PATENTS AND PATRONAGE: THE LIFE AND CAREER OF JOHN DAY, TUDOR PRINTER

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DECLARATION

Much of the work on the four editions of John Foxe's Acts and Monuments has been reproduced in Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, 'John Foxe, John Day and the Printing of the Book of Martyrs' in Lives in Print, ed. Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (Oak Knoll and The British Library, 2002) Some of the information provided in Chapter 3, on Day's Marian activities, will appear in 'The Michael Wood Myster: William Cecil and the Lincolnshire Printing of John Day' in Sixteenth Century Journal (forthcoming). Information about John Day's involvement with the Stranger Communities will occur in 'The Fleeing Dutchmen? The Influence of Dutch Immigrants on the Print Shop of John Day' in John Foxe: At Home and Abroad, ed. David Loades (forthcoming). Some of the information on music proof-reading will be used in 'Singing Psalms and Howling Errors: the Problems of Music Proof-Reading in Tudor England' (forthcoming). Where duplication of material occurs within the thesis, the relevant passages have been indicated in a footnote. Information reproduced from entries in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (forthcoming) likewise have been indicated in a footnote. Any information for which I have relied on information from other sources has been duly indicated in the same manner.

ABSTRACT

John Day (1522-1584) is, by common acknowledgement, the foremost English printer of the latter sixteenth-century. As well as printing works, most notably the Acts and Monuments, he also pioneered enormous advances in English typography and book illustration. This thesis will examine his life and overall career, in particular, examining the reasons for his commercial success and his significance in English book production.

The thesis begins by setting Day in the context of the sixteenth century printing industry. It then examines his disputed origins and establishment as a London printer. Day is also identified as the mysterious 'Michael Wood', clandestine printer of illicit works during Mary's reign. His Elizabethan career is also discussed, along with many of the most significant works he printed, with special attention being given to the four editions of the Acts and Monuments printed during his lifetime. Consideration is also given to his connections with the Stranger communities in London.

In particular, this these will argue that Day's printing empire was founded not only on his technical ability, but also on his ability to attract patrons. His great prosperity rested on the patents granted him to the extremely lucrative ABC, Catechism, and Metrical Psalms. But he secured these patents by carrying out technically demanding printing assignments for leading Elizabethan statesmen and churchmen. His success rested on both cheap and expensive print. Cheap print provided his wealth, but expensive print provided the patronage necessary to secure the valuable patents.

Day does not conform to the modern image or even seventeenth century image of a successful printer. In fact, he was something of a dinosaur: impressive but doomed to extinction. No single printer could print works on the scale that John Day did alone. After his death, Day's place in the English printing industry would be taken over by teams of printers funded by syndicates of booksellers. But during his lifetime, as this thesis will show, the combination of his technical skill, patronage and wealth enabled him to change the face of English printing.

ABBREVIATIONS

AM	John Foxe, Acts and Monumentes (1563, 1570, 1576, 1583 editions)
Arber	Edward Arber, Transcripts of the Stationers' Register of London, 1557-1640, vols. I-II (1875-94)
BL	British Library
Cam. Bib. Soc. Trans.	Proceedings of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society
deps.	Depositions
ECL	Emmanuel College Library
Gaskell	Philip Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography (1972)
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
ints.	Interrogatories
Oastler	C.L. Oastler, John Day, the Elizabethan Printer (1975)
Ox. Bib. Soc. Trans.	Transactions of the Oxford Bibliographical Society
PRO	Public Records Office
Sig(s).	Signature(s)
SP 11	Public Record Office, London, State Papers, Domestic, Mary

ABBREVIATIONS (cont.)

STC	A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed... 1475-1640...revised, ed. W.A. Jackson, J.F. Ferguson and K. F. Pantzer (1986)

All quotations are in original spelling. Where contractions have been expanded, the additional letters have been placed in [brackets]. All dates are New Style, but it should be noted that where a work's date is non-specific (e.g., just '1570', without the month), the placing of the work across the dates considered in chapters is conjectural (hence the work could be, for example, 1570 or 1571).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The wooden bridge that spans the river at Queens' College, Cambridge is known as the mathematical bridge because of its intricate, geometric design. According to local lore the bridge was once held together by nothing more than its design and the ways in which the different components of the bridge fit together. The bridge was disassembled, so the story goes, and then it was discovered that it was impossible to re-assemble it in its original state. The new bridge had to be supported and held together with metal bolts. Deconstructing the different, inter-related, components of Tudor history carries the same risk. Once disassembled, there is the danger that we will never be able to rebuild the whole structure. Yet it is necessary to deconstruct the structure in order to understand its various parts. Nevertheless, an understanding of the whole structure is also necessary. This is particularly true of any study of printing and of 'the book' during the Tudor period. Without all the strands clearly considered and in view, anyone considering the place of print within this Tudor picture is in danger of standing blindfold, pinning the tail on an unseen donkey.[1]

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1. For a discussion of the problems faced by historians of the book see, most recently for example, Andrew Pettegree, 'Printing and the Reformation: the English exception' in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (eds.), The Beginnings of English Protestantism (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 157-179; also Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, The Coming of the Book. The Impact of Printing 1450-1800 (Albin Michel, 1979), Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change (two volumes in one, Cambridge, 1979), R.M. Kingdon, 'Patronage, Piety and Printing in Sixteenth Century Europe' in idem. (ed.), Church and Society in Reformation Europe (Variorum Reprints, London, 1985), XVII, Adrian Johns, Print and Knowledge in the Making (University of Chicago, 1998).

John Day, the subject of this dissertation, was the leading English printer in the latter half of the sixteenth century. He is now remembered as the printer of John Foxe's seminal martyrology, the Acts and Monuments, and the printer of the metrical psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins. He is also remembered as an innovator, who pioneered the use of Anglo-Saxon type, and one who drastically raised the quality of English book illustration.[1] But this is merely the tip of the iceberg. Day also printed works on palmistry, astrology, almanacs, ballads, sermons, primers, poetry, as well as books on medicine, mathematics and navigation. Day's career, and achievement, can not be understood merely from a consideration of the best-known products of his print shop. Rather, the total extent of Day's activities must be analysed. Nor can it be understood merely from an examination of all of his books. Rather, the production of his books, from when he acquired the necessary raw materials through to his marketing and sale of the final product, needs to be analysed. Day was highly successful, and he needs to be considered as a businessman and entrepreneur. Yet this entails an examination not simply of his business but of his political and social connections, and indeed of the society in which he operated with so much success. Studying John Day, then, will shed light not merely on sixteenth-century printing, but on sixteenth-century English society as a whole.

But first, what exactly do we mean when we talk of printing? Understood as a verb, it refers to the setting of type and the laying out of pages, the art of

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1. See, for example, John Bromwich, 'The First Book Printed in Anglo-Saxon Type' in Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, III, 1959-63, pp. 265-91; Edward Hodnett, Image and Text: Studies in the illustration of English literature (Scolar Press, rpt. 1986), pp. 27-43; Margaret Aston, The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 141, 167, 192, 208; Ruth Samson Luborsky and Elizabeth Morley Ingram, A Guide to Illustrated English Books, 1536-1603, Medieval and Renaissance Text and Studies, vol. 166 (Tempe, Arizona, 1998), vol.1, for appropriate STC listings.

mechanically reproducing words. Yet often the word 'printing' is used as a noun, i.e., this or that was 'in print'. That printed text – 'print' – then takes on an identity in itself, transforming the art into the artefact. If we speak of who studied the printed works of Luther, we are thinking in terms of the content – but the works of Luther had to be made and had to be sold. The very process of their manufacture and sale influenced how their contents were received and understood. The nature of print, and therefore of the 'printed book' as a manufactured product, needs to be examined carefully.

From Manuscript to Print

It is important for us to understand not only the information people received but the media by which they received it, the two major formats during this period being manuscript and print. It should be noted that the first printed books looked like manuscripts. In this sense, early printers attempted to be imitators rather than innovators.[1] The 42-line Bible, for example, was intended to reproduce in printed form the handwriting of the Rhenish missals, not to introduce some new, revolutionary appearance for its biblical content.[2] Early types were based on script, and early printed texts likewise based their rubric upon the manuscript formats already familiar to readers.[3] Yet before examining these similarities, two important

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[1] Febvre, The Coming of the Book, p. 77.

[2] See Rudolph Hirsch, Printing, Selling and Reading, 1450-1550 (Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1967), p.3.

[3] For type, see Philip Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography (Oak Knoll Press, 2nd edition, 1995 [1st edition, 1972], pp. 16-39. For similarities between manuscript books and printed books see George R. Keiser, 'Serving the needs of readers: textual division in some late-medieval English texts'

events that had preceded the move to mechanical reproduction of works should be considered: the transition from the roll to the codex, and from vellum to paper.

The roll had been replaced by the codex by the fifth century AD. Codices themselves were preceded an intermediary format, the 'tablet' – pieces of wood or ivory which, when tied together, resembled a codex.[1] Paper was introduced to the West from the Near East and also from China.[2] The first European production of paper began in Spain at around the beginning of the twelfth century. By the thirteenth century it had spread to Italy, France and Germany by the fourteenth, and eventually to England by the fifteenth century. Paper was much cheaper to produce and, although vellum was still reserved for special works, such as indulgences or presentation copies, paper won the day due to its availability and cheaper cost.[3] The introduction of paper to Europe brought about a significant change in documentation of events, both public and private. Elizabeth Eisenstein has noted that the increased availability of cheap writing material 'encouraged the recording of more sermons, orations, adages, and poems,' and therefore the ability for man to become his own scribe.' It encouraged 'voluminous correspondence... more diaries, memoirs,

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in New Science Out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscript and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle, ed. Richard Beadle and A. J. Piper (Scolar Press, 1995), pp. 207-11.

1. Rudolf Hirsch, Printing, Selling and Reading 1450 – 1550, pp. 2 – 3.

2. See Gaskell, Bibliography, pp.57-60; Febvre, The Coming of the Book, pp.30-44.

3. For an example of the practice of providing presentation copies in manuscript and/or print, see David R. Carlson, 'Politicking and Manuscript Presentation: Pietro Carmeliano's Development of Publishing Methods 1482-86' in idem (ed.), English Humanist Books: Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print 1475-1525 (University of Toronto Press, 1993), pp.37-59.

copybooks and notebooks.' The widespread use of paper, equally, had an effect on the activities of 'merchants and literati.'[1]

But the advent of the printed book did not usher in a new format or a radical change of appearance of the text. Both the manuscript book and the printed book shared a great deal in common throughout the early modern period. Textual divisions, large, pictorial initials, headings, and chapter numbers were common to both the manuscript and the printed work from the very advent of print. As George Keiser has observed, from the 'late fourteenth century onward the value of an ordered text and finding devices was recognized by many compilers of practical books in the vernacular, and preparing an ordinatio became a part of the process of compilation for them.'[2] Signatures were first used in printed books as a preparation guide, particularly for the use of compositors and binders, as a means of ensuring pages were laid out in the correct order. Printers thus imitated the scribal practice of the 'register'. The register was a table for listing the first word of each gathering or each double leaf. Printers followed a similar pattern by designating each section with a letter of the alphabet and a number to show the order of the leaves.[3] These early printed books likewise used the same abbreviations and contractions of manuscript works. Some types included ligatures and abbreviation symbols, such as tittles, as part of their set. Although paper was not as precious as vellum it was still costly, and the inconvenience of setting abbreviations was initially outweighed by

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1. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change p.217.

2. George R. Keiser, 'Serving the needs of readers: textual division in some late-medieval English texts' in New Science Out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscript and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle, ed. Richard Beadle and A. J. Piper (Scolar Press, 1995), p. 207.

3. See Febvre, The Coming of the Book, pp. 87-8.

the ability to save at least some paper. But as supplies, and therefore the cost of paper, began to reduce, the use of such contractions gradually faded away to all but a few still familiar to us today, such as the ampersand (&) or abbreviated et cetera (etc.).[1]

As George Keiser has eruditely observed, 'attention to the presentation of texts can lead to a better understanding of what scribes and printers recognised as the needs of contemporary readers and how they attempted to serve them.'[2] With the spread of university learning the requirement for textbooks increased. As a result, a more pressing need for practical cross-referencing came about. Page numbers were used in both manuscript and early printed books as a means of guiding the reader back and forth in a work.[3] Works of reference became increasingly required. As we shall see, the larger the work the greater the difficulty in maintaining accuracy, particularly across multiple editions of a large work.[4] The requirements of the readers were therefore reflected in the printed text, as the printer sought to facilitate the type of reading required for a specific text. As with manuscript works, printed marginalia facilitated the reading of a work in a number of ways. They could provide editorial comment, highlight key passages or provide cross-references.

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1. See Hirsch, Printing, Selling and Reading, p. 25.

2. George R. Keiser, 'Serving the needs of readers: textual division in some late-medieval English texts', p. 207.

3. For Caxton's following of manuscript apparatus, see ibid., p. 211.

4. For the problems of cross-referencing in John Foxe's Acts and Monuments, see below Evenden and Freeman, 'The Printing of the Book of Martyrs' in Lives in Print, ed. Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (forthcoming) (hereafter referred to as 'Evenden and Freeman'). The four editions of Foxe's book that Day printed occurred in 1563, 1570, 1576 and 1583. These shall hereafter be referred to in footnotes as AM [1563], AM [1570], AM [1576] and AM [1583] and as Acts and Monuments with the date in parentheses in the body of the text.

Illustrations could be used to facilitate the understanding of a text also. Medical works, such as Raynolde's The Birth of Mankynde (1540), for example, provide pictures to clarify what the text is describing (in this case, the growth and position of the foetus in the womb).[1] Works on cartography or astronomy could show in detail the position of continents on the earth or stars in the sky, which would have proved highly costly in manuscript format, due to the length of time it would take to reproduce them for each individual copy. Similarly, manuscript works of religious devotion, such as the Book of Hours, were often adorned with highly intricate and decorative miniatures. These works were usually only available to the nobility and rich merchants. With the printed book came the possibility of illustrations in all formats, from the cheap pocket books through to the luxury folio editions.

Yet basic illustration itself had been available in multiple copies during the fourteenth century, thanks to the use of the woodcut. Such works were highly popular along the Rhine and in Burgundy before the turn of the fifteenth century.[2] These 'picture sheets' were usually illustrations of biblical passages or figures, and were initially unaccompanied by any text. A picture was simply carved into a piece of wood, and had derived from the Eastern technique of printing patterns on cloth. It was far better suited in practice to paper than vellum, and quickly proved to be highly popular. It soon became popular to add a tale or legend to the cut, either by hand or by carving in reverse into the wood beneath the picture. These types of

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1. See below, p.28.

2. Febvre, The Coming of the Book, pp. 45-9.

works later developed into 'block books' that included multiple cuts and text. Even with the invention of printing these books still remained popular.[1]

The series of events that brought about the printed book – the invention of moveable type, printing ink and the printing press did not by any means extinguish the previous method of book production in manuscript. Harold Love has added greatly to our understanding of how and why manuscript was the preferred format, for a number of reasons, throughout much of the early modern period.[2] Love points out that much of 'the day-to-day functioning of society was still directed by the handwritten record – government, the law, commerce and the professions all relied on the existence of such working spaces.'[3] Likewise, an author could choose to keep a work in manuscript, have it copied in manuscript, and then circulate it amongst a select group of friends.[4]

The Triumph of Print

Manuscript had numerous advantages over the new technology. Manuscript production demanded less organisation and much less expense, since it relied on

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1. ibid., p.30.

2. Harold Love, The Culture and Commerce of Texts: Scribal Publication in Seventeenth Century England (University of Massachusetts Press, 1993). pp. 3-4.

3. ibid., p. 125.

4. See, for example, David R. Carlson, English Humanist Books, Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print, 1475-1525 (University of Toronto Press, 1993), pp.37-122, Harold Love, pp. 177-312.

more basic, and therefore cheaper, technology. For a long time, manuscript illustrations also far surpassed book illustration in quality and aesthetic appeal.[1] Yet print had a number of advantages which proved to be desirable. Print brought about the standardisation of the text, which was beneficial to such fields as translation and hermeneutics, although 'standardisation' in itself could be dangerous, since a corrupt copy-text would create multiple corrupt printed copies. Errors, when spotted, could at least be addressed by a printer's errata list at the back or front of the corrupted copy or by a later, corrected edition.[2] Print also brought about the standardisation of illustration, which was desirable in such fields as cartography and anatomy.[3] Indeed, while it was possible to create an illuminated manuscript, it was not possible to produce a cheap illuminated manuscript. It was possible to produce a relatively cheap illustrated book.[4]

The most important advantage of print, however, is that the printing press becomes a more efficient instrument as the size of the audience and therefore number of required copies grows. Setting the type, as we shall see, was a more cumbersome and time-consuming affair than simply copying, but once the type was set, making an extra copy (or numerous extra copies) was more efficient and quicker than copying it out. As Harold Love and others have shown, print did not drive out script overnight, the two co-existed for centuries.[5] However, eventually the balance did shift to print.

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[1] See Febvre, pp.90-91.

[2] The prolegomena and end pages of a work were usually printed last, and so could accommodate any acknowledgement of errors missed during the printing of the body of the text.

[3] See Eisenstein, pp. 69, 98, 108-9, 266-7, 469-70, 566-9, and 575-6; Febvre, pp.277-78.

[4] See Febvre, p. 49.

[5] See Love, pp. 231-283 et passim.

The Era of the Hand-Press

By the mid-sixteenth century the technique of printing had developed into a series of labour-intensive and complicated set procedures. After the text was marked up for printing the compositor went to work. Cases of type were placed in a convenient place next to his workstation. He would pick out type from the 'upper case' (capitals) or the 'lower case' (small letters) – a practice still reflected in our present-day terminology – and place it inside a small hand-held tray known as a composing stick, which could only hold a single line of type. When a line of type was filled he then transferred it to galleys – larger trays which held a full page of type.

At some stage the correct signature marks were added to each page (these indicated the order in which the pages would appear in the text). When the compositor had set enough pages for one sheet, 'imposition' would take place. 'Imposition' was the act of arranging the pages in a special order for each side of the sheet which were then placed in a pair of iron frames, called 'chases' (one for each side of the sheet). Once fixed into their cases they were known as 'formes'. A single sheet would be run off the press – a proof – that would then be compared with the original from which it was set. Either a corrector or the author would note any errors, and the compositor would use the marked proof to correct the type. Once corrected, the formes would be placed on the press for multiple copes to be printed. The press itself had a wooden frame with a large screw that worked the handle.

Turning the handle forced the 'platen' (a flat impression surface) down towards the type. A moveable carriage placed the type and paper under the platen. This could be removed in order to re-ink the type and insert a fresh sheet of paper.

Two men were needed to work the press. One fitted the paper to a hinge on the carriage, folded it down on top of the type, and then ran the carriage under the platen. He pulled the bar, which turned the screw, pressing the paper onto the inked type. The other man would ink the type while the carriage was open. The men would work their way through as many sheets on one side as were required for the print run, the sheet would then be turned over, the forme changed, and the process repeated to print the other side of the sheet. This process was repeated for every sheet of the book until the print run was completed for the book in hand.

Finance and Raw Materials

The process of printing was both revolutionary and complex, but there was more to printing than simply the mechanical techniques. There were considerable financial problems as well. The three major costs of printing were labour, equipment and raw materials. These last two had to be paid for before the printing actually began. Hence a considerable amount of money had to be invested long before the book was actually printed. It was possible to make considerable fortunes in the

printing industry; John Day's estate, for example, was estimated at several thousand pounds.[1] But money was needed to make money. A printer who was not properly capitalised was fatally handicapped. His single greatest expense was in procuring paper.[2] A discussion of the process of making paper is useful to our understanding of the effect that its acquisition and its varying qualities had upon Day's business.

In the sixteenth century, paper was made from undyed linen or rags (hempen). These were washed and left damp for a few days in order for them to turn rotten. After they had rotted they would be cut into small pieces and placed onto wooden mortars. The rags were then pounded by water-powered hammers and washed through with water so that the final pulp was washed clean of as many impurities as possible. After this initial pounding, the rags were left to rot further, and after this final period of rotting, pounded a final time. The pulp was then transferred to a large vat, diluted with water, warmed, and regularly stirred. Using a pair of moulds shaped like an oblong rectangle, the paper maker formed sheets of paper from this soup. The moulds were then shaken and the mixture aired, permitting the fibres to bind, thus forming the sheet. After it had dried the sheet was then carefully lifted from the mould.

When several sheets had been made, they were placed in a standing press where the last of the water was removed. It took as many as five or six men to

1. See below, p.196.

2. For example, see below, pp.192-193.

provide the weight to pull the bar of the press. After a further pressing the sheets were hung to dry. Later they would be dipped in a solution made from boiled leather or leather shavings, to make them as impermeable as possible. After further drying and pressing the paper was eventually sorted into reams or quires to be sold. This long and laborious process made paper very expensive. In fact, the paper in a volume cost more than the labour.[1]

For English printers, however, paper was even more expensive than for their Continental counterparts, because it had to be imported. Up until 1670 there was no paper mill in the British Isles, and the English relied instead upon supplies from abroad, chiefly from Normandy.[2] A lack of skilled workmen may have hindered the development of an English paper mill, but this cannot be the only explanation, since the English would have been able to employ paper makers from abroad. It is also true that the bulk of English clothing during this period was made from wool and not linen, at a time when linen rags were in relatively short supply. However, this could not have been an insurmountable obstacle either.

Nor were English printers unaware or unconcerned about the problem. In 1585 the printer Richard Tottle wrote to William Cecil complaining that for twelve

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1. See Gaskell, pp.73-5.

2. See Margery Plant, The English Book Trade (George Allen and Unwin, 3rd ed., 1974 [1st ed., 1939]), pp.190-198

years the Stationers of London had been petitioning for a paper mill on English soil. Tottle emphasised the persistent 'want and dearth of good paper in this Realme' but he also accused the French of sabotaging the project:

> The Frenchemen did by all meanes possible labour to destroye [our] worke [to erect a paper mill], and were ever castinge blockes in the waie for the overthrowe therof, as by procuringe all our ragges (being the chief substance that paper is made of) to be brought over to them.[1]

It is possible, however, that the chief obstacles to the development of an English paper mill came from the English themselves and not the French. The English government may not have acted upon Tottle's suggestion because the fact that English printers had to import paper made it easier for the government to monitor and suppress clandestine publication within England itself. Because of its bulk, it was difficult for paper to be smuggled into the country and taken to a clandestine press unobserved. In fact, as we shall see, this very difficulty would at one point in his life place John Day in considerable trouble. Certainly the history of illicit presses in England is not impressive. Admittedly the Marprelate press achieved great notoriety but its actual output was quite small and it was of short duration.[2] The general pattern for English works of dissent, throughout the sixteenth century, whether they were Protestant, Catholic or radical Protestant, was for the works to be printed on the Continent and then be smuggled back to England. This

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1. Edward Arber, A Transcript of the registers of the Stationers' Company 1554-1640 (5 vols., London and Birmingham, 1875-94), I, p. 242.

2. See STC 17460 et seq.

process inevitably limited the circulation of illicit literature, although it certainly did not prevent it.

Printing Type

Printing types are three-dimensional representations of letters of the alphabet, reversed from left to right. During the early modern period they were made of 'type-metal', that is, a mixture of lead, antimony and tin. This mixture had a low melting point and was hardy enough not to wear easily when shaped and cooled. During the sixteenth century the height of the pieces of type (referred to as its 'height to paper') varied from fount to fount and generally ranged between 24.0 – 27.5mm. It was not until the eighteenth century that 'national standard heights' began to emerge, being replaced by 'international type standards' during the nineteenth century. [1]

The letters in an alphabet, such as the Roman letters that we use in English today, vary in their width. Hence types of the same 'body' (or 'point size') varied accordingly. A set of one alphabet (perhaps with numbers or other symbols) that were of the same body and design were known as a 'fount'. Each individual piece of type was called a 'sort'. The way in which these pieces of type were made does not so much concern us here, as there is no evidence to suggest that Day cast his own

1. M. Audin, Les types lyonnais primitifs (Paris, 1955), cited Gaskell, p. 9.

type.[1] What concerns us here is the identification of type for, as we shall see, it is the classification of type that assists in establishing Day as the printer of certain works printed during Mary's reign that bear false imprints (false name of printer and/or place of production).

The physical size of the piece of type, or sort, will not be the exact same size as it appears on a printed page. Paper needed to be damp in order to be printed on. This meant that the paper was softer and that as the edges of the type sank into the sheet, the printed letter would change in size once the sheet had dried. According to Gaskell, paper shrinkage occurred most across the chain-lines (marks made on the paper by the case used to make the sheet of paper).[2] This shrinkage, Gaskell estimates, could be between one per cent and 2.5 per cent. The body size of a fount is taken by measuring vertically 20 lines of type, the size per 20 lines is then given to the nearest millimetre. If there are not 20 consecutive lines in the text being measured, the maximum number of lines available should be measured and then converted to its equivalent for 20 lines.[3] The height is measured from the top of the ascender in the top line to the bottom of the descender in the twentieth line.

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1. For descriptions of the making of type see Febvre, pp. 56 – 60.

2. Gaskell, p. 13. For paper making, see above, pp. 11-12.

3. This can often be a problem with small pamphlets or tracts, when the size of the edition is so small that a page of text will not have enough space for 20 lines. This is a frequent problem with

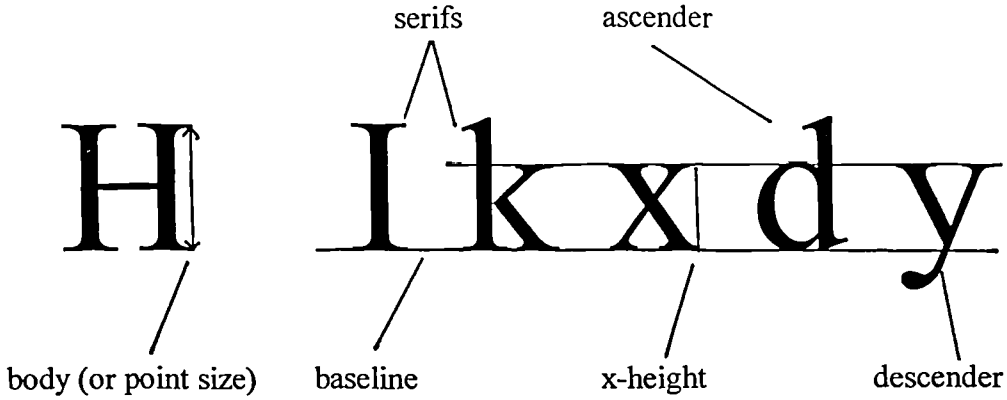

Figure 1: The names of parts of the impressions from types[1]

As we have seen, the visual appearance of many founts was based upon hand-written forms developed prior to the invention of printing.[2] Gothic, roman and italic were among the most common forms used by early printers. Day held many of these faces in varying sizes and permutations in his stock. He also printed works in other alphabets, such as Greek and languages that required the casting of 'special sorts' – individual letters required for Day's printing of works in Anglo-Saxon, for example. As the techniques used by type founders became more sophisticated, so too did the number and variety of founts available increase. During the mid- to late-sixteenth century, England relied upon foreign workmen to produce these types. Some

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'sextodecimo' tracts (where a single sheet has been folded enough times to create sixteen pages per sheet). The typeface used is often too large for the small size of the page.

1. Based on Gaskell, p. 9. These terms will become relevant to descriptions of Day's type in later chapters. See below, pp.55, 56, 67.

2. See above, p.3.

typefounders came to England (usually as a result of religious persecution in their homelands) but more often than not English printers relied on trade with the Continent. This made the acquisition of type extremely costly, and type would often change hands between printers, either on loan, or a printer might sell his old, worn type to a poorer printer if he had been able to purchase a new stock. The same was true, as we shall see, of woodcut illustrations and engravings. Printers would sell, borrow or exchange cuts, particularly if the images they portrayed were useful only for particular topics or types of works. Day, for example, borrowed or shared many cuts with another printer, Richard Grafton.[1.]

The production of type and woodcuts was a costly business, particularly to the English printer, as he had to rely on foreign workmen, whose services would be hired either from alien communities working in London or (as was often the case with type) from workmen based on the Continent. Although expensive, type was reusable, as were woodcuts if the scenes they portrayed were suitable for reuse in works on a similar theme, and thus these portions of a printers stock did not require frequent replenishment. Indeed, early modern printers usually drained the last drop of life out of their worn print, continuing to using it until it became virtually unreadable. Day certainly only replaced type when the cost was borne by one of his patrons, some suitable type became available at an attractive rate from another printer, or he was in dire need of new type in order to continue printing a certain

1. See below, pp.33. 40.

work.[1] When new type was required Day, like his contemporaries, had to take into account the length of time required to have the type cast before they could commence work on the work that required it. It would have been difficult and costly in early modern England to quickly produce a work that required new type. As with business transactions today, requiring materials at short notice often resulted in increased costs to the producer and therefore the consumer.

Staff and Wages

Wages were another large portion of the costs involved in printing. (Day himself appears to have shared staff as well as woodcuts with Grafton on occasion, as quality staff could be hard to come by.) Training to become a printer was a long process in the form of an apprenticeship lasting usually between two and five years, but staff could be bound to a particular printer for as many as ten or eleven years. Apprentice printers usually entered the trade in their mid-teens, although the age range did vary from around twelve to over twenty-one.[2] Conditions of the apprenticeship were normally agreed in an indenture between the parent(s) and the printer, in the presence of a notary. The master would then be obliged to train, lodge and feed him, as well as clothe him and allow his apprentices some spending money of their own. Once qualified they would become a journeyman, and be free to offer

1. See below, pp. 39-41, 82-85.

2. For apprentices and compositors, see Gaskell, pp.172-3.

his services to other printers, as well as be free to marry. He might then return to his hometown, offer his services to other printers, and even become head compositor, supervising the work of others in the print room.

These other workmen beneath the head compositor included the general compositors who laid out the sheets and the press men who did the actual printing. The compositor's wage could be a high proportion of the financial outlay on a work. Composition required a high level of accuracy, particularly for work in the learned languages or music. Errors could and would occur at this level of production if the compositor had no knowledge of the specialised text (such as a piece of music or text in a foreign language). This required a high level of accuracy in the copy-text used by the compositor, in order to avoid delays to printing due to the correction of errors. Compositors were normally paid by the amount of type they set, thus encouraging faster production but risking more errors from the less than competent workmen.

During the era of the hand-press, the pressmen were usually paid either by the number of impressions they made or per week on a fixed wage. A pressman's output, like that of a compositor, could vary considerably. The printing of 250 sheets on one side was usually considered to be one hour's work.[1] However, a large forme using small type would take longer to print than a small forme of large type, as did the practice of printing some works in two colours. Therefore the average figure of

1. See Gaskell. p.132.

3000 impressions a twelve-hour day was open to considerable variation. The amount of work available from one week to the next could vary, so the offer of a fixed wage may have been the most reliable form of income for a pressman, depending on the amount of work the business had on its books. A printer could also employ a binder, who would usually be paid per item, and also a bookseller, who would usually be on a weekly wage from the master printer. This complex web of variable payments across staff would all have to be taken into account before the price of a book was sent to the bookshop for sale.

Book Shops

Throughout his career John Day rented several shops in different areas around London such as Holborn, Cheapside and St. Paul's churchyard. Peter Blayney has done much to try and give a visual impression of what an early modern bookshop in St. Paul's churchyard might have looked like.[1] It was not unusual for a printer to sell his own books, usually from a shop located at his printing business (Day did this), but it was unusual for a printer to maintain shops away from his business in conjunction with his printing house shop. Throughout most of his Elizabethan career, Day held a shop at his main premises at Aldersgate (which

[1] See Peter W. M. Blayney, The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard (London, the Bibliographical Society, 1990) and idem., 'John Day and the Bookshop that never was' in Lena Cowen Orlin (ed.), Material London (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 321-343, in particular, Figures 16.5 (p.334), 16.6 (p.336) and 16.7 (p. 337).

appears to have sold his deluxe, expensive editions), and at various times other smaller shops situated across London, which sold his smaller, cheaper works.[1]

Most printers worked in syndicate (usually a master printer and his assigns) and therefore had their books sold across a number of shops. Printers as 'publishers' did not strictly appear until the nineteenth century, and there is therefore some reservation in using the term publisher for sixteenth century printers (although they did use the term themselves). Strictly speaking, the three categories of 'publisher-wholesaler', 'printer' and 'retailer' during the sixteenth century should therefore be determined by those printers who printed and did not sell, those who did print and did sell, and those booksellers who did not print. As we shall see, John Day, from his earliest confirmed activities, worked in conjunction with other printers and then alone, and also sold books at his different shops. At his periods of greatest success, he printed alone, assigned work to others, and sold his books on a wide range of topics throughout the city of London, his prize, deluxe editions being sold at Aldersgate.

[1] It would make sense to have the most expensive works close by him, for fear of theft or fraud. The larger works, such as Henry Billingsley's translation of Euclid's Geometrie (1570) or Foxe's AM [1563, 1570, 1576, 1583] all indicate in their colophons that they are to be sold at Day's Aldersgate premises. Smaller works usually indicate his shop in Cheapside, Holborn, or the 'long shop' in St. Paul's churchyard.

CHAPTER 2

Little is known of Day's early life. We know that he was born in 1522, as a woodcut profile of Day, dated 1562, bears the inscription: 'Life is death and death is life: ætatis suæ XXXX'.[1] Nothing is known of his parentage, place of birth, or where he spent his childhood. Hence any account of Day's early life can be written on an index card. An eighteenth cenutry bibliophile, named John Bagford, recklessly attempted to fill in the gaps in Day's life.[2] His unpublished manuscript, however, contains many assumptions about Day's early life which although unfounded, have been repeated in later generations. Joseph Ames' Typographical Antiquities (1749) draws upon various earlier sources, some of doubtful reliability, but he also used Day's publications themselves, going at least some way towards realising the importance of imprints and colophons as sources of data. Ames' work in turn provided the foundation stone for research done by W. Herbert and T. F. Dibdin in their ensuing editions of the same work.[3] C. L. Oastler's monograph, John Day: the Elizabethan Printer (1975) is the most recent and most in depth to date study of Day's life.[4] Oastler collates many sources, providing some new information about

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1. Woodcut illustration, final leaf, AM [1563].

2. John Bagford, Collectanea Typographica, B. L. , Ms. Harl. 5910, II, ff. 12-23.

3 W. Herbert (ed.), Typographical Antiquities (London, 1785-90); B. Dibdin (ed.), ibid. (1810-19). Also J. G. Nichols, 'Memoir of John Day the Printer' in TheGentleman's Magazine, Nov. 1832, pp.417-21, C. Timperley, Encyclopædia or Dictionary of Printers and Printing (London, 1839), E. G. Duff A Century of the English Booktrade (Bibliographical Society, 1905), pp.38-39. John Strype, a near-contemporary of Bagford's, chose to emphasise Day's connections with the Elizabethan Archbishop of Canterbury, Mathew Parker rather than trace other details of his personal and profession life. Strype's overriding interest in Parker meant that his treatment of Day was purely based upon the evidence in Parker's correspondence, see Strype, The Life and Acts of Archbishop Parker (Oxford, 2nd ed., 1821), 3 vols.

4. C.L. Oastler, John Day, the Elizabethan Printer (Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1975).

Day's work as a printer, but, like his predecessors, Oastler has been unable to illuminate Day's formative years.

Because Day owned a house in Dunwich, Suffolk, scholars have assumed that Day was born and raised there. No parish registers survive for St. Peter's, Dunwich to illuminate Day's putative connection with the town and the name Day does not appear in the local subsidy returns or muster lists for the period 1549 – 1600. [1] John King, however, declares that there is a 'tradition' that John Day was from Dunwich and assumes that therefore Day was definitely a denizen of Dunwich.[2] Piling one assumption on top of another, King, noting that the Protestant polemicist and scholar John Bale was also from Dunwich, suggests that Day and Bale's later professional relationship must have been founded in childhood friendship treading the streets of the now-lost town. Yet Bale was born about 27 years before Day, so this suggestion can be dismissed.

There is some further evidence suggesting a possible connection of Day to the town. When Thomas Gardner wrote his History of Dunwich in 1574, the name Day was not included in any references.[3] Yet in 1573 the chronicler John Stow wrote a history of Dunwich that is addressed to 'Master Deye'. The work itself suggests that 'Master Deye' had asked personally for such a work to be compiled. However, the man's Christian name and profession are not stated and it cannot be proved that

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1. The evidence of Day's owning the house is testimony in a law suit, which also reveals that Day gave his income from the house to the poor. The testimony does not indicate when or how Day acquired the property, or whether he ever lived there. PRO, c 24/180, Seton, dep.55.

2. John N. King, 'John Day: master printer of the English Reformation' in The Beginnings of English Protestantism, p. 181.

3 See Oastler, p.8.

John Day commissioned the work.[1] It is also true that there was a Robert Daye connected to the town. In late January 1580 a letter was sent from the Council to the Justices of Suffolk, requesting that certain pieces of ordnance at Aldborough, Dunwich, Southwold, and Laistoft be viewed and put 'in good order', requesting that 'Robert Day [is] to have a reasonable stipend for his service therein'.[1]

Conversely, it has been suggested that Day was of foreign origin, an idea apparently supported by the lack of evidence of an English birthplace. John Nichols, the nineteenth-century bibliophile, puts forward this theory because Day's eldest son signed himself 'Richard D'Aije' in the 'Epistle Dedicatorie' of a book printed in 1607.[2] Oastler has observed that the Burgerbuch of Emden for January 1555 refers to a printer named Joannes de Haij, but this cannot be our John Day.[3] However, Day's excellent connections with type founders and other printers, as well as his close ties to the Dutch Stranger Church in London could be partly explained by Day's being of foreign extraction.[4] It would be highly desirable to know more about Day's origins, background and education, but unless new evidence is found, it looks as if these will remain shrouded in mystery.

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1. BL, MS. Harley 532, fos. 54-60, printed by Alfred Suckling in his History of Suffolk, II, 1848, pp. 245-52, cited Oastler, p. 71, n. 6.

2. Calendar of State Papers, 1547-1580, p. 643.

3. STC 11232, John Foxe, Christ Jesus Triumphans, Sig.A.5v.

4. See below, pp. 82-83, for reasons why this is not our John Day.

Apprenticeship and Early Works

Oastler suggests that Day's father was a printer although, again, there is no evidence to substantiate this theory.[1] It is, however, known that Day was originally a member of the Stringers' (or Bowyers') Company.[2] In 1546 the Stringers' Company were allowed to nominate twenty members for redemption (an unusually high number). These men made free of the City (freemen) are not named in the surviving record, but in 1550 six Stringers translated to other companies. Four of them (one of whom was John Day) had been freed by redemption. Nearly all of the manufacturing and retailing trades were restricted to freemen, their wives and children or widows. As Day does not appear to have been born in London, and as there is no clear evidence that he served a seven-year apprenticeship (the other two ways by which he might have gained his freeman status), the only way that Day could have become as freeman is by redemption. Peter Blayney persuasively argues that we should smell a rat here, because the Bowyers' Company, in all likelihood, was allowing anyone with sufficient funds to buy their redemption.[3] Although no record survives showing Day's translation to the Stationers' Company, it is likely that he did so in 1546, the year he started to print. Day therefore appears to have 'bought' his way into printing through a mildly corrupt company that could be 'persuaded' to allow more freemen than was strictly legitimate.

The theory that Day did not serve out a seven-year apprenticeship is strengthened by the possibility that Day had in fact worked for the printer Thomas

[1] Oastler, p. 6, 9-10.

[2] City of London, Rep. 12 (I), f. 200r.

[3] Peter Blayney, 'John Day and the Bookshop That Never Was', pp. 328-9.

Raynolde prior to 1540. The City of London Archives preserve a deposition made in 1540 by a John Day who is described as having been servant to Thomas Raynolde.[1] If it is the same John Day, then he must only have been eighteen years of age and therefore would not have served out a full apprenticeship. Thomas Raynolde was both a physician and a printer, and is known for being the first printer to use copper engravings in his printing.[2] Yet printing appears to have been only a part-time occupation for Raynolde, as there are comparatively few entries for him in STC for the 1540s and 50s.[3]

The deposition indicates that Raynolde owned a stock of printer's ornaments such as various initials and figures in copper, plus 'certen other storreys graven in box and peretre'.[4] These most probably included the illustrations used in the Birth of Mankynde, printed that same year.[5] If John Day were with Raynolde, he remained there for only a brief time during the late 1530s, most probably leaving because printing was not Raynolde's primary concern. Raynolde first dwelt in St. Andrew's parish, in the 'Waredrop' (Wardrobe), moving to a shop at the 'signe of the starre' in St. Paul's churchyard during 1549. [6] Oastler suggests that Day may in fact have served his apprenticeship with another London printer, Thomas Gibson, whose

1. City of London, Journ. 14, ff. 219-20.

2. The Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford, Vol. XVI. p. 790) suggests that Thomas Raynolde the physician and Thomas Raynolde the printer might not be one and the same person, but it is more likely that they were, upon examination of the information in his imprints and colophons, plus the fact that he appeared only to print part-time.

3. STC 21153 et seq.

4 CL, Rep. 12 (I), fo.200v.

5 Birth of Mankynde (1540), written perhaps by Richard Jonas, includes four copper engravings, containing 17 illustrations of children 'in utero'. STC 21154.

6 Stowe's Survay of London (London, 1603), p. 368.

device Day is known to have used on a number of occasions. However, this is by no means proof that Day served an apprenticeship with Gibson, since devices and woodcuts frequently changed hands, permanently or temporarily, during this period.[1]

In 1546 Bale's Actes of English Votaryes was published with a Wesel imprint. Oastler acknowledged that this work is often presumed to be the work of John Day, but again this appears to be mere surmise. The only evidence for this is that Day printed John Bale's Apology in 1550.[2] The type in this edition, moreover, appears to match that used by a foreign printer working in England, Stephen Mierdman, therefore he is the most likely printer of the work.[3] This emphasises one of the problems with identifying Day as printer of certain works during this period. It is difficult to be certain in attributing books from the years 1546-7 to Day because the internal evidence is often inconclusive. Works for which Day may have been responsible – as a precaution – often have false imprints putatively denoting overseas publication, as with the case of the 1546 Wesel edition of the Actes of English Votaryes just mentioned. Robert Legate's Briefe Catechisme (Wesel, 1545)[4] seems only to be attributed to Day on the grounds that in 1552 Day was granted Royal Privilege entitling him exclusive printing of the Catechism and because Bale's Actes of English Votaryes (supposedly by Day) bears a Wesel imprint also. It is also often difficult to confirm Day as printer on typographical grounds because the type used in various works was often very common and used by numerous printers. The various

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1. Oastler, p. 6. R. B. McKerrow, Printers' and Publishers' Devices, 1485-1640 (Bibliographical Society, Illustrated Monograph Series, XXI, 1925), nos. 84α and 84β.

2. STC 1271 and STC 1275 respectively.

3. See STC, vol. 2, p. 58.

4 STC 15385.

editions of John Wiclif's Wycklyffes Wyket are likewise difficult to affirm as Day's due to the scarcity of woodcuts and the regular nature of the type used.[1] As a result, typographical misattribution is often high for this period, not just for Day, but for all printers who used a common supply.

However, in 1547 Day certainly printed A Simple and Religious Consultation by What mean a Chrstiain Reformation May Be Begun by Herman Von Wied.[2] Dated 30 October that year Day was printing at the sign of the Resurrection near Holborn Conduit in St Sepulchre's parish. This work was compiled by two of Europe's leading reformers, Martin Bucer and Philip Melanchthon and provides clear evidence of Cranmer's desire to move for worship to be held in the vernacular. It also emphasises Cranmer's struggle to create a standard form of doctrine that would suit all, from the Lutherans to the Swiss.[3] However, the 1547 edition contains many errors in the translation and appears to have been somewhat rushed through the press. A corrected edition appeared the following year that was visually and linguistically far superior to the edition of 1547. The work played a significant role in England's eucharistic debates in 1548.[4] It is clear that, early in his career, Day was setting his stall out for the work of the reformers.

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1. Both John N. King and Andrew Pettegree acknowledge this fact in their recent chapters in The Beginnings of English Protestatism, Pettegree, p.175, King, p.183.

2. STC 13213.

3. Diarmaid MacCulloch, Thomas Cranmer (Yale University Press, 1996), p. 393.

4. ibid., pp. 393, 399-403.

Partnership with William Seres

Stephen Alford has recently described at some length the reason why certain authors and printers were so successful under Edward VI. The key word to describe their success, Alford explains, was their 'godliness'.[1] In effect, 'godliness' was an essential tool of their trade. It was the key to obtaining royal favour and patronage from the highest ranks. Such favour would ensure procurement of the premier patents available, providing financial security, not to mention the reputation of being one of the 'godly' proselytisers of the realm. The patronage and favour Day's 'godliness' procured for him under Edward soon became evident. Under Edward he would receive favour from, amongst others, the Duke of Northumberland and the Bishop of Winchester, John Ponet.[2] As Day's list of patents increased, it soon became evident that a partner would be beneficial to his business, and Day found one in the shape of another man of 'godliness', the printer William Seres.

During the first part of 1547, it appears that Day was working alone. It was later that year that he entered into partnership with, William Seres, for A Copie of a letter to Chrispyne.[3] Seres' origins, like Day's, are obscure. Seres, however, was most probably of alien origin, as he was listed as a 'stranger' in the parish of St. Gregory in the lay subsidy of 1564 and as a 'stranger' in 1577 for the subsidy of the ward of Castle Baynard.[4] Seres' patron was William Cecil, and he was clearly a

1. Stephen Alford, Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI (Cambridge, 2002), p. 118-9.

2. See below, p. 21 (for Northumberland) and pp. 21-22 (for Ponet). It should be noted that the Duke of Northumberland, John Dudley, was the father of Robert Dudley, whose patronage, as we shall see, was very important to Day later on in his career. This support by the father of Robert Dudley may have created an early connection between Robert Dudley and John Day.

3. See my entry on Seres in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (forthcoming).

favourite of Mildred Cecil.[1] Seres adopted Cecil's hedgehog insignia in his imprint. As Pettegree acknowledges, under Edward VI Seres soon displayed 'close connections to the new [Protestant] regime.'[2] Day and his new partner were quickly involving themselves and their presses in the most controversial issues of the day.

Seres was made free of the city of London as a member of the Stationers' Company by redemption on 18 September 1548. As he known to have been Cecil's servant by late 1548, Seres's freedom may have been due to Cecil's influence. In February, Cecil and one of his Lincolnshire neighbours, Lawrence Eresby, had sought to acquire the premises of a former chantry in London, but in order for the sale to go through someone had to take possession of the property. This was done by Seres and Cecil's clerk, Roger Alford, in November. The building in question was known as Peter College, part of which was to become Stationers' Hall in 1554. Seres himself also took possession of part of the property, and for the next two years, imprints describe him as dwelling at Peter College.[3]

Seres rarely – if at all – worked alone and he occasionally worked with more than one partner at the same time. In 1548 he printed with was Anthony Scoloker (with whom he produced a number of reformist texts including John Bale's A brefe

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4. PRO. E 179/145/219 & 252.

1. Alford, Kingship and Politics, p. 119.

2. Pettegree, 'Printing and the Reformation', p. 175.

3. The lay subsidies for 1549 list Seres as a resident in the parish, and a lease for the property was granted formally to him on Lady Day 1549. Seres had evidently been married for some time as this lease stated that he could not sell any part of the College to his wife or children, but that he could at any time purchase the fee simple during the next decade. By 1551, his premises were described in imprints as the Hedgehog. A 25-year lease was granted to him in 1556. See Blayney, 'William Cecil and the Stationers' Company' in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), The Stationers' Company and the book trade 1550-1990 (Winchester and New Castle, 1997), pp.11-34. Also, Stephen Alford, Kingship and Politics, pp. 119-22.

Chronicle) yet he still maintained his partnership with Day.[1] Scoloker had previously resided in Ipswich where his provincial press produced the Sermons of the ryght famous and excellent clerke Master Bernardine Ochine, thus confirming his godly credentials.[2] Seres' first imprint in London places him as a resident in Ely rents in Holborn; at this very same time Day also maintained his shop in Holborn.[3]

In 1549 Day and Seres printed A Copye of a Letter contayning certayne newes, and the Articles or requestes of the Devonshyre & Cornyshe rebelles. The work contains a woodcut used first by Richard Grafton in 1547.[4] The cut portrays the king's arms crowned, elevated by angels, with a rose, a flower de luce, and a pomegranate above them. Below the arms are the Beaufort portcullis, a feather, a castle, and the royal motto, 'Dieu et Mon Droyt'.[5] Day borrowed woodcuts from Grafton on a number of occasions, particularly as Grafton, the King's Printer, owned a stock of elaborate woodcuts that emphasised the monarchical imperialism and the central position of the monarchy within the Reformation.[6] But in 1549 Day began to build up a stock of royal iconography woodcuts that he newly commissioned for his

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1. STC 1276. Seres also had many assigns, including John Case, Nicholas Hill, William Powell, William Harford, William Copland and Henry Denham. For further discussion of Scoloker's possible involvement in clandestine printing, see below, p.63..

2. Alford, Kingship and Politics, p. 122; Patricia M. Took, 'Government and the Printing Trade' (University of London, unpublished PhD thesis, 1979), p. 228.

3 As indicated in Day's colophons for that year.

4. STC 15109.3. The cut first appeared in a book printed by Grafton in 1547. See Alford, Kingship and Politics, p.53.

5. Sig. A1v. The cut was probably made prior to Henry VIII's break with Rome, as the pomegranate was the symbol of Catherine of Aragon. Alford notes that the book was printed by Day and Seres (Kingship and Politics, p. 53), but then contradicts this by saying that the book was printed by Richard Grafton (p.60). The work is clearly that of Day and Seres, as the imprint states, although they borrow the aforementioned woodcut from Grafton.

6 Alford, Kingship and Politics, pp. 116-7.

own works. In the 1549 Bible printed by Day and Seres, for example, there appears a single sheet cut of the crown accompanied by the royal arms and Garter, bearing the words, 'O Lord for they mercyes sake, save the Kyng. Feare God, and honour the Kynge'. These major regal cuts would remain with Day, rather than Seres after their partnership broke up, suggesting that the cuts were ordered by Day and not by his partner. [1]

Works printed Day and Seres became increasingly involved in the Edwardian regime's response to dissent. Stephen Alford has noted that the regime's response to the 1549 rebellions in Devon and Cornwall, for example, was twofold: through the use of military force and through print.[2] Print was seen by the Edwardian powers as an important form of ammunition against dissent and Day and Seres obliged accordingly. Further to A Copye of a Letter contayning certayne newes, Day and Seres also printed John Cheke's The hurt of sedicion howe greveous it is to a Commune welth.[3] Cheke defended the boy king's authority and the need for reform in the Church. Cheke claimed that the primitive Church of the apostles had been recovered and how 'the greatest learned men of this realme hath drawen, the hole consent of the parliament hath confirmed, the kynges Mayestie hath set forth' a return to the true church and so abandoned papist abominations. Accepting the reformed doctrine and the authority of the sovereign was the same thing.[4] It was the

[1] The cut as it appeared in the 1549 Bible contained the words 'Vivat Rex', the initials 'E.R' and the date 1549. Day would later use this cut in the first edition of the AM [1563], removing only the date, as the initials could be replicated for the new Queen Elizabeth.

[2] Alford, Kingship and Politics, p. 60.

[3] STC 5109.

[4] Alford, Kingship and Politics, pp. 60-2.

king who had 'godli reformed an uncleane parte of religion', returning the church to its apostolic purity.[1]

The threat of arrest.

In support of this cleansing, such works edifying the English church for purging itself of papist abominations and attacking Catholic beliefs flooded the market during Edward's reign. Works attacking the Catholic belief in transubstantiation became extremely popular and Day and Seres printed many of these attacks.[2] In fact, fifty per cent of the Day/Seres works published during 1548 denounced eucharistic doctrine. It was during this year that Day and Seres printed their most notable joint publication: Luke Shepherd's poem Iohn Bon and Mast Person, an acerbic attack on transubstantiation and the Mass. Its publication brought Day to the attention of the authorities. Edward Underhill, an evangelical Yeoman of the Guard, intervened to prevent the arrest of Day for the work, which Underhill himself considered 'pythe and mery'.[3] Nevertheless, Shepherd's poem offended influential Catholics in the City of London, among them the Mayor, Sir John Gresham, who unsuccessfully demanded that Day be imprisoned.[4]

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5. Cheke, Hurt of sedicion, sig. F3r, cited Alford, Kingship and Politics, p. 62.

1. See Catherine Davies, A Religion of the Word (Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 19-21, 30-32.

2 J. G. Nichols (ed.), Narratives of the Days of the Reformation (Camden Society, no. 71, 1859), p. 172.

3 ibid.

Significantly, all of this animosity was directed against Day while Seres was not even mentioned by Underhill. Surely he should have had to intervene on the part of both printers if both were involved. Yet Underhill makes no mention of the Day/Seres 'partnership' or of their equal culpability in the publication of the work. Again, we must be aware that this perhaps only part of the story since we only have Underhill's version of events, but it does suggest that Day was considered to be personally responsible for the printing of the Shepherd's poem. Nevertheless, whatever the potential repercussions of the publication of John Bon and Mast Person, these did not undermine the working relationship of Seres and Day and the years 1549–50 saw a considerable increase in their collaborative output. Yet while Day, on this occasion at least escaped the consequences of playing with fire, the day was approaching when his fingers would be seriously burned.

The works issued by Day and Seres during 1549-50 displayed the commitment of both men to producing works of the evangelical reformers, as well as their biblical commentaries and translations. In 1549, for example, they collaborated in an edition of Henry Hart's A godlie exhortation to all such as professe the Gospel, two works on Christian living and against Anabaptists, two editions of Latimer's Fyrste Sermon, several works by Thomas Becon, as well as Alain Chartier's A brefe declaration of the great myseries, i[n] courtes ryall, and an attack upon the Mass by William Punt, to name but a few.[1] In 1550 the collaboration extended to biblical commentary by Johannes Brenz (on chapter six of the gospel of John), and by George Joye on Daniell, as well as sermons by Leaver and Hooper.[2] That same year

[1] For example, A godlie exhortation to all such as professe the Gospel, STC 21887.3, Fyrste Sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer (STC 15270.1), works by Thomas Becon, (STC 1712 et seq.), Chartier's A brefe declaration of the great myseries, i[n] courtes ryall, (STC 5058), and works by Punt (STC 20500 and 20500.5).

they also issued Edmund Becke's attack upon the anabaptist John Bucher, A brefe confutation of this most detestable, [and] Anabaptistical opinion, that Christ dyd not take hys flesh of the blessed Vurgyn Mary nor any corporal substaaunce whereof Ihon Bucher otherwise called Ihone of Kent most obstinately suffered and was burned in Smythfyelde, the ii day of May [1550].[1]

In 1549 Day and Seres turned their attentions to the Bible itself and collaborated on an edition of Edmund Becke's mammoth edition of scripture.[2] In his dedication to Edward VI, Becke acknowledged the vast costs involved in such an enterprise – costs that were borne not only by the printers but also by the consumers. The printing of 'an handsome & co[m]modious Byble' involved 'not small expenses and charges' which were inevitable reflected in the price of the work.[3] Becke himself complained about the high price of Bibles, declaring that the English,

> sythen the time of the impression of the Byble in largest volume (the price of late tyme for the scarsite of the same beyng, as semeth to them some thyng excessiue) haue bene eyther greatly discoraged thereby from bying of the same, or otherwyse not of abylite to dispurse so much money for the[m], were forsyd to lack the fruytion therof, the foode of theyr soules,[4]

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[2] For example, Brenz STC 3603 and Joye STC 14824.

[1] STC 1709.

[2] STC 2077, dated 17 August 1549.

[3] Sig.AA.5r.

[4] ibid.

As a result of these complaints, Day and Seres issued a number of smaller works, which each included only four or five books of the Bible. This allowed the less wealthy to purchase biblical text piecemeal, minus the lavish layout and illustration of the larger, deluxe editions. These volumes of different books were printed throughout 1549-50. They were all produced in sextodecimo format and contain only a few small woodcut initials (mostly around 1.7mm x 1.7mm in size), narrow margins, and small (69-70mm) black letter type, which allowed more text to be fitted onto the page and so reduced the cost of production.[1]

Day and Seres also collaborated on an edition of Tyndale's New Testament in 1550. This small work contrasted sharply with the grandeur of Becke's full and lavishly printed edition, and was in the same format as the individual sections of the Bible printed in sextodecimo. In this work, expense was also kept to a minimum by the lack of numerous woodcut initials and illustrations. Paper is likewise kept to a minimum by the use of small 61-2mm black letter type and narrow margins. The minimum expense in producing the work would therefor have been reflected in the cost of the work when sold. *This edition of Tyndale provided the New Testament in* the vernacular to benefit the poorer reader. In the 'Printer to the Reader' Day (and Seres) described the various aids to reading the work, such as notes on the text, but admitted that they had not expanded on such aids 'for the volume would not beare it'.[2] No additional text was added in order to keep the volume as small (and therefore as cheap) as possible. These smaller, cheaper editions of biblical text would therefore have sold quicker and in greater numbers than the deluxe editions such as Edmund Becke's Byble of 1549. What we see in these works, then, is Day and Seres

[1] STC 2082 et scq.

[2] Sig.*.2r.

producing works for both ends of the market: small, cheap works with no frills but high sales, counterbalanced by some large, expensive texts that would sell to comparatively few wealthy customers but attract patronage and prestige for their pains.

Day's New Premises and his connections to the nearby Stranger Communities

In 1549 sales were clearly doing well, and Day opened a new shop by the little conduit in Cheapside, whilst retaining his other shop at the Sign of the Resurrection in St. Sepulchre's parish.[1] At around the same time Day moved his home and business from the Sign of the Resurrection to Aldersgate, in the parish of St. Anne and St. Agnes. Aldersgate was just one of the London parishes popular with the increasing foreign communities in London. From around 1540 London's long-established foreign 'communities' swelled with a rapid influx of refugees escaping from religious persecution in northern Europe. Andrew Pettegree has estimated that as many as fifty thousand foreigner flooded London and the south-east of England during the late 1440s and 1550s.[2] Many of those who settled themselves in the capital during this period were eager to find a form of worship, as well as a place to worship, congenial to their doctrines, traditions, and especially their language. These aliens may be 'broadly' divided into two linguistic categories; their original homelands now complicated by changes in borders and region. These were then, broadly speaking, the French and Dutch strangers to London.

[1] The phrase 'at the new shop' occurs in many imprints for a few months from early 1549 onwards.

[2] Andrew Pettegree, Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth Century London (Oxford, 1986), 77-8.

Both communities brought skilled tradesmen into London and the potential for economic rivalry between the immigrants and native workers had to be controlled. It was a dilemma for the authorities, as 'the governors of city and state' observed this influx of foreign tradesmen, whereas 'the more entrepreneurially minded were not slow to recognise the attendant economic opportunities' open to them.[1] Certain traders, such as the weavers and the coopers benefited from foreign expertise. This, however, was particularly true of the printers, as foreign technological expertise – particularly in the areas of typography and illustration – was way ahead of their English counterparts. It is not surprising then that John Day, like Richard Grafton, Edward Whitchurch and Hugh Singleton, eagerly employed foreign workers. In 1549 four Dutchmen are listed in the lay assessments as living with Day: Gysberd Geyson, John Hollinder, Henrye Fleteman and Mychell van Lendon at Day's new residence in Aldersgate.[2]

In 1550 the Stranger Churches were founded in London through the assistance of, amongst others, William Cecil and Katherine Brandon, the Duchess of Suffolk.[3] Day printed a number of works from 1548 onwards that bear the coat of arms of the Duchess of Suffolk.[4] John King places Day's association with Katherine Brandon as a result of his putative childhood connections with Suffolk. However, such a connection is more likely to have come from Day's association with several

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1. Pettegree, Foreign Protestant Communities, p.3.

2 R.E.G. & E.F. Kirk (eds.), Returns of Aliens, (Huguenot Soc. of London, X, 1900-8 [3 parts]), 1, p.173. Two other known but unnamed servants of Day's during this period included one who was from, or had spent much time in, Ireland and another from Staffordshire. See William Baldwin, Beware the Cat, p. 27.

3 Pettegree, Foreign Protestant Communities, p.31

4 See King, 'John Day' in The Beginnings of English Protestantism, pp.186-188.

members of the Dutch Community, a community supported greatly by the Duchess.[1] The works printed by Day and Seres, presumably as clients of the duchess, included the edition of Herman von Wied's A Simple and Religious Consultation, mentioned earlier, Tyndale's Exposition upon the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Chapters of Matthew, an English translation Pierre Viret's Very Familiar Exposition of the Apostles Creed, all of which suggest the religious agenda and affiliations of both printers and their patron. William Cecil was known to have facilitated in the printing of works on behalf of the Duchess, such as his request to Edward Whitchurch to print Catherine Parr's The Lamentation of a sinner a little earlier in 1547. As Whitchurch worked with Richard Grafton, whom we know had strong connections with both Day and Cecil, it is possible that Cecil was the intermediary between Day, Seres and Katherine Brandon in the commissioning of works to be printed.[2] Day also used the Duchess' device in his edition of Hugh Latimer's Sermon on the Plough. Latimer had been a spiritual adviser to Parr's devout circle of associates and rose to become a highly influential preacher under Edward VI. Both Day and Seres were printing reformist texts for some of the most influential figures under the Edwardian regime.

The End of Partnership with Seres

In 1550 Day took steps towards his own solo career as a printer, ending, apparently amicably, his successful two-year partnership with William Seres. Day

1. ibid., p. 186.

2. For further analysis of the network of association between Catherine Parr, Katherine Brandon, William Cecil, William Seres, and John Day, see Stephen Alford, Kingship and Politics, pp. 121-2.

quickly succeeded in establishing his reputation as a quality printer in his own right, producing works on Christian education, polemic and translation. Day printed, for example, Richard Sherry's A treatise of schemes [and] tropes very profitable for the better vnderstanding of good authors... Whevnto is added a declamacion, that chyldren euen strapt fro[m] their infancie should be well and gently broughte vp in learnynge.[1] This work, translated from Latin, invoked the writings of Erasmus in its consideration of the schooling of children. This was a topic on which Day would print works again later in his career.[2] Day also issued sermons by the godly Hugh Latimer[3] and Thomas Leaver[4], as well as John Hooper's Godly confession & protestacion of the Christan fayth under his sole imprint during 1550.[5]

In 1551 Day printed Edmund Becke's edition of the Byble under his sole imprint.[6] As Day, still under the age of thirty, was establishing reputation as a premier printer of deluxe editions of the Bible and also as a key printer to both the influential courtiers and to clerics, on his own without a partner.[7] Working solo, Becke's Byble must have cost Day a considerable amount of money, and suggests either an increased financial freedom for Day or some substantial financial backing by one or more patron. Day probably engaged at least two other printers on the work to assist in its production (most likely two of his regular assigns, such as Henry

1. STC 22428.

2. See below, pp. 147.

3. See STC 15289, 15293.

4 See STC 15547-8.

5 STC 26141.

6. STC 2087.

7. John King, 'John Day' in The Beginnings of Early English Protestantism, p. 189.

Denham or perhaps Anthony Kitson), as the burden on his own presses alone would have been substantial.[1] This in itself shows the organisational ability of Day, in his delegation of work but also his business acumen in holding the patent for the work outright.[2] To produce such a work alone, at such a relatively young age, Day was showing not only the ability to finance a large work that he had previously printed with Seres but also his desire not to share the acknowledgement. Day's commitment to the Edwardian church and its works of public and private devotion was to be expressed under his own, solo imprint.

In 1551 Day printed a sextodecimo edition of The fyrste parte of the Bible called the .v. bookes of Moses from William Tyndale's translation.[3] In the 'Printer to the Reader' John Day explains his reasons for printing these five books together in cheap format:

> Considerynge that amonge al the studies wherin a Christian maye or oughte too exercyse hym selfe, none is so profytable, pleasunte, and helpefull, as the meditacyon and readynge of holye scripture whych is bothe the foode of the soule, the lanterne of lyfe, and the rule and gyde of the bodye: Consideringe also, that the bookes contaynunge the same: beynge together in anye one volume, euther are of so highe proce that the pore, to whose chiefe comforte and consolacyon, the holye goste hath caused them to be wrytten, are not able to bye them, by meanes whereof many that ar moste desyrous, are forced to lacke that fainest they would haue, I (furthered by the honest request of diuers) haue to the com[m]oditie

1. See Oastler, p.7.

2. The work appears to be split into three individual groupings being sigs. 3A1r-3O6r, 4A1r- 4G6r and 4H1r- 4V6r. The type and woodcuts used, as well as the page layout of the three sections vary slightly across these divisions.

3. STC 2087. This edition of the first five books of the Old Testament is cheaply printed (using only two woodcut initials and a small 68-9mm. black letter type; the paper is rough but not thin). Though produced at minimum expense, the text is clearly readable and neatly presented.

> of these pore, print [th]e whol old testament in .iiii. sundry partes, [that] they whiche ar not able to bie [th]e hole, may bie a part, whych he deliteth most in, & exercise him in the same til gods encrese make him able (as no doubt but it will) to bie [the] rest.[1]

Although the philosophy contrasts with Day's later strategy of producing high quality, expensive books, he was merely continuing the formula of producing smaller editions of just some of the books of the Bible that were not beyond the pocket of the poor.[2] The need for affordable editions of the books of the Bible in the vernacular was therefore being addressed by Day in his sole imprints. Day could not be accused during Edward's reign of working purely for profit and ignoring the poorer reader. These smaller works were produced at minimum expense to keep their price low and, admittedly, their sales high. As time progressed, finding a balance between the small, cheap works and the deluxe volumes would become increasingly hard for Day to juggle.

The quality illustrations found in the later deluxe editions from Day's press found their forerunners in the illustrated initials present in the works of both John Day and Richard Grafton during this period. (As we have seen and will consider further, the two men shared illustrators and illustrations throughout their careers.) Representations of the young king Edward VI, for example, in books and pamphlets reinforced the image of the king as collaborator in doctrinal reform, and Day was no

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1. Sig.A.1v.

2 Day's later preoccupation with deluxe editions, as we shall see, would put many of his works well beyond the budgets of such readers, and would leave Day open to attack for neglecting the 'poorer sort'. See below, p. 109.

exception in his illustrations.[1] Cranmer's Catechism, printed by Richard Grafton in 1548, contains a woodcut depiction of Edward enthroned receiving a Bible from his bishops.[2] Day uses a similar depiction in a woodcut initial 'E' in his edition of Edmund Becke's edition of the Bible. In this instance, it is Becke presenting his work to the king whom sits enthroned, surrounded by his courtiers and councillors.[3] The work was as big a success for Day as it was for Becke, and displayed an acute awareness on Day's behalf of the importance of the visual image that would remain with him throughout his career as printer to the godly reformers.

The Securing of Letters Patent

However, the production of high quality works was really the means to an end. The big money in printing came from monopolies. The ability to procure and hold on to the most profitable monopolies required the assistance of powerful patrons and friends in high circles close to the king. Such patrons needed to be impressed by the printer's skill and this could only be done by the production of high quality books, particularly books which treated specialised subjects and required specialised skills by the printer (e.g., books printed in foreign characters).

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1. Stephen Alford, Kingship and Politics, pp. 51-3. Margaret Aston, The King's Bedpost, p.159.

2. See Aston, The King's Bedpost, p.158.

3. ibid., p.159.

After the fall of Protector Somerset in the winter of 1550, tensions over religious policies had arisen between Archbishop Cranmer and the Duke of Northumberland, the new strongman of the Edwardian regime. Northumberland favoured what Diarmaid MacCulloch terms 'the more angular evangelical', such as those connected to the Stranger Churches and Johannes à Lasco.[1] Encouragement of reformers like John Hooper, whose work Day printed during 1550-2 would be a thorn in Cranmer's side.[2] Thus in September 1552 Cranmer was reluctant to go to Northumberland with his suit to gain a desireable patent for the printer he most favoured, Reyner Wolfe. Wolfe was a Dutchman who had chosen not to join the Stranger Church in London, choosing rather to distance himself from the activities of his fellow countrymen.[3] Instead, Cranmer wrote to Cecil (Northumberland's secretary, but also a close friend of the archbishop's) in the hope of advice as to who might be approached to secure the patent for Wolfe.[4] The suit was for the patent to print the Catechism and Wolfe's opponent in this race for the patent was John Day. As we have already seen, Day was hand in glove with the new Stranger Churches in London and was therefore backed by Northumberland in his suit for the patent. It appears that Cecil had to mediate between Wolfe and Day on the issue.[5] Wolfe already had the patent to print all manner of works in Latin.[6]

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1 MacCulloch, Cranmer, p. 524.

2. For Hooper, see STC 13763-4, 13757-8.

3. See Pettegree, Foreign Protestant Communities, pp.93-94.

4. MacCulloch, Cranmer, p. 524.

5 ibid.

6. See MacCulloch, Cranmer, pp. 524-25 for a discussion of Wolfe's patent.

In September 1552 Day recevied the letters patent to print the works of John Ponet and Thomas Becon. His patent for the works of Ponet, meant that Day had the rights to Ponet's Catechism. However, this enraged Wolfe, and the patent had to be reissued to clarify that Day had the right to print the Catechism in English, and Wolfe the right to continue to print it in Latin. The result was, in effect, a compromise. However, it was a compromise that tipped in Day's favour, as it was the English version of the Catechism that would be used most for the tutoring of the godly youth of England.

By 1552 Day's business and private life were prospering. Although we do not know the name or parentage of Day's first wife, we do know that Day must have married at some point around 1550-1, as his first son, Richard, was born on 21 December 1552.[1] His second son, Edward, was born the following year.[2] As Day's professional success increased, so did the size of his household. His move to Aldersgate was shortly followed by the arrival of a new group of foreign journeymen, a new wife and a new baby son. We know of at least two other staff that resided at Day's Aldersgate home one Christmas around this time, thanks to their appearance as characters in William Baldwin's tale Beware the Cat. One was a man named Thomas who had travelled and worked in Ireland (but probably was not born there), and the other a young man from Staffordshire, whose name is not given.[3]

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1 See my entry on Richard Day in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (forthcoming).

2. Year deduced from age of Edward Day as deponent in c 24/180.

3. William Baldwin, A maruelous hystory intitulede, Beware the cat, STC 1244 (W Griffith, 1570), rpt., 1896, pp. 35-6. Thomas may have been a pressman, as his travels suggest he is too old to be an apprentice (apprenticeship usually began around the age of 15) and unlikely to be a journeyman (he would be unlikely to ply such a trade in Ireland at this time). We know nothing of Day's apprentices during the 1550s, but as Day hired new apprentices in 1561-2, the young man from Staffordshire may have been a new apprentice bound to Day for 10 years and later replaced by either Edward Robinson or John Wolfe. See below, pp. 187.

In 1552 the court of Aldermen granted Day permission to build a window in the City wall to which his business and home was attached. [1] In his account of his stay at Day's home one Christmas around this time, Baldwin described the building as being attached to the section of the wall upon which the body parts of traitors were trussed on spikes as a warning to others who dared to challenge Elizabeth's regime. It was the close proximity of these body parts to the lodgings at Aldersgate that stimulated the grisly tales described by Baldwin. In Beware the Cat, the narrator, 'Master Streamer', tells of the rooms he and other men stayed in at Day's house:

> Being lodged as I thanke him I haue bene often, at a frendes house of mine, which more rowmish within than garish without, standeth at Saiuct Martins lane end, and hangeth partly vpon the towne wal that is called Adersgate, eyther of one Aldricke, or else of Elders, that is to say auncient men of the Citie... But wherof so euer this gate Aldersgate tooke the name, which longeth chiefly to Historyes to know, at my frendes house which as I sayd standeth so nere that it is ouer it, I lay often times, and that for sundry causes. Somtime for lacke of other lodgingm & sometime as while my Greeke Alphabets were in printing to se that they might be truly corrected... While I lay at the forsayd house for the causes aforesayd, I was lodged in a Chamber harde by the Printing house, which had a fayre Bay window opening in the Garden, the earth wherof is almost as high as S. Agnnes Church top standeth therby. At the other end of the Gate, wheras you enter in, is a side dorre and iij or iiij steps which go vp to the Leades of the Gate, wheras som[e]time quarters of men (which is a lothely & abhominable sight) doo stand vp vpon Poles.[2]

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[1] City of London, Rep. 12 (II), fo. 435v.

[2] Baldwin, Beware the Cat (1570), Sig. A5r.

Day had therefore acquired a substantial, if somewhat odiferous home for himself, his new family, and his expanding business and staff. He had secured a series of profitable patents that allowed him to continue with some considerable prosperity in his role as printer to the godly reformers. Life therefore looked good for Day until disaster struck with the death of Edward VI and the accession of his half sister, the Catholic Mary, in 1553.

CHAPTER 3

THE MICHAEL WOOD PRESS

The life and carer that John Day had built for himself was destroyed by the death of Edward VI and the succession of the Catholic Mary. Having clearly identified himself with the beliefs of the Protestant reformers for whom he printed, Day did not find work or favour under Mary. It has generally been assumed that Day fled overseas during Mary's reign and that he sought to continue his printing of Protestant polemic from the Continent. Christina Garrett assumed that his destination was Antwerp and then Strasbourg, while scholars such as Leslie Fairfield and Chris Oastler have also speculated that Day was involved in clandestine printing overseas during the early years of Mary's reign. [1] The names Nicholas Dorcastor and Michael Wood are given in false imprints as the printers of two different series of Protestant tracts purportedly printed on the Continent during the years 1553-1555. Garrett, Fairfield and Oastler believe that these names were pseudonyms to shroud Day's furtive printing of these works.[2] Fairfield noted that the pamphlets issued c. 1553-4 bearing the name Michael Wood[3] were as follows:

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[1] See L. P. Fairfield, 'The Mysterious Press of Michael Wood (1553-4)', Library, Ser. 5, Vol. 27, pp. 220-232; Oastler, pp. 9 – 11; C. Garrett, The Marian Exiles (1938), pp. 142-3. See below, p.61.

[2] The problems surrounding the Michael Wood and Nicholas Dorcastor texts are dealt with below, pp. 60-61.

[3] The Pseudonym 'Michael Wood' had been used previously in 1545 in a fictitious imprint by the printer (probably Richard Wyer) of John Bale's Mysterye of inyqyte. Brett Usher has suggested to me that the name 'Michael Wood' might have been derived from the London parish of St Michael on Wood Street. A variant of the 'Michael Wood' imprint, 'Michael Boys' was used for two editions of Hans Brinkelow's The complaint of Roderick Mors, printed in Geneva by Anthony Scoloker in 1548.

Anon., An Admonition to the bishoppes of Winchester, London, and others ('Roane, by Michael wood', 1 October 1553). STC 11593;

Anon, Whether Christian faith maybe kept secret in the heart ('Roane', no printer specified, 3 October 1553). STC 4468;

Stephen Gardiner, De vera obedientia Obediencia ('Roane ... by Michal wood', 26 October 1553). STC 11586;

Stephen Gardiner, De vera obedientia ('Roane ... by Michael wood', 26 October 1553). STC 11585;

Stephen Gardiner, The Communication betwene my Lord Chauncellor and iudge Hales (no place, printer or date). STC 11583;

Anon., An Excellent and right learned meditacion ('Roane ... by Michael wodde', 3 January 1554). STC 1293;

Anon., A letter sent from a banished minister of Iesus Christ ('Roane ... by Michael wodde', 4 February 1554). STC 10383;

Anon., A Dialogue or Familiar talke betwene two neighbors ('Roane', no printer, 20 February 1554). STC 5157;

Anon., A Soveraigne Cordial for a Christian Conscience ('Roane', no printer, 11 May 1554). STC 5157;

Jane Grey, An epistle of the Ladye Iane (no place or printer, 1554). STC 7279.

The following work can also be added to the ones listed by Fairfield:

Anon. (possibly John Bale), The Champion of the Church (Michael Wood, Rouen, 3 January 1554), now lost. Not in STC.[1]

The Michael Wood texts are a mix of Protestant polemic, religious exhortation and attacks upon Queen Mary and some of her leading counsellors. The letter sent from a banished minister, and Whether Christian faith maybe kept secret in the heart are all anti-Nicodemite works urging Protestants not to conform to Catholicism.[2] The Dialogue or Familiar talke betwene two neighbours attacks Catholic doctrine and 'the impes of Antichrist' for their belief in transubstantiation and also is intended to be 'for the comfort of weake consciences in these troubled daies'.[3] A Sovereign cordial for a Christian conscience also offers pastoral consolation for those faced with the agonising religious decisions in the midst of persecution. By contrast, The communication betwene my lord chancelor [Stephen Gardiner] and judge Hales (STC 11583), printed on 6 October and the translation of Gardiner's De vera obedientia, dated 26 October, are more overtly political. They attack Stephen Gardiner, Mary's Lord Chancellor, for his harsh treatment of those who would not submit to the Catholic regime and, more daringly, they pillory him for his apparent changes of religion in different reigns. An Admonition to the bishops derides Mary's bishops, in particular Edmund Boner, for their actions, telling

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[1] See W. T. Davies, 'A Bibliography of John Bale' in Oxford Bibliograpical Society: Proceedings and Papers, 5 (Oxford, 1936-9; issued 1940), pp. 276-8; E. J. Baskerville, 'Bibliographical Notes: Some Lost works of Propaganda and Polemic from the Marian Period' in The Library, 1986, vol. 8, pp. 47-52, esp. p.51.

[2] See the title pages of both these works. For Bale as author of An excellent and right learned medi̊acion, see Edward J. Baskerville, A Chronological Bibliography of Propaganda and Polemic Published in England Between 1553 and 1558, from the Death of Edward VI to the Death of Mary I (The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1979), p. 40.

[3] Title page of STC 5157.

them that they should be preachers and not 'Butchers'.[1] It also attacks the Mass, the depriving of married priests, the lack of celibacy among Catholic priests, whilst citing Saint Paul for justification of services in the vernacular. Having exhorted readers to run the risk of martyrdom by non-conformity, the Michael Wood press offered a positive example by chronicling the execution of Jane Grey, enshrining her as an early, and because of her youth and status, particularly poignant religious martyr.[2]

Proof that John Day was the Printer of the Michael Wood Press

It is the publication of Gardiner's De vera obedientia that provides us with the initial evidence that Day was the printer of the Michael Wood texts, and that he printed them in England, not on the Continent. Foxe refers to a clandestine press set up in Stamford, Lincolnshire, upon which Day was said to have printed Stephen Gardiner's De vera obedientia:

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1. An Admonition to the bishops, Sig.A.iijr

2. The propaganda potential of Jane Grey's martyrdom is demonstrated by a further version of An epistle of Ladye Iane entitled Here in this booke ye haue a godly epistle made by a faithful chrisitan (STC 7279.5). This edition includes 'a communication betwene Fecknam [John Feckenham. Dean of St. Paul's] and the Lady Jane Dudley', plus the letter that she wrote to 'her Systere Lady Katherin'. This imprint contains many alterations to the Michael Wood edition, and was probably printed using Anthony Scoloker's type at some point shortly after the Wood edition had been printed in 1554. This later edition adds a detailed account of Lady Grey's execution and a prayer made by John Knox at her death upon the scaffold. It is not clear whether Scoloker (one of William Seres earlier printing partners) or an inheritor of his type printed this version. I am grateful to Tom Freeman and Carrie Euler for providing me with details of the content of STC 7279.5 from their current research on the copy in Folger Shakespeare Library.

> So also coming to Stamfort, I might have just the occasion to say of W. Cooke, who not only susteined trouble, but was also committed to vyle prison, for that he suffered this oure printer [John Day] to print the boke of Wint. De vera obedientia Obed'. [1]

William Cooke was William Cecil's brother-in-law and the passage thus links Cecil with the Michael Wood press. (The only other edition of De vera obedientia printed in Mary's reign was Hugh Singleton's later edition.)[2] However, despite the obvious importance of this information, the passage has been largely ignored. Fairfield acknowledged that whilst William's brother Richard Cooke had stood as MP for Stamford in the Parliament of 1553, he could find no further connection between William Cooke and Stamford during this period.[3] Without further evidence, Day's connection with Stamford has appeared tenuous; especially since the only evidence, hitherto known, of his printing De vera obedientia in Stamford rests upon this single comment by Foxe which, moreover, only appeared in the first edition and was never reprinted.[4] However, Day was in Lincolnshire at some point during the period 1553 – 1554, for during that time he rented two acres in the village of Barholm, on land owned by William Cecil. Barholm lies five miles north-east of Stamford and four miles north-west of Market Deeping; hence not far from the

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1. John Foxe, AM [1563], p.1681.

2. I am grateful to Dr. Tom Freeman for pointing out and discussing with me the immense important of this passage, referred to only in passing by Oastler (p. 11). I am also indebted to him for information regarding the connections between the Cooke family and William Cecil.

3. Fairfield, pp. 223-4.

4. Foxe's failure to reprint this passage does not, however, have anything to do with its accuracy. The passage appeared in a section of Foxe's work devoted to the non-lethal persecution of Marian Protestants (AM [1563], p. 1681). The entire section was never reprinted because it contained too many references to radical Protestants whose very existence Foxe was anxious to conceal. I am grateful to Dr. Tom Freeman for this information.

eventual seat of Lord Burghley.[1] Day's residence in Stamford, on Cecil's land, provides very powerful corroboration for Foxe's claim that Day was the printer of De vera obedientia and thus the printer of the works of the Michael Wood press.

There is also substantial typographical evidence to prove that the Michael Wood texts were printed by John Day. The roman 70-1mm type found in these tracts also occurs in Day's edition of John Ponet's A short catechisme from early 1553 and also in Sir Thomas Elyot's The Banket of Sapience from 1557. This roman 70-1mm contains a distinct lower-case 'e' and 'y' (see below, Figure 2). These characteristic letters occur consistently in both the Wood texts and the said editions of Ponet and Elyot.[2] The bowl of the 'e' is angular and has a diagonal bar, unlike the roman 92-3mm type for which the 'w' was cut; there the bowl is smooth and the diagonal flat. The 'y' has no serif at the base line. This is unusual for Day, as his pica roman letters usually have at least a spur if not a slab on the 'y' ascender.[3]

The most distinct typographical feature of the Michael Wood roman 70-1mm type is its lack of a matching lower-case 'w'. Day uses a double upper-case 'V' to represent the upper-case 'W', but does not duplicate this method for his lacking a roman 70-1mm lower-case 'w'. The lower-case 'w' used by Day in the Wood texts

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1. SP 11/9, no. 71. For a detailed discussion of Cecil's acquisition of this land, see Evenden, 'The Michael Wood Mystery: William Cecil and the Lincolnshire Printing of John Day' in Sixteenth Century Journal (forthcoming).

2. Note the consistent use of this type throughout the years in and around Day's removal to Lincolnshire. If the Dorcastor texts are by Day, the use of their type is abandoned for around four years.

3. For example, the roman 92-3mm type 'y' in An Harborrowe for Faithful subiects , has a spur. The slab serif occurs in, for example, Day's roman 82-3mm type, as used in Briefe introductions, both naturall, pleasaunt, and also delectable vnto the Art of Chiromancy (1558). This type also occurs in a 1557 Sarum Latin primer bearing a Wayland imprint.

is considerably larger than the roman 70-1mm type. The 'v' has a minimum body height of 1.9mm, whereas the ill-fitting 'w' measures approximately 3.1mm to the height of its vertical strokes. Clearly this 'w' was acquired from another set. It is easily recognisable, not only for its erroneous height here, but also for its awkward four-serif appearance, in which the central two diagonals cross half-way. Day later replaced this 'w' with Reyner Wolfe's very wide 'w', in which the second diagonal meets the third half-way and terminates (see Figure 2.1 below).[1] The ill-fitting 'w' within the Wood texts was clearly cast to fit a roman 92-3mm type. Such a type is used in An Harborrowe for Faithful subiectes, published by Day in 1559. There its use is interspersed with a double use f the letter 'v' to represent the 'w'.[2]

Fig. 2: Day's roman 70-1mm 'e' and 'y'

Fig. 2.1: 'w' to fit roman 92-3mm type[3]

The counters in Day's roman 70-1mm type are worthy of note also. The 'o' axis is always central, with no deviation to the left or right at any point. The lower counter of the letter 'g' is fractionally smaller than the upper counter; whereas the counters for counter grouping 'bdpq' are all equal; again unusual, as 'p' is usually

1. See Ferguson, Pica Roman Type in Elizabethan England (1990), p. 24.

2. Curiously many pages in An Harborrowe have just 'w', others just 'vv'. See, for example, Sigs. D.i.r: all 'vv'; D.i.v: 15 'w', 5 'vv'; D.ii.r: all 'vv'; D.ii.v: all 'vv'; D.iii.r: all 'w'; D.iiiv: 20 'w', 1 'vv'; D.iiiir: all 'vv'; D.iiii.v: all 'w'. As it progresses, many pages display both 'vv' and 'w', but towards the end of the work, mainly 'w' occurs.

3. Type size has been enlarged by 200 per cent to increase visual clarity.

fractionally smaller than the others. The 'q' has an angled base line serif. The dot on the 'i' is consistently to the right, the only exceptions being when the dot appears to have gone uninked.

The above typographical evidence further identifies John Day as the printer of the Michael Wood texts. The fact that Day was in Lincolnshire during Mary's reign puts his printing of them beyond doubt. This, together with Foxe's statement that Day, in collusion with William Cooke, printed De vera obedientia, and the fact that during this period, Day was residing on land rented from Cecil, not only places Day's printing of the Michael Wood volumes beyond doubt, but also demonstrates William Cecil's involvement in the project and his continuing association with Day.

The Fall of the Michael Wood Press

The imprints indicate that the Michael Wood texts were published on 1, 3 and 26 October 1553; 3 and 4 January, 20 February, and 11 May 1554. Of the two remaining works, The Communication betwene my Lord Chauncellor and iudge Hales indicates no place, printer or date, whereas An epistle of the Ladye Iane attests just '1554' (she was executed on 12 February that year). Fairfield sees little reason not to take these dates as read, except in the case of Stephen Gardiner's De vera obedientia. He observes that the title of the 'second' edition of De vera obedientia, dated 26 October 1553, is spelt 'Obedientia', whereas the 'first', allegedly issued on the same day, is spelt 'Obediencia'. The 'Obedientia' edition contains an additional

marginal note on A4v that declares 'Care not for the brave Spaniards wyll brynge us a mery world'.[1] Fairfield argues persuasively that this must have appeared after mid November, for that was 'when rumours of Mary's impending marriage with Philip II became widespread'.[2] The Obedientia probably simply reprinted the colophon of the Obediencia.

Although the dates 3 January 1553 and 26 October 1554 are duplicated, we can tentatively suggest that the time scale for the printing of these works was October 1553 to May 1554.[3] Furthermore, sine the Obedientia is the only example of the Michael Wood press reprinting one of its own works, and since Foxe links the work directly to Cooke's arrest, it was probably the last work printed on the press. It would therefore have been printed in late May or early June 1554.

Cooke's arrest does not seem to have brought an end to the Michael Wood press; significantly while Foxe states that Cooke was arrested because of the Obedientia, he says nothing about Day being in trouble for this offence. Nor does Cooke's arrest seem to have endangered Cecil. And, as we shall shortly see, Day clearly had not abandoned his illicit printing career. Nevertheless no works appear bearing the Michael Wood imprint after May, and even if De vera obedientia was printed in early June, it seems that the Michael Wood press remained inactive through that summer and early autumn. Why?

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1. Both editions are octavo. The collation for Obediencia is A8. A4, b-i8, k 4. For Obedientia: A-I8, K 4.

2. Fairfield, p. 229.

3. Our knowledge of the accuracy of the '3 January 1553' imprints is hindered by inability to examine the content of The Champion of the Church, which is now lost.

It is likely that Day had run out of paper. As we have seen, it was extremely difficult to smuggle paper into England during the sixteenth century. Any supply Day might have taken with him to Lincolnshire could not have been substantial, due to the time it took to lay in paper (remember he was in Lincolnshire soon after Mary's accession), and also its bulk in transportation. A Michael Wood tract could be printed on half a sheet, therefore one copy of each of the eleven pamphlets would use up five-and-a-half sheets. If Day printed between 900 copies of each of these 11 pamphlets, he would have used up around 500 sheets, or one ream of paper. We do not know how large the print runs would have been for the Michael Wood tracts, or exactly how much paper he had with him in Lincolnshire. But if he did print 900 (an average print run for small tracts printed by Day) then it is likely that Day had exhausted his first ream of paper by the summer of 1554.[1]

Thanks to an entry in Henry Machyn's diary, we know that Day was arrested on 16 October 1554 and sent to the Tower for the printing of illicit books. As he came out of Norfolk Machyn spotted 'John Day the prynter and hys servand, and a prest and anodur prynter, for pryntyng of noythy bokes, [being taken] to the Towre'.[2] What was Day doing in Norfolk in October 1554? By far the most likely explanation is that he went down to collect a shipment of paper sent in from the Continent to one of the ports. Kings Lynn would have been a probable port of call for a supply of paper. The frequency of shipments into the port from the Continent and the port's relative proximity to Stamford, together with the trade in cargoes such as corn, which

1. Allowing for slight variations, such as a slightly larger or smaller print run, or the printing of another trace. since lost, still brings the amount of paper used to around one ream.

2. Machyn's The Diary of Henry Machyn (Camden Society, 1st ser., no. 42, 1848), p.72.

would have provided excellent cover for a cargo of illicit paper, made King's Lynn a very likely port for Day to receive a shipment of paper.[1]

There is, moreover, an interesting entry in the Acts of the Privy Council for this period that may be linked with Day's arrest. On 20 November, just over a month later, John Parker, Richard Baily, John Carter, Richard Litlebury and Robert Page make their personal appearance before the Privy Council to answer the charge that they were all 'conveyours of lewde bookes'.[2] It appears that John Parker was based in Norwich and Richard Bailey was from the village of Anmer in Norfolk.[3] Whether or not these events are connected is unclear but they certainly underscore Norfolk's potential as entrepôt for smuggled texts and paper. They also suggest that the local authorities were vigilant and books and cargoes were seized around the time of Day's arrest.

Machyn's Diary is the only source for the details of Day's arrest. However, in the first edition of the Acts and Monuments Foxe first printed an anecdote, undoubtedly told to him by Day, of the printer's imprisonment in the Tower. The story relates that John Rogers, the first of the Marian martyrs to be executed, and who was, at that time, imprisoned with Day in the Tower, 'spake to the Printer of this

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[1] See Historical Atlas of Norfolk (1994), ed. Peter Wade-Martins, p. 78, fig. 34. Also, Neville Williams, The Maritime Trade of East Anglian Ports, 1550-90 (PhD thesis, Oxford, 1952), et passim.

[2] Ibid., pp. 84-5.

[3] Parker appears to have been arrested again for similar activities much later in his career, William Barclay Turnbull and David Donald (eds.), Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547 – 1580, (London HMSO, 1856-72, 12 vols.), vol. 2, p. 616. For Richard Bailey, see Philip and Mary, Patent Rolls, 1555-7 vol.1, p. 225. Nothing, as yet, has been uncovered about the others charged.

booke [i.e., the Acts and Monuments], who the[n] also was laid up for lyke cause of religio[n]':

> Thou, sayde he, shalt lyve to see the alteration of thus religion, and the Gospell frely to be preached agayne. And therefore have me commended to my brethren, as wel in exile, as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the Papists, and putting good ministers into the churches, or els their ende wyll bee worse then [sic] ours: and for lack of good ministers to furnysh churches, his devise was, Hoper also agreing to ye same, that for every x. churches some one good and learned superintendent, should be appointed, whiche should have under him faithfull Readers, suche as might wel be got; so that popish priestes should be put out, and the bishop once a yeare to oversee the profiting of the parishes. This was his counsell & request.[1]

Great obelisks of speculation have been erected on the shifting foundation of Roger's words to John Day, which will be shortly discussed. But first, it is worth noting that both Rogers and Day were to be released from captivity in 1555; Rogers via a fiery martyrdom and Day via a less spectacular, if less painful, release. In fact the circumstances behind and the reasons for Day's liberation remain shadowy. But we do know from a reference Day made in a preface to his edition of Roger Hutchinson's Sermons in 1560 that Day was free before 15 June 1555 (when Hutchinson's will was proved).[2] How and why Day was released remains unknown but it is possible, as we shall see, that there may have been conditions attached to his release.

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[1] Foxe, AM (1563), p. 1037 (not p. 1031 as referred to in a cross-reference in the second edition of 1570, on p. 1663.

[2] STC 14018, Printer to the Reader, sig. A4r – A4v.

Where Day was not 1555 – 1558

Christina Garrett has interpreted Roger's words to Day, as recorded by Foxe, as a strict command which Day slavishly obeyed, journeying to Antwerp and then to Strasbourg, instructing the Protestant congregations to appoint superintendents and follow Roger's injunctions. This is just the tip of an iceberg of surmise that Garrett has fabricated about Day's Marian activities, one which still continues as an obstacle to charting these turbulent years of his life. It is worth taking a little time to dispel these myths once and for all time.

Christina Garrett, like Frank Isaac, assumes that Day was arrested for printing texts bearing the imprint 'from Wittonburge by Nicholas Dorcastor'.[1] However, once again, there is no evidence to support this theory. Nor is it certain that the Nicholas Dorcastor books were printed by Day. Oastler notes that the typographical grounds for connecting these works to Day is weak. Isaac had identified the types used as Day's only because Day used such type when he printed works for the Dutch Church during 1558.[2] However, Oastler has made several pertinent objections to this theory. In the first place, if Day used this type in 1554 and then reused it in 1558, what happened to it in the intervening years? Other works printed by Day during these years do not use this type. Oastler also points out that centres such as Antwerp and Ghent were distributing a vast amount of similar type across much of Europe during this period.[3] The type used in the worked for the Dutch church has no

1. STC 5630, 7059, 15059, as well as 15074.4 (Bodl. Arch. A. f. 107).

2. F. S. Isaac, English and Scottish Printing Types, vol.2 (1535-58, 1552-58), (London, 1932), p.47.

3. Oastler, p. 9.

distinguishing features that make it unique and which can therefore guarantee it to be Day's work.

Garrett, on the other hand, cites The Humble and vnfained confessio[n] of the belefe of certain poore banished men (otherwise known as The Confession of the Banished Ministers), one of the Dorcastor texts, as the key piece of evidence for Day as printer of these texts. As we have seen, Day received a licence to print the works of John Ponet, bishop of Winchester, in 1553.[1] Garrett assumes that John Ponet must have written The Confession of the Banished Ministers in Strasbourg in 1554 and then had the work printed by Day in London.[2] Yet the fact that Day once held the patent for Ponet's works before they were revoked under Mary is not proof that he printed The Confession after his patent was revoked in Mary's reign. Garrett also assumes (correctly, but without citing evidence) that Day was involved with the Cooke family, although with much less reason, she assumes that this was through the printing of The Confession of the Banished Ministers. As the work was written while Sir Anthony Cooke was in exile in Strasbourg, Garrett suggests that Cooke was required to give his 'advice and co-operation' to the work and so would have been in touch with the printer, whom she assumes was Day.[3] She therefore concludes that all of the Dorcastor texts were printed by Day and that at least one of them, The Confession of the Banished Ministers, was overseen by Sir Anthony Cooke.

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1. See above. p.46.

2. Garrett, The Marian Exiles, p.142.

3. Garrett, The Marian Exiles, p.125.

However, Garrett later contradicts her original theory that the Dorcastor texts were printed in London by suggesting that they were in fact printed on the Continent, observing that 'Wittonburge', given as the place of publication in the Dorcastor imprints, was in fact used for works secretly printed in Wesel.[1] This time Garrett asserts that Day was arrested having 'come across the North Sea from Wesel to Yarmouth'.[2] In reality, if The Confession was printed overseas it could not have been printed by Day, as he was in Lincolnshire at the time. If, however, the Dorcastor texts were in fact printed in England, then they must have been part of his Lincolnshire output, requiring for some unknown reason a different set of type, plus a different imprint. But until further evidence can be found, such ideas can be nothing more than speculation and, in fact, Day's putative printing of the Dorcastor texts is merely an unlikely and unproven theory.[3]

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[1] Garret, 'The Resurrection of the Masse, by Hugh Hilarie – or John Bale (?)', Library, 4th ser., XXI (1940), pp.143-159.

[2] Garrett, ibid., p.155.

[3] Patricia Took suggests that the Dorcastor books were printed by Anthony Scoloker in Antwerp and the Wood texts printed by Day near Norwich, as Day would have wanted to be 'somewhere near [Matthew] Parker', who assisted him later in his career (see below pp.127-130, 153-156 for Day's association with Archbishop Parker). She also suggests that the whole set of pamphlets, bearing two different imprints, printed in two different countries by two different printers was a master plan orchestrated by William Seres (Took, pp. 192 – 231). Again, this is pure surmise without evidence. We know that Seres spent these later Marian years working for William Cecil, that Day was printing in Lincolnshire, and that Scoloker's whereabouts during this period are unknown. It is possible that Scoloker was the other printer arrested with Day but we do not know this. For an account of Seres' activities during Mary's reign, which make Seres as the head of an underground printing network unlikely given the extent of his known activities, see Blayney, 'William Cecil and the Stationers', in The Stationers Company and the book trade 1500 – 1990, pp. 11 – 34.

Where Day really was 1555 - 1558

Day may have returned to Lincolnshire after his release, especially since his family probably remained there. Certainly Day remained the tenant for the Barholm property until July 1556. However, Day resumed printing, in London, in 1556 with his former partner William Seres. Ironically both men, zealous Protestant, now worked printing books of Catholic devotion for the Catholic printer John Wayland.

Little has been written on the activities of John Wayland, printer of catholic primers, but also of the works of Boccaccio and Erasmus and Lydgate, amongst others.[1] He was probably born at Cranford, Middlesex, as his grandfather and father were yeomen there. He is first mentioned as a printer in London in 1537, when he printed two works by Richard Whitford and one by Erasmus. In 1539 several editions of Bishop Hilsey's Primer were issued under Wayland's imprint,[2] and they were sold by Andrew Hester and Michael Lobley. Up until some point in 1539 Wayland was working from St. Dunstan's in the west parish at the sign of the Blue Garland, next to Temple Bar, but during that year sold his stock-in-trade to another printer, John Mayler. He continued to work as a bookseller, but his chief trade during the years 1540-1553 was that of scrivener.[3] With the accession of Mary in 1553 Wayland returned to his former trade as a printer. It is not known why he switched trades or what influence he exerted, but in October 1553 he successfully

1. See my entry on Wayland for the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (forthcoming).

2. According to Duff, these may have been printed for him by John Mayler (A Century of the English Book Trade, p.167).

3. Wayland entered and accepted the ordinances of the Scriveners' Company on 10 December 1540. F.W. Steer, Scriveners' Company common papers, 1357-1628 (London, 1968), pp.26-27, 73.

procured the patent to print all books of private devotion and the primers. When Edward Whitchurch was deprived of his patents, Wayland took over his shop at the sign of the Sun in Fleet Street in 1554. It was from this premises that Wayland issued his Catholic primers.

Approximately 35 editions of the Sarum primer survive from Mary's reign, and more than half of them were printed by Wayland or his assigns.[1] From 1556 onwards, the phrase 'by the assigns of' occurs throughout Wayland's publications. Duff erroneously dates Wayland's will to that year, while McKerrow assumes that Wayland was either taken ill or died in that year. In fact, from 1541 onward Wayland was involved in a series of law suits and was constantly burdened by debt, as he increasingly borrowed more than he ever lent or repaid. These debts resulted in imprisonment in 1547, 1558 and 1561-5. From 1556 onwards it is therefore unlikely that Wayland did any of his own printing, due to a combination of ill health and his persistent attempts to avoid imprisonment for unpaid debts.[2]

Some of Wayland's work was assigned to John Mayler, but the significant proportion was assigned to John Day and his former partner, William Seres. It is likely that both Day and Seres returned to London in 1556 specifically to work as assigns of John Wayland. Seres, like Day, had been imprisoned early in Mary's reign.[3] After his release he performed many duties for William Cecil. Cecil's Memorandum book for 1552-7 lists Seres performing various tasks, such as the

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[1] E. Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 526-7.

[2] For further details of Wayland's debts and imprisonment, see my entry on Wayland in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (forthcoming).

[3] Pat. Roll 941, m. 7; J. Payne Collier (ed.), Egerton Papers (Old ser., 12, 1840), p. 140.

delivering letters or acquiring goods on Cecil's behalf. But his chief duty during this period appears to have been to collect rent. During these years Roger Alford (Seres' earlier co-tenant at Peter College) collected rents in Lincolnshire, where Day was housed on Cecil's land. Seres may well have been aware of his former partner's surreptitious press there. [1]

Cecil paid Seres his discharge of £40 in London at midsummer on 29 September, around two months after Day's departure from Cecil's land in Lincolnshire.[2] Again, it is important to note the assistance Cecil was providing these two men during this period.[3] Both Day and Seres are listed in the Stationers' Charter of May 1557 but Wayland was not.[4] By the Autumn of 1556 both men were back on the printing scene, and it was during that year that Wayland appears to have fallen sick, thus leaving him unable to perform his duties as printer. Having both held patents for the printing of primers under Edward VI, both Day and Seres would have been more than capable of printing primers for Wayland. It is possible that, as Wayland was sick and a printer was needed to perform his duties, Day was required to print the primers as a condition of his release. Certainly it afforded an opportunity to return to printing, although the printing of Catholic primers would not have rested easily with Day's Protestant beliefs.

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1. BL, MS Lansdowne 118 et passim.

2 PRO, SP 11/9, no. 34.

3. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between Cecil and Seres during this period, see Blayney, 'William Cecil and the Stationers', pp. 26-9.

4 Arber, I, pp.xxviii-xxii.

Although Day is not mentioned specifically as an assign, there is typographical evidence to show that Day was printing for Wayland. It was originally thought that Daye's Lyon (b) type first occurred in STC 1005, Aylmer's An harborrowe for faithfull and trewe subjects, in 1559. Ferguson notes that Day first used his newly acquired Lyon (b) type in a 1558 Marian primer. Ferguson correctly observes Day's pica roman, cast on a large, 85mm. body (probably bought by Day from Danvillier in 1557), occurs first in a Wayland primer of 1558.[1]

Day also undertook work in his own right after his return to London. In 1556, for example, he printed Leonarde Digges' A Boke called Tectonicon.[2] The work contains several ornamental initials that were used by Day during Edward's and, later, in Elizabeth's reign.[3] Of particular interest is the use of a textura, or 'Kanzlei' initial A, which had been used in the title page of the Michael Wood edition of De vera obedientia.[4] Oastler also believes that one of the woodcuts in Digges' Tectonicon was cut by John Bettes, who is known to have designed cuts for Day early in Elizabeth's reign. If this is the case, then this is further evidence of Day employing the skill of superior craftsmen before Elizabeth's reign. It therefore provides further evidence of why the appearance of Day's works markedly improved under Elizabeth: because he was already making connections with the best craftsmen remaining in England during Mary's reign.[5]

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[1] STC 16080.

[2] Not listed in STC. Day printed the work for Thomas Gemini, a printer famed for the quality of his illustrations. See Duff, A Century of the English Booktrade, p. 54.

[3] See Oastler, p. 12, n. 39.

[4] Digges, Sig. C4v. These textura initials also occur in works issued under Wayland's imprint, such as The Tragedies of John Bocchus (1558), which likewise uses Day's compartment.

Entries in the Stationers' Register during the period 1556 – 1558 confirm several important points. Day was not producing works under his own name legitimately yet he was also handling work in the capacity of City Printer (an office in which his Protestant affiliations did not preclude him from taking). They also indicate that the work he issued in his own right was of an ephemeral and inoffensive nature. For example, he prints proclamations but nothing of a controversial nature.[1] The only works of a religious nature that he did print after his return to London were as an assign for John Wayland.

The primers that Day (and Seres) printed for Wayland contained a curious mix of devotion and catechesis, depicting what Duffy terms, 'the tone and style of mid-Tudor piety familiar from the prayers of Henry's primer'.[2] They include the morning prayers of Erasmus, as well as several prayers composed specially for the Wayland primers. Their 'deuoute prayers' also included pre-Reformation prayers, such as the prayer of St. Bede. Duffy notes that nearly two dozen of the prayers come from the collection of 'Godly Prayers' in Henry's primers, some of which are by Protestant authors, such as Thomas Becon.[3] Thus the Wayland primers contained a mix of old and new forms of private worship, much of which Day would have been familiar with from his own patents under Edward. When Day commenced his work

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[5] Patricia Took is therefore incorrect in her assumption that it was Wayland who printed the Marian works bearing Day's compartment and using Day's stock. She is also incorrect when she states that Day spent the years after his release avoiding printing and learning to become an engraver and bookbinder. Patricia Took, 'Government and the Printing Trade', pp. 234 – 247.

[1] Arber, I, 74, 77.

[2] Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, p. 540.

[3] ibid., p. 540-6.

for Wayland, then, he would have had the skills and the familiarity with the primers to exact his work easily.

The later Wayland primers appropriate the Protestant polemic of mixing devotion with argument.[1] At least three of the later Wayland primers include a treatise on the Mass and the Sacrament. If Day was involved in these later works, as it appears he was, he was printing works that were the antithesis of his earlier publications, such as Luke Shepherd's John Bon and Mast Person, which mocked the procession of the Host and the Catholic form of Communion. Duffy claims that 'the Wayland primers testify to the resilience, adaptability, and realism of the Marian attempts to restore Catholicism to the people'.[2] They certainly epitomise the resilience and adaptability of John Day. Prior to his arrest Day had taken great risks in order to print Protestant works. After his release he adapted to working as an assign for the printer of Catholic primers – primers that would also include Henrician and Protestant elements.

There is more than one reason why Day might have worked as an assign for Wayland. As previously suggested, he may have had to do so as a condition of his release. Day's services may well have been required on the printing of the Psalms simply because he was (along with Seres) among the few printers in the country who had the professional capabilities to carry out the work. As King acknowledges, in contrast to 'the 81 stationers who were engaged in the domestic trade under the old

1. STC 16063-5. See Duffy, Stripping of the Altars, p.526.

2. ibid., p. 543.

[Edwardian] regime, 41 remained in Marian England'.[1] Of the printers remaining in England at the end of Mary's reign, none were superior to Day in their understanding of the production of Psalm books. Despite their religious convictions, Day (and Seres) would have been ideal replacements to carry out the beleaguered Wayland.

Family considerations would also have inhibited Day from either exile or further clandestine printing. Day's first wife had given birth to their first child, Richard, on 21 December 1552 and by 1553 was probably expecting her second child. Accepting a post as City Printer and assign under Mary would have at least given Day, then in his early thirties, a steady income by which to support his new wife and family. Yet there is a further, more intriguing possibility. It appears that during these last few months of Mary's reign Wayland made a return to good health, for he was fit enough to be summoned to answer an unpaid debt dating back to 1551.[2]

In 1551 Wayland had been bound with John Redshaw, a mariner, for the sum of £20 to deliver haberdashery to Boston in Lincolnshire.[3] The deed was never undertaken and so the £20 became forfeit to the crown. Action was only taken against Wayland in 1558, when he was imprisoned for being unable to pay the sum owned. The question remains as to why an old debt is resurrected so late in Mary's reign. At Elizabeth's accession both John Day and William Seres are printing

1. John King, 'The book-trade under Edward VI and Mary I' in The Book in Britain, vol. III, 1400 – 1557, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, 1999), p. 171.

2. PRO, Chancery Proceedings, Series II, Bundle 199, nos. 24 and 104. See H. J. Byrom, 'John Wayland – Printer, Scrivener, and Litigant' in, The Library, 4th ser., 13 (1933), pp. 313-49 (in particular pp.312-42).

3. ibid., 317.

primers for the Catholic regime but quickly have their patents returned to print the Protestant forms of devotion under Elizabeth. Could it be that Wayland was conveniently put 'out of the way' to allow this smooth transition? It should be remembered that Cecil had already assisted Seres and Day earlier in Mary's reign, and that he had strong connections with Boston also. It is therefore possible that Cecil assisted in placing both Seres and Day in the right position at the right time. Whatever the reason for Day's work for Wayland, his employment there ensured him a swift return to printing under Elizabeth. Day was already in the country, working in the capital, and had his family back with him in his Aldersgate house and print shop by the time Elizabeth became queen. Day had contacts with key figures, such as William Cecil, who would quickly rise to power under Elizabeth's regime.

Day's career in illicit printing is very illustrative of the power of the Marian government to suppress dissent and their concern with subversive printing. Day's experience exemplifies the ability of the government to bring recalcitrant printers to heel and also indicates the partial success of Marian officials in dealing with illicit and subversive books. The identification of Day as the printer of the Wood texts therefore reveals something of the nature of clandestine printing in Tudor England. In general, heretical works were printed in Protestant cities on the Continent, such as Antwerp and Ghent, and then smuggles back into England, instead of printing them in England. The discovery of John Day's illicit activities indicates why this was the case. Day's arrest points to the major weakness of underground printing in England. Paper supplies had to be imported from the Continent, and their bulk made paper much easier to detect than quantities of printed books. Day's and Cecil's attempts to house an illicit press in England, while bold and not bereft of concrete results,

nevertheless was doomed to failure. In the future, the overwhelming majority of banned books, whether obnoxious for religious, political, or other reasons, would be printed on the Continent and smuggled back into England instead of being printed domestically by hidden printers.

CHAPTER 4

1558-1563: THE RETURN TO PROTESTANT PRINTING

In November 1558, when Day had been printing for Wayland for at least eighteen months, Mary's reign came to an end. Mary died with the re-establishment of papal authority and the restored English Catholic Church both still in their infancy.[1] She also died without issue. She was succeeded by her younger sister Elizabeth. Contemporaries were in doubt about many features of the new regime, including its very survival, but one feature of it was unquestioned from the beginning: Elizabeth would rule as a Protestant. The exact nature of her Protestantism would be revealed in time, disappointing many, including John Day. But from the inception of Elizabeth's reign, it was clear that many of Mary's religious policies would be reversed.

In particular, those printers who had suffered enforced exile – or at the very least unemployment – due to their Protestant beliefs, would now reap the rewards as printers to the Protestant revival. Both the reformers and the new Elizabethan regime saw printing as an essential medium for disseminating their beliefs and intentions. The volume of reformist works had reached great heights under Elizabeth's half-brother, Edward VI, in the years 1547–48 and again in 1550.[2] The number of

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1. See John Guy, Tudor England (Oxford, 2nd edition, 1991), pp.234-9; Andrew Pettegree, Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Blackwell, 2002), pp.194-197; Andrew Pettegree, 'Printing and the Reformation', pp. 176-177.

2. Pettegree, 'Printing and the Reformation', p. 172.

reforming works soared further still under Elizabeth.[1] Enormous opportunities would be created for John Day, whose credentials and Protestant connections had been established in the previous two reigns. Day, together with his family, had moved back to Aldersgate after his release from the Tower. There is no solid evidence as to the exact date when he moved back into Aldersgate but his imprints reveal that he was there during the second half of 1559 and it is unnecessary to suppose that he had lived in another residence before that date.

Although Day would establish himself as the leading English printer of Elizabeth's reign, he got off to a rather inauspicious start. Rather shrewdly Day seems to have capitalised on the fears created by the disastrous influenza outbreak of 1558 by printing a number of books dealing with the pestilence and medicine in general.[2] Day also saw the potential for profit in printing, in these uncertain times, works on divination and prognostication.[3] In fact, Day may have been a little too eager for profit, since he neglected to obtain a license for Nostradamus and was fined by the Stationers' Company for this 'oversight'.[4] It is worth remembering that the young and hungry Day was guilty of some of the transgressions he would later rigorously punish.

What transformed Day into a defender of monopoly rights and patents granted was his acquisition of them. One major consequence of Elizabeth's

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1. ibid., p. 179.

2. See, for example, STC 4039-40.

3. See below, p.88.

4. Arber, I, pp.101.

accession of enormous benefit to Day was the elevation of John Day's former patron, William Cecil, to the de facto position of Elizabeth's first minister. Day also seems to have forged useful links to Elizabeth's favourite, Robert Dudley. By 1560 Day had received, through Leicester's influence, a seven-year monopoly right to print the Metrical Psalms, the ABC and the Catechism in English.[1] This patent, as we shall see, was one of the foundation stones of Day's success.

The Metrical Psalms - the beginning of the lucrative Elizabethan patents

The singing of the Psalms in metrical form had commenced with the work of Thomas Sternhold under Henry VIII and was revived by the Marian exiles to Geneva. It became an essential component of Protestant worship under Elizabeth. Day's monopoly rights to print the Metrical Psalms were crucial to his return to professional and financial stability after Mary's reign.[2] Patents for the Psalms were amongst the most fiercely challenged, frequently pirated and closely guarded of patents throughout the reign of Elizabeth.[3] The reason such patents were so jealously guarded was simple: a vast profit was virtually guaranteed on them. Why? These psalms would be sung in all Protestant services across England. Psalms books were

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1. Arber. I, pp.415.

2. Krummel notes that from 1560 to his death in 1584 Day produced an average of just under three editions of Sternhold and Hopkins per year (English Music Printing 1553 – 1700 (London, 1975), p.15); see also Robin A. Leaver, 'Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes': English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, 1535 – 1566 (Oxford, second imprint, 1991), pp. 135 – 140, 238 – 256.

3. For a discussion of the frequent pirating of the Psalms, see below, pp.180-190.

also printer's dream because they required little financial outlay but offered considerable profit. Day's acquisition of the valuable monopoly was not unchallenged and, in fact, was the result of a dispute with his former partner William Seres.

On 2 October 1559 John Day was fined 12s. for issuing 'a quartron (250 copies) of psalmes with notes ... without lycense and contrary to the orders'. This was the result of a suit brought against him by Seres.[1] Both men had held the patents to print Psalms under Edward VI and had returned to printing primers towards the end of Mary's reign. It soon became evident that a clear decision needed to be made about the rights of each printer. Ultimately Seres would retain the monopoly rights to the Psalms in Latin and in English without music. Day, through Leicester's patent, received unambiguous rights to the more lucrative Metrical Psalms. This clarity of definition was vital if the initial holders of these Elizabethan patents were to keep possession of them.

Day received his newly clarified patent forty days after Seres' suit. It allowed him to print specifically, 'the Psalms in meeter, with notes to singe them in the Churches as well in foure partes, as in playne songe, which being in parcel of the Church service'.[2] The 1560 Psalmes of Dauid in Englishe Metre, by Thomas Sterneholde and others: conferred with the Ebrue, & in certaine places corrected was based on the Anglo-Genevan Psalter. It included a preface on the rudiments of music, 'A shorte Introduction into the Science of Musicke, made for such as are desirous to

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1 Arber, I, p. 124.

2 Krummel, English Music Printing, p.14.

haue the knowledge therof, for the singing of these Psalmes'.[1] The 1561 edition of Foure score and seven Psalmes... was a direct reprint of the fourth edition of the Anglo-Genevan Psalter.[2] The 1561 Psalms included versions by Thomas Becon (Psalms 117 and 134).[3] In 1560 Becon had completed his version of the Catechism.[4] It contained the directive, 'Let no filthy ballads or songs of love be sung... but rather songs of holy scripture, and the psalms of David, set forth in metre in our English tongue, very apt for that purpose'.[5] At some point between 22 July 1561 and 24 July 1562 Day successfully applied for the patent to print the residue of the Psalms that he had hitherto not printed. Both The Residue of all Dauids Psalmes in metre... and The Whole Booke of Psalms came from Day's press in 1562.[6] Two sets of injunctions were soon issued that indicate the promotion of the 1561-2 Metrical Psalms. In his visitation articles for Merton College, Oxford, dated 26 May 1562, Matthew Parker indicated the following:

1. STC 2427. See Leaver. Goostly Psalms, pp. 244-5.

2. ibid., p. 246.

3. STC 2428.

4. STC 2429.5 and 2430.

5. ibid., p. 248.

6. See Leaver. pp. 251-2.

> Item. whether the warden and more part of the fellows have decreed before Hallowtide last [31 October 1561] that the stead of certain supersticious hymns appointed for certain feasts in the hall, English psalms in metre should be sung.[1]

Parker was not alone in his directive. A few days earlier, on 18 May 1562, Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, had issued a similar injunction:

> Also that the Chanter of the said church clerks and choristers there... have in readiness books of psalms set forth in English metre to be provided at the costs of the church, and to sing in the body of the church both afore the sermon and after the sermon one of the said psalms to be appointed at the discretion of the Chanter.[2]

Day's Metrical Psalms were being systematically promoted, therefore their high sales were guaranteed. Leicester's furtherance of Day's cause before the Queen, like those of Parker and Horne in the dioceses, would be vital to Day's later successes with other key patents and patrons. Patronage was still and essential tool and a vital safeguard of printer's high-earning monopolies from the Queen. Day's success in gaining this patent, and Leicester's support, was a milestone in his successful career.

Day's Metrical Psalms were highly variable in quality.[3] As discussed before, there are three basic expenses for a book: paper (by far the largest), labour and type.

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1. From Frere and Kennedy (eds.), Visitation Articles, iii., 121, cited Leaver, p. 250. For the arguments that raged at Merton College over the use of the English Metrical Psalms, see Jones, The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation (Blackwell, 2002), pp. 119-20.

2. Frere and Kennedy, iii., 138, cited Leaver, p. 250.

3. For further details, see Evenden, 'Singing Psalms and Howling Errors: the Problems of Music Proof-Reading in Tudor England' (forthcoming).

(We will discuss the labour involved in printing the Metrical Psalms in the next chapter.) A print run of the Metrical Psalms could easily reach 1500 copies, making paper a very considerable expense.[1] Yet Psalm books wore out quickly from frequent use, thus Day was naturally tempted to save money by using poor quality paper for what were inherently ephemeral works. Contemporaries, however, complained about the poor quality of the paper Day used on the Psalms, claiming that it hindered their ability to read the works. Day may have engaged in further sharp practice. In a petition to the Star Chamber in 1584, Day's arch rival, the printer John Wolfe (himself capable of dubious business dealings) complained that Day used 'euell paper' for his editions of the Psalms, and that Day was even, on occasion, 'printynge bookes of halfe psalmes which are soulde for bookes of the whole Psalmes'.[2] Whether or not Wolfe's allegations are true cannot be established as no evidence survives to substantiate Wolfe's claims, but it is at least possible that Day cut corners to minimise the cost of paper for the Metrical Psalms.

Yet while he skimped on paper, Day seems to have been more generous and more ambitious in the type he used for the Metrical Psalms. Initially Day was able to use his type that went back to Edward VI's reign.[3] Gradually Day had to replenish this stock, which resulted in some of the Psalm books being printed in a mixture of new and worn type. Furthermore, when Day did acquire new musical type he

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1. See Arber, II, p. 755.

2. See H.R. Hoppe, 'John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher, 1579-1601' in The Library, 4th ser., XIV, 1933, pp. 241-88; Oastler, pp. 22-4. Wolfe's charges did not lessen Day's grip on the patent.

3. His stock was probably moved to Whitchurch's old shop. This shop was taken over by John Wayland. William Baldwin would have been able to watch over it until Day became an assign of Wayland.

acquired part-book size type employed in books used by choirs.[1] Why Day chose to do this is unclear. Perhaps part-book type was the only type available to him when he needed to replenish his stock and having bought this type when he did not wish to discard it until it was worn out. Or perhaps he was over-ambitious and wished to use a more visually impressive type which, however, turned out to be impractical. The type was about 10mm tall and thus too large for octavo psalm books. To fit the required information on a single page with this larger type meant that the spaces between the lines of music disappeared and the margins vanished. The resulting score was difficult for a congregation to read and was the subject of frequent complaints until Day changed the type in the late 1560s.[2]

The Metrical Psalms thus appear to epitomise the contradictory tendencies in Day's printing. On the one hand they were a basic staple of Day's business being cheap to produce yet having a guaranteed profit. Day's response in many ways seems to have been to try and increase this profit by cutting corners on expenses. Yet it is possible that he also sought to make the work visually impressive, albeit somewhat unsuccessfully. If so, this would typify another aspect of Day's printing: the search to produce books of high visual quality despite their expense.

If the Metrical Psalms were Day's bread then the primer (ABC) and the Catechism were his butter. As Ian Green as discussed recently, the catechisms printed by Day were 'intended to provide the basis of knowledge upon which other works such as printed sermons and treatises were supposed to build understanding

[1] See Krummel. p. 48 et passim.

[2] See below. p.129.

and commitment.'[1] Convocation during the 1560s approved the use of the ABC and 'shorter' Catechism in schools.[2] This created an immense market for the primer and Catechism which became the essential tool in teaching the young.[3] Day acquired a monopoly to the primer and Catechism in the same patent in 1559 and which granted him the monopoly for the Metrical Psalms.

Ian Green has noted that there were two forms of access to the catechism's text: the 'aural (in church or family prayers in the home)' s well as the 'visual (as a reinforcement in church and perhaps a supplement or an alternative at home)'.[4] As these bread and butter works were therefore used frequently they had to be replaced frequently. As a result, few copies of Day's primers survive today.[5] Such a poor survival rate is testament to the daily use of such works in English church services and for catechising in English and indicates the regular income Day must have earned from these books.

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1. Ian Green, Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England (Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 189.

2. See Ian Green, The Christian's ABC: Catechisms and Catechizing in England c. 1530-1740 (Oxford, 1996), pp. 51-58.

3. See Ian Green, Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England, pp.189-193.

4. ibid., p. 188.

5. See Oastler, p. 62, for a rare title-page from one of Day's Catechisms.

Works for the Dutch Church

Another profitable, although less enduring, monopoly gave Day the right to print the Catechism and Psalms in Dutch.[1] As has already been mentioned, Day had established many connections with the Stranger Churches prior to the death of Edward VI through both his patrons and employees who were members of The Church. Under Elizabeth, Day printed a number of works specifically for the Dutch church in London, in particular Dutch Catechisms (i.e., catechisms in Dutch for the benefit of the Dutch congregations). Just why Day chose, or indeed, was chosen to print works for this alien community has never fully been addressed, and so it is worth spending some time here considering the few theories put forward to date.

Robert Leaver, in his work on English and Dutch metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove, is the only scholar to date to suggest why Day printed Dutch Catechisms.[2] He claims that Day's involvement was as a direct result of his Marian activities as an exile. According to Leaver, Day's own persecution and migration was the reason for his printing of and sympathies for works of the immigrant community in London; a community that had itself suffered persecution. Leaver, like Garrett and others, assumes that Day went abroad during Mary's reign after his release from the Tower.[3] Leaver then makes a further assumption (without evidence)

1. For a detailed discussion of Day's dealings with the Dutch communities, see Evenden, 'The Fleeing Dutchmen? The influence of Dutch Immigrants upon the Printshop of John Day' (forthcoming).

2. Leaver, Goostly Psalms, pp. 243-44.

3. Leaver assumes that Day went to Emden, basing this assumption on the grounds of the aforementioned entry in the city's Burgerbuch that lists a 'Joannes de Haij' as one of seven (French) men admitted to citizenship there. These men were all commended by the superintendent of the Dutch church in Emden, Joannes à Lasco, who had also been the superintendent of the Stranger church in

in suggesting it is probable that Day was 'active in music printing in Emden, assisting [Gilles] van der Erve there in the production of Utenhove's psalms'.[1] He uses this assumption to explain why Day was held in such high regard by the stranger church in London and also sees Day's printing of Utenhove's Psalms in 1560 and 1561 as a continuation of his Marian activities. This is pure supposition and goes way beyond even the bizarre itinerary that Christina Garrett suggested for Day's activities after he was released from prison. As we now know what Day's activities were during Mary's reign, Leaver's theories, like Garrett's, can be shown to be incorrect.[2]

Leaver's theory fails to consider why the Dutch Catechism was not printed by Dutch printers working in London. It is therefore worth taking a moment to consider the key Dutch printers who fled to England and why they did not print these key works for the Dutch church. It was during the crackdown on evangelical printing in Antwerp in around 1546 that several printers and journeymen had decided to make their way to England to ply their trade. Stephen Mierdman, who had already printed English evangelical works in Antwerp, was one of the first foreign immigrants to take advantage of what Pettegree describes as the 'more favourable climate' after the death of Henry; a period in which those connected to the Seymours found favour.[3]

London. For further 'evidence' Leaver turns to the use of what Don Krummel calls the 'Seres-Emden' type used in London during Edward's reign and in Emden during the Marian reign. Leaver picks up Krummel's assumption that William Seres fled overseas with this type and lent it to other printers, such as Day, on the Continent. Leaver, Goostly Psalms, p. 423. Krummel, English Music Printing, pp. 13-14.

1 Leaver, ibid.

2. See above, pp. 61-63.

Mierdman's reading of the potential market was astute. Protestant literature was in high demand, Continental authors flooded the English market and the returning exiles or accounts of those who died for the gospel were equally popular.

Other alien printers, such as Walter Lynn and Nicholas Hill were equally responsible for a vast number of the religious works of the Edwardian period.[1] Nicholas Hill (or van den Berghe) was licensed in 1552 and 1553 to print catechisms for the Dutch church (around the same time as Day received his patent for Ponet's catechism). Hill died 1557 and his press passed to Gilles van der Erve who was saddled with the cost of printing the last of Utenhove's new Dutch Bible, finished by 1556, which proved impossible to sell. The disastrous sales of the Utenhove Bible were exasperated by the success of the Bible printed by Mierdman and Galliart. Mierdman held much of the market in London for the printing of works in the Dutch tongue but he died in 1559. Reyner Wolf was another successful Dutch printer in London who, as we have seen, held sway in the market for a time. Yet he likewise went to meet his maker in 1559. Walter Lynn had not stayed in the printing business for long, as he wound up his business in around 1550. The reason is then, that by 1560, all of the Dutch printers who might have been able to print their native tongue catechism were either dead or out of business.

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3. Pettegree, Foreign Protestant Communities, p. 23.

1. For a detailed discussion of these printers see Evenden, 'The Fleeing Dutchmen?' (forthcoming) and Pettegree, Foreign Protestant Communities, pp. 86-94.

Thus the market was open for any printer to print works for the Dutch church. Few London printers in 1560 could have matched Day's connections or credentials and Day already printed the English Metrical Psalms and therefore held an appropriate stock of musical type. He was, in effect, the perfect man for the job. The project was attractive because it was possible to print the amount of works required in a relatively short space of time and because, since Dutch catechisms were indispensable for the Dutch Church, sales were assured. Yet it was a small market, and the profit from the printing of these catechisms, while comfortable, did not come close to matching those of the English catechisms.

Sermons and 'steady sellers'[1]

Day also printed a considerable number of sermons during these years, in some cases, such as his edition of three sermons of Roger Hutchinson, a Protestant divine who died in prison during Mary's reign. Day's motives in printing this work appeared to have been purely religious. Day could not print Hutchinson's evangelical works during Mary's reign as Day, like Hutchinson, was incarcerated for his beliefs. In his own address to the reader in the 1560 edition of Hutchinson's Sermons, Day explains that he had not been able to print the work earlier, due to the Marian suppression of Protestant works, under which they both suffered. Day therefore printed them as soon as he was able in the more favourable climate of Elizabeth's rule:

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1. I use Ian Green's terminology 'steady seller' for works that made regular reprints, without applying Green's specific criteria. See Green's criteria in Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England, passim.

> The author of these sermons liying on his death bed. Whom (the lorde toke to his mercy) sent to me in my trouble, desiring me... [to] put these sermons of his in print: [and] also his other boke, called the Image of God.[1]

The physical torments and spiritual suffering endured under Mary's reign were being cleansed by the printing of the spiritual guidance previously given by the godly men unjustly persecuted.

Other sermons printed by Day during these years were larger works, whose sale would not have been expected to be very large, but popular enough to warrant eventual reprints. Day's edition of Latimer's Twenty-Seven Sermons in 1562, for instance, was a quarto edition of 148 leaves with a folded plate illustration, that was reprinted in various sizes during the 1570s.[2] This size of work appears to have been something of a 'middle ground' for Day. It had an illustrative plate (unusual for sermons), was quite large, in that it printed a total of 27 sermons in one volume, and would have proved a little pricey for the poorer end of the market. John Daus' translations of Heinrich Bullinger's An Hundred Sermons on the Apocalypse, however, would most likely have been too costly for those who usually bought small, cheap works.[3] Day did, nevertheless, try to encourage such buyers to invest in such

1. STC 15276, Printer to the Reader, Sig.A4r-v.

2. STC 15277-9.

3. STC 4061.

works that were more costly than his smaller sermon books. There is a twenty-six stanza poem added to the prolegomena, whose final verse states:

> Then Reader by thys boke,
> thou shalt the not repent:
> yf thou wilt heron loke,
> nor money better spent.[1]

Although only in quarto, this edition of one hundred sermons, not surprisingly, stretches to over 700 pages, and was not reprinted for over ten years. Again though, the format is kept small, the woodcut initials are few and the margins not too generous. Day was not extravagant in his production of these larger-scale sermon books, but any encouragement to buy was considered worthwhile.

Certain other authors, such as the Henrician anti-clerical writer John Skelton, proved quite popular and were produced in small, affordable sizes. In just under two years Day printed nine editions of his work.[2] Nevertheless these 'steady sellers' were only part of Day's output. He also produced works of much higher quality and more limited popular appeal; in these cases the direct financial profit from printing such works was either small or non-existent. Along with the cheap works on medicine and fortune telling which Day printed in 1558-89, Day also printed a book

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1. Sig.A.iiijv.

2. STC 22596a, 22596b, 22600, 22603, 22603a, 22603b, 22617a, and 22617a.5.

on medicines, The Treasure of Evonymus, by the celebrated Basle physician Conrad Gesner.[1]

In Day's own address to the reader in The Treasure of Evonymus he explains why 'in the time of daungerous infirmities, and perel of bodely helth' it is profitable to have some knowledge of 'Phisicke' in order to help the 'sicke, weake, and languishing paciente vnto his former estate'.[2] Day states that such knowledge is not to be reserved for learned and scholarly men, but that all men should have some knowledge of how to heal at the very least themselves. It is with this reason in mind that Day tells the reader that,

> I haue caused this precious treasure to be translated into oure vsuall, and natiue language, that like as all men are subiecte to sicknes: so in likewise all men may but this occasion learne the way to helth.[3]

This work is an octavo of 408 pages, including numerous small illustrations. Its basic, common stock black letter and its crude illustrations of pots and appliances are off-set by some beautiful illustrations of flowers and herbs to assist the reader in recognising plants beneficial to health (see below, Figure 3).[4] These illustrations are

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1. In the late days of Mary's reign Day had addressed the physical, rather than spiritual health of the country by printing William Bullein's Government of Health (STC 4039) on 1 March that year. The work was also issued dated 20 April 1558 (STC 4040).

2. Sig. ✠.iir.

3. Sig. ✠.iir

4 On pages 42-5 (Sigs.G.iv-G.iijr).

of particular interest because some of the illustrations of pots placed over fires may have been by the same illustrator of some of the small, one-column woodcuts of martyrs being burned that appear in John Foxe's Acts and Monuments. The flames in Figure 4 moreover are characteristic of those occurring in Foxe (see Figure 5). As Day and Foxe had commenced work on the Foxe's martyrology by the time this work was printed, it is likely that Day engaged the same artist on both books.

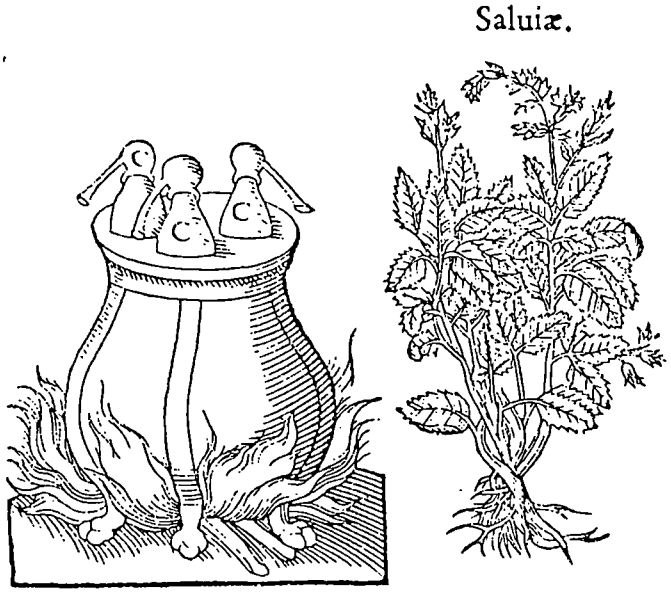

Figure 3: The Treasure of Evonymus, p. 42 (Sig.G.iv), courtesy of the British Library.

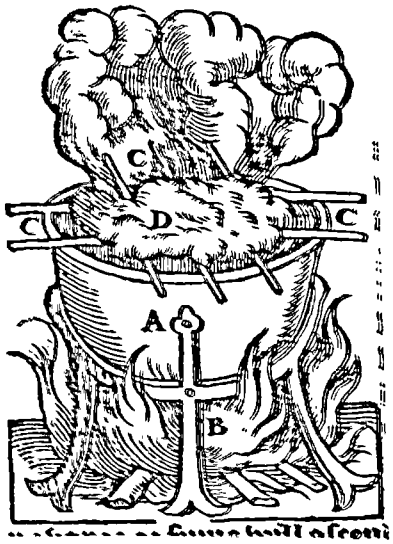

Figure 4: The Treasure of Evonymus, p. 40 (Sig.F.4v), courtesy of the British Library

Figure 5: Acts and Monuments (1570), Sig.FFFF.iv. The Burning of John Rogers. Courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of York

William Cunningham's Cosmographical Glasse

William Cunningham's Cosmographical Glasse was the first major publication to come from Day's presses after the queen's accession. It was also protected by Day's first Elizabethan patent.[1] Significantly, this patent covered not only Cunningham's work but also all new works printed at Day's expense (a phrase that would become of particular importance to Day's success, as we shall see). William Duglas noted inside his copy of Cunningham's work that it had cost him five shillings in London.[2] The work contained several quality illustrations, as well as the first English appearance of François Guyot's Double Pica italic type. Such a wealth of illustration and quality type would have cost Day a significant amount of money, on top of what he would have laid out for paper. The extensive costs borne by Day for this edition are referred to by William Cunningham in Preface:

> What diligence I haue giuen in time of the Printing, to the correction herof, and also in diuisinge sundry newe Tables, Pictures, demonstrations, & praeceptes: that you may easily iudge by reading the same worke. Also what charges the Printer hath susteined, that his good will might not be wanting, that shalbe evident conferryng his beautiful Pictures & letters, with suche workes, as herto hath bene published.[3]

The work cost a large amount of money but clearly did not sell well, as it only went through one edition. The work might have not been a success due to its limited print run, but it nevertheless is a quality piece of printing that without doubt

[1] 1 Eliz., part 1. m. 24.

[2] See Oastler, p. 15.

[3] Sig.A.6v.

set new standards in book illustration. William Cunningham did some of the illustrations himself and it is possible that Cunningham did two engravings for another author, Robert Record, or at least modelled his own on them. Two of the illustrations in Robert Record's The Castle of Knowledge (printed by Reginald Wolfe in 1556) bear as striking resemblance to the style and content to those engraved by Cunningham himself for his cosmographical work.[1]

John Parker believes The Cosmographical Glasse to have been a disappointment, that it 'demonstrated no great erudition on the part of its author'.[2] However, Parker fails to comprehend the intentions of the piece: rather than a work on navigation, the piece is more a forerunner – testing the waters as to how popular works on navigation would be under Elizabeth.[3] If the author shows little erudition, could one say that the dedicatee of the work, William Cecil, perhaps did? If Cecil had a hand in commissioning the piece then it was, perhaps, to test the market and to see how navigation and travel might be promoted under the new sovereign. Cecil's connections with Record would make him a natural 'sponsor' to furthering the field.

Yet if the work could be considered a 'failure' for the author and patron because it only ran to one edition, Parker is wrong to suggest that it was a failure for Day also.[4] The reasons behind the printing of the work were, for Day, considerably

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1. STC 20796. The work's patron was William Cecil. See John Parker, Books to Build and Empire (Amsterdam, 1965), p. 37. For illustrations see Ruth Luborsky and Elizabeth Ingram, A Guide to English Illustrated Books 1536-1603, I, pp.644-5.

2. Parker, Books to Build and Empire, p.49.

3 See Oastler, p.16.

4 Parker, Books to Build an Empire, pp.49-50.

different from the agendas of both patron and author. With Cecil's backing the piece would have received its patent quickly and easily. Certainly cosmography was of interest but it is the visual content of the book – the book as an artefact – that we should be considering if we are looking at the work in terms of success or failure for Day. Visually the work undoubtedly is very impressive. Thus a considerable sum was spent by Day on a work that would not be likely to sell well or even see a reprint. Why? It was an advertisement of John Day's abilities as a printer, since Day produced the piece with impressive skill. The paper used for the edition was of good quality, it was clearly printed with much large, new type, as mentioned, the margins were large, and the illustration excellent. Many of the woodcuts commissioned for the piece could be reused and, as the first work of any visual merit to appear under Elizabeth, it guaranteed that Day would be acknowledged for his impressive illustrations and the quality of his printing.

More important in some ways was the patent that Day secured for the work. It allowed him, for the coming seven years, to print any number of unspecified new works or commissions, so long as he funded them. It opened the door to all sorts of possibilities for new commission and projects. This patent to print Cunningham and any new works produced by Day was exploited by him to the maximum extent. What we see with The Cosmographical Glasse then is an early demonstration of the quality that could be achieved in Elizabethan printing. Day was setting the standard for things to come. The fame that Day received as printer of this book would, of course, be surpassed by another book that Day would soon begin work on (at his expense): John Foxe's great martyrology.

Printing Protestant Divines

Works such as the Treasure of Evonymus were dwarfed in size and expense by Day's mammoth edition of the works of Thomas Becon. Day may have printed those works partly out of friendship with Becon. The second edition of Becon's Gouernaunce of virtue came out early in Elizabeth's reign and was dedicated to John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich.[1] The same year that the said work was published, Day acted as patron to Becon, standing surety for first fruits for Becon on 4 November 1563 for his living at St. Dionis, Backchurch.[2] Furthermore, Becon was one of the most popular Edwardian ministers. Yet none of this explains Day's commitment to printing Becon's writings. The size of Becon's works issued during these years was impressive. The Reliques of Rome in 1560, for example, stretching to 260 pages in octavo; The gouvernance of vertue in 1561, like the Pommaunder of Prayer and sycke mans salue each stretching to over 500 pages in octavo. Such works would demand a large supply of paper, and it is clear that this was sometimes hard to come by. Close examination of the paper used in these editions reveals a mixed supply within the individual editions. Nevertheless, it also reveals that Day was doing all he could to produce the works for Becon, rather making his friend wait

1. The dedication, written at Canterbury, is dated 30 September 1563. The Preface makes clear that Becon was intent to show his connections with Norwich, stating directly that Becon was born in the diocese. Sig.A.iiijv.

2. See Brett Usher, 'Backing Protestantism', John Foxe: An Historical Perspective, ed. David Loades (Scolar Press, 1997), p.133. Richard Grafton had likewise stood surety for Becon in a different benefice earlier, in 1561, thus providing further evidence of Day's ties with Grafton, both men guaranteeing first fruits for the same godly author. (ibid., p. 127).

for his popular (and profit-making) works to reach the bookshops. (Bearing in mind the works that Day was turning down during this period, it also shows Day's level of commitment to his friend that he was prepared to print them, even though paper and time were scarce.)[1]

When Day had stood surety for Becon, John Parkhurst, the Bishop of Norwich, wrote to Day to thank him for his actions.[2] In 1561, John Foxe and his family had stayed with Parkhurst, while Foxe did research for the first English edition of his martyrology. During Foxe's stay there, John Day printed Parkhurst's injunctions for the diocese of Norwich, most probably as a favour to Parkhurst in return for his assistance on the work for the Acts and Monuments. Day would later print an edition of Parkhurst's epigrams, J. Parkhurst Ludicra sive Epigrammata juvenilia, in 1573.[3] This work, however, would be put on hold until Day had finished printing Bartholomew Clerke's Fidelis Servi (a reply to Nicholas Sanders' De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesia).[4] The attack on Sanders had been commissioned by Matthew Parker. What we see here, therefore, is Day juggling works printed for friends and powerful patrons one against the other. As we shall see, in Chapter 6,

1. If Day had waited to print these works on a better supply of paper, they would have been delayed until the work on Foxe's martyrology was completed. The good supply of paper that Day was expecting was wholly used up on Foxe's book anyway. See Evenden and Freeman (forthcoming).

2. BL, MS. Harley 416, fo.175v.

3. STC 19299.

4. In a letter to Parkhurst by Dr. Thomas Wilson, dated 12 February 1572, Parkhurst is informed that 'the printing of a boke in Lattyne against Sanders... in now in hande; but before the beginning of Easter terme he hath promysed to take your woke [sic] in hande'. Cited in R. A. Houlbroke (ed.), The Letter Book of John Parkhurst (Norfolk Record Society, 1994), p. 164.

Day would personally benefit from the attention and priority he gave to Parker's commission.[1]

During the early 1560s one work in particular caused Day to interrupt his busy schedule, the Apologia ecclesiae anglicanae.[2] In the Spring of 1561 England expected the arrival of Martinengo, the nuncio, who was sent to England to invite Elizabeth to appoint representatives to the forthcoming Council of Trent.[3] On 29 April, Elizabeth met with the Spanish Ambassador, de Quadra, to tell him that she would make a decision about the Council soon. The Spanish Ambassador reported to his own court that 'Every day since [his meeting with the Queen] the archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishops of Winchester and Salisbury with the Chancellor and Cecil have met on this business'.[4] Parker, Young, Horne, Jewel, Bacon and Cecil all met to discuss the Council and it was eventually decided that the nuncio would not be admitted, as no representatives would be sent. On 8 May Cecil wrote to the English Ambassador at Paris, Nicholas Throckmorton, to say that he had 'caused the Bishop of Sarum to fayne an epistle' (the Espistola) justifying England's position and defending the English.[5] For reasons that do not concern us here, this original work was eventually enlarged to form the Apologia, a defence of the English Church, written by Jewel but assisted by Parker, Cecil and others. This Latin

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1. See below, pp. 153-156.

2. STC 14581.

3. See John E. Booty, , John Jewel as Apologist (SPCK, London, 1963), pp. 36-50.

4. Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English affaires preserved in the archives of Sinarcas, (London HMSO, 1892-99), 1558-1567, vol I, p. 201, cited John E. Booty, John Jewel as Apologist , p. 37.

5 See Booty, ibid., p. 39-41.

defence of English Protestantism was intended for continental readers, and Day, once again, provided the authorities with a work to the advantage of the Realm, that was in danger of not making high sales. The English market expected an English edition, which was provided by Lady Anne Bacon, but this was not available for another year or so. By that time Day was heavily involved with the printing of Foxe's Acts and Monuments and so the license for the English edition was subsequently granted to Wolfe at some point between January and July of 1562.

On 19 January 1562 the Bishop of Ely, Richard Cox, wrote to William Cecil stating that he had read the Apologia and 'gave GOD hearty thankes for it because it is bothe godly and fynely handled'.[1] He felt that the work would be successful in refuting the English Church's many enemies at home and abroad. The importance of Jewel as England's semi-official apologist and the effect of the Apologia should not be underestimated. Day's commitment to key figures such as Jewel, Cecil, Parker, Parkhurst during this period reflects Day's level of commitment to the defence of the Anglican Church but also the powerful patrons Day was acquiring. As we shall see in Chapter 5, Day was reluctant to take on any new work during his commitment to Foxe's martyrology. Day's printing of the Apologia, and John Parkhurst's injunctions (a small work that could have been speedily printed) depict the ways in which Day was prepared to bend his own strict schedule to incorporate favours for his powerful friends and confessional allies. In the 1560s the pattern of Day doing favours for those who assisted on his greatest printing project, Foxe's Acts and Monuments, became firmly established.

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1. Arber, II, pp.740.

John Foxe

John Foxe had gone into exile during Mary's reign and was in Basle as late as September 1559, completing the second of his Latin martyrologies, the Rerum ecclesia gestarum... Commentarii.[1] Yet that November Day published a new book by Foxe, an edition of one of the letters of the Marian martyr, Nicholas Ridley. In the preface to Ridley's book, Foxe announced his plans for a forthcoming martyrology, written in English, which would be far larger than the Rerum:

> First to begin with this littel treatise of Doct. Nicholas Ridley, late Byshoppe of London, this shalbe to desyre thee (gentle Reader) to accept it, and studiouslye to peruse it in the meanetyme whyle the other Volumes be addressing which we are about touching the full historie, processe, and examinations, of all our blessed brethren, lately persecuted for righteousness sake... In the meane time because all thynge[s] can not be done at once, and the Volumes be long, accept well in worth this litle (but pithie) worke of this forsaid Bishoppe...[2]

The phrase 'which we are about' clearly indicates that the new martyrology was already in progress. But how did Foxe and Day come to form a collaboration for such a mammoth project so quickly? There is no sign that Foxe and Day knew each other before Elizabeth's reign. But they had one thing in common: William Cecil had been a patron of both men. It is more than likely that it was Cecil that put Foxe,

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1. John Foxe. Rerum in ecclesia gestarum... Commentarii. (Basle, 1559). I am grateful to Tom Freeman for discussing the Rerum with me. For a detailed discussion of the printing of the AM, see Evenden and Freeman (forthcoming).

2. Nicholas Ridley, A Frendly farewel, ed. John Foxe, STC 21051 (1559), unpaginated preface. The title page of the Frendly farewel is dated 10 November [1559].

the Protestant author, in touch with Day, the Protestant printer to work on this great book.

Cecil's role is acknowledged in the large woodcut initial 'C' which is the first letter of the dedication to Elizabeth in the Acts and Monuments (see Figure 6 below).[1] Elizabeth, the subject of the dedication, is shown enthroned with great majesty, while the Pope is beneath her in chains. To her right there are three figures attending the queen whose identities have been disputed by scholars. Frances Yates suggested that they symbolised the three estates of the realm.[2] John King made an important advance by realising that these were portraits and that the picture illustrated the dedication of the Acts and Monuments to Elizabeth.[3] He argued that the figure at the back is John Day, as seems likely when compared to a portrait of Day that was used in this first and all subsequent editions of Foxe's martyrology printed by Day (see Figure 7 below).[4] As King has suggested, Foxe stands next to Day. This is confirmed by comparing the woodcut with an engraving of Foxe (Figure 8).[5] But the identity of the third figure has been more hotly disputed. Chris Oastler agreed with John King in the identifications of Foxe and Day but could not identify the third figure; Edward Hodnett only went as far as to described the third

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1. AM [1563], Sig. B1r.

2. Frances A. Yates, Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1975), p.156.

3. John N. King, English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition (Princeton, NJ, 1982), p. 435, and idem, Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis (Princeton, NJ, 1989), p.156.

4. AM [1570], Sig. UUUU4v.

5. This picture is reproduced from Henry Holland, Herωologia, STC 13582 (London, 1620), sig. R5r.

third figure as 'a court official'.[1] John King claimed that this was Thomas Norton.[2] However, when the woodcut is compared with a drawing made of William Cecil, it is clear that this figure is, in fact, that of Elizabeth's minister (Figure 9).[3] It therefore seems likely that Cecil introduced Day to Foxe early in Elizabeth's reign. The two men then resolved quickly to work on an English edition of Foxe's Rerum.

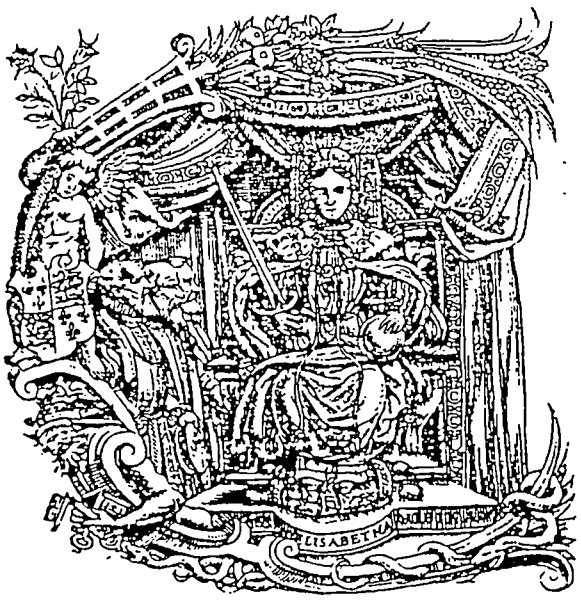

Figure 6. Initial 'C' from the dedication to the Acts and Monuments, courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of York

[1] Oastler, p.49; Edward Hodnett, Image and Text: Studies in the Illustration of English Literature (London, 1982), p. 32.

[2] King, Tudor Royal Iconography, p.156.

[3] Hatfield, CP 1 ii/14. I are grateful to Dr. Stephen Alford for bringing this pictu to the attention of Tom Freeman and myself for our work on 'John Foxe, John Day and the Making of the Book of Martyrs', and to the Marquess of Salisbury for permission to reproduce the image here.

Figure 7, Acts and Monuments [1570], Sig. UUUU4v, courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of York

Figure 8. From Henry Holland, Heroologia, courtesy of the British Library

Figure 9. Hatfield, CPM II/14, by kind permission of the Marquess of Salisbury

The First Edition of John Foxe's Acts and Monuments[1]

In the preface to the first edition of the Acts and Monuments Foxe said that 'we had scarce 18 months' for the actual process of printing the book. Since the colophon records that the first edition of the Acts and Monuments was published in March 1563, this means that they commenced work on the actual printing of the book around September 1561. Letters sent to and from Foxe during this period show that Foxe stayed in Norwich from at least the 18 November 1560 and that he was

[1] This research (and that for the 1570, 1576 and 1583 editions) of AM is reproduced in Evenden and Freeman (forthcoming).

back in London, staying at John Day's house, by August 1562.[1] This is confirmed by the recollection of Samuel Foxe, John's eldest son, who later wrote that he was born in Norwich 31 December 1560 and that he remained there through the years 1561 and 1562 until he was three years old.[2] Foxe left Norwich (where he had been doing research for the Acts and Monuments) leaving his family there, and took up residence in Day's print shop, undoubtedly to be on site as his work was actually being printed.

Having the author present in the print shop while the work was being printed appears to have been a common practice, as we have seen with William Baldwin and now Foxe.[3] Yet the notion of an author staying with a printer was always as harmonious event as Baldwin might have suggested. In the early seventeenth century, for example, an argument began between Ralph Brooke, the York Herald and his printer, William Jaggard, over the printing of Brooke's catalogue of the English nobility. When Brooke's rivals seized on the many errors in the work, but Brooke said that it was not his fault but that of the printer. Brooke claimed that, as he had been ill, he had relied on the printer to correct any errors on his behalf, as he was too sick to visit the print house in order to supervise his work. Jaggard defended his work by saying that the proofs had been sent for correction to Brooke on his sickbed, the only but not ideal solution open to him at that time Jaggard furthered his retort by adding that the presence of Brooke in the print shop, when he did come, was so intimidating to the compositors that his presence did more to deter errors than

1. BL, Harley 416, fos. 106r and 173r-v.

2. BL, Lansdowne 679, fol. 46r.

3. William Baldwin stayed with Day when he wished to proof-read works in Greek that Day appears to have printed for him. See above, p.48.

twenty corrections of his proofs could do.[1] Jaggard may have exaggerated the impact of Brooke's presence would have had on his staff, but there is no doubt that having an author present during the printing of a work reduced the potential for error.[2]

It was practical for Foxe to be on site at Aldersgate because new material for the book was constantly arriving at Day's shop, and decisions had to be made as to how much of this wealth of information should be included and how much left out. It was far more practical therefore for Foxe and Day to cohabit to maximise their work time. Perhaps the biggest editorial headache for Foxe was the fact that new information, which Foxe wanted to include, often came into their hands after the pages on which it should have been included were printed. This in turn caused an even bigger headache for his printer, who wanted the book printed as swiftly as possible, lest it ruined him financially. As a result, the pagination of this first edition of Foxe's book is strikingly irregular, as new pages, requiring a new system of pagination, were added to the text. The headache for Day as much as Foxe was how to accommodate this influx of new material without having to re-set and reprint whole sections of the work.

Day had one strategy that he had pursued before, in Bullinger's An Hundred Sermons, was to include extra material by increasing the size of the columns on a

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1. Percy Simpson, Proof-reading in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Oxford. 1970), pp.6-7.

2. Archbishop Matthew Parker apparently had Day set up a press in his palace at Lambeth, so that corrections could easily be made to Parker's De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae which was being printed by Day, see below, p.151.

page.[1] In Bullinger work, Day had lengthened the columns to fit in the 26-stanza poem mentioned earlier.[2] In Foxe's book, Day varied this idea by widening the columns to add additional information. On page 1500 of the first edition of the Acts and Monuments (Sig.RRR6v, the last page in its gathering to be printed) the columns have clearly been widened from the normal 72-4mm to 86mm. This technique was used here in order to include new eyewitness accounts of Cranmer's martyrdom, which Foxe acquired only after this page had been printed.[3] This 'trick of the trade' apparently of Day's own invention, allowed him to fit the new material on to a single page (and the catchwords matched), saving Day from having to reprint page 1501 and subsequent pages.

Often Foxe and Day resorted to less subtle tactics, such as inserting material out of its narrative or chronological order into the text. For example, Foxe placed a narration of the Anglo-Saxon king Edgar between Harold II and William the Conqueror, and declared 'better I judge it out of order than out of the book' as justification of its position.[4] It is important to recognise that this ongoing insertion of new material must have created some tension between Foxe and Day, as the two men

1. An Hundred Sermons, Sig.iiijr-v.

2. See above, p. 86.

3. Julian Roberts pointed out this bibliographical irregularity, and shrewdly guessed that it was caused by the need to include new material on Cranmer's martyrdom (Julian Roberts, 'Bibliographical Aspects of John Foxe' in David Loades, ed., John Foxe and the English Reformation [Aldershot, 1997],p. 45.) Also, Tom Freeman has noted that the survival of relevant manuscript evidence among Foxe's papers confirms Robert's surmise. The account of Cranmer's execution on page 1500 of the 1563 edition was essentially a translation of Foxe's earlier account of the episode in the Rerum (cf. AM [1563], p. 1500 with Foxe, Rerum, pp.721-3). But Foxe added passages to this narrative, concerning Henry Cole's sermon preached at Cranmer's execution and Cranmer's reaction to it from two accounts of Cranmer's death (BL, Harley, MS. 422, fos. 48r-51r and BL Harley MS. 417, fos. 90r-94v). I am grateful to both Julian Roberts and Tom Freeman for discussing this passage with me and explaining its significance.

4. AM [1570], p.220.

had conflicting agendas during the printing process: Foxe's desire for inclusiveness was counter-balanced by Day's desire for swift and affordable publication. Day had to make it clear to Foxe that time and finances were always against them, and that it would be impossible to include every scrap of information thrown their way.

Day's rigorous schedule occasionally meant that Day stopped Foxe in his tracts on sections he was working on, and offered him ways in which he could speed up his work for the addition. For example, Day provided Foxe with information from works that Day himself had already printed. Foxe had begun a detailed account of the persecution of some proto-Protestant martyrs in Southern France, which he had painstakingly had translated from a French martyrology. However, about two-thirds of the way through this translation, Foxe abandoned this laborious task and finished the account with a much briefer narrative of the same episode printed in an English translation of Johannes Sleidan's Commentaries, which had been printed by Day in the previous year.[1]

Day therefore had to impose various measures on Foxe to produce the work as quickly as possible, while taking into account the need for the work to be as accurate as possible. The main reason why Day was so eager to finish was to see some return for the vast amount of capital he must have had to raise in order to produce the work. The first edition of Foxe's martyology is around 1700 folio pages long, and would have therefore required a substantial outlay of capital on paper. Adding to this, Day had set about producing the work with the intention of modelling its appearance upon the visual quality that he had shown for Cunnigham's Cosmographical Glasse.

[1] See AM [1563], Sig. B3v. In the next edition of his work Foxe would entirely omit the Sleidan account of the incident and printed a complete translation of the French account instead.

Foxe's book contains a staggering amount of illustration. Out of the 53 illustrations in the work, 47 of them are page-wide, depicting scenes ranging from the tormenting of the godly, to the machinations of the Pope.[1] For this work Day clearly intended to surpass the earlier 'prototype' illustrations used under Edward, and the advertisement of his capabilities as indicated in Cunningham's work. The work was, quite simply, an enormous financial risk for Day, due to its size and wealth of illustration, and one that Day could only hope and pray would bring the rewards (financial and professional) that he desired.

[1] See Hodnett, Image and Text, p. 31 and below, p.136.

CHAPTER 5

1563 – 1570: THE EFFECTS OF THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS ON DAY

It soon became apparent that the risks that Day had taken in producing so large a work as Foxe's Acts and Monuments were clearly worth his while. The work had cost Day a considerable amount of capital and time (lost which could have been devoted to other works) but he was soon rewarded by the book's good sales and the acclaim it received. Although it is not clear what financial return Day made on the work, it must have been quick and considerable, as in 1564 Day and Foxe announced that they would produce another new edition of their martyrology.[1] This quick decision to reproduce such a vast work came as the result of different intentions by author and printer. Foxe, surely pleased by the book's reception, was nevertheless unhappy about various flaws and lacunae that had occurred in the work and so wished to correct them. Day, on the other hand, saw the potential to print a work that would solidify his reputation, and possibly also sell well. Prior to the Acts and Monuments all the other large or expensive works that Day printed did not make him a vast amount of profit, in fact barely a profit at all, although they had won him esteem as a quality printer and had certainly influenced the patronage he received.

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1. Henry Bull, ed. (attributed to Miles Coverdale), Certain most godly, fruitful and comfortable letters of such true Saintes and holy Martyrs as in the late bloodye persecution gaue their lyues (STC 5886) (hereafter Letters of the Martyrs), p.46.

With Foxe's work, and later Henry Bull's Letters of the Martyrs, Day cornered the market in English Protestant martyrological writing. Day's production of Foxe's huge work smothered all other English competition, putting an end to what could otherwise have been an open market for printers of smaller, ephemeral English martyrological works.[1] The Acts and Monuments was immediately received as the authoritative and indispensable work on the English martyrs; it not only dominated the market, it expanded it, as demand for Foxe's work steadily grew. Thanks to the patent granting exclusive rights to works printed at his expense, Day created yet another prized monopoly. Day now owned a franchise, which like Manchester United, would dominate its field for decades.

Like Manchester United, however, the franchise cost a lot to maintain and the price was inevitably passed on to the consumer. Contemporaries complained about the overwhelming size and cost of the book. In 1563, William Turner, an eminent divine, wrote to Foxe stating that some of the "poorer sort" found the book to be exceedingly expensive.[2] Likewise John Knox, writing around 1566, complained that the Acts and Monuments 'for the great price therof, is rare to be had'.[3] Turner suggested to Foxe ways in which he might reduce the size of the book and, years later, another friend of Foxe's somewhat tactlessly voiced his hope, to Foxe, that the work would be 'abridged,

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1. See Evenden and Freeman (forthcoming).

2. BL, MS. Harley 416, fo.132. See below, p.205.

3. BL, MS. Harley 416, fo.132r.

and also enlarged, when you shall be gone to Christ'.[1] As we shall see, the expense of producing the Acts and Monuments would cause Day grave concern with the next edition.[2]

Another problem was that some of those 'persecutors' of Protestants mentioned in Foxe's book complained directly to Day about their negative portrayal in the work. In the second edition of the Acts and Monuments (1570) Foxe later recounted an incident that occurred shortly after the 1563 edition had been issued. In the 1563 edition, Foxe had related that Justice Drayner of Kent had persecuted one Doddes, a young man in his town to whom he had taken a decided dislike. Determined to defame the man, Drayner claimed he was a heretic. In order to prove his suspicions about the young man, Drayner had hid himself in the rood loft of the local church and drilled nine holes through the roof to try and see whether or not the young man venerated the host during the sacrament. Foxe dubbed him 'Justice Nine Holes' for this action. In 1570 Foxe subsequently reissued the attack on Drayner in the second edition and recounts what happened when Drayner sought to complain:

> It so fell out, that since this was published, the sayde Drayner came to the Printers house, with other associate, demaunding: Is Foxe here? To whom answere was geven, that maister Foxe was not within. Is the Printer within (quoth Drayner)? It was aunswered, yea: where upon being required to come up into the house, was asked what his will was. Mary, sayth he, you haue printed me false in your booke: why sayth the Printer is not you name M. Drayner, otherwise called

1. BL. MS. Harley 425, fo. 135r.

2. See below, pp.137-139.

> Justice nine holes? It is false sayth he: I made but v. with great Augure, and the Parson made the rest. It was answered: I haue not read that a justice shoulde make him a place in the Roode loft to see if the people held up theyr handes. He sayd where as you alleadge, that I did it to see who adored [th]e sacrament, or who not is vntrue: for I set as litle by it, as the best of you all. In dede, sayth the Prynter, so we vnderstand now, for you being at supper in Cheapside among certaine honest company, and there burdened with the matter, sayd then, that you did it rather to looke upon fayre wenches, then other wise. He being in great rage, swore to the purpose, saying: Can a man speake nothing, but you must haue vndersta[n]ding therof? But sayth he, did I any man any hurt? It was aunswered that hee meant litle good to M. Doddes aforesayd, especially procuring a secret witnesse behinde his doore, to catche some wordes that might tend to Doddes destruction. Whiche thing, Drayner swore, as before, was not true. To who[m] the printer replied, that it was most true, for that the party there secretly hidden, hath since vpon his knees, asking forgeuenesse for his intent, confessed the same to Doddes himselfe. I will hang that knaue sayth he: And so he departed in a rage: and since is deceased, whose death & order therof, I referre to the secret Judge.[1]

Their discussion there reveals something about Day's prominent role in creating the Acts and Monuments.[2] Day clearly kept on top of local gossip, which he mined for information for Foxe's book. It should be remembered that Day was only the printer, not the author, but was clearly as keen in his own right to assist in the acquiring of information for Foxe's book.[3] The passage also reveals that Day took pride in the work and was a hard man to intimidate. Day, the zealous Protestant and victim of Marian

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[1] AM [1570], p. 2002. People also turned up at the print shop to provide information. See Isobel Malt, p. 1772.

[2] The passage also tells us something of the layout of the print room. Drayner is invited up into the house, indicating that the print room was at ground level.

[3] Those alleged to have overheard Drayner's boasting were in the vicinity of one of Day's bookshops in Cheapside and would no doubt have been 'rewarded' for any titbits of information they could provide.

persecution himself, was happy to humiliate such men for their actions, whether they were dead or alive. Nevertheless, the need to be on guard against people adversely mentioned in the book was very real – two libel suits arose directly out of the Acts and Monuments – and was a further disadvantage to being the printer of the work.[1]

The loss of time

A less obvious but important cost Day incurred in producing the Acts and Monuments was the time it had taken from other aspects of his business. The printing of Day's large edition of the complete works of Thomas Becon was one such casualty of the time Day devoted to Foxe's book.[2] The preliminaries of the work vary in date from 1562 to 1563 across different copies, and some copies have the date hand corrected from 1562 to 1563. Volume one is dated 1560, whereas the back of volume three is dated 1563. The picture of Day included in the volume is dated 1562, whereas the picture of Becon is dated 1560. The final volume is dated 1564.

This confusion appears to have been due to the work being halted while Day worked on Foxe's Acts and Monuments. The picture of Becon dated 1560 was

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1. On the suits and the tensions that arose from contemporaries being unfavourably mentioned in the AM, see, Tom Freeman, 'Fate, Faction, and Fiction in Foxe's Book of Martyrs' in Historical Journal (2000, no. 43), pp.601-23.

2. STC 1710. The worckes of Thomas Becon, whiche he hath hytherto made and published, with diuerse other newe bookes added (referred to hereafter as The Complete Works of Becon).

commissioned when work started on the edition. Work certainly commenced on Volume I in 1560 but halted at some point that year. The introductory list of works included in the front of the edition (and so printed last) indicates the works 'newly made and set forth' in the collected works. These works include, curiously, the last two works in Volume I, none in Volume II and all of Volume III. Towards the end of Volume I there is an irregularity in the signatures, where the gatherings run from Sig.YY(1-6) to Sig.AAai (only) to Sig.ZZ(2-6) to Sig.BBb(1-6). The single-sheet AAa signature is misnamed (it should have the signature ZZi) and there are no subsequnet AAa signatures to precede the Sig.BBb gathering. The catchwords on Sig.YY5v - Sig. YY6r, Sig.YY6v - Sig.AAa.ir, Sig.AA.i.v - Sig.ZZ.iir, and Sig.ZZ6v - BBb.ir (all consecutive) are all incorrect. There is a heavily varied mix of paper used around these gatherings, which steady begins to improve (although is still not of a markedly good quality) from the BBb gathering onwards. Therefore what appears to have happened is this. Work began on Volume I and possibly Volume II in 1560. For some reason work was halted in Volume I around the above mentioned gatherings. Volume III was printed 1563-4 and the whole work was issued in 1564. As the paper at the end of Volume I appears to improve we have clue as to why work might have been halted: the paper was needed to finish Foxe's work.[1] The November dating in the back of the third volume (printed last) dates the work after Foxe's book was completed. Two presses could have been working simultaneously on Volumes I and II pre-Foxe. Work was halted to commence full-time printing on Foxe's book and then recommenced after it was completed. The divisions of paper and errors towards the end of Volume I could have occurred when work was

[1] The paper used at the start of the Complete Works of Becon matches that towards the end of the second edition of Foxe's book [1570].

halted in the middle of the new Catechism and then resumed at a later date to complete Becon's version of the Catechism and include his new work on Matrimony. Clearly Foxe's work took precedence over the collected works of Becon. This may have been due to the insistence of William Cecil or other authorities, anxious to see the Acts and Monuments completed. Foxe's work would have been even longer in the making if Foxe and Cecil had to wait until Day had completed all of the work still required on Becon's works.

This was not the only work put on hold. In the winter of 1560-1, Day ceased work on another fairly costly book, the Certaine notes set in foure and three parts and he did not return to it until 1565. Day had been turning down new projects for a considerable amount of time. In 1560, for example, Day had declined to print Thomas Tallis' Dorian Service having originally agreed to do so.[1] As Day printed a full service by Thomas Caustun that same year, it is likely that Tallis simply did not complete the work in time for Day's submission deadline.[2] The work would never be published by Day, quite probably because by the time Tallis did get the work ready, Day was completely engaged with printing the first edition of the Acts and Monuments. In addition, from 1560 onwards, Day was increasingly reluctant to take on new work.[3]

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[1] See Peter Philips, English Sacred Music, 1549-1649 (Gimmel, Oxford, 1991), p. 400.

[2] This was a recurring theme, as Day often voiced his complaints about the speed at which work was produced and forwarded to him for printing. See below, p.161. There were very good reasons why Day had to stick rigorously to deadlines set and those who missed them would pay the price.

[3] Music printing would have taken the longest to print, owing to the time it took the compositor to set the musical type. Therefore, once Day had an idea when work on printing the AM would begin, he would have been reluctant to take on any large music projects, for fear of any delay.

This refusal of new work and turning down of authors and musicians was the collateral damage caused by Day's printing of Foxe's book. Day printed music by Tallis for Parker's metrical Psalter in 1567, but unless commissioned by an influential patron, Day does not seem to have attracted the major musicians of the day to his press after he committed his presses to the first edition of Foxe's martyrology. Thomas Tallis was an influential man of the Chapel Royal and could have influenced the choice of printer made by other musicians there. Turning down Tallis's Dorian Service appears, therefore, to have had a negative effect of his business. Day's printing of Wythorne's Songes in 1571 indicates an attempt by Day to move toward secular music printing, but this proved unsuccessful.[1]

After the release of Foxe's book, Day returned to printing some smaller works, such as a few sermons and decrees, and he also made a brief return to printing works on medicine and health.[2] Yet the paucity in number of these smaller works and the few commissions by lesser known authors or divines than John Foxe is marked after 1563. It is also noticeable in the smaller, post-Acts and Monuments works printed by Day is the poor quality of their paper and their printing. It is possible that these works were farmed out to assigns and neglected by Day but whatever the reason, these smaller works do show a lack of care in their printing. The poor quality paper is also probably due to

1. Whythorne appears to have been forced to wait for his work to be printed until work on the second edition of Foxe's martyrology was finished. See below, pp.161-162.

2. These smaller works include a sermon by John Foxe, A brief exhortation, fruitfull and meete to be read, in this heauy tyme of Gods visitation in London, to suche as be Sicke, where the Ministers do lacke, or otherwise cannot be present to comfort them (STC 11230,1564), a reissue of Euonymus (STC 11800, 1565), and a copy of sermon by Grindal, bishop of London, a funeral solemnitie of Prince Ferdinand (STC 12377, 1564).

Day's inability to replenish his stock of decent quality paper after exhausting it on Foxe's work. The first edition of the Acts and Monuments had not only cost Day time and money, but it had also strained his resources, especially his supply of paper.

What we see then after the first edition of the Acts and Monuments is a shift in Day's agenda as a printer. Day clearly channelled most of his energies and funds into printing the more expensive works. Peter Martir Vermigli's Most fruitfull & learned Co[m]mentaries on the book of Judges (dated 28 September 1564) is not only dedicated to Robert Dudley, but its very high quality suggests that it was printed under Dudley's auspices.[1] Vermigli's Com[m]entaries reuse some of the quality woodcuts from the Cosmographical Glasse and also contain the portrait from the Acts and Monuments that would also be used in the collected works of Becon. What we see here is a quality, expensive, superbly executed piece of printing dedicated to an important and influential patron. The smaller works, mentioned above, do not have such dedications and subsequently do not show any real signs of care and attention on Day's part. The large, expensive works were unlikely to sell well, due to their cost, but they provided Day with the favour of the patron sponsoring him. The commentary on Judges, it should be remembered, was dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, the very member of Elizabeth's court that had sealed Day's monopoly on the works that would sustain Day while he printed the larger works. This commentary is the harbinger of such large works as the Archaionomia, Bullinger's sermons and the Perfecte Arte of Navigation that were sponsored by leading figures in church and state.

[1] STC 24670.

Music Printing and Thomas Caustun

Apart from patronage and commercial considerations, there were other reasons why Day would print a work. An important exception to Day's general lack of involvement in printing musical works outside of the Metrical Psalms, was his printing of the works of Thomas Caustun, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal about 1560. Like so many others, Caustun's work appears to have been delayed by the production of the Acts and Monuments. In 1560 Day had commenced work on Certaine notes set in fowre and three parts. Peter Philips suggests that the work was originally issued in 1560 and then reissued in 1565.[1] However, Kenneth Long eruditely observes that although work commenced on the edition in 1560, production was halted and the work was not subsequently completed until 1565.[2] Long mistakenly suggests this hiatus was due to an uncertain 'political and religious climate' but, as we now know, it was more likely to have been waiting in the queue for Day to print the Acts and Monuments and the works of Becon.

The Certain notes is an unusual work for a number of reasons. For one thing, no other printer produced compilations of church service music along the lines of this work, which covers music for various Anglican services. Day's Certain notes includes six anthems that also appear another set of music books, the Wanley part books (GB-Ob

1. Philips, English Sacred Music, p. 8.

2. Kenneth R. Long, The Music of the English Church (Hodder and Stoughton, 1971), p. 65.

MS Mus. Sch. E. 420-2). The Wanley books, Day's Certain notes, along with another set, the Lumley books (GB-Lbl Roy. App. 74-6), make up the earliest surviving sources for part-book music. These anthems also occur in John Heath's Communion Service.[1] All of the pieces contained in Certain notes are simple, four-part setting and around half of them are for men's voices only. There are two complete services for men's voices (which include the Venite) and one for MATB (Mean, Alto, Tenor and Bass). There are two Evening Services set for men's voices, a Lord's Prayer, Litany and a few Offertories. The work includes no pieces by Christopher Tye or Thomas Morley, which is unusual, as their settings were among the most popular for such music during this period. The work does, however, contain 27 pieces by Thomas Caustun.

While Day printed only a few works by Tallis and other influential musicians, he zealously printed the work of Caustun, and in fact, Day is the only printer for all but one of his pieces of music.[2] Yet Caustun's rudimentary musical style is often criticised as being significantly inferior to his contemporaries, such as Tallis, Morley and Tye. In 1560 Day had turned down Tallis and printed Caustun instead (although his decision was probably swayed by Tallis missing Day's deadline). Day's premier collection of church music, the Certain notes was dominated by the work of Caustun. So why did Day go to such lengths for a mediocre musician, especially as Caustun appeared to hold no connections through patronage that would be beneficial to Day?

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1. See Philips, English Sacred Music, pp. 8-10.

2. Caustun's Yield unto God is in the Chirk Manuscripts in New York Public Library.

The explanation lies in what Caustun did for Day, and what he did appears to have been Day's music proof-reading. Guaranteed publication as part payment or perk of the job would have been a good reward for engaging his services, as music proof-readers were hard to come by. Further evidence to suggest Caustun as Day's proof-reader lies in the fact that there is no 'posthumous' edition of Caustun's work to indicate that Day considered him a good musician irrespective of his services to Day.

Day's dependence on Caustun and his specialised skills as a musical proof-reader is suggested by an ingenious, albeit somewhat desperate, innovation to which he resorted when Caustun died. Day devised a highly practical method of printing psalm books that would allow the works to require no music proof-reading: the use of woodblocks which replicated the entire musical score to a psalm. This radical departure from accepted practice was probably a response to Day's loss of a reliable music proof-reader.

And in fact, the woodcuts were only used by Day in 1569. The fact that such an ingenious measure was not repeated suggests that Day must have come under considerable pressure from either his own staff, other printers or, more likely both, not to use the blocks. It should be remembered that many printers complained about the vast profits Day was making on Psalm books.[1] Any device that further increased the profit and threatened the work of the compositors – who would no longer be required to set the musical type – would have proved highly unpopular. It was not until 1572 that Day

[1] See Oastler, John Day, pp.23-4 on the complaints about Day's profits from psalm books.

bought new, suitable moveable type for these small psalm books (he had previously used the larger part-book type in these editions but it looked clumsy in such a small format).[1] The woodcuts may have solved the problem of proof-reading but their continued use would have made Day too many additional enemies within and outside of his business.

Letters of the Martyrs

Day had a similar relationship with Henry Bull. The researches of Professor Susan Wabuda and Tom Freeman have demonstrated that Henry Bull, a close friend of Foxe's who had gone into hiding during Mary's reign, was the anonymous editor of the Certain most godly, fruitful, and comfortable letters of such true Saintes and holy Martyrs of God, as in the late bloodye persecution here within this realme... (otherwise referred to as the Letters of the Martyrs), printed in 1564. Many of the letters in this work would be incorporated, unchanged, into Foxe's Acts and Monuments. In fact Day announced his intention to print a second edition of the Acts and Monuments in Bull's Letters of the Martyrs.[2] Fortunately for us, the survival of the original letters marked up by Bull, as well as the 'cast offs' (those with printing instructions) shed a great deal of light on the printing process in Day's shop.[3]

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1. See above, pp. 79-80. These later editions used solfège syllables prior to the note heads.

2. See Susan Wabuda, 'Henry Bull, Miles Coverdale, and the Making of Foxe's Book of Martyrs' in Diana Wood (ed.), Martyrs and Martyrology (Studies in Church History, no. 30, Blackwell, 1993), pp.245-58.

Bull's editing and marking-up of the text was meticulous, almost to the point of being obsessive. He often provides synonyms or changes the word order to make a line read better, even though it does not change the content of the passage. Bull used many symbols to indicate his instructions to the compositor over the layout and even content of the text. Some of the symbols on the surviving letters in Emmanuel College Library may have been made by John Day himself, as one hand matches surviving samples of Day's handwriting.[1] The following hand-written symbols occur regularly throughout the 'cast offs':

placed next to where a cut in the text should begin and end

usually indicates a new paragraph requiring an indentation to the text

marks an important or problem passage that requires further examination

the circle through the ivy leaf indicates that the passage has been dealt with

used to mark the first and last sheet of an individual portion of copy text

[1] Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zürich, MS E II 377, Nr. 2584.

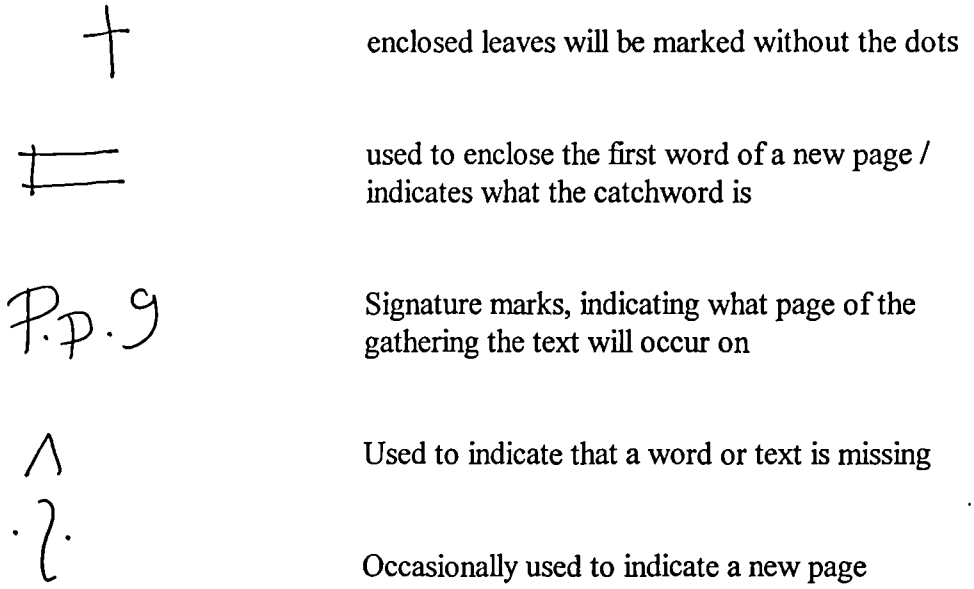

Figure 10. Sample of printers' marks used by Day and Bull on the original letters of the Marian martyrs

Particularly interesting are marks that provide clear indications that there was a shortage of paper for the Letters of the Martyrs. Not only was the paper of a poor quality, text is often squeezed onto the bottom of a page in order to save space.[1] The headings of the different letters appear to have been placed last by the compositor. Bull indicated to the compositor where the first main paragraph of the body of the text should occur by writing the line number on the original beneath the opening salutations. For example, if it began 26 lines down the page, the number '26' would be placed under

[1] See, for example, ECL MS 262, fo.140r and Letters of the Martyrs, pp.319-21 for the instruction to use italic type (which is much smaller than that used elsewhere in the text).

For example, if it began 26 lines down the page, the number '26' would be placed under the opening salutations and/or prayer. This allowed the compositor to set the most important section of the page, the content of the letter, before choosing how big a type he could use for the title.[2] When the end of one letter was directly followed by a new letter on the same page, the position of the last line was indicated by the appropriate line number on the manuscript copy.[3] Often when space is scarce, the titles and farewells of letters are in much smaller type than that used in the early stages of the work.[4] This close attention to the layout of the text exemplifies how precious paper was to Day, particularly in the aftermath of the first edition of the Acts and Monuments.[5] Another major concern, demonstrated by the annotations of Bull and the works in Day's printshop, was for clear, legible copy-text. Bull often rewrote letters in order to provide copy that was easier to read than the originals, which were often written in circumstances not conducive to legibility. Slip cancels were often added when the printer's instructions had become messy or unreadable. These small sheets of paper,

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1. See, for example, ECL MS 262, fo.140r and Letters of the Martyrs, pp.319-21 for the instruction to use italic type (which is much smaller than that used elsewhere in the text).

1. See, for example, ECL Ms. 262 fo.58v. where the number '18' is placed below the opening salutations. The body of the letter starts on line 18 of p.560 of the Letters of the Martyrs.

2 ibid., where the letter ends on line 30 of the printed edition, so the number '30' has been written at the end of the letter on the manuscript.

3 See above, p.122, n.1.

4. The Letters of the Martyrs may well have been another project that was held up while Foxe's work was being printed.

pasted down the left-hand side were attached to the copy-text in order to clarify exactly what Bull wanted printing. The same techniques were then used by Day and Foxe for letters that were included in Day's second edition (1570) of the Acts and Monuments.[1]

Political Protection and Patronage

Towards the end of Day's first term as Warden of the Stationers' Company, in 1564-5, there were a number of primers printed illicitly that infringed Day's monopoly.[2] It appears that these primers came to Day's attention just as his wardenship came to a close, and so Day would have made his concerns known to the new wardens, William Seres, his former partner, and James Goneld.[3] Yet Seres (possibly still smarting from Day's encroachment on his patents) and Goneld appear to have taken no action against these clandestine printers. A few months into the wardenship of Seres and Goneld, Day was fined for 'mysvsyng of master Warden'.[4] What exactly is meant by this cryptic passage is uncertain (the phrase does not occur elsewhere among the fines). Day had got into an altercation with one of the wardens, whether the abuse given was verbal or physical, is unclear. Probably the 'misusing' is connected to Day's desire for the wardens

1. See Evenden and Freeman (forthcoming).

2. See Arber, I, 348. Day was Warden of the Stationer's Company four times (1564, 1566, 1571 and 1575) and Master in 1580.

3. ibid, I, p.283.

4 ibid, I, p.316.

to deal with the piracy problem. What is certain is that as soon as Day returned to office the following year he made sure that he dealt with the problem.

In 1566 Day took over wardenship with Richard Jugge. At the behest of the Privy Council, Day and Jugge appointed two men to search out the printers of illicit texts and the sellers of pirated books.[1] Had Day used his connections with the Privy Council to his advantage? It seems likely, as Day would have surely told some in authority of his concerns over piracy. The man who worked for the regime was now having the regime work to his advantage. The two men that were chosen for the task of investigating book piracy were both printers: Hugh Singleton (Day's successor as City Printer) and Thomas Purfoot. Clearly their search took them far and wide, as they are paid £5 for their travels in the quest for illicit books.[2]

Ironically it was Thomas Purfoot, one of the two hand-picked investigators who was responsible for printing the illicit primers and therefore stealing from Day. It is more than likely that Day knew Purfoot was responsible and placed Purfoot in charge of the investigation in order to watch him squirm. The declaration of fines given to illicit printers and booksellers listed in the Stationers' Register lays heavy emphasis upon the clandestine activities of Thomas Purfoot. The six other printers that were fined for their actions were listed simply by their name the amount of their fine. Purfoot's crime gets a whole paragraph, describing his actions in detail:

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[1] Arber, I, p.322.

[2] Arber notes that 'the amount evidently implies a long and continuous search'. Arber, I, p.347.

> A fyne recevyd of Thomas purfoote for that he Ded sell premers to the haberdashers as was Justly proved in anno 1565 as yt Doth more plainly apere by a Decre noted amongeste the boke of copyes and furthermore to brynge in one suffycynt suert for one hundreth pounde as yt Doth apere in theboke afore sayd be sydes the fyne. [1]

The severity of Purfoot's crime is reflected in the fine of £6 12 s. 4d., the largest fine to be issued as a result of this exception[2]. The date given for the initial discovery of Purfoot's crimes is interesting, as it appears to suggest that Day knew of Purfoot's activities prior to appointment to search out illicit books. The humiliation of Purfoot was a warning shot across the bows of any other printers that might dare to falsely imprint the works for which Day held the patent.

Purfoot's piracy was not the only problem facing Day's retention of his printing monopolies. He needed to be assured that his patents for the primers and Metrical Psalms would be renewed. Here again William Cecil came to Day's assistance. In a letter written to Cecil around 1568 Foxe made several requests of Cecil.[3] Most importantly, Foxe asked that Day's monopoly in printing the Psalms in English be renewed 'because it is the sole means by which his household is sustained'.[4] Day's

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1. Arber, I, p.348.

2. ibid.

3. See Evenden and Freeman (forthcoming), for Foxe's request to Cecil for assistance in waving the laws governing foreign workmen.

4. BL, Lansdowne 10, fo. 211v.

patents were indeed renewed, allowing Day to focus his attention on much larger projects. Though these large, expensive works were financially dangerous for Day, they were printed for the benefit of influential patrons. In return, these influential patrons secured Day's financial security and status.

Innovations in Type

The most important and technically difficult works commissioned from Day in this period were AElfric's A Testimonie of Antiquitie (1567) and William Lambarde's edition of the Archaionomia (1568).[1] The first work was a collection of works by AEfric's writings, including two sermons on the Eucharist and settings of the Lord's Prayer and Creed.[2] The second, a treatise on English law, contains numerous Anglo-

1. STC 159 and STC 15142 respectively.

2. In the Preface to the first of these works AElfric's A Testimonie of Antiquitie (1567), most likely written by John Joscelyn, Parker's Latin Secretary, and Anglo-Saxon scholar, Joscelyn discussed the copy-texts chosen by Parker for his 'Anglo-Saxon revival' and how such works came to be printed. In a great 'searching out of books' commissioned by Parker, to recover manuscripts and books lost as a result of the dissolution of the monasteries and the subsequent dispersal of thousands of manuscripts across the country, there was one text that particularly caught the Archbishop's eye. In Worcester Cathedral a manuscript was discovered that was in both Latin and Anglo-Saxon, in which some crucial portions of the text had been erased. This 'corruption', Joscelyn explained, was 'bewrayed' by another text discovered in the same library which contained the same passages in Anglo-Saxon without the erasures. Another copy of the same text (in both Anglo-Saxon and Latin) was discovered in Exeter Cathedral, which likewise facilitated in the comprehension of what passages had been erased elsewhere. The text that had been doctored was on the Eucharist, and appeared to refute the Catholic belief in transubstantiation. In the Testimonie of Antiquitie the erased text is presented in English, Latin and Anglo-Saxon, with the marginal note "No transubstantiation". See Benedict Scott Robinson, 'John Foxe and the Anglo-Saxon' in Christopher Highley and John N. King (eds.), John Foxe and his World (Ashgate, 2002), pp.54-72.

Saxon documents. The problem was that there was no Anglo-Saxon type to print these documents in existence at the time. Parker commissioned Day to get a new Anglo-Saxon sorts cut in 1566, at some considerable cost.[1] Peter Lucas estimates that the provision of both the two styles and sizes required, a Great Primer Anglo-Saxon and a Pica Anglo-Saxon, would have cost Day (and therefore Parker) in the region of the £200. Lucas notes that the 'number of special sorts he had made for Anglo-Saxon is larger than the number of special sorts made for any other languages for which special sorts were provided', such as Irish or Welsh.[2] Nothing on this scale with foreign characters had been previously attempted in English printing.

Ever since John Strype's appraisal of the working relationship between John Day and Matthew Parker, so much emphasis has been placed on Parker as Day's patron that it has obscured the importance of the patronage of other influential figures such as William Cecil and Robert Dudley.[3] Oastler points out that there 'is no evidence at Lambeth Palace or amongst Archbishop Parker's papers at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to support the picture of him as Day's patron.'[4] Oastler acknowledges that Strype's over-emphasis of the relationship between the two men is based purely on assistance Parker gave to Day in a dispute over a bookshop, which will be dealt with in

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1. Sorts are individual pieces of type. They produced the individual Anglo-Saxon characters not found in the Latin alphabet.

2. Peter Lucas, 'Parker, Lambarde and the Provision of Special Sorts for Printing Anglo-Saxon in the Sixteenth Century', Journal of the Printing Historical Society, no. 28, 1999, pp. 44-5.

3. John Strype, The Life and Acts of Matthew Parker, 2nd ed. II (London, 1821), pp.113-4.

4. Oastler, John Day, p. 19.

Chapter 7 and a letter regarding a work Day printed by Clerke that will be dealt with in Chapter 6.[1] Moreover, Convocation's decree ordering that the Acts and Monuments be placed in every Cathedral and in the houses of senior clergy was inspired by the Privy Council and not, as has been commonly assumed, by Archbishop Parker.[1.]

Anglo-Saxon was being used as a tool by Parker (and Foxe) to assert the 'ecclesiastical pedigree' of the English Protestant church.[2] Parker provided Day with new type in order to print the documents which 'proved' his argument. Works such as AElfric's A Testimonie of Antiquitie and even more particularly, Lambarde's Archaionomia, were almost guaranteed not to sell. Yet in return for printing these great projects on behalf of Parker, Day demonstrated his ability to carry out specialised printing tasks on behalf of the authorities and won the good will of yet another leading figure in the Elizabethan regime. The pattern of printing expensive and big books for the authorities and Day's receiving of concessions for doing so, continued to dominate Day's work in the coming years, as we shall soon see.

At around the same time as he acquired his new Anglo-Saxon special sorts, Day acquired some new music type made by Robert Granjon. Throughout his career, Robert Granjon cut three music faces that were about 7mm tall. The first to occur in the mid-

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1. See below, p.153.

2 See Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, 'Print and Propaganda: The Elizabethan Privy Council and the 1570 edition of John Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" in English Historical Review (forthcoming).

3. Peter J. Lucas, 'Parker, Lambarde, and the Provision of Special Sorts', p.42.

1560s and was mainly used around Paris[1]. The second used distinctive round note head and was used mainly in music books printed by Granjon himself. The third became the most popularly used music type in early modern music, and it first made its appearance in 1565 in a psalm book printed in Ghent by Gislain Manilus and in Jean Fruytier's Ecclesiasticus printed by Willem Silvius that same year. In 1567 the face appeared in a Dutch Psalm book of Danthenus, printed by a Dutch immigrant printer in Norwich, called Anthony de Solemne.[2] The type used by de Solemne occurs John Day's Dutch Psalms the following year. Day seems to have somehow taken advantage of this new type being available for sale after de Solemne's retirement from printing. It may have been brought to his attention by John Parkhurst, who knew of de Solemne's activities through the returns of aliens requested by Parker in 1568, or through one of Day's connections with the Dutch community in London. Day's innovations in type were one of the major technical achievements and one of the major contributions to English printing. The other one was the advances he made in English book illustration.

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1. See, for example, Jean-Paul Paladin's Premier livre de tableture (Lyon, 1560).

2. De Solemne had arrived in Norwich in 1567 and printed for a short time before switching to a life importing wines from the Rheine. See William J. C. Moens, The Walloons and their Church at Norwich: Their History and Registers 1565-1832 (Lymington, 1887-8), pp.23, 71-72. William K. Session and David Stoker, The First Printers in Norwich from 1567 (Ebor Press, York, 1987).

Day's Technical Achievements: Improvements in Book Illustration

In 1568 Day printed a book of poems and prose by Jan van der Noot first in Dutch and then shortly afterward in French. They are neatly printed small books, although the illustrations suffer a little from having been badly positioned on the page. The work(s) include twenty illustrations on the right-hand page of the main section of the text, the text itself occurring on the left-hand side. Edward Hodnett and Margaret Aston suggest that these one-per-page illustrations were done by the same illustrator who worked on another set of illustrations for Day, some of which made there way into Day's forthcoming luxury works.[1] These illustrations were new and their style was like nothing else seen before in Day's works.

As we saw in Chapter 4, Day had employed the services of foreign workmen to provide not only his type but his illustrations also. John Bettes, for example, provided the handsome illustrations to William Cunningham's Cosmographical Glasse, but as Bettes had died at some point prior to 1563 Day needed to look elsewhere for his supply of quality illustrations for his prized expensive works. As is often the case during the early modern period, it is not possible to identify the illustrator of many of Day's works with any certainty, but there are at least some indications and similarities between cuts that can be drawn together to provide some clues.

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[1] See Hodnett Iamge and Text, p.40; Aston, The King's Bedpost, pp.167-8.

They often reveal also the common themes that authors (or Day himself) desired to be illustrated, as shall be discussed shortly.

In 1567 Day was in a position to use his connections with the Stranger Communities in London to his advantage. That year Day returned to printing works for the Dutch community and could therefore have made new connections that brought the Granjon type into his possession.[1] He had created powerful links within the foreign community, and he was highly respected among them. (In 1561, Utenhove had praised Day's piety as being 'sufficiently well known' among the Dutch).[2] During the 1560s Day was in a position to hire the best of the foreign journeymen that came to London, he had the connections and the financial capability (thanks to the monopolies) to hire the best men for the job. 1568 was the same year that Foxe made a request to Cecil that the law limiting the number of foreign workmen aloud to work for a printer to four be lifted for Day. This request was made by Foxe, no doubt, to facilitate Day's printing of the second edition of Foxe's Acts and Monuments. In terms of book illustration, the most important connection he would make would be with Marcus Gheeraerts the elder, whom Day made contact with in the late 1560s. Gheeraerts became Day's new illustrator for these Dutch works. He may also have provided the illustrations to other works printed by Day during this period. Marcus Gheeraerts the elder had fled to England from

1. See Krummel, p.50.

2. STC 2739, Sig.A.ijv.

Bruges in March 1568.[1] Gheeraerts had already established his reputation as an eminent artist before his arrival in London and his skills were naturally suited to book illustration (of which he had already had some experience).[2] It was Gheeraerts who provided the illustrations to Day's editions of Jan van der Noot's Het Theatre in the autumn of 1568. Aston notes similarities between Gheeraerts' illustration, Allegory of Iconoclasm made in 1566 with a series of etchings made for Day used in a work dated 1569.[3]

In 1569 John Day published Stephen Bateman's A christall glasse of christian reformation, wherein the godly maye beholde the coloured abuses used in this our present time (hereafter referred to as A Christall Glasse).[4] It is possible that Gheeraerts provided the thirty-seven illustrations for this work.[5] Similarities occur within these woodcuts and other illustrations confirmed to be the work of Gheeraerts. For example, the small houses that appear decked with papal banners and crosses in Gheeraerts' Allegory of Iconoclasm resemble

1. See Hodnett, ibid., pp. 38-40.

2. Aston, The King's Bedpost, p. 167.

3. Aston, ibid, pp. 168-171.

4. STC 1581. Bateman was a Cambridge scholar who became chaplain to Archbishop Parker. Bateman had become a ravenous searcher out of books and manuscripts on Parker's behalf, and was probably introduced to Day during Day's work for Parker in restoring these lost documents, such as those in Anglo-Saxon, to the world in print. John Venn (ed.), Alumni Cantabrigiensis (Cambridge University Press, 1922), p.106.

4. Hodnett, Image and Text, p. 40.

houses in illustrations occurring in Bateman's work.[1] Whoever illustrated Bateman's work, he did not leave any substantial clues, such as initials, to confirm their identity.[2] This lack of evidence illustrates the problems in identifying many of the master craftsmen employed within the printing industry.

The availability of skilled workmen from abroad is one reason why Day was able to improve English book illustration. Illustrations had also lagged in England because their potential usefulness had not been realised. One of Day's major achievements was to show the impact that works that were largely collections of visual images could have. A perfect example of Day's use of illustrations to enhance the visual impact of a work, is Stephen Bateman's A Christall Glasse. Here the images depict abstract ideas or concepts in a way that even the most unsophisticated of readers is readily able to grasp. In producing works like this Day truly was a pioneer and his illustration of the Acts and Monuments was one of the great contributions to the success of that work.

In fact many of the woodcuts in Bateman's Christall Glasse display similarities with woodcuts made for Foxe's Acts and Monuments, the second volume of which was issued only

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1. Aston compares the houses in the Allegory with those in the depiction of Wisdom in Bateman's work. See Aston, The King's Bedpost, pp. 171.
1. Compare this with the illustrator of Christian Prayers ('Queen Elizabeth's Prayer Book', STC 6429, 1578), who took great pains (and ingenuity) in incorporating his initials into the design. Even here though, we know nothing more of the illustrator other than his initials, 'C.I.'.

column.[1] In the second edition Day included 65 large woodcuts, including 47 from the first edition and 18 new ones. These are accompanied by 39 smaller woodcuts, most of which are one column's width, including 51 repeats of these smaller, one-column pieces. Day reused the frame for the title, the capital initial 'C' and his portrait.[2]

The work is a magnificent display of graphic illustration. The most impressive section of which, it could be argued, is the series of eleven woodcuts deriding the Papacy.[3] This series of large cuts, annexed to the unnumbered section at the end of the sixth book at the end of Volume I and appear to be by a different illustrator to those appearing in the main body of the work.[4] These are among some of the most visually impressive cuts to appear in Foxe. Their vivid images tell a story in themselves without even having the need to access the text. For example, the scene of Emperor Frederick kissing the foot of the pope, is in itself a very vivid piece of allegory.[5] These cuts clearly intended to hold the reader's attention for more than a passing glance. The same is also true of the even larger fold-out woodcuts added to the text.

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1. c. 65 x 97mm. ibid.

2. See Hodnett, Image and Text, pp. 31-2.

3. See ibid., p. 37. Also, Laborsky and Ingram, pp. 366, 374-45, 376-77.

4. See Hodnett, Image and Text, p. 37.

5. Sig.NN.2v. See Luborsky and Ingram, ibid., p. 377, Aston, The King's Bedpost, p.152. See also Zelia Nuttall,New Light on Drake: A collection of documents relatingto his voyage of circumnavigation, 1577-80 (Hackluyt Society, New Series, 34, 1914), p.348, which recounts how Drake showed the cut to Simon di Moranda (the pastor of Gualto), who could comprehend the meaning of the picture without the need for the text.

large amount provided in the first edition of 1563. For the 1800 or so pages of the 1563 edition, Day had included 53 illustrations, 47 of which are page-wide.[1] Six fill the width of one column.[2] In the second edition Day included 65 large woodcuts, including 47 from the first edition and 18 new ones. These are accompanied by 39 smaller woodcuts, most of which are one column's width, including 51 repeats of these smaller, one-column pieces. Day reused the frame for the title, the capital initial 'C' and his portrait.[3]

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[1] C. 125 x 176mm. See Hodnett, p. 31.

[1.] c. 65 x 97mm. ibid.

[2.] See Hodnett, Image and Text, pp. 31-2.

[3] See ibid., p. 37. Also, Laborsky and Ingram, pp. 366, 374-45, 376-77.

[4] See Hodnett, Image and Text, p. 37.

passing glance. The same is also true of the even larger fold-out woodcuts added to the text. These included that of 'the poisoning of king John by a monke of Swinstead abbie in Lincolnshire', the narrative of King John, and a massive woodcut that detailed the ten persecutions of the church, which was usually removed from the book and used as a poster.[1]

The Second edition of the Acts and Monuments[2]

From the outset, the second edition of Foxe's Acts and Monuments was designed to cover a far greater chronological scope than the first by spanning from the time of the Apostles to the accession of Elizabeth. The result was a gigantic, two-volume folio of around 2300 pages. If this did not strain Day's finances and raw materials enough, Foxe had planned an even larger work than that finally printed. He had intended to include another two enormous sections or appendices. The first was a reprinting of many of the works of the English reformers and second, a word-for-word

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5. Sig.NN.2v. See Luborsky and Ingram, ibid., p. 377, Aston, The King's Bedpost, p.152. See also Zelia Nuttall,New Light on Drake: A collection of documents relatingto his voyage of circumnavigation, 1577-80 (Hackluyt Society, New Series, 34, 1914), p.348, which recounts how Drake showed the cut to Simon di Moranda (the pastor of Gualto), who could comprehend the meaning of the picture without the need for the text.

1. See Luborksy and Ingram, pp.375-82 for a detailed discussion of such cuts.

2. See Evenden and Freeman (forthcoming). For a detailed discussion of the editing of this edition, see Evenden, 'Internal Evidence for the Editing and Proof-Reading of John Foxe's Acts and Monuments' (forthcoming).

account of the trials of non-English Protestant martyrs, followed by a collection of their writings. [1]

Unfortunately Day's paper supply thwarted Foxe's hope to include such material. Although the second edition was designed to be larger in scope from the first, enough paper was only ordered to print another edition of around 1800 pages. Apparently Day thought that the substantial cuts in documentation that were made to the text of the 1563 edition (this in fact was one of Turner's suggestions that was carried out) would compensate for the increased scope of the new edition. In this he was sadly mistaken. One major reason for this was that it was impossible to accurately predict how much material would even be in the book. As we have already seen, material was arriving at Day's print shop that would be included in Foxe's work. Day was not simply dealing with an immense text: he was dealing with a remarkably unstable one.

An examination of the extant copies of the 1570 edition reveals that the paper rapidly diminishes in quality from about page 1800 on (the first edition had been around 1700 pages long). After around page 1800 in the second edition, smaller sheets of writing paper are pasted together to form one large page. These smaller sheets were alternated with the poorer quality sheets up until around page 2050, where the smaller sheets are used almost entirely. Day had, in effect, run out of paper for the edition. The

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3. AM [1570], pp.1903, 1939. For a discussion of this see Evenden and Freeman (forthcoming).

use of smaller sheets not only created additional work for the compositor, it threatened the visual quality of the volume by magnifying the risk of tearing and bleed-through.

The Acts and Monuments was an enormous investment of time and capital by Day. In the second edition of his work Foxe praised Day for his godliness but also for his willingness to risk his own capital in printing large books not guaranteed to make money:

> Although many have sold frivolous nonsense and
> Unadulterated foolishness for a high price
> Do not doubt that you will recoup the great profit you wish,
> Day, even if the Monuments is costing you dear.[1]

The extended length of the second edition extended the risk to Day's capital posed by the increased use of raw materials and man-hours. The second edition of Foxe's book was the largest single work that Day had undertaken. Even allowing for the patents and privileges that made its printing possible, it was an enormous financial gamble. Day had put his reputation and his purse on the line. As the second edition came out, Day must have waited in suspense to see how it would sell.

[1] AM [1570], Sig. *.iiijr.

CHAPTER 6

1570 – 1576: PREMIER PRINTER TO THE PROTESTANT REGIME

Once again, Day turned to his great patron for help. William Cecil took steps to ensure that the time, effort and cost involved in the printing of Foxe's martyrology were repaid.[1] It has been often suggested that Convocation in 1571 recommended that a copy of the Acts and Monuments be placed in every parish church in England.[2] A number of scholars have challenged this assertion, pointing out that the decree of Convocation that year ordered that the Acts and Monuments be placed in every Cathedral church, plus in the halls of residence of all bishops, deans and archdeacons.[3] Yet a recently discovered letter from the Privy Council to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishop of London, dated 27 November 1570, urged that copies be placed in all churches, since Foxe's book was 'very profitable to bringing her majesties subiects into

1. See Evenden and Freeman also (forthcoming).

2. This myth was started by William Prynne's and established by being repeated by John Strype. (See William Prynne, Canterburies Doome (London, 1646) STC [Wing] P3917, p.88 and John Strype, Annals of the Reformation (Oxford, 1829), III, 1, p. 703). I am grateful to Tom Freeman for providing me with these references.

3. The case debunking the myth was made initially by Leslie M. Oliver, 'The Seventh Edition of John Foxe's Acts and Monuments,' The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 37 (1943), pp.245-8. An important recent statement of the argument is Patrick Collinson, 'John Foxe and national consciousness' in Christopher Highley and John N. King, eds., John Foxe and his World, pp.10-36. For the orders of Convocation concerning the Acts and Monuments see Gerald Bray, ed., The Anglican Canons, The Church of England Record Society, vol. 6 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1998), pp.177-9 and 183.

good opynion, understending and dere liking of the present gouernment'.[1] Of course such a suggestion was not really feasible, since Day's presses would find it impossible to produce enough copies of this vast work for the thousands of parish churches in Tudor England. However, the Privy Council's letter probably inspired the more limited and realistic goals of the Convocation decree.[2]

The Council did not only express their belief that the work would be profitable to the Realm; they urged the archbishops to ensure that the work be profitable to John Day as its printer. The letter stresses that Day had 'with his honest travail and great expense published the actes and monuments' and so they commend Day as 'an honest man' to the archbishops.[3] The Privy Council were keen to see that the book not only worked to the benefit of the English Church but also to the benefit of John Day. The letter stands as further proof of William Cecil and Robert Dudley facilitating Day's press and his career.

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1. Borthwick Institute, Institution Act Book 2, part 3, fol. 85r. I am grateful to Dr. Kenneth Fincham for bringing this document to my attention.

2. There was a further limited initiative sent through the Court of Aldermen but probably stemming from the Privy Council. It was ordered on 1 February 1571that a copy be bought for 'orphans courte' and that a copy should be purchased by every guild ('at the charges of their hall') to be 'set vp for every man too see and reade' (Arber, I, 496).

3. Borthwick Institute, Institution Act Book 2, part 3, fol. 85r.

John Foxe's Sermon on Christ Crucified

Another clear sign of official support and approval of the second edition of the Acts and Monuments was the invitation given to Foxe soon after its publication to preach the 1570 Good Friday sermon at Paul's Cross. Preaching from England's most prominent pulpit on the holiest day of the Christian calendar was a single honour. Day moved with considerable speed to print this sermon and underscore the honour done to his friend and colleague. However, while Day's intentions were of the highest, his resources were not.

Printed shortly after the Acts and Monuments, which had more than depleted Day's stock of paper, Foxe's sermon was printed, through necessity, on poor quality paper. The final two pages show that Foxe was probably at Day's shop when this was printed, as Foxe tells the reader that he has noted that the final two pages of the gathering will be blank. Rather than wasting this space, Foxe takes the opportunity to pen an address to the papists.

Once again we see Day printing a work that was not a quest for patronage or for commercial gain, but simply to reward a friend and colleague. Just as Day printed works for Caustun as a reward for the services he provided, so too did Foxe have additional works printed by Day, even though they might

not be guaranteed to sell well. Foxe's work with Day was, however, far more essential to Day's livelihood and reputation than Day's working relationship with any other author. Day's work with Foxe was crucial to Day's financial success and reputation as a printer of quality works.

The 'Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum'[1]

In fact, Day and Foxe collaborated on an important project a year later, in 1571: the first printed edition of a code of canon law, first drawn up in 1553. Foxe dubbed this code the 'Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum'.[2] This was not an antiquarian endeavour: it has been recently argued that this was part of a projected parliamentary reform of the Book of Common Prayer devised by Thomas Norton with Foxe's co-operation. Most importantly for purposes of this thesis, Day must have been involved with this project with full knowledge of and sympathy with its goals.[3]

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1. STC 6006.

2. See Gerald Bray (ed.), Tudor Church Reform: The Henrician Canons of 1535 and the 'Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum' (The Boydell Press, Church of England Record Society, 2000), pp. xv-xxvi, Also, Michael A.R. Graves, Thomas Norton The Parliament Man (Blackwell, 1994), pp.292-95, and Tom Freeman in 'Thomas Norton, John Foxe and the parliament of 1571', Parliamentary History, XVI, pp. 131-47.

3 See, in particular, Tom Freeman in 'Thomas Norton, John Foxe and the parliament of 1571', pp.137, 144.

A key part of the plan involved Day's printing the Reformatio before the opening of Parliament in April 1571.[1] The plan failed and the attempted revision of the Book of Common Prayer never materialised for reasons that are not relevant to this thesis.[1] Here we see Day once again printing a work that offered no hope whatsoever of making a profit. This was not done, however, to impress a patron, but after what appears to have been a genuine religious conviction. It is also worth noting that the partnership with Foxe, which had formed so great a part of Day's career, was still active.

Thomas Norton and the printing of Gorboduc

Day also seems to have had ties with Thomas Norton and to have undertaken the printing of the play Gorboduc, written by Norton and Thomas Sackville, as an act of friendship toward Norton, rather than out of the desire for profit. On Twelfth Night 1562 Gorboduc had been performed at court before the queen. Robert Dudley, Elizabeth's favourite, presided over the revels, and the play was repeated at court shortly afterwards on the 18 January. The Commons had recently raised the issue of Elizabeth's lack of a husband and the threats it imposed to the stability of her realm, due to the lack of an heir.

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[1] ibid., p.142.

[2] For a discussion of the reasons behind this failure, see articles cited in n.3, p.143 above.

Unofficial copies of the play that had circulated in manuscript form and then in an unofficial (and corrupted) printed version. Norton and Sackville had never intended to publish the work, but were distressed by the availability of unofficial printed versions of the work that Norton claimed were far removed from the original. The pirated editions had appeared in 1565 from the press of William Griffith.[1] According to John Day, Griffith had obtained a copy from 'some yong mans hand that lacked a litle money and much discretion' when plague was rife in London during 1565 and whilst Norton was far out of London to avoid the plague. Day claimed that Griffith had made no delay in putting forth an 'excedingly corrupted' edition of the work.[2] Around 1569, when the problems of a lack of heir became once more acutely apparent within the realm, Norton approached John Day to print an authorised edition of the play, to stamp out these pirated editions.

Day's official publication of the play was a clear success and somewhat of a departure for him, since he had, as a rule, avoided the printing of drama. Day had, however, already printed a number of works for Norton and, as one troubled by pirated works at the best of times, knew that if a work was worth pirating then it was equally worth selling. As with the Acts and Monuments, Day held the patent for any work published at his own expense and therefore

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1. STC 18684.

2 'The Printer to the Reader', sig. Aiir.

reaped the rewards of the official version of the work, which appears to have sold well.[1]

This interest in Norton's work, and the worries fuelled by the papal bulls deposing Elizabeth gave rise to Day printing All such treatises as have been lately published by Thomas Norton in a collective octavo edition of six parts.[2] The work contained each of the works that Day had previously printed, and also included Norton's To the Quenes Maiesties poore deceived subiects of the northe countrey, drawen into rebellion by the Earles of Northumberland and Westmerland . The first edition of this work was not printed by Day, and was probably turned down by Day in 1569 (when he was busy on the Acts and Monuments) due to its size (112 pages in octavo). Instead, the work was printed by Henry Bynneman for Luke (Lucas) Harrison.[3] The collected edition, which included To the Quenes Maiesties poore deceived subiects, perhaps made up for Day's decided lack of interest in printing any other works whilst he was working on the Acts and Monuments. The collected edition is not only another tribute to a valued friend (as was the collected works of Becon). It also may have been an

1. For various editions, see STC 18677 et seq.

2. STC 18677. Day's concern over Regnans in excelsis (the papal bull deposing Elizabeth) can also be seen in his printing of Foxe's Sermon of Christ Crucified (1570), which addresses this topic directly. So too do the anti-papal woodcuts which were assembled together at the back of Volume I of the 1570 edition of the Acts and Monuments (collected almost certainly in the first quarter of 1570) appear in response to the Regnans. Margaret Aston and Elizabeth Ingram, 'The Iconography of the Acts and Monuments' in John Foxe (Ashgate, 1999), pp.66-142.

3 The colophon to Norton's A warning agaynst the dangerous practises of papistes (STC 18685.7, 1569?), which complemented the work printed by Harrison, indicated that 'These bookes are to

apology for having to delay printing other works and a 'thank you' for certain favours Norton did for him.[1] The work was no doubt also issued to the approval of the patron that both men had in common, William Cecil.

Works of Patronage

Cecil was almost certainly involved in the printing of Roger Ascham's The Scholemaster, a seminal work on 'teachyng children, to understand, write and speak, the Latin tong.'[2] The Scholemaster was purportedly inspired by conversation Ascham had at a dinner hosted by William Cecil, on 10 December 1563. As Cecil joined his guests, he told them of a group of boys that had just absconded from Eton school "for fear of beating".[3] The conversation turned towards whether children were better instructed with a strict regime of punishment or without. One of Cecil's guests, Nicholas Wotton, agreed with Cecil's view that, at the very least, in performing such whippings the master was

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be solde [by L. Harrison] in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Crane'). This unusual step for Day allowed both works on a similar theme to be sold side by side and so assist sales.

1. Norton would later pen some Latin verses for Lawrence Humphrey's Latin Life of Bishop Jewel, printed by John Day in 1573. See below, p.150. Norton's patron was also William Cecil, and therefore establishes further connections between these influential figures and the work of John Day. See Michael A.R. Graves, Thomas Norton The Parliament Man (Blackwell, 1994), pp.206-207. For Norton's work on Calvin, see ibid., pp.279, 326-7, 335.

2. STC 832.(From full title.)

3 See Lawrence V. Ryan, Roger Ascham (Stanford University Press, 1963), pp. 251-4.

in danger of making his pupils "hate learning before they know what learning meaneth."[1]

After the dinner, one of the guests, Sir Richard Sackville, spoke to Ascham and told him of how, in his youth, a schoolmaster had frightened him so much with the threat of beatings that he had grown to hate the thought of studying. He had a son, Giles, whom he did not wish to suffer the same torment. The Scholemaster outlines the chief topics that Sackville and Ascham discussed as a result of that dinner conversation. Ascham wrote down the fruits of their talk, which then grew and grew towards a publishable piece. However, Ascham's finances were to suffer badly shortly afterwards and his work on the book was suspended. Cecil appears to have intervened by helping him acquire Salisbury Manor. Once settled, Ascham got back to work, thanks to the intervention of Cecil. Unfortunately Ascham died before he could re-edit what it, in effect, a draft version of the work, and it is that draft that Ascham's widow, Margaret, submitted to Day, most probably at Cecil's suggestion.[2]

In 1572 Day printed Heinrich Bullinger's Confutation of the Popes bull which was published more than two yeres agoe, an English translation by Arthur Golding.[3] This translation was forwarded to Day by the Bishop of Ely, Richard

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1 See Ryan, Roger Ascham, p. 252.

2. See ibid., p. 253.

Cox, who had corrected the work with the utmost diligence.[1] In his only extant letter, written to Bullinger on 8 August 1571, Day praises the 'most faithful pastor' Richard Cox for his hearty endeavours in bringing the new edition to fruition.[2] Cox, who had praised Day's production of Jewel's Apologia (and who had also promoted the Acts and Monuments) now became involved himself in the production of godly works from Day's press, by editing and correcting Bulliger's Confutation.[3]

Day told Bullinger that he has 'finished printing your book' in August 1571 and that he was keen to send copies to him on the Continent. Describing himself as Bullinger's 'devoted' servant, Day then went on to produce another edition of Bullinger's 100 Sermons, but only after he had completed work on the second edition of Foxe's great book.[4] What we see here is the pattern emerging of Day juggling big commissions from the late 1560s onwards. Each major project must have been planned well in advance by Day (due to the problems of laying in of paper) and so Day's work schedule was not only demanding but increasingly coveted by those keen to print with England's premier printer of godly works.

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3. STC 4044.

1. Staatsarchiv des Kantons Zürich, MS. E II 377.

2. See ibid.

3. See above, p. 96.

4. STC 4062.

Cox would no doubt have approved of another work printed by Day in 1573, Lawrence Humphrey's Ioannis Iuelli Angli, Episcopi Sarisburiensis vita 6 mors, eiusq(ue) verae doctrinae defensio, cum refutatione quorundam obiectorum, Thomae Hardingi, Nicol. Sandei, Adoni Copi, Hieronymi Osorij Lastiani, Pontaci Burdegalensis. Laurentio Humfredos. theologiae apud Oxonienses professore regio, autore.[1] Like many Elizabethans, Day attached great importance to Jewel's work in general. He even did what he would not do for others and interrupted the printing of the Acts and Monuments to print Jewel's Apologia.[2] Additionally, Day was once again returning favours. Lawrence Humphrey, a friend of Foxe, had assisted the proof-reading of the Acts and Monuments, and Cox (who had greatly praised Jewel's work) had promoted Foxe's book. Once again, there is a tie to Day's perennial patron William Cecil, as it was Cecil who persuaded Jewel to write the Apologia. Therefore the production of Humphrey's life of Jewel would please all of Day's powerful patrons. Like many of Day's works printed for his powerful patrons and those who assisted him in his enterprises, the work was neatly executed, using legible type and reasonable quality paper that showed little sign of bleed through.

1. STC 13963.

2. See above, p.96.

The Return to Anglo-Saxon: More Works for Matthew Parker

In 1571 Day printed another expensive, deluxe work for one of his patron, Matthew Parker: The Gospel of the fower Euangelistes translated into vulgare toung of the Saxons, newly collected out of auncient Monumentes of the sayd Saxons, and now published for testimonie of the same.[1] This work contained a Anglo-Saxon/English parallel text, with a forward by John Foxe. The English text was that of the 'Bishops' Bible', the version that Convocation required to be placed in churches with the Acts and Monuments.[2] The Anglo-Saxon text was in fact most probably prepared for publication by John Joscelyn, Parker's Latin Secretary, as there is no evidence of Foxe having ever been a great authority on Anglo-Saxon.[3] However, with the success of Foxe's second edition of the Acts and Monuments so fresh, the work was likely to sell better if promoted as another work from the better known, godly theologian Foxe as issued by the renowned godly printer Day.

The following year Day issued an edition of Matthew Parker's De Antiquitate Britannicae.[4] George Ackworth and John Josecelyn assisted Parker in this work. The first edition was apparently privately printed for Parker by Day on

1. STC 2961.

2. See above, p.141.

3. The copy-text for the edition is Ms Bodley 441 with some corrections from CUL Ii.2.II. See Michael Murphy, "John Foxe, Martyrologist and 'Editor' of Old English" in English Studies 49 (1968), pp.516-23.

4. STC 19292. It was reissued with several corrections in 1574. In 1574 Day also issued Ypodisma Nevstriae vel Normaniae by Thomas Walsingham (STC 25005). This work may likewise have been produced under Parker's patronage. See Dibdin, pp. 136-8.

a private press set up at Lambeth. This hypothesis is suggested by a comment written by John Parker, the archbishop's son, on the fly-leaf of a copy in the Bodleian Library: 'liber iste et impressus est propriis in aedibus Lamathae positis'.[1] Yet there is no mention of a press at Lambeth amongst Parker's papers. However, in order to have the work printed correctly, it would have been beneficial to have Parker for checking his own proofs, when the work became ready for the press. Foxe may have stayed at Day's house during the printing of the Acts and Monuments, but it is unlikely that a primate ever would. The fact that such a work was privately printed by Day for the archbishop at Lambeth, exemplifies the level of commitment Day showed to Parker's projects.

By late 1573 Day was again busy working for Parker on an edition of Asser's AElfredi Res Regis res gestae. Parker's edition of Asser's Life of King Alfred was based on a manuscript that was owned by Sir Robert Cotton, in whose library it was Otho A. xii. The manuscript, however, did not survive the fire of 1731, which destroyed several works in Cotton's prized collection. Parker's edition was in the well-executed Anglo-Saxon type with interlinear English, followed by the Latin. This was yet another luxury work produced by Day at the request of the archbishop, as part of his revival of England's Anglo-Saxon past. Once again, Day was making his presses available to the influential archbishop for the production of deluxe editions, rather than accepting smaller

[1] Cited Oastler, p. 20.

commissions from less influential figures. Day did so in expectation of assistance in his own affairs as and when it was necessitated.

Parker's Patronage of Day

On 13 December 1572 Matthew Parker wrote to Cecil about Day's printing of Bartholomew Clerke's attack on Nicholas Sander's De Visibili Monarcia Ecclesiae.[1] Parker reported that 'I have spoken to Daie the printer to caste a newe Italian letter which he is Doinge, and it will cost him xl marke[s]'.[2] Day had agreed to have the new type made for Clerke's Fidelis Servi Subdito Infideli Responsio (Clerke's answer to Sanders), but made it clear to Parker that he was reluctant to do so.

> Loth he [and] other printers be to printe any lattin booke, bicause they will not heare bee uttered, and for that Bookes printed in Englande be in suspition abroad.[3]

Day was clearly prepared to voice his dissatisfaction to Parker, and took pains to point our that the work would not sell well and therefore not make a profit. Nevertheless, Day did agree to print the work, but in return for this, and

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1. STC 5407. This was the work that took precedence over Parkhurst's Epigrams.

2. Arber, I, p.454.

3 ibid. This could possibly have been an inference to the Latin Apologia printed earlier by Day for sale on the Continent, which sold better in English but Day only held the patent for the Latin.

for past works for Parker, he asked the archbishop for assistance in another matter than was having a detrimental affect on his book sales. Day had a vast amount of books in his warehouse that he could not shift (over £3000 pounds worth of stock).[1] Day complained to Parker that he wished to open another shop because his present 'dwelling in a corner' was hindering him in shifting his stock quicker due to its poor location.

This 'dwelling in a corner', Blayney asserts, was Day's Aldersgate residence.[2] To bolster the sale of his books, Day wished to open a book shop in St Paul's churchyard. However, Day claimed that his attempts to do so were being thwarted by the interference of 'sum enviouse bookesellers, the maior and Aldermen'.[3] Peter Blayney suggests that Parker took the initiative in procuring the shop in St Paul's churchyard for Day.[4] However, it should be noted that Parker had taken an interest in Day's plight after being prompted by the Privy Council: 'you of the Councell haue written to me, and other of the Commission, to helpe Daie'.[5] Hence again we see the Privy Council coming to Day's assistance. Nevertheless, Day still had to prod Parker into taking action over the

1. For Day's possible use of a warehouse for his stock, see Oastler, pp.30-31.

2. Peter Blayney, 'The Bookshop that Never Was', p.330. It should be remembered that Day appears to have maintained his shop in Cheapside during this period also, but we do not know its precise location there. As Aldersgate is referred to as Day's 'dwelling' we must assume that this is the location he is referring to.

3. Arber, I, p. 454.

4. Blayney, p.339.

shop, even after the Privy Council had written to Parker. Day agreed to print Clerke's work for Parker, but made it clear that he would do so, so long as Parker took action over his acquisition of a new site for the prefabricated shop he had acquired.[1] Day was intent on using his friends in high places and his skills to get exactly what he wanted.

Peter Blayney suggests that Parker's involvement in the matter was due to his own poor dealings with the Mayor of London and the Aldermen, in which he had already argued over jurisdiction of land surrounding St Paul's. Blayney suggests that Parker's involvement was 'a deliberate retaliation, designed to show those aldermen once and for all whose churchyard... it really was'.[2] That may have been the case, but Blayney also claims that the dispute had 'nothing at all to do with' the 'envious booksellers' mentioned first by Parker.[3] However, Blayney fails to acknowledge not only the hostility levelled at Day by this period (because of his monopolies), but also the fact that the shops whose access would be blocked were run by arch enemies of Day's. The two long sides of the shop, which met at an apex, would have been directly opposite the shops of Michael Lobley and Thomas Purfoot.[4] Even without this geographical inconvenience,

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5. Arber, ibid.

1. For the way in which such moveable shops were constructed, see Blayney, p.323-27.

2. Blayney, p. 339.

3. Blayney, p. 340.

such 'envious booksellers' would have resisted the prospect of Day's shop in St Paul's churchyard in the same way that an independent bookseller today is loathe to see a 'Borders' open across the street. John Day's new shop was eventually placed at the north-west door of St Paul's, and the plans to place it next to Purfoot and Lobley were abandoned.[1] After much wrangling it opened its doors in around 1576 on the site vacated by William Jones back in 1573.

John Dee's 'Mathematical Preface' and the English Translation of Euclid's Elements of Geometrie[2]

In 1570 Day printed another luxury work that must have cost him a substantial amount of money to produce. Although somewhat smaller than Foxe's martyrology (around 500 pages, compared with 2300 or so pages of the 1570 Acts and Monuments), the English translation of Euclid's Elements of Geometrie contained numerous new woodcuts and a paper supply that was far superior in quality to that used in Foxe's work. In fact, the supply used for the translation of Euclid's work is not found in any other works printed by John Day and cannot arguably be matched for its quality. Just who supplied the paper is not known, but it is likely that whoever commissioned the work from Day's press

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4. Purfoot, who had already been humiliated by Day, would have been envious, if not downright livid at the prospect of Day setting up a bigger shop than his just a stone's throw from his own shop. Michael Lobley, who had sold books for John Wayland, would not have been impressed with Day's audacity either.

1. For a detailed discussion of the arguments over where Day's shop should be placed, see Blayney, 'The Bookshop that Never Was', pp. 33-43.

2. STC 10560.

most likely provided Day with the paper for the edition.[1] After all, it was not so long since Day had completed work on the second edition of Foxe's magnum opus. A vast paper supply sufficient to print Euclid's work would not have been easy to come by, particularly paper of this quality. It should be remembered that Day had run out of paper on the second edition of Foxe and had resorted to using smaller sheets of writing paper. Day either did not have in his possession or was not allowed to use the paper specifically earmarked for use in the u, a work the preparation for which must have been underway while Day was printing Foxe's book.

Yet although visually impressive, the work shows signs of having been rushed through the press. The work itself provides some clues to the fact that the work, though visually impressive, was nevertheless rushed through Day's press. The publication date is given as 3 February 1570. John Dee's famous 'Mathematical Preface' to the work is dated 9 February that year, while a fold-out table or 'Groundplat' accompanying the Preface is dated 25 February. Clearly Henry Billinglsey's translation of Euclid's work was completed first, that portion of the text beginning, as was customary with the 'B' signatures, awaiting prolegomena and the Preface to take is through the preliminary signatures and the 'A' gathering. The 'Groundplat', as the date suggests, was probably printed

1. This would indicate an extremely wealthy patron, of whom unfortunately more cannot be uncovered.

last, and was delayed due to the fact that Day was clearly delayed in issuing the book due to the time it was taking Dee to complete the Preface.

Why would a work so carefully prepared and financed have been so thoroughly rushed? It is possible that Day did not expect Dee to take so much time and put so much detail into his work. The Preface clearly shows signs that Day was breathing down Dee's neck for the work (something that Foxe could no doubt have warned Dee about).[1] Dee's prolixity could match Foxe's at times (it takes Dee two whole pages to close the Preface from the point where he declares 'Here, I must end, thus abruptly') and Day clearly stopped Dee from including a substantial amount of material originally planned by Dee for inclusion.[2] It is also possible that Day may have only expected a few pages from Dee to introduce Billingley's translation. Dee's Preface runs to 50 pages in length and it appears that Day had either expected a much smaller Preface or a much quicker pace of work. The amount of pressure put on Dee to finish does suggest that he was quite simply writing far too much for Day's liking or patience. The Preface is full of references to Day's imploring Dee to get on with the work. Phrases such as 'to such matter as, for this time, my penne (with spede) is hable to deliver' and emphasis upon the need for speedier writing occur throughout Dee's contribution.[3] Explicit references occur: 'the Printer, hath looked for this

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1. See Allen G. Debus' Introduction to the facsimilie edition of the Preface, John Dee, The Mathematical Preface to the Elements of Geometrie of Euclid of Megara (1570) (Science History Publications, New York, 1975), pp.13-4.

2. John Dee, 'Mathematical Preface', Sig. A.iiiv.

3. See the first page of the Preface (no signature).

Præface, a day or two' as well as 'And still the Printer awayting, for my pen staying' provide a sense of Day's continual hounding of Dee.[1]

Day's edition does, it should be acknowledged, displays the various ways in which Dee appears to have had some control over the printing of the text. Dee's printed works are full of what William Sherman terms Dee's 'self-referential devices'.[2] The Preface opens with a large initial 'D', to which is added Dee's insignia, a delta, and a version of Dee's coat of arms. The text itself may provide another subtle device. The 50-page Preface has no signature for the first page and the runs Sig.a1-4 through to Sig.d1-4 and then begins the next gathering with a capital 'A' gathering. Billingsley's translation then begins on Sig. B.ir. The Preface signatures therefore run no higher than the letter 'd'.[3]

One other aspect of this deluxe and visually impressive text is worthy of note. The illustrations required for Billingsley's translation included in Book II a

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1. Sig.c.iiiv and Sig.d.iiijv respectively. The second of these comments is in a sense misread by William H. Sherman. The preceding line to it reads 'Lyfe is short, and vncertaine: Tymes are perilouse: &c. And still the Printer awayting...'. Sherman acknowledges that Day was pressurising Dee to finish but suggests that the these two lines have a more profound meaning, that time is fleeting. He also suggests that the work is hurried to meet 'political' needs, rather than focusing on the fact that Dee simply had not prepared his Preface well in advance of production commencing on the work. The whole Preface shows little evidence of editorial control or clarity of style. Dee rambles away from the matter in hand and then cuts short some passages that could have warranted further explanation. Day's pressure on Dee suggests more of a problem with Dee's working methods than any 'political' pressure. It should be noted that Day's pressure is mentioned at the very points that Dee is in danger of rambling again. Dee simply informs the reader that this is the case. See Sherman, John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance (University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), pp. 126-7.

2. Sherman, John Dee, p.10.

3. This practice occurs in other works by Dee, such as General and Rare Memorials (John Day, 1577, see below, p.177), where a delta is used for the preliminary signatures. Such a practice in more than one work does suggest that Dee exacted some considerable control over the finer details in the production of his works. See Sherman, John Dee, p. 204, n.28.

series of onlays intended to be pasted at one edge over the illustration to create individual 3-d diagrams. These were printed separately on six bifolia.[1] Most surviving copies have the onlays in place, as well as several hand annotations, suggesting that the work was well-used in its day. Again, these bifolia are carefully printed and their proportions correspond accurately to their sister illustrations in the body of the text. The three dimensional effect of the illustrations adds not only to a better understanding of the content of the work, they also increase the works visual impressiveness.[2]

Attacks upon Day: physical and verbal

As we have seen, Day's reluctance to print certain works when he was working on such luxury editions often made Day less than popular. Day had agreed to print some songs composed by Thomas Whythorne that were stalled until the work on Foxe's second edition had been completed. These may also have been stalled due to the death of Day's music proof-reader, Thomas Caustun, in 1569.[3] Finally, in late 1570-1 Whythorne had complained enough to get his songs onto Day's presses (these are the only secular music to be printed by Day). Day's irritability with yet another client's inability to finish work on time appears

1. Sigs. A-p4; q-M4 N2 2A-2P4 2Q2. Quires A-F are paginated 41-88; 2A-2F paginated 1-48.

2. Day printed another work specifically for Dee in 1573, and edition of his Parallaticae commentationis praxeosq(ue) nucleus quidam, edited by Thomas Digges (STC 6462). Unlike the 'Mathematical Preface' and Billingley's translation of Euclid, the Parallaticae commentationis praxeosq(ue) nucleus quidam was a small quarto work, printed on Day's standard stock of paper, and minus any of the lavish illustrations and therefore expense shown to Dee's work with Billingsley.

3. See above, pp.117-118.

to have been exacted on Whythorne, who did not get his manuscript to Day in time for his deadline. Whythorne therefore had to wait until Foxe's book was complete.[1] Once printed, Whythorne had little success with sales of his Songes.[2] In his autobiography, Whythorne recounts his encounter with Day:

> I went to printer to know of him how my miuzik went awai owt of handz, and hee told mee [th]at it waz not boeht pf him as fast az hee loked for. [th]en I told him [th]at I thouht [th]at waz bekawz hee had printed miuzik heer tofor, [th]e which waz very fals printed, and [th]arfor it waz A diskredit to [th]at which shiuld follow in print heerafter, vntill sych tym as myn wer kommenly known [th]e trew printing wherof shiuld shadow [th]e falsnes of [th]e o[th]er.[3]

If Whythorne's songs were second-rate, his ability to insult John Day was first class. The tone of the account suggests Whythorne's superior manner when speaking to Day and Day's subsequent frustration with him. There is a sense that Whythorne had become a thorn in Day's side to get the works printed and then an irritation when they did not sell. Whythorne would have done better to appease his printer, since he hoped to obtain an income from Day's edition and Whythorne's financial status was by no means secure at this time.[4] But Whythorne chose instead to attack Day further by taunting Day with another reason why Day could not sell his work:

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1. The woodcut portrait of Whythorne was commissioned in 1569 but the songs not printed until 1571.

2. STC 25583

3. James M. Osborn,The Atuobiography of Thomas Whythorne (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 220.

4 Osborn, ibid., pp. xliv-v.

> [Th]e sekond kawz why my miuzik waz sold no faster, waz bekawz it is not as yet much known [th]at [th]er iz such A miuzik to be bowht, and [th]erfor I had devyzed A mean to mak it known and to fur[th]er [th]e knole[dge] [th]erof as [th]us. I told him [th]at I had written into A book all [th]e songs and sonets which I had mad tobe sung with my miuzik, and in [th]e sam book I had set [th]e rest of [th]e stavz and verses [th]ar I mad to be sung with som of [th]oz songs, [th]e which ar not set in [th]e books wher my miuzik iz, bekawz [th]ei wold hav okkipuyd to great A room. Also I told him [th]at I had written into [th]at book not on[ly] my prefas to [th]e miuzik, but also all [th]e verses in latten which wer written by o[th]ers konserning my miuzik, and if he thowt good az I did to put t[th]is book in print, I [th]ouht [th]at it wold be an okkazion to manifest, and mak known [th]e sam [th]e mor and [th]e furder of...[1]

Insulting Day and then suggesting he print more of his work was not the best career move Whythorne could have chosen at this point. What was worse, Whythorne told Day that he had now written the Preface to the songs Day had already printed. Whythorne, it is clear, was blind to Day's reception of such insults, for he goes on to say that 'my printer lyked well' his idea of another 'new and improved (and prefaced)' edition of his songs. The foolish musician believed Day when he apparently agreed to print the work as Whythorne was leaving. The work never surfaced from Day's press.

Day dealt with the verbal abuse of a minor musician easily. His concerns lay with the opinions of the powerful in government, at court and in church. Day

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1. ibid., p. 200.

does appear to have got involved with the aftermath of the printing of the first and second admonitions to parliament, and could have been attacked as a result of this. On 9 December 1573, Day's signature appeared with those of Richard Tottel, John Harrison, George Bishop and William Seres on a petition sent to William Cecil. The five men petitioned Cecil for the release of a young apprentice, Thomas Woodcock, who had been imprisoned in Newgate for 'sellinge of certaine bookes called the Admonysion to the parliament'.[1] This was presumably the first admonition. Previous petitions to have the young man released had apparently gone unheeded. Yet to his credit, Day was willing to undergo the risk of offending his patrons in championing the cause of Thomas Woodcock.

A purely physical threat to Day came when an attack on Day and his family in 1573 clearly left Day more shaken. On 13 November 1573 Matthew Parker wrote to William Cecil about an attempt on Day's life by a young apprentice named Asplyn.[2] Arber identifies this Asplyn as the Thomas Asplyn who was made apprentice to Day on 25 March 1567.[3] Oastler and Greg, however, suggest that it was not Thomas but Robert Asplyn who attacked Day. Robert Asplyn had been apprenticed to Edward Sutton in 1561 and subsequently

1. Arber, I, p.484. See also, ibid., p.454.

2. ibid., p.466.

3. ibid.

made free of the Company in 1569.[1] The Asplyn who attacked Day is mentioned by Parker as having been involved in the printing of Thomas Cartwright's Second Admonition to the Parliament in 1572.[2] In his defence, Day's attacker said nothing more than that 'the spryte moued him' to attack Day.[3] In the light of no further evidence coming to light, we cannot be sure which Asplyn attacked Day or even if the two Asplyns were related.

The Whole Works of Tyndale Frith and Barnes [4]

Around 1572 Day commenced work on addition of the complete works of William Tyndale, John Frith and Robert Barnes, edited by John Foxe. However, the work was not issued until 1573. Several copies of the work have the title-page date of 1572 corrected by hand to 1573, whereas others have the later date, 1573, printed correctly.[1] The works of Tyndale, Frith and Barnes are split into individual sections in the book. The close of the section on Tyndale provides a detailed Index and is dated 1572. The next section, on John Frith, commences at the start of a fresh gathering but is not dated at the front or at the end of the

1. Oastler, p.18, W. W. Greg, 'Books and Bookmen in the Correspondence of Archbishop Parker' in The Library, 4th ser., XVI, 1935, p.262..

2. Arber, I, p.466.

3. ibid.

4. STC 24436.

Index.[2] After the Index occurs an interpolated section on 'The interpretation of straunge wordes'.[3] The third (and shortest) section, on Robert Barnes, begins with a fresh gathering and contains an Index and imprint at the back dated 1572.[4] Anomalies in the paper and type , as well as the altered date of issue, therefore suggest that the work was printed on different presses at different times during around a 12 – 18 month period. Because of the heavy and accurate cross-referencing in the work, it is very doubtful that this text was assigned to another printer outside of Day's shop. It is far more likely that the work was simply interrupted while Day was juggling assignments around.[5]

At the back of the work Day included a new, large woodcut, that appears to have been only available for use right at the end of printing the work. In the

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1. The hand-corrected copies in England are in the Guildhall Library, London and King's College, Cambridge (a copy presented to the Library by Day himself), and in the Folger Library. Huntington Library and Harvard in the United States of America.

2. The same compartment is used as at the front of the book but the interiors lists the content and not the imprint. (Unsigned page between Sig.GG.2 and Sig. HH.1.)

3. The preceding gathering was YY. This section, however, runs Sigs.Zz1-5=6, 1-6, 1-3, followed by a blank sheet. The paper used in this section is markedly inferior to that in the rest of the text and uses a different type also. The large 91-2mm. black letter used in this section (compared with the usual 66-7mm. type in the body of the main text) bleeds too easily into the thin paper , which has a 'hand and flower' watermark). The paper used in the rest of the work is primarily from a different source, with 'pot' watermarks.

4. The title page appears on Sig.*AAa.1*r. The rest of this gathering runs Sig.*AAa.ij*, Sig.*AAa.iij*, Sig.*AAa.iiij. (no terminal star), and is followed by Sig.AAa,ij, continuing in sixes. On the verso of the title page commences a section entitled 'A briefe discourse pf the lyfe and doinges of Robert Barnes...'. This, like the preceding 'Interpretation' appears to be late edition to the work, although the 'briefe discource' is on paper with a pot watermark.

5. I am grateful to Tom Freeman for this information.

second edition of the Acts and Monuments (1570), Foxe described the following image:

> It may please the reader to graunt me, to set before hym here a payre of balaunce[s] wherin to weigh the bookes on the one side condemned, with the bookes on the other side allowed, to the end that we weyng the one with the other, may discerne the better between them which part weyth best with Gods holy truth... against manifest idolatry.[1]

Foxe appears, therefore, to have been the inspiration behind the woodcut annexed at the back of the works of Tyndale, Frith and Barnes (see below, Figure 11). The cut was later included in the third (1576) and fourth (1583) editions of Foxe's Acts and Monuments. The cut appears a little too large for the page size of the edition of Tyndale, Frith and Barnes in which it makes its first appearance. It is possible that Day commissioned the cut soon after the release of the second edition of Foxe's book, and requested the size of the cut to be similar to the large cuts included in the back of the second edition of Foxe's martyrology. Although the cut fits in this work of the three evangelicals, it is better suited in size to the Acts and Monuments. As it was a last minute edition to the work, it is possible that Day halted work on this book to await the arrival of the impending woodcut, or that it was commissioned for another work and included at the last minute here, as it had arrived just before this work was nearing completion. Whatever the reasons behind the cut's inclusion in the complete works of Tyndale, Frith

and Barnes, it nevertheless exemplifies the amount of capital Day was prepared to invest in illustrations for his large, luxury works.

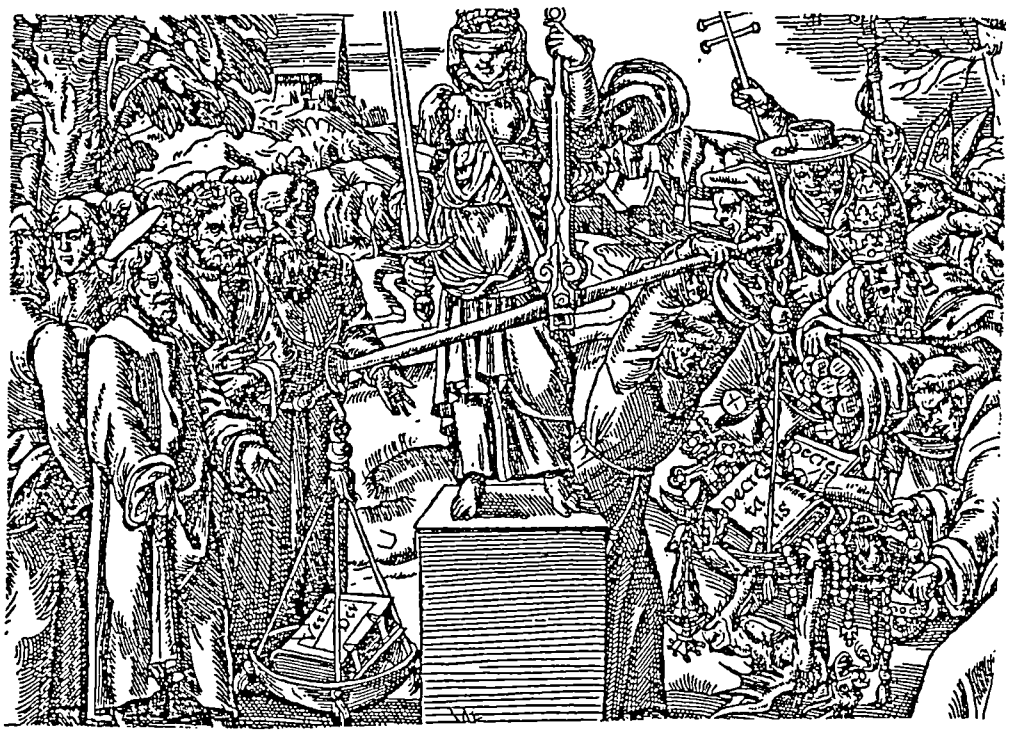

Figure 11. Detail from the image of Justice from the Whole Works of Tyndale, Frith and Barnes (1573), courtesy of the British Library

In his Preface to the work John Foxe reveals that Day did not simply invest capital in the work; Day was actively involved in research for the work. John Day himself collected information for the edition and how Day preserved many of godly texts that, without Day, might have been lost. Foxe tells the reader that 'We have much to prayse God for... such Printers in preseruing by their industrie and charges such bookes from perishing...'[2] He contrasts the godly

1. AM [1570], p. 1773.

2. Sig.A.iir.

enterprises of Day with those printers who 'respect more to their owne priuate gain, then regarde to the publike edifying of Christe Church, or necessary preferment of Religion'[1] Throughout his career, Day was frequently accused of putting a desire profit before any consideration of the content of the works he printed. Foxe therefore rebukes such claims, noting that many of the works of 'these three learned fathers' had only survived through the diligent research of John Day:

> the Printer of this book hath diligently collected, & in one volume togither, inclosed the workes I meane of William Tyndall, Iohn Frith,, and Robart Barnes...[2]

Day both financed and researched this luxury work himself. Unlike previous luxury works on this scale, commissioned by powerful and influential courtiers and cleric, Day himself was the driving force behind the work. The investment of Day's time and finances on the work must have been considerable. Foxe was eager to promote Day's willingness to preserve and print godly works 'in defence of Christes true Religion'.[3] The work clearly did not make a profit, as it did not reach a reprint in Day's lifetime, but the work did prove to Day's critics his level of commitment to the English Church and its Protestant regime.

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1. Sig.A.iir.

2 ibid.

3 ibid.

Day printed large, luxury editions either specifically for, or to impress, his patrons but also to put himself at the service of a coterie of friends who were all linked to each other, such as Lawrence Humphrey, Thomas Norton, John Parkhurst and William Cecil. At the centre of this group stands Foxe, undoubtedly (possible with the exception of Cecil) the most important collaborator on Day's projects. As 1576 approached, Foxe and Day would return to a new edition of their crowning achievement, the Acts and Monuments.

The Third Edition of the Acts and Monuments[1]

When the second edition of the Acts and Monuments was finished in the spring of 1570, it appears that Foxe and Day regarded this edition as definitive. There appears to have been no plans, as there had been after the first edition, to bring out another edition of the work in the near future. Both Day and Foxe moved on to other projects, on their own, and together, such as for the works of Tyndale, Frith and Barnes. The situation changed suddenly when in 1575 John Day's son Richard, who had been studying at King's College, returned home. In a chancery suit brought against him by his step-mother shortly after John Day's death, Richard claimed that he had left Cambridge university without matriculating because his father had requested him to return to be the 'corrector of his print'.[2] This was not in fact the case, as Richard returned home for

1. See Evenden and Freeman (forthcoming).

2. PRO, c 24/180, int. 4; PRO, c 24/181 int. 7.

personal not professional reasons. Richard had apparently fallen in love with a young women who lived near to his father's printing house. The headstrong young man had quit his studies for a woman, not for his father's business as he later claimed. Even then, it was not long before Richard was involved in another relationship.[1] However, it is true that Day had lost his key proof-reader, William Gace, and workers in Day's printshop later testified that it had been John Day's intention that Richard should be trained in the post.[2] Gace would indeed have been hard to replace, but it soon became apparent that Richard was a less than adequate substitute for the knowledgeable and erudite Gace.

It was Richard Day's departure from Cambridge that seems to have triggered the publication of the third edition of the Acts and Monuments. This decision certainly seems to have been made suddenly. There are signs of haste and lack of preparation for this edition in John Day's print shop. It took time to lay in an adequate supply of quality paper and significantly the paper on which the 1576 edition was printed was of markedly inferior quality. A letter written to Foxe complained of the poor quality of paper in the third edition, hoping that the next edition would be printed 'in good quality paper and fair and legible print, and not in black, blurred and torn paper, as was the last edition'. Foxe's friend added that 'it is pitiful to see such a notable piece of work to be darkened with foul paper and obscure print.'[3]

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1. Richard was in love with a girl who lived near Aldersgate, named Ellen Bowles, who is said to have been the real reason of his return (PRO, c 24/181, ints. 6-8). However, Richard subsequently married the daughter of a gentleman, Nicholas Pope - motivated, it would seem, more by matters of the purse strings than of the heart (PRO, c 24/180, deps. to ints. 10-11; PRO, c 24/181, deps. to ints. 26-7.).

2. PRO, c 24/180, deps. to int. 4.

Why this spontaneous decision to print a new edition of the Acts and Monuments? The most likely explanation is that John Day saw this as an opportunity to give Richard a baptism of fire. The printer found work for idle hands. There are obvious signs that Richard, not John, oversaw the printing of this edition. The third edition of the Acts and Monuments was bound and stitched in 6s, not 8s as was customary. This indicates a novice printer, such as Richard, rather than the veteran John overseeing this edition. At the same time, this edition contained prefaces and Latin poems from members of King's College (Richard Day's alma mater), a number of which would not be reprinted in subsequent editions of the book. Richard also took personal credit for the Index to the volume. (If we are correct about the motivations behind the printing of the third edition then it is a remarkable indication of how reliable sales were in that Day could have this work printed for largely personal reasons and still presumably be assured of not losing money.)

Nevertheless, John Day seems to have hedged his bets as there were signs, beyond the inferior paper, of cost cutting in this venture. A smaller type was used in this edition, allowing the Days to get more text on to a page, thus saving paper, and in fact they were able to squeeze what is essentially the text of the two-volume 1570 edition into only one volume. Of course, the reduction of costs was offset by a decrease in the legibility and even the aesthetic quality of the edition. Whether Richard was entirely responsible for this scrimping is unclear. Later he would blame his father for the poor quality of the edition, insisting that

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[1] BL. MS. Harley 416, fo. 204.

it was his father that persistently cut costs.[1] It would make sense for John Day to want to minimise his expenses on what was something of an experimental edition. Richard Day also complained that his father never paid him for the extensive work he did on this edition.[2] This points to another serious flaw in the third edition. Richard Day was being paid as a proof-reader and there are unmistakable signs that little attention was actually paid to proof reading this volume. Typographical mistakes abound and the cross-references to the second edition were merely reprinted, thus inevitably guiding the reader to the wrong page.

It must be noted that there are some improvements to this edition. Two large woodcuts were added, both of which had been previously used in other works printed by Day.[3] Richard did have the odd flash of particularly good inspiration. It was Richard who was directly responsible for was the Index to this edition that took the unprecedented but highly desirable step of listing people by their surname. Previous editions of Foxe's work had followed the common sixteenth century practice of listing people by their Christian names, making it difficult, if not impossible to look up people with common names such as John or Thomas.

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1. PRO, c 24/ 180, deps. to int. 4.

2 PRO, C 24/ 180, deps. to int. 7: for example, Humfrey Lewis, a stationer, who claimed to have heard Richard state that his father had agreed to pay him twice the wage he had paid Gace, but that his father had not paid him for his correcting.

3. The first was a map of Saxon England, showing the seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy (AM [1576], on p. 110), reprinted from William Lambarde, Archaionomia, sig. D4v; the second, on the final page of the 1576 edition, was an illustration of the blindfolded figure, representing Justice, weighing the 'Verbum Dei', in a pair of scales, against communion wafers, rosaries, decretals and papal decrees, reprinted from the last page of The Whole workes of W. Tyndall, Frith and Barnes.

Nevertheless, these modest improvements do not disguise the fact that this edition was markedly inferior to its predecessors. Worse yet, this inferiority was noted and commented on by contemporaries.[1] As we shall see, the poor reception of this edition seems to have kindled a determination in John Day to produce a new and improved edition of the work worthy of him and his print shop.

1. Simon Parrett's letter, discussed previously contained criticisms of the 1576 edition as well as suggestions for improving the next edition. Lawrence Humphrey passed the letter on to Foxe, and agreed with Parrett's criticisms.

CHAPTER 7

1576-1584: THE FINAL YEARS

The few improvements that Richard Day had added to the third (1576) edition of the Acts and Monuments were not enough to divert criticism of the work.[1] For the first time contemporaries criticised an edition of the Acts and Monuments as an artefact; the inferior paper, in particular, coming in for sharp criticism. One of Foxe's acquaintances from Magdalen College, Oxford, Simon Parrett complained to Foxe of the 'blacke, burred, and torne paper' in the third edition. He emphasised the detrimental effect upon 'such a notable peece of worke' that the 'foule paper and obscure print' had. Foxe's friend, Lawrence Humphrey, agreed with Parrett, that the work had suffered due to poor printing.[2]

Certainly the paper in this edition is of a significantly poorer quality than that used in the previous two editions.[3] It is so thin that much of the text is obscured because the text on the reverse of the page is visible in reverse because the ink has bled through and is visible on both sides. Many surviving copies show some tearing to pages, because the thin paper tears so easily when turning the page. Sheets that have less bleed through are thicker, but of a very rough quality. Richard Day was in charge of purchasing the paper for this edition and therefore the later charges made against his father that it was John, not Richard, who cut costs on the edition appear to

1. See Evenden and Freeman (forthcoming).

2. BL, MS. Harley 416, fo.203r.

3. The hand and flower watermark can been seen central to the page throughout much of the volume.

be unfounded.[1] If bad paper was not enough, the type used on it was also difficult to read because it was so small. Richard had used smaller sets of type than had been used for the body of the text in the previous edition. By using smaller type more words could be fitted onto the page. This resulted in what is essentially the text of the 1570 edition being squeezed into one volume.

This reaction must have disappointed John Day who, up until this point, had been criticised for the quality of his small ephemeral works, but praised for the quality of his larger books. The criticisms thrown at Day for his smaller works – poor quality paper, blurred print and skimping on paper (by reducing the size of and space around text) were now exacted upon his premier large work. This criticism was therefore detrimental to Day's reputation as a successful printer of large, deluxe, quality editions. Day's patents were also due for renewal. As a response to the attacks brought upon the father by the printing of the son, Day sought to put Richard to work under close scrutiny. Allowing him little freedom to do as he wished, Day imposed constraints upon his son that would, as we shall see, eventually result in Richard's refusal to respect his father's wishes, severing relations between the two men. John Day's primary concern was to retain his patents. Richard appears to have given suit to the Earl of Leicester, or at the very least appointed Richard Killigrew to speak for his father, that John Day's patent might be renewed.[2] John Day paid for a

1. See PRO c 24/180, Richard Chambers, dep. 6.

2. See PRO c 24/180, ints. 9 throughout. Several deponents commented that Richard used this opportunity to see how the patents won for his father might assist him personally, so that he could be freed from the constraints of working for his father.

great seal and also a copy of the Acts and Monuments valued at the exorbitant price of £10 as a gift to Killigrew for his part in bringing the issue before the Earl of Leicester. However, it is clear that Richard used this opportunity to manipulate the patents won for his father, in order to free himself from the constraints of working for his father by printing the works in his own right.[1]

When John Day was successful in renewing his prized monopolies, the complaints made about Day's exclusive rights to these monopolies were voiced once again. In August 1577 several stationers and printers petitioned to Elizabeth, demanding an end to 'priuiledges granted to privatt persons', or more accurately, an end to privileges granted to individual printers.[2] Complaints were made about monopolies granted to a number of prominent printers, but Day's rights to the ABC and the Catechism came in for particularly aggrieved denunciation. The petitioners lamented the ABC and Catechism were 'the onlie relief of the porest sort of that companie' and that Day's monopolies were driving smaller printers to ruin.[3] The petitioners were unsuccessful: Day retained his monopoly rights but this incident increased pressure upon Day to recompense poorer members of the Company by releasing his monopoly on certain 'steady sellers'. Day vigorously resisted this pressure but eventually circumstances would undermine his ability to fight off his poorer colleagues.

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1 See Oastler, p. 66.

2 Arber, I, p.111.

3. ibid.

John Dee's 'The Perfecte Arte of Navigation'

In September 1577, a month after this complaint against John Day's monopolies, he printed an important but very atypical book. On the one hand it was a work of the very highest quality, lavishly illustrated and clearly printed on fine quality paper.[1] Yet unlike many of Day's prestige projects of the past – the collected works of Becon, the Acts and Monuments or even Bullinger's 100 Sermons – the Arte of Navigation was only around sixty pages long. However, the Arte of Navigation is yet another example of Day printing a work in which the costs were defrayed by a patron, rather than by Day himself. On the recto of an unsigned sheet between Sig. Δ.1r and Sig.Δ.2r (the use of delta as a signature, not typical of Day, but used in Euclid's Geometrie, is a sign that Dee himself was responsible for this added text) is a note stating that an 'vknown Freend' had 'at his own charges', and 'careful Travail concurrant... put the foresayd two treatises, in Print'.[2]

Who was this mysterious patron? The work was dedicated to Christopher Hatton, but it was not Hatton who was the patron of the work. William Sherman has pointed out that Dee's dedication to Hatton was a last minute interpolation into the book.[3] Edward Dyer financed the publication of other works by Dee, but none of

1. The same type of paper as that for Billingsley's translation of Euclid.

2. Recto of an unsigned sheet between sigs.Δι and Δij.

3 See Sherman, p. 241, n.241.

them had been printed by Day. [1] Moreover, Dyer had been named as patron in such other works. Why should he chose to be anonymous now? Cecil was of course Day's great patron, and had been patron of another work in this field, Richard Record's The Castle of Knowledge but that had been published in 1556 and there is no solid evidence linking Cecil to the Arte of Navigation. We will probably never know who this anonymous patron was.

Another unusual feature of this work was the minute size of the print run. Apparently only 100 copies of the work were printed. [2] This may indicate the extent of the money that the patron would or could devote to this project, but it is more likely that the work was intended to be, in Sherman's phrase, 'a very limited production for a very privileged readership'.[3] The title, Arte of Navigation, is a misnomer. The work is not on the subject of navigation at all but rather contains a treatise on the British monarchy and two abstracts of Latin orations by the Greek humanist George Gemistos Plethon.[4] Rather, the work is a prospectus for a possible compendious work on navigation, running to four volumes.[5] In a Preface to the

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1. Sherman notes the relationship between Dee and Edward Dyer, who appears to have been Dee's most consistent patron. Dyer acted as 'go-between' for members of the Privy Council (particularly Hatton and Robert Dudley), but stops short of saying that Dyer was the funds behind the work (Sherman, p. 130). Whoever did fund Dee on this project provided him with enough money to buy from the same source of paper as had been used in Dee's previous work with Day, on Billingsley's translation of Euclid (see above, p.156).

2. Dee states that 'one Hundred are to be printed, by the waning of my Instructore', Sig.K.iiijr.

3. Sherman, p. 156.

4. See Sherman, pp. 154-62.

Reader, we are told that such a small print run was done to test the water and see if others would support this ambitious undertaking.

In the Preface, it is frankly declared that printers were unwilling to produce the planned work because they thought it was sure to lose money.[1] Day's involvement in this apparently enumerative venture may be due to ties he had with John Dee, through works Day had printed previously. Day had printed not only printed Dee's 'Mathematical Preface' to Billingsley's translation of Euclid and his Parallaticae commentationis praxeosq(ue) nucleus quidam (edited by Thomas Digges), he had also printed Foxe's Acts and Monuments, in which the martyrologist had defamed Dee by referring to him as 'the great conjurer' in the first and second editions of that work.[2] In the forward to the Arte of Navigation Dee to the opportunity to complain about his treatment:

> That divers untrue and Infamous Reports, by their Sinister information, have bin given vp to such, as have gathered Records, of those Mens Acts, who dyed in the Cause of Veritie,

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[5] Sig.ε.1v. See Sherman, John Dee, p. 154.

[1] The sheer amount of paper required for Dee's project would in itself have been enough to many printers off. Dee told his readers that the second volume was to 'contein many Quires of Paper'. Indeed, 'so great, is the Volume therof, that, to haue it fairely and distinctly printed, with all the Appertenances, it would be (in bulk) greater than the English Bible' (Sig.ε.1v. See Sherman, John Dee, p. 154).

[2] AM [1563], p. 1427 and AM [1570], p. 1988. Dee had been arrested in 1555 for 'conjuring or witchcrafte' and released on bond in August (see Acts of the Privy Council, 1554-1556, pp. 137, 143-44 and 176). I am grateful to Tom Freeman for providing me with these references.

Dee pleaded that the author of the Acts 'will use dve Carefull and Charitable Discretion, From henceforth, to repres, abolish and vtterly extingvish this very Inivriovs Report' that he was 'a Coniver or Caller of Divels... Yea, the Great Conivrer: and so, (as some would say,) The Arche Conivrer of this whole Kingdom'.[1] Dee's complaint had, however, already been redressed in the third (1576) edition of Foxe's book. The references to Dee as a conjurer were dropped from the third and the fourth (1583) editions printed by Day.[2] It is therefore likely that Foxe heard of Dee's outrage through John Day, or even from a third party (such as the unknown patron) who had seen Dee's work in manuscript. Foxe was prepared, in this instance, to repair the damage he had caused.[3]

The fine quality of the Arte of Navigation demonstrated that the quality of the 1576 edition of the Acts and Monuments was an inferior to John Day's true capabilities. This work showed, in terms of his technical skills, that Day remained at the apex of English printing. The Arte of Navigation was, however, the last demonstration of his technical mastery that Day would give for a number of years. From the last half of the 1570s Day appears to have settled into something of a holding pattern, at least in his business. Having secured his patents once more, Day does seem to have finally devoted some time and energy to improving the appearance and quality of his editions of the Metrical Psalms, for example.[4] He printed several editions of the Metrical Psalms in folio, thus making them more

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1 Sig.Δ.iiir – Sig.Δ.iiiv.

2. AM[1576], p. 1702 and 1704, AM [1583], pp. 1810-11.

3. Foxe was not always so generous, as with Justice Drayner mentioned above, pp.110-111.

4 See Evenden, 'Singing Psalms and Howling Errors: Problems of Music Proof-Reading in Tudor England' (forthcoming).

legible and also indicating Day's confidence that the flourishing market for these works could repay this greater expense.

The individual works of Becon, Latimer and Luther all continued to roll from Day's presses, as did new sermons and even an English translation of Seneca.[1] Day also renewed his efforts to tap into the market for books on popular medicine, printing John Bannister's The Historie of Man sucked from the sappe of the approved anathomistes, which printed extracts from learned 'practitioner[s] of phisicke' for the benefit of the lay reader.[2] However, in some respects this calm is deceptive; Day's lack of innovation may well have been caused by his need to direct his energies into two struggles: one with printers who tried to poach in Day's cherished preserve, the printing of the primers, and one with the most obnoxious of the poachers, his eldest son, Richard.

1578 – 1580: Richard Day's Career as a Printer

Richard Day was sworn and admitted into the livery of the Stationers' Company on 30 June 1578. Having continued work under his father's roof at Aldersgate, he was now free to work in his own right although he remained heavily

1. See The woorke of the excellent philosopher Ludius Annaeus Seneca (STC 22215).

2. STC 1359. This work includes several high-quality full-page illustrations of the skeleton with and without muscles attached, as well as a picture of 'the Instrumentes Servyng to Anathomicall dissection' (no signature, recto after Sig.Hh.iiijv). It also contains the only marginal illustration I have found in a work printed by Day. On fo.16v (Sig.F.iiijv) there is a small illustration of an 'unnamed bone' (c.1.6mm x 1.4mm).

reliant upon his father for stock and premises in which to print. On 28 May that year he was granted a licence to print his own translation of John Foxe's Jesus Christ Triumphans.[1] Having cut his teeth on Foxe's magnum opus (albeit with limited success), Richard had been put to work on a number of projects in his father's shop prior to this, such as an edition of the complete Psalms, in which the page numbering is erratic and shows signs of a novice printer. Becon's The Demaundes of holy scripture, which appears to have been reprinted directly from volume three of the collected works of Becon was probably a practice piece to test accuracy in printing on Richard's part. The address 'To the Reader' was signed 'R.D.' and was thus probably by Richard Day, perhaps indicating his ambitions to move out of his father's shadow.[2]

Although by 1578 Richard Day appeared to be on his way to making it as a printer in his own right, his father was clearly allowing his eldest son little freedom. In a suit brought by Richard against his stepmother and her brother after the death of Richard's father, Richard complained that in the three years after his return home from Cambridge in 1576, John Day had not paid his son a wage or stipend.[3] Day's own print room manager, John Hunzworth, claimed that 'the meanest workman in his house would haue more money in his puerce at the weke end then [Richard] had for any thing'.[4] Day's warehouse and accounts manager, Roger Webbe, had by contrast

1. STC 11231. See the detailed reference in STC, I, p. 496.

2. For Richard Day as a novice printer, see Evenden and Freeman (forthcoming).

3 PRO, c 24/180 ints. 7.

4. PRO, c 24/180, Hunzworth, dep. 7.

apparently paid Richard five or six shillings on certain Saturdays.[1] Opinion was clearly mixed among John Day's own staff and family as to his treatment of his son after his return.[2] It should be remembered, however, that Richard had left Cambridge in pursuit of learning more of Ellen Bowles (the girl who lived around the corner from Aldersgate) than of his muse. His father's understandable disappointment and clear disapproval of his son's abandonment of his university education, and Richard's mixed success with the 1576 edition of the Acts and Monuments, caused him to exact a tight reign over his wayward son.

By 1579 Richard had had enough. Tired of the financial restriction of working for his father and the lack of any marriage on the horizon with his sweetheart, Richard enraged his family further by abandoning Ellen and marrying the daughter of a gentleman in order to gain his financial independence. In the two law suits between Richard and his stepmother after his father's death, Richard himself made it clear that he had married not for love but in order to free himself from his father and step-mother and so improve his financial status.[3] It was also clear that the marriage had wronged Ellen Bowles, to whom he was still considered a suitor.[4]

The effect this had on the father and son relationship was nothing short of catastrophic. John Day had originally determined that his son take holy orders, but when this did not look likely, he had given his son the opportunity to follow him in

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1. PRO, c 24/ 180, Roger Webbe, dep. 6.

2. PRO, c 24/ 180, ints. and deps. 1-22.

3. PRO, c 24/ 180, int. 7: 'his poore & bare keepinge did inforce him to seeke helpe by marriage'.

4. PRO, c 24/ 181, ints. and deps. 14.

his business, albeit with the strictest of conditions set upon him. The disciplinarian father found himself abused by the son, as Richard began to pirate his own father's patents in late 1579 or early 1580.[1] Richard had somehow acquired a press of his own and had acquired enough type and pirated woodcuts to take as much profit from his father's patents (behind his back) as he possibly could.[2] He was also assisted in his clandestine activities by Roger Webbe, the warehouse manager John Day had hired since Richard's return to Aldersgate. Thus not only his own son but his closest personal staff were deceiving Day as well.

Few could have expected the extent to which the enraged Day, now Master of the Company, took vengeance against his own son in 1580. The manager of the bookshop in St Paul's churchyard, Richard Vernon, described how John Day had shown his son no mercy once he had discovered his piracy. He not only made an example of him, he ensured that Richard would no longer have the means to pirate John Day's monopolies or print anything for himself:

> The said Jo. Daye wi[th] the wardens of the company of Stac[i]oners, Did take from the com[plainant] bothe booke[s], the chefe part of his press, wi[th] A gr[ea]t quantytie of let[t]tres for prynting and other Instrumentes of Prynting verye necessarye. At which tyme this dep[onent] being the com[plainant's] seru[a]nt, for that he requested them to make no spoyll of the said thinge[s]s and saying that the com[plainant] was able to anser them by law & praying them to staye ther hande[s] till the matter might be indifferentlie hearde betwene the com[plainant] & ffather, they were the more vehement and made no more adoe but in A hurry laded A carr[t]e with the said thinges wi[th]out care of sauing any

1. See my entry on Richard Day in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (forthcoming).

2. See Oastler, p.67.

> thing therof and caryed them awaye to Stacioners halle... the Bookes w[hich] they caryed awaye at that tyme and spoylled being all vnbound camr to the nombre of xvijc or thereaboute[s] all Salme booke[s] of [sextodecimo] w[hich] drew to the value of xlli or theraboute[s] at the rate of vjd the pece.. the presse & prynting le[t]ters and other things w[hich] they had alwaiye and spoyled wi[th]in the howse cost the com[palinant] nerehand xxxli.[1]

As Richard Vernon clearly sided with Richard on this matter, it is possible that he might have exaggerated the cost of many of the above-mentioned items. Certainly his complaint about the amount of money the above 'furniture' would have cost Richard is an unjust argument, as Richard Day was already in debt to his father by this time.[2] Day had probably loaned Richard the very money used to buy the equipment to pirate his works. John Day's apparent refusal to allow his son to be in charge of his own accounts upon his return from Cambridge was, in fact, a wise move. With Richard's freedom of the Company came his ability to abuse his father's privileges. The fact that Richard Vernon was witness to these events and heavily rebuked by Day suggests that the staff at the 'long shop' in St Paul's churchyard knew of Richard's activities. If Day had caused a scene in the churchyard, he would have ensured maximum humiliation of those who had betrayed him in front of numerous members of the book trade. Showing no mercy to his own son would have shown that Day meant business when dealing with piracy in his role as Master of the Company. Having suffered piracy when other printers were Master of the Company, Day as Master himself ensured that others knew that he would give no quarter to pirates.

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1. PRO, c 24/ 180, Gregory Seton, dep.19.

2 PRO, c 24/ 181 ints. et passim.

As a result of this quarrel Richard found himself out of work. By December 1580 he was in holy orders.[1] The parent-child relationship had been shattered and, once again, John Day found himself battling to hold on to his monopolies – this time at the cost of good relations with his own son. Richard had suffered the same problem as many of his co-printers. He had tried to promote new works but did not have the funds to promote large, quality works without the financial backing of monopolies that were 'steady sellers'. His father owned them and anyone discovered pirating them in order to make additional capital would pay a stiff price. It should be noted that this severe, if legal, action by Day exemplifies two familiar themes that would now plague Day until his death: distrust of his son's actions and the exhausting task of holding on to his monopolies. Day made an example of his own son in one of his few, final attempts to ward off piracies.

The Battle over the Monopolies

By 1582, however, the problem of piracy had not gone away. In a long, drawn out law suit lasting from 7 February through to 10 July that year, John Day sued the printer Roger Ward for his piracy of the 'little' Catechism.[2] The 'very contemptuos' printer claimed that he had borrowed the type required for the work from a young man named Adam Islyp, one of Thomas Purfoot's servants and that the false device was made by a 'frenchman dwelling in Blackfriars'.[3] Purfoot, needless

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1. For full details on Richard Day's clerical positions, see my entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (forthcoming).

2. See Arber, II, p.759 et seq. And Harry R. Hoppe, 'John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher 1579-1601' in The Library, 4th ser., XIV, no. 3 (1933), p.246.

to say, vehemently denied having anything to do with the piracy and laid the blame with Roger Ward entirely. It is a sad irony, as we shall soon see, that Purfoot did not have to wait long before he found himself printing such Catechisms legitimately.

The biggest assault upon John Day's patents came, however, from one of his former employees, John Wolfe. Wolfe had been apprenticed to Day in 1562, but stayed with him only seven of his ten years' apprenticeship. After leaving Day's employment, Wolfe travelled in Italy, doing some printing there, returning to England around 1579.[1] Soon after Wolfe had set up business in London in his own right, he sued the Privy Council for over a privilege 'which being found too large or too generall had [the] repulse, whereupon he printed what pleased him best'.[2] It was the beginning of Wolfe's lucrative and turbulent life as a book pirate. By Easter of 1581 Wolfe was pirating so many of Christopher Barker's books, that Barker found it more preferable to work with Wolfe than have him work against him.[3] Even after Wolfe translated from the Fishmongers' to the Stationer's Company, he continued to abuse the rights of legitimate patent holders. He printed some works legitimately for Barker, but proceeded to pirate further works, in particular, Day's Metrical Psalms.[4] In his survey of the print trade, disclosed in December 1583, Christopher Barker

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3. Arber, II, p.761.

1. See Hoppe, pp. 243-44.

2. See Hoppe, p. 245.

3. ibid.

exposed Wolfe's two secret presses, that had been hidden in a vault in an attempt to declare that he used only three, not five, presses (these secret presses being used for piracies).[1]

In April 1584, Day told the Privy Council that Wolfe's property had been searched the previous year because Wolfe had 'latelie imprinted secretlie diu's bookes' of Day's.[2] In order to uncover Wolfe's clandestine activities the Recorder of the City, two Sheriffs accompanied Edward Day (John's son), Gregory Seton (who ran the bookshop beneath Aldersgate) and John Day to search Wolfe's premises.[3] Wolfe complained to the Star Chamber against John Day for damage caused to his house and property during the search. Wolfe's account of the seizing of his pirated copies of the Metrical Psalms suggests considerable force was used, although Day claimed that he had simply acted within his rights. Day does not appear to have been held to account for his actions as a result of Wolfe's suit against him.[1] But if Wolfe's account of the force used by Day in closing down his illicit printing is accurate, then Richard Day, back in 1580, had not suffered the worst of his father's wrath:

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4. ibid., pp. 252-258.

1. Arber, I, pp.115-6. Barker himself complained that Day's monopolies infringed upon the work of others including his own patents. Day and Seres both held the patents to different abridgements of Barker's patent; abridgements which sold better than the full works; in particular, the 'Psalmes in meeter...which, belongeth to me [and]... The small catechisme... belongeth to me also, which Master Jugge solde to Master Daye' (ibid.).

2. See Hoppe, p. 257.

3 ibid., 258.

> Iohn Day, Edward Daye his sonne, Gregorye Seton of London Stacyoners, and dyverse and sondrye others to the nomber of twentyee att the leaste... wythe fforce & in ryotous manner Entered into... his house, and broken oppen dyverse doores, and Chestes locked, and wythe the lyke force, and outrage, Hathe overthrowne, and broken in sondre, the frames, presses and Ingens, for the vse of printinge whiche they founde in the same house, and wythe noe lesse wronge haue taken awaye divers prynted bookes, and papers... the said Iohn Daye not beinge contented to have taken awaye dyverse of your said Subiecte his bookes and to have ymprysoned him and his servant[s], severall tymes heretofore, He... wythe the said Edwarde Daye his sonne and the said Gregorye Seton and dyvers others... being in moste ryotous and foryble manner accompaned [sic] wythe sword[s] and daggers and other[s] such ... [did] resorte to the dwellinge house of youre said Subiecte scytuate and beinge in the parishe of Sainct Nicholas Gold abbey in London, and then and there dyd moste forcyblye & riotouslye in the absence of your said Subiecte... break vppe wythe theire said forcible weapons and other engens, the Hall doore of the howse of your said Subiecte and soe entered into the said howse And... not beinge therwythe Contented or satisfied, but seekinge the vtter spoyle of youre siad Subiecte, Dyd then breake oppen the lock[s] amd doores of the Chambers, Countinge howses, Chestes and other places... wrestinge his poore oulde father by the throate beatinge and threatnynge his gooddes...[2]

After John Day's death, his son, Richard took Wolfe on as one of his assigns (along with Edward White, William Wright, Thomas Butter, and Francis Adams). In a later moment of poetic justice, Wolfe found himself in position of having to

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1 ibid., pp. 257-8.

2. PRO, Star Chamber Proceeding, 26 Eliz., Bundle W 34, no. 23; cited Hoppe, pp. 256-57.

complain to the Star Chamber in an attempt to stop the tens of thousands of pirated copies that were being made of the patent he now legitimately worked on.

Despite his success in handling (or perhaps mis-handling might be a better term) John Wolfe, the pressure put upon Day by Wolfe and his co-complainants to release some of his monopolies during the early 1580s was immense. The group of Stationers and booksellers (headed by Wolfe) who petitioned the queen on the matter of monopolies and dispersal of patents finally made some headway in 1582, as Day finally released the work on the ABC to a group of printers. A few month's after the alleged attack on Wolfe's property, possessions and father, Thomas Norton wrote to George Goring, Justice of the Peace and father of the Earl of Norwich, about the unrest in the Company, noting that Day had finally dispersed these printing duties on the ABC to 'vii or Eight householders of the Companie'.[1] As we shall discuss shortly, the amount of works Day would eventually release was considerable.

It is possible that Day had relinquished his vicelike hold of these patents in response to the increasing pressure mounting against him from the poorer but united members of the Company. There were also two further reasons for Day's gradual withdrawal. The first was that work had begun on the fourth (and final) edition of Foxe's Acts and Monuments, a task which consumed Day's dwindling energies. The second, more grave reason, was that Day's health was deteriorating – rapidly. Having been taken ill in around 1582, Day did not return to full health, and his

1. Arber, II, p.775.

actions – as we shall see – show clear signs of a man coming to terms with his own mortality.

Fearful that his son, Richard, might seize the chance to return to printing should his father become incapacitated, Day took some drastic steps to ensure that his eldest son did not get his hands on the printing empire John Day had built for himself. It was around this time that Day made a deed of conveyance to his wife's brother, John le Hunte, that put his lands, goods and chattels in the hands of his wife's brother. This negated the need for a detailed will and therefore avoided the possibilities of any such will being challenged over the dispersal of possessions indicated within it. Day sought to completely disinherit his eldest son once and for all (although Richard would still be entitled to the remaining patents).[1] If this was done to put John Day's mind at rest, he did so at the expense of his work on the final 'big book' of his illustrious career, the Acts and Monuments. As we shall see, dispersal of his goods and collateral meant that he was without secure funding for the work.

The Fourth Edition of the Acts and Monuments[2]

After criticisms of the quality of the third edition of he Acts and Monuments, Day was clearly intent on making the fourth edition a monument to his skills. Letters surviving amongst Foxe's papers indicate that he had begun collecting oral

1. The exact date of the conveyance is not known. See Oastler, p.79, n.2.

2. See Evenden and Freeman (forthcoming).

information for his new edition as early as 1579.[1] In 1582 Foxe had received the aforementioned letter from Simon Parrett, which contained several suggestions on how the ensuing edition might be improved.[2] Parrett stressed the need for better quality paper and with better quality type than had been used in the 1576 edition. He also urged that they returned to printing the work in two volumes, instead of one, so that the material that had been printed in the first edition, and then subsequently dropped, be restored.[3] Whether or not Day acted specifically on Parrett's suggestions is not clear, but certainly much of his advice was heeded. Day no doubt intended to return to or rather improve on the quality he had reached with he second (1570) edition. The work did appear in two volumes, it was printed on much better quality paper and with larger type, and much, although not all, of the material printed in the 1563 edition that had been dropped in the 1570 and 1576 editions was restored to the work.

Day did not scrimp on materials for the fourth edition, rather, he ensured that his paper was of the best quality available to him. The paper used in this edition was of very high quality; the best quality on any of the four editions. Day had to borrow considerable sums in order to finance the paper for this edition (remember that he could not draw on his own funds as he had conveyed all of his good into the hands of his brother-in-law). Many of Day's staff testified after his death on the considerable sums borrowed by Day to finance this edition. In particular, two wealthy merchants, Richard Harrison and Jeffrey Nettelton, both financed the project with considerable

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1. BL, Harley 425, fo. 145r-v.

2. BL, Harley 416, fo. 204r. I am grateful to Tom Freeman for this and the above reference.

3. Parrett pointed out that it was frustrating to be told that documents were in the first edition of the book when it was very unlikely that a reader would have the luxury of all the editions to hand.

sums of money.[1] Much of the money raised went to ensure a quality supply of paper. Day's wife saw him putting his need for paper for the edition before his own health and even tried unsuccessfully to sell the stock he had so far acquired in order to end the project and allow him to rest.[2] Her brother, on the other hand, did finance Day with £200 for the acquisition of such paper, clearly aware that Day would stop at nothing to finish this edition. Even he, however, urged the workmen to hurry, telling them that a great deal of money would be lost if the edition was not finished before John Day's death.[3] The print room staff later talked of the palsy that affected Day as he worked on the edition and of how it 'ympaired and hindered' him[4]; his 'weake and ffeeble' frame a now piteous sight to behold.[5]

Day's efforts to produce an impressive fourth and final edition before his death proved successful. Visually it is the most impressive of all the editions of the Acts and Monuments and is 'completely without precedent in the history of English book production'.[6] However, the appearance of the work was somewhat superior to its content, as many of the erroneous cross-references of the 1576 edition were repeated without correction. Furthermore, several errors occurred due to a lack of careful proof-reading. Sadly, the detailed attention paid to the 1570 edition in order to correct errors was not duplicated in this edition. In part, this was due to the need for

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1. PRO, c 24/181 Gregory Seton, dep. 59. Only Harrison is described as a 'merchant' by Seton. I am grateful to Brett Usher for identifying Nettelton as a merchant for me.

2. PRO, C 24/ 181 deps. to ints. 61 – 64.

3. PRO, C 24 /181, Gregory Seton, dep. 34.

4. ibid, dep. 61.

5. PRO, c 24/180, Humfrey Lewis, dep. 28.

6. See Evenden and Freeman (forthcoming).

haste caused by Day's precarious health. But it also reflected his priorities; to him the book was a technical and aesthetic achievement rather than simply an important text.

After a long and painful illness, John Day finally died on 23 July 1584, whilst travelling to Overall Manor in Little Bradley in Suffolk, the seat of John Day's brother-in-law[1]. After a gruelling period working on the Acts and Monuments one last time, Day had finally relinquished many of his patents to the Company on 8 January 1584.[2] This was the no doubt the action of a tired and now frail printer, yet it is still significant that he retained the most important of his patents: the ABC, Catechism, Metrical Psalms, and Foxe's Acts and Monuments. In an unusually generous gesture, Day yielded 36 of his key patents, which included many of Day's 'big books', such as the Whole works of Tyndale Frith and Barnes and Bullinger's One Hundred sermons, but it did not include Day's 'steady sellers' or the Acts and Monuments.

His remaining patents passed on to Richard Day, who in turn, unsurprisingly, sold them to the Stationers' Company. Richard's decision was at least partly motivated by this dismantling of the privileges that provided the foundation for his father's publication of Foxe's magnum opus. Richard had taken holy orders in a last attempt to win back his father's respect, or at least his patents, and it is noticeable that Richard resigned his post as soon as John Day died. Yet again, his attempts to

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1. See Oastler, p.19.

2 Arber, II, p. 787.

make his mark as a printer in his own right were somewhat thwarted by the loss of these patents and the fact that Richard did little of the printing for himself, preferring to make his profit through assigning the hard work to others.

By 1588, Timothy Bright had been given a patent that permitted him to translate or abridge any works that he wished, thus allowing him to created the smaller, more affordable (but less comprehensive and visually impressive) abridgement of the Acts and Monuments, which appeared the following year.[1] The next large edition of the work printed after Day and Foxe's death was financed by a partnership of ten booksellers and produced under the auspices of the Stationers' Company.[2] After that the number of both printers and sponsors increased, as the 1631 edition of the Acts and Monuments was printed by a partnership of three printers, financed by sixteen booksellers.[3] The days of a single printer using his influence with patrons to finance vast tomes was now over.[4]

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1. For the patronage that made it possible for Bright to get the patents see Nussbaum. 'Whitgift's "Book of Martyrs"' in John Foxe (1999), pp.136-7 and 145-6.

2. Greg and Boswell, Records, 51.

3. See Evenden and Freeman (forthcoming).

4. ibid.

Day's family and their feuds

Day's epitaph, in Little Bradley church in Suffolk, makes clear the fact that John Day wished to be remembered, above all, as the godly man who printed John Foxe's seminal martyrology, the Acts and Monuments:

> Heere lies the Daye that darkness could not blynd
> when popish fogges had ouer cast the sunne
> Thus Daye the cruell night did leaue behynd
> To view and shew what bloudi Actes were donne
> he set a FOX to wright how Martyrs runne
> By death to lyfe. FOX venturd paynes & health
> To giue them light DAYE spent in print his wealth
> But GOD with gayne retornd his wealth agayne
> And gaue to him as he gaue to the poore.
> Tow wyuves he had pertakers of his payne
> Each wyfe twelue babes and each of them the more
> Als was the last encreaser, of his storore.
> who mourning long for being left alone.
> set upp this toombe her self turnd to a Stone.[1]

The final line of the memorial verse is a pun upon the new name of Alice Day: in 1585 she married a London merchant, William Stone.[2] The same year that Alice remarried, her eldest step-son, Richard Day sued his step-mother over the deed of conveyance that deprived him of a financial share in his father's vast estate.[3] Richard alleged that his father had not been of sound body or mind when he made the deed which transferred his lands, goods and chattels to John Le Hunte's safe-

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1. See the frontispiece to Oastler's John Day.

2. See VCH Beds., III, 1912, pp. 322, 340, cited Oastler, p. 5. After Stone's death, she married a third time, to Edward Grimstone, Sergeant-at-Arms (ibid.). The memorial was therefore erected during her second marriage.

3. PRO. c 24/180.

keeping. Richard directly accused his step-mother and her brother of trying to cheat him out of what was rightfully his. Many of John Day's staff and members of his family were summoned to testify as to Day's physical and mental state prior to his death, and to give their opinion of how John Day had treated his eldest son after his return from Cambridge University. Richard alleged that he had been forced to quit his studies because of his step-mother's complaints that his education was costing too much.[1] He also stated that he was needed to assist his father in the print room and also in the suit to the Earl of Leicester for the renewal of his father's monopoly rights to the ABC, Catechism and the Metrical Psalms.[2] He claimed that his success as a stationer had been hampered by his father's treatment of him and the problems that arose over his taking on of the book shop in St Paul's churchyard.[3]

Richard's suit against his step-mother was successful, as the following year, 1586, Alice Day and her brother, John Le Hunte, brought a counter-sue against Richard. It is in this second case that we see the conflicting opinions of those who were loyal to Richard and those who were loyal to John Day more thoroughly exposed. It is in this second case, for example, that we learn how Richard Day's admiration of Ellen Bowles was the real reason behind his leaving Cambridge.[4] Richard does appear to have been employed by John Day as a proof-reader - a position due to be made vacant by the loss of the talented William Gace (which must

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1 PRO c 24/180, ints. 1-4.

2. See, however, c 24 / 181, ints. and deps 15.

3. ibid., ints. and deps. 18. The counter-sue even went so far as to suggest that Richard's dealings were so 'lewd' that he 'deserved to be hanged' (int. 24).

4 PRO c 24/181, ints. and deps. 6-8.

have proved a great blow to John Day).[1] Various deponents across the two cases talk of Richard's work for his father; they detail Richard's acquisition of paper, his general duties around the print shop, and also his running of errands of varying degrees of importance at his father's request. They also confirmed that Richard did act as proof-reader for his father.[2] Knowledge of any payments made to Richard for his services to his father was only detailed by Roger Webbe, Day's manager, who, as stated above, claimed to have issued Richard with occasional payments from his father. Significantly, those deponents who spoke most fervently about John Day's refusal to pay his son were Richard's friends from other trades, and not those fellow staff who worked day in day out with Richard in the print room.[3]

None of the deponents whose testimonies survive claimed to know that Day's physical and mental health made him incapable of making the decision to enact a deed of conveyance. Many refer to Day's poor physical state shortly before his death, commenting on how unwise they though it would be for Day to make the journey into Suffolk when he was evidently so sick.[4] As for Richard Day's involvement in approaching Robert Dudley for assistance in the renewal of John Day's patents, the second law suit makes it clear that in undertaking the commission, Richard Day sought to exact perks for himself alone from the suit to Dudley. He hoped to ensure that he could work free from the auspices of his father's business but

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1. See Simpson, 'Correctors of the Press', in Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries (London, 1955), pp. 138-139.

2. See, for example, PRO c 24/180 ints. and dep. 6.

3. See, in particular, Richard Chambers in c 24/180.

4. Some of the print room staff feared that they would never see their master again if he were to undertake a journey in his weakened state. See, in particular, deps. to ints. 61-3 in c 24/180.

also profit individually from the patents given to his father. The arguments over the 'long shop' appear to have resulted over Richard Day's complaints over the quality of stock provided by John Day for the shop (Richard Vernon confirms this in both suits). However, this information is qualified by the fact that Richard did not honour his father's reasonable terms of repayment for money loaned to start up business in his own right. As a result, John Day did not provided his son with as good a stock of as he might otherwise have done.[1]

The stakes were high in these two law suits for both litigants, as the estate left by John Day must have been enormous. As we saw earlier, Day's books alone were worth up to £3400. He also owned several properties, four presses and a wealth of printing stock at the time of his death.[2] However, the two suits show something more than arguments over dispersal of possessions; they show a family torn apart by rifts stemming originally from the death of Day's first wife and his subsequent remarriage. As the children from Day's first marriage tried to come to terms with changes at home, animosity borne by the eldest children was directed at the their step-siblings, their step-mother and also their own father; these resentments remained unresolved. The two Chancery suits Daye v. Daye reflect a family at war with itself and the attempts by both sides to either deride or esteem the career and reputation of John Day as both a father and a printer.

One of Richard Day's most staunch supporters through these two suits, perhaps not surprisingly, was his younger brother, Edward, who was born in 1553.

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1. See PRO c 24/180 deps. to int. 16.

2. Outside of the wealth of printing stock Day owned, he also owned five houses. See Oastler, p. 30.

Both men were clearly close to his each other, and both agreed that their step-mother, Alice Day, had sought to oust the children of John Day's first marriage from his father's affections.[1] It appears that Edward may have been originally intended to follow in his father's trade, although he appears not to have succeeded in becoming a printer in his own right. Oastler suggests that Edward became a bookseller, although he may have first expected to have follow his father in the printing of the Metrical Psalms.[2] Edward claimed that he had been educated at Cambridge, like his elder brother, although there is no known evidence of his actual attendance there.[3] John Day's employment of Edward, however, seems to have involved his physical rather than mental attributes. In the seizing of illicit texts and the printing tools of Roger Ward, for example, Edward Day was employed his 'assist' in the physical removal of goods against Ward's will (this 'assistance', as we have seen, appeared to involved a certain amount of physical force).

The information known about the headstrong eldest sons from John Day's first marriage contrasts sharply with what is known of two of John Day's sons from his second marriage. The eldest son of Alice, who took his father's name, John, was, by all accounts, a mild mannered and gentle-natured cleric.[4] The eldest son by John Day's second wife fulfilled his father's hopes for a son that would grow up to be a godly cleric. Having studied first at Eton and then Oriel College, Oxford, he was

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1. Richard claimed that much of his stealing from his father was in order to pay for debts on Edward's behalf. Both brothers appear to have had a talent for spending beyond their means. See Richard's ints. and Edward's deps. throughout PRO c 24/180.

2. Oastler, p. 5.

3. PRO, c 24/180, dep. 21. See Oastler, p. 5.

4. See Oastler, p.5.

elected fellow there four years after his father's death and became a popular preacher in the diocese. John Day (junior) went on to have a number of his own works put into print by the first Oxford University printer, Joseph Barnes.[1]

Another son by John Day's second marriage was Lionel, who was born in 1570 and became a fellow of Balliol College, Oxford.[2] We know little else of Lionel, other than that he was a favourite of his step-mother's brother-in-law, Gregory Seton. Seton ran a bookshop underneath Aldersgate and was married to Alice's sister.[3] In his will Seton refers with affection to Lionel as his 'kinsman', whilst leaving his best Bible to Lionel's godly elder brother, John.[4] Other an this, we know little of John Day's other children, other than a son, Bartholomew, was buried in Bradley Parva (near Overall Manor) on 6 May 1581. Day had a daughter who married George Pen, a former apprentice of Day, who later became a bookseller in Ipswich.[5] There appears to have been another son, Paul, who gave a book to King's College, Cambridge 'in memoriam clarrissimi fratis Richardi Day', who was perhaps a son by Day's first marriage. Other than these few, we know nothing of Day's 24 children from his two marriages. Only Richard and Edward gave evidence about their father during the disputes in Chancery.

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1. ibid.

2. ibid.

3. It was probably through his friend Seton that Day met his second wife. Throughout both the Chancery suits mentioned above, Seton is a staunch defender of Day.

4. PCC, 43, Fenner, cited in Duff, A Dictionary of Printers, p. 240.

5. See Oastler, p. 5, who fails to spot that George Penne had been an apprentice of Day's from 1564. Arber, I, p.253.

CHAPTER 8

JOHN DAY, 'MAN OF BUSINESS'[1]

John Day was the dominant figure of English printing during the second half of the sixteenth century. Only Christopher Barker, Elizabeth's official printer, claim close to matching Day's output.[2] Yet Day's books far surpassed Barker's in quality, size and the technical expertise displayed in producing them. Day was also responsible for innovations in type casting and book illustration that was unrivalled by any other contemporary printer.

Yet Day's achievements were not only due solely to his technical expertise, impressive as that was. The pillar of Day's success was his skill in attracting powerful patrons. All the great early modern printers depended on patronage for their success: the Aldine press flourished through papal largesse, the French kings were generous supporters of the Estienne family, and Plantin rose to greatness under the sheltering wing of the Hapsburg eagle. To reach the pinnacle of success, an English printer had need of official support on a somewhat similar scale. Patronage gave all of these printers exclusive rights to the popular devotional works, which were the

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1. For 'men of business' see Patrick Collinson, 'Puritans, men of business and Elizabethan parliaments' in Parliamentary History, vol.7, pt. 2 (1988), pp. 187 and 191. I am grateful to Tom Freeman for his generous input towards my appraisal of Day as a 'man of business' for this chapter.

2. John Day issued more than 350 in the course of his career, as listed in STC.

bread and butter of early modern printing. The difference was that Elizabeth did not have the interest in printing and did not patronise printing as did her continental counterparts. Day relied on prelates and Privy Councillors rather than princes. Yet the effect was the same. Aldo Manuzio (Aldus Manutius) had his missals, the Estiennes had their primers, Day had his coveted patents to the ABC, Catechism and Metrical Psalms.

These patents made it possible for Day to print massive, time-consuming works, most especially, the Acts and Monuments. Yet the symbiotic relationship between Day and the authorities was more profound than this. Day was not the Queen's printer but he can justly be called the government's print trouble-shooter. Day was an entrepreneurial 'man of business'. He placed his expertise at the disposal of the authorities. For example, he would have new type cast when they required it and he would produce high quality volumes at their behest, even though he was sure to lose money in the process. In return the authorities procured valuable concessions for Day. Not only did the provide him with the essential patents, they also coerced the London Mayor and Aldermen into allowing Day to extend his print shop and home on the City Wall at Aldersgate.[1] They made it possible for Day to acquire a bookshop in St Paul's churchyard over the heated objections of the major, aldermen and rival booksellers, and he turned to them successfully when threatened with book piracy.

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1. Corporation of London Record Office, REP 17, fo. 112r. See Evenden and Freeman (forthcoming).

The nature of Day's business required that he direct his printing into two areas: he needed to mass produce the cheap popular works such as the ABC, Catechism and Metrical Psalms, which were the foundations of his prosperity. Yet to gain and retain the vital patents on which his success depended, Day had to print expensive, large works to impress his patrons and fulfil their requirements. It was in producing these works that Day not only displayed his technical abilities but he also produced the innovations in English printing, especially in book illustration on which much of his reputation rests. Much of his success in the field of book illustration was due to the foreign workmen he employed. The journeymen and illustrators who fled religious persecution on the Continent and fled to England were a vital source of expertise exploited by Day. His intimate relations with the Dutch Church gave his enviable connections with this community opened doors to employing those workmen most skilled in their trade.

In his letter to Foxe discussed above, William Turner made an interesting charge against Day. He impugned John Day's motives as a printer, suggesting that Day only printed large books, such as Foxe's, in order to make a profit:

> Typographus fere quisque mauult libros suos esse magnos ob magnum suum quaestum, qua[m] misello et paruo gregi christi, vtiles & acile parabiles. Vtinam tam lautus victus tibi suppeteret: vt non cogaris miseris, auaris, gloriosis et amusis librarijs seruire. Audio enim te maligne a tuo domino ne quid durius dicam tractatum esse... Expende queso in quoru[m] potissimu[m] gratiam libru[m] conscripseris. Quo facto non dubito licet typographus

> infamiat, quin sis librum ad verae ecclesiae vtilitatem, maiorem sis editurus. Nam tum inutilibus et superfluis resectis libri precium non vltr x^{s} excrescet.[1]

In fact, the exact opposite was generally true of the attitude of most printers during the late sixteenth century, including Day. Although the Acts and Monuments brought Day a profit, it was an exception rather than the rule. As Day had experienced during the reign of Edward VI, 'big books' were usually difficult to sell. Even the Queen's printer, Christopher Barker, knew, like Day, that large volumes were difficult to make a profit on. In October 1578 Barker advertised his newly corrected Byble for sale by subscription on advantageous terms.[2] He noted that the greatest cost in printing the book was 'in preparing furniture' (the means to print the work, i.e., paper and type), in retaining the journeymen required for the work, and in hiring three 'learned men for a long time for... correcting such small faultes as had escaped in the former prints thereof'.[3] Barker also acknowledged that even if the book were priced at thirty shillings, it would be 'scarce sufficient' to cover the cost of production.[4] Barker may have been exaggerating the costs involved, since he is actually prepared to sell the work for 20 shillings unbound, or 24 shillings bound, but he clearly had to balance any profit against his ability to sell the work. He then proceeded to offer members of the Company the chance to buy the work at 24 shillings on credit (until the following Candlemas, 2 February).[5] He also offered any

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1. BL. MS. Harley 416, fo. 132.

2. This is done in a broadside advertisement now in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries; cited Arber, II, pp.748-9.

3. Arber, II, p.749.

4. ibid.

5. ibid.

company or Hall who purchase copies in bulk the incentive of a free copy for their doing so.[1] Day, like Barker, knew that all 'big books' ran risks. Later printers, who worked as syndicates under the auspices of the Stationers' Company, would charged with the opposite wrong-doings: that they chose only to print cheap and not luxury editions. In 1622, for example, Richard Montagu's complained that:

> On top of the six hundred difficulties with which we are afflicted we have unfortunately had to put up with the stupidity and stinginess of the printers. For they are accustomed to work for profit, they are only following a mercenary trade. And so they load whole waggons and carts with hackneyed two-penny ha'penny garbage. They have no taste for serious things.[2]

In a later work Montagu even admitted to having his large work split into more than one volume to be sold separately because he was 'bearing in mind the danger of boring the reader, the buyer's pocket, and the printer's profit'.[3] Day did not cut corners or scrimp on the cost of producing his prized, luxury works. The lavish attention to detail in them (quality type and plentiful illustrations) was a large part of the success of such works.

Day's printing empire was impressive but it had an Achilles' heel: it was entirely dependent on monopolies and patents granted by the Crown. These

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1. Barker states that the clerk of the Company should receive 4d. commission per copy and that the Beadle's fee should be raised from 2d. to3d. Arber, Ibid.

2. Richard Montagu, Analecta ecclesiasticarum exercitationem (The Company of Stationers, 1622), Sig. a.5v (STC 18029), cited James Binns, 'STC Latin Books: Evidence for Printing-House Practice' in The Library, 5th ser., vol. 32, no. 1 (1977), p.4.

3. Richard Montagu, De originibus ecclesiasticus (The Company of Stationers, 1636), Sig.HHH.iiijv.

monopolies were bitterly resented by other London printers, and toward the end of Day's life, the persistent murmurs of discontent, stimulated by John Wolfe, had swelled into a chorus of enunciation. Day retained his patents during his lifetime partly because his network of friends and contacts was too good, partly because his expertise was too good for the government to abandon him. But Richard, who lacked both the contacts and expertise, was forced to surrender one by one his father's hard-won privileges. Day's rivals finally got their share of the money from his 'steady sellers', but they got it over his dead body.

Apart from his considerable achievements in the development of English book production – and it should not be forgotten that Day not only made quantum advances in the quality of illustrations in English books, he was also the first English printer to produce a large work, the Acts and Monuments, at a profit – Day is an important figure in two other respects. His role as an entrepreneurial 'man of business' demonstrates the further importance which Patrick Collinson has already elucidated of these pivotal figures in the working of the Elizabethan regime. Day's relationship with Elizabethan officialdom shows its reliance on networks of expert individuals, and its relatively informal but effective ways of obtaining expert services and rewarding them.

Day was also something of a dinosaur. He was in English the last, perhaps

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cited Binns. loc. cit.

the only, of the great printers on the continental model. The vast bulk of his business was buoyed up by a rising tide of monopolies and official concessions. When that tide receded, partly because of intense hostility to monopolies in general and especially intense hostility to monopolies in the printing trade, an enterprise like Day's could no longer function. In the future, great books and massive printing projects would be undertaken by syndicates of printers, rather than by one great master printer. Yet in his own lifetime, Day made the system of his monopolies work and he made it work brilliantly. He raised English book production to heights that it had not previously known. The conditions in which he could operate were ephemeral, yet his achievements were lasting.

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