p.259).

⁹ *The Great deliverances* was published by Michael Sparke in association with the book, *Crumms of comfort, the valley of teares, and the hill of ioy with the thankefull remembrance, 1588, by water, the wonderful deliuuerance, 1605, by fire, and the miracle of mercy, 1625, by earth* (first extant edn.1627, for Michael Sparke), STC 23015.7; entered 7 October 1623. The 1628/1629 imprints state printed by Thomas Cotes for Sparke. See Hind, III, p 101. Samuel Ward, *The Double Deliverance* (Amsterdam, 1621), BMSat.41; Hind II, p.393, No. 66, Plate 247 (S); Griffiths pp.152-154, Plate 95. A later edition by Peter Stent (1654), added the title "The Papists Powder Treason" (Griffiths, p.153).

coherent in its artistic conception and more specific in its focus on the preservation of the English monarchy. The design of the obelisk, plinth and steps is a visual image of the monumental conception of the contents, enshrining the history of the monarchy's preservation from repeated Catholic plots.

This coherence is strengthened by the use of the Papal Bull as a framework for the whole design. The words *The Popes Bull* are etched into the dark space above the pillar (not visible in most reproductions because of the hatchings to this background). These words refer to the Latin inscription at the top of the pillar, “*In nomine domini incipit Omne Malum*” where the design resembles a document with a seal. Alexandra Walsham suggests that this drawing turns the obelisk into “a mock papal bull promulgating sixteen articles”: thus we have a further layer of conceptualization at the level of genre, bringing in the satirical to compliment the monumental and pedagogical functions of the engraving. In this reading, the engraving itself becomes a visual equivalent of the mock encomia beloved of John Taylor in the mid 1620s. This is indeed the genre in which Taylor begins his accompanying historical narrative:

*There was a Bull in Rome was long a breeding
Which Bull prov'd little better than a Calfe
Was sent to England for some better feeding,
To fatten in his Holiness behalfe* ¹⁰

This is recognizably the tone and type of comic word-play more usually found in Taylor's “innocent” tales, such as the anecdote of the schoolmaster who was sold a bull instead of a cow:

*Our Master Greene, was overseene,
In buying of a Bull;
For when the Maid, did mene to milke,
He pist the Paile half-full*

¹⁰ *A Thankfull Remembrance* (Miles Flesher, 1625), unnumbered opening verse.

It is likely that this particular anecdote, published in 1638 as part of *Bull Beare and Horse*, is itself an anti-Catholic joke masquerading as a childhood memory.¹¹

Although this design for the engraving of *A Thankfull Remembrance* is powerful in its own right, the distinctive perspective shape of the column derives from earlier European prints. The closest resemblance is to the Dutch engraving entitled *t'Armeniaens testament*, which has been dated c.1618.¹² Here, the design shows a tower with various scenes on different floors, including figures being dangled and dropped from the top. The whole effect is much more fantastic and obviously satirical than *A Thankfull Remembrance*, more closely resembling a modern newspaper or magazine cartoon. However, there is good reason to believe that *A Thankfull Remembrance* is a deliberate reprise of *t'Armeniaens testament*. As Alexandra Walsham notes, the earlier print was probably “disseminated as Counter-Reformation propaganda around the time of the Synod of Dort”. The suggested date for this print, 1618, would place it either before or right at the beginning of the Synod, which convened its first meeting in mid-November 1618. The references to William of Nassau and the Prince of Orange in the engraving would support this view. Bishop Carleton, author of the book *A Thankfull Remembrance*, was the leading English delegate at Dort (Dordrecht) and gave the opening address to the states general at the Hague just beforehand. Carleton’s opposition to the Arminian position was more entrenched than that of any of the other English delegates. Even before the Synod he had “shown himself the most active of the bishops, apart from Robert Abbot, in refuting the Dutch Arminians”. He had already written a refutation of the doctrine which had received official approval in England, and he had sent a copy to his cousin, Sir Dudley Carleton, currently English ambassador to The

¹¹ With a triple pun on “bull” as: (1) animal (2) papal edict and (3) joke. John Taylor, *Bull, beare, and horse, cut, curtaile, and longtaile. With tales, and tales of bulls, clenches, and flashes* (M. Parsons for H. Gosson, 1638), STC 23739, B4r. The running title on this page reads “Long and Short Tales”.

¹² *T'Armeniaens Testament* (1616/17?), engraved by Simon de Vries [et al?]. The copy of this engraving in the British Library (BL 1750.b29, no. 100) has an explanation in black-letter pasted on a separate sheet, with a key for the engraving. Although the engraving itself carries the dates 1616 / 1617, it is pasted into a volume of material from the Netherlands relating to the progress of the Protestant forces in Europe in 1631-2. See also David Kunzle, *The early comic strip; narrative strips and picture stories in the European broadsheet from c.1450 to 1825*, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973), pp.57-60, fig. 2-21, and fig. 2-28, *Piramis Pacifica*.

Hague. It was Archbishop Abbot who had chosen George Carleton to go to Dort, thus establishing the delegation's counter-remonstrant position from the start.¹³

The use of the earlier *t'Armeniaens testament* as a model for the visual structure of *A Thankfull Remembrance* signals an underlying agenda for the 1625 broadside that connects the threat of Arminianism with the history of Catholic plots against the English Church and Crown. It may have been the Dutch engraver Cornelis Danckerts who chose the shape of *t'Armeniaens testament* as appropriate to the subject of his own engraving. However, it is also possible that Bishop Carleton himself had seen a copy of *t'Armeniaens testament* whilst he was at Dort, and thus chose this print as a model for the plate advertising his own book in the mid 1620s. For *A Thankfull Remembrance* does not consist solely of a supposedly historical account of conspiracies by Catholics and Jesuits against Elizabeth and James I. Rather, each chapter is replete with lengthy warnings about the dangers still crowding in on England's Church and Monarchy, warnings that threaten to submerge the book's narrative content altogether.¹⁴ Since *t'Armeniaens testament* pedals extreme Counter-Remonstrant propaganda, expressing the Dutch Calvinist terror of the followers of Arminius by portraying them in monstrous forms and actions, its satirical methodology was entirely appropriate as a template for the engraved plate of *A Thankfull Remembrance*, with its demonizing of Jesuits, Spaniards and conspiratorial Catholics. In the early 1620s, Arminian doctrine was already associated with Catholicism in the minds of many, not just committed Calvinists.¹⁵

However, the inspiration for this design need not necessarily have stemmed from the bishop himself, but may have come from the inventor of the pictures. The engraver,

¹³ Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640* (Oxford, Clarendon Press 1987, paperback 1990), p.74. Tyacke points out that Carleton's response to Montagu's *Appello Caesarem* was "entirely taken up with Arminianism", in Nicholas Tyacke, "Debate: The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered", in *Past and Present* 115 (May, 1987), pp. 201-216, p. 214. See also, John Platt, 'Eireenical Anglicans at the Synod of Dort', in Derek Baker (ed.), *Reform and Reformation: England and the Continent c.1500-1750* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1979), pp. 221-243, *passim*.

¹⁴ For example, although Chapter 8 opens with the incident of the "Torne Papers", this story occupies just over two pages (p.76-78, M1v-M2v in the 1625 edition). It is followed by a lengthy diatribe against complacency in the face of such conspiracies, which continues for another three pages.

¹⁵ See, for example: Hillel Schwartz, "Arminianism and the English Parliament", 1624-1629 (*The Journal of British Studies*, Volume 12, no. 2 (May, 1973), 41-48), *passim*; Nicholas Tyacke, "Debate: The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered", especially pp 213-214; Tyacke comments that Daniel Featley's *A Second Parallel* "treats of Arminianism and popery at almost equal length" (p.214 and note 88).

Cornelis Danckerts was one of a well-known family of engravers: his father, Cornelis Danckerts III, engraved the plate for *Invasions of England and Ireland with al their Civill Wars since the Conquest*, which is appended to Speed's *Prospect of the Most Famous Partes of the World* (1627-31).¹⁶ Neither Hind nor Griffiths have been able to identify the inventor who signed both the plate for *A Thankfull Remembrance* and the title page of Carleton's book to which it relates. This inventor's signature is found at a little distance from that of Cornelis Danckerts, at the foot of the steps to the right of *Ecclesia Vera*. The inscription reads: "T ic Inven Cornelis Danckertsz sculp.".



Fig. 9.2: *Popish Plots and Treasons* (John Garrett, c.1679). Detail from the base showing the signatures of "TV [ic?]" as "inventor" and Cornelis Danckerts as the engraver.¹⁷

This inventor's signature, which actually shows a long T with a little v at the base, followed by the letters "i[c?]" in lower case, does not appear in the indexes of designers for European engravings in the period. This suggests that whoever conceived the ideas for the plate was not a professional artist or craftsman.

¹⁶ Hind II, p.71.

¹⁷ *Popish Plots and Treasons*, Wing C33A. In the 1625 edition of this engraving, the letters [ic] are clearer; <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>> [accessed 20 Sept 2009].



Fig. 9.3 : George Carleton, *A Thankfull Remembrance* (1624), title page. Detail, showing the signatures of Willem Van de Passe on the left and the monogram of "T V" on the right.¹⁸

Although this signature has not been officially identified, I believe that it is almost certainly that of Carleton's son-in-law, Thomas Vicars, who had married Carleton's step-daughter Anne Neville in 1622.¹⁹ Vicars had already published several books, including his father-in-law's *Astrologomania* (1624, STC 4630), and habitually used his initials "T.V." in their titles. In 1624 his *Cheieragogia*, a guide to rhetoric, was printed by Eld and Flesher, the partnership that had recently published several of Taylor's works including *The Water-Cormorant*. Thus Vicars was already involved in the print market and specifically with Miles Flesher, when Carleton's book first appeared. He would therefore have been well placed to negotiate the details of both the frontispiece to the book and the larger engraving represented in the Sutherland broadside. Vicars' input as designer of *A Thankfull Remembrance* would explain several puzzling features. For example, a shield has been added to the skirts of *Ecclesia Vera* in the broadside engraving, but is not present in any state of the title pages for Carleton's book. The design on this shield is a simplified combination of two shields decorating the portrait of Carleton found in the 1627 edition of *A Thankfull Remembrance*, a portrait engraved by

¹⁸ *A Thankfull Remembrance* , STC 4640, < <http://eebo.chadwyck.com> > [accessed 20 Sept 2009].

¹⁹ George Carleton married Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Killigrew, previously English ambassador to Scotland. She was the widow of Sir Henry Neville of Billingbere, Sussex, formerly Carleton's patron. Anne Neville was her daughter from this previous marriage (J.H. Coper, 'The Vicars and Parishes of Cuckfield in the Seventeenth Century', in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 45 (1902), pp. 12-30). See also, William J. Rednour, "A 'Bitter Enemy to the Papists': The Life and Work of Bishop George Carleton (1559-1628)", unpublished doctoral dissertation, City University of New York, July 1999, p.45 and p.79.

Frederic Hulsius (van Hulsen). The fact that this shield was incorporated into the design for the broadside engraving of 1625 before it appeared in print in this later edition of the book fits with Vicars' fascination with his father-in-law's coat of arms and its unusual religious symbolism.²⁰

Vicars may also be the author of the prose passages printed beneath the engraving in the Sutherland broadside, which explicate the engraving's design. The tone would certainly fit with his other work and suit his position as a clergyman.²¹ Walsham follows the *STC* in stating that the broadside was sold "as a folding "synopsis" of [Carleton's] text" and intended as "a pedagogic device by which godly parents could instruct their children in the central tenets of Protestant historiography."²² The *STC* editors may be responding to the reference to children in the title pasted across the broadside, which declares "*Then ye shall let your Children know, saying ...*". However, the sheer size of the engraving itself, even without the surrounding letter text, makes the idea of a folding synopsis difficult to believe. With the letter-text attached, and after the pasting involved in putting it together, the whole piece would have been too cumbersome for such a purpose, and also too easily damaged. Furthermore, the prose text is clearly intended to lead the reader to seek out Carleton's book, *A Thankfull Remembrance*, which is not directed to children. Thus the Sutherland broadside as extant seems more likely to be intended as a wall-hanging or for some other form of display, whether in private households or possibly a public space.

If Thomas Vicars were indeed the "inventor" of the detailed design for the plate for *A Thankfull Remembrance*, then his collaboration with Cornelis Danckerts was to be far more significant than he could have realized in his lifetime. For the power of this engraving is demonstrated by its long after-life: it is better known for its revival in the

²⁰ The seated figure with a sword across its mouth on this shield relates to Vicars' *Romphaiopheros = the sword-bearer. Or, The Byshop of Chichester's armes* (1627, B. Alsop and T. Fawcett for Robert Milbourne, STC 24705), a sermon on the significance of the Bishop of Chichester's coat of arms, which Vicars calls "your Coate of Armes" in his dedication.

²¹ An alternative candidate for the authorship of these prose passages is Phineas Fletcher (1582-1650), minister of Hilgay in Norfolk; James Boler published Fletcher's anti-papist commentary on the psalms, *The Way to Blessednes* (STC 11085).

²² Walsham, "Impolitic Pictures: Providence, History, and the Iconography of Protestant Nationhood in Early Stuart England", in R.N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church Retrospective, SCH 33* (Woodbridge, 1997), 307-328, p.312-4. Walsham describes such engravings as "relatively expensive items, aimed at 'middling sort' buyers and largely beyond the means of regular consumers of the cheapest type of print" but later discusses the Sutherland broadside engraving as if it were much less expensive (p.313).

1670s with the title *Popish plots and treasons*, the version photographed for *The Print in Stuart Britain*, where Griffiths notes that John Garrett advertised the broadside in the Term catalogue for June 1678 “at the price of 6d. plain and 1s. coloured”.²³ In this later edition, the letter-press and the engraving both carry Garrett’s imprint. The content of the *Popish Plots and Treasons* letter-press is different from that of the 1625 *A Thankfull Remembrance* and the layout is much simpler. The two columns of simple eight-line verses fit neatly down each side of the engraving with the title split between them. This anti-Jacobite example was obviously sold by Garrett as a complete package, as the title indicates: *Popish plots and treasons from the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. / Illustrated with emblems and explain'd in verse. ; first are describ'd the cursed plots they laid. And on the side their wretched ends display'd.* This description emphasises the integration between the visual “emblems” and verse explanations.

Although the layout of the Sutherland broadside is more complex than the post-Restoration version, it too appears to have been planned to create an integrated whole. The type and ornaments are identical throughout the letter-press, which carries the imprint, “Printed at London by M.F. 1625”. Since this text fits so neatly round the engraving it would seem designed to be pasted together as it is found in the Sutherland collection broadside. However, some details of the pasting may indicate otherwise. For example, the columns of print on either side are each made up of two cut pieces of paper, with one set of verses pasted below the other. The top set of verses at each side have been cut very close to the print, with slight traces of other words printed above before the cut was made. The long horizontal strip carrying the heading “These are the Deliveries which god hath vouchsafed to his church in England....”, is actually made up of two halves carefully pasted together at the centre so that the letters appear unbroken. We cannot be certain whether this reflects the way the original wall display was put together, or is the result of repairs or sophistication at a later stage. However, it is

²³ Griffiths, p.154. *Popish plots and treasons from the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. / Illustrated with emblems and explain'd in verse. ; first are describ'd the cursed plots they laid. And on the side their wretched ends display'd* (Sold by John Garrett, c.1671-97), Wing C33A; Miller, *Religious Prints*, BMC 13. These dates cover the period of the Jacobite rebellions. The copy of *All the Workes of John Taylor* (1630) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Douce T subt.1) is interleaved with manuscript material in support of William of Orange. This binding of this copy suggests that it may have been owned by a branch of the family of Sir Robert Sidney, Second Earl of Leicester (Lord De Lisle and Dudley, 1595-1677).

possible that the letter-press text was deliberately printed so that it could be used for two different purposes.²⁴

The most likely alternative layout would be a single-sheet broadside with four columns consisting of Taylor's verses and the accompanying notes, with the caption title spread across the top of all four columns. The prose at the base of the broadside may or may not have been included in such a separate printing. Its instruction to the reader to consult Carleton's book would have reached a wider audience in this format, but the references within this prose to specific features of the engraved illustrations would lose their purpose if published separately from the engraving. However, a cheaper broadside, without the engraving, may have targeted an audience of a different socio-economic status to those who could afford the more expensive and densely worded books. An engraving such as the Danckerts plate was expensive to produce; the prints would have been costly to purchase and may have been sold mainly through Jenner's shop at the Corn Exchange. By contrast, a pamphlet or broadside containing the text alone, or perhaps with some simple woodcuts, could have circulated more widely across the country.

The possibility of an alternative format for Taylor's verses might help to explain the differences of orthography and punctuation between the letter-text of the 1625 broadside and the text of *Gods Manifold Mercies* in the 1630 folio. These differences are much more extensive than is usually the case where the 1630 folio texts have been printed from copies of previous editions, as in the majority of items in *All the Workes*. They are in addition to the obvious omission of two lines (11-12) from Verse 3 of the broadside, which ends:

*But Stukely was in Mauritania slaine,
In that great battle at Alcazar fought,
Thus Rome and Treasons purposes prove vaine,
And God still brings their practices to nought.
Whereby we see his power doth still defend
His Church, which on his mercy doth depend.²⁵*

²⁴ I am grateful to Dr Rummelin at the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, for his opinion on the state of this broadside.

The underlined section is missing in *All the Workes*: however, as it fits the sense and the verse pattern, this is probably an error in setting up the folio, rather than confirmation of a different copy-text. However, such an error would be more likely when setting up from a manuscript, especially if it resembled Taylor's later manuscript used as copy in Oxford. The multiplicity of minor changes between the broadside and the folio printing, including the occasional substitution of a single word, suggests that the folio text of "Gods Manifold Mercies" was not set up from the verses as they appear on the 1625 broadside, but from a different copy of Taylor's text, whether in print or manuscript.²⁶

An additional possibility is that the engraving in the Sutherland collection is not in its earliest state. There is no doubt that the restoration *Popish Plots and Treasons* engraving is a later state, because Garrett's imprint has replaced that of Thomas Jenner. However, Jenner's imprint on the previous *A Thankfull Remembrance* appears to be engraved in two different hands, and thus may itself have been altered.²⁷ The broadside engraving carries the words "The Second Edition" inscribed beside the feet of *Ecclesia Vera* and so experts have always assumed that this is a reference to the second edition of Bishop Carleton's book (1625), rather than a second state of the engraving itself.²⁸ This assumption might seem sensible, because some of the scenes depicted relate to material that was not present in the book's first edition in 1624 but was added in for 1625.²⁹ The engraved print itself is undated except for the chronograph on the altar-piece which is copied from Van de Passe's frontispiece to Carleton's book. Thus the letter-press date of 1625 has been taken as the date of first issue for the engraved plate as well. Yet this letter-press is pasted around the engraving and thus not necessarily issued at precisely the same time. There is also a puzzling entry in the Stationer's Register to Miles Flesher

²⁵ *A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercie* (1625), Sutherland Large Volume III, p. 101.

²⁶ See, for example, Percy Simpson, *Proof Reading*, p.86, Plate XV.

²⁷ The imprint reads "Are to be sold by Thomas Jenner at the Royall Exchang:", followed by "effarmavit", possibly in a different hand, and then a gap before the signature of Willem Van de Passe, which is copied from the original title-page to Carleton's book..

²⁸ The STC states that the print was "possibly intended as a folding plate" for this second edition (STC 4641).

²⁹ The 1624 edition of *A Thankfull Remembrance* contained fifteen chapters and a conclusion; Chapter 15 concerns the start of King James's reign and the plots of Watson, which corresponds to the picture numbered 15 on the engraving. However, the narrative of the 1625 edition is expanded, shifting this material forward to form Chapter 16, and adding a lengthy Chapter 17 on "The Gunpowder Treason".

for “The Copper picture of *the Thanckefull remembrance* to be printed when he brings further Authority”, dated 30th November 1624.³⁰ The phrase “when he brings further Authority” may indicate that the Stationers thought the plate needed approval by a government licensor, probably because of the religious topic. However, the date itself is rather puzzling. A plate of this nature had to be commissioned at least six months before it was needed, which takes the date back to June 1624 at the latest, just a month after the entry of Carleton’s book, in May 1624. Thus it seems possible that the plate had actually been commissioned to accompany the first, 1624 edition, and that the print in the Ashmolean museum is indeed a “second edition” of the original engraving.

However, the fact that this plate was entered to Miles Flesher raises further questions. It is possible that Flesher was entering the plate for Thomas Jenner, as a protective measure, a practice that Anthony Griffiths identifies for other engravings where Jenner was involved.³¹ If so, the strategy seems to have succeeded, as the plate was still in the hands of John Garrett, Jenner’s successor, in the 1680s.³² However, a further possibility is that the “Copper picture” referred to in this entry was not the one engraved by Cornelis Danckerts but a different set of pictures executed by Frederic van Hulsen. For Flesher not only printed the letter-text for the Sutherland broadside but also the third edition of Carleton’s book, *A Thankfull Remembrance* in 1627, taking over from John Dawson. This third edition is radically altered by the insertion of a series of twenty-one illustrations, engraved by Van Hulsen, which closely resemble those in the broadside but are not direct copies.³³ These were distributed throughout the volume and

³⁰ *Arber* IV. 129 (30 Nov, 1624). Flesher paid the regular six pence fee for a single book or broadside.

³¹ George Fairbeard entered three portraits to be sold by Jenner in 1621-2 (Griffiths, p.65, no. 22). For the family links between de Passe and Jenner, see Griffiths, pp.36 and 39. Henry Gossen may have been filling a similar role when in 1622 he entered *A new and accurate map of the world* (Arber, 4. 79), which was then produced for Jenner with date 1625 (see also Wing N537, 1641). See *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, Vol.4, ed. John Barnard & D.F. McKenzie with Maureen Bell, (Cambridge, CUP, 1998-2009) p.238.

³² An earlier link between Jenner and Taylor is the engraving of “Servirus O’Toole” by Francis Delaram that appears in Gossen’s 1623 nonce edition of *The Great O’tooke* (1622, with *A Very Merry Wherry Ferry Voyage*). This engraving had been sold separately with the date 1618, carrying Jenner’s address, at “the white beare in Cornewell”. Bibliographers suggest that an earlier edition of *The Great O’tooke*, now lost, may have accompanied this 1618 print. In the Catalogue to *All the Workes, The Great O’tooke* is listed next to *Gods Manifold Mercies* (“The Churches Deliverances”), which may indicate a potential copyright issue over both texts.

³³ The fourth edition of *A Thankfull Remembrance* was printed by Augustine Matthews for Milbourne and Robinson, (STC 4643), carrying the illustrations from the 1627 edition with some substitutions and additions.

printed as an integral part of the text, rather than on a separate insert. The differences between the two sets could be explained as a necessary consequence of the contrasting formats, since Hulsius would have been forced to re-draw the scenes, telescoping the plots and their consequences together into the small rectangular space available in the book.

Yet neither Hind nor Griffiths believe that Van Hulsen had seen the Danckerts plate before he produced his own illustrations in 1627. Despite the discrepancy in dates, Hind believes that Danckerts was copying Hulsius, while Griffiths suggests that both engravers worked independently from the same set of instructions. If this is true, then the close relationship between the two sets of illustrations is the consequence of very precise instructions from the “inventor”. Furthermore, the book illustrations would originally have been engraved on a single plate, which would then have been cut up for the prints. Thus Flesher’s entry of “The Copper picture of *the Thanckefull remembrance*” in 1624 could have described the plate carrying Van Hulsen’s book illustrations. The delay in licensing indicated in this 1624 entry could account for the fact that Dawson went ahead with printing a second edition of Carleton’s book in 1625 without illustrations, which were then delayed until Flesher himself printed the 1627 edition.³⁴ Alternatively, it is possible that by entering “the copper plate” for the *Thankfull Remembrance* in 1624 Flesher had established a right to the designs, rather than to any individual plate. Perhaps what the wardens were shown in 1624 was actually Thomas Vicars’ sketch or detailed instructions for the illustrations, rather than the engraved plate itself. This might have conveniently allowed for the more explicit references to 1623 and the Spanish Match in the engraved broadside of 1625: by contrast, Hulsius’ illustrations make no reference to the tableau of the ship and quayside engraved at the base of the Danckerts design (see below).³⁵

³⁴ Flesher’s illustrated 1627 edition of *A Thankfull Remembrance* may have been delayed by his printing of the first edition of Bishop Joseph Hall’s *Workes* in 1624-5, a lengthy folio shared between several stationers (see below).

³⁵ Van Hulsen’s engravings are found in several other English books, mostly from 1627, including: *The character of a Christian* (1627, STC 5151) (sometimes wrongly attributed to Hulsius but actually by IP, author of *Romes Ruin*); John Reader, *David’s Soliloquie* (1627, STC 20788); *Lucan’s Pharsalia*, trans. Thomas May (1627, STC 16887,) and Christopher Lever’s *The historie of the defenders of the catholique faith.* (1627, STC 15537), where the title-page is based on the Danckerts *Thankfull Remembrance*. Most of Van Hulsen’s title-pages are for anti-Catholic defences of the Reformed church; John Reader was a puritan preacher and royalist who welcomed Charles II to Dover in 1660.

Whatever the precise nature of the “copper Picture” shown to the stationers in November 1624, it seems that Flesher was cooperating closely with Carleton or his intermediaries, probably Thomas Vicars. This may explain why, at the same time as the entry for *A Thankfull Remembrance*, Flesher paid for the assignment from John and Edward Wright of *The Booke of Fortune*, a folio of tables and charts about gambling. Flesher seems never to have printed this book, which survives in a single edition from 1618. The likelihood is that he was acting to block any new editions, in accordance with the views of Bishop Carleton, whose attack on gambling in *Astrologomania* (“Madness of Astrologers”) Vicars had published that same year.³⁶ The cooperative relationship between Flesher and Vicars evident in their publications at this time may account for the involvement of John Taylor in *A Thankfull Remembrance*. Flesher had published several of Taylor’s major pieces in the early 1620s, in partnership with Eld, and is also the printer of the first extant edition of *Wit and Mirth*, for Henry Gossen in 1626. Thus it is possible that it was Flesher who turned to Taylor for these verses on *A Thankfull Remembrance*.

However, it may be that either Vicars or Carleton himself had a hand in this choice. Although Taylor’s narrative is closely based on Carleton’s book, the explicit focus on 1623 in the broadside goes well beyond the Bishop’s veiled references in his Preface. This change of emphasis may well reflect the particular interests of both Vicars and Taylor rather than the intentions of the Bishop himself. The more openly political nature of the Sutherland broadside would fit Vicars’ less prominent status, for Bishops tended to be less outspoken than more minor clergymen. The importance of 1623 for Taylor is evident from the Catalogue in *All the Workes*, where *Prince Charles His Welcome from Spaine* is listed as the penultimate text, before *Gods Manifold Mercies*, stressing the association between these two texts. From a twenty-first century point of view, the idea that a cleric might have chosen John Taylor to compose verses to advertise the work of a Bishop in the mid 1620s might seem far-fetched. However, Taylor seems to have had a particular affinity for the interests of the Carleton family,

³⁶ Lorenzo Spirito, *The Booke of Fortune....made in Italian*, (E.Wright, 1618), STC 3306. Bishop George Carleton was well known for his hatred of fortune telling, which he associated with the seductions of Catholicism. For the assignment to Flesher, see Arber IV.129. For George Carleton’s *Astrologomania* (I Jaggard for W. Turner of Oxford, 1624), STC 4630, see Rednour, p. xviii (Preface).

which might lie behind his involvement in *A Thankfull Remembrance*. Just a year after the publication of *All the Workes*, Taylor was involved in an inspection of the Thames waterway from Oxford to London in which Sir Dudley Carleton (Viscount Dorchester from 1628), in his capacity as Secretary of State, was the leading government official. The State Papers for August 1631 show Carleton arranging to visit the sites and unsuccessfully offering the job of assistant to a Dutch expert, Hugo Spiering. Robert Dow speculates that Taylor himself was the substitute for Spiering, and although this seems unlikely, he was certainly on the barge that showed Viscount Dorchester the relevant features of the river. Taylor's account of this survey in *Taylor on Thames Isis* (1632) is prefaced by a tribute to the religious piety of Sir Dudley Carleton, who died before its publication.³⁷

It is possible that Taylor's contact with the Carleton family went back as far as his trips to the continent in 1619-20. His visit to the Palatine court in Prague, where he dandled Elizabeth's heir in his arms, is evidence of a close coincidence of sympathies with Sir Dudley Carleton, who, as English Ambassador to the Hague, became a staunch ally to the Winter Queen. Taylor's *An Englishman's Love to Bohemia* (1620), which was printed by George Eld with the false imprint "Dort", also tells of meeting the English forces in the Netherlands. As mentioned earlier, Bishop George Carleton had corresponded closely with his cousin during the Synod of Dort in 1619 and the two shared the same Calvinist perspective. Later, as Kevin Sharpe emphasises, Sir Dudley Carleton was to be "a champion of the Spanish war". Thus Taylor's proven skills with the pen, in appealing to a wide range of readers, and his very public support for the Bohemian cause during the early 1620s, might have recommended him to the Bishop and his son-in-law as a suitable copy-writer for the broadside of *A Thankfull Remembrance*.³⁸

³⁷ It is not clear whether Carleton accompanied Taylor throughout the trip, but it is likely that he was present for some of the time. See, for example, the generosity of Judge Whitlock's kitchens on his estate in the vicinity of Henley (*Taylor on Thame Isis*, 1632 (STC 23803) B4v-B5r). The date Taylor gives here, about the 27th of August, demonstrates the speed at which the inspection had been put into operation. See Dow, "Life and Times", pp. 256-264. *Taylor on Thame Isis* was entered on May 5, 1632 (Arber IV. 276).

³⁸ Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1992), p.67.

However, both the engraving and Taylor's text for the Sutherland Broadside alter the balance of Carleton's books by their increased emphasis on 1623, the engraving equivocally and Taylor's verses more explicitly. The majority of the Sutherland engraving follows Carleton's narrative very closely: all sixteen main pictures can be specifically linked to stories in the chapters of the second edition of *A Thankfull Remembrance* (1625). Each has a clear explanation in English etched into the white space provided for this purpose below the scene. For example, Picture 4 is described with the words "Desmonds bloody practice approved", Picture 9 explains "Parry not able to kill the Queene", and 11 shows "Watson seducing Noblemen". However, the presentation of the final two tableaux at the base of the plinth is more ambiguous. These depict, on the left-hand side an altar with a heart, and on the right hand side a ship with two passengers waving and a group of bystanders on the quayside [see Fig. 9.4, below].

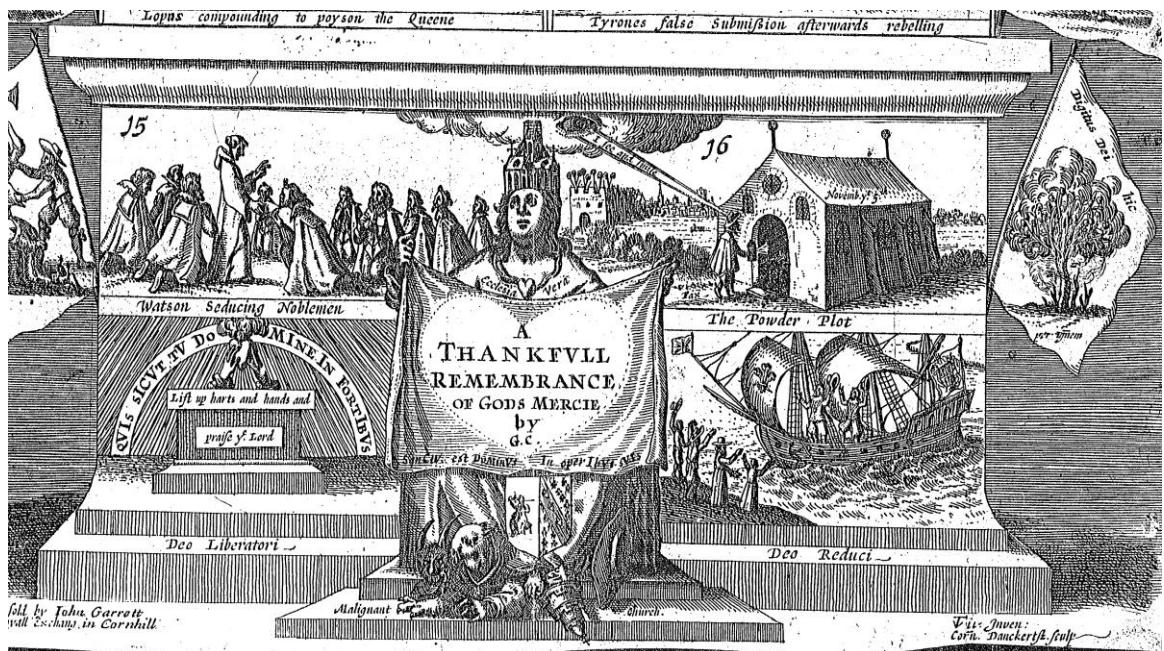


Fig. 9.4. *Popish Plots and Treasons*, (John Garrett, 1676-1697), detail. ³⁹

³⁹ *Popish Plots and Treasons*, (John Garrett, 1676-1697), Wing: C33A (Bodleian Library) <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>> [accessed 28 August 2009]

Neither scene refers directly to events in the chapters of Carleton's historical narrative, but the altar on the left is copied from Carleton's book, where it appears above the head of the seated figure of *Ecclesia Vera*. This leaves the scene of the ship and waving watchers as the only panel on the Danckerts engraving that has no obvious link to Carleton's book.

There is no explanation in English on the engraving itself for these last two unnumbered scenes. Instead each is labeled by an allusive Latin tag etched into the steps of the plinth, "Deo Liberatori" below the altar and "Deo Reduci" below the ship. These phrases more closely resemble the moralizing Latin sayings inscribed on the flags that show the fates of each set of conspirators, such as "Qualis vita / Finis Ita". While the phrase "Deo Liberatori" is taken from the frontispiece to Carleton's book, the tag "Deo Reduci" below the ship has no equivalent in any edition.⁴⁰ Translated as "Returned again to God" or "God brings back" this phrase could be applied to the return of Prince Charles from Madrid, which is how Taylor describes this picture in his Verse 17. However, even in Taylor's narrative, the actual reason for the journey to and from Spain (the pursuit of the Spanish Infanta's hand in marriage) is tactfully glossed over in the oblique reference to the Prince's return *In mind and body free from Rome and Spaine*. In the engraved picture, the two figures on the ship could be understood as Charles and Buckingham, with the insignia of the Prince of Wales drawn on the ship's sails.⁴¹ However, the scale is small and the identification of the figures, although likely, is conjectural. It is only by the addition of Taylor's verse that any explicit reference to the return of Charles from Madrid is made. There is no direct reference to the date 1623 in the engraving, but Taylor's letter-press places this date in the bottom right-hand corner, updating Carleton's book further than the Bishop's own narrative, which ends with the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 (Fig. 9.5).

⁴⁰In this frontispiece, the phrase "Deo Liberatori" is engraved on the front of the altar, while in the broadside it appears on the steps below; the line "Lift up harts and hands to Praise the Lord" appears on the side of the altar in both versions. This can be clearly seen on the copy of the 1624 frontispiece printed in Hind, II, Plate 182.

⁴¹BM Satires 13, p7, describes the ship as carrying "the Prince of Wales's badge of feathers" on the sail and "the Jack of England and Scotland" on the bowsprit, with the Royal Standard of the two countries on the stern.

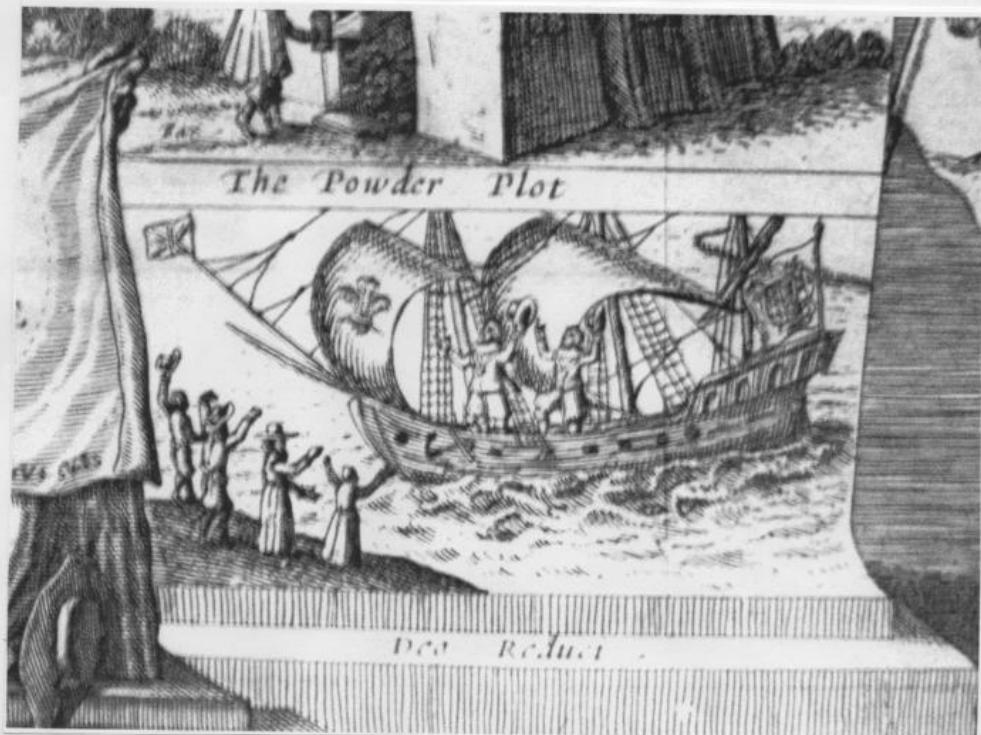


Fig. 9.5 *A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercie* (1625) Detail.⁴²

⁴² STC4643.5. Sutherland Large Volume III, p. 101, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University. Photographed by permission of the curator. Not for reproduction.

Fig. 9.5 *A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercie* (1625) Detail.⁴²

⁴² STC4643.5. Sutherland Large Volume III, p. 101, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University. Photographed by permission of the curator. Not for reproduction.

Taylor's verses are therefore essential to the overall effect of the Sutherland broadside, promoting the idea of Charles's escape from the Spanish match as the most recent amongst the "Deliveries" of the Church of England and fixing the date 1623 in the calendar of these Deliverances. However, Taylor's text as a whole was clearly intended to be read in conjunction with the illustrations in Danckerts' engraving, either in the state shown on the Sutherland broadside or one that was almost identical. For example, where Taylor tells us in his note printed in the column next to Verse 2 that Don John, the King of Spain's brother, "dyes for grieve", the banner placed next to Danckerts's second scene shows a man of some wealth languishing in his canopied bed, with the Latin inscription *Mors peccatorum Pessima*. Taylor's description in his note matches the details of the vignette precisely, and is placed in exactly the right relationship spatially to the picture and the verse in the broadside. Thus it seems likely that Taylor was composing his verses with the Danckerts print or a close version of it in front of him.

However, the precise correspondence between the numbering of Taylor's verses and the pictures in the Sutherland engraving is interrupted for the final two tableaux, which are themselves unnumbered. Up to this point, the verse numbers run in pairs across the broadside from left to right, following the narrative in the pairs of pictures; thus the odd numbered verses are on the left of the engraving and the even numbers are on the right. However, the last verse on either side of the broadside breaks the sequence: on the left, Verse 15 is followed by 18; while on the right Verse 16 is followed by 17. As these verses are printed on continuous pieces of paper, this change cannot be the result of the cutting and pasting that has gone into the extant Sutherland broadside. Furthermore, the content of these two verses still matches the unnumbered pictures beside them: Verse 18 on the left hand side matches the picture of the altar on the left, and Verse 17 printed on the right hand relates to the picture of the ship on the right. The logic of the visual design through the rest of the engraving suggests that these two pictures at the base were intended to relate to one another, creating a pictorial narrative that should read from left to right. Thus the religious message of the altar would precede the scene of the ship and quayside, which is the final tableau in the design.

However, the numbering of Taylor's verses reverses this sequence: verse 17 focuses on the return of Charles from Madrid, which is pictured on the right, while verse 18 contains his declaration of loyalty to the English Church, relating to the altar on the left side of the plinth.⁴³ So far as the letter-press is concerned, this irregularity may have been governed by the desire, whether on the part of author, printer or editor, to ensure that the date 1623 became the focus of the broadside. For if the latter-press is read from left to right and from top to bottom, then the panel carrying this date, placed in the bottom right hand corner of the design, is the final item. The accompanying note to this date, "1623/ Great was the en-/terprise and hazard/ of our gracious Prince, but grea-/ ter was Gods/ mercy, to guard / him backe again, / to all our ioy and / comforts" also makes the phrase "to all our joy and comforts" the final words of the broadside. At the same time, this rearrangement allows Taylor's lines about Charles's future fame from the verse numbered 17, ending "These Deeds were done by Britaines Charles the great" to rest immediately above Flesher's imprint, where they too stand out (Fig. 9.6).

⁴³ It is also possible that the inversion in Taylor's verses indicates that he was working from the design instructions or a sketch rather than the engraved pictures themselves. The verse numbers 17 and 18 do not relate to the additional chapters in the 1625 and 1627 editions of Carleton's book: the 1624 edition ends with Chapter 15; the 1625 edition adds Chapters 16 and 17; and the 1627 edition adds a Chapter 18. The contents of these chapters do not match the contents of Taylor's verses or the pictures to which these verses refer.

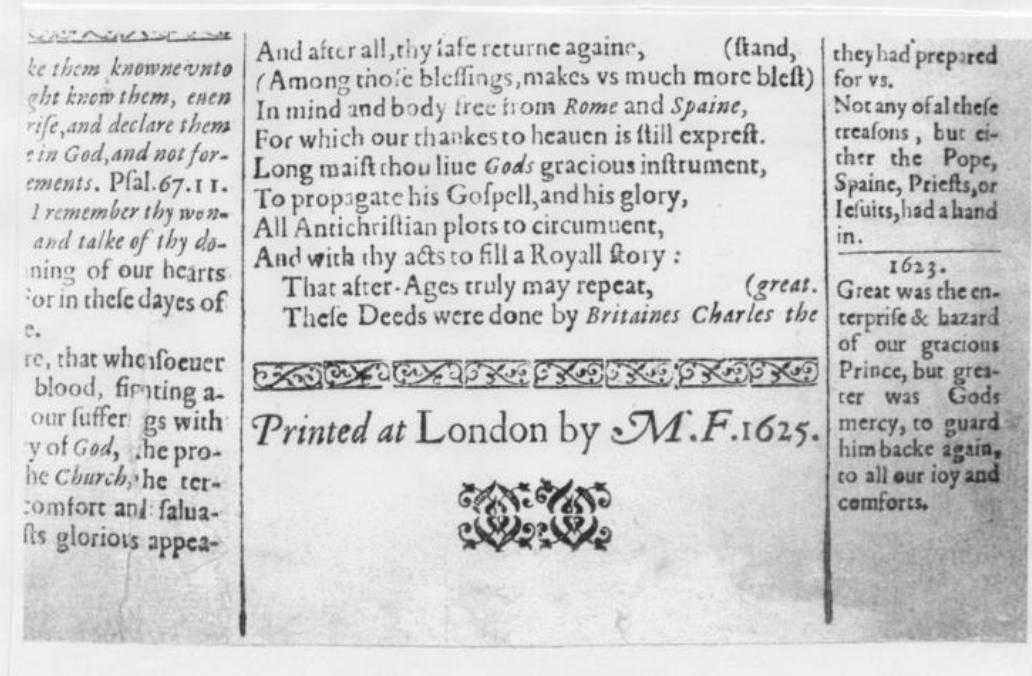


Fig. 9.6. *A Thankfull Remembrance* (1625), detail, showing the imprint of Miles Flesher below Verse 17, with the date 1623 beside it.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ STC4643.5. Sutherland Large Volume III, p. 101, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University.
Photographed by permission of the Curator. Not for reproduction.

Fig. 9.6. *A Thankfull Remembrance* (1625), detail, showing the imprint of Miles Flesher below Verse 17, with the date 1623 beside it.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ STC4643.5. Sutherland Large Volume III, p. 101, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University.
Photographed by permission of the Curator. Not for reproduction.

If the conjecture of a separate issue of these verses is correct, as discussed above, and if this separate issue used the same setting of the letter-press as the Sutherland broadside, then this cheaper un-illustrated broadside would have carried this final sentence and the date 1623 firmly at its conclusion. The rhyming couplet, with its strongly rhetorical style, makes it peculiarly appropriate for such a printing. The rest of the verse is of course in alternate rhymes, but the final couplet has a ballad-like rhythm that suggests the possibility of being set to music:

*That after-Ages truly may repeat,
These Deeds were done by Britaines Charles the great.*

Thus the sequence of dates in the Sutherland broadside moves from 1569 at top left to 1623 at bottom right, conveying a clear trajectory of historical progress. Yet if Taylor's verses 17 and 18 are read in the order in which they are numbered, and in which they are printed in the folio of 1630, then the implication is that the Prince's return in 1623 was not the final step in the narrative. Instead, the escape from Madrid and the Spanish Match becomes subordinated to the overall declaration of religious faith represented in Danckerts' design by the altar and heart. Charles's safety from the threat of Spanish or alien dangers is described as conditional rather than conclusive, as one event in a series that has yet to reach its final end. In this way, the necessary precondition for the continued salvation of the monarchy is shown to be a declaration of faith in the English Church, expressed through an unswerving belief in redemption through Christ crucified.

Thus the message conveyed by the Sutherland broadside depends on the marriage of text and pictures. Without Taylor's verses, the engraving on its own leaves the relationship between these last two tableaux wholly ambivalent. When the numbering system ceases and the English captions are replaced by allusive Latin phrases that could be combined in either order, "Deo Liberatori, Deo Reduci", or the reverse, "Deo Reduci, Deo Liberatori", the sequence of ideas also becomes flexible. Although in the visual design the scene of the ship with the watchers on the quayside is placed opposite the altar showing the Church's celebration of God's Deliverances, it is up to the viewer to determine precisely what is implied by this conjunction. Indeed, it is possible

that even in 1625 viewers might have interpreted this scene of the ship and quayside without reference to 1623, and instead as commemorating the Prince bringing back his bride, Henrietta Maria, from France. This flexibility would prove especially useful for Garrett's edition of *Popish Plots and Treasons*: here the scene of the ship is reinterpreted as the arrival of Mary and William of Orange from abroad, and its conjunction with the altar as a celebration to a return to the True faith after the short reign of James II.

Whether this ambiguity in the Sutherland engraving was the intention of the person responsible for the original design or an accidental effect, perhaps a consequence of an alteration to the plate, cannot be certainly determined. However, there is some indication that the ambiguity might derive from Carleton himself, or at least from a reading of the book of *A Thankfull Remembrance*. It is probable that Taylor wrote some or all of his verses with the second edition of Carleton's book in front of him as well as the engraving or plans for it; the details that he includes in these verses do not derive from the pictures alone but apparently draw on the narrative of the book. The Dedicatory letter to *A Thankfull Remembrance*, prefacing the first and all subsequent editions, is addressed to Charles, who was still heir to the throne rather than King when the book was first published. In this dedication, Carleton refers very obliquely to the events of 1623:

*SIR, I suppose it is hard to finde a Narration containing more miraculous Protection of Gods Church Which consideration may serue to fasten your Highness to the loue and service of that great God, that doth so strongly maintain his servants. That as hitherto you haue had a gracious experience of his grace and goodnesse towards you, so your noble heart may grow every day more and more in the loue and obedience of the truth.*⁴⁵

The words “*That as hitherto you haue had a gracious experience of his grace and goodnesse towards you*” are almost certainly intended to refer to Charles's return from Spain, which had indeed been described as miraculous. However, this reference is so

⁴⁵ George Carleton, *A Thankfull Remembrance*, (1624, STC 4640), *Epistle Dedicatore*, A3.

guarded that it depends absolutely on the reader's knowledge and expectations to infer such a meaning, and thus cannot be considered in the same terms as the accounts of the Catholic plots that occupy the main text. By keeping this reference obscured, such an interpretation could be safely ignored or denied.

However, instead of the Bishop's guarded allusion to Charles's experience of God's "grace and goodnesse", diplomatically buried in the midst of his *Dedicatore Epistle*, the Sutherland broadside, with visual and letter-press elements working together, monumentalizes the Prince's return as part of the calendar of *The Churches Deliverances*. The date, 1623, becomes the latest landmark in the triumphant history of the English Protestant Church. This change of emphasis, from Carleton's historical narrative of past deliverances in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, to the focus on Charles's salvation from the Spanish match under the auspices of the English Church in 1623, turns a straightforward item of historical anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish propaganda into a more ambivalent contribution to the specific religious and political debates of the mid 1620s. However, the marriage of the visual and linguistic elements in the Sutherland broadside also confers a sense of the prophetic upon the work as a whole, appropriate to the title pasted above the engraving: *When your Children shall aske their Fathers in time to come, saying, What meaneth the Pillar: Then ye shall let your Children know, saying: These are the Deliveries which God hath vouchsafed to his Church in England: ... That all the People of the Earth might know the hand of the Lord that is mighty, that you might feare the Lord your God for ever.*⁴⁶ The reference to future generations suggests that the tableau of the altar with the hand, heart and flames symbolises the spiritual that transcends through time, beyond the individual incidents portrayed. In addition, the figure of *Ecclesia Vera* has been placed in front of the plinth, so that these two tableaux appear either side of this representation of the True Church. Like the Statue of Liberty at the entrance to New York, *Ecclesia Vera* appears to be towering over the return of the prodigal Prince, an unavoidable reminder of the absolute dependence of the frail human being on the grace of the Reformed Church's providence.

⁴⁶ This is the wording of the text found on the Sutherland broadside itself (1625). It appears after the added title of *Gods Manifold Mercies in All the Workes* (1630), with the wording very slightly altered. The heading is not present in the later edition sold by John Garrett c.1679 onwards, which carries only the title, *Popish Plots and Treasons* printed above the column of verses on the left hand side.

Thus the broadside of *A Thankfull Remembrance* becomes not just a memorial to the past triumphs of the English monarchy against foreign Catholic conspiracies, but a guide or warning to the prodigal son as he negotiates the dangerous future. The “pedagogic” function of this engraving is therefore symbolically directed not so much at young children, but to the young man upon whom the monumental weight of English Protestant history now rested. Both Taylor’s verses and the dedication to Carleton’s book address the issue of Charles’s responsibilities as the spiritual leader of his church and country. Both may also be interpreted as implying that the preservation of the Prince depends (and depended) on his spiritual fitness for such a role. In so doing, both texts would have risked offence had not they each succeeded in maintaining a level of ambiguity that veils the admonitory aspects of their message. The duality of the message conveyed by the parallel pictures at the base of the plinth is a perfect channel for expressing this concept in a way that avoids explicit criticism.

Nevertheless, it could be argued that the combined effect of a perusal of the broadside and a reading of Carleton’s volume to which it relates would render such an interpretation unavoidable. Thus there is some cause for suggesting that the broadside and the quarto prose history were part of a two-pronged stratagem for presenting advice to Charles without risk to the individuals involved in the production of these texts.⁴⁷ The views on the Prince’s relationship to the Church and his future achievements as expressed by Taylor in his Verse 17 fit closely with Carleton’s dedicatory letter, especially the closing sentences:

*We are all charged by Gods Word to pray for Kings and Princes. ... But when
your Highness hath effectually made knowne your singular care and loue to the
common good ... this must needs draw the hearts of all faithfull men nearer to
your Highness. And this is a part of your happiness; for the feare of God and
loue of Subiects is able to make Kings and Princes strong against all their
enemies.*⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Some context for these suggestions may be found in David Colclough, *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, CUP, 2005).

⁴⁸ George Carleton, *A thankfull remembrance of Gods mercy In an historicall collection of the great and mercifull deliverances of the Church and state of England, since the Gospell began here to flourish, from*

Such words might be appropriate from the Bishop of Chichester, who had been the Prince's Chaplain (appointed in 1616) and was in great favour with King James when this dedication was published in 1624. The indeterminacy of "when your Highnes hath effectually made known" assumes that the problem is not the existence of the Prince's love for his subjects but the opportunity to demonstrate it "effectually". This belief, or perhaps hope, continued to be expressed by government officials, including Sir Dudley Carleton, even after the dismissal of parliament in 1629.

However, for Taylor to adopt the Bishop's reservations concerning the Prince's adherence to the true religion would seem much more unwise. Perhaps the fact that the Sutherland broadside does not name Taylor as the author of these verses is an indication of unease about the enterprise. The usual place for an author's name or initials on a broadside was beneath the final verse: here we find the initials of the publisher, M F, but no mention of the author. The composer of the prose passage is not named either, but if this was Thomas Vicars then his initials do at least appear on the engraved print. If Taylor did allow Flesher to print his verses anonymously, this would not be the only time that his authorship had been omitted or concealed before the 1630s, despite his protestations to the contrary in the title-page to *Taylor's Pastorall* (1624). Nevertheless, in general Taylor was proud to acknowledge his authorship: thus the decision to issue his verses anonymously in 1625 was unusual.⁴⁹ If published fairly early in 1625, after James's death but before the problems of Charles' reign began to emerge, the Sutherland broadside might have seemed relatively uncontroversial. The message conveyed by the print and by Taylor's verses would presumably have read as if addressed specifically to

the beginning of Queene Elizabeth. (J.Dawson for R. Milbourne, 1624), STC 4641, Sig. A3r-A3v, (my underlining).

⁴⁹ "there are many things imprinted under the name of two letters I.T. for some of which I have been taxed to be the Author; I assure the world that I had never anything imprinted of my writing, that I was either afraid or ashamed to set my name at large to it; and therefore if you see any authors name I.T., I utterly disclaime it" (*Taylors pastorall being both historicall and satyricall* (1624), STC 23801, 'Epistle to the Reader', A4v). *The Unnaturall Father* (1621) was published anonymously by Trundle and Gosson: this piece also has godly overtones. Several other texts before 1630, anonymous or signed "J.T.", have been attributed to Taylor, including *The Colde Tearme* (sn., 1621), STC 23910, a broadsheet of continuous verse that opens with a pastiche of Chaucer's 'Prologue' to 'The Canterbury Tales', and *A Funerall Elegie vpon the vntimely Death of the honorable Knight Sir Thomas Ouerburie*, signed "I.T" (Henry Gosson, [1615]), STC 23619.5, which was also appended to *The Just Downefall* (R. Higgenbotham, 1615), STC 18919.7, the second edition of a compilation relating to the Overbury scandal.

the new monarch. Their combined insistence on Charles's position as the latest in an illustrious line of staunchly anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish English monarchs, preserved by the divine providence of a Protestant God, would appear as a timely reminder to the King of the expectations of his most loyal Protestant subjects. Taylor's references to Charles gaining future glory through fighting the anti-Christ could be taken as encouragement for his attempt to persuade Parliament to vote extra supply in order to send an English force to help the Protestant armies in Europe. However, within a year of Charles's accession this situation had changed, with Charles's dissolution of Parliament in June 1626, after the attack on Buckingham by Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot. The resonances of the Sutherland broadside must therefore have altered as events unfolded in the second half of the decade.

It is in this political context that the issue of the precise dating of the Sutherland broadside and its potential for interpretation in relation to Charles's monarchical inheritance takes on an additional depth of focus. For the year 1625 inaugurated a contentious period for publishing on religious topics, with the appearance of Montague's *Appello Caesarem* (1625), defending his earlier *A new gagg for the new Gospell?* (1624).⁵⁰ The spate of responses to Montagu's books, from both Puritans and moderates, led to Charles's royal proclamation in June 1626, prohibiting the discussion or publication of "opinions concerning Religion" differing from the doctrines and disciplines of the Church of England. The proclamation promised that the King would "proceed against all such offenders and wilfull contemners of his gracious and Religious government". It was directed particularly towards writing from a Calvinist perspective, since the King was inclined to accept the guidance of the Durham House group as to what constituted the doctrines of the Church of England.⁵¹ Although texts sympathetic to Calvinism continued to reach print during the second half of the 1620s, the storm that had erupted around Montagu and his opponents indicates how such increasing tensions were seriously affecting the publishing world.

Appello Caesaram attacks the conclusions of the Synod of Dort, accusing the delegates of a dangerous Puritanism. As discussed above, Carleton had been the leading

⁵⁰ Richard Montagu, *Appello Caesarem A iust appeale from two vniust informers* (M.Lownes for H.Lownes, 1625), STC 18030.

⁵¹ Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England* (Cambridge, CUP, 2008), pp.44-46.

English churchman at the Synod of Dort, where his anti-Arminian stance was especially notable. Montagu's personal vendetta against a group of widely respected clergyman who considered themselves the stalwarts of orthodoxy in the English Church aroused the accused to defend themselves. Carleton, as one of the most hurt, was also one of the most eloquent in self-defence, calling on Montagu to,

*consider what wrong he hath done to the Church of England, in obtruding, for Doctrines of our Church, the old rotten Heresies of Pelagius ... Who being a Priest of the Church of England, accuseth Bishops, his superiours, to be Puritanes; as all must be to him, who yield not to his foolish and erroneous Doctrines.*⁵²

Carleton's indignation and his identification with "the Church of England" come through strongly here. As Clegg comments, "Carleton was part of the ecclesiastical establishment that no one would think of as 'Puritan'". The fact that John Taylor had recently provided the verses for the broadside of *A Thankfull Remembrance* is confirmation that lay-folk saw Carleton as a key defender of the established church.⁵³

Print was an important means by which this controversy was pursued, and those defending themselves against Montagu published both individual rejoinders and a joint riposte, *The Joynt Attestation*, signed by Carleton, Bishop John Davenant, Walter Balcanqual, Samuel Ward and Thomas Goad, all the members of the English delegation

⁵² George Carleton, *An Examination of those things wherein the Author of the Late Appeale Holdeth the Doctrines of the Pelagians and Arminians to be the Doctrie of the Church of England*, (N. Okes, W. Jaggard et al., for R. Milbourne and W. Turner, 1626), STC 4633-4635; modernized version quoted in Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England*, p.54.

⁵³ The choice of terminology in relation to the disputes over the English Church in this period is especially fraught. I use the terms "strongly Protestant", "Calvinist" and "godly" with reference to *Gods Manifold Mercies / A Thankfull Remembrance* to suggest a Protestant, Calvinist approach, firmly on the orthodox side of "Puritanism", and with no implication of an oppositional intent, although anti-Catholic and anti-Arminian. The Montagu dispute of 1625/6 enforced the application of the label "Puritan" to Calvinist theological positions that had previously been acceptable, indeed central, to the established English Church, in order to place them beyond the pale of Orthodoxy. Clegg comments: "I employ the distinction between Calvinist and puritan used by Tyacke in *Anti-Calvinists*, namely that Calvinist predestination theology was part of the established religion of the Church of England under Elizabeth and James; "puritan" until the 1620s was used to describe "those members of the English Church who wanted further Protestant reforms in liturgy and organisation" (Tyacke, p.8) Susan Cyndia Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, CUP, 2001), page 241, note 123. For a fuller discussion, see Peter Lake, "Calvinism and the English Church", *Past and Present*, 114 (1987), 32-76.

at Dort. These were not the only clerics to express their opposition to Montagu in print in 1626. They were joined by others from across the spectrum, from the establishment through to the godly, including Daniel Featley, John Yates, Henry Burton, Francis Rous and the decidedly Puritan William Prynne. This list demonstrates the wide range of religious sympathies that could still be drawn together for a common cause in the mid 1620s. Opposition to Roman Catholicism was a common thread for all these clerics, and Carleton's belief that Arminianism was "thinly veiled popery" was shared by others such as Francis Rous, who declared boldly, 'There is not a Policy more advantageable to the Spaniard, then to bring in Division into a Land, by bringing in Arminianisme'.⁵⁴

This identification between Arminianism and a specifically Spanish papist threat to the sovereignty of England could easily have been read back into a text such as the Sutherland broadside. For, even though there is no direct verbal reference there to Arminianism, the reprise of the design for *T'Armenians Testament* combined with Carleton's reputation, must have been a potent mixture. Given the polarization engendered by the furore over *Appello Caesarem* in 1625/6, and the prominent position of George Carleton in this dispute with Montagu, it seems very likely that contemporaries encountering the Sutherland broadside from this point onwards would associate this text with the controversies over Arminianism. Taylor's reiterated yoking of "the Pope and Spaine" throughout his verse narrative is summed up most clearly in his note to verse 16: "Not any or all these treasons, but eyther the Pope the Spanish King, Priests or Iesuites, had a hand in it".⁵⁵ In the 1625 text the word "Spaine" appears where the 1630 edition in the folio has "Spanish King": the use of the country's name rather than the reference to an individual ruler emphasises the wholesale condemnation of all things Spanish.

The likelihood that readers would link both the books and the broadside of *A Thankfull Remembrance* to the issues of Pelagianism and Arminianism in the *Appello Caesarem* aftermath, is increased by the coincidence of stationers across the various texts involved. Robert Milbourne and Humphrey Robinson had published all four editions of the book *A Thankfull Remembrance*, although the printer changed from

⁵⁴ Francis Rous in *Testis Veritatis* (1626), quoted in Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England*, p.59.

⁵⁵ *All the Workes*, unsigned final gathering (p. (2)145). This verse is wrongly numbered 19 in *All the Workes*, presumably a straightforward printing error.

Dawson (1624/5) to Flesher (1627) and finally to Matthewes (1630). Milbourne was also the publisher of a good proportion of the anti-Montagu books issued during 1626, including the original Latin text of *Suffragium Collegiale*, the report and Articles of the Synod of Dort signed by Carleton and the other delegates, and the *Joynt Attestation*, the defence of these articles signed by the same set of divines, and with Bishop Carleton's *An examination* as an annex.⁵⁶ Other significant books in the *Appello Caesarem* debate published by Milbourne in 1626 include John Yates's *Ibis ad Caesarem* and the two parts of Daniel Featley's anti-Pelagian treatise, in both Latin and English editions, and in combination. The original Latin text, *Parallelsimus Non-antiqui*, was entered on 19th January 1626 with Featley's name attached, but printed anonymously by Miles Flesher, demonstrating Flesher's deep involvement with these anti-Montagu texts. Featley was a close colleague of Thomas Goad and both were involved in the licensing of books for the press as Abbott's chaplains.⁵⁷

The connections between Flesher and Milbourne therefore link the publication history of *A Thankfull Remembrance* with the growing controversies arising from the Synod of Dort throughout the 1620s. Furthermore, just before this Flesher's presses were also occupied in printing the first collected *Works* of Bishop Joseph Hall for Nathaniel Butter, who had published Taylor's first independent work, *The Sculler* (1612).⁵⁸ Hall had been chosen as one of the original delegates to Dort and was only replaced by Thomas Goad, who was Archbishop Abbot's Chaplain, because he fell ill

⁵⁶ *Suffragium collegiale theologorum Magnae Britanniae de quinque controversis remonstrantium articulis* (Robert Young for R. Milbourne, 1626), STC 7067. Signed: George Carleton; John Davenant, Samuel Ward, Thomas Goad, Walter Balcanquall. Second edition, 1627 onwards, printed by Miles Flesher in Latin (1626/7) then in English (1629-33); *A ioynt attestation, avowing that the discipline of the Church of England was not impeached by the Synode of Dort*, signed "Georgius Cicestriensis Episcopus. Iohannes Sarisburiensis Episcopus. Gualterus Balcanquall, Samuel Ward, Thomas Goad" (Miles Flesher for Robert Milbourne, 1626), STC 1239.

⁵⁷ John Yates's *Ibis ad Caesarem* printed by Flesher (and Eliot's Court Press ?) for Milbourne (STC 26083); Daniel Featley, *Parallelsimus Non-antiqui; A parallel of new-old Pelagiarminian error; Pelagius Redivivus ; A second parallel* (STC 10734 -10737). Also published by Milbourne in the Montagu debate in 1626 was Thomas Morton's *The Grand Imposture of the (now) Church of Rome* (STC 18186); Samuel Ward's *Gratia Discriminans*, Flesher for Milbourne (STC 25026), later issued with the *Suffragium Collegiale* (1633); Richard Bernard's *Rhemes against Rome: or, the Remooving of the gagg of the new Gospell* (STC 1961).

⁵⁸ *The works of Ioseph Hall Doctor in Divinitie*, (J. Haviland, M. Flesher and J. Beale for T. Pavier, M. Flesher, J. Haviland, N. Butter, et al., 1625), STC 12635. Flesher and Butter were the principal stationers in this project; the 1628 reissue (STC 12636.3) carries Butter's imprint and was printed for him by Haviland (A to 4 O), Beale (*Contemplations*, Vol. 3 only) and Flesher (all the rest).

early in the proceedings. He retired to convalesce under the care of Sir Dudley Carleton at The Hague. Hall's doctrinal stance was in tune with the other delegates. Although his name does not appear as a signatory to the *Suffragium* or to the *Joynt Attestation*, this is the result of his illness, not his lack of support for these beliefs. Moreover, Montague considered Hall a particular enemy, listing him along with Prideaux, Goad and Featley, for being "apt ... to informe and attend information against me att parliament" in 1624.⁵⁹ Thus Flesher's movement from printing Hall's *Works*, to producing *A Thankfull Remebrance* and key texts in the *Appello Caesarem* controversy for Robert Milbourne was entirely consistent.

However, the embroilment of Bishops Carleton and Hall in the controversies arising from the Synod of Dort and the issue of Arminianism is an essential background to the Sutherland broadside not only in 1625 but also in the reincarnation of Taylor's verses as *Gods Manifold Mercies* in his *Workes* of 1630. For these issues continued to provoke debate through the late 1620s and print was the essential medium of public exchange on these matters. The interrelationship between the authors, clerical or lay, and the stationers involved in these debates was very close. A pertinent example is Nathaniel Butter's troubles consequent on his publication of Hall's *The Reconciler* in 1629, which was printed for him predominantly by Miles Flesher.⁶⁰ Butter issued several versions of this text: two carry the imprint "M.F. for Nath: Butter", while the third does not name the printers, but contains extra passages printed by William Stansby. These passages had been deleted by Laud's chaplain before the book was licensed in an effort to suppress Hall's criticism of Arminianism which he describes as contrary to the doctrines of the English Church. However, it was Butter, rather than Hall, who was summoned before the ecclesiastical commission for publishing this uncensored version of *The Reconciler*. The explanation given was that Bishop Hall had agreed to the licensor's cuts but Butter had ignored his instructions. Whatever the truth of this matter, however, views on

⁵⁹ Tyacke suggests that Hall was one of the clergymen who produced the petition and list of articles against Montagu submitted anonymously to parliament in 1624, along with Prideaux, Goad and Featley, although no originals of the petition or articles survive (Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, p.148).

⁶⁰ *The Reconciler* was an attempt by Hall to mitigate the inflammatory effect of his earlier discussion of the Roman and Reformed churches in *The Olde Religion: a treatise wherein is laid downe the difference between the reformed, and romane church* (W. Stansby for N. Butter and R. Hawkins, 1628), STC 12690-12690.5.

Arminianism and the English Church that were certainly Hall's had successfully been printed and circulated, and Hall continued to find Butter a congenial publisher.⁶¹

Although Laud's attempts to censor anti-Arminian texts could therefore be bypassed, it is clear that writers concerned that their work might be subject to scrutiny had begun to adopt strategies to circumvent potential difficulties with the authorities. These circumstances must be taken into account when considering the choice of Taylor's verses from *A Thankfull Remembrance* as the concluding piece for *All the Workes* in 1630. It is likely that whoever made this choice was also responsible for the sequencing of the texts printed by Alsop and Fawcett building up to *Gods Manifold Mercies*, including the interweaving of the Bohemian material with that relating to 1623. Thus, as well as interpreting this sequence as a reflection of Taylor's personal concern for the family and fate of Elizabeth of Bohemia, as suggested in Chapter Eight, it should also be understood in the light of the religious debates of the late 1620s. In this respect, the positioning of *Gods Manifold Mercies* appears to be a reiteration of Bishop Carleton's original message to the Prince in 1624: a reminder that still at the turn of the decade 1629/30, the forces of the anti-Christ were waiting in the wings and that Charles's only pathway to glory was through a total commitment to the service of *Ecclesia Vera*.

Thus the choice of *Gods Manifold Mercies* to conclude *All the Workes* on its publication in 1630 could be understood as a deliberate gesture, repositioning Taylor's synopsis of Bishop Carleton's *A Thankfull Remembrance* within the print market at a moment of growing concern for the English Church and increasing fears of censorship, real or imagined. This interpretation would fit with the fact that Milbourne and Robinson reissued the book of *A Thankfull Remembrance* in a fourth edition in 1630. This edition again contained the illustrations of the Popish plots by Van Hulsen, although this time the printer named is Augustine Mathewes rather than Flesher.⁶² Thus a new quarto of Carleton's *A Thankfull Remembrance* was circulating through the bookshops in the same year as Taylor's version of this same text, under the title *Gods Manifold Mercies*, appeared in his folio *Workes*. The parallel reprinting of these two different texts drawing

⁶¹ *The Reconciler. An epistle pacificatorie concerning the roman church* (M. Flesher [and W. Stansby] for N. Butter, 1629), STC 12709-12709.5; entered 12th January 1629. STC 12709a includes the material printed by Stansby. See also: Clegg, *Press Censorship in Caroline England*, pp.88-9.

⁶² Mathewes was the printer of *Taylors Farewell to the Tower Bottles*, STC 23797, dated 1622, which carries the "false" imprint "at Dort" (see Chapter 8).

on the same material, the prose history by the Bishop and the broadside by the Water Poet, could be seen as a coordinated expression of continued concerns about the monarchy's relationship with the English Protestant Church.

Furthermore, the situation of *Gods Manifold Mercies* at the close of *All the Workes* presents this text as the culmination of Taylor's engagement with print in the first three decades of his career, and specifically reasserts his commitment to royal service. As discussed in Chapter 7 above, the careful structuring of this third and final section of Taylor's collection is designed to focus attention on the very issues that *A Thankfull Remembrance* had been designed to highlight. Texts relating to 1623 and the Spanish Match are interwoven with Taylor's pieces on the Bohemian marriage, emphasising the common focus of these two strands on the future of the Protestant monarchy in a European context. The sequence builds cumulatively, to the point where the Bible summaries and the abbreviated *Booke of Martyrs* form a fitting context for *Gods Manifold Mercies*. This poem then repeats the effect of a narrative progression building to its own finale which looks forward to a future where "after ages truly may repeate / These Deed were done by Britaines Chales the Great". The whole is wrapped up by the expression of commitment to "The Church of Christ" as a church with "no other intercessor ...but onely Christ himselfe.", bringing Taylor's *Workes* full circle to the topic of the opening poem, *Taylor's Vrania*.

Although *Gods Manifold Mercies* is carefully updated with the reference to 1630 in its opening title, (*from the yeare 1565 untill this present, 1630. particularly and briefly Described*), the very last date cited on the final page of *All the Workes* is still 1623.⁶³ This is not just an accidental effect of adding the text of *A Thankfull remembrance* to the end of the book but was clearly part of the plan from early on, shown by the Catalogue's listing of *Prince Charles His Welcome from Spaine* as the penultimate text in the collection (see Chapter 8). However, by printing the last two verses in the correct order for their numbers, with Verse 17 before Verse 18, the folio

⁶³ *All the Workes* (1630), unsigned final gathering (my underlining) The insertion of the date 1630 in this title suggests that Taylor's verses from the 1625 broadside may have been reprinted in the interim, as the wording allows for other dates to be substituted. It is also possible that the title *Gods Manifold Mercies* had been used before 1630 as an alternative to the heading on the 1625 broadside. Similar possibilities for alternative titles and dates arise from the presentation of *Honour Conceal'd, Strangely Reveal'd* in *All the Workes* (see Clare Wikeley, "'Honour Conceal'd; Strangely Reveal'd': The Fool and the Water-Poet', *passim*.)

text places 1623 before the declaration of religious commitment. This change of emphasis is appropriate to the situation in 1629/30. The coupling of the dates 1623 and 1630 and the stress on orthodox Calvinism as the key to the fame of “Charles the Great” invokes the spirit of the 1625 broadside but makes it more relevant to the turn of the decade. In 1625 the King’s reign had been in its infancy, and memories of the Parliament of 1624 where Charles and Buckingham had supported the war with Spain would still have been strong. However, by 1629/30 the King’s ability to sustain such a commitment was looking increasingly doubtful, and the Calvinist bishops were losing the battle to influence the King’s religious policies.

However, as both Sharpe and Reeve have demonstrated, the years 1628-30 were a time when the future direction of Charles’s rule still hung in the balance and his foreign policy was unsettled. While Charles had dissolved parliament in 1628, Sharpe argues that “he [Charles] had not yet come to despair of governing in conjunction with parliaments”.⁶⁴ The murder of Buckingham late in 1628 had brought about hope for a new era in the King’s relationship with his people, and the prospect of a new session of parliament in 1629 was greeted with enthusiasm. Charles instituted a number of moves designed to placate his critics, including several that seemed to be offering an olive branch to the Calvinist proponents of church reform, such as the recall of Archbishop Abbot to his office and the censoring of Montague’s *Appello Caesarem*.⁶⁵ It was in 1628 that Sir Dudley Carleton, Viscount Dorchester, had been appointed to Secretary of State, and this move had been widely seen as indicating Charles’s desire to maintain good relations with the Calvinist, pro-Bohemian and anti-Spanish elements of the country. As discussed above, in his position as English ambassador to The Hague and “a strong anti-Arminian Calvinist”, Sir Dudley Carleton had “played a key role in the success of the Synod of Dort” in which his cousin, Sir George Carleton, had been the leading prelate. His role in Charles’s government during the late 1620s was to act in unison with William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, providing “a final rearguard action against

⁶⁴ Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, p. 43.

⁶⁵ Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, p.52; L.J.Reeve, *Charles I and the Road to Personal Rule* (Cambridge, CUP, 1989), p. 37.

Charles's developing pro-Spanish and anti-parliamentary policies".⁶⁶ During the two years leading up to Personal Rule, moreover, Carleton was a key figure in the government and a close confidant of Charles. He himself expressed hopes for the 1629 parliament, and it was he who helped Charles to draft the Proclamation after the dissolution, published on March 27th 1629, which Sharpe interprets as directed principally against Sir John Eliot and his faction, and as "not a renunciation of parliamentary government".

In 1628-9 Charles continued to negotiate with both France and Spain, withdrawing from conflict with the former ostensibly to strengthen his hand in dealing with the latter. The question of whether to agree an official peace with Spain in order to concentrate on resisting the Hapsburgs continued to dominate foreign policy, but the outcome was not a foregone conclusion, and the issue was still a major factor in the parliament of 1629. However, Charles's motives differed from those of the more Godly faction in Parliament: as Reeve comments, he was concerned only for his sister's position and wished for peace in Europe: "his personal involvement in the European conflict was not ideological and he had no sympathy with the aspirations of international Calvinism".⁶⁷ However, although Carleton himself was personally committed to international Calvinism he did not let this prevent him from exercising his diplomatic skills in counseling the King, and was more concerned for the wider international situation than for the unnecessary pursuit of a costly war with Spain.⁶⁸

The personal links and strong religious sympathies between Viscount Dorchester and William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, with the continuing affection of Charles for Herbert and his willingness to work with Dorchester in government, are immensely significant for our understanding of the positioning of Taylor's *Workes* in 1630. The dedication of this collection to the Marquis of Hamilton and the Pembroke brother is a reflection of the importance of these figures for Taylor, and the placing of the Marquis

⁶⁶ Reeve, pp.39-40. Reeve comments that "Charles's affection for the Herbert family and the wealth and position of the earls of Pembroke enabled the third earl to remain a strong advocate for Protestant-parliamentary interest virtually until his death in 1630" (Reeve, p.39 and notes 148-9).

⁶⁷ "In their different ways, both Charles and an element in Parliament were interested in continuing the war. It was their disagreement over the religious issues at home which ultimately stood in the way of a militant foreign policy" (Reeve, p. 62).

⁶⁸ Reeve characterises Carleton as adept at "combining ideological commitment with a subtle and worldly personality" (Reeve, p. 40).

first in the list almost without doubt relates to Taylor's own hopes for Charles's contribution to the military struggle of the Protestant forces in Europe.⁶⁹ The year after the publication of this dedication in *All the Workes*, Taylor was involved in the press of watermen to form part of the force of 6,000 men that Hamilton finally took to aid Gustavus Adolphus on July 16th 1631.⁷⁰ While Taylor himself was too old and disabled to accompany this force, his commitment to its cause is evident from his furious response to the later accusations of Joshua Church that the Company Rulers, himself included, had acted corruptly in this Press.⁷¹

Thus, although the dissolution of Parliament in March 1629 was described as "the most gloomy, sad and dismal day for England that happened in five hundred years", the months and even years that followed were not devoid of hope for better relations between the King and parliament, or increased support for the Protestant cause abroad. Sir Robert Heath even proposed a series of reforms by which "there will be no doubt but his sacred Majesty, as he is already by his good subjects shall be both loved, honoured and feared".⁷² It is in this context that the positioning of *Gods Manifold Mercies* at the conclusion to *All the Workes of John Taylor* makes sense. Rather than reading this poem as out of touch with political realities, it appears rather in the light of events in 1628-30 as an expression of hopes that were not Taylor's alone, but shared by many, however misguided in retrospect. In this respect, the concept of a "return" to the fold is especially pertinent, and the duality of the emphasis on the dates 1623 and 1630 is comprehensible. Taylor's verse account of the Madrid incident, which ends with the rousing lines about "Britaines Charles the Great", refers to "thy safe returne againe ... For which our thankes to heaven is still exprest"(my underlining). The idea of a home-coming, literal or metaphorical, and the rapturous reception by the people, is a potent image whose power had been demonstrated in the literature of 1623 itself. In the broadside, it is this

⁶⁹ See Chapter 3, above.

⁷⁰ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1631-33, pp. 92, 101 and 104.

⁷¹ See Dow, "Life and Times", pp. 264-8. Although Dow does not comment on this point, it seems likely that Church's revival of these accusations in 1642 was connected to the split in political sympathies between Taylor and the majority of the watermen, who supported Parliament in the civil war years. See, Christopher O'Riordan, "The democratic revolution in the Company of Thames Watermen, 1641-1642" <<http://www.geocities.com/thameswatermen/original.htm?200513>>, accessed 13 September 2005.

⁷² Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, p. 58.

aspect of the date 1623 that is especially emphasized: the very last words declaring how “greater was Gods mercy, to guard him backe again, to all our joy and comforts.”⁷³

The concept of return from temptation to the right path, expressed as “deo Reduci” on the Sutherland engraving, is a powerful imaginative construct. In *All the Workes* the year 1630 is presented as the date that will bring a recapitulation of 1623, witnessing the return of the King to Protestant orthodoxy and away from the temptation to treat with Spain. However, whereas in *Prince Charles His Welcome from Spaine* that return had been a literal one, celebrated with bells and bonfires, the return desired in 1630 is spiritual and to some extent metaphorical. It may well be Taylor’s interpretation of the final image in the Danckerts engraving as the return of Charles from Madrid that made *A Thankfull Remembrance* so attractive for the anti-Jacobite propaganda of *Popish Plots and Treasons*. For the tableau of the ship and quayside provides an especially convenient pictorial shorthand for the return to the True Faith, which could apply equally to Charles II or to William of Orange, who landed at Torbay in 1688. The *Popish Plots* letter-press takes advantage of the vagueness of the engraving’s pictorial presentation:

*Since Heaven whose mercies ever are most tender
Hath both restor’d our Faith, and Faith’s Defender.....
Since thus Truths happy Bark hath reach’d our shore
O may it never, never leave us more.*⁷⁴

Although Taylor’s references to Madrid are superceded in this new interpretation, the phrase “Truths happy Bark” retains a vestige of the 1623 letter-text’s linking of the altar scene on the left with the returning ship on the right. Thus these two broadsides demonstrate the continuous power of the symbolism of the return of the Prince in

⁷³ While the phrasing “to all our ioy and comforts” is conventional, it echoes both the title under which *Prince Charles His Welcome from Spaine* (1623) was entered and the phrasing of Taylor’s 1621 broadside, *The subjects ioy for the Parliament* (1621, Alld for Gosson tbs. E. Wright), STC 23795.7. This broadside, as Clegg notes, is couched in a carefully moderated Calvinist rhetoric (Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, CUP, 2001) pp. 164-165. This is also the only extant pre-1630 text signed in full by Taylor that is not reprinted in *All the Workes*.

⁷⁴ *Popish Plots and Treasons*, (John Garrett, 1676-1697), Wing: C33A

English Protestant iconography, stretching across a wide span of the seventeenth century.

It is against the background of these imaginative constructs and their expression in the world of print, both textual and pictorial, that *Gods Manifold Mercies*, together with the collection of Taylor's works that it brings to a close, should be understood. As my previous chapters have shown, *All the Workes* was shaped and edited for 1630, acting partly as a reprise of the previous two decades, but with its energies directed very much to the future. Although Taylor makes some play with his age and world-weariness in the preliminaries, every text in the folio that can be updated to "this present, 1630" is carefully edited in the expectation of continuity. As we have seen in previous chapters, texts such as *Sir Gregory Nonsense* gained new influence from their promotion in *All the Workes*, and the fact that James Boler and John Beale picked off individual texts, ranging from the historical to the religious to the comical, and continued to promote them to the end of the decade demonstrates their continued vitality. However, it is only by recognizing the importance of the ideological and historical context to *All the Workes* and the individual pieces assembled there, that we can make sense of the way that this volume was marketed, received and preserved in the years that followed its publication.

Afterword : The Sudden Turne of Fortunes Wheel : into the 1630s

The identification of Taylor's verses on the broadside of *The Thankfull Remembrance* as an early edition of *Gods Manifold Mercies* confirms the significant polemical and religious basis to Taylor's work before, as well as after, 1630. The choice of this piece to conclude *All the Workes*, and the manipulation of the last part of this volume, cannot be dismissed as a sycophantic gesture aimed at currying favour with the King. The prominent reprinting of a text from 1625, identified with a major champion of anti-Arminian theology, harking back to 1623 and repeatedly denigrating the Spanish monarchy would hardly seem the best way to draw Charles's favour in 1630.¹ Furthermore, as my analysis of the organisation of *All the Workes* as a whole has demonstrated, we can understand this collection as structured to focus on the religious and political issues that were pressing upon the Caroline government in the late 1620s. While I am not proposing that *All the Workes* presents a coherent political argument, or deals in any depth with matters of state, the general tenor of the volume is unmistakeable. The running title for *Gods Manifold Mercies* as printed in 1630, 'The Churches Deliverances', would for any contemporary reader immediately associate the concluding pages of Taylor's folio with the salient Providential Protestant publications of the 1620s.

However, the emphasis on the monarchy in *Gods Manifold Mercies*, the concentration of the illustrated histories and elegies, and the choice of *Taylors Urania* as the opening piece also place *All the Workes* firmly within the more orthodox reaches of godliness at that time. The fact that *All the Workes* was published by James Boler with John Beale as the lead printer increases the likelihood that contemporaries would have recognised these twin themes in Taylor's collection. As my study has shown, *All the Workes* was not an anomaly for Boler, but part of his growing business in religious, historical and indeed monarchical texts in the late 1620s and early 30s. Following on from William Martyn's *Lives of the Kings* in 1628, *All the Workes* could be seen as one of the foundations of Boler's investment in the folio format. These two texts, with their links to the earlier *Basililiogia*, were the first books in this format from the sign of The Marigold.

¹ Lambert describes the book, *The Thankfull Remembrance*, as "Bishop Carleton's epitome of the Calvinist world-picture", Sheila Lambert, "Richard Montagu, Armenianism and Censorship", in *Past and Present* 124 (August 1989) 36-68, p.62.

All the Workes was rapidly followed by the extensive folio *Workes* of William Perkins in three volumes, which Boler undertook at the same time as a handsome quarto of Preston's sermons shared with Leonard Greene of Cambridge.² Boler's business was therefore in the midst of an expansion into the lucrative and respected area of theological Works, of a decidedly Protestant nature. Thus, contrary to the persistent critical view of *All the Workes* as a failure for Taylor, there is every implication that this volume was, in marketing terms, in its survival rate, and even in its preservation of Taylor's image and work during subsequent centuries, a pronounced success.

However, Randall Ingram has recently offered a useful caveat about critical attempts to interpret Herrick's *Hesperides* as a coherent statement:

*These attempts to discover Herrick's plan in Hesperides mark the historical and cultural distance between a seventeenth century book that allows a tremendous degree of agency to readers and a twentieth -century critical practice that allows them almost none ... Herrick's book might rather be described as multiply coherent, permitting multiple readers to participate in the making of multiple patterns.*³

Ingram's caveat might be taken to apply more aptly to Herrick's collection of short and allusive lyrics than to *All the Workes*; in addition, he supports his argument by reference to Herrick's characteristic focus on evanescence and the ephemerality of fame. *All the Workes* is obviously a different kind of collection: the contents might be considered diametrically opposed to Herrick's slender and lyrical verses, despite the coincidence of publishing houses. Nevertheless, Taylor's collection embodies an array of contradictions, as well as a much wider diversity of genre than *Hesperides*. The Epistle to the World also sets a tone of

² John Preston, *Sermons preached before his Maiestie* (Eliot's Court Press and R. Young for L. Greene of Cambridge, tbs. J. Boler, 1630), STC 20270; entered to Boler and Greene, Jan. 1630; another edition the same year, STC 20270.5; reprinted twice by J. Beale in 1631 (STC 20271, 20271a). William Perkins, *The Workes of that famous and worthy minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge*, 3 vols., folio (J. Legatt and /or J. Haviland for James Boler, G. Lathum, J. Grismond, R. Milbourne and J. Bellamie, 1631), STC 19653a-b, 19653.5; also as *The Whole Workes*, STC 19652.5. Each of the three Perkins volumes is 700+ pages, with one, STC 19653a, over a thousand, requiring a considerable investment in paper.

³ Randall Ingram, 'Robert Herrick and the Making of *Hesperides*', in *SEL*, 38.1 (Winter 1998), 121-147, pp. 142-4.

detached bemusement over the paradoxes of fame that brings Taylor's thinking closer to Herrick than we might expect⁴

Yet some organisational principles in *All the Workes* are obvious to even a cursory overview; while others less obvious to a modern sensibility, can be traced with some consistency. Furthermore, the evidence of reorganisation from the Catalogue to the printed order does suggest deliberate strategies at work. By acknowledging this collection's engagement with topical issues, and in particular with the late 1620s, we can begin to appreciate how contemporary readers might have experienced this book for themselves, albeit via the kind of multiple perceptions suggested by Ingram with regard to *Hesperides*. Indeed Taylor has invited the reader to do just this in his demurrer at the end of the Catalogue:

*These Bookes in number sixty three are here,
Bound in one Volume, scattered here and there,
They stand not thus in order in the booke;
But any man may finde them, that will looke.*

As suggested in Chapter 3, the phrasing here can be understood in a more or less innocent manner, depending on the extent to which we pursue the possibility of sub-textual or inter-textual meanings in the organization of *All the Workes*. The words "scattered here and there" might give pause for thought, considering Taylor's devotion of a whole verse in *A Thankfull Remembrance / Gods Manifold Mercies* to the ingenuity of Sir William Waad in piecing together the "torne papers" scattered to the winds by the Jesuit Creighton:

*Which though they were in many peeces rent,
Were plac'd together by Sir William Wade,
Who found, the Guise, the Pope, and Spaines intent
Were strong combined England to invade.

These projects thus were blasted in their bud,
And their pretence of Harme God made our Good.⁵*

⁴ For collections and authorship, see Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: the Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), especially Chapter 4, "The Author as Collector".

Although Taylor does not use the word “scatter’d”, this term does appear in “the scatter’d fragments” of the later edition, *Popish Plots and Treasons*, suggesting that this was a recognised phrase for narrating this providential miracle:

*The Conscious Priest his guilty papers tears
And overboard the scatter'd fragments bears
But the just winds do force them back o'the decks,
And peice-meal all the lurking plot detects* ⁶

However, this late seventeenth century edition also abbreviates Taylor’s account, cutting out the human agency altogether, without reference to the small picture in the banner, which is still present as part of the reprinted engraving from *A Thankfull Remembrance*:

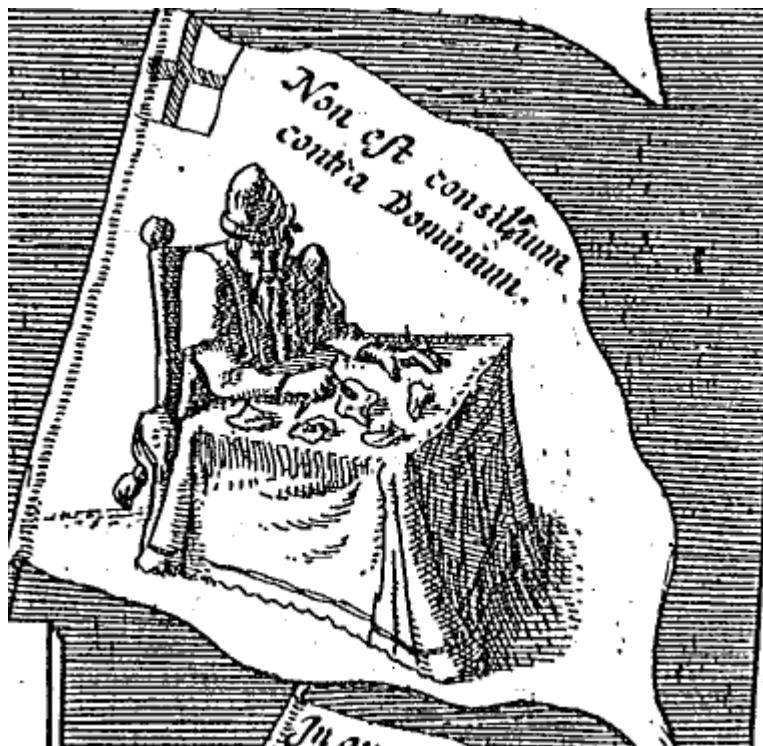


Fig.10.1. *Popish Plots and Treasons*; sold by John Garrett 1680s-90s: detail: Sir William Waad piecing the “torn papers” together.⁷

⁵ *All the Workes* (1630), unsigned final gathering, p.(3) 144.

⁶ *Popish Plots and Treasons*, sold by John Garrett c.1679-1690.

⁷ *Popish Plots and Treasons*, c.1679-1690, Wing C33A, <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>

Taylor's verse had given more emphasis to Waad's role in deciphering the hidden meanings, while in *Popish Plots and Treasons* the miracle is fully supernatural, with no human intervention. It may of course be coincidental that this verse appears as part of *Gods Manifold Mercies* in Taylor's folio of 1630: however, the situation of this miracle achieved both by God's grace and by human textual detective work, at the end of such a careful assembly and arrangement of scattered texts, seems uncannily appropriate. For, as explained in Chapter 8, it is certainly possible for the reader to act as a detector of meanings by tracing the interweaving of the two royal "matches" and their consequences for national and international Protestantism, culminating in the portrayal of the future "Cha[r]les the Great". Thus in Taylor's account of Waad's ingenuity and loyalty to the monarchy, instrumental in preserving the nation from invasion, the working out of meanings from assembled texts becomes a symbolic expression of devotion to the English Reformed Church.

However, although an ideological reading of *All the Workes* has the merit of suiting the several strands of inquiry that have been followed in my argument so far, it remains one amongst a range of possibilities. By stressing the volume's overall packaging, the religious framework and the visual attractions of the histories, I have chosen a perspective that fits with the business of the stationers involved, especially James Boler. This interpretation also marries with what we know of Taylor's ideology, previous work and reputation in the 1620s, as well as being appropriate to the historical situation of the late 1620s and early 30s. It fits with the choice of dedicatees, in particular the Duke of Hamilton and William Herbert, and with the selection of preliminary verses, especially Dekker's sonnet. Nevertheless, other aspects of the folio are less obviously amenable to such a specific interpretation. The emphasis on satire and humour in so much of this collection could be considered irrelevant to a specific political reading, while the presentation of Taylor in the engraved frontispiece perhaps evokes only a generalised association of his occupation with England's importance as a sea-faring nation.

Yet, as the discussions of texts like *The Water Cormorant* or *Sir Gregory Nonsense* above have suggested, the presentation of Taylor as essentially a satirical writer is not at all at odds with an ideological interpretation of *All the Workes*. Joseph Hall had moved from pioneering a distinctly English form of "crabb'd satire" in the first decade of the

seventeenth century, to becoming the “English Senecca” and finally the leading apologist for the *Via Media* in the late 1620s and early 30s. Taylor was being cast in a similar mould in the mid 1620s, through TG’s parallel between the satire of Juvenal Aquinas and the angry jesting of John the Water Poet or “Poeta Aquinas”.⁸ An identification of TG with Thomas Goad, one of Bishop Hall’s most sympathetic colleagues, and similarly beleaguered in the late 1620s, would cement this correspondence, but is beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, the involvement of James Boler in Thomas Goad’s publication of *Vox Piscis, or The Booke Fish* (1627) is worth considering. As Alexandra Walsham has shown, this deceptive little reprint of ancient Protestant texts was actually a witty piece of textual manipulation engineered by Thomas Goad himself.⁹ By means of an anonymous preface and a quick switch of authorial names, Goad succeeded in publishing his own impassioned plea for the Protestant cause abroad, at a moment when Charles was particularly sensitive to printed criticism of his foreign policies. By licensing *Vox Piscis* himself, Goad ensured its publication by Boler and Robert Milbourne, an act of collusion with these senior stationers that is disguised by the book’s presentation as a bibliographical curiosity. However, the title’s Latin and English alternatives, *Vox Piscis or The Booke Fish*, carry multiple allusions to earlier anti-Jesuit “Fisher” texts, and also to the vocal denunciations of Charles’s religious policies published from abroad by Thomas Scott, in *Vox Populi* and its successors.¹⁰

⁸ See Chapter One.

⁹ Walsham states that the incident was manipulated “in the struggle to preserve what [ministers] believed to be the Church of England’s historical identity”, Alexandra Walsham, ‘*Vox Piscis: Or The Book-Fish: Providence and the Uses of the Reformation past in Caroline Cambridge*’ in *The English Historical Review* 114, 457 (June 1999), pp. 574-06.

¹⁰ The debates initiated by the Jesuit John Fisher in 1623/4 were attended by both Goad and Daniel Featley: Featley wrote *The Fisher Catched in his Owne Net* (1623) and *The Romish Fisher* (1624), the latter published by Robert Milbourne. The title-page of *A Replie to Jesuit Fisher*, 1624 (STC 25387), is almost certainly by Thomas Cockson, engraver of the frontispiece to *All the Workes of John Taylor*.

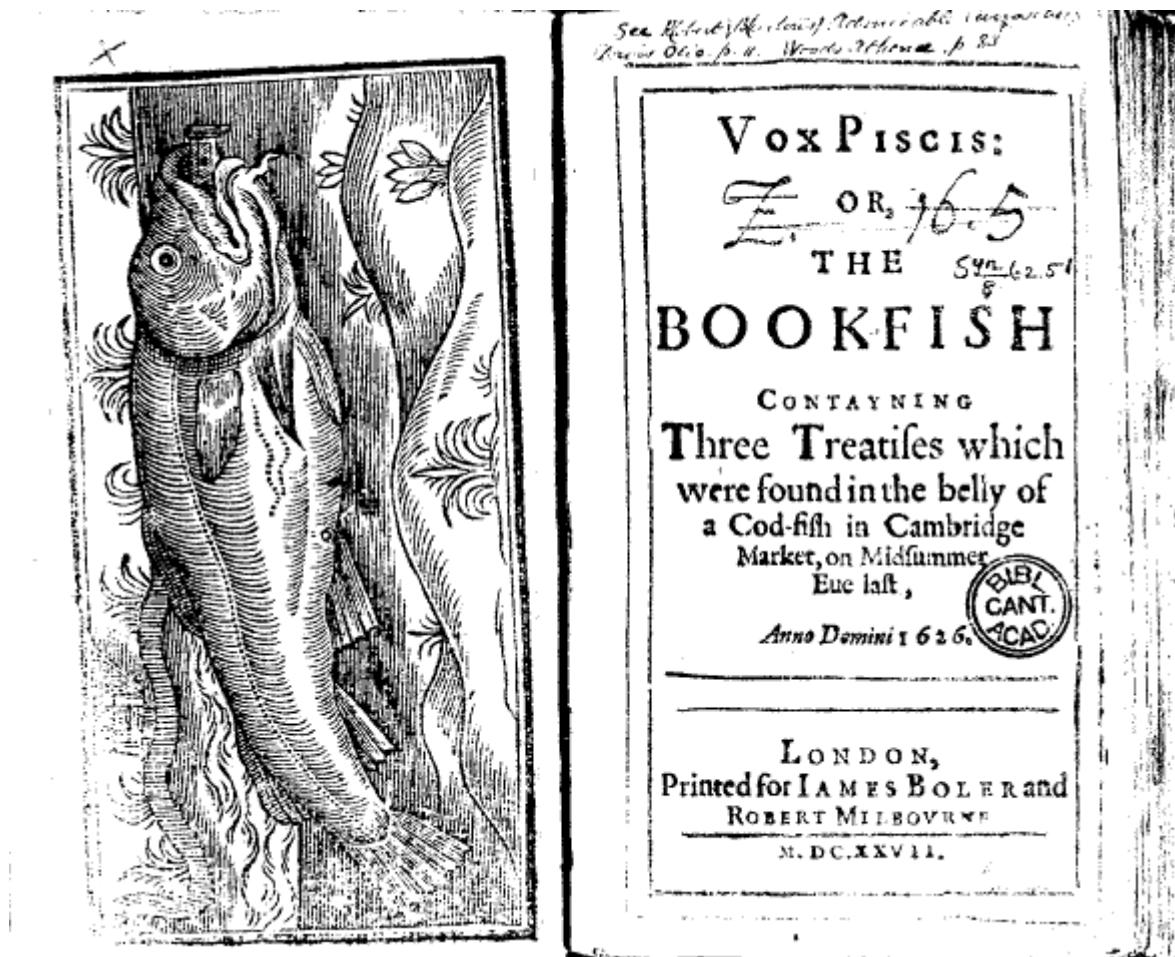


Fig. 10.2. Title-page of *Vox Pisces* or *The Bookfish*, (1626)¹¹

The date of issue for *All the Workes*, at the latest February or March 1629/30, allows for the possibility that Taylor's collection was in preparation from as early as the beginning of 1628, soon after the publication of *Vox Piscis*. This possibility may be reinforced by the still unexplained puzzle of *Honour Conceal'd; Strangely reveal'd*. As explained in Chapter 8, this satirical squib almost certainly packed much more of a topical punch than we can at present detect, but the lack of an extant separate printing makes its

¹¹ John Frith, *Vox piscis: or, The book-fish contayning three treatises which were found in the belly of a cod-fish in Cambridge Market, on Midsummer Eue last, anno Domini 1626* (H.Lownes, J. Beale and A. Matthewes for J. Boler and R. Milbourne, 1627), STC 11395. <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>, accessed September 12, 2009.

dating uncertain. The title and preliminaries as printed in *All the Workes* refer to 1623, but also point to a relationship with 1628 and the English debacle at Rhé:

*Tis not the Warres of Late I write upon
In France, at the Iles of Rhea or Olleron:
These things were written in K.Iames his Raigne,
Then Read it not with a mistaking Braine.*

The instruction to “Read it not with a mistaking Braine” is suspiciously disingenuous: although there may also have been one or more editions after 1623, it seems likely that Taylor is making a suitably veiled allusion to the Peace of Allais in 1629, consequent on Buckingham’s failure to relieve the Huguenots trapped at la Rochelle.¹² The title, *The Peace of France with the Praise of Archy*, is suggestive: the “Praise of Archy” is clearly in the mock encomiastic tradition, and thus the “Peace of France” is similarly ironic. If *Honour conceal’d* was originally composed in 1623, when Archy gained notoriety for his flamboyant behaviour in Madrid, then the range of reference for *Honour Conceal’d* stretches across the bulk of this decade.

Thus while the actual point of issue for *All the Workes* early in 1630 offers a range of possibilities for interpretation, the nature of early modern publishing, both in terms of the technology and the processes of distribution, allows for a more extended period of relevance. We need to look back into the 1620s but also forward to the 1630s, as the process of sales and distribution for this volume began. In addition to sale in James Boler’s shop, this may have included other means of distribution, and certainly presentation by the author to friends or acquaintances. As discussed in Chapter 3, this dissemination of *All the Workes* was still ongoing in the mid to late 1630s, in a very different process from the speed with which new books now become old news. The reach of this process into the

¹² The extended title refers to Archy’s “unexpected Peace-making in France, betwixt the King and the Rochellers” and concludes “This being done in the yeare of our Lord, 1623”. The phrasing is ambiguous: was it the “unexpected peace-making” that was “done in the yeare ...1623” or the poem that follows? Contemporary readers would know that there had been no peace made in 1623, but that Archy was in Madrid with Charles in that year, so the potential for interpretations that step outside the apparently innocent request to “Read [it] not with a mistaking Braine” was considerable (*All the Workes* (1630), 2Kkk3r).

London theatres through the late 1630s suggests that *All the Workes*, like Taylor's *Thumb Bibles* or *Sir Gregory Nonsense*, had become part of the cultural fabric of the decade. However, the first external reference to Taylor's collection, outside the advertisement in *A Memorial* (1630), is in a catalogue printed by John Dawson in 1631, *A Catalogue of Certaine Bookes, ... Printed in England, both in Latine & English, since the yeare 1626. until November this present yeare 1631.*¹³ Twenty-four books published by James Boler are listed here, including both *The Needles Excellency* and *All the Workes of John Taylor*. The content and presentation of this Catalogue place Taylor's books firmly in the context of polemical Protestant publishing at the start of the 1630s, and is an important indication of the continuing relevance of his earlier association with Nathaniel Butter. For Butter and his partner Nicholas Bourne are the leading publishers advertised in the *Catalogue of Certaine Bookes*, which opens with a lengthy section of their theological texts and closes with a prominent advertisement for their new run of corantos, to be known as *The Swedish Intelligencer*. Dawson's catalogue proposes, "the first part, conteyning the proceedings of that Prince [Gustavus Adolphus] from his first landing in Germany, until his Victory over Tilly", giving the date 1631 for this coranto, although the surviving copies are all dated 1632. Thus the *Catalogue of Certaine Bookes* is in effect an advertisement for the first edition of *The Swedish Intelligencer*, of which John Dawson himself was to be the printer, and may well have been issued in advance of the coranto itself.¹⁴

Within Dawson's catalogue, the list of James Boler's publications is sandwiched between those of Nicholas Bourne and Henry Overton, the publishers whose names invariably appear alongside his in court records of this period, relating to the controversial activities of Michael Sparke. However, the compilers of *A Catalogue of Certaine Bookes* were also careful to confer some orthodox respectability on the contents: thus the very first text in the whole catalogue is Butter's recent posthumous issue of the *Works of Arthur*

¹³ *A Catalogue of Certaine Bookes, Which have been published and (by Authoritie) Printed in England, both in Latine & English, since the yeare 1626. until November this present yeare 1631. Now published for Supply since the intermission of the English Catalogue, with inten-tion hereafter to publish it exactly every yeare* (printed by John Dawson), STC 9979; BL: c.120.6.14 and Worcester College, Oxford.

¹⁴ *The Swedish Intelligencer* exists in multiple editions, with the "First part" in three versions dated 1632 (STC 23521-3); this was entered on January 9th 1632 and some copies carry a portrait of Gustavus Adolphus as the frontispiece. The title of Dawson's Catalogue and the reference to *The Swedish Intelligencer* as dated 1631 suggests that the Catalogue was issued in anticipation of the text itself, or that there was an edition of the coranto printed before its entrance. However Lady Day dating allows for both 1631 and 1632 to refer to the same item.

Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells. This is the only known edition of Lake's works, a compendious volume of ninety-nine sermons and eleven meditations, introduced by a study of the Bishop by an Oxford colleague. Lake is presented here as a staunch Protestant of the Elizabethan kind, whose Puritan leanings did not interfere with his loyalty to the crown, and who rejected the more strident separatism of the younger generation. Nevertheless, his sermons include several condemnations of Arminianism, and thus fit within the topical context of the turn of the decade 1629/30.¹⁵ Thus, just a year after its initial publication, *All the Workes of John Taylor* was being advertised in a catalogue specifically devoted to marketing Protestant theological texts within the context of propaganda for the rise of Gustavus Adolphus.

Since it was Butter who was the prime mover behind the foreign news corantos of the 1620s and 30s, and a much more committed supporter of the Protestant cause in Europe than Bourne, Dawson's *Catalogue of Certaine Bookes* strongly reinforces the continuity between Taylor's first venture into print in *The Sculler* of 1612 and his collected *Workes* almost two decades later. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter Five, Butter was the publisher of *Taylors Urania*, the more pious and meditative poem following the model of Du Bartas with which *All the Workes* opens. Therefore, despite the absence of direct input from Butter into *All the Workes*, bookseller and Water Poet were still operating in the same Protestant and anti-Catholic context at the turn of the decade 1629/30 as had been indicated by their initial association in *The Sculler* and *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses* (1614). Indeed, *The Sculler* has much in common with *A Thankfull Remembrance*, despite their distance in time and genre. The address "To the whole kennel of AnthiChrist's hounds" which opens the main text of *The Sculler* is an exaggerated version of the use of such terms in *A Thankfull Remembrance*. The link between these two texts is reinforced through the very close association between Butter and Miles Flesher during the 1620s, when Flesher had been involved in printing Bishop Hall's *Works* for Butter while also producing Taylor's letter-text for the Sutherland broadside. Flesher's role as Butter's favoured printer was in

¹⁵ The last stationer to be featured, Robert Young, was also a colleague of James Boler, and involved in the publication of Martyn's *History of the Lives of the Kings of England* (see Chapter 7).

fact inherited from his apprenticeship with Thomas Snodham, who had printed the second edition of *The Sculler, Taylor's Water Worke*, for Butter in 1614.¹⁶

The association between *All the Workes* and *The Swedish Intelligencer* of 1631/2 through Dawson's *Catalogue of Certayne Bookes* is not just a reflection of the marketing techniques of a group of commercially minded publishers, but also chimes with Taylor's personal enthusiasm for the Swedish King's progress. We know of this particular aspect of Taylor's authorial identity in the early 1630s only from the survival of an eighteenth century manuscript copy of his prosopopoeia, *The Suddeine Turne of Fortune's Wheel*, which contains a eulogy to Gustavus Adolphus. The circumstances of the survival of this text in manuscript suggest that it was probably never printed, despite its close links to Butter and Bourne's propaganda. However, up until the mid nineteenth century there were apparently at least two different manuscripts in circulation, suggesting that it had probably circulated in this manuscript medium from the time of its composition in the early 1630s. The confirmation that *The Suddeine Turne* provides of Taylor's militant Protestant focus just after the publication of *All the Workes* reinforces the evidence from *A Thankfull Remembrance* in 1625, giving a clear indication of continuity across the decades in Taylor's approach to writing, to religion, and to international Protestantism.¹⁷

The content of *The Suddeine Turne* has been almost completely ignored by critics since Halliwell Phillips and the Spenser Society produced competing printed versions in the mid nineteenth century. Perhaps the fact that Taylor was adapting an earlier prosopopoeia, "A conference held at Angelo Castle, between the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spaine" (1619), has led to this neglect, since this might appear merely a form of plagiarism. However, Taylor's additions to the 1619 text are substantial and he himself highlights the adaptation in his Preface, pre-empting any accusation that he was passing it off as his

¹⁶ Thomas Snodham (alias East) freed Miles Flesher for Mrs East on 4.11.1611 (Arber II. 284). The East (Este) family probably had connections with the Low Countries, also likely for George Eld and indeed Flesher himself. See, McKenzie, *Apprentices*, Part I, p.26. .

¹⁷ The surviving eighteenth century manuscript copy of *The Suddeine Turne of Fortune's Wheel* in the British Library (Egerton 2398) appears to be a copy of an earlier manuscript. In 1848 J.O. Halliwell made a transcription of a manuscript which he printed in *Contributions to Early English Literature* (London, 1849); this follows the Egerton manuscript quite closely. However, the text printed by the Spenser Society, from a transcription made by the Reverend Corser, differs from both Halliwell and the Egerton manuscript. Dow believed that Corser had used Egerton 2398 but his source may have been different. Corser or the Spenser Society editors also "improved" the text with fuller rhymes, expanded vocabulary and more modern punctuation.

original idea. Taylor's approach to the adaptation of earlier material, like his attitude to publishing the work of other writers on their behalf, for example in *A Meditation on the Passion* (1630), contradicts the current view of his overweening desire for self-promotion.¹⁸ In the case of *The Suddeine Turne*, there is more to this than an enthusiasm for recycling old texts, for the previous credentials of the “conference held at Angelo Castle” as an effective piece of anti-Spanish satire is itself the impetus for Taylor's adaptation. This concept of the cumulative force of a particular text and the set of images it evokes, built up over decades or sometimes centuries, is a recognized factor in visual and theatrical material in the period. In *The Suddeine Turne*, Taylor invokes a similar process, where the powers of the earlier prosopopoeia are harnessed to give force to his version, directed to the specific circumstances of 1631. By so doing, he can allude back to the hopeful circumstances of 1619, before the Battle of the White Mountain drove Elizabeth and Frederick out of Bohemia and into exile at The Hague. If we consider the importance of the Palatine couple's situation for Taylor in 1619-20, Taylor's choice of this prosopopoeia in 1631 is clearly a continuation of the focus of his 1630 collected *Workes*.

The source prosopopoeia of 1619 was a quasi-dramatic dialogue, which opens with the Pope welcoming his “dear Sonnes”, the King of Spain and the Holy Roman Emperor, to “our Court of Rome”. The King of Spain asks for papal aid against Protestant forces which are threatening to overwhelm the Catholic nations. The Pope's reassurance is suitably diabolic in expression:

*Ile fetch the saints from heav'n, The fiends from hell,
but Ile those drunken Germane traytors quell...*¹⁹

Taylor updates this dialogue from the situation in 1618, adding another 120 lines, plus a lengthy Preface devoted to the victorious sweep of “the glorious and magnificent King of Sweden”, through Northern Europe in 1631.²⁰ This includes prophecies relating to the

¹⁸ For another example of Taylor's re-cycling of polemical texts, see Lyle Kendall, “John Taylor's Piracy of *The Packman's Paternoster*”, in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 57 (1963), 201-10.

¹⁹ Taylor used either the printed edition of 1619 or the manuscript copy now held at CUL (see note 24, below). There are several copies of the printed text from c.1619 (STC 20443).

²⁰ The original dialogue was about 180 lines long beforehand. The manuscript version belonging to the Bishop of Ely is an abridged copy of the 1619 printed text, and the later editions from the period of the

birthplace of Gustavus Adolphus in Stockholm, with anagrams on his name and the fact that he was born in the same month as King Charles. Taylor also gives a positive portrayal of Count Tilly as a general, blaming his defeat on his error in sacking Magdenburgh, where he “put all the people younge and old to the sword”. This consistent emphasis on God’s intervention gives the whole Preface a godly tone that is entirely consistent with the pious Calvinism of the opening and closing texts in *All the Workes*.²¹

Thus Taylor’s additions to the prosopopoeia reflect his own perspective on the subject matter. For example, he gives the Holy Roman Emperor a dramatic speech mourning the destructiveness of civil war, lines strongly reminiscent of Shakespeare’s history plays. He also gives the King of Spain a detailed account of that country’s losses at sea in Zealand and at “Dunkirke”, including an inventory of the types of shipping, which ends in a scornful attribution of the inferior seamanship of England’s enemies to the moral dissipation of foreign mariners. Taylor’s account of the composition of *The Suddeine Turne* employs imagery reminiscent of much earlier references to tailoring in his texts:

I neither knowinge the authour time or place where or when they were written, when I saw them I was both sorry and sad, glad that they were so good, and sad that they were soe fewe. But sadest for my insufficiency to add more unto them; at last knowinge the cause to be good I adventured to piece a scarlet Roabe with my coarse flammell, and through my lines are farr short of the other in elocution and ornate [...]... And as I patched them together, soe let the reader find which [i]s which, if he cann

This account, albeit conventional in its authorial humility, nevertheless shows Taylor estimating the qualities of other writers’ work in a typically generous fashion. Of particular relevance is his emphasis on how the motivation to write arises from the depth of his commitment to the “cause”. This is an extremely important declaration on Taylor’s part.

Jacobite rebellions are extended versions of the 1619 text. Thus the substantial additions to the dialogue in Taylor’s 1631 version are almost certainly his own.

²¹For example, of Leipzig, Taylor writes: “who can doubt but God was there and with his mightie and outstretched arm galt himselfe the victorie and in that field which is called Godtsakor (or Godsfield) there, there did Deus fight his owne battle against the enemies of his truth.” (Egerton ms.2398, p.11).

The fact that it is coupled with imagery that expresses his enthusiasm for the art of writing (*And as I patched them together, soe let the reader find which [i]s which if he cann*) confirms the twin forces driving Taylor throughout his authorial career - his strongly held convictions and his delight in the skills of communication for a purpose.

The survival of *The Suddeine Turne* is thus essential evidence of Taylor's position at the start of the 1630s. It reinforces the implications of his political and religious commitment from *A Thankfull Remembrance* in 1625. The fiercely satirical portrayal of the Pope, Emperor and King of Spain, intensified from the source by Taylor's additions and alterations, is precisely in tune with the tenor of *A Thankfull Remembrance*. The enthusiasm that Taylor shows for prophecies and the pseudo-magical power of names and letters in *A Suddeine Turne* also fits with Taylor's notes to this broadside. The tenuous link in the Preface to *The Suddeine Turne*, between the date of Gustavus's birth and that of "our gracious sovereigne King Charles", attempts to turn the Swedish King's military prowess into a surrogate for his English counterpart. Indeed, this whole approach is reminiscent of the desire expressed in *A Thankfull Remembrance* for future history to celebrate how "These deeds were done by Britaine's Charles the Great". *The Suddeine Turne* appears never to have been published, which might indicate that Taylor was fearful of expressing his ideas openly. However, his enthusiasm was shared by many published pieces in 1631/2, so perhaps, as Bernard Capp suggests, the sudden death of the Swedish King pre-empted a print publication.²² However, its circulation in manuscript suggests that Taylor was not simply a product of the seventeenth century market for cheap print. It is highly likely that his earlier texts were also circulating in manuscript before being printed, and that others were never printed at all. This casts doubt on the portrayal of Taylor as interested primarily in making money from print publication, since circulation in manuscript invokes an apparently very different set of economic and social relationships.²³

²² Capp, *World of John Taylor*, p.129. A similar example is the Reverend William Hawkins's translation of Gil's *Epinikion* from *The New Star of the North. Epinikion, a song of victorie, vpon the proceedings and successse of the warres vndertaken by the most Puissant King of Sweden.... Heere Englished and explained with marginall notes by W.H* (A. Matthewes for R. Milbourne, 1632) STC 11879.8 Hawkins was Thomas Goad's rector at Hadleigh and author of *Apollo Shroving* (1627), which refers to Taylor.

²³ Ezell suggests that there was much more similarity between manuscript and print publication than modern distinctions allow: Margaret Ezell, *Social Authorship and the Advent of Print* (Baltimore & London, The John Hopkins University Press, 1999)

Taylor's choice of the title *The Suddeine Turne of Fortune's Wheel* draws on traditional symbolism but also confers a distinctive identity upon this particular adaptation for 1631. The manuscript copy of *The Suddeine Turne* suggests that Taylor had prepared his written text with his usual attention to the impact of the title-page, and the title's evocative ring has apparently been a factor in keeping this text in circulation. Indeed, it has even been applied erroneously to the manuscript copy of the 1619 prosopopoeia now held at Cambridge University Library, which is catalogued under Taylor's name although it is not his text.²⁴ While with hindsight this title becomes doubly ironic, since Gustavus Adolphus was dead by 1632, its rather philosophical tenor is also reminiscent of Taylor's farewell to "The World", printed at the start of *All the Workes* in 1630. The assumption that Taylor had been plunged into despondency by the failure of the public to appreciate his *Workes* in 1630 seems to have no grounding in any evidence. Instead, it is much more likely that the final blow delivered to the vision of a pan-European Protestant empire by the derailing of the Swedish military campaign was the factor that underlies the deflection of Taylor's energies into other areas of activity, and thus other kinds of text, during most of the 1630s.

It is beyond the scope of the present thesis to consider Taylor's career through the 1630s in any depth. However, there is every indication that he was preoccupied, at least in the first half of the decade, by practical demands on his time and professional skills. These include the Rulers' attempts to manage the increasingly restless and eventually revolutionary grassroots membership of the Watermen's Guild, for whom Taylor remained the Clerk and thus the principal officer. At the start of the decade, he was also involved in the waterways project of 1631/2 described above (Chapter 9), followed by several bids in successive years for the Lord Mayor's Pageant, one of which was successful. In his book of *The Triumphs of Fame and Honour* (1634), Taylor creates a "frame of reference ... exclusively religious and politico-religious" for this Pageant, by contrast to the more

²⁴ This manuscript copy, which is apparently abridged from the printed text of 1619, is from the collection of George I at Cambridge (Ff.5.23), and originally belonged to the Bishop of Ely. It is catalogued under Taylor's name by CUL, although this is definitely the earlier and unexpanded version for which there is no evidence of his authorship. I am grateful to Miss J. S. Ringrose for tracing this manuscript copy. The 1619 prosopopoeia was also revived in 1679 as "The Pope's Advice to his Sons....Printed from an ancient manuscript", which the ESTC describes as "A satire in verse on the Catholic Church; this expanded version was presumably inspired by the Popish Plot". The additions for this anti-Jacobite version are different from Taylor's 1631 additions, which are unique to *The Suddeine Turne* and thus almost certainly Taylor's alone.

commercial orientation of other years.²⁵ Sheila Williams notes that London is presented by Taylor as the key city of the Reformed Church across Europe, “secure, with peace and plenty blest”, by contrast with the troubles of Germany. While Williams considers the “decided Protestant tone” of Taylor’s pageant text was merely a ploy to suit the citizenry, the whole piece, which is full of allusion to Protestant writers and iconography, is entirely in keeping with everything else we know of his work.²⁶

The Lord Mayor’s Pageant is an example of the type of larger-scale project that Taylor seems to have become involved in during the first half of the 1630s, and his output in print is mainly related to these activities, with some reprints of pre-1630 items as well. However, a sudden surge of reprints in 1635, with a total of eight texts from the backlists of Gosson, Boler and Beale, seems to reflect either the effect of the Lord Mayor’s Pageant the previous year or, more likely, the runaway success of *The Old, Old Very Olde Man*. This account of the long life and observations of Thomas Parr ran to three editions in the same year, with additions and alterations by Taylor for each one; it continued to be reprinted, sometimes with new illustrations, into the 1700s. Such a publication may not be impressive for modern critics, who prefer the more obvious attempts at style and prosody in the mock encomia of the 1620s, but there is no doubt that it was remarkably appealing in the period. It may be that, as with the Lenten theme of *The Great Eater of Kent* in 1630, there was a particular attraction in Taylor’s account of Parr’s longevity and past experiences that escapes modern perceptions. It is certainly notable that in 1635 the total number of texts published under Taylor’s name, both reprints and new editions, was equal to or just exceeded the heights of his output in 1622, the year of his marketing trip to York.²⁷

Even from this cursory tracing of Taylor’s activities in the first half of the 1630s, it should be evident that the conventional narrative of his career in print as closely related to his successes or failures as a “literary” artist, with its divisions into pre-1630 and post-1640 phases, and the insistence on *All the Workes* as a negative water-shed, cannot be sustained. Similarly, the suggestion that Taylor became disillusioned with the idea of aristocratic

²⁵ John Taylor, *The triumphs of fame and honour, or, The noble accomplish’d solemnity, full of cost, art and state, at the inauguration and establishment of the true worthy and right nobly minded Robert Parkhurst, into the right honourable office of Lord Maior of London* (sn, 1634), STC 23808.

²⁶ Williams comments that Taylor’s declaration that “London’s secure, with peace and plenty blest” might “take on a somewhat pathetic irony “in the light of subsequent events (“A Lord Mayor’s Show by John Taylor, the Water Poet”, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 41(1959) 501-531).

²⁷ See Chapter 3.

patronage because his dedications to Hamilton and the Herbert brothers failed to bring rewards, seems equally beside the point. Out of these potential patrons, Hamilton was involved in raising an English force to support Gustavus Adolphus from May 1630 onwards, and was in Germany by the end of July; Taylor was probably involved in the Press for this expedition but Hamilton was recalled by Charles in September 1632 after his forces suffered terrible losses. The death of William Herbert was no doubt a blow for Taylor, but we do not know whether Herbert had also refused to acknowledge *All the Workes* - indeed, he probably had little time to do so. This leaves Philip Herbert, the new Earl of Pembroke, a completely different character from his older brother, and in particular not likely to become celebrated for the support of Protestant and godly writers. However, the death of William Herbert is highly significant if we take into account its consequences for the cultural climate of the early 1630s: for with this loss, the chancellorship of Oxford University came into the hands of William Laud, an early anticipation of the changing balance in religious influence from established Calvinism to Laudianism.²⁸

It is the changing religious and cultural climate of the 1630s that seems to me to be the essential factor in assessing the direction of Taylor's print career during the 1630s. The conventional assumption that this decade represents a retirement from literary aspirations on Taylor's part, depends on a literary-critical perspective largely irrelevant to the first half of the seventeenth century. As the evidence of texts such as *The Thankfull Remembrance*, *The Sudden Turne* and *The Triumph of Fame and Honour* suggests, it was not failure to be acknowledged as a great poet, but the religious and political situation during the 1630s that affected the type and tenor of Taylor's printed output for that period.²⁹ This point may be supported from an unexpected direction, in the enthusiasm of Martin Parker for Taylor's work in the mid 1630s. Parker's own attempts during this same decade to move into genres considered more elite and learned than his usual ballads, is detailed in Newman's thesis. This development almost certainly reflects the influence of Taylor, which seems to have been an enabling factor for the ballad writer. It shows that Taylor was not alone in his

²⁸ Sir William Herbert had also worked closely with Sir Dudley Carleton in attempting to maintain the "independently Protestant" line at court (Reeve, p.39). Carleton died two years later, in 1632.

²⁹ From 1636 onwards Taylor began an apparently mutually beneficial association with John Okes, son of Nicholas, who had printed both *Sir Gregory Nonsense* and *A memorial of all the English Monarchs* in 1622. Altogether we have indications of at least fifteen Taylor texts printed by or entered to Okes from 1637 to 1640.

aspirations and indeed that he was considerably more successful than Parker.³⁰ Parker's responses to Taylor give a rare glimpse of a sympathetic, indeed worshipful point of view that has been largely obscured by the effects of history and taste, while the negative views of others, such as George Wither, have maintained a higher profile.

However, we can recapture some of the more positive responses to Taylor's work from the copies of his books preserved in libraries.³¹ These are especially helpful in suggesting the relationship between reader and text, as well as qualifying assumptions about the significance of format. As with all early-modern texts, these elements were very different from the modern concept of print as an anonymous and depersonalised medium characterised mainly by economic factors. The importance of social and personal relationships in respect of Taylor's texts needs emphasis because of the recent assumption that Taylor's work represents the beginnings of the democratisation of the print medium and a major stage in this depersonalisation.³² However, we have repeated examples of the personal and social nature of the exchange represented by print publication for Taylor and his readers, despite a discourse and mode of address that sometimes suggests a relationship closer to the modern uses of print. For example, despite the fact that Taylor's works, in their many different formats, were apparently distributed geographically across England and into Scotland, evidence suggests that this distribution was not simply a question of itinerant chapmen peddling their wares to outlying villages, which is the more or less fictional scenario envisaged in *The Night Walker*. Instead, it seems more often to have been the result of country gentlemen specifically choosing to send for copies of Taylor's texts, or bringing them home from trips to the metropolis. This is in addition to the possibility of distribution through established booksellers and the author's own marketing trips, for example in the voyage to York.

The social distribution of Taylor's texts can certainly be queried from the available evidence, with the caveat that it is only the libraries of gentlemen, and very occasionally gentlewomen, that have survived into the twentieth century. However, as discussed in the chapters above, all the known evidence of ownership of Taylor's texts amongst servant or

³⁰ For Parker and Taylor in relation to *The Wandring Jews Chronicle*, see Chapter 7, above.

³¹ Nigel Wheale, *Writing and Society*, pp. 94 -101. For Hartle, see Chapter 6, above.

³² Laurie Ellinghausen states that "Taylor embraced a democratic approach to authorship" and "frequently writes in an anti-hierarchical and democratic vein", which was hard to reconcile with his "faith in a vertical social order", hence leading to "anxiety" (Ellinghausen, *Labor and Writing*, p. 14, 103-4, 119-20).

apprentice classes arise from strategic efforts to denigrate his work by labelling it fit only for ignorant consumers. The other class of evidence, dependent on reckoning up the cost of texts according to paper, and considering the market positions of the shops through which these texts were sold, often indicates a “middling sort” of readership. However, we also need to take care in considering how to apply such economic considerations: for the price of an item is not a reliable indicator of the social or educational status of the purchaser, except in the case of the most expensive material. Obvious examples are the collections of Taylor’s small books built up by individuals such as Scipio Le Squyer, Robert Burton, Anthony Wood and Frances Wolfreston, as well as the young William Clarke, whose collection included both “cheap print” such as *Newes and Strange Newes* and a copy of *All the Workes* by the late 1630s.

The case of Frances Wolfreston is one where particular circumspection is needed, especially in the area of the significance of format and gender. For the discovery that a married woman from a “minor country gentry” background had built up a collection of unbound “small books” that included at least twelve separate titles by John Taylor, might seem to indicate a widespread market amongst countrywomen living isolated from London. Wolfreston’s collection as a whole has certainly been taken to reflect the preferences of female readers for light and easy reading appropriate to their education, limited social circles and the domestic focus of their lives. However, we need to be wary of drawing such inferences from this particular instance. As Paul Morgan has shown, many of Frances Wolfreston’s books dating from the reign of King James or earlier “must have been inherited by, given to, or acquired second-hand by her”, since she was a young girl in the 1620s and only married in 1631.³³ This seems true of most of the texts by Taylor on which she wrote her married name: thus the presence of Taylor’s texts in her collection does not indicate that this country gentlewoman purchased new copies of Taylor’s small books from travelling salesmen. Instead, there is every possibility that she acquired her Taylor texts from second-hand sources in the 1630s or later, whether by purchase or perhaps more likely from handing-down by relatives of the Wolfrestons themselves.

³³ Paul Morgan, “Frances Wolfreston and “Hor Books”: A Seventeenth-Century Woman Book-Collector”, in *The Library*, 6th Series, 3 (September 1989), pp. 197-219, p. 203.

The Wolfrestons had connections with several families that figure in relation to Taylor's texts elsewhere, including the Willoughbys, with seats at Wollaton Hall in Nottingham and at Middleton in Warwickshire, close to the Wolfreston home at Statfold; and the Salusburys of Llewenny, Denbighshire. These family connections, mentioned by Paul Morgan without reference to John Taylor, are as yet not fully traced: the names Elizabeth Wolfreston and Frances Willoughby appear together in acrostics preserved in the Salusbury papers at Christ's College, Oxford, which also include that family's copy of *All the Workes of John Taylor*. Elizabeth Wolfreston was probably an aunt of Frances Wolfreston's husband and Frances Willoughby is the sister of either the Sir Francis Willoughby to whom Taylor dedicated an anagram in *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses*, or his father. These family connections suggest that Frances Wolfreston's interest in John Taylor may have derived from family interests in his authorship, and that she may have acquired some or all of her copies via such family connections. Furthermore, the fact that Frances describes her book collection in her will as "my physicke booke, my godly booke, and all the rest" also suggests a context for Taylor's texts within the library of a woman to whom "physicke" and godliness were of considerable importance. Frances bequeathed these books to her youngest son, Stanford, who became vicar of Wootten Wawen a few months before his mother's death.³⁴

The link between the Wolfrestons and the Salusburys of Llewenny is of particular interest. The Salusbury copy of *All the Workes of John Taylor* was part of the collection bequeathed to Christ's College that includes the family papers of previous generations, especially Sir John Salusbury (Salusburie) and Catherine of Berain.³⁵ The Salusburys have a number of connections with more conventional "literary" circles, in particular through *Love's Martyr*, which was dedicated to Sir John Salusbury by Robert Chester.³⁶ However,

³⁴ Frances's eldest son, Francis, went on to become a writer himself. Morgan notes that Stanford Wolfreston published *An Inquiry into the Causes of Diseases* in 1692, which "is concerned more with aspects of spiritual than medical ill-health". Wing W3251. The coincidence of title with Taylor's civil war pamphlet, *The Causes of the Diseases* is probably generic (*The causes of the diseases and distempers of this kingdom; found by feeling of her pulse, viewing her urine, and casting her water* (Oxford, 1645, Wing T437).

³⁵ This copy at Christ's College Oxford is shelf-mark (Crs 2.907). The relevant ms. are MS. 183 and 184. These papers, mainly in Welsh, date from 1550-1698, and include manuscript poems in praise of Sir John and Sir Harry (Henry), mostly written by Robert Chester, who dedicated *Loves Martyr* to Sir John in 1601. The bequest was made early in the 1700s. I am grateful to the librarian, Janet McMullin, for this information.

³⁶ *Love's Martyr* (1601) has parallels to Shakespeare's *The Phoenix and the Turtle* and has been interpreted as an allegory about Elizabeth, James and the succession. The first edition bore commendatory verses by

the copy of Taylor's *Workes* in this collection belonged to Sir John's grandson, Sir Thomas Salusbury of Lleweni (c.1612-1643). The phrase "Sr. Thomas Salusburys Booke" is written prominently across the final ornament and his signature and annotations in the same hand are found copiously throughout. Sir Thomas himself had a reputation as a poet: most of his surviving work is in manuscript although he did publish a *Life of Joseph* in two editions. He also wrote several unpublished pieces of drama including a comedy, and two masques: the *Masque at Knowsley* was performed at the Earl of Derby's home by Lord Strange's Men in 1641/2.³⁷ Thus Sir Thomas had some reason to take an interest in Taylor's work before both men became involved in Royalist activities at the start of the civil war. One particular annotation in his copy of *All the Workes* suggests confirmation of my argument about the political and religious inferences of even the most apparently comical and nonsensical of Taylor's pre 1630 output. This is a two line addition in a partially legible secretary hand below the anecdote numbered 66 in *Wit and Mirth*. Taylor's short tale concerns the training of local soldiers in an unspecified location, and compares the cowardly Spanish to the brave English. The printed verse ends:

*One Spaniard mongst 6000, pitty t'were,
Better ten thousand Britains bold were there,
Led by braue Leaders, that might make Spain quake
Like Vere, or Morgan, Essex, Blunt, or Drake.*

The two-line addition lists four names identifiable as "Stanley, Norris, Williams, Chichester"; the couplet also mimics the rhythm and rhyme of Taylor's quatrain, although the exact wording of the first line is unclear.³⁸ This manuscript addition is reminiscent of Thomas Heywood's *Troia Britanica: or, Great Britaines Troy* (1609):

Shakespeare, Marston, Chapman and Ben Jonson. Jonson sent Sir John Salusbury a manuscript copy of his commendatory verses. Frances Wolfreston also owned a copy of *Love's Martyr* (Morgan, p.205).

³⁷ Sir Thomas was described by Wood as "a most noted poet of his time" (DNB, 2004). *Love or Money*. c. 1638-42 and the *Masque of Gypsies* were both performed at Chirk Castle, seat of the Middletons. A *Masque at Knowsley* is listed in Annals for 6th January 1641. Taylor may have had a particular link to the Earl of Derby's Men: he tells us that they performed *Guy of Warwick* to celebrate his return to London in *The Pennilesse Pilgrimage* (1618).

³⁸ "Beefore the [as/ge] [named??] [each] souldier doeth [paether]/ Stanley norys williams Chi[rs] ester"

And those whose Woorths these late times have displaid
Howard, Grey, Norris, Sidney, Essex, Veare:
These, had they liv'd in aged Priam's dayes,
Had dim'd the Greeks, and matcht the Trojans praise"

(II.8.5 – 8) ³⁹

The occurrence of the name "Norris" in both *Troia Britannica* and in the Salusbury annotation suggests a common hero, probably Sir John Norris, knighted by Leicester for his bravery at Grave, and joint commander with Sir Francis Drake of a legendary expedition to destroy Spanish shipping in 1589. "Stanley" may refer to Sir William Stanley, who was Norris's companion at Zutphen in 1586. Arthur Chichester, Earl of Belfast, had sailed against the Spanish Armada, served with Essex in Ireland, and was called out of retirement in 1623 to supervise the forces preparing for the Palatinate. In 1625 Brooke's elegy for Chichester gave his death an apocalyptic national significance "as part of the loss of a generation of English nobility".⁴⁰ Hence the Salusbury annotation to *Wit and Mirth* is responding to Taylor's patriotism and anti-Spanish sentiment, by giving further examples from English history. However, these hand-written additions may also link Taylor's almost legendary heroes with the Salusbury family's own connections, for Sir Thomas's grandfather had married Ursula, illegitimate but acknowledged daughter of Henry Stanley, fourth Earl of Derby, and this marriage also brought connections to the Norrises of Speke in Lancashire.⁴¹

Sir Thomas Salusbury led a regiment of foot in the royalist Welsh forces at the start of the civil war, but died in 1643, probably succumbing to the typhus epidemic that was

³⁹ Thomas Heywood, *Troia Britanica: or, Great Britaines Troy* (1609), Canto 11. Curtis Perry, describes this as a "baggy verse chronicle" (p.182), stating that Heywood "demonstrates the imperial superiority of England by comparing its heroes favourably to those of Greece, Troy and Rome", Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary Practice* (Cambridge, CUP, 1997), p.183.

⁴⁰ Michelle O'Callaghan , "Three Jacobean Spenserians", p. 314.

⁴¹ It appears that several generations of the Salusbury family were linked by marriage to the Stanleys, Earls of Derby.

circulating amongst his troops.⁴² Thus the particular attention that he paid to *All the Workes* cannot be attributed to Taylor's later reputation as a royalist pamphleteer. The details of the binding and signatures make it very likely that Sir Thomas took this copy home with him when he was recalled from London by the death of his father in 1631/2.⁴³ Here we have material evidence that *All the Workes* was very much a living and interactive text for contemporaries, and that one of the ways that Taylor's texts became distributed across the country was through the movement of country gentlemen between their home localities and the metropolis. In addition, the Salusbury copy shows that the ideological significances built into *All the Workes* by the collection's organization and presentation were recognizable to readers in the 1630s, well before the civil war, so that Taylor's work and his authorial identity were already identified with a Protestant nationalism that was compatible with a form of monarchism, well before there was apparently such a thing as the royalist cause.⁴⁴

However, the fact that Sir Thomas Salusbury had a particular interest in poetry and drama suggests that his ownership of the Taylor folio was also related to these authorial interests, which may come as a surprise to those who consider *All the Workes* a failure in terms of Taylor's bid for recognition as a "poet". The gold tooling of "TAYLOR/ THE/ WATER POET/ WORKS" on the spine, consistent with other examples of near-contemporary bindings for Taylor's collection, shows that this terminology was fixed by the early years of the 1630s. The modern reservations about this epithet, so often now applied in inverted commas ('John Taylor the self-styled "Water-Poet"'), do not match with

⁴² Salusbury met with others at Wrexham under the presidency of the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Strange, and vowed to raise a regiment for the King, in August 1642, see: Norman Tucker, *Royalist Officers of North Wales, 1642-1660: A Provisional List* (Gee and Son, Denbigh, 1961).

Another annotation in this copy of *All the Workes* on the leather binding, inside, refers to Wrexham and gives various numerical figures, but it is not clear whether this is a reference to troop numbers or merely a note of a transaction for goods.

⁴³ Sir Thomas's sister Ursula married in December 1630 in London, and he himself was admitted as a student at the Inner Temple in 1631. However, he was summoned home to Wales on the death of his father in July 1632. Thus he may have acquired his copy of *All the Workes* while a student in London. However, this copy is bound using the waste from a Welsh-language religious book, which suggests that it may have been bound in Wales: thus it is possible that Thomas's father, Sir Henry Salusbury (1589-1632) may have acquired the book before his death, having it sent from London to be bound locally, and Sir Thomas inherited it. The name Henry Salusbury, which also appears on the back cover and elsewhere, may be Sir Thomas's brother.

⁴⁴ A relevant discussion of the term "royalism" is in Joad Raymond's review article, "Describing Popularity in Early Modern England", in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67.1 (2004), 101-129, especially pp. 116-120.

this contemporary use of the term.⁴⁵ Thus while we need not assume that Sir Thomas Salusbury purchased (or was given) a copy of *All the Workes* because he thought John Taylor was a great poet, it seems incontrovertible that he did see Taylor as a significant writer and was perfectly willing, perhaps even enthusiastic, to ascribe to him the epithet “Water Poet” as a mark of distinctive authorial identity. That this appreciation was linked to ideological sympathies seems evident from the annotations on the Salusbury copy of *All the Workes*, as well as its preservation in the family’s papers into the eighteenth century.

The probable family links between the Salusburys and the Wolfrestons, despite the shades of difference in their social status, suggest that apparently isolated examples of ownership of Taylor’s texts will sometimes be discovered to reflect particular communities of readers, and cannot necessarily be taken as indications of general factors in the distribution or reception of his work. The different formats in which Frances Wolfreston and the Salusbury family owned their Taylor texts suggests that the format in which readers might access the same works depended partly on factors of convenience and use as much as social status and expense. However, Sir Thomas Salusbury’s enthusiasm for the *Workes* of John Taylor also emphasises the artificiality of attempts to maintain a distance between supposedly elite and popular forms of writing. This is reinforced by the coincidence concerning these two poets’ elegies for Ben Jonson. Taylor’s *A funeral elegie, in memory of the rare, famous, and admired poet, Mr Benjamin Jonson deceased*, which was entered just under two months after the playwright’s death, was the first printed response to this event.⁴⁶

Although Taylor clearly took great pains over this poem, which reveals a genuine admiration for Jonson, its main impact at the time was to provoke anger amongst elite circles. Not only had Taylor had the temerity to publish such an elegy, but he had also dared to criticise Jonson’s circle for not doing so more quickly themselves. An “official” collection of tributes was issued by Brian Dupper the following year, prefaced by a short

⁴⁵ For example, “Horace the Poet, in his Booke reherses, / That Water-drinkers neuer make good Verses. / Yet I a Poet know, And (in his Praise!) / Hee’s one has liu’d by Water all his days” Henry Fitzgeffrey, *Satyres and Satyricall Epigrams: with Certaine Observations at Black Fryers* (Alde for Miles Partrich, 1617, repr. 1618; 1620, John Beale for Thomas Jones), epigram 32, *Of the Riming Sculler*.

⁴⁶ *A funeral elegie, in memory of the rare, famous, and admired poet, Mr Benjamin Jonson deceased. Who dyed the sixteenth day of August last* (E. Purslowe for Henry Gossen, 1637), STC 23759, entered 9th October 1637. The three extant copies show evidence of careful proof reading and correction. The copy at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is printed on good quality paper and bound with other contemporary texts with dates up to 1639, in an original binding.

“Printer to the Reader” that was clearly intended to put Taylor in his place, although it did not stoop to name him.⁴⁷ We must assume that the words are Dupper’s, because the printer was Elizabeth Purslowe, who had also produced Taylor’s *Elegie*. The lofty explanation that at least six months is required for “so great an Argument [ought] to be consider’d … not that the Gentlemens affections were lesse readie to grieve, but their judgements to write” is pointedly directed towards Taylor’s reputation for “scribbling”.

However, it is a wry irony that it is Taylor’s *Elegie*, and not the official collection, that carries the year of Jonson’s death in the imprint on its title page. Furthermore, it seems that Taylor was not the only writer with reservations about the response of Jonson’s supposed admirers to the playwright’s death. For Sir Thomas Salusbury’s own tribute to Jonson, with the curious title “An Elegie meant upon the death of Ben Jonson”, remained in manuscript until 1935. Although the reason for this is unclear, Herford and Simpson suggest that the poem may originally have been intended for inclusion in *Jonsonus Virbius*: if so, then it is likely that the implied criticisms of the collection contained in Salusbury’s lines led to its omission. Although very different in style and length, these poems by Taylor and Salusbury share a common unease about the general response to Jonson’s death and his legacy. Both sets of verses remained outside the pale of the approved tributes, and neither has since received any critical attention, despite being printed in twentieth century collections. Yet there is a case to be made for both poems, in their very different ways, as more genuine and interesting responses to their subject than the often formulaic pieces in *Jonsonus Virbius*.⁴⁸

Without the evidence of Sir Thomas’s annotations on his copy of *All the Workes*, the folio collection that Taylor had supposedly published in foolish emulation of Jonson’s own Works in 1616, we would be unaware of this connection between two individuals from such apparently contrasting social and cultural backgrounds. The fact that Ben Jonson had sent Sir Thomas’s grandfather copies of his verses in his own hand, including one that announced his refusal to write elegiac poetry (“An elegie? No, muse; it askes a straine /

⁴⁷ *Jonsonus Virbius or, The Memorie of Ben: Jonson, revived by the Friends of the Muses* (E. Purslowe for Henry Seile, 1638), STC 14784. The real explanation for the delay seems to have been a mixture of apathy with the fact that gentlemen did not stay “in town” for the summer.

⁴⁸ For the Salusbury poem, see Herford and Simpson, pp.485-6. Other, apparently later, responses to Jonson’s death not published in Dupper’s collection sometimes express similar concerns. The Salusburys had a personal connection to Jonson, who had sent Sir John, Thomas’s grandfather, a manuscript copy of his commendatory verses for *Love’s Martyr*.

to[o] loose, and Cap'ring, for thy stricter veine"), is a further ironic twist.⁴⁹ Like the coincidence that *All the Workes of John Taylor* was printed on the same presses and with the same printer's ornaments as the second stage of Jonson's own *Workes*, it seems that circumstances were continually defeating Jonson's efforts to keep his work separate from and uncontaminated by the company of the likes of John Taylor. Furthermore, the most significant of the Salusbury annotations, and the one that mimics Taylor's own versification, is found in the section of Taylor's *Workes* that seems the farthest removed from learning and refinement, the jest book *Wit and Mirth*.

The survival of the Salusbury family bequest at Christ's College therefore provides several sobering qualifications to the social and cultural distinctions that have sidelined John Taylor the Water Poet in the historiography of "English Literature". It seems that Alexander Brome's views on the relative merits of different types of writing were indeed representative of a wider response to the stratification of literary practice in the period:

*Jonson and Taylor, in their kind, were both
Good wits, who likes the one, need not t'other loath.
Wit is like beauty, Nature made the Joan
As well's the lady.*⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Ben Jonson, "Prolodium". However, Riggs notes that Jonson "then tantalizes the reader with a dozen lines of splendid elegiac verse", David Riggs, *Ben Jonson: a Life* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 78.

⁵⁰ Alexander Brome, *Songs and Other Poems* (Henry Brome, 1664), Wing B4853, p.204, Sig. P4v (see Chapter One, note 35). Joad Raymond's proposal that "we should acknowledge not only the literariness of pamphleteering and journalism but also pamphletary dimensions of literary writing, and, moreover the interface in these transactions", seems apposite to my conclusion (Raymond, "Describing Popularity", p. 125).

Appendix.

All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet (1630): Table of Copies Consulted (England and Scotland).

Location	Description	Order of Preliminary pages. ¹	Letter-press title-page ²	“Chales” or “Charles”	Other information.
British Library	Re-bound Thin paper	BL	I “of”	Chales	Clean copy.
Guildhall	27.8cm by 18 by 2.5.	M	I “of”	Chales	
All Soul’s, Oxford (Codrington Library)	Thick paper throughout. 27.6 cm. by 19cm by 4 to 4.3 cm deep. Early binding.	M Engraved tp. in excellent condition.	“J” “of”	Charles	Bookplate of Ralph Freman of Hammels in Hertfordshire, whose son, prebendary of Salisbury, left the collection to All Soul’s in 1774. ³ Very good condition throughout.
Wadham College, Oxford	New spine, boards may be original. 26.5cm by 18.1 to 18.2, by 2.8/ 3.	Lacks letter-press tp. Has engraving., poems “To the Author”, Epistle to World, Errata, Catalogue.	Lacks letter-press title-page.	Charles	Richard Warner’s copy: 1743” on pastedown (Shakespearean collector). Stolen from Wadham, damaged, recovered.
Christ’s College, Oxford (Crs 2.907) Salisbury copy.	Binding contemporary: brown leather on boards; gold lettering. Waste in paste-downs from Welsh religious texts. 29.5 by 19 by 4 cm. Thick paper.	M.	I “of”	Chales	Ms. annotations by Salisbury family members. Small “o” in WORKES” on letter-press tp. Signature of John Scarth.
St. John’s College, Oxford	28 by 18.5 by 3.8 to 3.9 cm. 17thc. Binding, gold tooled spine with dolphin and Fleur de Lys symbols.	Tp., dedications, Catalogue, Epistle to the World, errata, “To the Author” poems, then Taylor’s Urania.	“of”	Charles	Annotations to “A Thief” (p.122). Last page signed “Thomas Stephens” – late 17 th /early 18 th c. Back paste-down from book with running title

¹ Order identified with one of four sequences, as found in: M = Cambridge UL Sandars copy used for Menstone Press facsimile; BL = British Library; SJO = St. John’s, Oxford; R = Rouse, Christ’s College, Cambridge. Omits copy seen at Otago University (owned by William Herbert, book collector); copy at Inerpeffray, Crieff (free Library endowed by Drummond family), described by Librarian as clean copy; copy at St Hughes College, Oxford, too damaged for inclusion. Copies also held at Longleat House; at The Shakespeare Centre, Stratford; and by the National Trust.

² Where recorded, “J” or “I” in “James Boler”; “of” or “o” in “of the Marigold”

³ Bookplate and stamp of the elder Ralph Freman, “ExLagatis/ Radulphi. Freman STP DE Hammels in Com Hert. Et Coll. Omn, an. Quondam”, MP for Hartford in 1722. Probably acquired from library of Dr Thomas Leigh, Vicar of Bishop Stortford 1680-1686. Only copy of *All the Workes* seen so far (2009) without damage to pages of *Wit and Mirth*.

					“Secrets in the ordering/ of Trees and Plants”.
Worcester College, Oxford.	Thick paper, clear printing. 29 by 18.5 by 3.8 to 4cm, allowing white space around text.	M, but lacks engraved frontispiece.	I “of”	Chales	Crossed through signature on letter-press tp.; replaced by signature of George Clarke. ⁴
Bodleian (Douce T subt.1)	27 by 18.5 by 3	M	J “of”	Charles	Later 17 th /early 18 th c. binding stamped with small crest, motto, “Quo fata vocant”. ⁵ Interleaved with handwritten material (ref. to late 17th/early 18th century), with name “Billy” prominent in rhymes.
King’s College, Cambridge	28 by 18.5 by 3.8 cm. Thick paper. Renewed, decorated spine, some original leather remaining (back cover: “rebacked 1926”).	M.	I “of”	Charles	Pages damaged. Errors in binding at end of book. Library of Earl of Rosebury.
Cambridge University Library (SSS.21.13)	Bound by Riviere and Sons. 18.5 by 17.5 by 2.3 cm. Thin pages.	M	J “o”	Chales	Clean copy, used for Scolar Press facsimile.
Cambridge University Library (Y.7.46)	Thick paper. Rebound “by J.B.Hawes, Cambridge” 18.8 by 28 by 3.4 cm.	M, but lacks engraved frontispiece.	I “of”	Charles	Bookplate of George I, Royal Library, 1715.
Cambridge University Library: Keynes, D.5.22. (Bliss copy)	Thick paper 27 by 18.2 by 2.8 cm.	M, but lacks engraved fp.	J “of”	Not recorded	Signatures of William Carlos (1716); Joseph Clarke (1704). Many annotations. Page numbers added to Catalogue in ink.
Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (L.34.4)	Original boards, spine renewed by Gray & Son, Cambridge. 18.7 by 28 by 4 to 4.2 cm.	M, damaged frontispiece.	I “of”	Charles	Signature of John Harvey [Harcross?] in secretary hand. Back board: date 1671 written in ink and part illegible inscription, possibly “Sam” and “Cooke”. Pages missing; ms. copying of Errata verse.
Trinity College, Cambridge	Modern binding 26.2 by 18.2 by 2.4 cm.	M, lacks engraved fp.	I “of”	Charles	Malone copy, signed by Grylls. Many notes at start on

⁴ Crossed through signature unidentified, but does not resemble that of William Clarke, who was too young to have acquired this book at first publication.

⁵ Motto identified with one of: De Lisle/Dudley/ Russell/ Sidney/ Shelley families. Arms suggest branch of De Lisle & Dudley (Sir Robert Sidney?).

(Grylls 10.163)					prices; Malone has annotated <i>Wit & Mirth</i> story re “Davenant” (Malone’s interpretation)
Edinburgh University Df.4.21	Modern Binding 28.2 by 19 by 2.8 cm. Medium weight paper.	M, frontispiece intact but dirty.	I “of”	Chales (with “r” added above in ink, omission mark below)	Ex Libris Bibliotheces Edinensis in ink on engraved tp. Ink on “An Armado”, p.84, 85(87); damaged page opposite “World Runnes on Wheeles” (II. 233). Ink scribblings on first page of “A Briefe Remembrance”, and picture/text of “CHARLES” (II.321)
Gloucester Cathedral	28 by 18 ½ x 3cm, binding late 17 th /18th century.	Lacks engraved frontispiece	I “of”	Charles	King’s School copy, inscribed in secretary hand, “John ffoyle his booke”; from library of Maurice Wheeler, Master (1684-1720), who notes that Foyle was an ex- pupil of the school; also later signatures, John Gollop, Richard Gwyn (pupils). Many annotations, especially to <i>Superbiae Flagellum</i> . ⁶

⁶ These annotations with reference to “Pride” and “Rome”; pages of *Wit and Mirth* also much damaged; incident 116 circled.

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